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TO

THE MEMORY

OF

MY LATE WIFE

Srimati Vinodini Upadhyaya

PREFACE

The present work has been my dream since 1931. It has taken me about twelve years to complete it The method followed in its composition has been analytical, constructive, and critical. Kālidāsa is a great poet, a vast ocean, and a comprehensive effort based on his works has yet been a desideratum. Efforts have been made earlier to study Kālidāsa but they have mainly centred round the political aspect. A vast world that is disclosed by the genius of the poet has been therefore lying as a sealed book to us. I have endeavoured to study the poet under the various spheres of human knowledge and the results of my study spreading over more than a decade are embodied in this volume. The arrangement of the work has been made under a comprehensive scheme of seven books, namely (1) The Geographical Data, (2) Polity and Governance, (3) Social Life, (4) Fine Arts, (5) Economic Life, (6) Education and Learning, and (7) Religion and Philosophy, each divided among several chapters. Two appendices dealing with the Date of Kālidāsa, and the extent of Puṣyamitra's Empire have been added at the close. A detailed Contents and an exhaustive Bibliography of the works consulted have been given. The date of Kālidāsa, logically, should have been discussed in the beginning of the work but its discussion has been deferred almost to the closing pages due to an important reason. I have had to take into consideration and marshal into array a number of conclusions and inferences arrived at and drawn from the facts narrated in the body of the book. A discussion of the date of Kālidāsa at the beginning of the book would render a complete summary of the incidents of this work at the outset almost imperative, and the body would then read like a repetition. So after the reader has taken an impression of the times and traditions of Kālidāsa as disclosed in those pages, he will easily follow and in most cases agree with the conclusions reached regarding the date of the poet given at the close.

The main scope of this composition has naturally been the works of the poet himself. I have worked on the generally accepted seven works of Kālidāsa, namely the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, *Vikramorvaśī* and *Abhijñāna Śākuntala*, and the *Ṛtusaṁhāra*, *Meghadūta*, *Kumārasambhava* (only the first eight cantos), and the *Raghuvaṁśa*. The *Kuntaleśvaradautya*, perhaps a work of Kālidāsa, has yet to be recovered and, therefore, a consideration of that work is easily precluded. For fear of repeating the arguments contained in numerous oriental journals I refrain from discussing here the reliability of the ascription of these works to the poet. I have utilized the texts published by the Nirṇayasāgara Press and other modern editions and works references to which have been gratefully acknowledged in the footnotes and in the Bibliography. There is an unmistakable affinity between the contents of the Gupta inscriptions and those of the works of the poet and so the epigraphical records and the numismatic data of the Imperial Guptas have been utilized to elucidate and corroborate the state of things depicted by the poet.

The work is a pioneer composition and most of its books deal with absolutely new matter. The chapters on the Polity and Governance, Fine Arts like Paintings, Sculptures and Terracottas, and Architecture, Economic Life, Education and Learning, etc. venture out on an untrodden ground. Certainly all literature bearing on the subject, as far as possible, has been utilized and acknowledged in due context. The date of Kālidāsa may perhaps now finally be accepted. In course of its discussion the evidence of the Gupta and Kusāna sculptures and terracottas which conclusively fix the age of the poet to the Gupta times has been utilized. A side issue, that of the extent of Pusyamitra's Empire, has been occasioned by the reference of the poet to the Sindhu which has been identified with the frontier Indus on the authority of the new data furnished by the Yugapurāṇa of the *Gārgī Saṁhitā*. A detailed discussion has been attempted in the same appendix on the same authority on the contemporaneity of Khāravela, Demetrios, Pusyamitra and Menander. A discussion regarding the various readings in the text of Kālidāsa's works would mean a work of an independent character and would involve efforts wholly devoted to the editing of the text. But herein also, where necessary, an effort has been made to accept the sane readings. This has been done by accepting the standard editions of which a complete list is given at the end of this work. The Nirnayasāgara edition has been cited for bringing about a uniformity in the references.

As the title—*India In Kālidāsa*—implies, the present work seeks to give a picture of the times in which the poet lived and wrote as also (which, as a matter of fact, has turned out naturally to be more extensive) of the beliefs and ideals of his age. These ideals were not necessarily to be fulfilled in instances of contemporary times. Most of what Kālidāsa portrays is traditional and conventional. This work seeks to describe both the contemporary as well as the ancient conditions, the historical as well as the traditional India, i.e. all that the poet has to say. An effort to give only the historical aspect would most necessarily be defeated, as such inferences are few and far between. The only thing that can be done in this regard is to give the composite picture of both the traditional and the historical India and to distinguish the one from the other. In this work an endeavour has been made to distinguish the traditional from the historical, at the end of the discussion of every topic. Lapses, however, may have been occasioned.

All pains have been taken to verify carefully the references of the footnotes and they have been read and re-read, yet there is every likelihood of mistakes—orthographical, diacritical and of typing—occurring in this work. There may also have been engendered mistakes of commission and omission by inadvertence, although no pains have been spared to eradicate them. The author, therefore, will most willingly and with deep gratitude correct any mistakes that may be pointed out.

A word may be added here with regard to the publication of this work. It should have seen the light of day as early as 1941 but due to some technical difficulties its printing was held up. Finding the plans of publication delayed, the author published a few hundred pages of its matter in research periodicals like the *Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, and the

Indian Culture. The contents, thus published, were cited at length, with or without acknowledgment, by scholars. The work, however, is at last being published as a result of the keen interest taken in it by Mr. G. D. Birla, who has been good enough to finance the venture and to whom I register my deep sense of gratitude.

I have further to acknowledge my indebtedness to the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon), Barrister-at-law, to Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., D.LITT., Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Benares Hindu University, and to Dr. R. S. Tripathi M.A. PH.D., Professor of History, Benares Hindu University, for a number of valuable suggestions. I thank my friend Mr. Brahmadatta Dikshit, M.A., for doing the Index.

I cannot fail to express the deep sense of gratitude under which Dr. E. J. Thomas of Cambridge has laid me by writing a foreword to this volume despite his crowded engagements.

Benares,

15-8-1947.

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BOOK I

GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

CHAPTER I

PHYSICAL FEATURES

Difficulties in Discussing Geographical Data.

A discussion of the geographical data in Kālidāsa is beset with many difficulties. The chief of these is the conventional character of Kālidāsa's geography. The geographical uncertainty naturally leads to historical uncertainty. Geographical data of a particular work are difficult to be assigned to a particular historical period in the face of a faulty and uncertain chronology. References to the Hūṇas, for example, are met with in documents so early as the *Mahābhārata*[1] and *Rāmāyaṇa*[2]. The *Mahābhārata* must have been subject to additions till as late as the 5th century A. D[3]. And so it would be wrong to say that the *Mahābhārata* reflects contemporaneous events in its pages. Another difficulty is the occurrence of the same names in respect of places, mountains and the like in various parts of the country. Kosala, for instance, which Kālidāsa mentions[4], is a northern country in the Buddhist *Suttas*[5] while a southern one in the *Daśakumāracarita*[6]. The *Raghuvaṁśa* styles the northern nation as Uttarakosala; Kosala, however, occurs both for Uttarakosala and (once only[7]) as the name of some other country, the home of Kausalyā, the chief queen of Daśaratha and the mother of Rāma. Niṣadha[8], in like manner, is both the name of a place to the south of Malwa[9] as well as a mountain lying to the west of the Gandhamādana and north of the Kabul river, known by the Greeks as Paropamisos, and now called the Hindu Kush[10]. A third obstacle is the application of different names

[1] *Mahābhārta*, Ed. Calcutta 1834-39, I, 6685 (Hūṇa); III, 1991 (Hūṇa); VI, 373 (Hūṇa).

[2] *The St. Petersburg Dictionary* records only one reference to the Hūṇas in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, namely as a *varia lectio* in the Bengal recension (ed. Gorresio, Paris 1845, *IV*, 40.25). Here instead of दण्डकूलांश्च, one ms. has पल्हूणांश्च .

[3] First Hūṇa invasion was repulsed by Skanda Gupta about A. D. 455. Fleet: *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 13 (Saidpur-Bhitari); M. A. Stein: White Huns and Kindred Tribes—*Indian Antiquary*, XXXIV, p. 80. ff.

[4] *Raghu*, ix. 17.

[5] Mark Collins: *The Geographical Data of the Raghuvaṁśa and Daśakumāracarita*, p. 6.

[6] Ibid.

[7] *Raghu.*, ix. 17.

[8] Ibid., xviii. 1.

[9] Burgess: *Antiquities of Kathiawar and Kachha*, p. 131.

[10] Lessen: History traced from Bactrian and Indo-Scythian coins in *JASB.*, Vol. IX (1840), p. 469, note.

for the same place or people, for example, Kusumapura, Puṣpapura[1] and Pāṭaliputra used for the capital of Magadha, and Vaidarbha[2] and Krathakaiśikas[3] for the people of Berar (Vidarbha). This is sometimes done due to want of knowledge, as when Sāketa is used for Ayodhyā. In the *Raghuvaṁśa* the two names are synonymous and Mallinātha ratifies this identification[4]. But the fact that both names are found in Buddhist literature indubitably points to a distinction. Sāketa, it may be noted, was one of the six greatest cities of Buddha's time[5]. Ayodhyā (Ajojjhā) is met with but rarely. Sāketa occurs in the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*[6] where it is located on the banks of the Ganges. Then, there is the traditional and conventional element in Geography preponderating in the writings of Indian classical writers like Kālidāsa. Names are handed down from author to author and used without any regard to the existence of the places and peoples concerned; and "the geographical fancies of an early age are similarly propagated from generation to generation and sometimes find their way centuries later into the sober pages of technical literature[7]." Last but not the least is the disregard to the distinction between real and fabulous geography. Kailāsa, for instance, has been suggested by a fantastic name Kuberaśaila[8] thus transferring the mountain to a fableland. Similarly peculiar and fabulous notions have been embodied in phrases like Siddhas[9], Yakṣas[10], Kinnaras[11], Aśvamukhyas[12], Kimpuruṣas[13] and Śarabhas[14].

An attempt, however, will be made in the following pages to give an idea of the map of India from the writings of Kālidāsa. Here we shall first try to identify the various geographical names, traditional in many cases, mentioned by the poet and describe in as precise a way as possible the physical features, flora and fauna and other data.

Boundary of India.

"Far in the north Himālaya, the lord of the mountains, spanning the wide land from east to western sea[15]," is the northern boundary of India marked out by the poet. The Himālaya, the grand sentinel, is described as stretching along the entire northern boundary of India ultimately reaching the eastern and western seas. The mention of the western limit of the Himalayas is obviously tradi-

[1] *Raghu.*, VI. 24.
[2] Ibid., V. 60.
[3] Ibid., V. 39, 61, VII. 32.
[4] Ibid., V. 31 (Comment).
[5] *SBE.*, XI, pp. 99, 247.
[6] Ed. L. Feer. Pali Text Society, 1834-1904, Vol. III. p. 140.
[7] Mark Collins: *The Geographical Data of the Raghuvaṁśa and Daśakumāracarita*, p. 8.
[8] *Ku.*, VII, 30. also of एकपिंगलगिरौ Ibid., VIII. 24.
[9] *M.P.*, 14, 45.
[10] *Ku.*, VI. 39; *M.P.*, 1, 5 (गुह्यक). 7, *M.U.*, 3.
[11] *Ku.*, VIII. 85: *M.U.*, 8.
[12] *Ku.*, I. 11.
[13] Ibid., VI. 39.
[14] *M.P.*, 54.
[15] *Ku.*, I. 1.

tional unless we accept the Hindu Kush and the Iranian plateau as forming part of the great range and thus touching the Arabian Sea. But this would be too far fetched for even the Hindu Kush, the Paropamisos of the Greeks, is considered outside the range of the Himalayas. In the far east lay the eastern sea[1] (*Pūrvasāgara*) which to-day bears the name of the Bay of Bengal. Its coast was bordered by the eastern peoples of the lower Ganges, the Suhmas[2] and the Vaṅgas[3]. It extended to the great Indian Ocean[4] (*Mahodadhi*) which lay spread to the far south thus hemming in almost the three southern sides of the Indian continent and creating the great Indian peninsula. The ocean in the south-east and the extreme south was lined with extensive forests of palm trees[5] and so looked jet black from a distance. The eastern coast-line running to the south was inhabited by some of the mightiest peoples of India, the Kāliṅgas, famous for their elephant forces[6], and the Pāṇḍyas[7], the lords of the south. Along the south-west coast of the ocean were settled the Keralas[8]. The entire western coast was the region of Aparānta[9] which also included the habitat of the Keralas. In the north-west, i. e., Persia, in the valley of the Oxus and adjacent to them respectively dwelt the bearded Persian horsemen[10], the Hūṇas[11] and the Kambojas[12]. These foreign inhabitants we shall discuss and locate later.

Looking at the chart of India as furnished by Kālidāsa, we can see the country divided into three main parts, namely (1) the great mountain wall of the Himalayas, (2) the great lowlying plain of the midland formed by the valleys of three great rivers, the Sindhu, Gaṅgā and Brahmaputra, and (3) the great plateau of the peninsular India.

From the Pamir knot in the north the greatest range of mountains is that of the Himalayas known to Kālidāsa by phrases *Himādri*[13] and *Himālaya*[14] (the abode of snow) with many of the highest mountain peaks of the world. The great mountain wall formed by the Himalayas runs towards the east marked frequently with its sky-kissing peaks which have been alluded to by the poet with the following names, viz., Kailāsa[15], Gaurīśikhara[16], Gandhamādana[17], Mandara[18], and

[1] *Raghu.*, IV. 32.
[2] Ibid., 35.
[3] Ibid., 36.
[4] प्रापतालीवनश्याममुपकण्ठं महोदधेः Ibid., 34.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid., 40.
[7] Ibid., 49.
[8] Ibid., 54.
[9] Ibid., 53.
[10] Ibid., 60-65.
[11] Ibid., 68.
[12] Ibid., 69.
[13] Ibid., 79.
[14] *Ku.*, I. 1.
[15] *Raghu.*, II. 35; *M.P.*, 11, 58, *Vik.*, p. 87: पौलस्त्यतुलितस्याद्रे : *Raghu.*, IV. 80: कुबरशैल ; *Ku.*, Vii. 30. एकपिंगलगिरि VIII. 24.
[16] *Ku.*, V. 7.
[17] Ibid., VI. 46. VIII. 28, 29, 75, 86,; *Vik.*, pp. 87, 118.
[18] *Ku.*, VIII., 23, 59.

Meru[1] or Sumeru[2].

Kailāsa.

The Kailāsa mountain is probably the Khang-rin-poche of the Tibetans, situated about 25 miles to the north of Mānasa-sarovara beyond Gangotri which is also called Darchin, and to the east of Niti Pass[3]. It is a spur of the Gangri range. "In picturesque beauty Kailāsa", says Strachy, "far surpasses the big Gurla or any other of the Indian Himalaya that I have ever seen; it is full of majesty—a king of mountains[4]." The identification of the Kiunlun range with Kailāsa is a mistake[5]. The *Mahābhārata*[6] and the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*[7] include the mountains of Kumayun and Garhwal in the Kailāsa range which Kālidāsa seems to endorse[8]. Kailāsa was supposed to be the abode of Śiva and Pārvatī which fact has been frequently alluded to by the poet[9]. Kālidāsa refers to this as a mountain formed of crystals[10]. Its peak has been indirectly referred to as covered with perpetual snow[11] which served as a mirror for the celestial women[12]. We find that convention and mythology enter almost naturally in the description of the poet and he associates with the mountain the Puranic tale which credits Rāvaṇa with lifting it and loosening all its joint-spots and thus striking terror in the hearts of creatures dwelling over it[13]. This mountain is known to have acquired one of the traditional Puranic names of *Kuberaśaila*[14] and *Ekapiṅgalagiri*[15] which thus fixed the abode of god Kubera over it. Kailāsa was also known by yet another name Hemakūṭa[16]. Nundo Lal Dey thinks that by Hemakūṭa was also understood the Bandarapuccha range of the Himālaya in which the rivers Alakānandā, Gaṅgā and Yamunā have got their source (*Varāha p.* Ch. 82.), but he further observes that the Kailāsa and Bandarapuccha ranges were called by the general name of Kailāsa[17]. Kālidāsa, however, makes Hemakūṭa identical with Kailāsa[18].

Gaurīśikhara is the same as the *Gaurīśaṅkara* according to the *Varāha Purāṇa*[19].

[1] *Raghu.*, VII. 24; *Ku.*, 1, 2, 18, VII. 79, VIII. 22.
[2] *Raghu.*, V. 30; *Ku.*, VI. 72.
[3] Batten: Niti Pass: *J. A. S. B.*, 1835, p. 314.
[4] H. Strachy: *J. A. S. B.*, 1948, p. 158.
[5] Nundo Lal Dey: *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India.*, p. 83.
[6] Vana Parva, Chs. 144, 156.
[7] Ch. 51.
[8] *Vik.*, p. 87. Fraser: *Himalaya Mountains*, p. 470.
[9] *Raghu.*, II. 30, IV. 80; *Ku.*, VII. 30, VIII. 24; *M.P.*, 52, 58, 60.
[10] *M.P.*, 56
[11] राशीभूतः प्रतिदिनमिव त्र्यम्बकस्याट्टहासः Ibid.
[12] कैलासस्य त्रिदशवनितादर्पणस्य *M.P.*, 58.
[13] Ibid., *Ku.*, VIII. 24.
[14] *Ku.*, VII, 30.
[15] Ibid., VIII. 24.
[16] Sak., p. 237; *Vik.*, I. 12; Ibid., p. 38.
[17] *The Geog. Dic. of Anc. and Med. India.*, p. 75.
[18] *Śāk.*, VII.
[19] Ch. 215.

Schlagintweit identifies it with Mount Everest[1] in Nepal, but this identification is evidently incorrect, firstly, because locally it is not known by that name, and, secondly, because its measurement by Captain Wood[2] has proved beyond doubt that Gaurīśikhara or Gaurīśaṅkara of the Nepalese cannot be Mount Everest. In modern maps the Mounts Gaurīśaṅkara and Everest are indicated separately.

Gandhamādana according to the Hindu geographers is a part of the Kailāsa range[3]. The *Kālikā Purāṇa*[4] locates it on the southern side of the Kailāsa mountain. The *Mahābhārata*[5] and the *Varāha Purāṇa*[6] mention the site of the Badarikāśrama on this mountain. According to the *Mārkaṇḍeya*[7] *and Skanda Purāṇas*[8] the portion of the mountains of Garhwal through which the Alakānandā flows is called Gandhamādana. Kālidāsa, however, is explicit on this point and locates Gandhamādana in the vicinity, or rather in the very range of Kailāsa[9] (*Kailāsaśikharoddeśam*). He mentions the Mandākinī and Jāhnavī (Ganges) flowing through and watering it[10].

Mandara.

Mandara has been identified by Nundo Lal Dey on the authority of many Purāṇas with a hill situated in the Banka subdivision of the district of Bhagalpur[11], but this identification in view of Kālidāsa's description is evidently wrong. Kālidāsa places this mountain in the Himalayas[12]. And the *Mahābhārata*[13], unlike most of the Purāṇas mentioned by Nundu Lal Dey, does not recognise any other Mandara except the Mandara of the Himālaya range. "In some Purāṇas," observes Dey, "the Badarikā-āsrama containing the temple of Nara and Nārāyaṇa is said to be situated on the Mandara mountain, but in the *Mahābhārata* (Vana, chs. 162, 164), Mandara mountain is placed to the east and perhaps a part of Gandhamadana and on the north of Badarikāśrama[14]." In locating the Mandara mountain Kālidāsa seems to follow the tradition of the *Mahābhārata* and he places it in the vicinity of the Kailāsa and the Gandhamādana[15]. Śiva first enjoys his honeymoon on the Meru[16] from where he proceeds to the Mandara[17]

[1] Waddell: *Among the Himalayas*, p. 37.
[2] Waddell: *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, p. 76.
[3] *The Geo. Did. of Anc. and Med. India*, p. 60. *Vik.*, p. 87.
[4] Ch. 82.
[5] Vana Parva, Chs. 145, 157; Śānti Parva, Ch. 335.
[6] Ch. 48
[7] Ch. 57.
[8] Viṣnu Kh. III, 6.
[9] कैलासशिखरोद्दशं गन्धमादनवनं *Vik.*, p. 87.
[10] ततस्तत्रमन्दाकिनीतीरे सिकतापर्वतैः Ibid., तत्र हंसधवलोत्तरच्छद जाह्नवीपुलिनचारुदर्शनम् *Ku.*, VIII. 82.
[11] *The Geo. Dict. of Anc. and Med. India*, p. 124.
[12] *Ku.*, VIII, 23, 59.
[13] Anuśāsana Parva, Ch. 19; Vana Parva, Ch. 162.
[14] *The Geo. Dict. of Anc. and Med. India*, p. 125.
[15] *Ku.*, VIII, 23, 24, 29, 59.
[16] Ibid., 22.
[17] Ibid., 23.

mountain. From the Mandara[1] he goes to the Kailāsa[2] and the Gandhamādana[3]. The description of Mandara in which the poet indirectly alludes to the churning of the ocean and acquisition of the nectar can not place it in the south although it shows that Kālidāsa has not been able to extricate himself from the traditional allusion of the Purāṇas[4]. And it is clear that although he locates it in the range of the Himālaya he indirectly refers to the mythology with respect to it. The description of the south wind blowing from the region of Malaya must not be confused and its evidence deduced in favour of locating Mandara in the south as this description refers to Kailāsa two verses after[5] the verse in which the name of Mandara occurs[6].

Meru.

Meru[7] or Sumeru[8] according to the *Mahābhārata*[9] is the Rudra Himālaya in Garhwal, where the river Ganges has got its source; it is near Badarikāśrama. According to the *Matsya Purāṇa* the Sumeru mountain is bounded on the north by Uttarakuru, on the south by Bhāratavarṣa, on the west by Ketumālā and on the east by Bhāratavarṣa[10]. The *Padma Purāṇa* likewise says that the Ganges takes its rise from the Sumeru Parvata and flows to the ocean through Bhāratavarṣa[11]. It may be noted that the Kedāranātha mountain in Garhwal is still traditionally known as the original Sumeru[12]. Sherring holds that all local traditions fix Mount Meru direct to the north of the Almora district[13]. Nundo Lal Dey[14] points out that the *Mahābhārata*[15] gives the name of Meru to a mountain in Śakadvīpa. He further observes: "It is the Mount Meros of Arrian near Mount Nysa of Neshadha of the *Brahmāṇḍa p.* (ch. 35); the Hindukush mountain (see Mc Crindle's *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 180[16])." This identification would place Meru or Sumeru somewhere in the Pamirs but Kālidāsa's description places it in the vicinity of the Kailāsa and the Gandhamādana. After his marriage Śiva enjoys his honeymoon on the Meru[17], Mandara[18], Kailāsa[19] and the Gandhamādana[20] all of which are situated on or in the neighbourhood of the

[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid., 24.
[3] Ibid., 29.
[4] Ibid., 23.
[5] Cf. Ibid., 23 and 25.
[6] Ibid., 23.
[7] *Raghu.*, VII. 24; *Ku.*, 1, 2, 18, VII. 79, VIII. 22.
[8] *Raghu.*, V. 30; *Ku.*, VI. 72.
[9] Śānti Parva, Chs. 335-336.
[10] Ch. 113.
[11] Ch. 128.
[12] *JASB.*, XVII., p. 361.
[13] *Western Tibet*, p. 40.
[14] *The Geo. Dic. of Anc. and Med. India.*, p. 197.
[15] Bhīsma Parva, Ch. 11.
[16] *The Geo. Dic. of Anc. and Med. India*, p. 197.
[17] *Ku.*, VIII. 22.
[18] Ibid., 23, 59.
[19] Ibid., 24.
[20] Ibid., 28, 29, 75, 86.

Rudra Himālaya in Garhwal. Sumeru has received a fabulous treatment at the hands of ancient Indian writers and Kālidāsa traditionally calls it a mountain of gold[1] and makes it the dwelling place of the supernatural beings[2] like the Kimpuruṣas and Vidyādharas.

The Himālayas have been beautifully described by Kālidāsa on several occasions. Dark clouds wandering round the mountain's zone cast cool shadows dear to the sylphs till they sought eternal sunshine on each loftier peak being frightened by the storm and rain[3]. In autumn the bands of the majestic swans flew back to the Ganges from the dry plains. Occasionally there arose a murmuring sound from the fallen leaves of the birch tree, and the wind passing through the holes of the wild bamboos generated melodious music, which along with the breezes, charged with the cool and fresh sprays of the water of the Ganges, attended upon the traveller[4] and aided the Kinnarīs, the fabulous songstresses of the Himalayas in their music.[5] The nameru trees gave ample shade to the rocky boulders which were rendered fragrant with the touch of the navel (musk) of the recumbent deer.[6] Friction of pine trunks produced conflagration[7] and at night the whole scene was lit up in a moment by the phosphorescent herbs which served as lamps burning without oil.[8] It is difficult to explain the nature of these herbs which the poet describes as shedding light. The Krauñcarandhra—the Niti Pass—stood in the mountain to proclaim the prowess of Paraśurāma[9] who is said to have cut out this valley by his arrow to test his might and skill in archery.[10] In the background of this valley there stood the snowclad mount of Kailāsa resembling a newly cut tusk[11] and serving as a mirror to celestial women.[12] The hoary head of the Himalayas was rendered all the more proud and stately by the majestic movements of the roaming Yaks[13] whose white tails, remarks the poet, served as the flywhisks of a paramount sovereign. There was situated the Mānasa-sarovara lake in which grew the uncommon golden lotuses.[14] By these Kālidāsa perhaps means the yellow species of the lotus. The caves of the mountain were infested with lions[15] and forests were full of elephants.[16] The mountain is said to be the cause of endless wealth.[17] Herds of elephants roamed about rubbing against the sarala trees and filling the vicinity

[1] *Raghu.*, V. 30; *Ku.*, VI. 72.
[2] *Ku.*, I. 7 (विद्याधर), 7 (किन्नर), 11 (अश्वमुख्यः), 14 (किंपुरुष).
[3] *Ku.*, I. 5.
[4] *Raghu.*, IV. 73.
[5] Ibid., II, 12; *Ku.*, I. 8; *M.P.*, 56.
[6] *Raghu.*, IV. 74, *Ku.*, I. 54; *M.P.*, 52.
[7] *M.P.*, 53; *Raghu.*, II, 14.
[8] *Ku.*, I. 10; *Raghu*, IV. 75.
[9] *M.P.*, 57.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid., 59.
[12] Ibid., 58.
[13] Ibid., 53; *Ku.*, I. 13.
[14] *M.P.*, 62.
[15] *Raghu.*, IV, 72; *Ku.*, I. 56.
[16] *Raghu.*, II. 37; *Ku.*, I. 6, 7, 9.
[17] *Ku.*, I. 3, 2,

with the fragrance of the milk of those trees[1]. This is a mountain of eternal snow[2] and glaciers.[3] This great mountain wall of India is the subject of detailed description in several works of the poet. The entire story of the *Kumārasambhava* and the theme of the latter half of the *Meghadūta* are connected with Himālaya; the fourth act of the *Vikramorvaśī* and the seventh act of the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* have been laid in this very region and so also are parts of the first, second and fourth cantos of the *Raghuvaṁśa* descriptive of it.

Passes.

The poet speaks directly of only one pass, the Krauñcarandhra.[4] It is the famous Niti Pass in the district of Kumaon which affords a passage to Tibet from India[5] and through which much trade between the two countries is carried on. There is an indirect reference to another pass in the Malaya mountains, between the Anāmalaya and the Elāmalaya through which armies passed from the east to west. It was through this pass that the hosts of Raghu crossed[6] to the western coast. It is perhaps the same as Palghat.

The Plain of Hindustan.

Inside the mountain wall, and forming a great curve from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal, is one of the most important plains of the world. It occupies the greater part of northern India and is formed and watered by three great rivers and their tributaries. In the west and draining into the Arabian sea is the river Sindhu[7] (Indus). Farther east is the river Gaṅgā[8] (Ganges), which flows south-eastwards into the Bay of Bengal. Before the Ganges reaches the Bay of Bengal[9] (Pūrvasāgara) it is joined by the third of the mighty rivers the Lauhitya[10] (Brahmaputra) forming a great delta[11] with the Ganges.

The plain is almost free from the existence of rocky tracts of land except in a few cases where exclusive hills break the evenness of its vast expanse. Kālidāsa mentions but one such hill bearing the famous name of Govardhana.[12] This is the little hill situated eighteen miles from Brindaban in the district of Muttra.

The Plateau.

Nearly the whole of India south of the great plain of Hindustan is occupied

[1] Ibid., I. 9.
[2] हिमाद्रि *Raghu.*, IV., 79, *Ku.*, I. 54; शिलीभूतहिम *Ku.*, I. 11. तुषारसंघातशिला : 56, तुषार 6.
[3] *Ku.*, I. 56.
[4] *M.P.*, 57.
[5] Dey: *The Geo. Dic. of Anc. and Med. India.*, p. 104.
[6] *Raghu.*, IV, 51.
[7] Mal., p. 102.
[8] *Raghu.*, IV. 73, VI. 48, VII. 36, VIII. 95, XIII. 57, XIV. 3; *Ku.*, I. 30, 54, VI. 36, 70; *M.P.*, 50, 63; जाह्नवी; *Raghu.*, VIII. 95, X. 26, 69, भागीरथी, VII. 36.
[9] *Raghu.*, IV. 32.
[10] Ibid., 81.
[11] Ibid., 36.
[12] Ibid., 51.

by a plateau. At places the plateau rises into lofty mountains and hills like the Vindhyas,[1] Vindhyapada,[2] Pāriyātra,[3] Āmrakūṭa,[4] Citrakūṭa,[5] Mahendra,[6] Devagiri,[7] Mālyavān,[8] Rāmagiri,[9] Nīcagiri,[10] Sahya,[11] Rkṣavān[12] and Trikūṭa.[13] The two mountains, Malaya[14] and Dardura[15] lay in far south.

The *Vindhyas* are the famous mountain range of that name which divide Bhāratavarṣa into two great parts, the north and the south. It is from here that the two highways of the Uttarāpatha and Dakṣiṇāpatha started respectively to north and south. Strictly speaking the eastern projection of the Pāriyātra from where Dhasan, the eastern feeder of the Betwa, takes its rise, was the Vindhya range. But now the southern Rkṣa, Pāriyātra and Vindhya proper together make up what we call the Vindhya range.[16] It is one of the seven *Kulaparvatas*.[17] The *Vindhyapada* is the great Satpura range from which rise the Tapti and other rivers. It has been called the 'foot of the Vindhyas' by Kālidāsa,[18] and Hindhu geographers.[19] It lies between the Narbada and the Tapti. It is the Mount Sardonys of Ptolemy[20] containing mines of cornelian, sardine being a species of cornelian. The *Pāriyātra* is the western part of the Vindhya range extending from the source of the Chambal and Betwa. It comprised the Aravali mountains and the hills of Rajputana including the Pathar range which is perhaps a contraction of Pāriyātra. According to Prof. Jayachandra Vidyālaṅkāra, the part from where all the rivers from the Parvati and Banas to Betwa take their rise was the Pāriyātra. It was one of the *Kulaparvatas*. The *Amrakūṭa* has been identified with the Amarakantak which gives rise to many rivers including the Narbada or Revā. By Citrakūṭa is ordinarily understood the Kamtanathgiri in Bundelkhand. It is an isolated hill on a river called the Paisunī (Payasvinī) or Mandākinī, where Rāma dwelt for some time during his exile.[21]

[1] Ibid., VI. 61, XII. 31. XIV. 8; *Ṛtu.* II. 8, 27 *Māl.*, III, 21.
[2] *M.P.*, 19.
[3] *Raghu.*, XVIII. 16.
[4] *M.P.*, 17-18.
[5] *Raghu.*, XIII, 47-48.
[6] Ibid., IV, 39, VI. 54.
[7] *M.P.*, 42.
[8] *Raghu.*, XIII. 26.
[9] *M.P.*, I; *M.U.*, 38.
[10] *M.P.*, 25.
[11] *Raghu.*, IV. 52.
[12] Ibid., V. 44, XII. 25.
[13] Ibid., IV, 59.
[14] Ibid., IV. 46, 51, XIII. 2; *Ku.*, VIII. 25.
[15] *Raghu.*, IV, 51.
[16] Jayachandra Vidyālaṅkāra: *Bhāratabhūmi aura uske Nivāsī*, p. 63.
[17] महेन्द्रो मलयः सह्यः शुक्तिमान् ऋक्षपर्वतः ।
विन्ध्यश्च पारियात्रश्च सप्तैते कुलपर्वताः ॥ *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 57, 10-11.
[18] *M.P.*, 19.
[19] *Varāha Purāṇa*, Ch. 85.
[20] *McCrindle's Ptolemy* by S. N. Majumdar.
[21] *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa, Ch. 55.

It is about four miles from the Chitrakut station on the G.I.P. Railway. The Daṇḍakāraṇya, however, is mentioned by Kāildāsa to have been entered[1] before the description of Citrakūṭa,[2] and so he would seem to place the Citrakūṭa south of the Vindhya chain. In the *Meghadūta* also Kālidāsa refers to a hill, to which the commentator Mallinātha gives the name Citrakūṭa,[3] in such a context as to place it south of the Vindhya range. Thus if we agree with Mallinātha, the poet would seem to send the cloud first to Citrakūṭa[4] and then to Āmrakūṭa,[5] and it might then appear that a particular hill called Citrakūṭa lay to the south of the Amarakantak. But Mallinātha is hardly justified in identifying the hill referred to in the phrase *amuṁ tungam* with the famous Citrakūt hill. Again the verse in the *Meghadūta* which is supposed by Mallinātha to embody a reference to this hill has been declared spurious by Mr. K. B. Pathak in his edition of that work.[6] This looks likely. In that case the verse XII. 15 of the *Raghuvaṁśa* may be properly interpreted to show that this hilly tract was situated within the area know as Daṇḍakāraṇya which is described in verse XII. 9 of the same work before Citrakūṭa has been referred to in verse II. 15. It cannot be supposed that Daṇḍakāraṇya is altogether a different tract of land since it has been named explicitly and apart from Citrakūṭa. In fact, it has not been described at all. ' The scene opens in this region of the forest and the first description is given of the Citrakūṭavanasthalī. The stretch of Daṇḍakāraṇya commences from the north of the mountain chain of the Vindhyas (i.e. the southern portion of Bundelkhand) and extends on the south to the region of the river Godāvarī. Thus Daṇḍakāraṇya lay partly north and partly south of the Vindhyas and may thus have well included the forest region of Citrakūṭa on its northern limit. Kālidāsa describes the mount "Citrakūṭa with its mouths echoing with the sound of rivulets, and with clouds resting on its peaks and caves hence appearing like a wild bull playfully butting against a rock or mound.[7]" Close to the mount, according to the poet, flows the Mandākinī.[8] This would easily identify the mount with the hill which is ordinarily understood by the Citrakūṭa hill, i.e., the Kamtanathgiri in Bundelhhand.

Rāmagiri is the modern Ramteg (Ramtak), twenty-four miles north of Nagpur in the Central Provinces. Kālidāsa places the opening scene of his *Meghadūta* at Rāmagiri.[9] He refers to it to have been rendered sacred by the residence of Sītā and Rāma. There were situated hermitages in the shade of the big nameru (Elacocarpus) trees otherwise known as "shadow-trees" (chāyātaru) on account of the shade provided by their luxuriant foliage. Rāmagiri has been referred to as a high hill rendered sacred by the footprints of Rāma. Kālidāsa describes

[1] *Raghu.*, XII. 9.
[2] Ibid., 15.
[3] अमुं शैलं चित्रकूटं—Comment on *M.P.*, 12.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid., 17-18.
[6] *Meghadūta.*
[7] *Raghu.*, XIII. 47.
[8] मन्दाकिनीभाति नगोपकण्ठे Ibid., 48.
[9] रामगिर्याश्रमेषु *M.P.*, 1.

the lowlying region about Rāmagiri as covered by nicula reeds.[1] *Nīcagiri* is identified[2] with the low range of hills in the kingdom of Bhopal that lies near Bhilsa as far as Bhojapur. But this identification seems to be incorrect. It is probably the ancient name of the Udayagiri hill. This hill lies in the State of Gwalior and contains some caves with inscriptions and sculptures of the Gupta age. Kālidāsa mentions the caves as *silāveśma* in the *Meghadūta*, v. 25. Mahendra is the whole range of hills extending from Orissa to the district of Madura and was known by the name of Mahendra-parvata. It included the Eastern Ghats and the range extending from the Northern Circars to Gondwana,[3] part of which near Ganjam is still called Mahendra Malae or the hills of Mahendra, This portion alone has been referred to by Kālidāsa as he locates it in Kaliṅga[4].

The *Raghuvaṁśa* places it in Kaliṅga.[5] The name is principally applied to the range of hills separating Ganjam from the valley of the Mahānadī. It is one of the seven principal mountain chains (*Kulaparvatas*) of India.[6] Kālidāsa styles the king of Kaliṅga as the "Lord of Mahendra,[7]" and Kaliṅga was not limited to the country about Ganjam but extended down to the Godāvarī. South of the Mahendra mountain and along the sea-shore the entire strip of land was covered with rows of forests of fruit bearing pūga trees.[8] *Ṛkṣavān*, one of the *Kulaparvatas*,[9] has been identified with the mountains of Gondwana.[10] But more properly it should be identified with the Satpura mountain as Aja had to cross it on his way to Kuṇḍinapura. According to Prof. Jayachandra Vidyālaṅkāra it "lies stretched to the south of the Vindhya proper and Pāriyātra and all the rivers from the Tapti and Veṇagaṅgā to the Vaitaraṇī in Orissa wash its foot. (*Vāyu Purāṇa*. Prathama Khaṇḍa, 45, 97-103; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Dvitīya Khaṇḍa, 3. 10-11; *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 57, 19-25 In these references there is much difficulty occasioned by the difference of texts: the text of the *Vāyu* is more extensive and correct, that of the *Viṣṇu* briefer. But in the *Vāyu*, *Kūrma* and *Varāha Purāṇas* the eastern part of this range is named as *Ṛkṣa* and the western one as *Vindhya*, whereas the *Viṣṇu* has a text reading just the opposite and the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* gives *Skandha* as the name of the eastern part and *Vindhya* as that of the southern. In truth, the text of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* is correct because 'Bindhachal' is still near Mirzapur and *Ṛkṣa* has been given the name of the southern range in the *Nalopākhyāna*.[11])" "In the northern part of this double mountain range are situated the Pāriyātra in the west and Vindhya proper in the east, while the entire southern part is the *Ṛkṣa* which is separated from the Pāriyātra by the valley of the Narmadā and from the Vindhya proper by that of

[1] *M.P.*, 14.
[2] Dey: *The Geo. Dic. of Anc. and Med. India*, p. 140; Cunningham: *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 327.
[3] Dey: *The Geo. Dic.*, p. 119.
[4] *Raghu.*, IV. 43. VI. 54.
[5] Ibid., IV. 39, VI. 54.
[6] *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 57, 10-11.
[7] *Raghu.*, IV. 43, VI. 54.
[8] Ibid., IV. 44.
[9] *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 57, 10-11.
[10] Dey: *The Geo. Dic.*, pp. 168-69.
[11] *Bhāratabhūmi aura uske Nivāsī*, p. 63.

the Sone. To-day we call this whole chain formed by these three mountains by the name of the Vindhya range.[1]" In ancient geography of India the stream of Vaitaraṇī was supposed to flow in the mountains of *Ṛkṣa* which fact may imply that the hills of Mayurabhanj and Kendujhar were considered to be the parts of the Ṛkṣavān.[2] It ran uninterruptedly towards the east from the northern end of the Sahyādri, and then to the north of its eastern end lay the Vindhya proper and Pāriyātra[3]. According to Prof. V. V. Mirashi Ṛkṣavān should be identified with the Satpura mountain as Aja had to cross it on his way to Kuṇḍinapura.

The *Mālyavān* is identified by Mr. Nando Lal Dey with the Anagundi hill on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā[4]. According to the *Hemakośa* it is identical with Praśravaṇa-giri but Bhavabhūti[5] refers to them as two distinct hills. Mr. Dey gives its present name as 'Phaṭika (Sphatika) Śilā, where Rāmachandra resided for four months after his alliance with Sugrīva (*Rāmāyaṇa*, Araṇya, ch. 51.[6])' Pargiter, however, thinks Mālyavān and Praśravaṇa to be identical with the only difference that Praśravaṇa is the name of the chain and Mālyavān that of the peak.[7] *Devagiri* has been placed by Kālidāsa[8] between Ujjain and Mandasor near Chambal. It has been correctly identified by Prof. Wilson with Devagarh situated in the centre of the province of Malwa on the south of the Chambal.[9] *Sahya* is one of the seven *Kulaparvatas* of India.[10] It is still known as the Sahyādri and is the same as the Western Ghats, as far as their junction with the Nilgiris north of the Malaya. *Trikūṭa* has been identified with the hills near Junnar.[11] But more probably it was the name of a hill to the west of Nasik. An inscription found at Anjaneri near Nasik (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV., pp. 225 ff.) mentions Eastern Trikūṭa Viṣaya.

The *Malaya* is the southern part of the Western Ghats, south of the river Cauvery, called the Travancore Hills, including the Cardamom mountains, extending from the Koimbatoor gap to Cape Comorin where it touches the ocean[12]. It is also called the Agastikūṭa mountain being the southern most peak of the Anāmalai mountains where the river Tāmraparṇī has its source. "Anāmalai and Ēlāmalai (Anāmalai lies beyond Palghat to the south of which there runs right to Cape Comorin the chain of the Elāmalai mountains) together make up the famous Malaya mountain of ancient India[13]." Bhavabhūti tells us that the slopes of the

[1] Ibid., p. 64.
[2] Ibid., p. 87.
[3] Ibid., p. 91.
[4] *The Geo. Dic.*, p. 123.
[5] *Uttara Rāmacarita*, Act. 1.
[6] *The Geo. Dic.*, p. 123.
[7] The Geography of Rāma's Exile, *JRAS.*, 1894, pp. 256-57.
[8] *M.P.*, 42.
[9] Quoted by Dey in his *Geo. Dic.*, p. 54.
[10] *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 57, 10-11.
[11] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI. p. 75, Vol. VII, p. 103: cf. Bhagavanlal Indraji's *Early History of Gujarat*, p. 51.
[12] वैदेहि पश्यामलयाद्विभक्तं मत्सेतुना फेनिलमम्बुराशिम् । *Raghu.*, VIII. 2.
[13] Vidyālaṅkāra: *Bhāratabhūmi.*, p. 90.

Malaya mountain are encircled by the river Cauvery[1]. The Malaya abounds in sandal trees and is proverbially famous for its cool breezes.[2] The Malaya includes the mountains bordering Malabar abounding in aloe trees. The rājatālī forests being shaken by the cool breezes have been noted by Kālidāsa[3]. The sting-mouthed black bees abounded among the punnāga flowers and the date trees grew around in abundance[4]. "The dates of the Malaya mountain overspread with tamāla leaves, where the sandal trees were encircled with cardamom creepers, and where the betel-nut trees were enclosed within a ring of tāmbūla creepers[5]." The valley of the Malaya mountain was covered with the black-pepper forests, where flocks of green parrots flew about[6], and the dust of elā(cardamom) rose up and clung to the sweating temples of elephants[7]. The Malaya is also one of the *Kulaparvatas* of India[8]. Dardura is the Nilgiri hills in the Madras Presidency[9]. Kālidāsa describes the Malaya and Dardura as the breasts of the southern region[10]. The two mountains have been mentioned together in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*[11] also. Dardura, therefore, must be that portion of the Ghats which forms the south-eastern boundary of Mysore. The sources of four rivers, namely Kṛtamālā. Tāmraparṇī, Puṣpajā and Utpalāvatī are placed in the chain which includes both the Malaya and the Dardura mountains.

Mainaka.

The *Maināka* mountain has been referred to by the poet in a mythological and fabulous sense[12]. Nundo Lal Dey identifies this mountain alternatively with (1) the Siwalik range (*Kūrma P.*, Uparibhāga, ch. 36; *Mbh*, Vana, ch. 135), extending from the Ganges to the Bias; (2) the group of hills near the eastern source of the Ganges in the north of the Almora district (Pargiter's *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 57, p. 288); (3) a fabulous mountain situated in the sea, midway between India and Ceylon (*Rāmāyaṇa* Sundara K., ch. VII); and (4) a mountain on the west of India in or near Guzerat (*Mbh.*, *Vana*, ch. 89[13]). That Kālidāsa's reference to the Maināka is conventional is positively proved by the unmistakable language which he employs in its description[14]. Therefore Nundo Lal Dey's identification No. 3 which alludes to a fabulous mountain situated in the sea, midway between India and Ceylon, may be taken as correct.

The surface of the plateau in the Deccan and far south was furrowed by the

[1] *Mahāvīracarita*, V. 3.
[2] *Ku.*, VIII. 25.
[3] *Raghu.*, IV. 6.
[4] Ibid., 57.
[5] Ibid., VI. 64.
[6] Ibid 46.
[7] Ibid., 47.
[8] *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 57. 10-11.
[9] *JRAS.* 1894, p. 262: cf. *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, Ch. 14.
[10] *Raghu.*, IV. 51.
[11] Ch. 57.
[12] *Ku.*, I. 20.
[13] *Geo. Dict.* p. 121.
[14] *Ku.*, I. 20.

river valleys of Revā, Godāvarī, Cauvery and the Tāmraparṇī as we shall see below.

The Rivers of India.

The great rivers of the plain of Hindustan take their rise either from the mountain wall or from beyond it. A few come from the plateau also. Those rising in the Himalayas are fed with water from the gradual melting of the snow which lies in its home—the Himālaya. These great rivers do not depend for their water entirely on the monsoon rains; they depend on the snow and rain which fall in the mountains at other times of the year. That is why they are never dry. In mountains they are roaring, rushing torrents, pouring through gorges of narrow valleys, over waterfalls like the *Gangāprapāta*[1] and the *Mahākośīprapāta*[2], and amongst great boulders. When they reach the plain of Hindustan they become slow, broad rivers wandering lazily across the plain.

The three great river systems of northern India mentioned by Kālidāsa are as follows:—

1. Sindhu[3] or the Indus.

2. Gaṅgā[4] with its tributaries and subtributaries, the Yamunā[5], Sarayū[6], Sarasvatī[7], Soṇa[8], Mahākośī[9], Mālinī[10], Mandākinī[11], Tamasā[12], Surabhitanayā[13], Vetravatī[14], Sindhu[15], Nirvindhyā[16], Gandhavatī[17], Gambhīrā[18], and Siprā[19].

3. Lauhitya[20] or the Brahmaputra.

Besides some of the rivers flowing in northern and central India, Kālidāsa names the following ones of Orissa and southern India, viz., Narmadā[21], Revā[22] or Gautamī(?)[23], Varadā[24], Godāvarī[25], Kaverī[26], Tāmraparṇī[27] and Muralā[28].

[1] *Raghu.*, II. 26.
[2] *Ku.*, VI. 33.
[3] *Mal.*, p. 102.
[4] *Raghu.*, IV. 73, VI. 48, VII. 36, VIII, 95, XIII. 57, XIV. 3; *Ku.*, I. 30, 54, VII. 36, 70; *M.P.*, 50, 63, जाह्नवी *Raghu.*, VIII. 95, X. 26, 69; भागीरथी Ibid., VII. 36.
[5] *Raghu.*, VI. 49, XIII. 57, कलिन्दकन्या Ibid., VI. 48.
[6] Ibid., VIII. 95, IX. 20, XIII. 60-63, XIX. 40.
[7] Ibid., III. 9; *M.P.*, 49.
[8] *Raghu.*, VII. 36.
[9] *Ku.*, VI. 33.
[10] *Śāk.*, pp. 21, 87; Act. III. 4.
[11] *Raghu.*, XIII. 48, *Ku.*, I. 29, II. 44, III. 65; *M.U.*, 4; *Vik.*, p. 87.
[12] *Raghu.*, IX. 20, 72, XIV. 76.
[13] *M.P.*, 45.
[14] Ibid., 24.
[15] Ibid., 29.
[16] Ibid., 28.
[17] Ibid., 33.
[18] Ibid., 40.
[19] *Raghu.*, VI. 35; *M.P.*, 31.
[20] *Raghu.*, IV. 81.
[21] *Raghu.*, VI. 42-46; *Mal.*, p. 9.
[22] *Raghu.*, VI. 43; *M.P.*, 19.
[23] *Śāk.*, p. 42.
[24] *Mal.*, V. 1 and 13.
[25] *Raghu.*, XIII. 33. [26] Ibid., IV. 45. [27] Ibid., 50. [28] Ibid., 55.

Some of these rivers are known by their ancient names but the point may need a little elucidation and hence below is given their identification.

Gaṅgā otherwise referred to as *Jahnukanyā*[1], *Jāhnavī*[2] and *Bhāgīrathī*[3], is the Ganges rising from the Gaṅgotrī in the Himalayas and falling into the sea after making a delta[4] with the Brahmaputra. Yamunā is the Jumna river which takes its rise from Kalindagiri, a portion of the Bandarapuccha mountain whence it is called *Kalindakanyā*[5]. It falls into the Ganges at Allahabad and a bath at the confluence[6] is considered very meritorious. The poet has gone into raptures in his descriptions of the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā at Prayāga[7]. He has reiterated the old traditions that a dip in the joint current of the two holy rivers where the dark and placid channels flow together (*sitāsite sarite yatra saṅgate*) brought great merit. *Sarayū* is the Gogra in Oudh. The town of Ayodhyā, as now, was situated on the bank of this river[8]. It rises in the mountains of Kumaon and after its junction with Kalinadi it is called the Sarayū or Sarju, the Gogra or Dewa. Kālidāsa eloquently dwells upon the merits acquired through a bath at the confluence of this river with the Ganges near Chupra in Bihar[9]. *Sarasvatī* rises in the hills of Sirmur in the Himalayan range called the Siwalik and emerges into the plains at Adi Badri in Ambala and is lost again in the southern sand. It is reckoned as one of the most sacred rivers of the Hindus. It falls after appearing and disappearing several times in the sand into the Gulf of Kutch. It is supposed by poets to flow under the surface of the Earth, and join ultimately the ocean. The *Ṛgveda* represents it as flowing into the sea[10], but later legends make it disappear under ground and join the Ganges and Jumna at Allahabad. It was to the bank of this river, Kālidāsa observes following the tradition of the *Mahābhārata*, that Balarāma repaired at the commencement of the Bhārata war[11].

Soṇa.

The Sone, rises from the tableland of Amarkantak, about five miles east of the source of Narbada, and running northerly and then easterly for five hundred miles falls into the Ganges above Patna. The confluence has been referred to by Kālidāsa[12] as also Puṣpapura[13] (Pāṭaliputra or Patna), the metropolis of Magadha, which once stood at the confluence. *Mahākośī* is the joint stream formed by the seven Kosis of Nepal, which are the Milamchi, the Sona Kosi or the Bhotea Kosi, the Tamba Kosi, the Likhu Kosi, the Dudha Kosi, the Arun (*Padma Purāṇa*, Svarga, ch. 19; *Mahābhārata*, Vana Parva, ch. 84) and the Tamar[14]. Of the

[1] Ibid., VIII. 95. [2] Ibid., X. 26, 69, XIV. 3.
[3] Ibid., VII. 36. [4] गगास्रोतोन्तरेषु Ibid., IV. 36.
[5] Ibid., VI. 48.
[6] Ibid., VI, 48, XIII. 54-57; *M.P.*, 51; *Vik.*, II. 14.
[7] *Raghu.*, XIII. 54-57.
[8] Ibid., 61, XIV. 30.
[9] Ibid., VIII. 95.
[10] Max Müller: *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā*, p. 46, Commentary.
[11] *M.P.*, 49.
[12] भागीरथीशोणइवोत्तरंग: *Raghu.*, VII. 36.
[13] Ibid., VI. 24.
[14] Tāmra of the *Mahābhārata*, Vana Parva, Ch. 84.

seven Kosis, the Tamba or Tamar, and Likhu are lost in the Sona Kosi and the Barun in the Arun[1]. The river *Mālinī* flows through the district of Saharanpur and Oudh and falls into the Gogra about fifty miles above Ayodhyā. It is the Erineses of Megasthenes. The hermitage of Kaṇva, the adoptive father of Śakuntalā was situated on the bank of this river[2], about thirty miles to the west of Hardwar and called Nadapit in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmṇa*[3]. According to Lassen[4] the present name of the Mālinī is Chuka, the western tributary of the Sarayū[5].

Mandākinī was originally the name of an arm of the Ganges in one of the valleys of the Himalayas; afterwards it became like many natural objects situated within the geographical limits of the Himalayan range, the name of a heavenly river, or rather of the Ganges itself before it descended from svarga upon the Earth. Mandākinī is a name that usually signifies 'the river of the air or heaven' (the Ganges or a feeder of it before it reaches the plains); but it is also the name of an actual river which is otherwise known as the Kaliganga or the Western Kali or Mandagin, which rises in the mountains of Kedāra in Garhwal. It is a tributary of the Alakānandā and thus a subtributary of the Ganges itself. The river Mandākinī has been referred to at several places, namely the *Raghuvaṁśa*[6], the *Kumārasambhava*[7], the *Vikramorvaśī*[8] (flowing through the Gandhamādana mountain), the *Mālavikāgnimitra*[9], and the *Meghadūta*[10]. The Mandākinīs of the *Vikramorvaśī* and the *Meghaduta* are evidently the same, i.e., either the Ganges before it descends on the plain[11] or more probably, the Kaliganga, otherwise known as Mandagin, a tributary of the Alakānandā. The Mandākinī of the *Raghuvaṁśa* is assuredly the Mandakin, a small tributary of the Paisuni (Payasvinī) in Bundelkhand which flows past the Mount Citrakut. Kālidāsa also refers to it as flowing by the Citrakūṭa hill (*Mandākinī bhāti nagopakaṇṭhe*). From the Puspakavimāna the Mandāknī with its limpid and serene currents of water, appearing thin on account of the intervention of a long distance, looked like a pearl necklace hanging from the neck of the Earth near the mountain[12] (Citrakūṭa). The Manadākinī of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* is undoubtedly a different (a third) river, perhaps one of the Deccan. It is very probable that it may here stand for the Narbada, in conformity with a practice, still very common all over India, of designating any sacred river by the most sacred river name. This suggestion is strongly corroborated by the fact that the Nirṇayasāgara edition of this work actually reads *ṇammadātīre*[13] for *mandāiṇīdīre*[14].

[1] *JASB.*, XVII, p. 644, note.
[2] *Śāk.*, pp. 21, 87; III, 4.
[3] XIII. 5, 4, 13 (SBE., XLIV, p. 399).
[4] *Ind., Ant.*, II, p. 524; *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ayodhyakānda, ch. 68.
[5] Ibid.,
[6] XIII. 48.
[7] I. 29, II. 44, III. 65.
[8] मन्दाकिनीतीरे Act IV. p. 87.
[9] Kale's edition, Act I.
[10] Uttara, verse 4.
[11] It seems to have been so used at least once in the *Ku.*, II, 44.
[12] *Raghu.*, XIII. 48.
[13] *Māl.*, p. 9. [14] Ibid., Kale's edition.

Tamasā has been mentioned by the poet in three contexts, twice in canto IX (20,72) and once in canto XIV (76) of the *Raghuvaṁśa*. The first two allusions are made evidently to the same river as they refer to almost the same context. In the first is preserved a panegyrical record of Daśaratha who had decorated the banks of the Sarayū and Tamasā by erecting myriads of golden sacrificial posts[1]. The second alludes to the same king entering the neighbouring forests for hunting, obviously proceeding parallel to the river and emerging on the bank of Tamasā crowded with ascetics[2]. This Tamasā is no other than the river Tonse, a branch of the Sarayū (Gogra) in Oudh, which flowing through Azamgarh, falls into the Ganges near Ballia (U.P.). It flows twelve miles to the west of the Sarayū and is itself called by that name (Sarju) at Ballia and in the neighbouring locality. The bank of the Tamasā is associated with the early life of Vālmīki[3]. The third reference to this river is made in connection with Sītā's exile[4]. The difficulty presents itself when we proceed to identify this river. It is evidently a river distinct from the Tonse we have discussed above inasmuch as it is reached after crossing the Ganges[5]. Now it cannot be the above one as it lies between Ayodhyā and the Ganges and flows at a little distance from Ayodhyā and the distant Ganges need not be crossed to reach it. Then we know only three Tonses, viz. (1) one we have already referred to; (2) the river Tonse[6] in Rewa in Central India; and (3) the Tonse in Garhwal and Dehradun[7]. The junction of this last named river with the Jumna near the Sirmur frontier was a sacred place where Ekavīra, called also Haihaya, the progenitor of the Haihaya race and the grandfather of Kārttavīryārjuna was born[8]. The possibility of the first of these rivers is already discarded. The third Tonse, the western feeder (in Garhwal) of the Jumna flows in too distant a place where Sītā could have been sent, in view, firstly, of her advanced stage of pregnancy[9]; secondly, of her going on a mere pleasure trip, thirdly, of the absence of night-fall during the drive, the journey to that distance being expected to be completed in several months; and, finally, because we have to locate the hermitage of Vālmīki on its bank (the Ganges intervening between it and Ayodhyā) which we know from the Rāmāyaṇa[10], and probably also from the *Raghuvaṁśa* (which places this hermitage on the way of Śatrughna proceeding to kill the demon Lavana from Ayodhyā to Madhupaghna[11], identified by Growse[12] with Maholi, five miles to the south-west of the present town of Muttra, the city of Lavaṇa, whom he kills[13] and whose

[1] *Raghu.*, IX. 20.
[2] तपस्विगाढ़ा तमसा Ibid., 72.
[3] *Rāmāyaṇa*, Bāla. K. ch. 2.
[4] *Raghu.*, XIV. 76.
[5] Ganges crossed in the *Raghu.*, XIV. 52. Tamsā reached in Ibid., 76.
[6] *Matsya P.* ch. 114: *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ayodhyā K. ch. 46.
[7] *Calcutta Review*, LVIII (1874), p. 193.
[8] *Devī Bhāgavata*, VI, chs. 18-33.
[9] *Raghu.*, XIV. 26, 27, 45, 71.
[10] Uttara K., ch. 58.
[11] *Raghu.*, XV. 15. मार्गवशाद् . . . . वाल्मीकितपोवने ibid., 11.
[12] Mathura, pp. 32, 54.
[13] *Raghu.*, XV, 24-25.

city he demolishes and builds instead Madhurā[1], i. e., Mathurā, modern Muttra), to be no other than Bithur, fourteen miles from Cawnpour where "Sītā, the wife of Ramachandra, lived....." and "..... gave birth to the twin sons, Lava and Kusa. The temple erected in honour of Vālmīki at the hermitage is situated on the bank of the Ganges (*Rāmāyaṇa.* Uttara, ch. 58)[2]." So it cannot be the Tamasā which is meant here because Mathura, which is reached in the story after the hermitage of Valmīki, is left farther on this side of Ayodhyā than the Tamasā of Garhwal whereas it should have lain beyond the river! Now the second river alone remains which should have been identified with the Tamasā of the *Raghuvaṁśa*, XIV.76 but for a few difficulties. Even if we concede, in spite of the great distance from Ayodhyā to the Ganges in view of the fact that Sītā is in an advanced state of pregnancy and there occurs no night-fall during the drive, that Laksmaṇa with Sītā crossed the Ganges at some point near Allahabad or Benares to reach either the vicinity of Chitrakūt or that of Mirzapur, we must take into account the facts that firstly, there was no hermitage of Vālmīki in the neighbourhood of either and secondly, Satrughna would have to take an unusually circuitous route to reach Madhupaghna visiting Sītā on his way. From Ayodhyā to Mathurā the route would be direct. And Satrughna would indeed go by the shortest cut for his mission was an urgent one, that of saving the lives of sages from the ravages of Lavaṇa[3], the act of protection being considered the principal duty of a king. Therefore this Tonse also could not be the river Tamasā of our reference. Is it possible that Kālidāsa's knowledge of geography was inaccurate on this point, or is it that this Tamasā was some other stream close beyond Bithur and the neighbouring Ganges the ancient name of which has been forgotten? But in this latter case also the point of distance stands in the way of a proper identification of this river.

Surabhitanayā, is the Chambal. It has its source in a very elevated point of the Vindhyas amongst a cluster of hills called Janapava[4]. The river is said to have been formed by the 'Juice of skin' (blood) of the cows sacrificed at the *yajña* of Rantideva[5]. The poet's reference to this river embodies the tradition of the *Mahābhārata*[6]. The river *Vetravatī* is the Betwa in Bhopal, an affluent of the Jumna, on which stands Bhilsa, the ancient Vidiśā[7]. *Sindhu* is the river Kali-Sindh in Malwa called Dakṣiṇa Sindhu in the *Mahābhārata*[8]. Nirvindhyā is a tributary of the Chambal between the rivers Betwa[9] and Sindh[10] in Malwa. It has been identified with the Kali-Sindh[11] in Malwa but this identification does not seem to be correct as Kālidāsa's *Sindhu* appears to be the Kali-Sindh. There-

[1] Ibid., 28.
[2] Dey: *The Geo. Dic.* p. 20.
[3] *Raghu.*, XV. 2.
[4] Dey: *The Geo. Dic.*, pp. 48.
[5] *M.P.*, 45.
[6] Droṇa Parva, ch. 67.
[7] *M.P.*, 24.
[8] Vana Parva, ch. 82.
[9] *M.P.*, 24.
[10] Ibid., 29.
[11] *Journal of the Buddhistic Text Society*, Vol. V, p. 46.

fore the Nirvindhyā should be identified with the Newuj, another tributary of the Chambal between Betwa and Kali-Sindh. *Gambhīrā* is a tributary of the Siprā in Malwa. The *Gandhavati* is a small branch of the Siprā on which the temple of Mahākāla is situated.[1] *Siprā* is a river in Malwa on the bank of which Ujjain stands. It is a tributary of the Chambal and is still known by its ancient name.

Lauhitya is the Brahmaputra, which, according to Kālidāsa[2], formed the western boundary of the kingdom of Prāgjyotiṣa, modern Assam.

Kapiśā[3] has been correctly identified by Pargiter with the river Kasai (Cossya) which flows through the district of Midnapur in Bengal. It formed, during the time of Kālidāsa[4], the northern boundary of Utkala and Kaliṅga. Tamluk is situated on the bank of this river.

The above mentioned rivers with the exception of the Sindhu and the Lauhitya, are either main streams or tributaries to main streams or affluents to such tributaries, all watering the Gangetic plain as also a great part of Central India and the Central Provinces.

The rivers of peninsular India, unlike those of northern India, rise in the hills of the great plateau and are fed by the monsoon rains. Owing to the general slope of the plateau, the rivers rise from the Western Ghats and flow towards the Bay of Bengal and the eastern sea. The poet mentions the following peninsular rivers, namely the Narmadā, Revā or Gautamī, Varadā, Godāvarī, Kāverī, Tāmrapaṛṇī and Muṭalā.

The *Revā*, otherwise called *Narmadā*[5] and *Gautamī*[6] (and even *Mandākinī* as we have already seen above), is the Narbada which rises in the Amarakantak mountain and falls into the gulf of Cambay. Kālidāsa makes it flow through the forests of the jambū[7] and naktamāla[8] trees. The *Varadā* is the Wardha in the Central Provinces and a tributary of the Godāvarī. Agnimitra fixed this river as the boundary of the two kingdoms parted out of Vidarbha[9]. The river *Godavarī* has its source in Brahmagiri, situated on the side of a village called Tryambaka about twenty miles from Nasik. *Kāverī* is the river Cauvery of south India which rises from a spring called Candratīrtha in the Brahmagiri mountain in Coorg. Bhavabhūti tells us that the slopes of the Malaya mountain are encircled by the river Kāverī[10]. The *Tāmraparṇī*, locally called Tambaravari, is the united stream of the Tambaravari and the Chittar in Tinnevelly which rise in the Agastakūṭa mountain. It is celebrated for its pearl-fishery which has been referred to by Kālidāsa[11] while describing its junction with the sea. It is a small but well-known river flowing past Pallamcotta and falling into the Gulf of Manar near the small

[1] *M.P.*, 33.
[2] *Raghu.*, IV. 81.
[3] Ibid., 38.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid., V. 42-46.
[6] *Śāk.*, p. 42.
[7] *M.P.*, 20.
[8] *Raghu.*, V. 42.
[9] *Māl.*, V. 13.
[10] *Mahāvīracarita*, V. 3.
[11] *Raghu.*, IV. 50.

town of Punakail. Here the poet speaks of the union of the sea and the river, his wife, leading to the production of the pearl treasures which constitute the glory of the land[1]. The river *Muralā* is difficult to identify. Nundo Lal Dey identifies it with the river Mulə-mutha, which, he says, rises near Poona and is a tiibutary of the Bhīmā.[2] But this identification appears to be untenable as this river flows through Kerala which is more or less the coast of Malabar. The entire western strip of the south is divided into three parts, viz. the northern part from Daman to Goa called Konkan, the southern part, Kerala, and the coast of Karnatak lying between the two[3]. Thus the river must be traced somewhere in the region of Malabar, which is Kerala, for assuredly this is a river flowing in Kerala[4]. Kerala comprised Malabar, Travancore, and Kanara[5] terminating at Cape Camorin on the south and Goa on the north. It is the country of the Nairs. It is some times used as synonymous with Chera[6]. In fact, Kerala is the Kanarese dialectal form of the more ancient name of Chera[7]. The Muralā therefore cannot be the same as the Mula-mutha and must be looked for in the region of Malabar.

Vaṅkṣu.

The only non-Indian river which is referred to by Kālidāsa is Vaṅkṣu which has been identified by K B Pathak[8] and S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar[9] with the Oxus. The verse in which the name of the river occurs is the following:—

> Vinītādhvaśramas tasya Vaṅkṣvtīravicesṭanaiḥ
> Dudhuvur vājinaḥ skandhānl lagnakuṅkumakesarān. *Raghu.*, IV. 67.

"His horses relieved of the fatigue of the journey by rolling on the banks of the Vaṅkṣu, shook their bodies which had saffron flowers clinging to their manes."

Now the principal difficulty in the identification of this river has arisen by the fact that Mallinātha, the most brilliant commentator on the works of Kālidāsa has chosen to read *Sindhu* for *Vaṅkṣu.* But in view of some very important reasons, given below, Mallinātha's reading is evidently erroneous. It is to be borne in mind that six manuscripts of the *Raghuvaṁśa,* out of nine, with their commentaries read *vaṅkū* (four of these) or *vaṅkṣū* (two). There hardly seems an occasion for Mallinātha to adopt the reading *Sindhu.* This reading has landed him in obvious difficulties which he has sought to explain away. The unsuitability of his reading is so patent in his own explanation that, thinking that his readers would easily confuse *Sindhu* with the great river Indus, which, he is sure, is not the one meant by the poet, he seeks to defend himself by calling it a certain diffe-

[1] Ibid.
[2] *The Geo. Dic.*, p. 134.
[3] Vidyālaṅkāra: *Bhāratabhūmi.*, p. 84.
[4] *Raghu.*, IV. 54-55.
[5] *Rāmāyana,* Kiṣkindhā Kāṇda, ch. 41.
[6] Rapson: *Ancient India,* p. 164. *Indian Coins*, p. 36; Bhandarkar: *History of the Dekkan,* Sec. III.
[7] Hunter: *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 5. V. Chera.
[8] *I.A.*, 1912, pp. 265, ff; *Meghadūta,* Introduction, p. VIII.
[9] *I.A.*, 1919, pp. 65. ff.

rent river flowing through Kashmir, *Sindhurnāma Kaśmīradeśeṣu kaścinnadaviśeṣaḥ*. Obviously this mistake has been occasioned by the occurrence in the same verse of the phrase *kuṅkumakesarān*. Perhaps being unaware of the fact that there was another locality in the vicinity of Kashmir which produced excellent saffron, and being a native of south India, he had, it is apparent, known only of Kashmir to be a land yielding saffron. He has quoted the Amarakośa—"'*atha kuṅkuman Kaśhmīrajanma' ityamarah*" and has easily become oblivious of the error due to the occurrence of the name of Kashmir in that admirable lexicon. Although, if he had cared, he could have found in the commentary on the same *Amarakośa* by Kṣīrasvāmī (the second half of the eleventh century) another word for saffron—*vāhlīkam*—signifying the product of a country called Vahlīka, i.e., Bactria. Kṣīrasvāmī while explaining the word in his commentary illustrates it by alluding to the conquest of Raghu as follows: *Vahlīkadeśajam (vāhlīkam), yadraghoruttaradigvijaye—dudhuvurvājinaḥ skandhānllagnakunkumakesarān*[1]. This commentator writing about three hundred years before Mallinātha was nearer the event and its tradition than one who flourished about a millennium after them. Vahlīkadeśa or Bactria was rightly supposed by Kṣīrasvāmī to be watered by Vaṅkṣū or Vaksū of which *Vaṅkū* or *Vakkū*, according to Prof. Pathak, are but Prākṛta or corrupt variants. All these four words are the names of the self-same river. Vallabha, who flourished in the 1st half of the twelfth century, i.e. about two hundred years earlier than the celebrated Mallinātha, and who was a native of Kashmir, had no such ambiguity in this regard and he readily accepted the usual readings of *Vaṅkṣū* or *Vaṅkū*. He knew too well that close to his own home in the basin of the Oxus there was cultivated the saffron plant the yellow pigments of which stuck to the manes of the horses of Raghu's cavalry. He explains Vaṅkū or Vaṅkṣū as *Vaṅkūnāmnīnadī tasyāstīre*[2]. Thus the conclusion from the cumulative evidence of both Kṣīrasvāmī and Vallabha is that Raghu encountered and defeated the Hūṇas in Bactria, the valley of the Oxus.

The word *Oxus* is the Greek variant of the name of the river. Now considering that in Greek the letter *s* at the end of a word is superfluous and *o* corresponds to *va* we easily get the word *Vakṣū* in Sanskrit and *Vakkū* in Prākṛta. Here Prof. Pathak suggests that the sign for doubling being mistaken for *anusvāra* the word would be pronounced *Vaṅkū*. The Sanskrit form with a superfluous nasal would be pronounced *Vaṅkṣū*. The Chinese evidence also points to the same conclusion for the word Pochu or Fochu for Oxus, only phonetic transcription of *Vakṣū*, presupposes the Indian original *Vakṣu* or *Vakkū* mispronounced *Vaṅkṣū* or *Vaṅkū*. Besides, it may be noted, that in both the St. Petersburg Lexicon and the Dictionary of Sir Monier Williams *Vaṅkṣū* or *Vakṣū* has been equated with the name of the Oxus. Here we may also note that a scribe is more likely to mistake an inland stream for a foreign one and is obviously therefore less apt to bring in a Central Asian river if it were not meant by the poet.

Now having identified Vaṅkṣū with the river Oxus we must proceed to locate it more precisely, for the Oxus is a tremendously big river which rises near the

[1] K. G. Oka. Edition of the *Kṣīrasvāmī*, p. 110.

[2] *Raghuvaṁśa* by S. S. Pandit, notes, p. III.

Pamirs and lazily winding its course through Central Asia reaches the Aral Sea. Our Vaṅkṣū we must identify with one of the several feeders of the Oxus, probably with one of the two—Wakṣāb and Akṣāb—in the upper reaches of the Oxus. Between these two streams lay Khuttal of the Arab geographers, which Tabari calls Haital[1]. This Wakṣāb of the Arabs is apparently the Vaṅkṣū of Kālidāsa which is by far the greatest tributary of the Oxus[2]. To its east in the semicircular bend of the Oxus lay Wakh-khan on the frontiers of Kashmir but on the farther side of Karakoram. "There is but a narrow strip of country at the foot of the Pamir between the upper course of the Indus, the sources of the Oxus and those of the Yarkand river, which in mediaeval times formed the road of communication between Turkistan and Tibet. The junction of the Wakshab is reached from Balkh by a road going into the territory of Khuttal, a little to the east of the junction[3], and if Kālidāsa had any roadway in this region in his mind, Raghu's march must have taken the road that Alexander took, up to Balkh and then turned north-eastward from Balkh, through Badakshan and Wakh-khan to the frontier of Kamboja, instead of the slightly north-western road which led into Sugd, the Sogdiana of the Greeks[4]."

The river of the text having been identified with the 'Wakshab' of the Arabs another point, that of the location of the Hūnas in the valley of the Oxus and their occupation of Bactria naturally comes in for discussion, but this may be dealt with in its proper place.

Confluences.

Kālidāsa gives several vivid descriptions of the confluences of a few rivers which we have already referred to above. They may be enumerated below again for the sake of clarity. The poet has shown particular partiality in describing the confluence of the Ganges with the Jumna at Prayāga. First he makes a metaphorical reference to it in his *Raghuvaṁśa*[5], VI. 48, and then he goes in raptures over its sight at the Triveṇī while giving its description later in canto XIII, 54-75. The poet asserts that a bath at this confluence results in enormous merit and that there is no more birth for the bather even without the attainment of *tattvajñāna*[6]. Further reference to this confluence has been made in the *Meghadūta*[7] and the *Vikramorvaśī*[8] and in the latter case there is an allusion also to a city[9] standing at the confluence. This city can be easily identified with Pratiṣṭhāna, i. e., modern Jhunsi, the capital of Purūravā. The poet sees in the meeting of the armies of Aja and those of his adversaries the confluence of the Ganges with Soṇa now about twenty miles above Patna where the turbulent waters of the latter rush furiously

[1] Tabari pur Zolenberg, II. p. 128.
[2] The Hun Problem in Indian History, *I. A.*, 1919, p. 69.
[3] L. Strange: *The Land of the Eastern Caliphate*, ch. 'The Oxus.'
[4] The Hun Problem in Indian History, *I. A.*, 1919, p. 69.
[5] गंगोर्मिसंसक्तजलेव
[6] Ibid., XIII. 58.
[7] यमुनासंगम *M.P.*, 51.
[8] II. 14; Ibid, p. 211.
[9] प्रविश्य नगर. . . . .गंगायमुनयोः संगमे Ibid., p. 121.

against and are calmly received by those of the former[1]. The importance of the confluence of the Ganges with the Sarayū (Gogra) near Chupra, Bihar, has been brought out in a verse[2] which says that the death at this spot could win for a man the rank of the gods and Aja's case has been illustrated to bear out the point.

We read of waterfalls[3] in the similes of the poet and in actual descriptions of streams flowing in mountains. The Himalayas[4] abounded in such waterfalls and the *Ṛtusaṁhāra* records mountains and hills as full of them.[5]

Waterfalls.

The poet seems to allude specifically to two great waterfalls, namely, the *Gaṅgāprapāta*[6] and *Mahākośīprapāta*.[7] It is difficult to identify them with any measure of accuracy. Of course, they lay respectively in the courses of the Ganges and the Mahākosī in the Himalayas. The poet locates the hermitage of Vasiṣṭha in the Himalayas[8] and does not seem to follow the tradition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in this respect. But it is difficult to identify this hermitage in the Himalayas. Likewise it is not possible to identify the Mahākosīprapāta. The river Mahākosī is the joint stream of the seven Kosis of Nepal. The seven rivulets are united first into three streams which meet together in their later course and form a Triveṇī of the Tamar, Arun and the Sona Kosi. Triveṇī is immediately above Varāha-kṣetra in Purnea above Nathpur at a point where or close to which the united Kosis issue into the plains.[9] The Mahākosī should thus fall somewhere near about the Triveṇī but Kālidāsa would seem to place it in the Kailāsa range as in his description it is by this fall that Śiva awaits the return of the Seven Sages who went to Himālaya, the father of Pārvatī to negotiate for the marriage of Śiva with his daughter.[10] And since the Sages had first approached Śiva on the Kailāsa where they left him, the Mahākośīprapāta may be expected to fall near the Kailāsa itself; but it is difficult, however, to identify it precisely.

The hill of Citrakūṭa was noted for its waterfalls.[11]

Lakes.

The country abounded in inside lakes and in those lying on the mountains. The poet makes frequent references to them[12] describing them as crowded with birds and full of lotuses[13] and aquatic creatures.[14] They are called by various

[1] *Raghu.*, VII. 36.
[2] Ibid., VIII 95. XIV. 3.
[3] Ibid., II. 13, 26; VI. 60, XIII. 47, XIV. 3, *Ku.*, I, 15, VI 33, CVIII. 31, *Ṛtu*, II. 16.
[4] *Raghu.*, II. 13, 26, XIV. 3; *Ku*, I 15, VI 33.
[5] *Ṛtu* II. 16.
[6] *Raghu.*, II. 26.
[7] *Ku.*, VI. 33.
[8] cf. *Raghu.*, II. 26. The entire scene is laid in the Himalayas.
[9] *J. S. A. B.*, XVII, pp. 638, 647, map at p. 761.
[10] *Ku.*, VI. 33.
[11] धारास्वनोद्गारि *Raghu.*, XIII. 47.
[12] Ibid., I. 43, 73, II. 16, 16, III 3, VI. 26, 86, VII. 30, IX 59, XI. 11, XIII. 27, 30, 40, 60, XIX. 51, *Ku.*, IV. 39, VIII. 32, 35, *M.P.*, II. 62.
[13] *Raghu.*, VI. 86, XIII. 60, *M.P.*, 62.
[14] *Raghu.*, VII. 30.

names, for example, sara,[1] sarasī,[2] hrada[3] and palvala[4] (ponds). Three lakes have been specifically mentioned by name. They are: the Mānasa,[5] otherwise named Brāhmasara,[6] Pampā[7] and the Pañcāpsara.[8]

The *Mānasa* is the celebrated lake, better known as the *Mansarovara*, in the Kailāsa range of the Himalayas. It is said to be the favourite haunt of flamingoes emigrating to its shores at the commencement of the monsoons.[9] "Those birds," says Moorecroft, "find in the rocks bordering on the lake an agreeable and safe asylum when the swell of the rivers in the rains and the inundations of the plains conceal their usual food [10]" This lake is mythologically supposed to grow golden lotuses which fact has been twice[11] stressed by Kālidāsa. In like manner the poet fancies that the Yakṣas of Alakā used gems[12] for lamps and the children of the Vidhyādharas played with the golden[13] sand of the Mandākinī. It is, therefore, quite fitting that the poet's imagination should refer to uncommon flowers to which birds of the uncommon species like the rājahamsas[14] and rājahamsīs,[15] their female counterparts, should flock. But it is not improbable that the poet here alludes to a rare species of the lotus bearing the golden yellow colour.

The *Pampā* is situated in the district of Bellari on the north of the town of Hampi and close to the river of that name,[16] which is a tributary of the Tuṅgabhadrā and rises in the Ṛsyamukha mountain, some eight miles from the Anagandi hills.[17] The water of the Pampā is described as covered with the thickets of cane plants growing on its banks and the brisk cranes discerinble through them.[18] The lake *Pañcāpsara* is difficult to identify accurately. *The List of Ancient Monuments in the Chota-Nagpur Division* locates it in the district of Udayapur, one of the tributary states in Chota-Nagpur. Kapu, Bandhanpur, Banjiamba and Ponri, according to this list, are supposed to be on the site of this lake. But this identification seems hardly correct. It should lie somewhere to the north-east of Pañcavaṭī at a considerable distance from Agastyāśrama. Pañcavaṭī is generally identified with Nasik and, according to Kālidāsa, the her-

[1] Ibid., VI. 86, XIII. 40, 60.
[2] Ibid., I, 43. XI 11, *Ku.*, VIII. 32.
[3] *Raghu.*, I. 73, VII. 30, *Ku.*, IV. 39.
[4] *Raghu.*, II. 16, III. 3, IX. 59, XIII. 27, XIX. 51, *Ku*, VIII. 35
[5] *Raghu.*, VI. 26.
[6] Ibid., XIII. 60.
[7] Ibid., 30.
[8] Ibid., 38-40.
[9] *M.P.*, 11.
[10] Journey to Mansarovara, The *Asiatic Researches*, XII. p. 466.
[11] *Raghu.*, XIII. 60; *M.P.*, 62.
[12] रत्नप्रदीपाः *M.U.*, 5.
[13] कनकसिकता *M.U.*, 4.
[14] *M.P.*, 11.
[15] *Raghu.*, VI. 26.
[16] W. Ilson: *Uttararāmacarita*, *Rāmāyaṇa Kiskindha K.* ch. 1.
[17] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. pp. II. p. 369—Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts.*
[18] *Raghu.*, XIII. 30.

mitage was situated within the Pañcavaṭī itself[1] and must be either Agastipurī, twenty-four miles to the south-east of Nasik,[2] or Akolha to the east of Nasik.[3] Next to the Agastyāśrama but at a considerable distance so as to appear like the full moon through the clouds[4] lay the lake Pañcāpsara. It must lie somewhere between the Pañcavaṭī, i.e. Nasik and the Citrakūṭa hill[5] nearer to the former than to the latter as there were certain other localities[6] lying between this lake and the Citrakūṭa hill according to the description of the poet. We must also remember that it lay at a *visible* distance from about Nasik (Agastyāśrama) and so must not have been situated *very far* from there. The identification of the *List of Ancient Monuments in the Chota-Nagpur Division* cannot hold ground in view of the fact that through its location the lake would not lie between the Pañcavaṭī and Citrakūṭa, or rather the latter would lie between the Pañcavaṭī and itself! And it would be an unnecessarily circuitous way to take from Nasik to Ayodhyā via Chota-Nagpur even for a possible aircraft. The *Bhāgavata*[7] places it in southern India and the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*[8] at Gokarṇa, while Śrīdharasvāmī[9] would locate it near Phālguna or Anantapura in the Madras Presidency, fifty-six miles to the south-east of Bellary, but none of these identifications seems to be correct as they all lie to the south of the river Godāvarī whereas the lake Pañcāpsara must be placed somewhere to the north of the Godāvarī as the aerial car has taken a north-easterly direction from Nasik.[10] The lake has been described by the poet, following the tradition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as the pleasure-lake of the sage Śātakarṇi,[11] who, while living on the *darbha* grass, was enticed into the snare of nymphs by Indra.[12] The sage was supposed to live in a palace under the water of the lake from where the sound of singing and tabor always emanated and was audible outside.[13] This obviously is a traditional reference.

Seas and Oceans.

India skirted on the south, west and east by the sea, was isolated by it on the south as by the mountains on the north. References to the sea and the precious marine products[14] are too many to mention. Similes abound in allusions to the sea and the poet uses several synonyms for it which may imply much marine activity in the land during his time. Without specifically distinguishing the

[1] *Raghu.*, XIII. 35-37.
[2] Dey: *The Geo. Dic.*, p. 2.
[3] *Rāmāyaṇa*, Aranya K. ch. 11.
[4] *Raghu.*, XIII. 38.
[5] Cf. Ibid., 34-47.
[6] Ibid., 41. शरभग . तपोवन, 46.
[7] Book X. ch. 79.
[8] Quoted by Dey in his *Geo Dic.*, p. 147.
[9] Ibid.
[10] *Raghu.*, XIII. 34-47.
[11] Ibid., XIII. 36.
[12] Ibid., 39.
[13] Ibid., 40.
[14] निधानगर्भा Ibid., XIII. 9.

extent or nature of the seas he uses terms like *samudra*,[1] *sāgara*,[2] *arṇava*,[3] *mahodadhi*,[4] *amburāśi*,[5] *toyanidhi*,[6] *ratnākara*,[7] *payodhi*[8] and many more. The creatures living in the sea and the marine conflagration have been mentioned.[9] Everywhere while touching the sea the coast-line is described as lined with the forests of palms[10] of various kinds, date,[11] betel-nut[12] and cocoanut[13] trees. The tidal rise of the sea on the appearance of the full moon[14] is recorded.

We find mention of the eastern[15] and western[16] seas referring respectively to the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea. The great Indian Ocean of the south, the northern waters of which form the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian sea, has been vividly described. This is preserved in the thirteenth canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa* (1-18) and may be quoted in full.

Whales on account of their mouths being open having taken in the water at the mouth of rivers, together with the aquatic creatures in it, toss upwards by closing their jaws the streams of water through their perforated heads.[17] The foam of the ocean severed into two parts by the hippopotamuses that jump up all of a sudden above the surface of water—the foams that on account of their gliding by their cheeks become their flywhisks for a time.[18] The shoals of conchshells with their heads transfixed at their jutting points, being dashed at once by the force of the billows against the reefs of corals glide way with great difficulty.[19] The strand of the briny ocean resembling an iron wheel which is dark on account of the row of tamāla and tālī forests, and which appears like a slender line owing to distance, looks like a thin coating of rust formed on the edge of a steel wheel.[20] On the coast of the ocean heaps of pearls are lying scattered being thrown out by the oysters, that have opened their shells on the strand and there the rows of betel-nut trees are bent down under the weight of their fruits.[21]

The last verse evidently seems to refer to the mouth of the Tāmraparṇī,

[1] *Raghu.*, II. 3, III 28, XIII. 14, *Ku.*, VIII. 91; *Śāk.*, p. 237, etc.
[2] *Raghu.*, I 2, III. 9, IV. 32.
[3] Ibid., IV. 5, 3, VI. 56, 63.
[4] Ibid., III. 17.
[5] Ibid., VI. 57, XIII. 2.
[6] *Ku.*, I. 1.
[7] *Raghu.*, XIII. 1.
[8] Ibid., 17.
[9] *Ku.*, VIII. 91; ch., *Raghu.*, CIII. 4.
[10] *Raghu.*, IV. 56, XIII. 15.
[11] Ibid., IV. 57.
[12] Ibid., IV. 44, XIII. 17.
[13] Ibid., IV. 42.
[14] Ibid., III. 17.
[15] पूर्वसागर *Raghu.*, IV. 32.; पूर्वापरोतोयनिधी *Ku.*, I. 1; cf. *Śāk.*, p. 237.
[16] *Ku.*, I. 1, *Śāk.*, p. 237, सह्यलग्नइवार्णवः *Raghu.*, IV. 53.
[17] *Raghu.*, XIII. 10.
[18] Ibid., 11.
[19] Ibid., XIII. 13.
[20] Ibid., 15.
[21] Ibid., 17.

celebrated for its pearl-fishery. The graphic description of the marine creatures and their characteristics obviously bespeaks of the poet's own experience of the sea.

Seasons (climate and rainfall).

Here we may refer briefly to the poet's treatment of nature, his description of the seasons, climate and rainfall. In the *Ṛtusaṁhāra* a description of the six seasons of India occurs. The description is vivid and graphic. The poet seems to be in direct communication and loving sympathy with nature, which opens to him, as though, in the minutest details its secrets and pleasures. There is a human touch, a living sentiment in his regard to nature. "The seasons are of course," says Dr. Keith, "the Indian seasons and especially of Hindustan proper. The scenes are all such as may be seen in the patriarchal life, which the learned Brāhmaṇas of the time led, all belonging to the forest such as those described in the *Śākuntala*. The poet does not like the English poet Thomson, wander into the Frigid and Torrid zones to describe the chill severity of the one or the horrors of the other, but sticks to his own native seasons.[1]" The description of the poet also incidentally gives an idea of the climate, winds and rainfall of the country. The following are the names of the seasons, six in number:—

1. Nidāgha Kāla,[2] the hot season consisting of the Jyestha and Āṣāḍha, corresponding roughly to June and July.

2. Varṣā Kāla,[3] the rainy season consisting of the months of Śrāvaṇa and Bhādrapada, corresponding roughly to August and September.

3. Śarat,[4] the Autumn season, the months of Āśvin and Kārtika, running roughly over October and November.

4. Hemanta,[5] the cold season, the months of Mārgaśīrsa and Pauṣa, corresponding roughly to those of December and January.

5. Śiśira,[6] the cool or dewy season, comprises the months of Māgha and Phālguna, corresponding roughly to February and March.

6. Vasanta,[7] the spring season, the months of Caitra and Vaiśākha, corresponding roughly to April and May.

The following is a succinct account of the various seasons as gathered from the works of the poet mainly the *Ṛtusaṁhāra* :—

The Hot Season.

In the hot season the sun grows hot[8] generating fierce heat, the moon

[1] *A History of Sanskrit Literature.*
[2] *Ṛtu.*, I. 1.
[3] Ibid., II. 1.
[4] Ibid., III. 1.
[5] Ibid., IV. 1.
[6] Ibid., V. 1.
[7] Ibid., VI. 1.
[8] Ibid., I. 1.

pleasant,[1] and the evenings turn delightful.[2] People cool themselves by means of fountains,[3] various jewels,[4] flower wreaths[5] and sandal-wood paste[6] in the nights of summer wherein "the masses of darkness are dispelled by the moon."[7] Excessive perspiration necessitates a change from the heavy garments to thin silk.[8] The heat is sought to be further allayed by the use of fans wetted with sandal water.[9] Columns of dust are constantly raised by the strong gusts of wind.[10] Water is mostly dried up.[11] Although this description is applicable to almost all parts of India except places on high altitudes, yet the picture is most suited to the central Indian plateau.

The Rainy Season.

The rainy season is conspicuous with dark clouds rumbling with thunder and dazzling with lightning[12] and hanging low with the weight of water.[13] Pastures grow up[14], and the *indragopa*[15] insects cover up patches of ground. The forest regions are full of fresh verdure.[16] Those of the Vindhyas are decked with the trees bearing new foliage and full of numerous kinds of dark-green grasses which have put forth tender shoots.[17] Lotus plants drop off their leaves and flowers.[18] Mountains are covered all over with waterfalls;[19] and swelling rivers, regularly fed with heavy torrents of rain, rush forth in sharp currents.[20] The *haṁsas* fly along with the tendrils of lotus for their food to the Mānasa lake in the Kailāsa[21]

The following plants and flowers are in abundance in the rainy season: ketakī,[22] kandalī,[23] bakula,[24] mālatī,[25] yūthikā,[26] kadamba,[27] sarja[28] and arjuna.[29]

[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid., 2.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid., 4.
[9] Ibid., 8.
[10] Ibid., 10.
[11] Ibid., 22, 23, etc
[12] Ibid., II. 1.
[13] Ibid., 3, 19
[14] Ibid., 8.
[15] Ibid., 5.
[16] Ibid., 5, 8.
[17] Ibid., 8.
[18] Ibid., 14.
[19] Ibid., 16.
[20] Ibid., 7.
[21] Ibid., 23.
[22] Ibid., 17, 20.
[23] Ibid., 5.
[24] Ibid., 24.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid. [27] Ibid., 17, 20. [28] Ibid., 17. [29] Ibid.

The picture is conspicuously of Central India.[1]

The Autumn.

With the advent of the autumn season the breeze blows cool, the quarters look beautiful because of the disappearance of clouds, the water loses its turbidity, mud dries up, the sky has the clear-rayed moon, and is beautiful with the stars.[2] The sky during the day is grey blue,[3] the few clouds get white like silver[4] and the night having the innumerable stars, the moon free from the obscuring clouds, and the bright moonshine, grows longer daily.[5] The forest regions are covered with the flowering saptacchada trees,[6] the gardens with the mālatīs[7] and fields with the ripening paddy.[8] Lakes look lovely by the presence of the infatuated pairs of swans and the bright blooming white and blue lotuses.[9] Dew falls.[10]

The autumn, says the poet, holds out peculiar facilities for carrying on a military campaign and thus actuates a conqueror to undertake an expedition. The beasts of burden, the bulls especially, are now in full spirits, the war elephants in their ruttish condition are eminently fitted for fighting, the rivers become fordable and the roads being dried up afford easy passage to troops.[11]

The following have been noted by the poet as the companions of this season: saptacchada,[12] kovidāra,[13] bandhujīva,[14] bandhūka,[15] kaṅkeli,[16] kāśa,[17] sephālikā,[18] śyāmā,[19] mālatī[20], kalamā[21] and śālī[22] lotuses[23] of various kinds and the cranes.[24]

Hemanta.

The cold season approaches with the appearance of new sprouts and the ripening of corn.[25] Lotuses perish. Snow falls[26] on the altitudes of mountains

[1] Several references to the Vindhyas—cf *Ṛtu*, II
[2] *Ṛtu.*, III, 22, 23.
[3] Ibid, 5
[4] Ibid., 4
[5] Ibid., 7.
[6] Ibid., 2.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid., 1
[9] Ibid., II.
[10] Ibid., 16.
[11] *Raghu.*, IV. 22-23.
[12] *Ṛtu.*, III. 2, 13.
[13] Ibid., 6.
[14] Ibid., 24.
[15] Ibid., 5, 25.
[16] Ibid., 18.
[17] Ibid., 1, 2, 26.
[18] Ibid., 14.
[19] Ibid., 18.
[20] Ibid., 2, 18, 19.
[21] Ibid., 5.
[22] Ibid., 1, 19, 16.
[23] Ibid., 15. [24] Ibid., 16. [25] Ibid., IV. 1. [26] Ibid.

and dew drops in profusion[1] in the plains. This season has mostly the flowering lodhra,[2] priyaṅgu,[3] kadamba,[4] rice-crops[5] and krauñca.[6]

Śiśira.

In the cool or dewy season the earth is covered with clusters of paddy and sugarcane, and resounds with the cries of krauñca birds.[7] People resort to the use of the interior of the house with the windows closed, of fire, of the sun's rays, and of thick garments.[8]

Vasanta.

The spring comes with young mango blossoms and swarms of bees.[9] Everything gains added beauty in this season. Trees put forth flowers, waters grow lotuses, winds blow fragrant, evenings are pleasant and days delightful[10] The falling of dew stops.[11] Numerous rocks are covered with thick śaileya.[12] "The male cuckoo, intoxicated with the liquor of the juice of mango-blossoms kisses with passionate joy his mate; the humming bee, too does agreeable things for his beloved.[13]" The priyāla[14] and kiṁsuka[15] flower and the atimukta creeper[16] puts on a new robe of blossoms in this season. The characteristic features of the spring are 'the notes of the cuckoo, the southern wind, the fragrant mango blossoms, the red asoka's splendour, the kurabaka flowers, darkish and white red, the tilaka flowers and the bees.[17]' The mādhavī, also called Vāsantī, is the spring creeper which flowers and bears sweet floral juice in summer. Its bower is in full bloom in this season. Its bunches look like so many bouquets.[18] By alluding to the love of the cuckoo and the bee the poet shows that not only the mankind but the whole creation is under the influence of love in this season.[19] It brings to all nature new life and joy.

From the above description of the seasons it will be evident that the summers were fiercely hot and winters excessively cold and that the rainfall was abundant. There were occasional hail storms[20] in the plains and snow-falls[21] on the mountains.

[1] Ibid., 7.
[2] Ibid., 1.
[3] Ibid., 10.
[4] Ibid., 9.
[5] Ibid., IV. 1, 8.
[6] Ibid., 8, 18.
[7] Ibid., V. 1.
[8] Ibid., 2.
[9] Ibid., VI., 1.
[10] Ibid., 2.
[11] Ibid., 22.
[12] Ibid., 25.
[13] Ibid., VI. 14.
[14] *Ku.*, III. 31.
[15] *Ṛtu.*, VI. 19, 20, 28.
[16] Ibid., 17.
[17] Ibid., 28; Mal., III. 5.
[18] *Śāk.*, p. 200.
[19] *Ṛtu.*, VI. 2, 14.
[20] करकावृष्टिपात *M.P.*, 44.
[21] *Ṛtu.*, IV. 1, 18.

Clouds.

Kālidāsa alludes frequently to clouds. In the *Meghadūta* the cloud is made the bearer of a message from the hero of the theme to his wife. The cloud has been defined as a 'compact mass of smoke, light, water and air.[1]' It has been supposed to be of many kinds one of which—the class of the *Puṣkara* and *Āvartaka*—has been entrusted in the *Meghadūta*,[2] with the affectionate message of the Yakṣa. Besides, we read of certain phenomena connected with the clouds. The appearance of the rainbow,[3] the rumble of the thunder[4] and the flash of lightning[5] have been noted and so have been mentioned the hail-storm[6] and the snow-fall.[7]

[1] धूमज्योति सलिलमरुतां सन्निपात *M P*, 5
[2] Ibid., 6.
[3] Ibid., 15, R*tu*, II 4
[4] *M.P.*, 9. U, 1.
[5] *M.U.*, 1, II. 1, 4, 11.
[6] *M.P.*, 54.
[7] R*tu*, IV 1, 18

CHAPTER II

FLORA AND FAUNA

Flora.

Now, when the population of India has grown enormously and has settled over a large area of land, the natural vegetation has been removed by man to a great extent. There are, for example, few left in the Gangetic plain which was once full of primeval forests. But in the hilly regions, and in the less thickly populated parts, much of the natural jungle still survives. The impression that a study of the works of Kālidāsa gives is that the country was covered with large belts of forests (*vanas*[1]). The plants that vegetated in these forests and in the well-kept parks and flower gardens[2] may be discussed below.

Plant life may be divided among several classes, namely trees[3], both tall and small, shrubs, *Oṣadhis*[4], climbers (*latā*[5], *vallī*[6]), or creepers spreading on the ground (*pratāna*[7]), grasses[8], both lofty and short, and aquatic plants floating on the surface of water or growing in reeds along the banks of rivers or swamps of lakes and ponds.

Trees have been referred to as belonging to various territorial parts and climes. They may be classed as those vegetating on the highlands of the Himalayas, those growing on the dry uplands, mountains and in the alluvial soil of the plains, those lining the seacoasts and those wildly inhabiting the Malaya region of the south.

The term *Oṣadhi* has been used both in a general[9] sense for lower plants and in a specialized bearing. This latter class represents firstly, those herbs which are supposed by the poet to be phosphorescent and which illumine their neighbourhood with their oilless light[10], and, secondly, those herbaceous plants which possessed medicinal properties, whether curative[11] (*sañjīvanī*) or destructive. *Viṣa-vallī*[12] is a poisonous climber; *Mahauṣadhi*[13], which means sañjīvanī, revitalizing, is such a herb and was supposed to restore life; *Aparājitā*[14], again, was a particular

[1] *Raghu.*, I, II, IV, V, IX, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI; *Ku.* I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, *M. P.*, and *V*; *Ṛtu.*, *Śāk.* I, II, III, VII; *Vik.*, *Māl*, V.
[2] *M. P.*, 8, *M. P.* 23. *Ku.*, II, 35, 36; *Raghu.*, XIV, 30.
[3] *Raghu.*, I, 45, V. 69.
[4] Ibid., IV. 75, VIII. 54, IX. 70, X. 66, XII. 61, XIV. 80; *Ku.*, I. 10, 30, VI. 38, 43.
[5] *Raghu.*, II. 8, III. 7, VI. 64, *Śāk.*, I. 15, Ibid., p. 27.
[6] *Raghu.*, VI. 64, XII. 61.
[7] Ibid., II. 8.
[8] Ibid., 5. V. 9; *Ṛtu.*, I. 25.
[9] *Raghu.*, IV. 75, VIII. 54, I. 70, X. 66; *Ku.*, I. 10.
[10] *Raghu*; IV. 75; *Ku.* 10.
[11] महौषधि *Raghu.*, XII. 61.
[12] Ibid. (विषवल्ली)
[13] Ibid., [14] *Śāk.*, p. 249.

herb worn on the wrist or arm as a charm to save oneself from danger[1]. These must have been included in the second class. Oṣadhis have been defined by Suśruta as those herbs that wither after fructification[2]. They are, in the ordinary sense, the herbaceous plants bearing fruits with or without flowers, and dying or withering away after fructification. The osadhis, according to Cakrapāni, the commentator on Caraka, are subdivided into (1) annuals or perennials bearing fruits, and (2) plants that wither away after maturing and without fructification, like the *dūrvā*[3].

We have several references to *lata*[4] and one to *pratāna*[5]. Creepers, plants with herbaceous stems, are of two kinds—those turning and voluble and those others creeping on the ground. According to the *Manusaṁhitā*[6] the creepers twining round and climbing a tree or a support are called *vallīs*, while those spreading on the ground—proscumbent and document—*pratanas*. Suśruta[7] adds a third, *gulmiṇī*, succulent.

Of the trees growing over mountain altitudes the poet mentions the devadāru[8], sarala[9] and the bhūrja[10]. *Devadāru*, Cedrus libani, variety deodara, is the gigantic pine of the Himalayas. "At this same elevation," says F. C. Ford Robertson, Deputy Conservator of Forests, United Provinces, "roughly between 5,000 and 8,500 feet you will find the graceful deodar, holy tree of the Himalayas along with its humbler companion, the Kail or blue pine, both, but particularly the more durable deodar, prized for their timber. Unfortunately they grow only in quite small areas to the north-west (chiefly Chakrata side[11])." It is interesting to note that Mr. Ford Robertson quotes Kālidāsa while referring to the deodars: "See yonder deodar, the adopted child of Shiva. As from her breast was nurtured the war god Skanda, so hath she tended it with nectar welling from a deep-bosomed pitcher of gold[12]." According to the poet this tree grew also on, and in the vicinity of, the Kailāsa mountain, as he depicts Śiva sitting in contemplation under it.[13] But it looks like a conventional description and Kālidāsa does not appear to be geographically correct on this point because deodar grows at an elevation roughly between 5,000 and 8,500 feet[14] whereas the Mount Kailāsa is over 23,000 feet high and remains perpetually snow-coated where little vegetation is possible. Below is mostly the region of the birch which grows at an altitude between 10,000 and 14,000 feet[15]. *Sarala*, Pinus deodara, is

[1] Ibid.
[2] *Sūtrasthāna*, I. 36-37; cf. Ibid. 23.
[3] Majumdar: *Upavana Vinoda*, p. 11.
[4] *Raghu.*, II. 8, III. 7, VI. 64; *Śāk.*, I. 15, ibid. p. 27.
[5] *Raghu.*, II. 8.
[6] I. 46-48.
[7] Majumdar: *Upavana Vinoda*, p. 12.
[8] *Raghu.*, II, 36, IV. 76; *Ku.*, I. 15, 54, III. 44, VI, 51.
[9] *Raghu.*, IV, 75; *Ku.*, I. 9; *M. P.* 53.
[10] *Raghu.* IV, 73; *Ki*, I. 7. 55; *Vik*, pp. 44,51,52.
[11] *Our Forests*, p. 37.
[12] Ibid., p. 37 (cf. Raghu., II. 36.)
[13] *Ku.*, III. 44.
[14] Robertson: *Our Forests*, p. 10. [15] Ibid.

another variety of the Himalayan pine whose resin has been noted by the poet as producing fragrance[1] in the locality and whose branches rubbing against one another have been supposed to cause forest conflagration[2]. *Bhūrja*, Betula species, is the birch tree growing at an altitude of about 13,500 feet[3]. "With these two conifers", observes Mr. Ford Robertson, "are associated chestnuts and maples, and towards the tree limit (13,000 feet to 14,000 feet), birch, rhododendron and willows, the whole finally yielding to bleak Alpine pasture (bugial) in the shadow of the eternal snow[4]." Thus above the ground slopes growing the pines there lined the birch trees and above them there shone the eternal snow. The birch trees, imagines the poet, furnished the Vidyādhara *belles* with their leaves to write their love-letters on[5]. The leaves of this tree were extensively used in ancient India for writing purposes and even to-day we come across hundreds of manuscripts finished on them. *Priyāla*, explained by Mallinātha[6] as rājādana on the authority of the *Amarakośa*[7] has been located in the Himālaya region, and so also *Nameru*[8] as we shall see below.

The lower slopes of the Himalayas, the deccan plateau and the Indian plains grew endless varieties of trees of which those mentioned by the poet may be noted below. Of these the bigger variety may be dealt with first. The first in order of girth come the *Caitya*[9] trees. The poet does not specifically mention which trees came under the class of the Caitya trees, but the *Sāroddhāriṇī*, *Sumativijaya*, and others think the term Caitya to signify 'sacred trees like the pipal[10].' This class may have included the vaṭa and the plakṣa trees, besides the aśvattha or the pipal, to which references have been made elsewhere. The *aśvattha*, Ficus religiosa or the religious fig tree, is a mighty tree which bears a species of fig fruits and serves many religious purposes of the Hindus. *Vaṭa*[11] Ficus indica, and *plakṣa*[12] are the varieties of the banyan tree which bear a kind of the fig fruits and yield a resinous milky juice from their bark. They afford abundant shade. In the Hindi vernacular they are respectively known as *baṛa* and *pākaṛa*. Another species of the fig tree has been mentioned by the name *Udumbara*[13]. This tree has been alluded to as covering the Devagiri hill between Ujjaini and the Chambal[14]. *Sālmali*[15], Bombax malabaricum, is commonly known as the silk-cotton tree, which produces a kind of cotton generally used in India for stuffering purposes. "You

[1] *Ku*: I. 9.
[2] *M. P.*, 53.
[3] Robertson: *Our Forests*, p. 10.
[4] Ibid.
[5] अनगलेखक्रिययोपयोगम् *Ku.*, I. 7.
[6] प्रियालद्रुमा राजादनवृक्षा *Ku.*, III. 31 (Commentary).
[7] राजादनः प्रियाल. स्यात् Ibid.
[8] *Raghu.*, IV. 74; *Ku.*, I. 55, III. 43.
[9] *M. P.*, 23.
[10] पूज्यपादपाः पिप्पलादयो
[11] *Raghu.*, XIII. 53.
[12] Ibid., VIII. 93. XIII. 71.
[13] *M. P.*, 42.
[14] Ibid., cf. before and after.
[15] *Ṛtu.*, I. 26.

who read this", remarks Mr. Ford Robertson, "may possibly be unable to recognise a sal or chir tree. But you will undoubtedly know that common desi wayfarer, the semal or 'cotton' tree, if only by the buttresses supporting its smooth grey bole, its stiffy-angled branches, and the crimson fleshy flowers and cottony seed pods it scatters so freely along the spring roads. At maturity a large and stately tree, it can grow almost 200 feet high with a girth of 15 feet at a point 30 feet above ground (Coorg)—you can readily imagine what magnificent beams its long clean stem must furnish. And you would be quite wrong. It is not just that the wood, one of the lightest and softest in India, lacks the necessary strength and durability, because large planks are made of it, serviceable packing cases and even 'dug-out' canoes[1]." Another variety of this tree called *kūṭaśālmali*[2] has been alluded to. It is supposed to be the weapon of Yama[3], the god of death. *Saptacchada*[4] or *saptaparṇa*[5], Echites scholaris, is a tree having seven leaves on its stalk. It sends forth a strong rutlike scent from its flowers[6]. It is a big tree providing ample shade[7]. It grew wildly in forest regions[8] and flowered in the autumn season[9]. *Nameru*[10] is likewise a large umbrageous tree affording abundant shade. It has won the name of *chāyātaru*[11] because of its dense shade. Kālidāsa generally[12] makes it an inhabitant of the higher altitudes of the Himalayas and places it in the vicinity of the birch and sarala trees[13] and on the Kailāsa mountain[14] but the word *chāyātaru* has been explained by Mallinātha[15] on the authority of the *Śabdārṇava*[16] as the nameru tree, which would place it even in the plateau of Deccan. *Śāla*[17], Shorea robusta, is very tall and stately[18] and the strong smell of its exudations overpowers that of other flowers[19]. It was otherwise called sarja[20] and has been prominently mentioned as growing on the way from Ayodhyā to the hermitage of Vasiṣṭha in the Himalayas[21]. They grew, as now, in the Gangetic plain *Sarīṣa*[22], Mimosa sirisso, is a tall tree which blossoms in summer. Its flowers were a great favourite of Indian women of the poet's time.

[1] Robertson: *Our Forests*, p. 37.
[2] *Raghu.*, XII. 95.
[3] Ibid., cf. also Mallinātha's comment on it.
[4] *Raghu.*, V. 48; *Ṛtu.*, II. 2, 13.
[5] *Raghu.*, IV. 23; *Śāk.*, p. 38.
[6] *Raghu.*, IV. 23, V. 48.
[7] *Śāk.*, p. 38.
[8] *Ṛtu.*, III. 2, 13; *Raghu*, V. 48.
[9] Ibid.
[10] *Raghu.*, IV. 74; *Ku.*, 1.55, III. 43.
[11] *M. P.*, I. Vide Mallinātha's comment: छायावृक्षो नमेरु स्यात्—*Śabdārṇava.*
[12] *Raghu.*, IV. 24; *Ku.*, I. 155, III. 43.
[13] Cf. *Raghu.*, IV. 73-75.
[14] *Ku.*, I. 55, III. 43.
[15] *M. P.*, I. comment.
[16] Ibid.,
[17] *Raghu.*, I. 13, 38, XV. 78.
[18] शालप्राश् Ibid., I. 13.
[19] Ibid., 38.
[20] *Ṛtu.*, II. 17, III. 13.
[21] Vide *Raghu.*, I. and II.
[22] Ibid., XVIII. 45; *Ku.*, I. 41; *Śāk*, I. 4.

Āmra[1], also called *cūta*[2] and *sahakāra*[3], Mangifera Indica, is the well-known mango tree which produces the sweet mango pickles. It is a favourite of Kālidāsa as of all Sanskrit poets and he dwells very frequently on the romance of the lovers being enhanced by the advent of the bees and the cuckoos in the spring which make their haunt in the flowering mango tree which intoxicates them. Although this tree must have been a common sight everywhere its existence has been particularly noted on the summit of the Āmrakūṭa (Amarakantak) mountain. The top of the mountain is mentioned as covered with ripe fruits of the tree[4]. It may be added that the mountain derives its name from its association with the mango tree. Jambū[5], Eugenia jambolana is the big rose-apple tree commonly known as the Jaman. It grew wildly in the Central region of Malwa and to the south of it. The Narbada flew through a grove[6] of this tree and the entire border of forests in the Daśārṇa country looked black due to its ripened fruits[7] at the advent of the rains. *Madhūka*[8] Bassia latifolia, is the common mahua with its strong smelling flowers with which wine was scented[9]. *Tintiḍi*[10], Rindus Indica, is the big tamarind tree with its sour fruit. It takes thirty years from the day of its planting to bear fruit.

Naktamāla[11], Caesalpinia bonducalla, grew in abundance, says the poet, along the course of the Narbada. It is the same as karanja, a vigorous tree of the Deccan and Chota-Nagpur. *Samī*[12], Mimosa suma (Prosopis spicigera), is supposed by the Sanskrit writers to contain latent fire in its wood. Kālidāsa reiterates this belief in his expression, *agnigarbhāśamī*[13]. The story as to how this tree came to be endowed with hidden fire is narrated in the Purāṇas. *Aśoka*[14], Saraca Indica (Jonesia asoka), otherwise known as *kaṅkeli*[15] is another favourite of Kālidāsa. This with its species of *raktāśoka*[16], the red-asoka, is a slender, tall and graceful tree. Sir William Jones observes that "the vegetable world scarce exhibits a richer sight than an Asoka tree in .full bloom. It is about as high as an ordinary cherry-tree. The flowers are very large, and beautifully diversified with tints of orange scarlet, of pale yellow, and of bright orange, which form a variety of shades according to the age of the blossom[17]."

[1] *Ṛtu.*, VI. 23; *M. P.*, 18.
[2] *Raghu.*, VII. 21; *Ṛtu.*, VI. 1,3,15,30.
[3] *Raghu.*, VI, 69; *Ṛtu.*, VI.22, 26,27,34.
[4] *M. P.*, 18.
[5] Ibid., 20,23; *Vik.*, p. 97.
[6] *M. P.*, 20
[7] Ibid., 23.
[8] *Raghu.*, VI, 25.
[9] Vide Mallihātha's comment on *Ku.*, III. 38.
[10] *Śāk.*, p. 70.
[11] *Raghu.*, V. 42.
[12] Ibid., VI. 26; *Śāk.*, IV. 3.
[13] *Śāk.*, IV. 3. अग्निगर्भा शमी
[14] *Raghu.*, VIII. 62; *Māl.*, pp. 43,46; III. 12; *Ṛtu.*, VI.5,16.
[15] *Ṛtu.*, III. 18, vide comment.
[16] *M U.* 15, *Māl.*, III. 5.
[17] *Works*, Vol. V.

It was a poetical belief that the aśoka tree blossomed only when struck by the foot of a lady with jingling anklets which is borne out by the poet's description of several *dohadas*[1] or the acts of striking the tree in order to put forth flowers. This *dohada* is a favourite theme of the sculptors of the Kusāṇa and Gupta periods of which many instances carved in high relief may be witnessed among the exhibits of the Muttra Museum. The tree blossoms from the root and all over its body[2]. *Asana*[3], Terminalia tomentosa, is a most adaptable and therefore a wide-spread tree growing gigantic in rich valley alluvium but squat and stunted on hill clays. "Despite uncertain durability and a proneness to splitting," observes Mr. Ford Robertson, "it has a considerable market for building purposes, and more recently, for floor-boards of railway waggons, and over three lakhs of cubic feet are exported every year[4]." *Arjuna*[5], Terminalia arjuna, otherwise known as *kakubha*[6], is a species of the teak tree. *Sallakī*[7] (*śallakī*[8]), Boswellia serrata, is also called *gajabhakṣa* in Sanskrit as elephants are very fond[9] of it. Its juice is sweet like liquor[10]. It is found plentifully in Khandesh and other parts of the Bombay Presidency. *Lodhra*[11], Symplocos crataegoides, is the lodh tree. It blossoms in winter and has red or white flowers. That with white ones is a rare variety. The dust of the red flowers of this tree was used by women of ancient India to render their lips reddish pale[12]. The *tilaka*[13] tree was celebrated for its beautiful fragrant flowers appearing in the spring. It has been frequently alluded to by the poet. *Kadamba*[14], Anthocephalus kadamba, is supposed to put forth buds on the roaring of thunder clouds[15]. Thus it blooms in the rainy season and bears fruit as large as the small apple. The fruit is ripe in the rains. A red variety of it was called *raktakadamba*[16]. *Nīpa*,[17] ordinarily supposed to be the same as kadamba, is Nauclea kadamba and slightly different from the common kadamba. It is a species of the same tree but is surely not the same as is evident from Kālidāsa's referring to it in the same line with the kadamba[18]. *Akṣa*[19], Terminalia balcrica, is a tree of the seeds of whose fruits rosaries are made. *Aguru*[20] is the fragrant

[1] *Raghu.*, VIII. 62, *M. U.*, 15; *Māl*, III (entire Act).
[2] *Ṛtu.*, VI. 16.
[3] *Raghu.*, IX. 63.
[4] Our Forests., p. 39.
[5] *Raghu.*, XIX. 39; *Ṛtu.*, II. 17, III. 13.
[6] *M. P.*, 22; *Ṛtu.*, 11. 12.
[7] *Ku.*, VIII. 33.
[8] *Vik.*, IV. 44.
[9] *Ku.*, VIII. 33.
[10] Ibid.,
[11] *Raghu.*, II. 29; *M. U.*, 2; *Rtu.*, IV. I. VI. 33.
[12] *M. U.*, 2.
[13] *Raghu.*, IX, 41, 44; *Ku.*, III. 3fl, VIII, 40; *Māl.*, III. 5.
[14] *Raghu.*, IX, 44, XIII. 27, XV. 99; *M. P.* 25, *Rtu.*, II. 17,2⁰, 23,24. III. 8, 13, IV. 9.
[15] *M. P.*, 25.
[16] *Vik.*, IV. 60.
[17] *Raghu.*, XIX. 37; *M. P.* 21; *Rtu.*, II. 17, VII. 13.
[18] *Ṛtu.*, III. 13.
[19] *Raghu.*, XIII. 43; *Ku.*, III. 46. [20] *Ṛtu.*, V. 12.

aloe tree and *kālāguru*[1] a black variety of the same. The latter grew in abundance in the country of Kāmarūpa[2]. *Kālīyaka*[3], like sandal, is a fragrant wood. *Kurabaka*[4], Barleria Cristala, is a species of amaranth. This plant blossoms in the spring[5], and has richly coloured flowers that take long in withering. Its crimson species is the *raktakurabaka*[6]. *Akṣoṭa*[7] is the walnut tree bearing an oily nut called *akhrot*. It abounded in the country of the Kambojas[8]. *Ingudi*[9], Ximenia aegyptiaca (Terminalia catappa), is a wild tree commonly called *ingua*, from the fruit of which oil was extracted, which ascetics in hermitages used for their lamps[10] and ointment[11]. It was otherwise known as *tāpasataru*, the anchorites' tree. It is a medicinal tree and its fruits are supposed to possess prolific efficacy and necklaces made from them are used as a charm for children. *Vijapūraka*[12], the same as *mātuluṅgaka*, Citrus medica, is a citron tree. The bark of the fruit was chewed to undo the smell of liquor. Its fruit was considered auspicious and worthy of presentation[13]; it may be seen held in the palm by some of the images of the Muttra Museum as an auspicious object.

A smaller variety of trees and flower plants were the following, namely, *kutaja*[14], *vikaṅkata*[15], *sindhuvāra*[16], *bandhujīva*[17] or *bandhūka*[18], *karṇikāra*[19], *kovidāra*[20], *kalpadruma*[21], *pārijāta*[22], *mandāra*[23], *santānaka*[24], *bakula*[25] or *kesara*[26], *kusumbha*[27], *kiṁśuka*[28] or *palāśa*[29], *kadalī*[30] and *kandalī*[31].

[1] *Raghu.*, IV. 81, XIII. 55. XIV. 12; *M. U.* 44; *Rtu.*, II. 21, IV. 5, V.5, VI. 13.
[2] *Raghu.*, IV. 81.
[3] *Rtu.*, IV. 5, VI. 12.
[4] *Raghu.*, IX. 29, *M. U.*, 15; *Rtu.*, III. 10, VI. 13; *Śāk.* p. 192.
[5] *Rtu.*, VI. 18.
[6] *Māl*, p. 39.
[7] *Raghu.*, IV. 69.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid., XIV. 81, *Śāk.* I. 13, IV., 13, p 73.
[10] *Raghu.*, XIV. 81.
[11] *Śāk.*, p. 73.
[12] *Māl.*, pp. 35,36.
[13] Ibid.
[14] *Raghu.*, XIX, 37; *M. P.*, 4, *Rtu.*, III. 13.
[15] *Raghu.*, XI, 25.
[16] *Ku.*, III. 53.
[17] *Raghu.*, XI. 25; *Ku.*, VIII. 40; *Rtu.*, III. 24.
[18] *Rtu.*, III. 5, 25.
[19] *Ku.*, III. 28, 53; *Rtu.*, VI. 5, 20, 27.
[20] *Rtu.*, III, 6.
[21] *Raghu.*, I. 75, VI. 6; *Ku.*, VII. 39, VI. 41, II. 26.
[22] *Raghu.*, VI., 6; *Ku.*, VIII. 27; *Vik.*, II. 12.
[23] *Raghu.*, VI. 23; *M.U.* 4.
[24] *Raghu.*, X. 77; *Ku*, VI. 46, VII. 3.
[25] *Raghu.*, VIII. 64, IX. 30, XIX. 12; *Rtu.*, II. 24.
[26] *Raghu.*, IX. 36; *M. U.* 15, *Śāk.* p. 30.
[27] *Rtu.*, I. 24, VI. 4.
[28] *Raghu.*, IX. 31; *Rtu.*, VI. 19,20,28.
[29] *Raghu.*, IX., 51; *Ku.*, III. 29.
[30] *Raghu.*, XII. 96; *Ku*,. I. 36; *M. P.* 33.
[31] *Raghu.*, XIII. 29; *M. P.*, 21; *Rtu.*, II. 5; *Vik.*, IV. 5.

Of these *kuṭaja*, Holarrhena antidysenterica (Wrightea antidysenterica) blossoms in the rainy season. *Vikaṅkata* is a sacred tree of the wood of which ladles were made[1]. *Sindhuvāra*, Vitex trifolia, is the same as nirguṇḍī[2]. *Bandhūka* or *bandhujīva*, Pentapetes phonicea (Ixora coccinea), yields red flowers. *Karṇikāra*, Hibiscus mutabilis, flowers in the spring. It bears red flowers of excellent hue but without smell. *Kovidāra*, Bauhinia species, is a tree with delicate branches flowering in autumn. *Kalpadruma* or kalpataru was an imaginary tree of Indra's heaven yielding everything desired. Three of the five classes of this tree—*pārijāta*, *mandāra* and *santānaka*—are alluded to by the poet. *Pārijāta*, Erythrina Indica, is the same as hariśṛṅgāra; *mandāra*, Erythrina fulgeus, is the same as manar. *Bakula* or *kesara*, Mimusops elengi, bears a strong smelling flower and is very ornamental in pleasure gardens. *Kusumbha*, Carthamus tinctrorius, yields red flowers used in colouring. *Kiṁśuka* or *Palāśa*, Butea frondosa, is ordinarily the common palāśa, but *palāśa* proper is the redder species. Both the varieties bear beautiful flowers but without smell. They are a common sight growing wildly in the vicinity of Fyzabad and they abound all over the Gangetic plain. *Kadalī*, Musa sapientum, is the common plantain tree. *Kandalī* is a plant, whose leaves are green, which dries up in the hot season and then all at once makes its appearance at the beginning of the rains. An imaginary tree, *asipatra*[3] (with leaves like swords), has been referred to as growing in the pātāla, the nether-world.

Trees growing in saltish soil in belts of forests lining the sea-coast were *tālī*,[4] *ekatāla*[5], *rājatālī*[6], *pūga*[7], *punnāga*[8], *kharjūra*[9], *kharjūrī*[10] and *nārikela*[11]. These are the different species of the palm tree. *Tālī*, talipot palm, is a species of the mountain palm, which lined the sea-coast of Kaliṅga[12] and the Cape Comorin[13]; ekatāla, Borossus flabelliformis, is the palmyra tree; *rājatālī* is perhaps the same as *pūga*, Areca catechu, and bears areca or betel nut chewed with betel leaves. This has been described as growing on the east coast, in the Malaya region[14] and along the Cape Comorin[15]. *Kharjūra* or *kharjūrī*, Phoenix sylvestris, is the date tree located by Kālidāsa on the west coast along Kerala and Aparānta[16]. *Punnāga*, Catophyllum inophyllum, is ordinarily supposed to be the same as the *nāgakesara*[17] but botanically the latter is known by a different name, Mesua fer-

[1] *Raghu.*, XI. 25. (23). *Vide* comment of Mallinātha on *Ku.*, III. 53.
[2] *Raghu.*, XIV. 48.
[3] Ibid., IV. 34, XIII. 15.
[4] Ibid., XV. 23.
[5] Ibid., IV. 56.
[6] Ibid., IV. 44. VI. 64, XIII. 17.
[7] Ibid., IV. 57.
[8] *Śāk.*, p. 70.
[9] *Raghu*, IV. 57.
[10] Ibid., 42.
[11] Ibid., 34.
[12] Ibid., XIII. 15.
[13] Ibid., VI. 64.
[14] Ibid., XIII. 17.
[15] Ibid., IV. 57.
[16] पुन्नागेभ्यो नागकेशरा। Comment by Mallinātha on *Raghu.*, IV. 57.

rea. Kālidāsa has mentioned the locality of this tree to be the coast of Malabar[1]. Dr. Roxburgh, however, thinks that it is a native of the Coromandal coast. *Nārikela* is the cocoa-nut tree which has been mentioned as abundantly growing along the coast of Kalinga[2]. It may be noted here that the *Amarakośa* classes the Palmaceae (including the cocoa-nut, date, areca and other palms) as tree-grasses, probably because, like the grasses, they are endogens characterized by spikes and parallel veins (*tṛṇadrumāḥ*).[3]

The Malaya region abounded in the fragrant sandal wood. *Candana*[4] Sirium myrtifolium, is a kind of large myrtle with pointed leaves. Its paste was much used in toilet in ancient India[5]. Its fragrance is supposed to harbour snakes among the roots and on the trunk of the tree[6]. It grew wildly in the Malayasthalī along with 'the tāmbūla creeper, the cardamom plant and the pūga and tamāla trees'[7]. The sandal tree had a red variety called *raktacandana*[8]. *Lavaṅga*[9] is the clove tree and it grew, besides the area of Malaya, in the neighbouring islands[10] of India. Tamāla[11] is another tree with big leaves. This region also produced the cardamom, Alpinia cardamomum (*elā*[12]), and the black-pepper (*marīci*[13]) plants. It may be noted that cloves, cardamom and black-pepper were used as food spices as now.

Plants and Creepers

Besides the above flower-bearing trees, the poet mentions the *pātala*[14], Stereospermum suaveolnes, which bears a wild trumpet flower and the *ketaka*[15] or *ketakī*[16], Pandanus odoratissimus, which is a green plant with needle-pointed blades for leaves, bears a strong smelling flower and is otherwise known as *keora*. Jasmine which comes under the *gulma* (shrubs) class of Suśruta's classification[17], had several kinds, both shrubs and creepers, many of which have been mentioned by the poet. *Kunda*[18], one of the Jasminum species, is a similar shrub, white and delicate, while *Kaundī*[19], otherwise known as *Maghī* and flowering two months before the spring, is a creeper. Other species of Jasmine are the following,

[1] *Raghu.* IV. 57.
[2] *Ibid.*, IV. 42.
[3] *cf Amarakośa*
[4] *Raghu.*, IV. 48, 51, VI. 64; *Ṛtu.*, I. 4, 6,8, II, 21, III. 20, V. 3, VI. 6. 12, 32.
[5] *Raghu.*, IV. 48.
[6] Ibid., VI. 64.
[7] *Māl.*, p. 65.
[8] *Raghu.*, VI. 57, VIII. 25.
[9] द्वीपान्तरानीतलवंगपुष्पैः Ibid., VI. 51.
[10] Ibid., VI. 64, XIII. 15, 49.
[11] Ibid., IV. 47; VI. 64.
[12] Ibid., IV. 46.
[13] *Ṛtu.*, I. 28, *Śāk.*, I. 3.
[14] *Raghu.*, VI. 57; *M. P.* 23.
[15] *Ṛtu.*, II. 17,20,23, 26; *Māl*, p. 82.
[16] Girija Prasanna Majumdar: *Upavana Vinoda*, p. 12.
[17] *Ṛtu.*, IV., 2, VI, 23, 31.
[18] *Vik.*, II, 4.

viz., *yūthikā*[1] or *jūthikā*[2], *mallikā*[3], or *navamallikā*[4] or *vanajyotsnā*[5] and *mālatī*[6]. *Syāmā*[7], Echnocarpus frutescens, otherwise known as *phalinī*[8], and *priyaṅgu*, Aglaia Roxburghiana, is a creeper much favoured by Sanskrit poets. It has been compared with the body of a woman[9] on account of its delicacy and thinness. It bears white flowers and is supposed to blossom at the touch of a woman[10]. *Mādhavī*[11], Gaerthera racemosa (Hiptage madhavalata), bearing white flowers, is a spring creeper to which constant allusion has been made by Sanskrit poets. It flowers and bears sweet floral juice in summer. Of all these creepers the *atimuktalatā*[12], Aganosma caryophyllu, has received the highest attention and praise from Sanskrit poets. Sir William Jones has aptly observed: "The beauty and fragrance of the flowers of this creeper give them a title to all the praises which Kālidāsa and Jayadeva bestow on them It is a gigantic and luxuriant climber; but when it meets with nothing to grasp, it assumes the form of a sturdy tree, the highest branches of which display, however, in the air their natural flexibility and inclination to climb[13]." The śyāmā, mād havī and atimukta creepers furnished beautiful bowers. Another class of creepers is represented by one called *lavalī*[14]. *Tāmbūlavallī*[15] is the betel creeper the leaves of which with the areca nut, catechu, caustic lime and spices were chewed as a carminative and antacid tonic, expecially after meals, and for undoing the bad odour of liquor. It grew wildly in the Malaya region[16]. *Drākṣā*[17] was the vine creeper which spread itself on ground and covered the land of the Pārasīkas[18]. Much wine was prepared from it[19]. Besides the above ones the poet speaks of a few imaginary creepers like the *elālatā*[20], *aśokalatā*[21],and *śamīllatā*[22] due to the delicate bole of the trees they indirectly represent. Kālidāsa incidentally hints at a distinction between the two varieties of creepers, namely, the *udyānalatā*[23] and the *vanalatā*[24],

[1] Ibid., IV, 46, *M. P* 26
[2] *Rtu.*, II. 24
[3] *Rtu.*, III. 18, VI. 5.
[4] *Śāk.*, p. 31.
[5] Ibid., pp. 31, 137.
[6] *Rtu.*, II. 24. III. 2, 19; *Māl*, p. 36.
[7] *Rtu.*, III. 18; *M. U.* 41.
[8] *Raghu.*, VIII. 61.
[9] *Rtu.*, IV. 10, VI. 12; *Māl.* p. 48, II. 6.
[10] *M. U.*, 41; *Rtu.*, IV. 10; *Māl.*, II. 6.
[11] *Śāk.*, III. 7; *Māl.* III. 5.
[12] *Rtu.*, VI. 17, *Māl*, IV. 13; *Śāk.*, p. 95.
[13] Sir William Jones: *Works*, Vol. V. p. 124.
[14] *Vik.*, V. 8.
[15] *Raghu.*, VI. 64; *Rtu.*, V. 5.
[16] *Raghu.*, VI. 64.
[17] Ibid., IV. 65.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid., IV. 65,61.
[20] Ibid., VI. 64.
[21] Ibid., VII. 21.
[22] *Śāk.*, p. 27.
[23] Ibid., I. 15.
[24] Ibid.

the garden and forest creepers respectively. The creepers like śyāmā, mādhavī and the atimukta would appear to belong to the former class as we learn of their bowers being furnished with sitting slabs[1] while the tāmbūlavallī and the like to the latter. There are a few more plants to which a brief reference may be made. They are the *arka*[2], *campaka*[3], *śephālikā*[4], *śilindhra*[5], *japāpuṣpa*[6], and the *kuṅkuma*[7]. *Arka*, Gigantic Asclepias, Calootopis gigantea, is a large and vigorous shrub. *Campaka*, Michelia champaca, is a plant bearing yellow fragrant flowers. *Śephālikā*, Nyctanthes arbortistis, is a shrub having white flowers. *Śilīndhra* is a mushroom, fenuel, a fril plant much resembling an umbrella and growing and withering in the rainy season. *Japā*, Hibiscus rosasinenses, is the flower plant called the China rose. *Kuṅkuma* is the saffron. The *Ṛtusaṁhāra* tells us how ladies used to besmear their breasts with the saffron paint in the months of Hemanta, Śiśira and Vasanta[8].

We shall now make a reference to the kind of grasses mentioned. There are allusions to *trnas*[9] or grasses, *śaspa*[10] or young grass, *śādvala*[11] or tract abounding in grass, *stamba*[12] or a clump of grass and to *kaṇḍagara*[13] or straw. Of grasses there are several varieties on record. The most important of them is *kīcaka*[14] or *vaṁśa*[15], Dendrocalamus strictus, the common bamboo. It is a sort of giant grass which is actually so considered (*tṛṇadhvajaḥ*) by ancient writers[16]. Kālidāsa locates *kīcaka* mostly in the mountaneous regions like the Himalayas[17], where wind passing through their holes produces melodious music. But the *vaṁśa*, or bans, is essentially a foothill species and so the best of it comes from the forests west of the Sarda river, the submontane tract round Kotdwara having the finest bamboo in the United Provinces[18]. *Kāśa*[19], Saccharun cylindricum, is a kind of tall grass which blossoms in the autumn season and bears white flowers *Bhadramustā*[20] or *mustā*[21], Cyperus rotandus, is the common grass plant called nagarmotha a great favourite of the wild boars[22]. *Kuśa*[23] or *darbha*[24], Poa Cynosuroides,

[1] मणिशिलापट्टसनाथो ibid, p. 200.
[2] *Śāk.*, II. 8.
[3] *Ṛtu.*, VI. 29.
[4] Ibid., III. 14.
[5] *M. P.*, 11.
[6] Ibid., 36.
[7] *Raghu.*, IV, 67; *Ṛtu.*, V. 9, vi. 4, 12.
[8] K*tu.*, V. 9, VI. 4, 12.
[9] *Raghu.*, II. 5; *Ṛtu.*, I. 25, II. 8, IV. 7.
[10] *Ṛtu*, V. 1,22; *Vik*, IV. 57.
[11] *Raghu.*, II. 51; *Vik*, p. 95.
[12] *Raghu.*, V. 15, XV. 19.
[13] Ibid., V. 9.
[14] Ibid., II. 12, IV. 13; *Ku.*, I. 8; *M. P.* 56.
[15] *Ṛtu.*, I. 25.
[16] Mazumdar; *Upavana Vinoda*, p. 12.
[17] *Raghu.*, II. 12, IV. 13; K*u*, I. 8; *M. P.* 56.
[18] Robertson, *Our Forests*, p. 41.
[19] *Ku.*, VII. II; *Ṛtu.*, III. 1,2,26.
[20] *Ṛtu.*, I. 17.
[21] *Raghu*, IX. 59. XV. 19. [22] Ibid., IX. 59; cf. *Ṛtu.*, I. 17.
[23] *Raghu.*, I. 49, 95, V. 4,7, XIII. 43. XIV. 70, *Ku.*, I. 60. [24] *Śāk.*, II. 12. p. 34.

is held sacred and is abundantly used in religious ceremonies. Its leaves are very long, tapering to a sharp needle-point, of which the extreme acuteness was proverbial. Another kind of grass was *uśīra*[1], Andropogon laniger (Andropogon citrarum: Andropogon muricatum), from the fragrant root of which a cooling ointment was made[2]. *Dūrvā*[3], the bent panic grass, has fine blades and was used for several sacred purposes. Śaileya[4] is a particular kind of fragrant grassy moss growing on rocks.

The poet has made several references to crops and cereals which will be noted in their due context. Here only a mention of their names may be made They are barley[5] (*yava*), rice[6] (*dhānya*), and sugarcane[7], (*iksu*). Of the rice, he knows three varieties, śāli[8], kalamā[9] and nīvāra[10]. The cultivation of saffron[11] in the Oxus basin has also been referred to.

Let us now pass on to the references to aquatic plants. Of flowers and plants growing in inland waters the lotus, *nalinī*[12], was most important and Kālidāsa does not seem tired of giving its description. Its several varieties were known. For the common lotus the poet employs several names, viz. *aravinda*[13], *paṅkaja*[14], *sarasija*[15], *utpala*[16], Ymphaeo stellata, *kamala*[17], *ambuja*[18], and *ambhoruha*[19]. There were *padmas*[20] (also *padminī*[21]) opening at the touch of the sun's rays and *kumudas*[22], water lilies. Of the latter class we know two varieties, namely the ordinary white kind and *kuvalaya*[23] the blue one. Of the former there were several species, namely the white, red, blue and yellow; *sitapaṅkaja*[24] and *puṇḍarīka*[25] refer to the white variety, *tāmarasa*[26], *kahlāra*[27] and *raktakamala*[28] to the red, *indīvara*[29] and *nīlotpala*[30]

[1] Ibid., p. 84.
[2] उशीरानुलेपन Ibid.,
[3] *Raghu.*, VI. 25.
[4] *Rtu.*, VI, 25.
[5] *Raghu.*, VII. 27, X. 43, XIII. 49; *Ku.*, VII. 17
[6] *Raghu.*, IV. 20,37; *Rtu.*, III. 1,10,16, IV. 1,7,18, V 1. 18
[7] *Raghu.*, IV. 20; *Rtu.*, V. 1, 16.
[8] *Raghu.*, IV. 20; *Rtu.* III. 1, 10,16, IV. 1, 17, 18, V. 1,16
[9] *Raghu.*, IV. 37.
[10] Ibid., 1. 50; *Śāk.*, I. B.
[11] *Raghu.*, IV. 67.
[12] Ibid., VI. 44; *Rtu.*, II. 14; *Śāk.*, pp. 84, 89.
[13] *Raghu.*, I. 43.
[14] Ibid., III. 8. *Rtu.*, III. 10, 23.
[15] *Raghu.*, V. 69.
[16] *Rtu.*, II 2, 14. III. 24, V. 10; *Raghu.*, III. 36, XII 86; *M. P.*, 26; *Śāk.*, I. 18.
[17] *Rtu.*, I. 28, III. 5,8,26, V. 13, VI. 32.
[18] Ibid., IV. 4, VI. 14.
[19] Ibid., III. 17.
[20] Ibid., III. 1,15, IV. 1, VI. 2; *Vik.*, IV. 40.
[21] *Māl*, II. 12.
[22] *Raghu.*, IV. 19, VI. 36; *Rtu.*, III. 2,15,21,23,26.
[23] *Rtu.*, II. 22.
[24] *Raghu.*, XIII. 54.
[25] Ibid., VI. 17, X. 9; Ku., VIII. 26,32.
[26] *Raghu*, IV. 17, X. 9; *Māl.*, IV. 7.
[27] *Rtu.*, III. 15.
[28] *Vik.*, IV. 12.
[29] *Raghu.*, VI. 65; *Rtu.*, II. 12.
[30] *Rtu.*, III. 17, 19, 26, IV. 9.

to the blue and *kanakakamala*[1], *śātakumbhakamala*[2] and *hemāmbhoja*[3] to the yellow one of a golden hue. This last kind has been mentioned as growing exclusively in the Mānasa lake[4] of the Kailāsa range Lotuses and lilies covering at places the entire surface of the water make the expression *kamalavana*[5] literally true, and one may see many an Indian lake growing lotuses in uninterrupted stretches of several miles together and giving the impression of a forest through which it becomes difficult for a cutter or canoe to make way. A different variety of lotus, the *sthalakamalinī*[6], Hibiscus mutabilis, has been described as growing on land. The stalk of the lotus, it is said, served[7] as food (*pātheya*) for the flamingoes flying to the Manasasarovara. Besides, there were some other aquatic plants and reeds growing in the swamps of lakes and lowlands and in shallow river-beds. Such was *śaivala*[8], vallisneria, a vigorous growth of moss, which spreads itself over ponds, and interweaves with the lotus. *Nicula*[9], perhaps the same as the *vetasa*[10] and *vānīra*[11], Calamus viminalis, (Calamus tenuis) is the cane reed which grew near about Rāmagiri[12], on the banks of the Tamasā[13], Gambhīrā[14] and Mālinī[15], and perhaps also in the Suhma country, to which an indirect reference is given[16].

Under this section may be discussed the data regarding the animal life including the creatures living on land and water and birds and other winged beings.

Fauna

We may study animals under two heads, viz., the wild and domestic.

Wild Animals.

Just as the primeval forests have mostly disappeared from the plains of India so also have vanished several of the wild animals to a great extent. During the time of Kālidāsa forests abounded in which animals flourished. Of these the following have been noted: the lion (*mṛgendra*[17], *mṛgeśvara*[18], *rīkṣa*[19], *siṁha*[20]), the

[1] Ibid., V. 13.
[2] *Ku.*, VIII. 85.
[3] *M. P.*, 62, हेमाम्बुज *Raghu*, XIII 60.
[4] Ibid.
[5] *Rtu.*, I. 26.
[6] *M U.* 27.
[7] *M. P.* 11.
[8] *Raghu.*, V. 46; *Śāk.*, I. 17.
[9] *M. P.*, 14; *Vik.*, IV. 13.
[10] *Śāk.*, p. 60; III, 23.
[11] *M. P.*, 41.
[12] Ibid., 14.
[13] *Raghu.*, IX. 75.
[14] *M. P.* 41.
[15] *Śāk.*, p. 60, III. 23.
[16] *Raghu.*, IV. 35, वेतसी वृत्ति
[17] Ibid., II. 30; *Rtu.*, I. 27.
[18] *Rtu.*, I. 14.
[19] *Raghu.*, II. 29; *Rtu.*, I. 25.
[20] *Raghu.*, II. 27, IX. 64; *Ku*, I. 56.

king of the animal kingdom, the elephant (*karī*[1], *dantī*[2], *dīpa*[3], *ibha*[4], *gaja*[5] *kuñjara*[6]) and its young one (*kalabha*[7]), the tiger (*vyāghra*[8]) and tigress (*vyāghrī*[9]), the boar (*varāha*[10]), the rhinoceros (*khaṅga*[11]), the bison (*mahiṣa*[12], *ranya*), and buffaloes (*mahiṣā*[13]), the yak (*camarī*[14]) roaming among the Himalayas, a kind of ox (*gavaya*[15]), the deer (*mṛga*[16]), both buck and doe (*mṛgī*[17]), including two kinds of them, namely, the musk-deer (*nirganābhi*[18]);(Wilson observes that this animal is what is called the Tibet Musk-deer; "but it is found among the lofty Himalaya mountains, which divide Tartary from Hindustan" cf. *Ku.* ,1·54; R. IV. 74), and the spotted one (*ruru*[19] or kṛṣṇasāra whose skin was considered sacred), the jackal, the female species of it (*śivā*[20]), the monkey (*vānara, kapi*[21]) and ape (*piṅgala vānara*[22]), the wild cat, the male species (*viḍāla*[23]) and a fabulous animal of great strength *śarabha*[24] said to be living in the Himalayas.

Of the domesticated animals we read of elephants, caught as a state monopoly[25], and serving in the army[26], and probably abounding in the forests of Kaliṅga[27] and Kāmarūpa[28], horses (*vāhā*[29] *aśva*[30], *turaga*[31]), cow (*go*)[32] (*dhenu*[33]), and calf (*vatsa*[34]), the beasts of burden like the bull (*vṛṣa*[35], *kakudman*[36], *balīvarda*[37]) the camel

[1] *Raghu.*, III. 3.
[2] Ibid., I. 71; *Rtu.*, I.27.
[3] *Raghu.*, II. 37, 38, V. 43, IX. 65, *Ku.*, VIII. 33; *Rtu*, II 15.
[4] *Rtu.*, VI. 28.
[5] Ibid., I, 14, 15, 19; *Raghu.*, IX. 15.
[6] *Rtu.*, II. 1.
[7] *Raghu.*, III. 31.
[8] Ibid., IX. 63, XVI. 15.
[9] Ibid., XII. 37.
[10] Ibid., II. 16, IX. 59; *Ku.*, VIII. 35; *Śāk.*, II. 6, p. 55; *Rtu.*, I. 17.
[11] *Raghu.*, IX. 62.
[12] Ibid , IX 61, XVI. 13; *Rtu.*, I. 21.
[13] *Śāk.*, II. 6,
[14] *Raghu* , IX. 66, *Ku.*, I. 13, 48, *M. P.* 53.
[15] *Ku.*, I. 56, *Rtu.*, I., 23, 27.
[16] *Raghu.*, IV. 74, IX. 53,55,64; *Śāk.*, II. 6; *Rtu.*, I. 11, 25, II. 9, IV. 8.
[17] हरिणी *Raghu.*, IX. 55, मृगी Ibid., XII. 37; *Rtu.*, III. 14.
[18] *Raghu.*, IV. 74, XVII 24; *M. P.* 52; *Ku.*, I. 54; *Rtu.*, VI. 12.
[19] *Raghu.*, III. 31, IX.51, XIII. 34; *Ku.*, III. 36; *Vik.*, IV. 57.
[20] *Raghu.*, XI. 61, XVI. 12.
[21] Ibid., XII. 59. 71, XVI. 79; *Rtu.*, I. 23.
[22] *Māl.*, p. 85.
[23] *Śāk.*, p. 226; *Māl.*, p. 62.
[24] *M. P.* 54; *Rtu.*, I. 23.
[25] *Raghu.*, XVI. 2.
[26] Ibid., IV. 40, 75, V. 72.
[27] Ibid., IV. 40.
[28] Ibid., 83.
[29] Ibid., V. 73.
[30] Ibid., III. 65; *Ku.*, VI. 39.
[31] *Raghu.*, I. 42. 54.
[32] Ibid., I. 88, II. 23, 49.
[33] Ibid., II. 1, 4, 15, 26, 49, पयस्विनी 21, etc.
[34] Ibid., II. 22, 66. [35] Ibid., II. 35. [36] Ibid., IV. 22. महोक्ष Ibid. [37] *Māl.*, p. 80.

(*uṣṭra*[1]) and the mule (*vāmī*[2]). There were domesticated big dogs (*śvāgani*[3]) kept by the fowlers for purposes of sport[4]. A reference to an ape[5] is made in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* as kept in the royal garden of the King There were the common domestic cat (*viḍālī*[6]) and the mouse (*mūṣika*[7])

Kālidāsa makes no reference to the ox or the domestic buffalo, but an allusion to the former may have been implied in the word *dhuryas* (*Raghu.*, XVII, 19) which may have included oxen as beast of draught.

Serpents (*phanī*[8], *and bhogī*[9]) are on record, as also a few other insects. The *Meghadūta* refers to white ants (*valmī*[10]) and the *Mālavikāgnimitra* to ants (*pipilikāḥ*[11]). *Indragopa*[12] or *Indragopakaḥ*[13], mentioned in the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the *Ṛtusaṁhāra*, is a red and fleshy insect of the size of a pea seed. It looks velvetty and its touch is very soft. It is gregarious and generally apears in groups in the beginning of the rainy season and the ground where it swarms in hundreds looks like red patches. A favourite of the Sanskrit poets, it is frequently described by them as a companion of the rainy season.

Many aquatic creatures have found mention in the works of the poet. The Indian ocean abounded in huge crocodiles and alligators and serpentine creatures (*bhujaṅgāḥ*[14]), whales with huge slits for mouths throwing upwards streams of water through their perforated heads (*timayaḥ*[15]) hippopotamuses (*mātaṅganakrāḥ*) jumping up all of a sudden above the surface of water[16], shoals of conchshells (*śaṅkhayūtham*) with their heads transfixed at their jutting points[17] and oysters opening their shells (*śuktī*) on the strand[18]. There were crocodiles (*nakrāḥ*) and sharks (*godhā*[19]) in lakes[20] and rivers[21]. Then there were fishes (*mīna*[22]) of several kinds big (*matsya*[23]) and small, like the *rohita*[24] and *śapharī*[25] respectively. The

[1] *Raghu.*, V. 32
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid., IX, 53.
[4] Ibid.,
[5] *Māl.*, p. 85.
[6] Ibid., p. 84.
[7] *Śāk.*, pp. 226.
[8] *Ṛtu.*, I. 13,20.
[9] *Raghu.*, II. 32, IV. 38, XI, 27; *Ṛtu.*, I. 16, 18.
[10] *M. P.* 15.
[11] *Māl.*, p. 48.
[12] *Raghu.*, XI. 42; *Vik.*, p. 95.
[13] *Ṛtu.*, II. 5.
[14] *Raghu.*, XIII. 12.
[15] Ibid., 10.
[16] Ibid., 11.
[17] Ibid., 13.
[18] Ibid., 17.
[19] *Śāk.*, p. 184.
[20] *Raghu.*, VII. 30.
[21] Ibid., XII. 55.
[22] Ibid., I. 73, XVI. 61; *Ṛtu.*, I. 19.
[23] *Raghu.*, VII. 40.
[24] *Śāk.*, pp. 186-206.
[25] *Ku.*, IV. 39; *M.P.* 40; *Ṛtu.*, III. 3.

rohita (*rohi*-red) fish were a kind of carp found in lakes and ponds in the neighbourhood of the Ganges. They grow to the length of three feet, are very voracious, and their flesh, though it often has a muddy taste; is edible. Their back is olive coloured, their belly of golden hue, their fins and eyes red. These fish, of the weight of twenty-five and thirty pounds, are often caught in tanks in lower Bengal[1]. *Sapharī* is a kind of small glittering fish which is commonly found in all river streams of India. Besides fish, everywhere in shallow water could be seen the jumping frogs (*bheka*[2], *maṇḍūka*[3]).

Birds

Birds play an important part in the description of Kālidāsa. They may be described below. Peacock has been very frequently mentioned with its different names of *mayūra*[4], *barhī*[5], *śikhaṇḍī*[6], *kalāpī*[7] and *śikhī*[8]. The Indian peacock is very restless, especially at the approach of rains. Its circular movements have been often likened to dancing It was mostly wild (*vanabarhi*[9]) but was occasionally tamed[10], (*bhavanaśikhī*[11]) for pleasure's sake (*krīḍāmayūra*[12]). *Cakora*[13] is the Greek partridge of the genus Tetraoperdix of which there were several varieties. It is a smart bird with a well-set head and prominent reddish eyes and legs. In the tropics it is generally found in the new green swards in pairs after the rains. It is said to feed on moon beams and its eyes are supposed to grow turbid at the sight of poison. *Cātaka*[14], Cuculus melanoleucus, is a kind of cuckoo supposed to drink only the water of the clouds[15]. "It is not a fabulous bird," Mr. S. P. Pandit[16] assures us, "but a small bird, smaller than the smallest dove, has a long tail, and combines in itself the black, yellow and white. Long crest on its head, of the shape of a bow with an arrow stretched on it, which is supposed to prevent it from bending its head by coming opposite the beak and thereby to prevent it from drinking water lying on the ground—or any water to drink which the beak is to be lowered, and which crest village mythology says it obtained as a punishment for having in a former life cruelly prevented her daughter-in-law from drinking water because of a trivial mistake" If the identification of Mr. Pandit is correct then the bird is no other than one

[1] Monier Williams· *Śakuntalā*, Notes.
[2] *Ṛtu.*, I. 18, II. 13.
[3] Ibid., I. 20.
[4] *Raghu.*, III. 56. IX 67. XIII 27, XIV. 69, XVI. 14; *Ṛtu.*, I. 13., III. 12.
[5] *Raghu.*, II. 16, XVI. 14, *Ṛtu*, II. 6.
[6] *Raghu.*, I. 39.
[7] Ibid., VI. 51; *Ṛtu.*, I. 16.
[8] *M. P.* 32; *Ṛtu.*, II. 14,16, III. 13.
[9] *Raghu.*, XVI. 14.
[10] Ibid.
[11] *M. P.*, 32.
[12] *Raghu.* XIV. 14.
[13] Ibid., VI. 59. VII. 25
[14] *Ṛtu.*, II. 3; *Raghu.*, V. 17, M. P. 9, *U.* 51.
[15] *Ṛtu.*, II. 3.
[16] *Vikramorvaśī*, II. Notes.

known in the vernacular of eastern U. P. as Nain (lit, a she-barber). *Gṛdhra*[1] is the vulture while *garuḍa*[2], a fabulous bird supposed to be the king of birds and an inveterate enemy of snakes, is said to be the vehicle of Viṣṇu. *Śyena*[3] is the Indian falcon. *Sārikā*[4], Garcula religiosa, is one of the most common hill birds of India It is the falking maina. *Śuka*[5] is the common parrot. *Hārīta*[6] has been explained by some[7] as a kind of pigeon, but, in fact, it is a kind of parrot feeding on the leaves of the black pepper[8]. *Pārāvatas*[9] and *kapotas*[10] are pigeons, perhaps two kinds of them, more probably the former signifying the turtle-dove while the latter denoting pigeons in general. *Kokila*[11] is the Indian cuckoo also known as *śyāmā*[12] because of its black colour. Its male species is called *puṁskokila*[13]. This bird has for its epithets *anyapuṣṭa*[14] and *parabhṛta*[15], nourished by another, because the female is imagined to leave her eggs in the nest of the crow to be hatched. The bird is as great a favourite with Indian poets as the nightingale is with the European. Its note is a constant subject of allusion and is described as very sweet. Of these birds, the śuka[16], sārikā[17] and kapota[18] were domesticated and kept in cages.

Besides, there were aquatic birds, *nīrapatatrīṇaḥ*[19] which may now be noticed. *Haṁsa*[20] or *rājahaṁsa*[21] is the swan, a sort of white goose with red legs and bill. It has been attributed several supernatural qualities and is supposed to be a native of the Mānasa lake[22]. Its female kind is known as *rājahaṁsī*[23]. *Balāka*[24] or *sārasa*[25] is a crane while *karaṇḍava*[26], a duck, is perhaps a different species of the same. *Cakravāka*[27], otherwise known as *rathāṅga*[28], is called *dvandvacara pata-*

[1] *Rghu.*, XI. 26, XII. 50; *Śāk.*, p. 186.
[2] *Raghu.*, XI. 27, 59.
[3] Ibid., XI. 60.
[4] *M. U.*, 22.
[5] *Vik.*, p. 74, ibid., II. 22; *Śāk.*, I. 13.
[6] *Raghu.*, IV. 46.
[7] Apte: *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Students' Edition), p. 639, C. 1.
[8] *Raghu.*, IV. 46.
[9] *M. P.* 38, *Vik.*, III. 2.
[10] *Māl.*, p. 84.
[11] *Vik.*, IV. 56; *Rtu.*, VI. 14, 20, 21, 22, 27.
[12] *M. U.*, 41.
[13] *Ku.*, III. 32, IV. 14; *Śāk.*, VI. 4.
[14] *Ṛtu.* VI. 25.
[15] Ibid., VI. 28; अन्यभृत *Raghu.*, VIII, 59, IX. 34,43,47.
[16] *Raghu.*, V. 74; *Vik.*, II. 22.
[17] *M. U.*, 22.
[18] *Māl.*, p. 34.
[19] *Raghu.*, IX. 27.
[20] Ibid., IV. 19, *Ku.*, VIII. 82; *M. P.* 23; *Rtu.*, I. 5, III. 1, 2,8,10,13,16,17,24,25. IV. 4.
[21] *Raghu.*, V. 75; *M. P.* II. *Ṛtu.*, III. 21.
[22] *M. P.*, II.
[23] *Raghu.*, VI. 26. VIII. 59.
[24] *M. P.*, 9; *Ṛtu.*, III. 12.
[25] *Raghu.*, XIII. 30,33; *M. P.* 31; *Rtu.*, I. 19, III. 8, 16.
[26] *Rtu.*, III., 8; *Vik.*, II. 22.
[27] *Ku.*, VII. 15. VIII. 32; *Śāk.*, p. 110. [28] *Raghu.*, III. 24, XIII. 31.

trī because it lives in pairs[1]. Its female is *cakravākī*[2]. They are known as chakwā and chakwî in Hindi. They belong to the genus Anas casarca and are the ruddy geese, the Brahmani ducks. *Kurarī*[3], the female osprey, is a kind of solitary bird living in the neighbourhood of watery places, utters shrill and frequent cries and is so timid that it flies away at the slightest approach of danger. Its cries have been likened with human wailing[4]. *Krauñca*[5] and *kaṅka*[6] are kinds of the heron, large screaming water-fowls with long legs and neck. The latter supplied a kind of arrow called *kanka patra*, with its feathers for its tail[7].

In addition to the above birds we have also references to locusts, śalabha[8], (the various winged creatures that are attracted by and fall into the flame of a lamp) and to bees, *ali*[9]—the smaller variety—*dvirepha*[10], *bhṛṅga*[11], *bhramara*, *madhupa*[12] and *madhukara*[13]—the larger species.

[1] *Raghu.*, VIII. 56.
[2] *M. U.*, 20.
[3] *Raghu.*, XIV, 68; *Vik*, p. 9
[4] *Raghu.*, XIV. 68.
[5] *Rtu.*, IV. 8.
[6] *Raghu.*, II. 31.
[7] Ibid.
[8] *Śāk.*, I. 28.
[9] *Rtu*, VI. 28, 35.
[10] *Māl.* III. 5; *Rtu.*, III. 6, VI. 1, 14, 15.
[11] *Rtu.*, II. 14,15, VI. 21.
[12] *Rtu.*, VI. 27.
[13] Ibid., VI. 27 34; *Śāk.*, I. 20.

CHAPTER III

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS IDENTIFIED

We shall now proceed to identify the territorial divisions—*Janapadas*[1]—which Kālidāsa mentions. We may, at the first instance, discuss those place-names which occur in the 4th canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa* in course of the conquest of *Raghu*. It must at the very outset be borne in mind that since Raghu was attempting a conquest of unconquered realms acquiring the yet unacquired as enjoined on a king elsewhere[2]—naturally these countries, which he passed through, lay beyond his possessions. They were, in a way, territories lying on the frontiers of Raghu's dominions and our poet, while describing the progress of the conqueror's army through foreign lands, actually indirectly attempts to give an *ideal* boundary of India. In course of this conquest Kālidāsa does not touch the inland countries, but he refers to the natural frontiers of India. Thus directly from the most powerful middle kingdom of Ayodhyā he makes the king take a far easterly route and reaches him to the very eastern confines of India bordering on the Bay of Bengal.[3] Among the peoples inhabiting the eastern *Janapadas*[4] he recounts the Suhmas,[5] the Vaṅgas equipped with a fighting fleet of boats,[6] the Utkalas[7] who accepted Raghu's supremacy without an arrow being shot at them and who even volunteered to show him the way to Kaliṅga noted for its army of elephants.[8]

Suhma

Suhma was situated to the west of Vaṅga.[9] It has been identified by Nīlakaṇṭha, the celebrated commentator of the *Mahābhārata*, with Rādhā and was, therefore, that part of Bengal which lay to the west of the Ganges[10] including Tamluk, Midnapur[11] and also perhaps the districts of Hugli and Burdwan. It is placed between Vaṅga and Kaliṅga in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*[12] which is almost

[1] *Raghu.*, IV. 34, V. 9, 41, IX. 4, XV. 42; *M.P.*, 48.
[2] अजिताधिगमाय *Raghu.*, VIII. 17.
[3] पूर्वसागरगामिनी IV., 32.
[4] पौरस्त्यान् Ibid., 34.
[5] Ibid., 35.
[6] वगान्. . . . .नौसाधनोद्यतान् Ibid., 36.
[7] Ibid., 38.
[8] Ibid., 40.
[9] Suhma is described in verse 35 before verse 36, in which the Vaṅgas are referred to as being on the Ganges.
[10] Ānandabhaṭṭa's *Ballālacaritam*, pt., II. ch. 1.
[11] Wilson: *Introduction to Mackenzie Collection*, chs. 138, 139.
[12] Ch. 16.

exactly the spot where Kālidāsa places it,[1] with the only difference that a small tract inhabited by the Utkalas which, though politically distinct[2] from Kaliṅga nevertheless geographically only the northern part of it, intervened.[3] The country of the Suhmas is placed to the west of the Vaṅgas living to the east of the Ganges and in the delta formed by the Ganges[4] and the Brahmaputra. Ptolemy seems to refer to parts of Suhma and Vaṅga in his 'Gangaridai'[5] to which the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* also appears to allude.[6] It is the first[7] *jaṅapada* encountered by Raghu in his march towards the east. Next to it comes the land of the Vaṅgas. The poet points out indirectly that the Suhmas lived in a country abounding in cane-plants and they got everyday an opportunity to see how big trees resisting the force of the current were borne down by the river while the supple cane was spared, and to learn thereby the safest course of action (*nataśīm vrttim*[8]) in case of an invasion by a powerful enemy.

Vaṅga

The country of the *Vaṅgas*[9] lay to the west of Tipperah. It must not be confounded with Gauḍa or north Bengal for, in the *Mādhavacampū* the two countries are clearly distinguished and Vanga is described as that 'country through which the Padmā and the Brahmaputra flow.' The fact that the main channel of the Brahmaputra flowed through Mymensing will make it further clear. Pargiter identifies Vaṅga with the modern districts of Murshidabad, Nadia, Jessore, Parts of Rajashahi, Pal na and Faridpur[10]. This would have been almost correct but for the inclusion of Murshidabad in the list which would be perhaps a little far too west. Kālidāsa places the Vangas in the delta formed by the Ganges and the Brahmaputra (*Gangāśrotāntareṣu*)[11] and makes them almost a sea-faring people with their marine forces.[12] Strabo[13] and the *Periplus*[14] both seem to know only one mouth of the Ganges.

Utkala

Next came the Utkalas.[15] Utkala is a corruption of Utkalinga which means the northern (*Ut*) part of Kalinga. The country of Utkala or Odra (Orissa) lay to the south of Tāmralipta, and the context in which it is referred to would

[1] Cf. vs. 35-38 of *Raghu.*, IV.
[2] *Raghu.*, IV. 38.
[3] Cf. vs., 36-38 ibid.
[4] Ibid., 36.
[5] S. N. Majumdar: *Ancient India by McCrindle.* p. 173.
[6] Translated by Wilfred H. Schoff, p. 47, p. 63.
[7] *Raghu.*, IV. 35.
[8] Ibid.,
[9] Ibid., 36.
[10] Ancient Countries in Eastern India: *J. A. S. B.*, 1897, p. 85.
[11] *Raghu.*, IV. 36.
[12] नौसाधनोद्यतान् Ibid.
[13] XV. I. 13.
[14] Schoff's Translation,p. 47
[15] *Raghu.*, IV. 38.

seem to limit its northern frontier by the river Kapiśā identified with the Kasai flowing through Midnapur in Bengal.[1] At the time of the *Mahābhārata*. Utkala formed part of Kaliṅga, the river Vaitaraṇi being its northern boundary[2] but the *Brahma Purāṇa* tr ats them as two separate kingdoms[3] and Kālidāsa appears to be distinctly in agreement with the latter tradition[4]. Thus Utkala extended in the north to the Kasai in Midnapur, Bengal, and bordered on Kaliṅga in the south. The country of Kaliṅga[5] stretched along the coast of the Bay of Bengal[6] from Utkala in the north to the mouth of the Godavari in the south.

Kaliṅga

General Cunningham places it between the Gaolia branch of the Indravati river on the north-west and the Godavari in the south-west,[7] while Rapson between the Mahanadi in the north and the Godavari in the south.[8] Godavari may thus be taken as the commonly accepted southern boundary of Kaliṅga. As to the north it was conterminous with Utkala for which we have the authority of Kālidāsa himself.[9] But we are not sure as to the exact boundary between Utkala and Kaliṅga. Perhaps Cunningham's idea of the Gaolia as boundary may be taken as correct. The Mahendra,[10] of which the Kāliṅga King is said to be the lord,[11] is a mountain lying in Kaliṅga and slightly butting in Utkala which makes our task of the exact identification of this boundary line more difficult. Roughly the Gaolia branch of the Indravati may be taken to be the northern limit of Kaliṅga.

Then the conqueror proceeds southwards along the coast covered with the betel-nut trees.[12] He crosses the Cauvery,[13] swoops over the spice producing Malaya region[14] and encounters the Pāṇḍyas[15] of the far south of considerable strength[16], foils their resistance and receives from them as tribute their entire horde of pearls fished from the Tāmraparṇī and the Indian Ocean.[17] The *Periplus*,[18] Pliny,[19] Ptolemy[20] and almost all the classical writers are replete with references to the pearl-fisheries of the Indian Ocean. Then Raghu of indomit-

[1] *Pargiter*: Ancient Countries in Eastern India, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXVI. pt. I, 1377, p. 85.
[2] Vana Parva, ch. 114.
[3] Ch., 47, Verse 7.
[4] *Raghu.*, IV. 38.
[5] Ibid., 38, 40.
[6] Ibid., VI. 56, 57.
[7] *Ancient Geography*, p. 516.
[8] *Ancient India*, p. 164.
[9] *Raghu.*, IV. 38.
[10] Ibid., IV. 39, VI. 54.
[11] Ibid., IV. 40, 54.
[12] Ibid., 44.
[13] Ibid., 45.
[14] Ibid., 46.
[15] Ibid., 49
[16] दिशि मन्दायते तेजो दक्षिणस्या रवेरपि Ibid. [17] Ibid., 50. [18] Schoff's Translation, p. 46, 59.
[19] IX. 54-58. [20] Majumdar : *Ptolemy by McCrindle*, pp. 58-60.

able valour crossed the Western Ghats (Sahya)[1] through the Palghat gap between the Malaya (Cardamom Hills) and the Dardura[2] (Nilgiri Hills) mountains, the wonted way of the armies crossing from the eastern to the western coast.[3]

Pāṇḍyas

There is another reference to these Pāṅḍyas in the *Raghuvaṁśa*. VI 59-65. Their capital is said to be Uragapura.[4] Vaidya thinks that it was the Pāṇḍya capital Uragapura of the time of Karikāla Cola and earlier, for it was in the first century A.D. that Karikāla Cola overthrew the supremacy of the Pāndyas and made Kāveripattanam his capital neglecting Uraiyur. Therefore Vaidya thinks that this Uragapura really refers to Uraiyur of the Pāṇḍyas prior to their overthrow by Karikāla Cola, and consequently he places Kālidāsa in the 1st century B.C.[5]. But this argument is hardly tenable, because of the following points. The time of Karikāla Cola itself is not yet settled. Then there is another point. We know that the Pāṇḍya power was re-established at Madura in the third century A.D. by Selyan or Nedun Selm Pāṇḍyo[6] when the best Tamil poets flourished. Of the two references[7] to the Pāṇḍyas, the first is made when they were supposed yet unassailable[8] but the second one alludes to them in a general way.[9] In the first case they were defeated and reinstated by Raghu when they paid tribute. But in the second reference they reappear during the time of one of his successors although with no particular importance attaching to them. Is it possible that the poet may be hinting at the Pāṇḍyas' twice appearance on the scene of the south, once prior to their overthrow by Karikāla, re-placed in the story by Raghu, and next posterior to their re-establishmet in the third century? We must bear in mind the fact that they flourished again in the south from the third century down to the fifth when they were again overthrown by the Pallavas. And Kālidāsa, therefore, must have their reappearance in mind when he speaks of them in the second instance with their capital at Uragapura. This Uragapura may have been Madura itself for the Tamil name of Madura is Alavay,[10] snake, *uraga*. Mallinātha's identification of this capital of the Pāṇḍyas with Nāgapura on the river Kānyakubjā[11] (Coleroon), which is evidently Nāgapatam standing on that river, is nothing but the outcome of a lure for the hunt of a synonym of Uragapura. The Pāṇḍya country was in the extreme south of India lying to the south-west of

[1] *Raghu*, IV 52
[2] Ibid., 51.
[3] Vidyālankāra *Bhāratbhūmi*, p. 101.
[4] अथोरगाख्यस्यपुरस्यनाथ Ibid, VI. 59.
[5] C. V. Vaidya: The Pandyas and the Date of Kālidāsa. *The Annals of Bhandarkar Institute*, II. pp. 63-68.
[6] Krishnaswamy Ayangar: *The Beginning of South Indian History*, ch. VI.
[7] *Raghu.*, IV. 49-50 and VI. 59-65.
[8] Ibid., IV. 49.
[9] Ibid., VI. 54-65.
[10] K. G. Sankara: *The Annals of Bhandarkar Institute*, II. pp. 189-191.
[11] कान्यकुब्जतीरवर्तितनागपुरस्य Comment on *Raghu.*, VI. 59.

Coladeśa. The mountain Malaya[1] and the river Tāmraparṇī[2] fix its position indubitably. Its northern boundary seems to have reached the Cauvery[3] whence it extended in the south right up to the Indian Ocean.[4]

Aparānta—Kerala

The armies of Raghu then venture forth on the west coast with a design to conquer the entire western sea-board of India (Aparānta).[5] Bhaṭṭasvāmī in his commentary on Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*[6] identifies Aparānta with Koṅkaṇa, while the *Brahma Purāṇa*[7] includes Śūrpāraka also. But with neither of these identifications would the description of Kālidāsa agree. According to his description when Raghu has conquered the eastern coast he desires naturally to annex the entire western strip of the sea coast, and Aparānta, therefore, has been referred to in a general sense indicating the whole of the western border. N. L. Dey's supposition that Kālidāsa places Aparānta to the south of Muralā[8], the river Mula-Mutha,[9] a tributary of the Bhima, is wrong. Because Muralā is a river of Kerala as its name occurs in the description of the Keralas,[10] as also because if we take Aparānta to be a country lying to the south of the Muralā, we shall have inadvertantly to place it even to the south of Kerala, i.e., Malabar, a reference to which it precedes! But if we take Aparānta to refer to the entire strip of land lying between Sahya (the Western Ghats) and the sea (*Sahyalagna ivārṇavaḥ*)[11] our difficulty will be solved as Kerala then would form a country in the stretch of Aparānta. The description of Aparānta starts with verse 53 and ends with verse 58, while that of Kerala is given in verses 54-55. This *Kerala*, where the fear of approach of Raghu's forces made the women cast off their ornaments[12], was Malabar. The entire western coast, our Aparānta of the *Raghuvaṁśa*, included within its geographical limits the three divisions of Koṅkaṇa from Daman to Goa, in the north, the coast of Karnataka in the middle and Kerala in the south.[13] Kerala was thus Malabar.

The conquest of Aparānta is completed at Trikūṭa, the three peaks of the mountain serving as three pillars of victory.[14] Trikūṭa seems to have been a place from where the sea was situated not at too far a distance. Kālidāsa implies that it was Tikrūṭa from where the land and the sea routes for the country of the

[1] Ibid, IV 46.
[2] Ibid., 50.
[3] Ibid., 45.
[4] ताम्रपर्णीसमेतस्य मुक्तासार महोदधे Ibid, 50
[5] अपरान्तजयोद्यतै Ibid, 53.
[6] Koṣādhyakṣa, Book II.
[7] Ch. 27.
[8] *Geo. Dic.*, p. 9 (Aparānta).
[9] Ibid., p. 134.
[10] *Raghu*, IV. 54-55.
[11] Ibid., 53.
[12] Ibid., IV. 54.
[13] Vidyālaṅkāra: *Bhāratabhūmi*. p. 84.
[14] *Raghu*., IV. 59.

Persians bifurcated.[1] It was probably the name of a hill to the west of Nasik. An inscription found at Anjaneri near Nasik (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 225 ff.) mentions Eastern Trikūṭa Visaya.

Next vanquished were the *Pārasīkas*[2], Trikūṭa, the last northern point in the extreme west of India, having already been captured. And here Kālidāsa refers to two routes leading to the country of the Pārasīkas, namely, the land route and a possible sea route suggested by his expression *pratasthe sthalavartmanā*.[3] In the vicinity of Trikūṭa, there ended the land route for the common wayfarer and the usual sea route started for Persia. The expression is very significant and suggests that the land of the Pārasīkas was no other than Fars, ancient Persia. It seems that from here usually the traveller to Persia took one of the many sea ports, Kalyāna being the nearest. It must be remembered that *Kalyāṇa*,[4] modern *Kalyan* (19° 14′ N., 73°, 10′ E.) on the eastern shore of the harbour of Bombay, Sūrpāraka,[5] modern Sopara (19°, 15′ N., 72′, 41′ E.) and Bhṛgukaccha,[6] Barygaza of Ptolemy, modern Broach (21°, 42′ N., 72°, 59′ E.), were all busy ports from where Persia was reached. So the easy access by sea and the troublous journey through the Thar made Raghu, as though, reflect a while and he preferred the land route to the waterway. Mallināth suggests that the preference was due to religious considerations[7] which hardly deserves credence in view of the fact that it was about Kālidāsa's time that the intrepid Indian mariners kept sea communication with the western world and soon, after about a century and a half, conquered and colonized many of the islands spotted over the Indian Ocean. We read of several references to the marine activities of the Indian people in the works of the poet himself.[8] Is it then because Raghu had no fleet to carry his men, horses and elephants? Surely Aparānta, with its capital at Sūrpāraka,[9] which he had already captured, or Kalyāna itself could have furnished him with one. Then there is only one point which appears to suggest the reason of Raghu's preference for the land route: the display of valour by courting a perilous journey. If the Pāṇḍyas, could not stay his march, surely the desert could by no means stop him. It seems, however, to make him pause and reflect a while and then 'to resolve' on the perilous alternative of the land route. The expression *pratasthe*[10] of the poet smacks of two suggestive implications, namely, firstly, that it was a long way to the Pārasīkas and he had to make almost a new start, and,

[1] Ibid., 60.
[2] Ibid., IV. 60.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Calliena, *The Periplus of the Aerytherean Sea*, Schoff's trans. § 52.
[5] Suppara, Ibid., cf Smith: *Asoka*., 129; *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XV. p. 272, Bhagawan Lal Indraji: *Antiquarian Remains at Sopara and Padana*; Burgess: *Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kachh*, p. 131.
[6] Majumdar: *McCrindle's Ptolemy*, pp. 38, 40, 49, 77, 152, 153, also Schoff's Translation of the *Periplus*, pp. 27, 30, 32, 34-38 on each page.
[7] समुद्रयानस्यनिषिद्धत्वादितिभावः On *Raghu*., IV. 60.
[8] Cf. समुद्रव्यवहारीसार्थवाहो *Śāk*., p. 219, नौव्यसने (shipwreck) विपन्नः ibid; marine description in *Raghu*., XIII. 2-18.
[9] Bhandarkar: *History of the Deccan*, Sec. III, p. 9.
[10] *Raghu*., IV. 60.

secondly, which is a consequence of the first implication, that he had to effect a determined push. The situation did demand an iron resolve after making which the conqueror crossed the Thar and Sukkar. Then through the Bolan Pass he emerged on the foot of the Kojak Amran Mountains and winding round to Girishka he rushed across to southern Persia. It was here that he was met by the bearded Persian horsemen whom he crushed and made to supplicate for his mercy by removing their turbans, a distinct manner of the inhabitants of Fars. There is another indication proving the same conclusion. Suppose Raghu had preferred the sea-route. Where would he have landed? Surely on the coast of Makran or Persia in which case again the Pārasīkas would have to be subdued in their home, Fars, for, it cannot be accepted, as some suggest, that in order to conquer the Pārasīkas residing on the north-west frontier of India, Raghu would land first on the Persian soil and then turn back to the north-east, i.e., India again.

Here we must explain why it is that Kālidāsa does not speak of the countries between Aparānta and the habitat of Pārasīkas. In this connection we have to bear in mind a few important points. As we have noted already above, Kālidāsa is attempting in the conquest of Raghu to rebuild the natural and ideal frontiers of India. Ptolemy included within India the regions which lay immediately to the west of the Indus, comprehending considerable portions of the countries now known as Baluchistan and Afghanistan. He was fully justified in this determination since many places beyond the Indus, as the sequel will show, bore names of Sanskrit origin, and such parts were ruled from the earliest times down to the Muhammedan conquests by princes of Indian descent. The western boundary as given by Ptolemy would be roughly represented by a line drawn from the mouth of the Indus and passing through the parts adjacent to Kandahar, Ghazni, Kabul, Balkha and even places beyond. The Paropanisadai inhabited the regions lying south of the mountain range called Paropamisos, now known as the central Hindukush. He gives as the eastern boundary of the Paropanisadai a line drawn south from the sources of the river Oxus through the Kaukasian Mountains (the eastern portion of the Hindukush) to a point lying in long 119° 30′ and lat. 39°.[1] If Ptolemy could think of the Hindukush and the sources of the Oxus to form the northern and north-western boundaries of India, Kālidāsa, an uncompromising nationalist, had every right to fix them as natural frontiers. Then with Samudra Gupta communicating with Ceylon and Balkha[2] and Candra Gupta actually controlling the land of Bactria, proved by the Mehroli Iron Pillar, Persia, the Hindukush and the valley of the Oxus would naturally be the extreme northern end north-western frontiers.

Thus it is that Kālidāsa stays the westward progress of his hero after Aparānta, the western sea coast. The eastern coast on the Bay of Bengal, the extreme south coast on the Cape Comorin touching the Malaya and Aparānta had been conquered already and Afghanistan and the Hindukush had almost always formed the north-western boundary. The Hūṇas on the Oxus were slightly out of the range

[1] Majumdar: *McCrindle's Ptolemy*, pp. 33-34.

[2] Smith: *Early History of India*, 4th Edition, p. 306.

but their disturbances in the neighbourhood, the rumblings of which must have been heard within the national confines of India, tempted the poet to make his hero venture out a punitive expedition across the close border, and then turn to the south east, conquer the Kambojas, and cross the Himalayas, annexing the land of the Kirātas, the Utsavasaṅketas and the Kinnaras on his way down, accepting tributes from the king of Assam (Kāmarūpas), and thus complete and secure the Indian boundary. Thus it is that after the conquest of Aparānta Raghu has to look up to north and the north-west. And since Malwa, Saurāstra and Thar lay within the natural confines of India, Kālidāsa does not make Raghu conquer them. But the Pārasīkas had to be vanquished for they lay on the way and were fighting the Hūṇas lately settled in the basin of the Oxus. The two fighting nations must be made to taste the valour of one, who, himself an uncommon hero, was bent further on proving the fact that the land was *his*.

Persia, like to-day, was noted for its vine creepers,[1] *drākṣāvalayabhūmiṣu*, the word being still current in the language of the Baluchis for the grapes of the smaller variety. While speaking of Ariana Wilson says, "Aria will be restricted to the tract from about Meshd to the neighbourhood of Herat, a position well enough reconcilable with much that Strabo relates of Aria, its similarity to Margiana in character and productions, its mountains and well-watered valleys in which the vine flourished, its position as much to the north as to the south of the chain of Taurus of Alburz, and its being bounded by Hyrkania, Margiana, and Bactriana on the north, and Drangiana on the south."[2] Persia was also noted for its precious skins by Kālidāsa (*ajinaratna*)[3] as also by the *Periplus*, which refers to coats of skin imported at Adulis from the vicinity of Persia. About these Schoff says, "originally these were of rough skins with hair left on; later they were imitated in Mesopotamia by a heavy woollen fabric, suggesting the modern frieze overcoat, which was largely exported."[4]

From Persia Raghu proceeded due north (Kaubcrīm) along the Hindukush and emerged right into the valley of saffron in the basin of the Oxus stumbling on the Hūṇas.

Hūṇas

Proceeding northward Raghu reached the settlement of the Hūṇas on the banks of the Oxus and its tributaries. While identifying the river Vaṅkṣū with the Oxus the reasons for accepting the reading *Vaṅkṣū* for *Sindhu* have already been given. We have also referred there to the passage of Kṣīrasvāmī (a commentator on the *Amarakośa* and writing about the second half of the 11th century A. D.) in which he has alluded to the settlement of the Hūṇas who were vanquished by Raghu. He has also, in way of illustration, quoted from the *Raghuvaṁśa* (the context of Raghu's conquest) the line '*dudhuvurvājinaḥ skandhānllagna Kuṅkumakesarān.*' We have to locate here properly the habitat of the Hūṇas.

[1] *Raghu.*, IV. 65.
[2] *Ariana Antiquities*, p. 150.
[3] *Raghu.*, IV. 65.
[4] *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, p. 70.

The history of the Hūna expansion in Central Asia is very interesting. During the reign of Pou-non-tanjou (A. D. 46) the Hūṇa country and their empire suffered from severe famine. While they were yet in difficulties the Eastern Tartars and the Chinese drove them out of their land and pushed them to west and south. Thus quitting Tartary in the north of China, they entered the provinces of Kashgar and Aksu[1] from where they spread towards the Caspian sea and the frontiers of Persia. These were called *Te-le* or *Tí-le*. As they lived on the banks of the Oxus (*ab*-water) they were called *Ab-tele*. The name Abtelite in the list of their names comes from this origin. It is the corruption of this name which has given rise to such names as Euphthalites and Nephthalites.[2] According to Tabari the word Haitalite comes from 'Haital,' which in the Bokharian language means 'a strong man.'[3] Sir Aural Stein remarks, "By the middle of the fifth century this race (the Hephthalites) of probably Turkish origin had founded a powerful empire in the Oxus basin, whence they carried their conquests down to Gandhara and beyond the Indus in the south, and as far as Khotan and Karashahr in the East."[4] Sir P. M. Sykes, in like manner, says, "This powerful tribe crossed the Oxus about A. D. 425, and according to the Persian chroniclers the news of their invasion caused a widespread panic."[5] M. Chavannes is also of the same opinion in this regard. He writes, "Towards the middle of the 5th century, they established a great power in the basin of the Oxus and since then proved themselves the most redoubtable enemies of the Persian Empire."[6] Even as early as A. D. 350 they had attacked Persia when they were repulsed by Shapur, the Great.[7] Again they invaded Persia in A. D. 425 and were defeated by Behramgour (Behram V, A. D. 420-438) and forced to recognise the Oxus as the boundary between Iran and their own country[8]. According to the Chinese authorities also, the white Hunas first appeared in the countries on the Oxus in the beginning of the fifth century.[9] Thus about the time of Kālidāsa the Hūnas were settled in the doab formed by the modern Wakshab and Akshab, the tributaries of the Oxus to which fact both Kṣīrasvāmī[10] and Vallabha[11] attest. The valley of the Oxus like that of the Sindhu was noted for its crop of saffron flowers the filaments of which got stuck to the manes of the chargers[12] of Raghu's cavalry.

[1] M. Deguignes: *Histoire des Huns*, Tome I., Partie I, p. 216 quoted by Dr. J. J. Modi in his *Early History of the Hunas and their Inroads in India and Persia*, p. 545.

[2] Ibid., I, pt. II. pp. 325-26, quoted in Ibid., 565.

[3] *Tabari par Jollerburg*, II. p. 128, quoted in the *Early History of the Huns.*, p. 565.

[4] *Ancient Khotan*, ch. III. p. 58.

[5] *History of Persia*, Vol. I. pp. 468-469.

[6] *Turcs Occidentaux*, p. 223.

[7] S. Krishnaswami Ayangar: The Hun Problems in Indian History, *Indian Antiquary*, 1919, p. 66.

[8] Modi: *Early History of the Huns.*, pp. 566-67.

[9] Ibid.

[10] बह्लीकदेशजं बाहलीक यद्रघोरुत्तरदिग्विजये—दुधुर्वाजिन स्कन्धाँल्लग्नकुङ्कुमकेसरान्—(Comment on बाह्लीक saffron, in K. G. Oka's Edition of the *Kṣīrasvāmī*, p. 110). It would then be the land of Bactria in the basin of the Oxus.

[11] By accepting the reading *Vṅkṣū* for *Sindhu*.

[12] *Raghu.*, IV. 67.

Kṣīrasvāmi[1] alludes to it as has been pointed out above. Already ample evidence has been adduced to show that the poet in the course of the conquest of his hero is describing the frontiers of India and that with regard to his limits of the north-west he is perfectly borne out by foreign geographers. Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has come to the same conclusion. He observes, "This itinerary of Raghu seems to mark the outer boundary in the west and north-west of India from the Achaemenian times onwards almost up to the middle of the 3rd century A. D., if not even up to the time of Yuan Chwang (Huen Tsiang)."[2]

Kambojas

Those next encountered after the Hūṇas were naturally an adjacent people. And since the Hūṇas were settled in the Oxus valley and because Kālidāsa does not speak of a return, surely the land of the Kambojas cannot lie in the north-western part of Afghanistan. We must seek their habitat elsewhere. Here we come across a very important piece of information which directly locates the Kambojas and additionally lends support to our identification of the Pārasīkas and the Hūṇas. After vanquishing the Kambojas after the Hūṇas, Raghu is said to have ascended the Himalayas.[3] It is significant that it is now at this stage of Raghu's conquest that the great mountain range is encountered. Thus the conqueror must have taken such a route as would have kept him off the Himalayas. And if he went *via* Persia and Afghanistan then alone he could have avoided them. Here we must remember that the Persian and the Hūṇa empires were co-terminous and the Indian frontier touched both. Afghanistan was mostly within India and was partly included in the Persian empire. The Persian and the Hūṇa empires were constantly waging war against each other. One such war at about the time of Kālidāsa had turned the fortune in favour of the Persians when Behramgour (Behram V) defeated the Hūṇas in A. D. 425 and fixed the Oxus as the boundary between the possessions of the two. Thus naturally Raghu after defeating the Persians in their own land crossed to the country of the Hūṇas in the valley of the Oxus which lay slightly to the north-west of Kashmir and thus it was that the conqueror found himself in the north and north-west of the Himalayas without having crossed them. But in a homeward journey leadnig to the Indian countries of the north-east he had to cross the great mountain range somewhere. And since the Kambojas were defeated before the Himalayas were crossed back, they must be located somewhere beyond the latter but not in Afghanistan for the reason noted above. Here is another fact to be remarked. It is that if Raghu had ascended the Himalayas from their southern side, without doubt, in that case he would have descended in the land to the south or the south-west of Chinese Turkistan!

The probability of the habitat of the Kambojas lying in the north-eastern

[1] Vide the *Kṣīrasvāmī*, p. 110 quoted above.

[2] The Huna Problem in Indian History, *I. A.*, 1919, p. 69.

[3] ततो गौरीगुरु शैलमारुरोहाश्वसाधन *Raghu.*, IV. 71.
The Kambojas were vanquished in verses 69-70, Ibid.

Afghanistan thus being rendered remote, we proceed now to seek it to the north and north-east of Kashmir. Kalhaṇa places Kamboja to the north of Kashmir.[1] This is true, but we have to locate them more accurately and while doing so we shall need to retrace ourselves back and to repeat partly our earlier arguments. The Kambojas have been described in the *Raghuvaṁśa* next after the Hūṇas.[2] Now the settlement of the Hūṇas has been located in the region which was called Haital by the Persians and Khuttal by the Arabs. According to the Arab geographers it was the land between the modern Vaksh and Aksu, the tributaries of the Oxus. Its boundary is conterminous with the northern frontier of the Ghalcha speaking country.[3] After the Kambojas there is the mention of the breezes of the head-waters of the Ganges.[4] An ancient belief places in the Himalayas a centrally located lake called the Anavatapta from which, it was supposed, there issued the Sītā or Yarkand in the north, Oxus in the west, Indus in the south and the Ganges in the east.[5] The eastern confine of Kamboja was the river Yarkand and thus by proceeding from north to the east of that lake the army of Raghu could be expected, at least traditionally, to reach the Ganges. Here we must remember that Kālidāsa does not mean by Gaṅgā any of the streams of that name of the north of Kashmir as all of them issue from below the internal Himalayan range while after the Kambojas the army of Raghu descends from them.[6] Here clearly the reference to the Himalayas is to the Karakoram range. The path of Raghu therefore lay from the valley of the Sītā (Yarkand) on the eastern confines of Kamboja to the east of Karakoram pass, and then south-east. Now the position of the Anavatapta lake is not known, but it is said that the Sindhu issued from this lake on the south and the Sītā or the Yarkand on the north. If Shiok is the main stream of the Sindhu then the glaciers of the Karakoram range may be identical with the lake for there the Sindhu would be said to flow south and Sītā north. But the rise of the Ganges and the Oxus from these glaciers would not look probable. There remains yet the fact that the courses of rivers often change and it is not altogether impossible that the water of the Zorakula lake might have been flowing to the east and that of the Chakamaktin to the west just contrary to the present day. It is then possible that some stream might have been flowing from the glaciers of the Karakoram to the east in ancient times which was mistaken for the upper waters of the Ganges.[7] Such a mistake is not altogether impossible as till the latter half of the last century the modern geographers were not sure whether the Sam-po of Tibet was the upper stream of the Brahmaputra, the Iravati or Salwin.[8] It is interesting to note that a well-known route of commerce ran through Ladakh and eastern Kashmir into Tibet close by the region occupied by the war-like Daradas.[9] Raghu's route must have lain further east as the poet

[1] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, by Aurel Stein, IV. 163-176, p. 104.
[2] *Raghu.*, IV. 69-70.
[3] Jayachandra Vidyālaṅkāra: *Bhārata.*, p. 302.
[4] गगाशीकरिणो मार्गे मरुतस्तं सिषेविरे *Raghu.*, IV. 73.
[5] *Abhidharmakośa*, III. 57; Waters: *Yuan Chwang*, I. pp. 32-35.
[6] *Raghu.*, IV. 76-81.
[7] Jayachandra Vidyālaṅkāra: *Bhārata.*, p. 304.
[8] Ibid., pp. 304-305. [9] *I. A.*, 1919, p. 69.

does not mention the Daradas, and furthermore since his army is said to have been refreshed by the breeze of the Ganges.[1] Now, if the reference to the Ganges is to be taken literally true, the route must have lain across the passes of Gaṅgotrī and Kedarnath to the doab between the Ganges and the Jumna, which fact is further supported by the reference to the view of the Kailāsa mount.[2] Thus if this identification of Kamboja with part of Badakshan and the Ghalcha speaking territory of the Yarkand valley be correct, it may be made doubly so by adding that the fine breed of the horses that Raghu received from the Kambojas[3] and the walnut trees (Aksoṭa)[4] to which his elephants were tied are even to this day some of the peculiar features of Badakhsan and the adjoining country. In like manner Kālidāsa's mention of the gems and gold[5] presented to Raghu by the Kambojas can also point to the correctness of our identification as even now there are emerald and lapis mines extant near the Ghalcha speaking town of Munjan. It is interesting that Tavernier[6] speaks of a "mountain beyond Kashmir producing lapis," which Ball[7] locates near Firgamu in Badakshan, 36° 10′ N. 71° W. Therefore Kamboja must be located in the Ghalcha speaking country and to the north-east of Kashmir. It is interesting that Longman's Senior Atlas of India[8] in its historical map of India of 250 B. C. shows 'Kambojas' to the east of Kashmir and north of the Himalayas with which Kālidāsa's location fully agrees.

Kirātas

Moving further east and crossing the Himalayas Raghu marches eastwards to the valley of the Brahmaputra and meets the *Kirātas*,[9] The *Utsavasaṅketas*[10] and the *Kinnaras*[11] living within the range of the Himalayas. The Kirātas must be identified with the people of Mar-yul (the country of butter as the mediaeval Tibetans called Ladakh), Zanskar and Rupshu. The Kirātas in the Indian literature have been used in a generic sense.[12] The Kirātas of Kālidāsa were positively the Tibetans or Tibeto-Burmese of Ladakh, Zanskar and Rupshu. Yet their identification with the Tibetans living round the Mānasarovara lake cannot be precluded as although they are encountered after and not before the

[1] *Raghu.*, IV. 73.
[2] Ibid., 80.
[3] सदश्वभूयिष्ठाः Ibid., 70. It is interesting that Waksha was the name of a part of Badakshan; it joined Khatlan and was famous for its horses. Wakh or Wakhan is the name of a district east of Badakshan. Cf. A. Houtum Schindler: *I. A.*, XVIII, p. 114.
[4] Ibid., 69.
[5] द्रविणराशय. Ibid., 70.
[6] *Travels in India*, II. p. XXV.
[7] *Economic Geology of India*, p. 529. For a fuller information, Vide Holdich, *Gates of India*, pp. 426-507.
[8] Edited by George Philip, F. R. G. S., p. II, map, no. a.
[9] *Raghu.*, IV. 76.
[10] Ibid., 78.
[11] Ibid.
[12] *Proceedings and Transactions of the Sixth All India Oriental Conference.* (Raghu's Line of Conquest along India's Northern Border) p. 111.

Ganges which lay to the east of the Karakoram pass, a mention of the view of Kailāsa has been made[1] and the Mānasarovara lake lay in the same range. There is no doubt about the fact that even the people of Bhutan and its vicinity have been called Kirātas. The *Periplus*[2] locates them to the west of the mouths of the Ganges and Ptolemy[3] near about Tipperah. But it seems that in the Indian literature they have been placed along the entire Himalayan range mostly in the Brahmaputra valley. But Kālidāsa places them near about Ladakh.

Kinnaras

The next tribes were those of the Utsavasaṅketas and the Kinnaras. The Kinnaras were different from the Kirātas and they are mentioned in Indian literature along the Yaksas and Gandharvas. Since Raghu does not reach Kailāsa the country of the Kinnaras must have lain to the west of the Kailāsa and the Mānasa In the *Mahābhārata* also Arjuna during his conquest reaches the country of the Kimpurusas first, then Hāṭakadeśa of the Guhyakas and thereafter the Mānasa lake.[4] Jayachandra Vidyālankāra is correct therefore when he identifies the land of the Kinnaras with modern Kanaur in the upper valley of the Sutlej where the head waters of the Candrabhaga approach very near it.[5]

Utsavasaṅketas

The Utsavasaṅketas on the authority of a commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśa* have been supposed by Pargiter to denote not a distinct tribe but a sociological term implying 'people who have no marriage and practise promiscuous intercourse, *Utsava* meaning affection and *Saṅketa* a gesture of invitation.'[6] As a matter of fact, a loose marriage form still exists in Kanaur and its neighbourhood. So they would seem to refer to the Kinnaras themselves, but if they were a distinct tribe, as Kālidāsa seems to suggest by placing them between the Kirātas and the Kinnaras,[7] their descendants must be sought among the inhabitants of the land between Kanaur and the Kirāta districts of Rupshu, who speak Manchati, Lahuli, Bunan, Rangloi and Kanashi, small dialects belonging to the same group and neighbourhood as Kanauri.[8]

After defeating the mountaineers, the Kirātas, Utsavasaṅketas and the Kinnaras, Raghu descended from the Himalayas and reached Prāgjyotiṣa,[9] the land of the Kāmarūpas, after crossing the Lauhitya,[10] i.e., the Brahmaputra river.

[1] *Raghu.*, IV. 80.
[2] Translated by Schoff, p. 47, §62.
[3] *McCrindle's Ptolemy*, edited by Majumdar, p. 194.
[4] Sabhā Parva, ch. XXIX, 1-5.
[5] *Pro. Six. Ori. Conf.*, p. 112. cf. also चन्द्रभागानदीतीरे अहोसि किन्नरी तदा । अथाऽहसं देवदेवं चङ्कमन्त नारासमम् ॥ etc. quoted in Dharmapala's *Atthakathā Paramātthadīpinī* on the *Therī Gāthā.*
[6] *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Trans., p. 319.
[7] *Raghu.*, IV. 78.
[8] *Proceedings of the Six Ori. Con.*, pp. 111 ff.
[9] *Raghu.*, IV. 81.
[10] Ibid.

Kāmarūpa is the same as the modern Assam. The modern district of Kamrup extends from Gopalpara to Gauhati. *Prāgjyotiṣa*[1] appears to have been used by Kālidāsa in a territorial sense while *Kāmarūpas*[2] in the sense of the people of Kāmarūpa, i.e., Assam Prāgjyotisa may have been the capital of the kingdom of Kāmarūpa. The *Kālikā Purāṇa*[3] actually makes it the capital of Kāmarūpa. It is curious as well as amusing to note that Mark Collins supposes Kālidāsa to have referred to Prāgjyotiṣa and Kāmarūpa as two distinct kingdoms. He cites the poet with regard to Prāgjyotisa and Kamarūpa as a case in point to show the fallacy in Kālidāsa and in other ancient Indian writers of independently treating the synonyms of a single geographical name. He observes: "It seems probable that in the *Raghuvaṁśa* when Kālidāsa makes Raghu conquer first the Prāgjyotiṣas and then king of Kāmarūpa, we have a classical instance of this independent treatment of synonymous names"[4] Evidently this wrong conception has been occasioned by an incorrect understanding of the text, for it must be noted here that all the four verses[5] which deal with Prāgjyotiṣa and the Kāmarūpas embody a description of the conquest of ancient Assam alone. In verse 81 Raghu crosses the Brahmaputra and makes the king of Prāgjyotiṣa tremble with fear.[6]

Prāgjyotiṣa and Kāmarūpa

The mention of Prāgjyotisa in the same breath as Lauhitya[7] is significant for Prāgjyotiṣa, identified with the modern Gauhati,[8] stood on the other bank of the river and Raghu put its king to terror the moment he crossed the river and appeared before it.[9] Then in the following three verses the poet describes the humiliation of the king of Kāmarūpa and his present of tributes to the conqueror. Thus Kālidāsa does not treat the two as different kingdoms, as Mark Collins wrongly thinks, but refers through them to the single kingdom of Kāmarūpa, possibly with its capital at Prāgjyotisa, the modern Gauhati. This conquest of Raghu is said to reflect that of Samudra Gupta, and we shall have opportunity to compare the two and account for the dissimilarity.

We shall now discuss the names of the kingdoms referred to in the sixth canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa*. They are: Magadha,[10] Anga,[11] Avantī,[12] Anūpa,[13] Śūra-

[1] प्राग्ज्योतिषेश्वरः *Raghu.*, IV. 81.
[2] तमीशः कामरूपाणा Ibid., 83.
[3] Ch., 38.
[4] *Geo. Data of Raghu. and Daśa.*, p. 15.
[5] *Raghu.*, IV. 81-84.
[6] *Raghu.*, IV.
[7] चकम्पे तीर्णलोहित्ये तस्मिन्प्राग्ज्योतिषेश्वरः Ibid.
[8] *J. R. A. S.*, 1900, p. 25.
[9] *Raghu.*, IV., 81.
[10] Ibid., VI. 21.
[11] Ibid., 23.
[12] Ibid., 32.
[13] Ibid., 37.

sena[1], Kaliṅga,[2] Pāṇḍya[3] and Uttara-Kosala[4]. The kingdom of Vidarbha[5], and Uttara-Kosala have been mentioned many times. Let us take them one by one.

Magadha

Magadha was the ancient kingdom of southern Bihar which is to the south of the Ganges.[6] The people of the neighbouring districts still call the districts of Patna and Gaya by the name of Magah, which is a corruption of Magadha. The capital of Magadha was Puspapura[7] (Pātaliputra, modern Patna). Kālidāsa refers to the kingdom of Magadha in four verses[8] and treats its king with particular deference. Aṅga which was conterminous with Magadha, has been naturally described next[9]. It was the country about Bhagalpur including Munghyr, and was one of the sixteen political divisions of India[10], of the sixth century B.C. A reference to this country seems to be only conventional, called for by the exigency of the story.

Avantī

Avantī was the ancient name of Malwa of which Ujjain,[11] mentioned in a different context, was the capital. Even here Kālidāsa refers indirectly to Ujjainī as capital in his description of the temple of Mahākāla.[12] Avantī has been called Malwa since the seventh or eighth century A D.[13] It lay within the empire of the Imperial Guptas and in its capital sons of the imperial house held their court in the capacity of Yuvarājas since the days of the Mauryas.[14] In the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Agnimitra, the son and Viceroy of his imperial father Puṣyamitra, holds his court in Vidiśā, modern Bhilsa on the Betwa in the Gwalior State, the capital of Avanti in the 2nd century B.C. Its description occurs in verses 32-36.

Anūpa

The situation of the Anūpa country appears to be the southern part of the Central India through which the Narbada flows.[15] Its capital was *Māhiṣmatī*,[16]

[1] Ibid., 45.
[2] Ibid., 53.
[3] Ibid., 60.
[4] Ibid., 71.
[5] Ibid., V. 39, VIII; *Māl.*, I.
[6] *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ādik. Ch. 32; *Mahābhārata*, Sabhā P., ch. 24.
[7] *Raghu.*, VI. 24.
[8] Ibid., 21-24.
[9] Ibid., 27-29.
[10] *Aṅguttara*, I. 4; *Vinaya Texts*, II. 146; Govinda Sutta in the *Dīgha Nikāya*, XIX, 36.
[11] *M.P.*, 27-29.
[12] *Raghu.*, VI. 34.
[13] Rhys Davids: *Buddhist India.*, p. 28. I think this expression came into vogue much earlier.
[14] Smith: *Early History of India*, p. 163.
[15] रेवा *Raghu.*, VI. 43.
[16] Ibid.

modern Māndhātā on the Narbada. It was the Puranic kingdom of the Haihayas. It must have been conterminous with Avantī as it has been described next to it. In fact it was called Avanti-Dakṣiṇāpatha, 'Avantī of the southern highway,' during the Buddhist period.

Śūrasena, Kaliṅga and Pāṇḍya

Śūrasena was the country around Mathurā[1] which was its capital. Śūra, the father of Vasudeva and Kuntī, gave his name to the country of which he was the king. The description of this country in the story is evidently traditional. It mentions Vṛndāvana[2] and the hill of Govardhana.[3] Kaliṅga and Pāṇḍya of the eastern sea-coast and far south respectively have already been identified above. These two may reflect actual political powers contemporary of the Guptas. Mahendra, which Kālidāsa mentions[4] and which was a hill in Kaliṅga, has found mention among the countries conquered by Samudra Gupta in his Allahabad Pillar Inscription.[5] Pāṇḍyas were ruling in the south at this time with their capital at Madura, to which Kālidāsa gives the name of Uragapura,[6] (which was the earlier capital of the Pāṇḍyas before their overthrow by Karikāla Cola) in order to give antiquity to his story and thus save himself from an anachronism.

Uttarakosala

Uttarakosala was the kingdom of Raghu and his successors. It was roughly the same as Oudh with its capital at Ayodhyā[7] or Sāketa[8] which the poet supposes to have been identical.[9] It was also called Kosala.[10] Mark Collins[11] thinks that Uttarakosala possibly represents the home province of the northern empire[12] (in which case it would have to be regarded as forming with Magadha, the kingdom to which Daṇḍin applies the latter name), or it may owe its place in the list merely to the nature of the narrative. But it may be noted here that if it was actully the northern empire it was surely more extensive than that of Samudra Gupta.[13] In the west territories of the Mālvas and Ābhīras and some tribes further north seem to have been added. In the east Vaṅga takes the place of Samataṭa as a frontier state, and in the south we have nothing to correspond to the petty states of the Kākas, Sanakānikas and others of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription. According to Huth Kālidāsa must have lived after A.D. 400. The Gupta administration was first established in Vaṅga by Chandra Gupta II about A.D. 400 or a little later. The point is settled by the fact that Samudra

[1] *Raghu.*, VI. 45-51.
[2] Ibid., 50.
[3] Ibid., 51.
[4] Ibid., 54, IV. 39, 43.
[5] *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, p. 7, note.
[6] *Raghu.*, VI. 59.
[7] *Raghu.*, XIII. 61, XIV. 29, XVI. 11-22.
[8] Ibid., V. 31, XIII. 79, XVIII. 36.
[9] Ibid., cf. Cunningham: *Geo. of Anc. India*, pp. 401. sqq.
[10] *Raghu.*, IV. 70, IX. 17.
[11] *Geo. Data of the Raghu. and Daśa*, p. 18.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Cf. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta.

Gupta enumerates Ḍavāka-Vaṅga as one of the border kingdoms, *pratyanta nṛpati*, and Kumāra Gupta is not known to have made any accessions to the empire. The point is further established by identifying with many scholars king Chandra of the Mehrauli iron pillar with Chandra Gupta II. This Chandra, it may be noted, asserts his conquests to have extended from the region of Lauhitya to that of Bactria. It is because of this that Dr. Smith leaves 'Ḍavāka-Vaṅga' out of the Gupta empire in his map of India of A.D. 400 given in his *Early History of India* facing p. 300. It was under Chandra Gupta II again that the dominions of the Satraps in the west—Mālavā, Surāṣṭra and probably the adjacent States—were added to the empire.[1] Malwa was included in the empire of Raghu as also of the later Imperial Guptas. The sway of the Imperial Guptas (Skanda Gupta) extended as far as Surāṣṭra. Surāṣṭra, therefore, has not been mentioned in the *Raghuvaṁśa* due to its unimportance. The Gupta dominions do not seem to have included Kāmarūpa as is attested to by Samudra Gupta's enumerating it as a border kingdom in the All.P. Inscription. Banerji has identified Balavarman of that inscription with the homogeneous ancestor of Bhaskaravarman of Assam, but that indentification is probably incorrect as Assam is mentioned as one ruled by a *pratyanta nṛpati*. Smith keeps Kāmarūpa out of the Gupta empire in his map referred to above. In the *Raghuvaṁśa* this lies outside Raghu's empire and is described to have been conquered by him.

Vidarbha

Some of the names employed, e.g. Magadha, Kaliṅga, Pāṇḍya, Vaṅga, Kāmarūpa, Aṅga and Vidarbha, were probably in actual use. We shall deal here with Vidarbha in a little detail. The *Raghuvaṁśa* devotes three cantos[2] to the story of Indumatī. Vidarbha was ruled by the Bhoja family.[3] If we turn to the evidence of inscriptions we find, it is true, no mention of the Bhojas in the records of either the fifth or the sixth century, but we do, nevertheless, find a powerful race of kings ruling during the Gupta period in the western part of the Deccan, and bearing the family name of the Vākāṭakas. The grants of these kings[4] record gift of villages. Carmaṅka (the modern Chammak, about four miles south-west of Illichpur), such one, is said to lie in the kingdom of Bhojakaṭa.[5] A city bearing this name occurs in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*[6] and is said to have been founded by Rukmin, son of Bhiṣmaka, king of Vidarbha. Bhojakaṭa and Rukmin have also been mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*[7] and placed in the neighbourhood of Narmadā and Avantī. This city is the same as Bhojakaṭa of our inscription. Doubtless it was the head-quarters of that district, or viṣaya, of the Vākāṭaka dominions which the inscription calls Bhojakaṭarājyam.

[1] Smith: *Early His. of Ind.*, pp. 254-55; (4th. edition.)
[2] *Raghu.*, V. 39, VII.
[3] Ibid., V. 39. VII. 2, 13, 20, भोजकुलप्रदीप: 29, 35.
[4] The Chammak and Siwani Grants, *C. I. I.*, III. Nos. 55 and 56; Dudia Grant, ed. by Kielhorn, *Ep. Md.*, III, No. 35, p. 258 ff.
[5] भोजकटराज्ये *C. I. I.*, III, No. 55. I. 18.
[6] Wilson's translation, Vol. V, pp. 69-71.
[7] II. 1115-1166, cf. also *Harivaṁśa*, ed. Calcutta, 1839, verse 5016.

A tribe of this name certainly occupied the western Vindhyas in the time of Aśoka.[1] Bhojakaṭa may have been one of the strongholds of this race or, quite possibly, the citadel in which their chief—the Bhoja—resided. In any case, it remains clear that the territory of the Vākāṭakas not only occupied a country the present designation of which connects it with the ancient Vidarbha, but that it also included a district associated with the name of Bhoja. Thus the Vidarbha of the *Raghuvaṁśa* represents the kingdom of the Vākāṭakas; and the use of the name Bhoja for the rulers of this country finds an explanation if we assume that Kālidāsa wrote at a time when this dynasty was predominent in the south. Vidarbha is the modern Berar, Khandesh, part of the Nizam's territory and part of the Central Provinces. It lay to the south of the Narbada as Aja had to cross the river before entering it.[2] Its capital was Kuṇḍinapura[3] identified with Kundanpur about forty miles east of Amraoti in Berar.[4] Vidarbha has found another mention by Kālidāsa in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*[5] in respect of an earlier story where it is conquered and divided by Agnimitra between two cousins of its ruling dynasty with the Varadā or Vardha as the boundary.

Videha, Sindhu

A few more *janapadas* have been referred to by the poet and may be mentioned below. *Videha*[6] is the modern Mithila, the Tirhut or Tirabhukti of the Imperial Guptas. Its mention is conventional and based on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Videha was the name of the kingdom as well as of the capital[7] (Mithilā). The country of Sindhu[8] lay on both sides of the Indus right up to its mouths. Takṣaśilā[9] and Puṣkalāvatī[10] (Taxila and Bashkal)[11] were situated in this country, which was inhabited by the Gandharvas,[12] i.e. the Gāndhāras, who were defeated by Bharata and whose country was divided between his two sons, Takṣa and Puṣkāla[13], whose capitals Takṣaśila and Puṣkalāvatī were founded by and named after them. The description of the poet, is, in fact, conventional based on the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[14] Sindhu has been always famous for an excellent breed of horses. Hence in the *Amarakośa*, we find both *Saindhava* and *Gandharva* as synonyms of horses. *Saindhava* salt mentioned in the same book evidently

[1] XIII. Rock Edict.
[2] *Raghu.*, V. 42, 43.
[3] Ibid., VII. 33.
[4] Dowson: *Classical Dictionary*, 4th edition, p. 171; Wilson: *Mālatī-Mādhava*, Acts. I.
[5] Acts I and V.
[6] *Raghu.*, XII. 26.
[7] Ibid., XI. 36.
[8] Ibid., XV. 87.
[9] *Raghu*,. XV. 89.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Vide p. 70.
[12] Ibid., 88.
[13] Ibid., 89.
[14] Uttarakāṇḍa, CXIV. 11.

refers to the rock-salt found in the salt range of mountains, for it does not refer to sea salt as it is separately mentioned as *Samudra* salt and *Maṇimantha* is given as another synonym for *Saindhava* salt and the commentator Maheśvara explains it as "produced in the mountain Maṇimantha" (which can only refer to the Salt Range). But the most convincing proof is a passage of the *Raghuvaṁśa*[1] and that *Saindhava* is still understood by all salt sellers of India as rock-salt. Dr. Borooah says: "I have, therefore, no hesitation in identifying Manimantha with the Salt Range and asserting that it stands within the old Sindhu Deśa." Sindhu, in later literature, meant what Arrian understood by it—the country to the south of the Upper Indus or the province of Takṣaśilā. We read in the *Raghuvaṁśa* that Rāma gave this country to his brother Bharata who conquered the Gandharvas and placed his sons Takṣa and Puṣkala in charge of towns named after them—Takṣaśilā and Puṣkalāvati.[2] Kekaya,[3] the country between the Bias and the Sutlej and the kingdom of the father of Kaikeyī, the youngest queen of Daśaratha, also finds a conventional mention.

Kārāpatha

Kārāpatha[4] is difficult to identify. Vallabha explains this to mean *Candrapathaprabhuḥ*. A. Borooah observes: "In the district of Bijnor is the large town of Chandpur, which is probably Chandrapura or Chandrakānta of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. We read in the Uttarakāṇḍa that the two sons of Rāma's brother Lakshmaṇa were appointed rulers of Kārupatha (Kālidāsa reads Kārāpatha); Aṅgada in the west at Aṅgadapurī and Chandraketu in the north at Chandrakānta in Mallabhūmi. The first is the modern Shahabad in Oudh which is still known to its Bhārata inhabitants as Aṅgadapur. It is not due west of Ajodhya, as Chandrapura (Chandpur) is not due north of it. But as in colours, so in directions, we do not find precision of language in ancient writers. There is another Chandpur in the district of Furrackabad, but it can not be Chandrakānta, as it is in the same direction as Shahabad. I am, therefore, almost certain that Chandpur east of Saharanpur is the town called after Chandraketu and that it is situated in the land of northern Mallas.[5]" Wilson[6] locates Kārāpatha at the foot of the Himalayas.

Kurukṣetra

Brahmāvarta Janapada[7] was the country between the rivers Sarasvatī and the Dṛṣadvatī, while Kurukṣetra[8] was the same in later literature. Kālidāsa, however, while referring to Brahmāvarta as a janapada, a big territorial division,

[1] *Raghu.*, V. 73.
[2] Ibid., XV. 89.
[3] Ibid., IX. 17.
[4] Ibid., XV. 90.
[5] Quoted in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, edited by Nandargikar, Notes on *Raghu.*, XV. 90.
[6] *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Vol. III, p. 390.
[7] *M.P.*, 48.
[8] Ibid.

alludes to Kurukṣetra to have been the particular battle-field where the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas fought.[1] Kurukṣetra is identified with Thaneswar.

Naimiṣa

Naimiṣa[2] is the modern Nimsar at a short distance from the Nimsar station, twenty miles from Sitapur and forty-five miles to the north-west of Lucknow.[3] It is situated on the left bank of the Gumti. It has been mentioned by Ptolemy under the name Nanikhai.[4]

Nisadha

Nisadha[5] has been placed by Lassen[6] along the Satpura hills to the north west of Berar. Burgess also places it to the south of Malwa.[7]

Daśārṇa

Daśārṇa[8] was the country roughly identical with Malwa. Eastern Malwa, including the state of Bhopal, was western Daśārṇa, the capital of which was Vidiśā[9] or Bhilsa. Māla[10] is difficult to identify, but surely it refers to some high place to the north of Ramtek in the Central Provinces about the newly ploughed fields of which we read in the *Meghadūta*.[11]

Daṇḍakāraṇya

Daṇḍakāraṇya[12] was the great forest belt commencing from the north (i.e. the southern portion of Bundelkhand) of the mountain chain of Vindhya extending on the south to the regions of the river Kistna, and comprising eastwards the districts of Chota Nagpur as far as the borders of the Kaliṅga country. To the westward it extended as far as the two divisions of the Vidarbhas.[13]

Pañcavaṭī

In this very forest was situated *Pañcavaṭī*[14] in the region about[15] Nasik on the Godavari.

[1] Ibid.
[2] *Raghu.*, XIX. 2.
[3] Dey: *Geo. Dic. of Anc. and Med. Ind.*, p. 135.
[4] *McCrindle's Ptolemy*, edited by Majumdar, p. 132.
[5] *Raghu.*, XVIII. 1.
[6] Dey: *Geo. Dic. of Anc. and Med. Ind.*, p. 141.
[7] *Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kachh*, p. 131.
[8] *M.P.*, 23.
[9] Ibid., 24.
[10] Ibid., 16.
[11] Ibid.
[12] *Raghu.*, XII. 9.
[13] The Geography in Rāma's Exile, *J. R. A. S.*, 1894, p. 242.
[14] *Raghu.*, XII. 31. XIII. 34; *Rāmāyaṇa*, Araṇya K. ch. 49.
[15] Dey: *Geo. Dic. Anc. Med. Ind.*, p. 147.

Janasthāna

Janasthāna[1] was also a part of the same forest and it probably included the Pañcavaṭī[2], the region of the five *vaṭas* or banyan trees. *Citrakūṭavana*[3] was the forest region around Kamtagiri near modern Chitrakut in Bundelkhand and formed part of Daṇḍakāraṇya as it is mentioned after a reference to the former.[4]

Laṅkā

Laṅkā[5] has been definitely taken by Kālidāsa to mean an island to the south of India, evidently Ceylon. Rāma describes his aerial route from Indra's plane and the first place encountered is the Indian Ocean[6] and the bridge built by him. Then the Malaya Mountain, the Pañcavaṭī, Janasthāna and other places are mentioned on a northerly course of flight.[7] Thus at the time of Kālidāsa Laṅkā was considered to be the same as Ceylon and therefore the identification of it with a part of Central India by some scholars (Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, for example) must be wrong. This island has been mentioned as a great centre of maritime trade by almost all classical geographers who refer to it by the name Taprobane. It is the Simhala of the Sanskrit and Buddhist literatures.

Cities and Other Smaller Localities

Kālidāsa also mentions a number of cities and a few other spots, which may now be referred to and identified.

Puṣkalāvatī,[8] the seat of the Government of Puskala and founded by him, has been identified with the Peukelaotis[9] of the Greek writers and Pou-se-kie-lo-fa-ti of Huen Tsang. It was the capital of Gandhāra in the days of Alexander and Arrian places it not far from the river Indus. It was situated west of the Indus and is perhaps the same as Charsadda. It has also been identified with Bashkal north-east of Hasta-nagar as it agrees in name, but the former identification seems to be more probable. *Takṣaśilā*,[10] founded by and named after Taksa, is Taxila of the Greeks which lies between the Indus and the Hydaspes. Archæological excavations on its site have laid bare an enormous number of antiquities. *Kanakhala*[11] is now a small village two miles to the east of Hardwar at the junction of the Ganges and the Niladhara. It is here that the Ganges descends from the Himalayan heights to the plains. In its vicinity there was a place said to have been made sacred by the feet of Śiva, *Caraṇanyāsa*.[12] This place was perhaps the same as the neighbouring hill of Hardwar called Haraki-

[1] *Raghu.*, XII., 42, XIII. 22, VI. 62.
[2] Ibid., XII. 15, 24, XIII. 47.
[3] *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara K. ch. 81.
[4] Daṇḍakāraṇya in *Raghu.*, XII. 9, Citrakūṭa in Ibid., 15, 24.
[5] *Raghu.*, VI. 62, XII. 63, 66.
[6] Ibid., XIII. 2-18.
[7] Ibid., 2, 22, 34.
[8] Ibid., XV. 89.
[9] Proklais—*McCrindle's Ptolemy*, pp. 115-17; Poklais—Schoff, p. 41 §47.
[10] *Raghu.*, XV. 89.
[11] *M.P.*, 50.
[12] Ibid., 55.

pairi, the foot of Hara, which is called Caraṇanyāsa in the *Sambhurahasya*. But there is one difficulty in this identification for Kālidāsa speaks of the yaks and sarala pines[1] before it which would locate this place somewhere further up. *Aṅgadapura* and *Candrapura* have already been identified above.

Hastināpura,[2] the capital of the Kurus, is now entirely diluviated by the Ganges. It was situated twenty-two miles north-east of Meerut and south-west of Bijnor on the right bank of the Ganges. Kālidāsa has fallen a victim to anachronism while making it the capital of Duṣyanta as it was founded by Hastin who lived several generations after him. It is not possible to identify *Sacītīrtha*[3] and *Śakrāvatāra*,[4] but they must have been somewhere near Hastināpura as Dhīvara of the *Śākuntala* belonged to the region of Śakrāvatāra[5] which seems to have been a territorial division in which Sacītīrtha was situated.[6] Sacītīrtha was a sacred place as the name signifies and must have been on the Ganges near Hastināpura where Śakuntalā's ring is said to have been lost.[7] *Puṣkara*[8] refers to the region about the lake of that name some six miles from Ajmer. *Madhupaghna*,[9] near which *Mathurā*,[10] modern Muttra, was founded, has been identified by Growse[11] with Maholi five miles to the south-west of Muttra. *Vṛndāvana*[12] is the modern Bindraban in the district of Muttra and seems to have already attained celebrity in the time of Kālidāsa. By the hill of *Govardhana*[13] has grown up a village Govardhan fourteen miles west of Muttra.

Ayodhyā,[14] and the capital of Raghu and of the kings of his line, is the modern Ajodhya. *Śāketa*[15] has been used by Kālidāsa as a synonym of Ayodyhā but the Buddhist works[16] take it to mean a city different from Ayodhyā. *Nandigrāma*,[17] where Bharata is said to have resided during the exile of Rāma,[18] is a suburb of Ayodhyā and is perhaps the same as Nundgaon, some eight miles to the south of Fyzabad and close to the Bharatakuṇḍa. Sārāvatī,[19] the later Śravasthī of the Buddhist works, is Sahet-mahet on the bank of the river Rapti in the district of Gonda in Oudh, 58 miles north of Ajodhya. Although there

[1] Ibid., 53
[2] *Śāk.*, p. 128.
[3] Ibid. p. 172
[4] Ibid., p. 182
[5] शक्रावताराभ्यन्तरे शचीतीर्थसलिल Ibid., p. 172
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.
[8] *Raghu.*, XVIII. 31.
[9] Ibid., XV. 15.
[10] Ibid., VI. 48, मधुरा Ibid., XV. 28.
[11] *Mathurā*, pp. 32, 54.
[12] *Raghu.*, VI. 50.
[13] Ibid., VI. 51.
[14] Ibid., XIII. 61, XIV. 29, XVI. 11-22.
[15] Ibid., V, 31. XIII. 79, XVIII. 36.
[16] *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, edited by L. Feer, Pali Text Society, 1884-1904, Vol. III, p. 140, places it on the Ganges.
[17] *Raghu.*, XII. 18.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid., XV. 97.

is no direct mention of Prayāga, its allusion may be warranted by the poet's reference to the great sanctity of the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā (*Yamunāsaṅgama*[1]). On this very confluence he speaks of the existence of a city,[2] the capital of Purūravā, evidently Pratiṣṭhāna, modern Jhunsi opposite to Allahabad across the Ganges. Of course, the reference is conventional. *Kāśī*[3] is the modern Benares and the place where Ahilyā was rendered her old self again from the stone with the touch of the foot of Rama[4] is shown to be the Ahilyaghat at Buxar in the Shahabad district of Bihar. *Mithilā*,[5] the capital of ancient Videha, is Janakpur in the Darbhanga district of Bihar. *Puṣpapura*,[6] the capital of Magadha, was the same as Pāṭaliputra, modern Patna. *Prāgjyotiṣa*,[7] the capital of Kāmarūpa, has been identified with Kamakhya or Gauhati[8] on the Brahmaputra in Assam.

Rāmagiri,[9] which Kālidāsa says to have been purified by the stay of Rāma and Sītā in their exile,[10] is Ramtek about twenty-four miles north of Nagpur in the C. P. Ramtek is now a tahsil in the district of Nagpur. At Ramtek there are several temples dedicated to Rāma, his brothers and wife. It is considered a very sacred place and a big fair is held on every Pūrnimā of Kārttika. There is another name 'Sindūragiri,' i.e. 'the vermilion point' given to Ramtek in a mutilated local inscription[11] of the Yādava king Rāmachandra dating from the close of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century A.D.[12] because of the red stone, which when newly broken, looks blood-red, especially when the sun shines on it. It is significant that while staying here the Yaksa portrays the figure of his wife on the stone with red-stone[13] which is *geru*. This fact settles this identification beyond doubt. On the north of Avantī lay another principality with its capital at *Daśapura*,[14] modern Dasor, which is the same as Mandasor in Malwa where the inscription of a guild of silk-weavers referring to the repairs of a sun temple was discovered. *Vidiśā*[15] is Bhilsa in Malwa in the state of Gwalior on the river Betwa, about 26 miles to the north-east of Bhopal. It was the capital of ancient Daśārṇa as mentioned in the *Meghadūta*[16]. Four miles from Bhilsa there is a detached hill with vast remains of antiquity which may have been the site of the old town. It was the seat of the Government

[1] *M.P.*, 51; *Raghu.*, XIII. 54-57.
[2] *Vik.*, p. 121.
[3] Ibid., pp. 26, 31.
[4] *Raghu.*, XI. 33-34.
[5] Ibid., 32.
[6] Ibid., VI. 24.
[7] Ibid., IV. 81.
[8] *J. R. A. S.*, 1900, p. 25.
[9] *M.P.*, 1.
[10] Ibid.
[11] *I. A.*, XXXVII, p. 202.
[12] *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. XXV. ff. 765.
[13] धातुरागै:
[14] *M.P.*, 47.
[15] Ibid., 25; *Māl.*, pp. 89, 97.
[16] P., 24.

of Agnimitra[1] during the Śuṅga period. *Ujjainī*[2] stood on the site of modern Ujain on the bank of the Siprā and was otherwise known as *Viśālā*.[3] It was one of the seven sacred cities of India. It was the principal stage on the route from the Deccan to Śrāvastī and the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* refers to it as a great centre of trade for all produce imported at Barygaza, whence distribution was made to the Gangetic kingdoms.[4] Kālidāsa has shown marked familiarity in describing this city[5]. It was the capital of Avantī and there stood as now the Śiva temple of Mahākāla.[6] *Māhiṣmatī*[7] the capital of Anūpa,[8] the kingdom of the Haihayas, has been identified with Mandhata on the Narbada.[9] *Kuśāvatī*,[10] the capital of Kuśa, was situated in the defiles of the Vindhyas[11] as we learn from the *Raghuvaṁśa* that Kuśa had to cross the Vindhyas[12] and the Ganges[13] to re-inhabit the old capital of Kosala, Ayodhyā, and therefore it is wrong to identify it with Sultanpur on the Gumti in Oudh as done in Thornton's Gazetteer. *Kuṇḍinapura*,[14] the capital of Vidarbha, has already been dealt with in connection with Vidarbha above. *Somatīrtha*[15] was a place of pilgrimage in Kurukṣetra.[16] *Karṇatīrtha*[17] was another place of pilgrimage which is difficult to identify.

Gokarṇa[18] is a celebrated place of pilgrimage in south India. It has been identified with Gendia,[19] a town in north Kanara, Karwar district, thirty miles from Goa between Karwar and Kumta, and thirty miles south of Sadasheogad,[20] which is three miles south of Goa. The town contains the temple of Mahādeva, Mahābaleśvara established by Rāvaṇa. Kālidāsa places it by the south sea.[21] *Uragapura*,[22] the capital of the Pāṇḍyas, has already been referred to above. It may have been Madura whose Tamil name is Alavay, meaning 'snake' (*Uraga*). Two fabulous cities, Alakā[23] on the Kailāsa and Oṣadhiprastha[24], the capital of Himālaya, have also been described.

[1] *Māl*, pp. 89, 97.
[2] *M.P.*, 27, 29; (*Raghu.*, VI. 34.)
[3] *M.P.*,30
[4] Translation by Schoff., p 42.
[5] cf. *M P.*, 27.
[6] *M.P.*, 34, चण्डेश्वर Ibid., 33.
[7] *Raghu.*, VI. 43.
[8] Ibid., 37.
[9] Pargiter: *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 333, note; *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, pp. 445-46.
[10] *Raghu.*, XV. 97, XVI. 31.
[11] *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara K. ch. 121
[12] *Raghu.*, XVI. 31.
[13] Ibid., 33.
[14] Ibid., VII. 33.
[15] *Śāk.*, p. 22.
[16] *Mbh.*, Śalya P., chs. 44, 52.
[17] *Śāk.*, Act. I.
[18] *Raghu.*, VIII. 33.
[19] Dey: *Geo. Dic. Anc. Med. Ind.*, p. 70.
[20] Newbold: *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XV. p. 228.
[21] रोधसि दक्षिणोदधेः *Raghu.*, VIII. 33.
[22] Ibid., VI. 59.
[23] *Ku.*, VI. 37; *M.P.*, T.U. 63. [24] *Ku.*, VI. 33, 36.

BOOK II

POLITY AND GOVERNANCE

CHAPTER IV

THE STATE AND THE KING

The State

Hindu polity, as we gather from the works of Kālidāsa, divides the State (*rājyam*) into seven parts to which, like the modern political thinkers,[1] it gives the name *aṅgāḥ*,[2] i.e. limbs, thus affording it the sense of an organism. These seven limbs to which the poet does not specifically refer by name have been distinctly treated in works on polity. On the authority of the *Amarakośa*, they may be enumerated as the following components of State, viz. the King or the Lord, Ministers, Political allies, Treasury, the Nation, Fort and the Forces.[3] "The kingdom," says the *Sukranīti*, "is an organism of seven limbs, viz. the Sovereign, the Minister, the Friend, the Treasury, the State, the Fort and the Army."[4] The same treatise elucidates: "Of these seven constituent elements of the kingdom, the King or Sovereign is the head, the Minister is the eye, the Friend is the ear, the Treasury is the mouth, the Army is the mind, the Fort is the arms and the State is the legs.[5]" All of these together contribute to the existence of the State and the well-being and prosperity of the Government, and the loss of any one of these may render the whole system imperfect.[6]

Theory of State and the Nature of the Kings' Relationship with the State.

Of these seven limbs of State the king was the first and foremost in importance. The institution of kingship, which had been elective and had so much of the democratic element in it during the Vedic age,[7] had, at the time of Kālidāsa, become not only hereditary but had come to be considered even divine. Kālidāsa's ideas about the kingship and State are very similar to those of Manu whom he almost literally follows in his conception of the nature of the king's

[1] Seeley: *Introduction to Political Science*, pp. 19 ff.

[2] *Raghu.*, I. 60.

[3] स्वाम्यमात्यसुहृत्कोशराष्ट्रदुर्गबलानिच । सप्तागानि Cf. Kauṭilya who has the same, Book VI. 1. Also cf.

स्वाम्यमात्यपुरंराष्ट्र कोशदण्डौ तथा सुहृत् ।
सप्तैतानि समस्तानि लोकेऽस्मिन्राज्यमुच्यते ॥ *Manu.*, IX. 294.
स्वाम्यमात्यश्च राष्ट्रञ्च दुर्ग कोशो बल सुहृत् ।
परस्परोपकारीदं सप्ताङ्ग राज्यमुच्यते ॥ *Kāmandakanītisāra*, IV. 1.

[4] Ch. I. 121-122.

[5] Ibid., 122-124.

[6] *Kāmandakanītisāra*, IV. 1. 2.

[7] *Hindu Polity*, Part I. pp. 11-16.

relationship with the State[1] and whom he so frequently names[2] in his works while describing the character of the king's control over State and while enumerating his virtues. Kālidāsa's handling of the polity, therefore, is naturally traditional. Following Manu,[3] the poet also considers the king to be an extraordinary being. The king is the 'essence of all existence, an embodiment of all light,' and by him, 'the highest of all, is the Earth trodden.[4]' When Sudakṣiṇā, the queen of Dilīpa, becomes quick with child, the Lokapālas, as it were, enter her body[5]. Samudra Gupta has also been referred to in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription[6] to have performed acts not possible for man to accomplish. Thus Kālidāsa with Manu considers the king to have acquired his State through his divine right to it. In him, it was supposed, were united the energies of the most powerful gods as the following verse will show: "Indra sent showers of rain; Yama checked the rising tendency of diseases; Varuna had his watery paths safe for the work of mariners; Kubera too increased his treasury[7]....". Thus these Lokapālas, whose powers he has inherited, help him. The *Sukranīti* also refers to these divine elements in the king in verses 141-43 of Chapter I, and it further elucidates the same in the following verses 144-151. The king was above law and no mortal could sit in judgment on his deeds. The divine forces within himself could try him for his crimes, and if we care to peep through the common surface of events into the real sense of the poet, we shall stand face to face with the subjective trial of a king in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala*. There the King in the capacity of a chastizer of the renegade (*nimārgapṛasthitānām*) pronounces a cold and cruel punishment on the apostasy of a lady who had abandoned the righteous path and had thus defiled her father's hermitage The King himself had been a party in the consummation of her crime, and when the trial of

[1] नृपस्य वर्णाश्रमपालन यत्स एव धर्मो मनुना प्रणीतः। *Raghu.*, XIV. 67.

[2] Ibid., I. 6, 8, 11, 14, 15, 17, II. 33, IV. 7, IX. 3, XIV. 67, XVIII. 40; also cf. Ibid., XIV. 10, XVI. 22, 24, 36.

[3] रक्षार्थमस्य सर्वस्य राजानमसृजत्प्रभु. ॥ *Manusmriti*, VII. 3.
इन्द्रानिलयमर्काणामग्नेश्च वरुणस्य च।
चन्द्रवित्तेशयोश्चैव मात्रा निर्हृत्य शाश्वती ॥ Ibid., 4.
यस्मादेषा सुरेन्द्राणा मात्राभ्यो निर्मितो नृप।
तस्मादभिभवत्येष सर्वभूतानि तेजसा ॥ Ibid., 5
तपत्यादित्यवच्चैष चक्षूंसि च मनासि च।
न चैन भूविशक्नोति कश्चिदप्यभिवीक्षितुम् ॥ Ibid., 6
सोऽग्निर्भवति वायुश्च सोऽर्क. सोमः स धर्मराट्।
स कुवेरः स वरुणः स महेन्द्रः प्रभावतः ॥ Ibid., 7.
बालोऽपि नावमन्तव्यो मनष्य इति भूमिपः।
महती देवता ह्येषा नररूपेण तिष्ठति ॥ Ibid., 8.

[4] स्थितः सर्वोन्नतेनोर्वीं क्रान्त्वामेरुरिवात्मना *Raghu.*, I. 14; त वेधा विदधे नूनं महाभूतसमाधिना Ibid., I. 28. अगाधसत्त्व Ibid., VI. 21.

[5] Ibid., II. 75, III. 11, XVII. 78, Cf. दिशाः प्रसेदुः ibid., III. 14, निशथिद्वीपाः सहसा हतत्विषो Ibid., 15.

[6] कर्माण्यनेकान्यमनुजसदृशानि Verse 5.

[7] *Raghu.*, XVII. 81.

the criminal had been disposed of, the divine elements within his body prepared him to take his own trial. The King consequently fell a victim to subjective tortures and mental yearnings of unbounded grief

The King

The King was designated by almost divine attributes like Bhagavān[1], Prabhuh[2], Jagadekanāthaḥ[3], Īśvara[4], Īśa[5], Manuṣyeśvara[6], Prajeśvara[7], Janeśvara[8], Deva[9], Naradeva[10], Narendrasambhava,[11] Manusyadeva,[12] his other epithets besides these being Rājendu[13], Vasudhādhipa[14], Bhūmipati[15], Rājā[16], Priyadarśana[17], Arthapati[18], Bhuvobhartuḥ[19], Mahikṣita[20], Viśāmpati[21], Prajādhipa[22] Madhyamalokapāla[23], Gopa[24], Mahpāla[25], Puruṣādhirāja[26], Kṣitīṣa[27], Nṛpa[28], Pārthiva[29], Narendra[30], Sacivasakhā[31], Adhipati[32], Samrāṭ[33], Nṛsoma[34], Kṣitipa[35], Naralokpāla[36], Agādhasattva[37], Daṇḍadhara[38] Prthivīpāla[39] Bhattāraka[40],

[1] *Mal.*, Act. IV.
[2] *Raghu.*, V 22.
[3] Ibid., 23.
[4] *Mal.*, Act. IV; *Raghu*, III. 5, IV. 81, 84, V. 39.
[5] *Raghu.*, IV., 83.
[6] Ibid., II. 2.
[7] Ibid., III. 68.
[8] Ibid., XI. 35.
[9] *Sak.*, p. 68; *Vik.*, p. 64.
[10] *Raghu.*, VI. 8.
[11] Ibid., III 42.
[12] Ibid., II. 52.
[13] Ibid., I. 12.
[14] Ibid., 32.
[15] Ibid., 47.
[16] Ibid., 27, 57.
[17] Ibid., 47.
[18] Ibid., 59, IX. 3.
[19] Ibid., I. 74, VII. 32.
[20] Ibid., I. 85.
[21] Ibid., 93.
[22] Ibid. III. 42.
[23] Ibid., 16
[24] Ibid., 24, IV. 20, XV. 44.
[25] Ibid., 34.
[26] Ibid., 41.
[27] Ibid., 67.
[28] Ibid., 71.
[29] Ibid., III. 21.
[30] Ibid., III. 36.
[31] Ibid., IV. 87.
[32] Ibid., V. 33.
[33] Ibid., II. 5, IV. 88.
[34] Ibid., V. 59.
[35] Ibid., 76.
[36] Ibid., VI. 1. [37] Ibid. [38] Ibid., IX. 3.
[39] Ibid., XV. 1.
[40] *Mal.*, p. 38. This has also been an epithet of the Gupta Emperors—Vide the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta; Udaigiri Cave Inscription of Candra Gupta II.

etc. His queen was variously called as Devī[1], Rājñī[2], Mahisī[3], or Agramahiṣī[4], when referring to the chief queen, Mahādevī[5], and Bhṭṭinī[6]. These epithets, however, were as much of the poet's times as of earlier ones. It was supposed auspicious to have a look at the godly person of the king and people flocked to his palace for the purpose[7].

Paraphernalia

The King had majestic paraphernalia known by various terms like paricchada[8], rājakakuda[9], nṛpatikakuda[10], rājyacihna[11] and Pārthivalińga[12], etc. Kālidāsa has made use of the term *Paricchada* to denote paraphernalia. Paricchada is what covers or surrounds a person, paraphernalia in general, external appendages of royalty, insignia. The principal emblems of royalty enumerated below were supposed to represent the sovereign authority. The following emblems have been referred to by the poet: a throne[13], an umbrella[14], a pair of flywhisks[15], a crown with a central gem[16], a sceptre[17], a conch[18] of victory[19], a canopy of state[20] and a golden footstool[21]. Besides the above there were the bards[22] like those attached to the Imperial Guptas[23] who sang his panegyrics and those of his forefathers, heralds[24], who proclaimed the hours of the day, his vassals[25] and other attendants[26] including the tradesmen[27], and Yavanīs[28] and Kirātīs[29]. An assembly-hall[30] (*Sadogrha, Samsad, Sabhā*) was invariably associated with the

[1] *Raghu.*, III. 70, V. 36, XIV. 32, *Vik.*, pp. 28, 64; *Māl.*, p. 105, V. 12; *Śāk.*, p. 81.
[2] *Raghu.*, I. 57; *Māl.*, p. 16.
[3] *Raghu.*, VIII. 82, XIV. 5.
[4] Ibid., X. 66.
[5] *Śāk.*, p. 128.
[6] Ibid., p. 193; *Vik.*, pp. 53, 54; *Māl.*, p. 53.
[7] *Raghu.*, XIX. 7.
[8] Ibid., I. 19, IX 70, *Vik.*, pp. 93, 94.
[9] *Raghu.*, XVII. 27.
[10] Ibid., III. 70.
[11] Ibid., II. 7.
[12] Ibid., VIII. 16.
[13] Ibid., VI. 1‹ XVII. 7, XIX. 57.
[14] Ibid., II. 13, 47, IV. 5, 17, XIV. 11, XVI. 27, XVII. 33, XVIII.
[15] Ibid., III. 16, UV. 17, XIV. 11, XVIII. 43; *Ku.*, I. 13; *Vik.*, I
[16] *Raghu.*, VI., 19, IX. 22, X. 75.
[17] Ibid., X. 75, XIII. 59.
[18] Ibid., IX. 3.
[19] Ibid., VII. 63.
[20] *Vik.*, IV. 13; *Raghu.*, XVII. 28.
[21] *Raghu.*, VI. 15; XVII. 28.
[22] Ibid., IV. 6, V. 65; *Vik.*, IV. 13.
[23] गीतैश्चस्तुतिभिश्च वन्दकजनो Bhitari stone Pillar Inscription of Skanda Gupta, verse 7.
[24] *Śāk.*, p. 157.
[25] *Vik.*, III. 19.
[26] *Raghu.*, I. 37, II. 4, 9.
[27] *Vik.*, IV. 13.
[28] *Śāk.*, pp. 57, 224; *Vik.*, p. 123.
[29] *Raghu.*, XVI. 57.
[30] Ibid., III. 66, 67, सभागृह XV. 39, ससद् XVI. 24.

sittings of a King. Of these, three—the umbrella and the pair of fly-whisks—were absolutely indispensable. They constituted the real emblems of royalty and could on no account be given away[1] (*adeya trayam*). Although these occur in the description given about ancient kings, they as well formed emblems of royalty during the poet's time.

Simhāsana[2] was the throne of a king and was naturally costly, made of gold with set gems. T.A. Gopinatha Rao explains it as 'a four legged seat, circular or rectangular in shape and one hasta or cubit in height. The four legs of this seat are made up of four small lions[3].' When set with jewels and not made of gold, it was called *Nṛpāsana* or *Bhadrāsana*. The *Mānasāra* gives nine varieties of a throne[4]. Kālidāsa alludes to the white and spotless royal umbrella, the 'dhavala-chattra' kind of the *Mānasāra*[5], and makes it, along with the pair of fly-whisks made of the yak's tail, the three emblems which must at all costs be retained by a king (*adeya trayam*[6]). *Śrīvitāna* was a canopy of state decked with gold. This canopy ordinarily signified the ceiling of the assembly-hall or a *cāndanī* in its absence. Ceilings ornamented with gold lines are not rare even now in royal palaces. The addition of *srī* to *vitānam* may have been intended to indicate excellence or the quality of being sacred to the goddess Lakṣmī, or it may refer to a particular kind of ceiling such as is met within royal palaces, the idea being that it is sacred to Lakṣmī inducing her to live under it. Being a poetical expression, it may as well be a decorative phrase.

Personal Qualities of the King

Priority of birth supported by qualities determined the choice of his successor by an old and retiring sovereign. The *Śukranīti* lays more stress on the qualities than on the point of birth. It observes: "The King is honoured because of these qualities. *It is not birth that makes a king.* He is not respected so much because of his ancestry, as for his prowess, strength and valour."[7] There were, of course, instances, like Agnivarna, that warrant of a claim simply by birth yet the poet is advocating the cause of administrative propriety which is borne out by facts of history as we shall see below. Kālidāsa, like the father of Samudra Gupta[8], stresses the point of personal abilities[9] more than that of the priority of birth. Here we may point out the remarkable identity on this point between the views of the Imperial Guptas and those of Kālidāsa by citing the Allahabad Pillar Inscription which records that Samudra Gupta was chosen by his father from among other princes of the family who were rendered crestfallen by this preference over them, while the courtiers and ministers approved of it

[1] Ibid., III. 16.
[2] Ibid., XIX. 57.
[3] *The Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 21.
[4] P. K. Acharya: *Indian Architecture*, p. 60.
[5] Ibid.
[6] *Raghu.*, III. 16.
[7] Ch. I. 363-64.
[8] Allahabad Pillar Inscription.
[9] ज्येष्ठं पुरो जन्मतया गुणैश्च *Raghu.*, XVI. 1. उत्थितो गुणैः XVII. 34, 75., लोककान्ताः गुणा XVIII. 49; *Vik.*, V. 21.

with sighs of relief[1]. First of all, he enjoins upon a king to possess a robust health, for a perfectly healthy body alone can serve the end of protection[2] which is the principal duty of a king. He should be of dauntless courage and be first able to protect himself[3]. He should have a clear knowledge of the scriptures[4] and of the various *vidyā*s[5] to aid him in the dispensing of justice. He should be righteous in his conduct and absolutely unattracted by vices[6]. Bad company which generates a tendency to do evil he should particularly shun and avoid[7], and even in his duties towards *artha* and *kāma* he must remain scrupulously righteous and generate righteousness in them[8] The *Arthaśāstra*[9] enjoins on the king to keep his senses under complete control. It says: "....whoever has not his organs of senses under his control, will soon perish, though possessed of the whole Earth bounded by the four quarters." This point of perfect self-restraint is the constant refrain of Śukra which has been maintained throughout his treatise[10]. The latter is of opinion that the king should be of measured indulgence and that within due limit it is even commendable[11]. Samudra Gupta is reported to have been 'accustomed to associate with learned people'[12] Kālidāsa says that the king should be endowed with qualities of both kinds, stern and tender[13] (*bhīmakāntaiḥ guṇaiḥ*) which help a king in getting endeared to his subjects without their becoming insolently free with him. "Popular and pleasing qualities[14]," asserts Kālidāsa, are the necessary requirements of a king. He must not indulge too much in the four traditional vices of kings, i.e. hunting, gambling, drinking and women[15]. He must keep all the secrets of his Government to himself[16]. He was to govern his people in the manner of a father governing his children[17]. The Mandasor Stone Inscription calls Bandhuvarmā 'a brother

[1] आर्यो हीत्युपगुह्य भावपिशुनैरुत्कीर्णितै· रोमभि
सभ्येसूच्छ्वसितेषु तुलजम्लानाननोद्वीक्षित. ।
स्नेहव्यालुलितेन बाष्पगुरुणा तत्वेक्षिणा चक्षुषा
य: पित्राभिहितो निरीक्ष्य निखिला पाह्येवमूर्व्वीमिति ॥

[2] आत्मकर्मक्षम देह क्षात्रोधर्म इवाश्रित· *Raghu.*, I. 13

[3] जुगोपमात्मानमत्रस्तो *Raghu.*, I. 21.

[4] शास्त्रेष्वकुण्ठिताबुद्धि Ibid cf. Hathigumpha Inscription of King Khāravela.

[5] विद्याना पारदृश्वन *Raghu.*, I 23 शैशवेभ्यस्तविद्याना Ibid , 8.

[6] तस्य धर्मरतेरासीत् Ibid , 23. अनाकृष्टस्यविषयै. Ibid.

[7] हीनससर्गपराङ्मुख Ibid., XVIII. 14.

[8] अप्यर्थाकामो तस्यास्ता धर्म एव Ibid., I. 25. [9] *Ibid.*, I. Ch. VI.

[10] *Śukranīti.*, Ch. I.

[11] Ibid., 215-16, 230-32.

[12] यस्य प्रज्ञानुषङ्गोचितसुखमनस All. p. Ins., Verse 3.

[13] *Raghu.*, I. 16.

[14] लोककान्ता: गुणा· Ibid., XVIII. 49; गुणैर्लोककान्तै: *Vik.*, V. 21.

[15] *Raghu.*, IX. 7. Manu quoted by the commentator.

[16] संवृतमंत्रस्य *Raghu.*, I. 20. The commentator quotes Yājñavalkya —

मन्त्रमूल यतो राज्यमतो मन्त्र सुरक्षितम् ।
कुर्याद्यथा तन्न विदु: कर्माणामाफलोदयात् ॥

[17] पितेव पासि *Raghu.*, II. 48.

of his subjects[1].' Kālidāsa here refers to the qualities of an ideal king and in many cases these may not have been possessed by his contemporaries, although the Gupta Kings very nearly came to his standard of an ideal king.

As has been pointed out by Prof. A. B. Keith, Kālidāsa has portrayed in Dilīpa the figure of a dutiful protector. His Raghu is described as "the highest type of selfless nobility in a king, illustrating the complete harmony between 'bhoga' (enjoyment), and 'tyāga' (renunciation) and the 'yathākāmarcitārthitva' and 'tyāgāya sambhṛtārthitva' of Raghu. In the Aja's remorse for his wife is shown highly tender humaneness common with the king among the most ordinary of his subjects[2]." This last incident, the origin of which is not traceable in any of the *Purāṇas* or in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and what is entirely a creation of the mind of the poet, also adds much more weight to the greatest of renunciations, that of abandoning Sīta by Rāma, and makes it plain how an ideal Hindu monarch, though so tender as Aja in his love towards his wife, could easily become strong and impassive in his duty as Rāma and send away his very wife, loving and immaculate, for the sake of his people. As a king Rāma felt it his duty to lay dowr an example of rigid moral purity, and to show that all his acts were above suspicion. "No kingly ideal of later times can enjoin a better precept or point to a worthier model; and it is but fitting in the nature of things that Rāmarājya should become in popular parlance a common expression for the ideal Government, where the interests of the people are placed first, even before those of the sovereign."[3]

"With an Indian sovereign," as portrayed by Kālidāsa, "kingly grace was not incompatible with simplicity, that the selfless nobility of a king never revolted against his using certain utensils instead of vessels made of gold, and that for the sake of the people and for their confidence no sacrifice was considered too great by the king[4]." To choose such a lord royalty indeed did but wait for her master's consent like a discreet daughter waiting for that of her father[5]. It is interesting to note here a striking similarity of this idea of the poet to that of the Junagadh Rock Inscription where the exploits of Skanda Gupta are glorified. "The goddess of fortune and splendour," says the panegyrist, "of her own accord selected as her husband, having in succession (and) with judgment skilfully taken into consideration and thought over all the causes of virtues and faculties, (and) having discarded all (the other) sons of kings (as not coming up to her standard[6]). The king was expected to be quite adept in regal ceremonies (*vidhijñaḥ*[7]). The objects of the senses he must strongly suppress[8].

[1] Verse 26.
[2] A. B. Keith: *A History of Sans. Lit.*
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] श्रीः साभिलाषापि गुरोरनुज्ञां धीरेव कन्या पितुराचकाक्ष । *Raghu.*, V. 38.
[6] क्रमेण बुद्धया निपुणं प्रधार्य्य
ध्यात्वा च कृत्स्नांगुणदोषहेतून् ।
व्यपेत्य सर्वान्मनुजेन्द्रपुत्रान्
लक्ष्मीः स्वयं यं वरयञ्चकार ॥ Verse 5.
[7] *Raghu.*, V. 3. [8] Ibid., 23.

Duties of the King

King, the central figure of the State, was not a free man but was burdened with heavy responsibilities. "The word Rājan and its original Rāṭ literally mean a ruler. It is connected with the Latin Rex. But Hindu political theorists have given it a philosophic derivation. King is called Rājā because his duty is 'to please' (Rañj) the people by maintaining good government. This philosophic interpretation has been accepted as an axiom throughout Sanskrit literature."[1] Kālidāsa also has to offer the same definition of his king—'Rājā is so called for he pleases his subject[2], (*Rājā prakṛtirañjanāt*). The king was expected to be an expert in pleasing (i. e. winning over the hearts of) his subjects[3], and he was aptly commended when his benign rule pleased[4] his people. The *Sukranīti* prescribes tours for the king in his kingdom to see 'which subjects have been pleased and which oppressed by the staff of officers[5],' and it enjoins upon him to 'tour the city on the back of elephants in order to please the people[6]. Pleasing of people has been emphasised as a principal trait in the king in the Gupta inscriptions also[7]. His importance has been summed up by the poet as embodied in the old saying *Rājā Kālasya Kāraṇam*[8], king is the cause of time. This very phrase is met with in the *Sukranīti*. It say: "The king is the cause of the setting on foot of the customs, usages and movements and hence is the cause or maker of time (i.e. the creator of epochs). If the age and time were the cause (of usages and activities) there could be no virtue in the actors."[9] At another place the same treatise observes: "The prince is the cause of time (the maker of his age) and of the good and evil practices. By a terrible use of his engine of sovereignty, he should maintain the subjects each in his proper sphere."[10] The line of argument followed here by both Kālidāsa and the *Sukranīti* is that the king's activities generate the spirit of the age. The *ācāra* makes the epochs of time, and the king makes the *ācāra*, therefore the king is the maker of *kāla* or time. *Prajārañjana* was considered the principal duty of a king By the very virtue of his being a king, as the etymology of his designation shows, he was commanded to dispense with his first duty, the task of pleasing his people.

This act of pleasing the people, required of the king to perform the duties of administration which involved hard work, for the work of governance (*tantra*) was not an easy affair and the royal office was no sinecure.

[1] K. P. Jayaswal: *Hindu Polity*, Part II. Ch. XXII. p. 3.
[2] *Raghu.*, IV. 12: प्रकृतिमण्डलमनुरञ्जयन्राज्य करोति *Vik.*, p. 121.
[3] राजा प्रजारञ्जनलब्धवर्ण· *Raghu.*, VI. 21.
[4] *Vik.*, p. 121.
[5] Ch. I. 751-52.
[6] Ibid., 744.
[7] सरजयाञ्च प्रकृतीर्बभूव Verse 22, Junagadh Rock Inscription of Skanda Gupta. cf. प्रियोजनस्य ibid., verse 16: सवर्द्धितप्रीतिगृहोपचारै ibid., 22
[8] *Vik.*, p. 93.
[9] Ch. I. 43-44.
[10] Ibid., 119-120.

It was the duty of the heralds[1] accompanying the king to announce the periods of the day, and particularly the fixed divisions into which the king's day was divided. Kālidāsa makes a reference to such a division at a place[2] where he points that the king like the sun rested at the sixth division of the day. He also makes a general reference to the divisions of the day and night as scheduled in the treatises on polity on which his king has to work.[3] Kālidāsa does not specifically refer to these divisions but since the occupation of his sixth division practically coincides with that of Kauṭilya's we may assume that he is following the *Arthaśāstra* in this respect. These divisions may be enumerated below on the authority of Kauṭilya[4]: "Of these divisions during the first one-eighth part of the day, he shall post watchmen and attend to the accounts of receipts and expenditure, during the second part, he shall look to the affairs of both citizens and country people; during the third, he shall not only bathe and dine, but also study; during the fourth, he shall not only receive revenue in gold (*hiraṇya*) but also attend to the appointments of superintendents, during the fifth, he shall correspond in writs (*patra-saṁpreshaṇena*) with the assembly of his ministers, and receive the secret information gathered by his spies; during the sixth, he may engage himself in his favourite amusements or in self-deliberation; during the seventh, he shall superintend elephants, horses, chariots, and infantry; and during the eighth part, he shall consider various plans of military operations with his commander-in-chief

At the close of the day, he shall observe the evening prayer (*sandhyā*).

During the first-eighth part of the night, he shall receive secret emissaries; during the second, he shall attend to bathing and supper and study; during the third, he shall enter the bed-chamber amid the sound of trumpets and enjoy sleep during the fourth and fifth parts; having been awakened by the sound of trumpets during the sixth part, he shall recall to his mind the injunctions of sciences as well as the day's duties; during the seventh, he shall sit considering administrative measures and send out spies; and during the eighth division of the night, he shall receive benedictions from sacrificial priests, teachers, and the high priest, and having seen his physician, chief cook and astrologer, and having saluted both a cow with its calf and a bull by circumambulating round them, he shall get into his court."

It will be noted that in devising a time table for kings, Yājñavalkya adopts the same plan and uses the very same words as Kauṭilya.[5] The *Daśakumāracarita*, written about a century after Kālidāsa, evidently quoting from the *Arthaśāstra*, follows the same plan.[6] The poet does not refer to the rest of the divisions as

[1] वैतालिक *Śāk.*, p. 157; *Māl.*, p. 32, सूतात्मज, वन्दिन etc.

[2] *Śāk.*, V. 5; काले *Raghu.*, XIV. 24; काम धर्मकार्यमनतापत्य देवस्य *Śāk*, p. 154; षष्ठे काले त्वमपि लभसे देव विश्रान्तिमह्न: *Vik.*, II. 1.; उपरूढो मध्याह्न. *Māl.* II, 12; *Raghu.*, XVII. 49.

[3] रात्रि दिन विभागेषु यदादिष्ट महीक्षिताम् ।
तत्सिषेवे नियोगेन स विकल्पपराङ्मुख: ॥ *Raghu.*, XVII. 49.

[4] Book I. Ch. XIX.

[5] *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, I. 327-32.

[6] *Daśakumāracarita*, VIII (Viśrutacarita), pp. 257-58 (Nirṇaya Sāgara ed.)

the exigencies of his dramatic or poetical themes do not admit of any such allusion.

It will be evident from this schedule of duties that the office of administrator admitted of no repose, and Kālidāsa attests to this fact.[1] A king was expected to shoulder the responsibilities of administration in the manner of "the sun who has his horses yoked but once, in that of the wind which blows day and night, and again in the manner of Śesa who has the load of the Earth placed on him for ever."[2] Like these three gods who take no rest, the king also had to work day and night. Like the sun he was expected to animate life and growth of property among his people, like the wind to be powerful and life-giving (in its milder form), and like Śeṣa to be stable under the responsibility of administration. He was the holder of the State as though, and he lifted its enormous weight over him. Such was the remarkable service in the cause of the people of one whose sustenance was the sixth part of the produce of the soil[3] which he protected.

The endless labour and worries which the office of the king involved are brought out in the following expression of a king engendered from his fatiguing concern: "Attainment of the desired object destroys all eagerness; the very business of guarding what has been obtained worries. A kingdom, the administration of which is in one's hands, is not for complete removal of fatigue as it is for causing fatigue, like a parasol, the pole of which is held in one's own hand."[4] In this manner indifferent to his own happiness the king toiled everyday for the sake of his people. He lifted the great burden of the daily routine of the responsibilities of State on his head and suffered from their excessive weight while he relieved through his protection the trouble of those who resorted to him.[5]

The principal duty of the king towards pleasing his people was to protect them in return of his wages[6] (vṛttiḥ). The phrase *goptā*[7] has been used in the sense of a royal protector. The *Śukranīti* considers primary functions to be the "protection of subjects and constant punishment of offenders."[8] When Dilīpa enters the forest the criminal Dāvāgni (conflagration), which was burning down the woods, becomes suddenly conscious of its guilt, as it were, at the sight of the approaching protector and extinguishes at once without the help of rain. The forest is presently endowed with an unforeseen prosperity in flowers and fruits. At the entrance of the protector the strong, like the tiger, being conscious of their criminal conduct, give up the habit of killing the weak like the deer.[9] It may be noted that the term *Goptā* occurs in the Junagadha Rock Inscription of Skanda Gupta and elsewhere in the sense of a provincial Governor.[10] Under

[1] अविश्रामोऽय लोकतन्त्राधिकार *Śāk.*, p. 154.
[2] Ibid., V. 4.
[3] षष्ठाशवृत्ते. Ibid.
[4] *Śāk.*, V. 6.
[5] Ibid., 7.
[6] षड्शभाक् *Raghu.*, XVII. 65; षष्ठाशवृत्ते *Śāk.*, V., 4.
[7] *Raghu.*, II. 14, 24, XV. 44; *Ku.*, II. 52; *Vik.*, V. 1.
[8] II.
[9] *Raghu*, II. 14.
[10] सर्वेषु देशेषु विधाय गोप्तृ 1, 7. गोपायतिस्यापि 1, 10. Ibid., Second Part—द्वीपस्य गोप्ता महताश्च

the rule of a strong protector *vana* is the dominion administered by the *Goptā, sattva* is the people governed and *adhikaḥ* obviously is the class of criminals who live upon their illegitimate acquisition from *ūna*, the normal, peaceful and law-abiding citizens of the State. Dāvāgni, again, is such chaos as prevails in the State at times in the absence of a powerful protector. The Gupta epigraphical records glorify in the king the spirit of producing good and suppressing evil[1] as also of putting down the wicked.[2] Thus the tradition that Kālidāsa follows in describing Dilīpa's virtues was not unwarranted by the trend of the Gupta times. The kingdom, or the State, has been compared to an unoffending cow,[3] worthy of being protected from harm as a trust.[4] Even as a father protects his children with punctilious care so also must the king protect his subjects.[5] And it was the proud satisfaction of a king to utter the complaisant expression that in his regime no offender had the daring to misconduct himself.[6] Under such a thorough protection the state of people was bound to prosper. A passage in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* attests to this idea in the following verse: "An object of wish on the part of the subjects, such as the removal of public calamities, there was none that could not be accomplished while Agnimitra was their protector."[7] This verse (although fulfilling the purpose of a dramatic convention) has a singular parallel in the Junagadh Rock Inscription[8] where it is said about Skanda Gupta that "while he, the king, is reigning, verily no man among his subjects falls away from religion; (and) there is no one who is distressed, (or) in poverty, (or) in misery (or) avaricious or, who worthy of punishment, is overmuch put to torture." The *varṇas* (castes) and *āśramas* were equally the objects of the king's perpetual attention and protection.[9] Himself a non-transgressor (*sthiterabhettā*), he is a guide to his people in the performance of duty. Kauṭilya[10] also enjoins that he must not allow people to swerve from their duty, and so does Śukra.[11] His people have to be kept close to the caste-dharma.[12] He was to be the very bolt (*argalā*) of the great gate of the city which was *dharma*.

नेता 1. 2; Mandasor Stone Inscription of Kumara Gupta I and Bandhuvarman, Verse 24.

[1] साध्वसाधूदयप्रलयहेतु All. p. Ins.

[2] शशास दुष्टान् Junagadh Rock Ins. V. 21.

[3] जुगोप गोरूपधरामिवोर्वीम् *Raghu.*, II. 3.

[4] रक्ष्यं Ibid., II. 56.

[5] प्रजाः प्रजानाथ पितेव पासि Ibid., 48.

[6] क. पौरवे वसुमती शासति शासतारि दुर्विनीतानाम् *Śāk.*, I. 21.

[7] आशास्यमीति विगमप्रभृतिप्रजानाम् ।
संपत्स्यते न खलु गोप्तरि नाग्निमित्रे । *Māl.*, V. 20.

[8] तस्मिन्नृपे शासति नैव कश्चिद्
धर्म्मदिपेतो मनुजः प्रजासु ।
आर्त्तो दरिद्रो व्यसनी कदर्यो
दंड्यो न वा यो भृशपीडितः स्यात् ॥ Verse 6.

[9] *Śāk.*, p. 162, V. 10; *Raghu.*, V. 19, XIV. 67, 85. XV. 48; XVIII. 12.

[10] Bk. I, Ch. III.

[11] Ch. I. 50-51.

[12] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I. Ch. III.

Like expression is found for Samudra Gupta. The phrase of the inscription is *dharmmaprācīra-bandhaḥ*.[1] It was for his act of protection that he received the revenues of his State as his salary[2] (*vetana*). The *Śukranīti* brings out his status and his relation with his subjects when it says: "The ruler has been made by Brahmā a servant of the people getting his revenue as remuneration. His sovereignty, however, is only for protection[3]" Thus the notion of a master-servant has been emphasized.

The king was to be ever wakeful in the cause of his subjects.[4] Kauṭilya says: "In the happiness of his subjects his happiness; in their welfare his welfare; whatever pleases him he shall not consider as good, but whatever pleases his subjects he shall consider as good."[5] Exerting for their well-being he considered his principal duty[6] (*vṛtti*). He was trained, and he got adept in the work beneficial to his people.[7] But to this end he must prepare himself. Protection of others calls for physical capability in the protector and hence the king must be physically strong so that in the absence of his guards he may be able to protect himself[8]. The epigraphs are replete with expressions like *svavīryaguptā* of Kālidāsa referring to the personal valour of the king. Some of them may be noted below: *bāhuvīrya*,[9] *svabhujajanitavīryyo*,[10] *vīryam*, *subhujadvayasya*[11], *bhujabala*,[12] *svabhujabala*,[13] *bāhubhyām*,[14] etc The phrase Kṣatriya, which refers to the caste of which he is the principal member, is derived from the idea of 'protecting from harm.'[15] This definition of a Kṣatriya is borne out by the *Śukranīti* which says: "The man who can protect men, who is valorous, restrained and powerful, and who is the punisher of the wicked is called Kṣatriya."[16] The king therefore has got to be true to the spirit of the epithet he bears. His powerful limbs will indeed help him in the duty of protection and his invincible bow will keep the desperadoes off their designs.[17] He considered himself wedded to his dominion itself,[18] and bore its weight on his shoulders in the manner of Śesa

[1] All. P. Ins., Verse 8.
[2] दिदेश वेतन तस्मै रक्षामदृशमेव भू ॥ *Raghu*, XVII. 66.
[3] Ch. I 375
[4] प्रवर्तना प्रकृतिहिताय पार्थिव *Śāk.*, VII, 34, प्रजायै कल्पिष्यमाणेव *Raghu.*, XVIII. 2.
[5] Bk., I Ch. XIX
[6] प्रजाना वृत्तेस्थिन *Raghu*, V. 33. Kāmandaka has been quoted here by the commentator.
न्यायेनार्जनमर्थस्य वर्धन पालन तथा ।
सत्पात्रे प्रतिपत्तिश्च राजवृत्त चतुर्विधम् ॥
[7] प्रजाक्षेमविधानदक्ष *Raghu.*, XVIII. 9.
[8] स्ववीर्यगुप्ता Ibid., II. 4.
[9] All. P. Ins., V. 7.
[10] Junagadh R. Ins. of Skanda Gupta, V. 2.
[11] Ibid., 21.
[12] Bhitari St. P. Ins. V. 6.
[13] All. P. Ins. of Samudra Gupta.
[14] Bhitari St. P. Ins. V. 7.
[15] *Raghu.*, II. 53.
[16] Ch. I. 81-82.
[17] *Raghu.*, II. 8; *Śāk.*, I. 12.
[18] *Raghu.*, VIII. 83.

supporting the Earth on his hoods.[1] And thus did he govern his prosperous domain with a mind free from the outcome of *rajoguṇa*.[2] The idea of a Sāttvika ruler has been stressed by the poet. The definition of such a ruler is given by *Śukranīti*: "The king who is constant to his own duty and is the protector of his subjects, who performs all the sacrifices and conquers his enemies, and who is charitable, forbearing, and valorous, has no attachment to the things of enjoyment and is dispassionate is called Sāttvika and attains salvation at death."[3] As against this the definition of Rājasa king, who has been disapproved by Kālidāsa, is given by the same: "The miserable king who is not compassionate and is made through passions, who is envious and untruthful, who has vanity, cupidity and attachment for enjoyable things, who practises deceit and villainy, who is not same or uniform in thought, speech and action, who is fond of picking up quarrels and associates himself with the lower classes, who is independent of, and does not obey Nīti, and who is of an intriguing disposition, is called Rājasa, and gets the condition of lower animals or immovable things after death."[4] Neglect of his duty occasioned many a time an ironical remark from his queen.[5]

Besides the duty of protection, the king had to take his seat in the Court of Justice[6] and adjudicate on the cases preferred to him. This he did in proper time scheduled for him.[7] But we shall deal with this while discussing the affairs of the department of Justice.

A close parallel of the qualities of a king as envisaged by Kāildāsa is to be found in the enumeration of the qualities and duties of an administrator (*Goptā*, governor) attributed to Parṇadatta and his son Cakrapalita, Governors, in succession, of Saurāṣtra.[8] It had meant, it may be noted, a deliberation for several days and nights for Skanda Gupta to choose his man. This inscription marshals into array those virtues and functions of an administrator which are strikingly parallel to the ideas of Kālidāsa and which prefectly echo his notions about an ideal ruler.

Education of the King

For his great task the king must equip himself. He must comprehend and learn thoroughly the numerous items of his duty. This was possible only by having a sharp insight[9] (*akuṇṭhitā buddhiḥ*) not instinctive or whimsical but one routine-bred, into the scriptures, for he had to refer constantly to the laws laid down in them. Samudra Gupta is said to have mastered the essence of the Śāstras.[10] This is why we read in Kālidāsa of the sacramental

[1] Ibid., II. 74.
[2] रिद्धं राज्यं रजोरिक्तमना· शशास Ibid., XV. 85.
[3] Ch. I. 59-62
[4] Ibid., 64-68
[5] यदि राजकार्येष्वीदृश्युपायनिपुणतार्यपुत्रस्य ततः शोभनं भवेत् । *Māl.*, p. 22.
[6] प्रकृतिरवेक्षितु व्यवहारासनमाददे *Raghu.*, VIII. 18.
[7] स पौरकार्याणि समीक्ष्य काले Ibid., XIV. 24.
[8] Junagadh Rock Ins., verses 7-25. *C. I. I.*, pp. 62-63.
[9] *Raghu.*, I. 19.
[10] शास्त्रतत्त्वार्थभर्तुः All. P. Ins. of Samudra Gupta, V. 3.

bringing up of a king and of the stages of his early life the leading of which was as important in his case as in that of other twice-borns. The routine of a king's life like that of an ordinary citizen has been summed up in the following verse:[1]

> Saiśave abhyastavidyānām yauvane viṣayaiṣiṇām
> Vārddhake munivṛttīnām yogenānte tanutyajām.

Thus the preliminary duty of a king was to understand the nature of his trust and responsibility which could be achieved only by a thorough study of the scriptures. By using scriptures as his eyes alone he could hope to foresee and accomplish the unattained and subtle ends of his endeavours.[2] Here it may be remarked that although Kālidāsa's description refers to traditional times as we have seen above and shall see below, yet that tradition came to be referred to as a realised ideal by the imperial panegyrists of the Guptas.

Of courses of study we shall deal in due context in our chapter on Education. Here it may be only pointed out that besides his religious education the king studied (1) Śāstra,[3] the *Mānavadharmaśāstra*[4] for example, (2) Parātisandhāna Vidyā;[5] (3) and other vidyās.[6] Kālidāsa refers to four kinds of *vidyās*[7] which the commentator specifies by quoting Kāmandaka as ānvīksikī, trayī, vārtā and daṇḍanīti[8]. Both the *Arthaśāstra*[9] and the *Śukranīti*[10] refer to these four and explain the first as philosophy and logic, the second as the triple Vedas and the third as agriculture and commerce and the fourth as the art of government. On this last the *Śukranīti*[11] lays added stress. Of the Śāstras naturally the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* was prominent as the poet frequently refers[12] to it particularly in the administrative sphere of the king. The science of statecraft (which included *parātisandhāna*, diplomacy) formed a part of the king's study as would appear from Śārṅgaravás sarcastic remark made in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* in reference to Duṣyanta: (It is strange that) "the words of one who has never been acquainted with wicked diplomacy since one's birth are not admissible in evidence whereas those of others *who learn the art of cheating others as a vidyā* are believed to be true."[13]

[1] *Raghu.*, I. 8.
[2] चक्षुष्मता तु शास्त्रेण सूक्ष्मकार्यार्थदर्शिना । Ibid., IV. 13.
[3] Ibid., I. 9, IV. 13.
[4] नृपस्य धर्मो मनुना प्रणीत Ibid., XIV. 67. मनुप्रभृतिभिः I. 17, IV. 7.
[5] *Śāk.*, V. 25; पराभिसधान *Raghu.*, XVII. 76.
[6] *Raghu.*, I. 8, 23, 88, III. 30, V. 20, 21, X. 71, XVII. 3, XVIII. 50, *Śāk.*, p. 125; *Māl.*, 7.
[7] चतस्र विद्या ततार *Raghu.*, III. 30; चतस्रः विद्या परिसंख्यया V. 21; also cf.
आन्वीक्षिकी त्रयी वार्ता दण्डनीतिश्चशाश्वती ।
एता विद्याश्चतस्रस्तु लोकसस्थिति हेतवः ॥ *Nītisāra*, II, 2.
[8] *Raghu.*, XVIII. 46.
[9] Bk. I. Ch. II.
[10] Ch. I. 203-4.
[11] Ibid., 314.
[12] *Raghu.*, I. 17, IV. 7, XIV. 67.
[13] *Śāk.*, V. 25.

The reference to the subject of the science of diplomacy in the syallabus of study of a king is but natural. A king whose land was surrounded on all sides by natural enemies[1] (*prakṛtyamitra*) had necessarily to learn all the appliances of polity including diplomacy (*parātisandhāna*). Besides the above, he studied the possible situations for the application of the four traditional vehicles of statecraft,[2] namely, *sāma,, dāma, daṇḍa* and *vibheda*. The vidyās or sciences, which the king was enjoined upon to master, were four in number, namely, *Anvīkṣikī*, i.e., logic and metaphysics; *Trayi*, i.e., the three Vedas—*Rk, Yajus and Sāman*: *Vārtā*, i.e., the practical arts such as agriculture, commerce, etc.; and *Daṇḍanīti* the science of government or politics. Kāmandaka[3] implicitly follows the *Arthaśāstra*. The school of Manu holds that there are only three sciences, namely, the triple Vedas, Vārtā, and Daṇḍanīti. It considers Ānvīkṣikī as a branch of the Vedas.[4] Bṛhaspati accepts only Vārtā and Daṇḍanīti as Vidyās and thinks the triple Vedas as a mere abridgment (*Samvaraṇa*, pretext?) for a man experienced in temporal affairs (*lokayātrāvidaḥ*).[5] For Uśanas there is only one science, that of government, for he thinks that all other sciences have their beginning and end in Daṇḍanīti alone.[6] But Kauṭilya, followed by Kālidāsa,[7] while opposing the opinions of Manu, Bṛhaspati and Uśanas declares in favour of four Vidyās. He holds that "four, and four alone are the sciences; wherefore it is from 'these sciences' that all that concerns righteousness and wealth is learnt, therefore they are so called."[8]

Kauṭilya further explains that Ānvīkṣikī comprises the philosophies of Sāṅkhya, Yoga and Lokāyata (atheism). Righteous and unrighteous acts (*dharmādharmau*) are learnt from the triple Vedās, wealth and non-wealth from Vārtā, the expedient and the inexpedient (*nayānayau*), as well as potency and impotency (*halābale*) from the science of government.[9] Kālidāsa has here drawn upon Kauṭilya who has been quoted by the commentator Mallināṭha while commenting on stanza 50, canto XVIII of the *Raghuvaṁśa*. It will appear from the epigraphs of the Gupta potentates that poetry and music were additional subjects of a king's syllabus of study. Samudra Gupta is said to be ruling in the domain of poetry[10] through many of his remarkable poetical pieces[11] and to have put to shame[12] Tumbaru and Nārada by his mastery in music. All kings could not be so accomplished as Samudra Gupta either in music or poetry but they seem to have studied these as subjects. Of a later king, Harṣa, there are some

[1] *Māl.*, p. 11.
[2] राजनीति चतुर्विधाम् *Raghu.*, XVII. 68.
[3] Quoted ante.
[4] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I. Ch. II.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.
[7] *Raghu.*, III. 30.
[8] *Arthaśastrā*, trans. by R. Sham Sastri, Bk., I. Ch. II.
[9] Ibid.
[10] अनेककाव्यक्रियाभिः प्रतिष्ठितकविराजशब्दस्य All. P. Ins. Cf. स्फुटबहुकविता कीर्तिराज्यं भुनक्ति Ibid., V. 3.
[11] Ibid.
[12] निशितविदग्धमतिगान्धर्वललितैर्व्रीडितत्रिदशपतिगुरुतुम्बरुनारदादेः Ibid.

poetical works extant. Skanda Gupta himself is said to have been well disciplined in the understanding of musical keys.[1] The same had attained his object by means of good behaviour and strength and politic conduct.[2]

After the period of the brahmacarya and education was over and the prince, dressed in skin,[3] had already finished learning the use of arms,[4] he observed the ceremony of tonsure (*godāna*)[5] and married. This was after the prince had become mature in body resplendent in youth.[6] Manu fixes the age of tonsure in case of a Kṣatriya at twenty-two[7] while Kauṭilya enjoins it in the sixteenth year. He says: "He shall observe celebacy till he becomes sixteen years old. Then he shall observe the ceremony of tonsure (*godāna*) and marry."[8] It is queer that Kauṭilya wants a prince to study *lipi* (alphabets) and arithmetic after the tonsure ceremony[9] which would suggest it to fall after marriage, i.e., in his sixteenth year. It is significant that Kālidāsa agrees with Kauṭilya in marrying after tonsure[10] and he lays down the practice of tonsure and marriage after the completion of studies.[11] Kauṭilya's injunction may be reconciled with the practice referred to by Kālidāsa by supposing that Kauṭilya while mentioning the ceremony of tonsure twice,[12] once before and then after education, means *cūḍākarma* by the former and *godāna* (first shaving) by the latter. Kālidāsa does the same.[13]

Heir-Apparent

Yuvarāja,[14] the heir-apparent, was the eldest son of the king who was formally installed[15] to the dignity of his important office and admitted in the share of the administration. The purpose of his installation to this office was the mitigation in the old age of the king of his heavy responsibility of State.[16] The Yuvarāja, thus officially recognised, checked the Government from getting weaker in the infirmity of old age of the sovereign by furnishing him with an assistant who

[1] Bhitari St. P. Ins., V. 2.
[2] Ibid., V. 3.
[3] *Raghu.*, III. 31. त्वच स मेध्या परिधाय रौरवी
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid., 33.
[6] Ibid., 32.
[7] The commentator quotes Manu (*Raghu.*, III. 33) to show that the ceremony of tonsure in case of a Kṣatriya was performed at the age of twenty-two.
[8] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I. Ch. V.
[9] Ibid.
[10] *Raghu.*, III. 33.
[11] Cf. ibid., 30-33.
[12] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I. Ch. V.
[13] Cf. *Raghu.*, III. 28, 33.
[14] Ibid., III. 35, 36, XVIII. 18; *Śāk.*, p. 82.
[15] *Raghu.*, III. 35; *Vik.*, p. 136, 138.
[16] ततः प्रजाना चिरमात्मना धृता नितान्तगुर्वी लघयिष्यता धुरम् । *Raghu.*, III. 35; also V. 66 VI. 87. The commentator while commenting on *Raghu.*, III. 35 quotes Kāmandaka:

विनयोपग्रहान्भूत्यै कुर्वीत नृपतिः सुतान् ।
अविनीतकुमारं हि कुलमाशु विशीर्यते ॥
विनीतमौरसं पुत्रं यौवराज्येऽभिषेचयेत् ॥

assisted him in his civil duties at home and entirely relieved him in his military campaigns abroad.[1] It was also by the appointment of a Yuvarāja that a war of succession was avoided.

His Consecration

The young prince was consecrated to the office of the heir-apparent in the manner of a king. Like the term *rājyābhiṣeka* for the consecration of a king we find the term *Yauvarājyābhiṣeka*[2] used for that of an heir-apparent. The office of the heir-apparent was one which was duly conferred on a prince after the performance of proper ceremonies and rites,[3] and it carried along with it a legal status, that of a functionary of the State. From the status of the heir-apparent that of the king was but one step which again was conferred on him after his predecessor in royal office with appropriate ceremonies. It is noteworthy that until the legal status of the heir-apparent was conferred upon a prince he was addressed with the designation of *(kumāra)*[4] alone, but as soon as the proper ceremonies of his anointing to the new office were over he was addressed with the appellation of Yuvarāja.[5] The anointing ceremony of a Yuvarājā may be well instanced in the conferment of that office on Āyus, the son of Purūravā, as described in Act V of the *Vikramorvaśī*. There Nārada acts as the chief priest. The materials[6] for the ceremony are brought and the prince is seated on an auspicious seāt[7]. Then Nārada himself performed the chief part of the ceremony by pouring down the sacred water which act must be performed by the worthiest of Brahmins. The rest of the ceremony[8] was finished by persons of even inferior status. Then the heir-apparent saluted[9] his parents. Thereafter bards began to sing eulogies of his ancestors and chanted their blessings[10] hailing him as the heir-apparent (*vijayatām yuvarājaḥ*) in the following manner:—

"As the celestial sage Atri was like the creator, the moon like Atri, Budha like the cool-rayed (moon), and his Majesty like Budha, so do you become like your father by your popular qualities. In your exalted race all blessings have indeed been fulfilled.[11]

"Like the Ganges with its waters distributed between the Himālaya and the Ocean, royal fortune now appears more beautiful, being distributed between this your father who stands at the head of the great, and you abiding by your duty and of unshaken courage.[12]"

After the ceremony was completed, the heir-apparent came to assume a

[1] *Raghu.*, III. 38; *Māl.*, p. 102.
[2] *Vik.*, pp. 136, 138; *Raghu.*, III. 35.
[3] *Vik.*, pp. 136, 138, cf. *Nītisāra* quoted by Mallinatha, vide *ante.*
[4] *Vik.*, pp. 138-39.
[5] Ibid., p. 139.
[6] अभिषेकसंभार *Vik.*, p. 139; *Raghu.*, XII. 4.
[7] *Vik.*, p. 139.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid., V. 21.
[12] Ibid., 22.

status sharing with his father in the governance of the kingdom. The royalty was divided as it were, between him and his father, and it was now again, that he was said to have acquired *yauvarājyaśrī*,[1] i.e. the sovereignty of the heir-apparent like the *rājyaśrī* of the king. The sovereignty[2] is transferred in part to the heir-apparent.[3] Henceforth he progresses towards realization of complete kingship in the manner of a phase of moon progressing towards the full-moon state. This indeed has the impress of the poet's time, as also of before.

In contemporary history also the choice of an heir-apparent seems to have been a usual practice. Samudra Gupta had been chosen by Candra Gupta I as his Crown Prince as is evidenced by the Allahabad Pillar Inscription.[4] Both the *Arthaśāstra*[5] and the *Śukranīti*[6] make the Yuvarāja a functionary of State. Kauṭilya makes him one of the *Tīrthas*,[7] and Jayaswal[8] thinks that although Yuvarāja was not in the Cabinet he was 'certainly a Minister.' The *Rāmāyaṇa*[9] and the *Śukranīti*,[10] like Kālidāsa, detail the consecration of the Crown Prince. "The *Yuvarāja* had his seal, and the set formula with which he signed."[11] The *Divyāvadāna*[12] informs us that Aśoka had Samprati, a grandson, for his Yuvarāja. The princes also served the king as governors of his provinces. According to the *Divyāvadāna*,[13] Kuṇāla was such a Governor of Aśoka posted at Takṣaśilā. Very often a royal prince governed his province with the help of a council which is evident from the edicts of Aśoka.[14] Kumārāmātya, again, is not an unfamiliar expression of the contemporary Gupta times.

The usual age of the Yuvarāja at the time of his consecration according to Kālidāsa fell at a time when he was able to bear the weight of the armour (*varmaharaḥ, kavacārhaḥ*[15]). He also, like the king, had his paraphernalia of the sons of bards[16] singing his panegyrics and of those of the minister[17] and feudal kings[18] advising and attending on him.

Consecration of the King

In due course the heir-apparent, Yuvarāja, was elevated to the office of

[1] Ibid., V. 23, p. 140.
[2] अशेन *Raghu.*, III. 36.
[3] रेखाभावादुपारूढं सोमग्रहमिव चन्द्रमा Ibid, XVII. 30.
[4] Verse 4, quoted *ante*.
[5] Bk., V. Ch. VI.
[6] Ch. II.
[7] *Hindu Polity*, Part II. p. 133', cf. *Arthaśāstra* Bk. I, Ch. 12, 8, (pp. 20-21); Bk., V. Ch. 2, 91. (p. 245).
[8] *Hindu Polity*, Part II, p. 124.
[9] Bk., II. Ch. XIV.; Ibid., III.
[10] Ch. II. 15.
[11] *Hindu Polity*, Part II. p. 125.
[12] Edited by Cowell and Neil, p. 430.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Jaugada and Dhauli separate Rock Edict, and Siddhapura Inscription.
[15] *Raghu.*, VIII. 94; *Vik.*, p. 131.
[16] *Raghu.*, V. 65, 75.
[17] Ibid., III. 28.
[18] Ibid., 38; *Māl.*, p. 104.

the king when on the death of his father, or even in his life time, the throne devolved on him, but he had to undergo a formal consecration on this occasion technically known as *rājyābhiṣeka*.[1]

The preparations for the consecration ceremony were made under the supervision of the Council of Ministers who were so ordered by the former king if he was living.[2] .The ceremony was then performed by elderly ministers[3] with water brought in golden vessels from various sacred places (*tīrthas*), from rivers (*sarit*), seas (*samudra*) and lakes[4] (*sarasī*). This was a very ancient custom and was practised during the consecration of the kings in Vedic and post Vedic times.[5] While bringing the water mantras from the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* as well as the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* were chanted.[6] The form seems to have been followed during the age of Kālidāsa.

The eldest son, who was already the heir-apparent, was given preference over other sons, but birth alone was not the deciding factor. Birth and virtues together made one worthy of the enjoyment (*bhājam*) of the extraordinary jem (*ratnaviśeṣa*) which was the State itself.

The anointing ceremony and the investiture of the royal insignia and power were performed in the following manner.

A special pavilion of four pillars was ordered by the ministers to be erected for this occasion by accomplished architects.[7] Under the pavilion a sacred *vedī* (altar) was raised. Then after causing the prospective king sit on an auspicious seat, water brought from sacred places, was poured upon him from golden pitchers[8] while sweet music played outside.[9] Then he received from the ministers auspicious articles like the *dūrvā* grass, sprouts of the barley plant, bark of the *plakṣa* tree and the *madhuka* flower.[10] Thus all food grains, all juices, all seeds, all flowers, all sacred grasses were symbolically represented.

Then the chief of the Brahmins[11] proceeded to recite those mantras of the *Atharvaveda* which were believed to have been endowed with the power of rendering him victorious over his enemies. Water was poured while the hymns were chanted. Just then bards approached him and sang the glories of his dynasty.[12] Th *snātakas*[13] were given largesses by him who now shone in his purity after bath.[14] It is manifest that these largesses were given first to the married Brahmins (*snātakas*) that they might utilize them in the performance

[1] *Vik.*, p. 136; *Raghu.*, VIII. 3. XIV. 7.
[2] *Vik.*, p. 136; *Śāk.*, IV. 19; *Raghu.*, III. 70., VIII. 10, XVII. 8.
[3] *Raghu.*, XIV. 7.
[4] Ibid., 8.
[5] *Hindu Polity*, Part II, pp. 23-24.
[6] Ibid.
[7] *Raghu.*, XVII. 9.
[8] Ibid., XIV. 7, XIX. 56.
[9] Ibid., XVII. 11.
[10] Ibid., 12.
[11] Ibid., 13.
[12] Ibid., 15.
[13] Ibid., 17.
[14] Ibid., 16.

of sacrifices which a Brahmin in the state of a pupil could not do.

Then the king issued a proclamation liberating all the prisoners including those condemned to death. The yoking animals like the oxen and the horses were unharnessed and given rest from drawing carts and chariots for some days, and the cows were left unmilked for the benefit of the calves[1] The proclamation was made ideally perfect by setting the birds free from cages[2] and thus liberty was announced everywhere. Kauṭilya[3] also enjoins upon his king to liberate prisoners on the occasion of his coronation.

Thereafter the king was led to another chamber and seated on a pure seat prepared of ivory and given dress and ornaments.[4] He was perfumed with *candana, aṅgarāga,* musk and *gorocana* and then the *tilaka* mark was applied to his forehead.[5] Now he put on silken robes into which were woven the figures of flamingoes.[6] Then he stood before a mirror and saw his reflection.[7] These garments were studded with pearls. Then the sovereign was handed over the royal paraphernalia by those standing beside him which he wore on his person. Then he entered the royal court (*sabhā*)[8] and sat the hereditary throne set with jewels under the royal canopy.[9] The throne was placed in the court-hall which was well decorated with auspicious things to suit the grand occasion.[10]

After the ceremony of consecration was duly performed and the king assumed his legal status and took the reins of the Government along with the sceptre, he went out in the streets of his capital riding an elephant.[11] The *Sukranīti* also urges upon the king to 'tour the city on the back of elephants in order to please the people[12].' Thus from the status of an heir-apparent he stepped to that of a full-fledged sovereign.[13]

It may be noted that even a queen was consecrated if she bore a foetus.[14] When the king inherited an imperial power he was consecrated to the office and status of an emperor[15] (*samrāṭ*).

The age for coronation has not been mentioned by Kālidāsa. In earlier times emperor Khāravela[16] was coronated after the completion of his twenty-fourth year. Aśoka himself had to wait for coronation until that year.

[1] Ibid., 19.
[2] Ibid., 20.
[3] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II, hC. XXXVI.
[4] *Raghu.*, XVII. 21.
[5] Ibid., 24.
[6] Ibid., 25.
[7] Ibid., 26.
[8] Ibid., 27.
[9] Ibid., 28.
[10] Ibid., 29.
[11] Ibid., 32.
[12] Ch. I. 744.
[13] *Raghu.*, XVII. 30.
[14] Ibid., XIX, 55, 56, 57.
[15] साम्राज्यदीक्षितम् Ibid., IV. 5.
[16] Hathigumpha Inscription.

Vikrama[1] was consecrated in his twenty-fifth year. The *Bṛhaspati Sūtra* fixes this age at twenty-five.[2]

The installation of the king was naturally regarded throughout the kingdom as a political event of immense importance and it furnished the people with an occasion of much joy and enthusiasm. The highways of the capital were decorated[3] with much zeal.

Amusements of King

Among the amusements of the king were hunting,[4] public bathing,[5] swinging,[6] music[7] and dramatic performances.[8] Kālidāsa categorically points to the traditional and common four addictions of kings which he specifies as hunting, gambling, drinking and associating with women.[9] These four evils have been referred to by Kauṭilya also.[10] The poet depicts the activities of Agnivarṇa in the 19th canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa* to a tiring length and points to the consequences of such evils, and at another place he praises the king who has kept himself aloof from them.[11] But it is remarkable that both Kālidāsa and Kauṭilya refer with approval to hunting and even dwell on its merits.[12] Kālidāsa refers to it as an exercise "in which the disappearance of phlegm, bile, fat and sweat, the acquisition of skill in aiming at stationary and moving bodies, the ascertainment of the appearance of beasts when provoked, their signs of fear and ferocity and occasional march are its good characteristics.[13]" While the *Śukranīti* condemns hunting, dice-playing and drinking at one place[14] it commends hunting as an exercise and even enumerates its advantages. It remarks: "The advantages of hunting are the growth of ability to strike the aim, fearlessness, and agility in the use of arms and weapons, but cruelty is its great defect.[15]" Thus Kālidāsa, Kauṭilya and Śukra agree on this point.

In defence of hunting as a good sport for kings, Kālidāsa uses in the *Śākuntala* almost the same words as are used by Kauṭilya for the same purpose as has been pointed out by R. Shama Sastri in the Introduction to his translation of the *Arthaśāstra*.[16] We have a reference to a hunting suit.[17] In the graphic

[1] *Hindu Polity*, Part II, p. 52.
[2] Ibid., I. 89.
[3] *Raghu*, XIV. 10.
[4] मृगया *Śāk*, pp. 51, 55, 56, 57, 61, 63, 64; *Raghu*,. IX. 7, 49-74; XVIII. 35.
[5] *Raghu.*, XVI. 64; *M.P.*, 33.
[6] *Raghu*, XI. 46, XIX 44; *Māl.*, pp. 39, 41, 47, 48, 49.
[7] *Māl.*, Acts I and II;. *Raghu.*, XIX.
[8] *Māl.*, p. 2.
[9] *Raghu.*, IX. 7.
[10] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk., VIII. Ch. 3.
[11] *Raghu.*, IX. 7.
[12] *Śāk.*, II. 4, 5; *Artha.*, VIII. 3.
[13] *Śāk.*, II, 5; *Raghu.*, IX. 49.
[14] Ch., I. 283-84.
[15] Ibid., 667-69.
[16] p. XVI.
[17] *Raghu.*, IX. 50, मृगयावेशम *Śāk.*, p. 68.

picture that the poet gives of the hunting of king Daśaratha, he says: "The king permitted by his ministers went ahunting.[1]" Has hair he tied up with sylvan chaplet and he donned a robe of the same colour with the leaves of trees (*tarupalāśasavarṇatanucchadaḥ.*)[2] The king then entered a forest which was already occupied by persons who carried with them nets and packs of dogs, which was further cleared of conflagration and robbers and which was full of pools of water, antelopes, birds and yaks.[3] There the king shot down deer, boars, wild buffaloes, rhinoceroses, tigers, lions, elephants and yaks.[4] It may be noted that the poet points out that the shooting at a wild elephant was traditionally forbidden[5] (*pratiṣiddha*). The king went to the forest for sport surrounded by Greek women with bow in their hands and their persons decorated with garlands.[6] Early morning there was a great noise occasioned by the buss and hurry of the preparations for entering the forest on the part of the fowlers and other followers.[7]

Enjoying a happy bath, surrounded by his female attendants and other ladies of the palace, was another diversion of the king. We read a beautiful description of it given by the poet in the sixteenth canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa*. There the king enters the water of the Sarayū with the ladies of his harem and disports himself in their company.[8] He rows about in a boat with his attending Kirātī.[9] With a golden syringe[10] he throws out coloured water on the ladies who beat the water of the river to music.[11] The performance is termed *Jalavihāra*[12] or *Vāriviḥāra*.[13]

Swinging was a third amusement of the king as of the common people which we shall have occasion to deal in connection with the amusements of the people in the chapter on social life.

Music was also a common amusement which, when much indulged in, made a king disrespectful to his duties of the State. In his inner apartments it sounded day and night resounding the whole palace, as it happened in the case of Agnivarṇa, one of the descendants of Rāma, whose libertinism is described at length in the nineteenth canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa*. Dramatic performance was yet another amusement which entertained the king. The *Mālavikāgnimitra* furnishes us with an account of it in its second Act.

The above amusements were in a few instances traditional also as has been

[1] अनुमत सचिवै *Raghu.*, IX 49.
[2] Ibid., 50.
[3] Ibid., 53.
[4] Ibid., 53, 55, 57, 59-66.
[5] Ibid., IX. 74, नृपतेः अवध्यो वन्य करीति V. 50.
[6] *Śāk.*, p. 57.
[7] Ibid., p. 56.
[8] *Raghu.*, XVI. 55-73.
[9] Ibid., 57.
[10] Ibid., 70.
[11] Ibid., 64.
[12] Ibid., 54.
[13] Ibid., 61, 67.

shown by quoting authorities, but may also have naturally been diversions of the poet's contemporary times as several of them occur in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* in respect of a king of later age.

CHAPTER V

THOUGHTS ON POLITY

Thoughts on Polity.

Kālidāsa has at several places used technical terms of statecraft and has referred indirectly to works on polity. Their reference by the poet was bound to be conventional. Here a discussion of these terms may be attempted. In the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act I, he uses the word *tantrakāra*[1] meaning 'an inventor of practical or useful science.' While approving of Agnimitra's opinion his Minister says. "Your Majesty says what is held by the Śāstra," etc. The stanza quoted there by the Minister seems to have been taken from some work on polity, which, now difficult to locate, was well known at the time of Kālidāsa. Or it may be even a verse translation of some *sūtra* on polity. We have a parallel use of the word *tantrakāra* in Pālakāpya's *Hastyāyurveda*.[2] The use of the phrase *tantra* in the play is similar to that in *Pañcatantra*. But it must also be noted that the poet uses the phrase *lokatantra* in a technical sense, in that of the practical science of administration. *Tantra*, therefore, read in due context, can mean nothing but a treatise on polity.

Kālidāsa mentions the following traditional technical terms of Hindu polity, namely, *Prakṛti*,[3] *Prakṛtimaṇḍala*,[4] *Prakṛtyamitra*,[5] *Arimaṇḍala*,[6] *Maṇḍalanābhi*,[7] *Lokatantra*,[8] *Daṇḍacakra*,[9] *Caturvidhām rājanītim*,[10] *Caturbhirupakramaiḥ*[11], *Trisādhanāśaktiḥ*,[12] *Ṣaḍguṇāḥ*,[13] *Kakuda*,[14] *Madhyama Śakti*,[15] *Dharmottara*,[16] *Paṇabandha*,[17] *Randhra*,[18] *Upāyasaṅghāta*,[19] *Parārtisandhāna*,[20] *Vaitasīmvṛttim*,[21]

[1] *Māl.*, p. 11.
[2] एकरात्रोषित तत्र तत्रकार यशस्विन ।
त मुनि कर्म चैवास्य पप्रच्छ विस्मितास्तदा ॥७६॥ I. p. 7, Ānandāśrama Series.
[3] *Raghu.*, IV. 12, VIII. 10, 18, XII. 12, XIII. 68, 79, XVIII. 50, Śāk., VI. 5.
[4] *Raghu.*, IX. 2.
[5] *Māl.*, p. 11.
[6] *Raghu.*, IV. 4.
[7] Ibid., IX. 15, नाभिनृपमण्डलस्य XVIII. 20
[8] *Śāk.*, p. 154.
[9] *Māl.*, p. 11.
[10] *Raghu.*, XVII. 68, XI. 55.
[11] Ibid., XVIII. 15.
[12] Ibid., III. 13, IX. 18, XVII. 63.
[13] Ibid., XVII. 67, VIII. 21.
[14] Ibid., VI. 70.
[15] Ibid., XVII. 58. धर्मोत्तर मध्यमम् XIII. 7.
[16] Ibid., XIII. 7 धर्मविजयी IV. 43.
[17] Ibid., X. 86, VIII. 21.
[18] Ibid., XII. 11, XV. 17, XVII. 61.
[19] Ibid., XIV. 11.
[20] *Śāk.*, V. 25, पराभिसधान *Raghu.*, XVII. 76.
[21] *Raghu.*, IV. 35.

Daṇḍaniti,[1] *Tirtha*[2] and *Ṣaḍvidham balam*.[3]

Prakṛti are the subjects. While commenting on this technical phrase Mallinātha quotes Kauṭilya. On this Mr. R. Shama Sastri has made the following important observation in the Preface to his translation of the *Arthaśāstra* which may be quoted in full to elucidate the sense of the term Prakṛti:—

"A few of the words are evidently peculiar to works on political science, and the author has himself stated in the last chapter of the work that the use of the word "prakṛti," in the sense of an element of sovereignty, has been his own; and has also said in VI. 1. that each sovereign state must contain seven members (aṅga), such as the king, the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, the army, and the friend; and eight elements (prakṛtis), with these and the enemy. Amarasiṁha calls (II, 8, 17) them seven members (rājyāṅgāni) or elements (prakṛtis), and to designate the enemy or enemies, he has not used the word prakṛti. So Kauṭilya may be credited with having coined the word prakṛti to designate an element of sovereignty, and to have extended the denotation of it so as to cover enemies also, as "prathmā prakṛti," first inimical element; "dvitīyā prakṛti," second inimical element; and "tritīyā prakṛti," third inimical element, and so on, as stated by him. Likewise, Kāmandaka calls (1, 16, 17,) them members, and uses the word prakṛti to designate these seven members and also enemies (VIII, 4, 20, 25,). It would appear, therefore, that writers on political science before Kauṭilya used the word "aṅga," member, as a general term to designate any of the seven constituents of a state, and had no such general term as "prakṛti," element, to denote the seven constituents as well as the inimical elements. It follows, therefore, that the use of the word "prakṛti," in the sense of an element of a sovereign state including enemies also is a proof that the author using that word must be posterior to Kauṭilya. In the *Manusmṛti*, now extant, the word "prakṛti," is used (VII, 156) in the general sense, as in Kauṭilya, and it can therefore be taken to be posterior to Kauṭilya. It follows also that Kālidāsa, must have been indebted to Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* for the political terms noted above, and that Mallināthasūri could find their explanation in no other political work than that of Kauṭilya.[4]" Kālidāsa has, however, used both the terms *prakṛti* and *aṅga*[5] to denote an element of a sovereign state.

Prakṛtimaṇḍala, lit. the circle of the subjects, by the maxim *Gobalivardanyāya* ("the cattle and the bull"), is limited to the people living outside the city[6].

Prakṛtyamitra, the natural enemy, is one whose territory borders on the dominions of the king and is conterminous with his kingdom.[7]

[1] Ibid., XVIII. 46.
[2] Ibid., XVII. 68.
[3] Ibid. I,V. 26, XVII. 67.
[4] R. Sham Sastri's translation of the *Artha.*, Preface, p. XVI.
[5] *Raghu.*, I. 60.
[6] Mallinātha observes: स नगरं नगरजनसहितं प्रकृतिमण्डलं जानपदमण्डलम्। अत्र प्रकृतिशब्देन प्रजामात्रवाचिना नगरशब्दयोगादृगोबलीवर्वदन्यायेन जनपदमात्रमुच्यते। तत्पौरजनपदमण्डलं तस्मीन्नतीवासन्नमभूदित्यर्थः। Comment on *Raghu.*, IX. 2.
[7] *Māl.*, p. 11.

Arimaṇḍala is the circle of enemies, direct and indirect, i.e. including both natural enemies and the enemies of friends. It must not be forgotten that at the demise of a great king a confederacy of enemies was not infrequently formed with a view to invade the territories of the new king on the throne.[1] The natural enemies, particularly, would very wisely be on the lookout of a weakness and a loophole in his State to pounce upon it and make it their prey[2] on the earliest opportunity.

Maṇḍalanābhi signifies an emperor who is the centre of a circle of kings. *Maṇḍala* is the circle of princes whose kingdoms lie on the borders of the imperial country. Kāmandaka, quoted by Mallinātha,[3] mentions twelve classes of these princes, namely (1) *ari* or inimical kings to be subdued, (2) *mitram* or allies, (3) *arermitram* or a friend of the enemy, (4) *mitramitram* or a friend of a friend, and (5) *arimitramitram* or a friend of an enemy's friend whose teritories lie in the rear, viz., (6) *pārṣṇigrāha* whose kingdom is next to that of the chief king, (7) *ākranda* whose territory lies next to that of *pārṣṇi's*, and who is likely to prevent an ally from helping another, (8) *pārṣṇigrāhasāra* and (9) *ākrandasāra* whose kingdoms are separated by those of the foregoing; (10) *madhyama*, or intermediate, whose territory lies between those of the conqueror and the enemy; and (11) *udāsīna* or one who is indifferent or neutral (neither a friend nor a foe), whose kingdom is situated outside the territories of the above mentioned kings—both strong in force, and when in league with others, able to change the fortunes of war; and lastly (12) the imperial monarch himself more powerful than the last two named. Kauṭilya[4] gives a detailed description of the circle of kings and its centre.

Lokatantra is the art of government, the practical science of administration. *Daṇḍacakra* (lit. *daṇḍa*=forces, cakra=a circle) signifies a whole army complete with all its fourfold constituents.[5] *Caturvidhām rājanītim* and *caturbhirupa kramaiḥ* are phrases referring to the fourfold policy which the commentator explains as the *Sāma*, *Dānavidhi*, *Bheda* and *Vigraha*.[6] These were the four traditional political crafts of appeasement, bribing, causing civil dissension and punishing (i.e., war) respectively. These have been described in the *Sukranīti* as *Sāma*, peace, *Dāna*, purchase, *Bheda*, separation, and *Daṇḍa*, penalty (Chapter IV, Section I, 51-82). Kālidāsa plainly mentions that diplomacy without bravery is simply timidity; bravery itself without politics resembles the conduct of beasts;[7] so success is to be sought by a united policy of these four expedients[8]

[1] *Raghu.*, IV. 2-4.
[2] Ibid., XII. 11, XV. 17.
[3] अरिमित्रमरेर्मित्रमतः परम् । तथारिमित्रमित्रं च विजिगीषोः पुरःसराः । पार्ष्णिग्राहस्ततः पश्चादाक्रन्दस्तदनन्तरम् । आसारावनयोश्चैव विजिगीषोस्तु पृष्ठतः । अरेश्च विजिगीषोश्च मध्यमो भूम्यनन्तरः । अनुग्रहे संहतयोः समर्थो व्यस्तयोर्वधे । मण्डलाद्बहिरेतेषामुदासीनो बलाधिकः । अनुग्रहे सहताना व्यस्ताना च वधे प्रभुः ॥ Comment on *Raghu.*, IX. 15.
[4] Kāmandaka follows Kauṭilya—cf. *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. VI. 2.
[5] M. R. Kale: *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Notes, p. 19.
[6] Comment on *Raghu.*, XI. 55.
[7] *Raghu.*, XVII. 47.
[8] Ibid., XIV. 11.

and by striking at the vulnerable points of the enemy.[1] This idea naturally brings into play the significance of the term *Trisādhanā Śaktiḥ* produced by the three kinds of strength, viz., dignity (*prabhāva*) of the king, consultation with the Council of Ministers (*mantra*) and confidence, courage, the indomitable spirit[2] (*utsāha*). The *prabhāva* or *prabhuśakti* is the power arising from the resources at the command and the prominent position of a king by virtue of good treasury and good government (*kośadaṇḍajam tejas*). The *utsāhaśakti* is the power arising from the king's personal energy, valour and enthusiasm (*vikramabalamutsāha-śaktiḥ*). This is the most important of the three *śaktis* which a king must possess. The *mantraśakti*, the power arising from good counsel, is also important. *Saḍ-guṇāḥ* refer to the six expedients of success. These six expedients, which the king was expected to employ in gaining his object of a forward movement, an extension of power (*prasara*)[3], were the following according to Kāuṭilya[4], who says:

"The circle of states is the source of the sixfold policy My teacher says that peace (sandhi), war (vigraha), observance of neutrality (āsana), marching (yāna), alliance (samśraya), and making peace with one and waging war with another (dvaidhībhāva) are the six forms of state policy."

"Of these, agreement with pledges is peace; offensive operation is war; indifference is neutrality; making preparations is marching; seeking the protection of another is alliance; and making peace with one and waging war with another, is termed a double policy (*dvaidhībhāva*). These are the six forms."

The same six expedients have been enumerated in the *Śukranīti*[5] also. These expedients, asserts Kālidāsa, completely frustrate the effects consequent upon the enemies' under-takings[6] and contribute to deceive the foes[7].

Kakuda, lit the hump of the bull, is the topmost place in the body politic. It refers to the paramount power with several vassals and feudatory chiefs. *Madhyamaśakti* or *Madhyamalokpāla* was the intermediate, neutral power whose territory lay between those of the conqueror and the enemy. His shelter and protection were sought by a foiled foe of the conqueror.[8] *Dharmottara* or *dharmavijayīnṛpa* was a conqueror who conquered a kingdom only for paramountcy and without extirpating the ruling family reinstated the defeated monarch[9] (*utkhātapratiropitāḥ*). *Paṇabandha* is the desired end, the success, achieved after the application of the various expedients of the statecraft. *Randhra* is a loop hole, a vulnerable point in the State. An enemy was always peeping in to discover a vulnerable point in the State of his foe where he

[1] Ibid., XVII. 61.

[2] Mallinātha quotes the *Amarakośa*: शक्तयस्तिस्र प्रभावोत्साहमन्त्रजा· *Raghu.*, III. 13.

[3] *Raghu.*, VIII. 23.

[4] Bk., VII. ch. I., also cf. *Amarakośa* quoted by Mallinātha on *Raghu.*, VIII. 21—संधिर्नाविग्रहो यानमासनं द्वैधमाश्रयः। षड्गुणाः .

[5] Ch. IV., Sec. VII, 464-473.

[6] *Raghu.*, VIII. 20.

[7] Ibid., XVII. 76.

[8] Ibid., XIII. 7, XVII. 58.

[9] Ibid., IV. 37, 43, XVII. 42.

might strike.[1] *Upāyasaṅghāta* is the organized utilization of all the expedients of statecraft.[2] *Parātisandhāna* is diplomacy; the practice of deception against an enemy.[3] *Vaitasīvṛtti* is the expedience of the weak. It is the conduct of the cane weed in the face of a powerful storm. A weak monarch has to bow down his head before a powerful conqueror and to lift it up again after he has passed over. Mallinātha quotes Kauṭilya while commenting on this phrase.[4] Kauṭilya recommends this policy as one fit for the weak.

Daṇḍanīti is the precept on polity. It is the science of statecraft. Hemādri and Cāritravardhana quote the following from the *Kāmandaka*: "Chastisement is said to be punishment itself, that is why the punishment is the king. Its law and exercise are termed as the *Daṇḍanīti* or the Government."[5]

Tīrtha, as explained by the commentator,[6] refers to the eighteen Heads of Departments of the State. Cāritravardhana explains this to mean 'the eighteen Heads of Departments including the minister, priest, commander-in-chief', etc.[7] Vallabha, however, interprets the phrase to mean 'natural inclination and its application to practice.'[8] But his view is obviously incorrect and cannot be accepted for the use of the phrase is evidently made in a technical sense in which it has been used throughout in the treatises on polity. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya refers elaborately to these eighteen *tīrthas* or heads of departments.[9] *Saḍvidhām balam* was the sixfold strength[10] of the State, namely (1) ministers, (2) attendants, (3) allies, (4) guilds, (5) enemies of the enemy and (6) foresters.

King's Policy at Home and Abroad

Kālidāsa has to give certain injunctions to his kings. A new king, says he, should aim at consolidating his power. He is easy to uproot. Therefore he should consolidate his power in the manner of a newly planted tree by fixing day by day the roots of his policy deep into the hearts of his subjects which would engender good will in them for him, and in this way he could become unassailable.[11] His actions, full of mature judgment and hence averting calamity, should

[1] *Raghu*., XVII. 61, XV. 17.

[2] साक्षादुपायाना सघात: समष्टि —Mallinātha on *Raghu*., XIV. 11.

[3] *Raghu*., XVII. 76; *Śāk*., V. 25.

[4] बलीयसाभियुक्तो दुर्बल. सर्वत्रानुप्रणतो वेतसधर्ममातिष्ठेत् on *Raghu*., IV. 35.

[5] दमो दण्ड इति प्रोक्तस्तत्स्याद्दण्डो महीपति: ।
तस्य नीतिस्तथावृत्तिर्दण्डनीतिर्विरुच्यते ॥
Raghuvaṁśa by G. R. Nandargikar, Notes on तीर्थ XVII. 68.

[6] आतीर्थान्मन्त्र्याद्यष्टादशात्मतीर्थपर्यन्तम् ।

[7] दण्डनीते: फलमात्तीर्थात्तीर्थं मन्त्रिपुरोहितसेनापत्याद्यष्टादशकम्, etc. *Raghuvaṁśa* by G. R. Nadargikar, Notes on XVII. 68

[8] Ibid.

[9] मंत्रिपुरोहितसेनापतिराजदौवारिकान्तर्वासिकप्रशास्तृसमाहन्तृसंनिधातृपार्षदाध्यापकदण्डकारकदुर्गपालास्तीर्थम् *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II.

[10] मौल भृत्य: सुहृच्छ्रेणी द्विषदाटविकं बलम् । *Amarakośa*.

[11] *Raghu*., XVII. 44; cf. *Māl*., I. 8.

aim at the acquisition of prosperity, bearing fruit unobserved in the manner of the *śāli* rice ripe in the interior.[1] Although powerful, he must not proceed by a wrong path,[2] and although capable of suppressing immediately any disaffection among his subjects, he should not, at all, occasion that for which a remedy would have to be called forth.[3] He should not violate duty for the sake of wealth and desire; nor these two for the sake of that duty; neither should he overlook wealth for the sake of desire, nor desire for the sake of wealth; for he should be just in his dealing with these three objects of the world.[4] Friends when kept in low position can never return favours; when kept in high rank they begin to act in a hostile way towards him; so he should place his friends in an intermediate position.[5] The *Sukranīti* thinks that 'kings have no friends, and can be friends to nobody.'[6] By the combination of yet amicable virtues he should appear to his dependents both ill-approachable and inviting as the ocean on account of its sea monsters and jewels.[7] The *Sukranīti* also advises his king to 'punish his own subjects by being mild internally but cruel externally.'[8] He should take a middle course, that of neither too stern nor too mild[9] and should treat all with perfect equanimity.[10] Having formed a just estimate of military power, circumstances, time and others of his own as well as of those of his enemy, he should make an invasion on him if he thinks himself more powerful than his enemy, if otherwise, he should remain silent.[11] Destroying the enterprises of his enemies he should be intent upon the performance of his own actions, and striking enemies in weak points, he should conceal his own defects with great care.[12] Even though he knows of the actions of men done in a spirit hostile to him, he should not give utterance to words calculated to give them pain, but silently adopt measures to thwart their object.[13]

The political measures or diplomatic schemes of the monarch whose policy of government should be secret and whose attitudes and gestures should also equally be inconceivable should only be inferred from the results they put forth.[14]

[1] *Raghu.*, XVII. 53.
[2] Ibid., 54.
[3] Ibid., 55.
[4] Ibid., 57, XIV. 21.
[5] Ibid., XVII. 58.
[6] राजा मित्रं केन दृष्टं श्रुत वा Ch. IV. 18.
[7] *Raghu.*, I. 16.
[8] Ch. IV. Sec. I. 130-131.
[9] न खरो न च भूयसा मृदुः *Raghu.*, VIII. 9. Kāmandaka, quoted by Mallinātha has
मृदुश्चेदवमन्यन्ते तीक्ष्णादुद्विजते मनः ।
तीक्ष्णश्चैव मृदुश्चैव प्रजानां स च संमतः ॥
also नीतशीतोष्णो *Raghu.*, IV. 8. Kāmandaka, quoted by Mallinātha has
उद्वेजयति तीक्ष्णेन मृदुना परिभूयते ।
दण्डेन नृपतिस्तस्माद्युक्तदण्डः प्रशस्यते ॥
[10] *Raghu.*, I. 28.
[11] Ibid., XVII. 59.
[12] Ibid., 61.
[13] Ibid., I. 22 (notes by M. R. Kale).
[14] Ibid., 29.

Although powerful, his expedition should be specially directed against those who are in the reach of his power.[1] He should collect wealth in his treasury for the good of his people and not actuated by the motive of his avarice.[2] Employing the fourfold administration of government necessary to a king in its due order, as far as the eighteen *tīrthas*, he should strive to obtain its fruit.[3] Although skilful in the art of fraudulent and diplomatic warfare (*kūṭayuddha*) he should always fight in the righteous way.[4] He should feel shy when rightly praised for his praiseworthy conduct.[5] Though dazzling when looked at his prowess and influence, he should suppress all unworthy acts among his subjects in the manner of the sun dispelling darkness.[6] He should not send[7] him back who asks of him the fulfilment of some desire without fulfilling it. He should strive to add more to the state of prosperity of his people in which he found them while taking their charge from his predecessor, and he should thus bring about a state of plenty and affluence[8] (*bhūyasīm vṛddhim*). The alien enemies are not so very difficult to win; formidable are the internal enemies, so should he endeavour to conquer the enemies at home first and then proceed against those abroad.[9]

Employing spies as eyes nothing should remain unseen to the monarch.[10] Himself sleeping at the scheduled time, he should learn all by employing spies, themselves ignorant of one another's business, among the enemies and friends.[11] He should follow confidently the routine of duty for the day and night as scheduled in books on polity for kings.[12] He should consult and discuss the affairs of the State with his ministers every day and yet his vigilance should be so stern as not to allow the secret to be divulged.[13] "The king who does not listen", says the *Śukranīti*, "to the counsels of the ministers about things good and bad to him is a thief in the form of a ruler, an exploiter of the people's wealth."[14] He should build forts and properly garrison them so that they may successfully challenge the enemy and resist his advances.[15] During an Aśvamedha sacrifice he has to utilize the fraudulent methods (*parābhisandhāna*) to righteous ends.[16] He should associate with the good even if they are his enemies and avoid those who are bad even if they be his friends.[17] He

[1] Ibid., XVII. 56.
[2] Ibid., 60.
[3] Ibid., 68.
[4] Ibid., 69.
[5] Ibid., 73.
[6] Ibid., 74.
[7] Ibid., XI. 2, XVII. 72.
[8] Ibid., XVII. 41.
[9] Ibid., 45.
[10] Ibid., 48.
[11] Ibid., 51.
[12] रात्रि दिवं विभागेषु यदादिष्टं महीक्षिताम् । Ibid., 49.
[13] Ibid., 50.
[14] Ch., II. 515-16..
[15] *Raghu.*, XVII. 51.
[16] Ibid., 76.
[17] Ibid., I. 28.

should rely on the experts in the statecraft[1] and should strive hard to consolidate all that he has already got.[2] He should make the best efforts to run a benign government.[3] He should so wisely conduct himself in regard to his subjects that every individual should get an impression of being particularly endeared to him (the king).[4] He should not again take reins of administration which he has himself once renounced.[5] He should properly, in due time and place, apply the expedients of polity, as they bear fruit only when thus applied.[6] He should always use a sweet language and in order to gain confidence his smile must precede his conversation.[7] He should employ his men in work with a patronizing skill.[8] He should himself be politically efficient[9] (*nayajñaḥ*), and should not transgress the bounds of the established order,[10] as he must also keep in control his own youth, beauty and desire for glory, for they, even individually, cause corruption and arrogance.[11] Thus should a king act following the path pointed out by the treatises on polity[12] (*śāstranirdiṣṭavartmanā*), which embodied the traditions of an ideal conduct for a ruler and could as well serve for the model of the poet's contemporary king. The royal panegyrist of the Junagadh Inscription of the Gupta age thinks in a strikingly similar trend.

[1] Ibid., IV. 10.
[2] लब्धप्रशमनस्वस्थमयैन समुपस्थिता Ibid., 14.
[3] Ibid., VIII. 7.
[4] Ibid., 8.
[5] Ibid., 13.
[6] Ibid., XII. 69.
[7] Ibid., XVII. 31.
[8] Ibid., 40.
[9] Ibin., XVIII. 25.
[10] Ibid., III. 27.
[11] Ibid., XVII. 43.
[12] Ibid., 77. Obviously the reference is to the Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, *Dharma-śāstra*, Kāmandaka's *Nītisāra* and to such other treatises on polity.

CHAPTER VI

SOVEREIGNTY, VASSALS AND DIGVIJAYA

Sovereignty

A study of the works of Kālidāsa gives one the unmistakable impression that sovereignty[1] resided in the king.[2] He was its original source (*mulāyatana*). His authority was unquestioned (*avyāhatājñā*) and all power emanated from him. In the details of administration, it is true, as will be shown later, it was the ministers who governed the State and settled the general policy of the Government but legally the king's dignity and power inherent in him by virtue of his being the master (*svāmi*) of the State went unchallenged.[3] The term *avyāhatājñā*, which the poet uses, is a political one and it finds mention in the *Sukranīti*, which says: "Superior to the very wealthy king is the monarch, who, though small in territory, has his commands unobstructed and is powerful. He can be such with the qualification (mentioned above)[4]." Here it may be pointed out that Kālidāsa differs from Sukra inasmuch as the latter thinks (as is evident from his words—"He can be such with the qualifications") that the unquestioned authority can be acquired through qualities whereas the former does not. Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar, the learned translator of the *Sukranīti*, while commenting on the above says: "But discipline and able management (as अव्याहताज्ञा implies) and military efficiency are the two principal conditions of the importance of a kingdom." Here it may be submitted that the implication attributed to the phrase *avyāhatājñā* is not contained in it. Even where discipline and able management may be lacking the idea of unquestioned authority may exist, for it is fundamental to sovereignty. It implies 'an undisputed command' and stands for the immutability of authority with which the Hindu political theorists endow their king. It is acquired not by 'discipline and able management' or by 'military efficiency,' but by virtue of the king's inherent divinity which is implied by Manu's '*mahatī devatā hyeṣā nararūpeṇa tiṣṭhati*,' which Kālidāsa endorses, and can exist in spite of indiscipline, ill management and military inefficiency of a king. The king's body was representative of the divine forces[5] and he was an extraordinary being[6]. He did not acquire any help from the forces without and was self-sufficient as far as the inherent power was concerned. He had the divine right to his office. Whoever, for example the heir-apparent, wielded royal power apart from him,

[1] श्रीः *Raghu.*, III. 36· पार्थिवश्रीः IV. 14, 43. प्रतापः 15, 30, 39, XVII. 37.

[2] नरेन्द्रमूलायतनम् Ibid., III. 36.

[3] अव्याहताज्ञा Ibid., XIX. 57.

[4] Ch. I. 353-55.

[5] *Raghu.*, II. 75, III. 11, XVI. 78.

[6] Ibid., I. 14, 29, III. 14, 15, VI. 21, 38.

actually wielded it as derived from, and delegated by him.[1] Whenever he renounced his office it was he and he alone who determined his successor, and sovereignty thus devolved according to his will.[2] His office being hereditary, sovereignty flowed, as it were, from father to son. He was the creator and cause of all time and tide.[3] He was expected to protect his people in return of his wages[4] which ordinarily would sound contractual, much akin to the theory of social contract, but nothing could be farther from such an idea. It is also true that laws did not flow from the sovereign and that he had to administer them only as he found them ready made and codified by sages like Manu[5] long before he took reins of his office and that he was expected to act as a skilful charioteer driving the car[6] of social and political affairs with reference to his people. Such a state of affairs, indeed, has the effect of making the king only a figurehead, punishing transgression against the established order, and it hardly leaves to him the chances of origination, yet it has to be admitted that his authority in the state was unassailable.[7] But in the day to day administration his arbitrariness was bound to come in conflict and be undermined by the existence of a plurality of ministers and by several other forces which is a necessary outcome of the working of a highly organized secretariate, a thoroughly trained bureaucracy and a well-graded hierarchy of officials to which Kālidāsa refers as existing as we shall see in due context. From a perusal of the poet's literature we are left under no delusion as to the constitutional and legal position of his sovereign. He attributes to him divine qualities and epithets and thus renders him extraordinary and distinct from the people he governed. He is never the same as the common people[8] except in his education and the *saṁskāras* as a *dvija*.

The Sovereign Power and Royal Dignity

Sovereignty endowed the king with authority to rule. The king need not be advanced in age to wield power and exercise authority. Even a young king by virtue of his being the sovereign could command his position.[9] This sovereignty inherent in the young prince, like the strong smell of the rut in a young elephant overpowering other elephants, big or small, and like the deadly poison of a young snake keeping everyone off its body, enables him to rule over his people.[10] Even an unborn king, yet in the womb of his mother, ren-

[1] बभौ भूयः कुमारत्वादधिराज्यमवाप्य सः ।
रेखाभावादुपारूढः सामग्र्यमिव चन्द्रमाः ॥ Ibid., XVII. 30, cf. अशेन Ibid., III. 36.
[2] स राज्यं गुरुणा दत्तं Ibid., IV. 1, cf. III. 70, XVIII. 33.
[3] राजा कालस्य कारणम् *Vik.*, p. 93,
[4] षष्ठांशवृत्तेः *Sāk.*, V. 4.
[5] मनुना प्रणीतः etc. *Raghu.*, XIV. 67, I. 17, 19, IV. 7. 13.
[6] Ibid., I. 17.
[7] अव्याहताज्ञा Ibid., XIX. 57.
[8] तं वेधा विदधे नूनं महाभूतसमाधिना Ibid., I, 29 अनन्यसाधारण Ibid., VI. 38.
[9] षड्वर्ष Ibid., XVIII. 39. अर्भकोऽपि XVIII. 42, *Vik.*, V. 18.
[10] *Vik.*, V. 18.

dered (by his association and touch) his mother, the queen, one of unquestioned authority (*avyāhatājñā*[1]) and endowed her person with much sanctity. She could be even anointed as a sovereign in virtue of her association with the potential king in her womb.[2]

The king moved about in great state.[3] When he entered the city and proceeded on an elephant through the thoroughfares of his capital, he was accompanied with music and beat of drums.[4] The city and its roads were decorated with banners and artificial arches to receive him.[5] When he entered his capital men ran on both sides hailing him with the words 'Victory to the King! Here comes he!'[6] This act is technically termed as shouting the 'ālokaśabda,'[7] the set formula of phrases which one must utter when approaching the king. The *ālokaśabda* thus meant the panegyrical ovation of the attendants which they gave in order to cry the way when the king moved about. While the king proceeded on the highways of the capital, damsels and elderly women in coverture threw *lājā*[8] or fried rice on him thus expressing their good wishes for him. In the meantime songs of glory of his royal house were sung[9] and fly-whisks were waved over him,[10] as a sign of regalia. The royal visit was marked by some gracious act[11] on the part of the sovereign for the good of his subjects. Whenever he visited a place it was inspected[12] beforehand by his officials. Whenever he wanted his words to be conveyed to somebody not present before him, he commanded the attendant with affected words, 'speak to (so and so) with *my words*'![13] purporting that the words of the king were infallible in their desired purpose and their propriety could not be questioned. The sovereign could be approached only opportunely.[14]

The imperial ruler was a paramount sovereign. 'One umbrella' and one king was the idea[15]. He, according to the poet, ruled 'the entire world under one umbrella.'[16] And the sovereign who could achieve this ideal drove 'a chariot of unchecked course (*apratirathaḥ*) up to the end of directions.'[17] The phrase *apratirathaḥ* of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription[18] of Samudra Gupta, the conquer-

[1] *Raghu.*, XIX. 57.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid., IV. 15, 30, 39, XVII. 37.
[4] *Ṛtu.*, II. 1.
[5] Ibid., *Raghu.*, II. 74, XI. 5, XV. 38.
[6] जयतु जयतु देव *Śāk.*, p. 156.
[7] *Raghu.*, II. 9.
[8] आचारलाजैः Ibid., II. 10, IV. 27.
[9] यशः उदगीयमान Ibid., II. 12.
[10] Ibid., XVIII. 43.
[11] Ibid., II. 14.
[12] प्रत्यवेक्षिता *Śāk.*, p. 198.
[13] मद्वचनात् Ibid., p. 156.
[14] अवसर्पणीयाः राजानः Ibid., p. 185.
[15] *Raghu.*, II. 47, V. 23, VIII. 4; *Vik.*, III. 19.
[16] *Raghu.*, II. 47.
[17] Ibid., दिगन्तविश्रान्तरथः III. 4; *Śāk.*, VII. 33, p. 258.
[18] Mathura Stone Inscription of Candra Gupta II, Bilsad Stone Pillar Inscription of

or of the Hindu world of his times, finds its repetition in the phrase *apratirathaḥ*[1] and its echo in similar phrases *digantaviśrāntarathaḥ*[2], *ānākarathavartmanām*[3] and *jayativasudhāmapratirathaḥ*[4], of Kālidāsa. A few of these can even be equated with the legends on the coins of the Imperial Guptas[5].

Kālidāsa speaks ideally about the boundaries of an imperial sovereign's empire. He advocates natural boundaries and he is not fatigued by describing in unequivocal terms the glories of such a sovereign ruling a territory 'extending up to the seas[6].' A Cakravrti governed his whole empire 'extending up to the seas like a single city with no rival power to share his authority in the administration of the entire earth[7].' This allusion stands also as a parallel to identical phraseology in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription[8] of Samudra Gupta and in the Mandasor Stone Inscription[9] of Kumāra Gupta and Bandhuvarmā. The governance of the empire like a single city by one king also conveys the idea of a single-whole kingship as against the idea of a federation and militates against the general evidence furnished on the point by the works of the poet.

Sovereign Terms

We may also consider a few terms in this connection. They are *aṅka*[10], *śāsana*[11], *śāsanāṅka*[12], *nāmamudrā*[13] and *ghoṣaṇā*[14]. *Aṅka* commonly means lap, the reach of arms, domains, an impression of a seal. *Aṅkāgata* (*sattva*) *vrtti*[15], used by Kālidāsa, may indirectly refer to one's sovereign rights within one's domain. *Aṅka* means, as said above, an impression, a sign. It was the seal of the Government. The *Raghuvaṁśa* at one place reads thus: 'ruling without oppression

Kumāra Gupta, Bihar Stone Pillar Inscription of Skanda Gupta, etc. cf. अप्रतिवार्य्यवीर्य्य of the Eran Stone Inscription of Samudra Gupta, verse 4.

[1] *Śāk.*, VII. 33. p. 258.

[2] *Raghu.*, II. 47.

[3] Ibid., I. 5.

[4] *Śāk.*, VII. 33.

[5] Cf. Samudra Gupta's gold coins (Standard type); *Samaraśatavitatavijayo Jitaripura ajito divam jayati*; ibid., (Aśvamedha type): *Rājādhirājah prthivijitvā divam jayatya hrtavajunedhaḥ*; Candra Gupta's gold coins (Chattra type): *Kṣitimavajitya sucaritair divam jayati Vikramādityaḥ*; *Divam jayati* of the coins is the same as *ankarathavartmanām* of Kālidāsa.

[6] *Śāk.*, II. 15, III. 17: *Raghu.*, I. 15, XVI. 1, XVIII. 4, 23.

[7] सवेलावप्रवलया परिखीकृतसागराम् ।
अनन्यशासनामुर्वीं शशासैकपुरीमिव ॥ *Raghu.*, I. 30.

[8] चतुरुदधिसलिलास्वादितयशसो; also in Bilsad Stone. Pillar Inscription. Bihar St. Ins. 2nd. part. Bhitari Stone. Pillar Inscription.

[9] चतुस्समुद्रान्तविलोलमेखला सुमेरुकैलासबृहत्पयोधराम् ।
वनान्तवान्तस्फुटपुष्पहासिनी कुमारगुप्ते पृथिवी प्रशासति ॥ 23.

Cf. also चतुरुदधिजलान्ता स्फीतपर्यंतदेशाम् of the Junagadh Rock Ins. of Skanda Gupta, verse 3.

[10] *Raghu.*, II. 38.

[11] Ibid., XVII. 79; *Śāk.*, pp. 185-220.

[12] *Raghu.*, XVIII. 29.

[13] *Śāk.*, p. 205; *Māl.*, p. 87.

[14] *Śāk.*, VI. 23.

[15] *Raghu.*, II. 38.

over the earth which bore the mark of his command,'[1] etc. We find a similar phrase in *garutmadaṅka* used in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta in the sense of a seal engraved with the form of a Garuḍa or eagle. It may be said likewise that orders of the emperor including those renewing the titles to govern under the paramount sovereign were imprinted officially with the mark of an imperial seal, an *aṅko*, as it was called. *Śāsana* means an order, an edict. This term occurs in a very important context of the *Vikramorvaśī* in which the emperor remarks that he does not think himself so much blessed with the attainment of supreme sovereignty marked by an exclusive royal umbrella, and by his *edicts* being coloured by the crest jewels of feudatory chiefs.[2] This passage makes it clear that the emperor used to issue *śāsanas* or 'written orders' or edicts of administration which were proclaimed about in the empire. This passage is further corroborated by another occurring in the *Śākuntala* where an actual proclamation (*iti ghuṣyatām*) has been made.[3] A supreme ruler or emperor had several petty feudal princes—the *sāmantamauli* of the passage—under his sway. The latter paid the former tributes worthy of his state, and received in return legal sanctions from him to which they would show their respect by lifting them to their crowned heads. The rays issuing from their diadems fell upon the orders (*śāsanas*) and brightened them. This may be corroborated from other references in literature and inscriptions. These *Śāsanas*, as suggested above, might have been official renewals of the title of the feudal lords to govern their realms. The possessions of the feudatories became those of their overlord, the emperor, by conquest, but since they were reinstated in their kingdom their title might be taken to have been derived from the authority, will and pleasure of the suzerain. Such practice, it may be noted, actually obtained in the administrative system of the Imperial Guptas.

While dealing with the *Śāsanas* Kauṭilya says: "(Teachers) say that (the word) *śāsana*, command, (is applicable only to) royal writs (*śāsana*)."[4] Like Kauṭilya, Śukra also has referred to the *Śāsanas*. He is even more prolific in this regard and his treatise, the *Śukranīti*, draws out a long list of the kinds of the writs of royal command.[5] According to him "A *Śāsana-patra* or a document of public notice and regulations for the people is that which contains the king's own signature and date and begins in the following way: "Hear ye all, or Notice is hereby given that, etc. such and such things must be done by you, etc."[6] He makes mention of another interesting document, that of an *ājñā-patra* or document of order, which he explains as 'one by which functions are entrusted to tributary chiefs, officers or governors of districts.'[7] We have to distinguish here between the two kinds of *śāsanas* mentioned by Kālidāsa.

[1] *Raghu.*, XVIII. 29.
[2] *Vik.*, III. 19.
[3] *Śāk.*, VI. 23.
[4] *Arthaśāstra*, Book II, Ch. 10.
[5] Ch. II.
[6] Ibid., 607-608.
[7] Ibid., 603-604.

There was the ordinary *śāsana* writ of command, referred to below, and there were those *śāsanas* which were addressed by the king to his officials. The latter were the *ajñā-patras* of the *Śukranīti*. It is one like these which has been alluded to in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala*[1] in the phrase *patrahasto rājaśāsanam*. The *Śukranīti* lays much stress on the use of written documents as orders of the king. It enjoins: "The officer or servant is not to do anything without the king's written order. Nor should the king command anything great or small without written order.[2]" It becomes even more insistent on the use of written order: "Both the king who commands without writing and the officer who does anything without written orders are thieves.[3]" It even declares: "The written document with the king's seal is the real king. *The king is not a king.*[4]" Thus *śāsana* or *rājaśāsana*[5] was the royal writ containing the order.[6] The *śāsanas* could never be questioned as they were issued by the sovereign authority and a king whose *śāsana* could never be challenged but was always respected has been referred to by Kālidāsa as *mahanīyaśāsanaḥ*.[7] There were those messengers who carried to and fro these *śāsanas* as is evident from the phrase *śāsanahāriṇā*.[8] *Śāsanāṅka*, as shown above, was the seal of the Government which might have been utilized in imprinting an edict of the Government.

Mudrā, again, was a sign and a seal and *nāmamudrā* a seal bearing a name. *Ghoṣaṇā* was the proclamation of an order or information to the public on the part of the administration. We read in the *Śākuntala* Duṣyanta ordering a certain proclamation to be made.[9] It may be remembered that Aśoka, the great Buddhist Emperor, had his edicts proclaimed to his people by means of rock and pillar inscriptions throughout his empire.

Types of States

From the works of Kālidāsa several names of States can be gathered which in treatises of polity like the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra* have been dealt with as technical political terms referring to types of States. They are the following: Rājya,[10] Mahārājya, Adhirājya[11], Dvairājya,[12] Sāmrājya,[13] and the Sārvabhauma or the Cakravartī[14] system. But it is evident that with the single exception of the term *Dvairājya* Kālidāsa does not use them as distinct types of sovereign States. He actually confuses, may be due to poeti-

[1] p. 186.
[2] Ch. II. 582-83.
[3] Ibid., 585-86.
[4] Ibid., 587.
[5] *Śāk.*, p. 186.
[6] शासनार्पितां आज्ञां *Raghu.*, XVII. 79.
[7] Ibid., III. 69.
[8] Ibid., III. 68.
[9] *Śāk.*, VI. 23.
[10] *Raghu.*, II. 50, IV. 1, XIV. 85, etc.
[11] Ibid., XVII. 30.
[12] तत्र भवतोर्यज्ञसेनमाधवसेनयोर्द्वैराज्यमिदानीमवस्थापयितुकामोऽस्मि । *Māl.*, p. 100.
[13] *Raghu.*, II. 5, IV. 5, 88.
[14] *Ku.*, VII. 52, *Śāk.*, I. 11, pp. 21, 179. 242, 261.

cal and metrical exigencies, their political significance and even at times uses many of these terms as synonyms to indicate the same type of State. Thus it is not possible to accept these phrases as technically used. A reference, however, may be made to the types of *Dvairājya*, *Sāmrājya*, and *Sārvabhauma* or the *Cakravartī* types.

Dvairājya was a kingdom divided in two parts and controlled by two kings. This type was actually composed of two parts—two half-kingdoms (*ardharājya*).[1] *Dvairājya*, as established by Agnimitra, was a kingdom divided between two brother-kings and was evidently under the influence[2] of a more important power. The *Mālavikāgnimitra* formulates almost a definition of it: "The two kings possessing royalty divided (equally) between them, and causing no disturbance owing to mutual restraint, will abide by your command, as the two horses bearing the yoke (of a chariot, the weight of which is) equally divided, and harmless, being mutually restrained, follow the will of the charioteer.[3]" Thus obviously this *Dvairājya* was not a type of sovereign State and was subject to the restraint and authority exercised by a suzerain power. It may be noted that the *Arthaśāstra* has discussed the constitution called *Dvairājya* in connection with the *Vairājya*. Dr. Jayaswal observes: "He (Kauṭilya) characterises the *Dvairājya*, 'the rule of two,' as a constitution of rivalry and mutual conflict leading to final destruction.[4] It should be noticed that the *Āchāraṅga Sūtra* also refers to this constitution and treats it as distinct from the Gaṇa Government. This 'rule of two' was neither a monarchy nor an aristocracy. It is a constitution peculiar to the history of India. Historical instances of this constitution are known to our literature and inscriptions. Avanti in some period of Hindu history was under this constitution, for the *Mahābhārata* relates that Avanti was under Vinda and Anuvinda, two kings ruling jointly.[5] ....In the 6th and 7th centuries of the Christian era, Nepal was under such a constitution. Simultaneous inscriptions of the kings of the Lichchhavi family and the Thakuri family are found at Kathamandu.[6] These are orders issued from two places in the same capital, and the dates prove that the two dynasties were ruling simultaneously.... *Prima facie* such a constitution is unthinkable and unworkable. Its working in India constitutes a unique constitutional experiment and success. The constitution in Nepal lasted for a long time.[7]" It must be, however, remembered that the *Dvairājya* of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* does not seem to refer to a sort of joint rule and responsibility. It appears to have been a kingdom divided in two, each of which was held by a king.

[1] *Māl.*, p. 100.
[2] Ibid.
[3] *Māl.*, V. 14.
[4] द्वैराज्यवैराज्ययोः द्वैराज्यमन्योन्यपक्षद्वेषानुरागाभ्यां परस्परसंघर्षेण वा विनश्यति । *Arthaśāstra*. p. 323.
[5] *Sabhāparva*, Ch. 31; Ud. p. 165, etc.
[6] Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, App. IV.
[7] *Hindu Polity*, Part II, pp. 96-97. It may be pointed here, however, that Dr. Jayaswal's assertion that such a constitution has been peculiar to India and that it is 'unthinkable and unworkable' can be easily challenged, for we know that Rome had two Magistrates with undivided equal powers and the Government functioned smoothly.

Sāmrājya, as referred to by the poet, was evidently a vast empire composed of its federated units of feudal states governed independently by their respective rulers so far as their internal administration was concerned. The authority to govern their respective states, however, was renewed by the Samrāṭ, to the Sāmantas, as they were technically called.

The conduct of the vassal chiefs at an imperial court has already been referred to. *Sārvabhauma* or the *Cakravartī* state was again an imperial system like the Sāmrājya in which the authority of one emperor was recognized. But what Kālidāsa describes as a *Sārvabhauma* monarchy is, in fact, a combination or perhaps a compromise between the technical *Adhirājya* type of a federal character and the *Sārvabhauma* a unified imperialism under one king. Unless we conclude in this manner we shall be confronted with a confused description establishing nothing since the poet mentions several *kings* in the train of a Cakravartī sovereign ruling under one umbrella.[1]

A paramount sovereign, an emperor, *Samrāṭ*[2] or *Cakravartī*,[3] as he was sometimes called, moved in great state followed by his vassals and feudatory chiefs.[4] Raghu's feet are said to have become yellow at the fingers on account of the particles of honey and the pollen dropped down from the garlands of kings.[5] A striking parallel of this picture is presented by the Kahaum Stone Pillar Inscription where it is said that a strong wind was caused to be blown by hundreds of feudatories of Skanda Gupta bowing their heads to the great Gupta Emperor in the foreground of his court.[6] This implies that a vast number of kings prostrated themselves at the feet of their paramount sovereign at the time of their appearance or leave-taking.[7] Naturally the emperor added to his own the sovereignty (*śrī*) of those monarchs whose territory he conquered but whom he reinstated in their kingly office. He took away their sovereignty but not their possessions[8]. Feudal chiefs accepted his behests, committed on paper, with a low bow of their heads the umbrellas of which were kept at a distance.[9] Legally they could not keep umbrellas[10] as the paramount sovereign was a one-umbrella emperor[11] (*ekātapatra*) and held his authority unshared[12] by any other power in his domain. It was during the marches of this all-powerful sovereign that 'the dust raised by the vanguard of horses, effected

[1] *Raghu.*, IV. 87, IX. 13, XVII. 28.
[2] Ibid., II. 5, IV. 5, 88.
[3] *Ku.*, VII. 52; *Śāk.*, I. 11, pp. 21, 179, 242, 261.
[4] *Raghu.*, IV. 87, VI. 33, IX. 13, 14, XIII. 66, XVII. 28; *Vik.*, III. 19.
[5] प्रस्थानप्रणतिभिरगुलीषुचक्रुर्मौलिस्रवच्युतमकरन्दरेणुगौरवम् *Raghu.*, IV. 88.
[6] यस्योपस्थानभूमिर्नृपतिशतशिरः पातवातावधूता
गुप्तानां वंशजस्य प्रविस्तृतयशसस्तस्य सर्वोत्तमर्द्धेः ।
राज्ये शक्रोपमस्य क्षितिपशतपतेः स्कन्दगुप्तस्य शान्ते—V. 1.
[7] प्रस्थानप्रणतिभिः—*Raghu.*, IV. 88.
[8] श्रिय जहार न तु मेदिनीम् Ibid., IV. 43.
[9] दूरापवर्जितच्छत्रैस्तस्याज्ञां शासनार्पिताम्—*Raghu.*, XVII., 79.
[10] Ibid., IV. 85, XVII. 79.
[11] एकातपत्रं जगतः प्रभुत्वम्—Ibid., II. 47, XVIII. 4; *Vik.*, III. 19.
[12] अनन्यशासनामुर्वीम् *Raghu.*, I. 30. जगदेकनाथः V. 23.

the disappearance of the shooting rays of the crest jewels of the tributary princes' who followed him in his train.[1] He was the very hump (*nṛpatikakuda*),[2] as it were, of the bull whose component limbs were made up by the feudal chiefs and was technically termed as the centre or nucleus of the circle of kings (*nābhi nṛpamaṇḍalasya*)[3] who were the *sāmantamauli* of the text.[4] The attendance of the feudatory chiefs at the supreme imperial court was a marked feature of the times of Kālidāsa for it has been frequently[5] noticed by him in his works. This was also a noted feature of the courts of the Imperial Guptas as is evident from their epigraphical records, particularly instanced in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta and the Kahaum Stone Pillar Inscription of Skanda Gupta. These feudatories attended the imperial court on important occasions like conquests or sacrifices, or they may have even stayed there permanently like the Rajas of the Moghal court of later times vying with one another for the imperial offices and the pleasure of the emperor.[6]

In order to give an ampler evidence it is opportune to describe here the vassal chiefs at a little length. The following is a description given by the poet of a universal sovereign and his attending crowd of tributory chieftains.

The vassal chiefs experienced both rise and set at the hands of the universal sovereign for he had a kind heart to those who did not violate his commands, but to his defiants he had a heart made of steel.[7] The chiefs by hundreds touched (him of undaunted valour on) his feet with rays proceeding from the diamonds in their crowns brightened up by the red lustre of his toe-nails.[8] The emperor returned from the shores of the great ocean to his capital having taken compassion on the wives of his enemies, who were then destitute of hair decorations and who had requested their ministers to join the hands of their infant sons before him as a token of their supplication.[9] Although attained to the pos tions of the chief of the circle of twelve kings, that universal sovereign whose personal splendour was equal to that of fire and the moon and by the side of whose white umbrella, no other (white) umbrella could be raised on the earth, was ever vigilant thinking that the dignity of a monarch is always to conquer what still remains unconquered.[10]

The paramount sovereign sat under a golden canopy and was attended by chauri-bearers and bards, and tradesmen poured wealth through commerce in his empire.[11] He was witnessed in his supreme sovereignty marked by their

[1] Ibid., VI. 33.
[2] Ibid., 70, III. 70.
[3] Ibid., IX. 15, XVIII. 20.
[4] *Vik.*, III. 19.
[5] *Raghu.*, IV. 87, VI. 33, IX. 13, 14, XIII. 66, XVII. 28; *Vik.*, III. 19.
[6] सम्राजश्चरणयुग प्रसादलभ्य—*Raghu.*, IV. 88.
[7] Ibid., IX. 9.
[8] Ibid., 10.
[9] Ibid., 14.
[10] Ibid., IX. 15.
[11] विद्युल्लेखाकनकरुचिरं श्रीवितानं ममाभ्र

being only one royal umbrella, and by his edicts (*śāsanāṅka*) being coloured by the crest jewels of feudatory chiefs (*sāmantamaulimaṇirañjita*).[1] The *sāmantas* (*sāmanta*, lit. a border prince, a petty chieftain ruling over a few villages—*katipayagrāmapatiḥ*) ruled under the paramount sovereign. The *Śukranīti* defines a Sāmanta as one 'in whose kingdom without oppressing the subjects, an annual revenue from one lakh up to three lakh *Karṣas* is regularly realised.[2]' It further adds that even royal servants could be 'appointed equal with Sāmantas.[3]'

The feudal possessions formed units of the imperial sovereign's empire which seems to have been a feudo-federal structure. And although Kālidāsa speaks of one empire under a single emperor, the existence of a unitary type of State can obviously be doubted. In fact, the units were free in their internal administration and all that was required of the feudal lords was to acknowledge the suzerainty of the paramount power, to pay tributes to the sovereign and to get the title to rule renewed from time to time. They held their fiefs with his authority and during his pleasure. The vassals approached their suzerain to get the titles to their respective lands renewed. This is made very clear by the illustrative picture preserved in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta where his feudatories are said to have come for 'doing obeisance and obeying commands,[4]' and for getting the title to the enjoyment of their respective lands renewed with the Imperial Gupta seal bearing the stamp of the eagle (*garuḍa*).[5]

Having conquered all, the paramount sovereign performed the *Viśvajit*[6] sacrifice, the best of all sacrifices and worthy to be performed only by a universal sovereign. It was a kind of sacrifice in which the sacrificer had to give away as *dakṣiṇā* (guerdon) all his wealth to the officiating priests.

A universal sovereign was supposed to bear the linear marks of flags, thunderbolts and umbrellas on the palms of his hand and the soles of his feet.[7]

Digvijaya and the Aśvamedha Sacrifice

An ambitious king proceeded soon after his succession to the throne on a world-conquest (*digvijaya*)[8] after the accomplishment of which alone the Aśvamedha or Rājasūya sacrifice could be performed and the highest wish of an Indian monarch realized. This conquest was mostly accomplished in one of the

व्याधूयन्ते निचुलतरुभिर्मञ्जरी चामराणि ।
घर्मच्छेदात्पटुतरगिरो बन्दिनो नीलकण्ठा
धारासारोपनयनपरा नैगमाश्चाम्बुवाहाः ॥ *Vik.*, IV. 13.

[1] सामन्तमौलिमणिरंजितशासनाङ्क
मेकातपत्रमवनेर्नतथा प्रभुत्वम् । Ibid., III. 19.

[2] Ch., I. 365-67.

[3] Ibid., 377-78.

[4] ०सर्वकरदानाज्ञाकरणप्रणामागमन ० *Raghu.*, XVII. 79; *Vik.*, III. 19.

[5] ० आत्मनिवेदनकन्योपायनदानगरुत्मदंकस्वविषयभुक्तिशासनयाचन ०—Cf. also the 1st verse of the Kahaum Stone Pillar Inscription of Skanda Gupta.

[6] *Raghu.*, IV. 86. V. 1.

[7] ते रेखाध्वजकुलिशातपत्रचिह्नं—Ibid., IV., 88, VI. 18.

[8] दिग्जिगीषया Ibid., IV. 26.

two ways. Either the king waited at home for the return of the victorious heir-apparent, the appointed guard of the wandering horse let loose for the purpose of the Aśvamedha, as in the case of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*,[1] or he himself made the conquest in the manner of Raghu leading his armies in person from province to province and country to country.[2]

Time of Conquest

The best time for conquest[3] was the autumn season when the rains had passed off and the weak princes had become uneasy dreading every moment an expedition of conquest.[4] The autumn holds out before the conqueror peculiar facilities for carrying on a campaign and thus actuates him to undertake an expedition. The beasts of burden (the bulls especially) are in full spirits, the war elephants in their ruttish condition are eminently fitted for fighting, the rivers become fordable and the roads being dried up afford easy passage to the conqueror's troops in autumn.[5] Kauṭilya seems to have been the authority that Kālidāsa has followed in this respect. The *Arthaśāstra* gives a full description of the particular time in respect of particular enemies. It says that the conqueror should march during the month of Caitra (March), if he means to destroy the enemy's autumnal crops and vernal handfuls.[6]

The March

Having formed a just estimate of military power, circumstances, time and others of his own as well as of his enemy, the conqueror will make an invasion on him if he thinks himself more powerful than he; otherwise he will remain silent.[7] In case the king determined on a conquest he first made arrangements to protect and garrison the metropolis (*mūla*) and the frontier (*pratyanta*) fortresses[8] and reassured himself of all the six kinds of support[9] before he left his kingdom. While making arrangements for protecting the metropolis and the frontier fortresses, the king also took adequate measures to safeguard his rear[10] (*śudhapārṣṇi*). It may be noted that this idea of Kālidāsa is fully borne out by the evidence of the *Arthaśāstra* which also warns a conqueror to march against an enemy after making provisions for the defence of his rear from the enemies lying behind.[11] The conqueror then left his capital with a grand send-off[12] given by the ladies of the capital who threw parched rice on him. The day before the start for battle the king fasted and lay down with weapons in his

[1] p. 88.
[2] *Raghu.*, IV.
[3] Ibid., 26.
[4] Ibid., 21.
[5] यात्रायै चोदयामास तं शक्तेः प्रथम शरत Ibid., IV. 24, 22, 23.
[6] Book. IX. Ch. I.
[7] *Raghu.*, XVII. 59.
[8] गुप्तमूलप्रत्यन्तः Ibid., IV. 26.
[9] षड्विधं बलं Ibid., cf *Amarakośa:* मौलं भृत्यः सुहृच्छ्रेणी द्विषदाटविकं बलम् ।
[10] शुद्धपार्ष्णिरयान्वितः *Raghu.*, IV. 26.
[11] Bk. VII. Ch. 16.
[12] *Raghu.*, IV. 27.

chariot.[1] We have an identical instruction given to the conqueror by Kauṭilya in the *Arthaśāstra*.[2]

In course of the conquest the conqueror went on subjugating countries[3] and raising pillars of victory.[4] He cleared the forests[5] and bridged the rivers with elephants.[6] Kālidāsa gives a graphic picture of such a march which may be quoted below: That army looking for a way through the valleys of the slopes of the Vindhya mountain, being divided into many squadrons, made the mouths of the caves full of echoes like the roaring Revā. The trumpet sound of the army mingled with the noise of the marches.[7] He uprooted his resisters vehemently,[8] captured, released[9] and reinstated those others who submitted to his prowess in the manner of a righteous conqueror. The frightened enemies fled to the protection of a righteous neutral lord[10] of imperial power. The passage of the conqueror through the countries of his enemies was thorough and he marched through them subduing kings and uprooting those that had the daring to defy him.[11] The princes, thus defeated, dethroned and reinstated, were struck by the magnanimity of the victor and overcome by gratitude, came to him and prostrating themselves before him, offered him presents.[12] The march of the army was marked by stages where it stopped in tents where games and other merriments were organized.[13] This may strike one as the march of an ancient Greek army. The countries referred to by Kālidāsa as conquered and proposed to be conquered are mainly those that lie on the border and form the natural boundaries of India.[14]

Kālidāsa enthusiastically praises the conquests of a righteous[15] (*dharmavijayī*) conqueror. He was one who was satisfied with mere obedience and took away the sovereignty of the conquered enemy but not his land.[16] The poet seems to refer in this *dharmavijayī* conqueror the just or righteous type

[1] Ibid., V. 28.
[2] Bk. X. Ch. 3.
[3] *Raghu.*, IV.
[4] निचखान जयस्तम्भान् Ibid., 36, कीर्तिस्तम्भ Ibid., XV. 103.
[5] विपिनानि प्रकाशानि चकार Ibid., IV. 31.
[6] द्विरदसेतुभिः Ibid., 38, गजसेतुबन्धान Ibid., XVI. 33.
[7] Ibid., XVI. 31-32.
[8] उत्खात Ibid., IV. 33. अनम्राणा समूद्धर्त्तुं 35, उत्खाय तरसा 36.
[9] गृहीतप्रतिमुक्तस्य Ibid, 44 उत्खात प्रतिरोपिता 37.
[10] Ibid., XIII. 7. धर्मोत्तर मध्यममाश्रयते.
[11] Ibid., IV. 35.
[12] उपायनपाणिषु Ibid., IV. 79, 83.
[13] तस्योपकार्यारचितोपचारा . . . विहारकल्पा Ibid., V. 41, also cf. सेनानिवेशान् ibid., VII. 2.
[14] Countries lying by the eastern seas, ibid., IV. 32, 34, Bengal, 36, 34, Kalinga, 40, Malayaupatyakā, 46, Pāṇḍyas, 49, Tāmraparṇī, 50, Malayadardura, 51, Aparārta, 53, Kerala, 54, Trikūṭa, 59, Pārasīkas, 60, North, 66, Vaṅkṣū, 67, Hūṇas 68, Kambojas, 69, Gaurīgurum, Śailam, 71, Kirātas, 76, Mountaineers, 77, Utsavasaṅketas, 78, Lauhitya, 81, Prāgjyotiṣa, 81, Kāmarūpa, 83.
[15] गृहीतप्रतिमुक्तस्य सधर्मविजयीनृपः *Raghu.*, IV, 43.
[16] श्रियं महेन्द्रनाथस्य जहार न तु मेदिनीम् Ibid.

of the three types of invaders mentioned by Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra*, the rest two being the demonlike and the greedy.[1]

Aśvamedha

The performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice was another way in which a world conquest was attempted. Kālidāsa has made a frequent mention of this sacrifice. The description given in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* is vivid. Dowson[2] gives the following incidents of the preliminaries of a sacrifice.

"A horse of a particular colour was consecrated by the performance of certain ceremonies, and was then let loose to wander for a year. The king, or his representative followed the horse with an army, and when the animal entered a foreign country the ruler of that country was bound either to fight or to submit. If the liberator of the horse succeeded in obtaining or enforcing the submission of all the countries over which it passed, he returned in triumph with all the vanquished rajas in his train; but if he failed, he was disgraced, and his pretensions ridiculed. After his successful return a great festival was held, at which the horse was sacrificed."

The extract from the letter of Puṣyamitra, quoted below, gives an idea as to how the horse was escorted during his wanderings abroad:—

"The horse which was let loose by me to go about unobstructed consecrated for the Rāja (horse) sacrifice, having appointed Vasumitra, surrounded by a hundred princes, its guardian, and which was to return after one year, was seized while wandering on the southern bank of the Sindhu by a cavalry squadron of the *Yavanas*. There ensued a fierce fight between the two armies. Then Vasumitra, the mighty archer, having defeated the enemies, rescued the noble horse that was being forcibly led away.

I, then, whose horse has been brought back by my grandson, will offer the sacrifice now, like Sagara who had his horse brought back by *Aṁśumat*. You should therefore come without delay, to witness the sacrifice with my daughters-in-law and with a mind free from anger.[3]"

The frequency[4] of references in Kālidāsa to horse sacrifice may point out to its prevalence during his time which was indeed one of Brahmanical glory and renaissance. By it the performer achieved paramountcy over other princes. The entire extent of land which was wandered over by the unbridled[5] horse came under the sway of its liberator if it came back to its destination and the kings who were the masters of that extent of land became his vassals.

The escorting of the sacrificial horse was by no means a mean affair. The charge of the wandering horse was a most responsible one and was entrusted only to very responsible officials of state, generally to royal kinsmen. The appointment as the guardian of a horse consecrated for sacrifice was deemed a great honour which may be inferred from the zeal with which the parents of

[1] Bk. XII. Ch. 1.
[2] *Classical Dictionary*: S. V. Aśvamedha.
[3] *Māl.*, V. p. 102.
[4] *Raghu.*, III. 38, 39, VI. 61, XV. 58, *Māl.*, pp. 88, 102.
[5] निरर्गलस्तुरंगो *Māl* p. 102, तुरंगमुत्सृष्टमनर्गलं *Raghu.*, III. 39.

Vasumitra hailed the news of their son escorting the horse back home.[1] Dhāriṇī, the mother of Vasumitra, welcomes the information with her thoughtful and proud observation: "To a responsible post, indeed, (*adhikāre khalu*) has my son been appointed by the General.[2]" As a result of the happy news Agnimitra announces liberty[3] to all the prisoners of the realm, and the Pratīhārī is loaded with valuable presents[4] by the ladies of the harem whom she goes to inform of the victories of Vasumitra. Such was the zeal of the king and such the honour and much coveted title, for it was mostly on the personal valour of the guardian of the horse that the fame and glory of the sacrificer depended! The Yuvarāja, who guarded the horse, was accompanied, besides his army, with the sons of his father's vassal kings[5] and with those of his minister.[6]

It has been said that such was the importance of this sacrifice that God Iśvara Himself presided over the body of the sacrificer, who had undergone the initiative ceremony of the sacrifice, with his speech restrained, holding the antelope hide and a staff, wearing a waist-band of *Kuśa* grass and furnished with the horn of a deer, and he made it shine with matchless splendour.[7] The nature of the Aśvamedha which has been referred to by Kālidāsa was absolutely political. No religious consequence or merit was expected to follow from it at least in this case. It was used by Puṣyamitra as a means to *digvijaya*.

At the close of the sacrifice, the sacrificer, who was well disposed (like a friend, towards his ministers) permitted the Kṣatriya princes, the vassal kings who had come to attend the sacrifice, to return to their capital, whose sense of grief on their defeat had been mitigated by the great honours, conferred on them by him, and the ladies of whose harem were anxiously waiting for them owing to long separation.[8]

After a successful horse sacrifice the extent of the empire knew no bounds. It is to such empires that Kālidāsa refers so rhetorically in his eloquent phrases, *ekātapatram jagataḥ prabhutvam*,[9] *āsamudrakṣitīśānām*,[10] *velāvapravalayām parikhīkṛtasāgarām*,[11] *ananyaśāsanāmurvīm*,[12] *ānākarathavartmanām*,[13] *digantaviśrāntarathaḥ*,[14] *jayati vasudhāmapratirathaḥ*,[15] and the like. References discussed above are in several cases traditional. Kālidāsa has not been able, as he could not be, while

[1] *Māl.*, pp. 102-4.
[2] अधिकारे खलु मे पुत्रकः सेनापतिना नियुक्तः Ibid., p. 104, edited by M. R. Kale.
[3] मौद्गल्य, यज्ञसेनशालमूरीकृत्य मोच्यन्तां सर्वे बन्धनस्थाः *Māl.*, p. 103.
[4] पुत्रविजयनिमित्तेन परितोषेणान्तः पुराणामाभरणानां मंजूषास्मि संवृत्ता Ibid., p. 104.
[5] *Raghu.*, III, 38; *Māl.*, p. 102.
[6] *Raghu.*, III. 28.
[7] Ibid., IX. 17.
[8] Ibid., IV. 87.
[9] Ibid., II. 47.
[10] Ibid., I. 5.
[11] Ibid., 30.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid., I. 7.
[14] Ibid., III. 4.
[15] *Śāk.*, VII. 33.

describing conventional history, to extricate himself from the traditional incidents of polity, but wherever his description has touched the ground of contemporary times, as it was bound to be, parallels have been brought in to reflect his own age.

CHAPTER VII

MINISTERS, THE SACRETARIATE AND OFFICIALS

The king was assisted in his work of administration by a 'Council of Ministers' technically called *Amātya Pariṣat*,[1] or *Mantri-Pariṣat*.[2] This Council of Ministers was in fact a very ancient body. They had evolved from the Vedic *Rājakṛts*, king-makers, who later appeared as *Ratnins*.

Council of Ministers

The *Arthaśāstra*[3] refers to this Council of Ministers at length and the *Śukranīti*[4] also seems to allude to such a Council in its enumeration of eight ministers and in giving the nature of their function. The *Jātakas*[5] call the Council of Ministers *Pariṣā*. The *Mahāvastu*,[6] and the edicts of Aśoka[7] also know it by the same name. The poet associates this Council of Ministers with the earlier royalties, but this feature was equally true of his own age.

King and Ministers

Kālidāsa dwells upon the importance of the ministers. The entire administrative work was carried on by them. When absent from the kingdom, the king left the administration in the hands of the ministers.[8] The king at one place[9] informs his Minister thus: "Let your intelligence alone protect the subjects for a time." Sometimes a royal voluptuary conducted the regal affairs indispensable to the king for some years in person, and then having consigned them to the care of his ministers, had his prime solely devoted to the service of young women.[10] Thus the two powers that governed a kingdom were the king's hand (*dhanuḥ*) and the ministers' head. When the former was engaged (*vyāpṛtam*) elsewhere the latter alone (*kevalā*) remained to carry on the work of administration at home.[11] The king has been called by the poet *sacivasakhaḥ*[12] implying that he and his ministers always acted in perfect

[1] *Māl.*, p. 100.
[2] Ibid., p. 101.
[3] Bk., I. Ch. XV.
[4] Ch. II. 71-72.
[5] Vol. VI. pp. 405, 431.
[6] Vol., II. pp. 419, 442.
[7] Rocks edicts III and VI.
[8] तेन धूर्जगतो गुर्वी सचिवेषु निचिक्षिपे—*Raghu.*, I. 34, सचिवालम्बितधुर् IX. 69, XIX. 4; *Śāk.*, VI. 32; श्रमच्चेसु णिहिदकज्जधुरं *Vik.*, p. 87.
[9] त्वन्मतिः केवला तावत्परिपालयतु प्रजाः *Śāk.*, VI. 32.
[10] *Raghu.*, XIX. 4.
[11] *Śāk.*, VI. 32.
[12] *Raghu.*, IV. 87.

accord. He daily consulted his ministers and discussed with them the affairs of the government[1] but his confidence in them was so well placed that the secrecy of the talk was never divulged.[2] The king has been enjoined by all the writers on Hindu polity to act always with the advice of his ministers. Manu[3], Yājñavalkya,[4] Kātyāyana,[5] Kauṭilya[6] and Śukra[7] all agree on this point. Dr. Jayaswal says: "It is remarkable that the king is not given even the power of vetoing.[8] The *Śukranīti* says that when a trifling work is difficult to be accomplished by a single individual it is much more difficult for a king to carry on the administration of a state single-handed. Therefore even if he is an adept in all sciences and a past master in statecraft he should never act without the advice of his ministers and he must always abide by the well thought-out decisions of councillors, office-bearers, subjects and members attending a meeting and never by his own opinion. By following his own will he will become the cause of misery and will soon get estranged from his kingdom and alienated with his subjects.[9] It further says that the king 'who does not listen to the counsels of ministers about things good and bad to him is a thief in the form of a ruler, an exploiter of the people's wealth.[10]'

Appointment of Ministers

Ministers were appointed mostly from the families yielding hereditary[11] ministers to the State, yet the merits of deserving statesmen were never disregarded and the king's discriminating choice often fell on them. Kālidāsa attests to the fact that expert statesmen were appointed to function as the ministers of State.[12] These appointments were made by the king and we have an apposite illustration in the Junagadh Rock Inscription of the concern which he felt over the appointment of a Governor (*Goptā*)[13]. It will not be out of place to quote here the views of a few Hindu political theorists referred to by Kauṭilya in the *Arthaśāstra*. We find that Kauṇapadanta[14] is in favour of appointing hereditary ministers, 'whose fathers and grandfathers had been ministers before.' "Such persons," he continues, "in virtue of their knowledge of past events and of an established relationship with the king, will, though offended, never desert him" Vātavyādhi[15] opposes Kauṇapadanta on the ground

[1] मन्त्रः प्रतिदिनं तस्य बभूव सह मन्त्रिभि । Ibid., XVII.-50.
[2] स जातु सेव्यमानोऽपि गुप्तद्वारो न सूच्यते Ibid.
[3] *Manusmṛti*, VII.30-31.
[4] *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, Bk. I. 311.
[5] *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 14.
[6] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I. Ch. 15.
[7] *Śukranīti*, Ch. II. 5-6.
[8] *Hindu Polity*, Part II. p. 118.
[9] *Śukranīti*, Ch. II. 1-8.
[10] Ibid., 515-16.
[11] मौलैः *Raghu.*, XII. 12. XIX. 57.
[12] मंत्रिभिः नीतिविशारदैः Ibid., VIII. 17.
[13] Verses. 8-12.
[14] *Arthaśāstra*. Bk. I. Ch. VIII.
[15] Ibid. Bk. I. Ch. VIII.

that such persons acquire complete dominion over the king and begin to play themselves as the king. "Hence," says he, "he shall employ as ministers such new persons as are proficient in the science of polity. It is such new persons who will regard the king as the real sceptre-bearer (daṇḍadhara) and dare not offend him." The son of Bāhudantī,[1] however, is of a different opinion for, he thinks, 'a man possessed only of theoretical knowledge, and having no experience of practical politics, is likely to commit serious blunders when engaged in actual work'. He advocates: "Hence he shall employ as ministers such as are born of high family and possessed of wisdom, purity of purpose, bravery and loyal feelings, inasmuch as ministerial appointments shall purely depend on qualification." This view is endorsed by Kauṭilya who says: "This is satisfactory in all respects; for a man's ability is inferred from his capacity shown in work. And in accordance with the difference in the working capacity.[2]" The *Śukranīti*[3] asserts: "Work, character and merit alone are to be respected—neither caste nor family. Neither by caste nor by family can superiority be asserted," Kālidāsa seems to take a middle course and he would favour a Council of Ministers composed both of hereditary ministers (*Maulaiḥ*)[4] and of those perfectly skilled in polity (*nītiviśāradaiḥ*).[5] It is significant that the Imperial Guptas favoured the idea of choosing ministers from hereditary families which is evidenced by the phrase *anvayaprāptasācivya* occurring in an inscription[6] of Candra Gupta II.

Plurality of Ministers

We have several references to a plurality of ministers.[7] The very terms 'Amātya-Pariṣat[8]' and 'Mantri-Pariṣat[9]' warrant its existence. The poet at a place says 'this another[10]' (*ayam aparaḥ*) signifying more ministers than one. Besides several heads of departments, whose functions will be noticed in due context, Kālidāsa alludes to the offices of at least three ministers, viz., the Chief Minister, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Minister for Finance, Law and Justice. These along with the Yuvarāja and possibly others, not mentioned by the poet, perhaps constituted the Council of Ministers.

Working of the Ministry

The important matters of the State were decided by a whole Council of ministers and the results of the deliberations communicated by the Chief Minister to the King in the following manner which may serve for a type: "The minister begs to submit—We have resolved (*avadhāritam*) how matters in connection with

[1] Ibid.
[2] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I. Ch. VIII.
[3] Ch. II. 111-112
[4] *Raghu.*, XII. 12, XIX. 57.
[5] Ibid., VIII. 17.
[6] Udaigiri Cava Inscription of Candra Gupta II. V.
[7] सचिवेषु *Raghu.*, I. 34, IC. 49, मौलैः XII. 12, मंत्रिभि. VIII. 17, मंत्रिवृद्धान् XIII. 71, वृद्धैरमात्यैं XIII. 66, अमात्यवर्गः XVIII. 36, अमात्यैः Ibid., 53, XIX, 4, 7, 52, 54, 57; *Vik.*, p. 87.
[8] *Māl.*, p. 100 *Vik.*, V.
[9] *Māl.*, p. 101. [10] Ibid., I.

Vidarbha are to be settled; we just wish to know your Majesty's opinion."[1] The singular number used for the reporting Minister refers evidently to the Chief Minister of State who seems to have done all negotiations between the Council of Ministers and the King, but the policy of the State, it appears, was decided by the deliberations of a full cabinet. The decisions arrived at by the Council of Ministers were submitted to the King for his confirmation since it is evident from the above reference that merely the opinion of the King was sought of him when the course of action had already been determined by the Council of Ministers as a whole (*vidarbhagatamanuṣṭheyamavadhāritamasmābhi ḥ*, i.e., we have determined as to what is to be done in connection with Vidarbha). It may also be noted that the opinion of the King has been sought by a single minister as it would appear from the use of the singular number—*amātye vijñāpayati*—but the course of action has been determined by the full Council of Ministers, who have already given their individual opinion. The *Śukranīti*[2] emphasizes the fact that the individual ministers and the king must give their opinion separately without knowing that of one another so that the opinion thus obtained must not be influenced and an independent conference may be possible. Manu makes the king consult the ministers first separately and then all of them together, i.e., in Council.[3] This view has been fully endorsed by the *Arthaśāstra*.[4] It must be noted that in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* the Minister does not disclose to the King the details of the course of action in connection with Vidarbha already determined, but he only seeks to know his opinion on that point as required by the Council which he represents. It cannot be characterized as a request for the verdict of the king on the proposal of ministers for of that he is absolutely ignorant. His opinion (*abhipretam*) alone is sought of him. And when he has given his opinion on the point at issue the Chamberlain goes away to inform the Council of Ministers (through the Chief Minister) of the King's opinion which incidentally turns out to be identical[5] with that already held by the Council. The point becomes quite clear when we read the following expression[6] of the Chamberlain: "My Lord, the Minister respectfully says—'Happy is your Majesty's idea; such is the view (*darśanam*) of the ministers also." The use of the term *darśanam* is remarkable as it means actually a resolution considered by a body and passed by it. The above discussion shows beyond doubt that the Council of Ministers almost attested their approval to the opinion of the king and thus proved a check on the arbitrariness of the latter. In this regard Kālidāsa is even more guarded than the author of the *Śukranīti* inasmuch as he deprives the king of a

[1] अमात्यो विज्ञापयति । विदर्भगतमनुष्ठेयमवधारितमस्माभिः । देवस्य तावदभिप्रेतं श्रोतुमिच्छामिति । *Māl.*, V. p. 103, edited by M. R. Kale.

[2] Ch. I. 732-33. It says: "The king should receive in written form the opinions of each separately with all his arguments, compare them with his own opinion and then do what is accepted by the many."

[3] तेषां स्वं स्वमभिप्रायमुपलभ्य पृथक् पृथक् ।
समस्तानां च कार्येषु विदध्याद्धितमात्मनः ॥ VII. 57.

[4] तानेकैकशः प्रच्छेत् समस्तांश्च । p. 8.

[5] *Māl.*, p. 103, edited by M. R. Kale.

[6] देव, अमात्यो विज्ञापयति । कल्याणी देवस्य बुद्धिः । मंत्रिपरिषदोऽप्येतदेव दर्शनम् । Ibid.

previous knowledge of the resolve of the Ministers before he has given his opinion while the *Sukranīti* makes them submit their individual opinion to him.[1] The working of the Council of Ministers has been amply shown above by the illustration from the *Mālavikāgnimitra*. Here it may not be out of place to further elucidate the point with the evidence of the *Sukranīti* which also contains this sort of procedure. It says that on a document passing for execution "the Mantrī, Chief Justice, learned adviser as well as the ambassador should write. 'This document has been written with my consent.' The Amātya should write 'well written is this,' the Sumantra then should write 'well considered.' The Pradhāna should write 'true.' The Pratinidhi is to write 'It can now be approved.' The Crown Prince should write 'It should be accepted.' And the Priest is to write 'approved.' They should put down their seals over it at the end of the writing. And the king is to write and sign 'accepted.'"[2] As observed above, the description of the activities of the Ministers as given by the poet was undoubtedly to some extent conventional in character, but the details which he sometimes gives are by no means traditional and may in a general way reflect diplomatic activities of his own times.

Besides the charge of the administration in the absence of the king and determining important courses of action of the state in the presence of the king the Council of Ministers discharged certain additional functions.

Various Duties of the Ministry

On the occasion of the coronation ceremony it was the ministerial assembly that made preparations for the consecration of the prospective king under the orders of the retiring ruler.[3] It was they who invested the new king with the royal insignia[4] and with the powers of a full-fledged sovereign. It was they again who called Bharata to power on the demise of king Daśaratha when Rāma was away and the throne of Kosala lay vacant and the subjects had been rendered kingless.[5] In case of the absence of a male heir to the throne a pregnant queen obtained the royal authority with the help of the ministers who instantly invoked a gathering of chief citizens (*Prakṛtimukhyāḥ*) from among the subjects.[6] At the coronation of a sovereign, it may be observed, the people were represented through the prominent men of the populace.[7] It is significant that in this connection Kālidāsa refers to the *Pauras* and *Janapadas* which have been so ably shown by Dr. K. P. Jayaswal in his chapters regarding these in the *Hindu Polity*[8] to have been political bodies representing respectively the urban and rural population. Kālidāsa does not refer to the representation of the Pauras and Janapadas at every accession because he does not describe the consecration of each king, but wherever he des-

[1] Ch. I. 332-333.
[2] Ch. II. 731-740.
[3] *Vik.*, p. 136; *Raghu.*, VIII. 1-4.
[4] *Raghu.*, XVII. 27
[5] Ibid., XII. 12.
[6] Ibid., XIX. 55.
[7] Ibid., XII. 3, XIX. 55, II. 74, XV. 102, XVI, 9. 37.
[8] XXVII and XXVIII. cf. *Raghu.*, XII. 3, XIX. 55, II. 75, XV. 102, XVI. 9, XVI. 37.

cribes the coronation he, in most cases, does refer to the Pauras and the Prakṛtimukhyas as well. Besides, he has to consider also the poetical and metrical exigencies. The fact that the Prakṛtimukhyas were summoned to witness a coronation may point to their legal status as a determining element in the succession of a king and they may in consequence, have proved an additional brake along with the Council of Ministers on the self-willed designs of the sovereign. It is noteworthy that with the approval of the representatives of the people and the ministers, the queen, bearing the foetus, was consecrated, and then alone she could sit on the golden throne and govern the kingdom with her 'command never disputed.'[1] Another allusion points in the same direction: "The group of ministers of that king who had gone to heaven saw the deplorable condition of the subjects without their master and unanimously made him who was the solitary fibre of the family, the king according to rule."[2]

When a king died, describes Kālidāsa, it was the duty of the ministers to see that no chaos and anarchy worked out the destruction of the State in the period of transition when power was to be transferred to the heir-apparent.[3] The fear of anarchy was indeed rendered strong in case of a voluptuous ruler who had retired in order to serve well the ends of his libidinous desires, leaving the cares of the State to his ministers,[4] and who had eventually lost the confidence of his people; and this was so when the death of such a king occurred leaving behind him no male heir but only his enceinte queen. Then, as in the case of Agnivarṇa, the ministers with the family priest consigned him secretly to fire in the palace garden, thus evading the public eye, under the pretext of a ceremony averting evil produced by disease.[5] This point is duly supported by the *Arthaśāstra* which says: "The minister shall thus avert the calamities in which the king is involved; long before the apprehended death of the king, he shall, in concert with his friend and followers, allow visitors to the king once in a month or two (and avoid their visits on other occasions) under the plea that the king is engaged in performing such rites as are calculated to avert national calamities, or are destructive of enemies, or capable of prolonging life or of procuring a son;"[6] "or having gradually placed the burden of administration on the shoulders of the heir-apparent, the minister may announce the death of the king to the public."[7]

That the meetings of the Council of Ministers were not presided over by the king and their deliberations were not guided and controlled by him are facts evident from the message sent to him by the Chief Minister as we have discussed above, mentioned in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*. In this regard Kālidāsa is borne out by many writers on Hindu polity. The *Sukranīti* provides the Council

[1] मौलैः सार्धं स्थविरसचिवैर्हेमसिंहासनस्था
राज्ञी राज्य विधिवदशिषद्भर्तुरुत्थाहताज्ञा ॥ *Raghu.*, XIX. 57.
[2] Ibid., XVIII. 36.
[3] Ibid., XIX. 52, 54.
[4] Ibid., 4.
[5] Ibid., XIX. 54.
[6] Bk., V. Ch. 6.
[7] Ibid.

with its own President (Pradhāna).[1] The *Arthaśāstra* is not quite clear although it may be implied from Bk. I. Ch. 15 that the king attended the meeting of the Council. Epigraphical records come to Kālidāsa's help. Aśoka says in one of his Rock Edicts[2] that if any of his orders is shelved by his Council of Ministers (Pariṣā) after discussion he should be at once apprised of it. This could be done only if he had not a seat in the Council.

The above discussion would make it evidently clear that the ministers and the representatives of the people were essentially democratic elements and proved a considerable check on the arbitrariness of their sovereign. But here we must guard ourselves against accepting the position as described by Kālidāsa for the evidence is mostly of a traditional and idealistic nature, and we cannot accept that during the strong Gupta rule such a check by the ministers could have been actually possible. Agnivarṇa's may be cited as a case in point. We have no reference as to what would have been the course of action on the part of the king or that of his ministers if perchance they had differed in their opinions and a possible deadlock had ensued. The *Śukranīti* comes to our help and it says that the king was *akṣama* in such a case [3] It makes Pratinidhi, one of the ministers forming the Council, 'press upon the king the business which must be done whether favourable or unfavourable.'[4] He is not the representative of the king and Prof. Binoy Kumar Sarkar is quite off the mark when he translates Pratinidhi as the 'Viceroy.'[5] "If the king fears their control then alone the ministers can be called good."[6]

Status and Designation of Ministers

The status of a minister was considerably high to which due regard was paid by the king. When Agnimitra orders his Minister to inform Vīrasena to march against the king of Vidarbha he makes use of a Pronoun like *bhavān*[7] for him which indicates distinct honour. It is the same term as one used by the king of Vidarbha in his letter to Agnimitra.[8] In the *Śākuntala*[9] the King addresses his Minister with so dignified a phrase as Ārya, noble. 'Bhavān' and 'ārya' are terms seldom used for others than the ministers and the Purohita, who, as we shall see, besides being the king's preceptor, was also a member of the Cabinet. The king did not disregard the advice of his ministers even in his extreme wrath. Agnivarṇa, however, is an exception here also. When Agnimitra, highly enraged with the impudence and impertinence of the King of Vidarbha, orders his Minister to send biddings to the army corps under the command of Vīrasena for his extermination, he stops suddenly and enquires of his Minister if he thinks otherwise.[10]

[1] Ch. II. 150-155.
[2] *I. A.*, 1913, p. 242.
[3] *Hindu Polity*, Part II, p. 139.
[4] *Śukranīti*, Ch. II. 168.
[5] Ibid., 150-155. Translation.
[6] Ibid., 163.
[7] अथवा किं भवान्मन्यते । *Māl.*, p. 11.
[8] *Māl.*, p. 11.
[9] *Śāk.*, p. 198.
[10] (*Vide* above, No. 2) *Māl.*, p. 11.

The latter, however, does not hold a contrary view and declares withal, quoting a political authority,[1] that an enemy who has but recently occupied a kingdom, is very easy to extirpate, owing to his not having taken roots in the hearts of his subjects, like a tree infirm on account of its being lately planted.[2] Thus the ministers while enjoying highly important share and wielding considerable authority and power in the government were treated with remarkable deference by the king.

Kālidāsa uses the terms *Mantrī*, *Amātya* and *Saciva* as synonyms and in a general sense.[3] Manu[4] calls Chief Minister *Amātya*, while the *Arthaśāstra*[5] and the *Sukranīti*[6] call him *Mantrin*. Kālidāsa does not make any such distinction.

Members of the Council of Ministers

We shall now proceed to discuss the possible members of the Council of Ministers on the strength of our scanty evidence on the point. We have already seen that the heir-apparent, Yuvarāja, held an office and was a functionary of the State who divided,[7] as it were, the sovereignty of his father between the latter and himself. Kauṭilya makes him one of the members of the Council of Ministers and places him fourth after the Chief Minister.[8] Kālidāsa does not give the number of the Council of Ministers but he names the officials who in treatises on Hindu polity have been referred to as members of the Council of Ministers and therefore we shall try to equate these particular officers with those thus named.

Chief Minister

The Minister, who reported to the King in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*[9] of the resolve of the Council of Ministers on the issue of Vidarbha and who was further entrusted with the secret custody of the opinion of the King, must have been a privileged minister to whom the opinions of both the Council of Ministers and the King were confided. It was he who first learnt of the coincidence or difference of opinions of the King and his Council. He seems, therefore, to have been something like a Chief Minister of State. The *Arthaśāstra* calls him simply *Mantrin*[10] and gives his position as the first among the ministers.[11] Manu recommends a Brahmin for this post and advises the king to depend entirely on him and leave the execution of all resolutions to him.[12] Manu, however, calls him *Amātya*[13] and not *Mantrin*. In him, he says, is vested the entire *daṇḍa* i.e., administration.[14] In the *Divyāvadāna*,[15] Rādhagupta, the Chief Minister, is styled *Amātya*.

[1] शास्त्रदृष्टमाह देवः Ibid., तन्त्रकारवचनम् Ibid.
[2] Ibid., I. 8.
[3] Cf. *Raghu.*, I. 34, VIII. 17, IX. 49, XII. 12, XIII. 66, 71, XVIII. 36, 53, XIX. 4, 7, 52, 54, 57; *Vik.*, p. 87, etc.
[4] *Manusmṛti*, VII. 65.
[5] Bk. V. Ch. II.
[6] Ch. II. 168-73.
[7] विभक्ता *Vik.*, V. 22.
[8] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. V. Ch. 2.
[9] Edited by M. R. Kale, p. 103.
[10] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. V. Ch. 2.
[11] Ibid.
[12] *Manusmṛti*, VII. 58-59, XII. 100.
[13] Ibid., VII. 65.
[14] Ibid.
[15] *Aśokāvadāna*.

Minister for Foreign Affairs

We read of a minister in charge of political correspondence who received political presents, letters and embassies from feudatory princes and other friendly or inimical foreign powers as is evident from the announcement of the Chamberlain in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act V: "Your Majesty, the Minister begs to say—'Two girls skilled in arts, out of the presents sent from the Vidarbha country, were not sent to your Majesty as they were thought not to be in good trim of body owing to the fatigue of the journey. Now they have become fit to be received in audience by your Majesty. Your Majesty, therefore, will be pleased to give the order with respect to them.'"[1] This minister was thus analogous to a Foreign Minister of modern times. He used to send a report of the articles received in present from foreign powers to the king for the latter's orders as regards their disposal. He also negotiated political treaties at the command of the king and the Council of Ministers.[2] He may have held a portfolio similar to the *Sandhivigrahika* of the Gupta epigraphical records.[3]

Minister for Revenue and Law and Justice

Kālidāsa refers to a minister holding the charge of the two portfolios of Revenue and Law and Justice.[4] Koṣa[5] has been generally associated with the king and it is possible that the king was his own Finance Minister. It may be noted that Manu, whom Kālidāsa refers frequently, makes finance the control of the king.[6] Otherwise the Minister Piśuna of the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* must be taken to have added to his two portfolios of Revenue and Law and Justice that of Finance as well. We have a reference to this minister as sitting in court and disposing cases.[7] It is even possible that there were two ministers of Revenue and Law and Justice, one for each, and the confusion may be set right by admitting that each minister reported to the king cases arising out of his own department; and the particular case, referred to in the *Śākuntala*, although it may have involved high and intricate principles of Law and Justice, was probably, nevertheless, one pertaining to revenue law, and as such, was treated by the Revenue Minister. The Minister for Revenue was in charge of all the revenue administration. He received, counted and treasured all revenues[8] and reported all cases arising out of the Finance Department to the king. The report was made by him by means of a document.[9] The Minister for Law and Justice sat with the king

[1] *Māl.*, p. 94.
[2] Ibid., p. 11, ibid., 94.
[3] Allahabad Pillar Inscription: the closing lines; Udaigiri Cave Inscription of Candra Gupta II, verse 3.
[4] अर्थजातस्य गणनाबहुलतयैवमेव पौरकार्यमवेक्षितम् । तद्देवः पत्रारूढं प्रत्यक्षीकरोत्विति ।...समुद्रव्यवहारी.. *Śāk.*, p. 219. Cf. मद्वचनादमात्यमार्यपिशुनं ब्रूहि ।...पौरकार्यं Ibid., p. 198.
[5] *Raghu.*, V. I. 29, XVII. 60, 81.
[6] नृपतौ कोशराष्ट्रे च *Manusmṛti*, VII. 65.
[7] *Māl.*, pp. 198, 219.
[8] अर्थजातस्य गणना बहुलतया *Māl.*, p. 219.
[9] पत्रारूढं Ibid., p. 219. पत्रमारोप्य Ibid., p. 198.

when the latter heard cases in his seat of justice[1] (*nyayahārāsana*), and prepared a report of the cases thus disposed of. The *Sukranīti* says that the king on no account must act singly in judicial matters and he must "hear with the ministers the petitions and appeals of the people.[2]" Kālidāsa here is closely keeping to the tradition. When the king was too indisposed to sit in the open court the Minister for Justice received petitions from the citizens and sent in the papers to be examined by the king in his seraglio having himself looked into them first. This has been graphically described by Kālidāsa as an incident of common practice as can be inferred from the following utterance of the King: "Speak to Minister Piśuna with my words thus—Owing to having kept awake for long, it was not possible for us to occupy the judgment seat to-day. Whatever business of the citizens may have been looked into by his honour should be handed over, after being put on record[3]."

We shall deal with Law and Justice and Revenue (or Finance) separately as two distinct departments for the sake of clarity.

Purodha

The priest or Purohita,[4] who appears everywhere in the writings of Kālidāsa in connection with every State function, must have been associated with the administration. He plays the most important part in the consecration of the king. The king's attitude towards Purohita and preceptor is one of utmost reverence. Although Kālidāsa does not specifically refer to him to be a member of the Council of Ministers it may be conjectured with justice that he was one, for "he is very likely included in the 'seven or eight' Ministers of Manu[5]," and Kauṭilya names him next after the Chief Minister.[6] It may be noted that Kālidāsa reverently follows directly or indirectly the two authorities named above. The evidence of the *Śākuntala*[7] clearly shows that the Purohita, whose advice the King readily accepts, sits with the King in the Court and advises him. The *Apastamba*[8] and the *Jātakas*[9] expect him to be an adept in the laws of the scriptures as well as in those of polity. Of him the *Arthaśāstra* observes: "Him whose family and character are highly spoken of, who is well educated in the Vedas, and the six Aṅgas, is skilful in reading portents, providential or accidental, is well versed in the science of government, and who is obedient, and who can prevent calamities, providential or human, by performing such expiatory rites as are prescribed in the *Atharvaveda*, the king shall employ as high priest. As a student his teacher, a son his father, and a servant his master, the king shall follow

[1] मद्वचनात्...ब्रूहि। चिरप्रबोधनान्न सम्भावितमस्माभिरद्य धर्मासनमध्यासितुम्। यत्प्रत्यवेक्षितं पौरकार्यमार्येण तत्पत्रमारोप्यदीयतामिति Ibid., p. 198.

[2] Ch. I. 660.

[3] *Māl.*, p. 198 (quoted *ante*).

[4] पुरोहितपुरोगाः *Raghu.*, XVII. 13, पुरोधसा ibid., XIX. 54.

[5] Jayaswal: *Hindu Polity*, Part II. p. 126.

[6] *Arthaśāstra*. Bk. V. Ch. 2.

[7] *Śāk.*, V.

[8] *Dharmasūtra*. II. 5, 10, 13-14.

[9] Vol. I. p. 437, II. p. 30.

him.[1]" The *Sukranīti* is even more exacting in this regard. It says regarding the appointment of a Purodhā: "One who is versed in mantras and rituals, master of the three sciences, skilful at work, conqueror of the senses, subduer of anger, devoid of greed and passions, equipped with a knowledge of six Aṅgas (*Vedāṅgas*) and of the science of archery with all its branches, one who knows the moral as well as religious interests, one fearing whose anger even the king takes to virtuous ways of life, one who is well up in *Nītiśāstra* and master of military implements and tactics is the Priest.[2]" Such was the importance of this minister.

It is possible that the Commander-in-Chief, *Senāpati*,[3] to whom the poet has referred, was a member of the Council of Ministers but of that we are not sure as there is no direct evidence in Kālidāsa bearing on the point. There is rather an evidence to the contrary. When the Vidiśā cabinet decides to send a regiment against the king of Vidarbha, Senāpati Vīrasena is on the front and an order has had to be sent to him.[4] This may be regarded rather an adverse evidence. *Sukranīti*,[5] actually passes him over. Kauṭilya,[6] however, mentions him third after the Chief Minister.

Kālidāsa does not give a specific number of ministers forming the Council of Ministers and in this respect he follows Kauṭilya[7] who would not have any rigid number, as against Manu[8] who would have seven or eight of them. It may be noted here that Bṛhaspati[9] advocated sixteen members, the Mānavas[10] twelve, Uśanas[11] twenty to form the Council of Ministers. The *Mahābhārata*[12] makes the Council a pretty large body by giving it thirty-seven members chosen on the basis of caste representation.

Secretariat and the Imperial Departments

The government was technically known by the term *Lokatantra*[13] and its administration was carried on by means of a highly organized secretariat comprising of several departments run under distinct heads. Kālidāsa makes a general reference to the *Tīrthas* or heads of departments in the following expression: "In this way employing the fourfold administration of government necessary to a king in its due order, as far as the eighteen *tīrthas*, he obtained its fruit.[14]" The term *tīrthas* has been fully explained before and its sense in-

[1] Bk. I. Ch. IX.
[2] Ch. II. 156-160.
[3] *Śāk.*, pp. 63, ff.; *Māl.*, p. 11.
[4] *Māl.*, p. 11.
[5] II. 71-72.
[6] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. V. Ch. 2.
[7] Ibid., Bk. I. Ch. 15.
[8] Jayaswal: *Hindu Polity*, Part II. p. 126.
[9] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I. Ch. 15.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Kumb. ed. Śānti, Ch. 85, 7-11.
[13] *Śāk.*, p. 154.
[14] *Raghu.*, XVII. 68.

dicating the eighteen heads of departments established. Kālidāsa while referring to this term does not specifically name the departments, and their heads, which may be given here from other sources.

The eighteen *tīrthas*, according to Caturdhara, a commentator on the *Mahābhārata*, are the following : "Minister, Priest, Yuvarāja or the Heir-apparent, King, Dvārapāla or the Lord Mayor of the palace, the Lord Chamberlain, the officer in charge of Prisons, the Collector of Revenue, the Director of Royal Orders, Praveṣṭā, the Lord Mayor of the City, the officer drawing out the scheme of business, the officer in charge of Religion, the President of the House (Sabhādhyakṣa), the officer in charge of the maintenance of the Army, the officer in charge of the Home Defences the officer in charge of the frontiers of the Nation and the officer in charge of the Forests.[1]

As shown below this list is mostly based on that furnished by Kauṭilya. A comparison with the following list of the *tīrthas* given by Kauṭilya will make it plain that the above list is based on it with only a few exceptions. Kauṭilya[2] mentions the following eighteen *tīrthas*:

1. Mantrin
2. Purohita
3. Senāpati
4. Yuvarāja
5. Dauvārika or the Lord Mayor of the Palace
6. Antarvaṁśika or the Lord Chamberlain
7. Praśāstṛ or the Minister of Prisons
8. Samāhartṛ or the Minister of Revenue
9. Sannidhātṛ or the Minister of Treasury
10. Pradeṣṭṛ
11. Nāyaka or the Generalissimo
12. Paura or the Governor of the Capital
13. Vyavahārika or the Chief Justice
14. Karmāntika or the Officer in charge of Mines and Manufactories
15. Mantri-Pariṣat-Adhyakṣa or the President of the Council
16. Daṇḍapāla or the Officer in charge of the Maintenance of the Army

[1] मंत्रीपुरोहितश्चैव युवराजश्चभूपतिः ।
पंचमो द्वारपालश्च षष्ठोऽन्तर्वेशिकस्तथा ॥
कारागाराधिकारी च द्रव्यसंचयकृत्तथा ।
कृत्याकृत्येषु चार्थानां नवमो विनियोजकः ॥
प्रवेष्ठानगराध्यक्षः कार्यनिर्माणकृत्तथा ।
धर्माध्यक्षः सभाध्यक्षो दण्डपालस्त्रिपंचमः ॥
षोडशो दुर्गपालश्च तथा राष्ट्रान्तपालकः ।
अटवीपालकान्तानि तीर्थान्यष्टादशैवतु ॥ *Raghuvaṁśa* edited by G. R. Nandargikar, note on the above.

[2] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I. Ch. 12.

17. Durgapāla or the Officer in charge of Home Defences
18. Antapāla or the Officer in charge of Frontiers.[1]

While commenting on the term *tīrtha* the commentator Cāritravardhana quotes Kauṭilya.[2]

Kālidāsa does not refer to all of these eighteen heads of the departments but more than half of the list of the *Arthaśāstra*, quoted above, is covered by even specific references by the poet. He names the following of the list, namely, (1) Mantrin (the Chief Minister discussed above), (2) Purohita, (3) Senāpati, (4) Yuvarāja, (5) Dauvārika,[3] (6) Antarvaṁśika (the Kañcuki of Kālidāsa who, in the Sanskrit plays, serves as Mahāpratihāra or the Lord Chamberlain), (7) Samāhartṛ (the Minister for Revenue and Treasury discussed above), (8) Paura (the Nāgarika of Kālidāsa), (9) Vyavahārika (the Minister for Law and Justice discussed above) and (10) Antapāla.[4]

A reference to the Council of Ministers has already been made in the foregoing pages, now the functions of other officials, high and low, may be mentioned. Besides those discussed above, the poet names the following high officials: Antapāla,[5] Kañcuki,[6] Nāgarika,[7] Rāṣṭrīya,[8] Dharmādhyakṣa,[9] Dūta[10] and other important royal officers.[11] Of the lesser importance Kālidāsa mentions the following: bards[12] and heralds,[13] scribes,[14] draftsmen and writers (lekhaka), *Daivacintakāḥ*,[15] bearers of royal writs,[16] *Pratyavekṣakāḥ*,[17] guards of the treasury[18] and the harem,[19] spies,[20] drivers of chariots[21] and elephants,[22] gate-

[1] The English equivalents of the terms have been given as translated by Jayaswal in his *Hindu Polity*, Part II, pp. 133-34.

[2] मन्त्रिपुरोहितसेनापतिराजदौवारिकान्तर्वासिकप्रसास्तृसमाहन्तृसन्निधातृपार्षदाध्यापकदण्डकारकदुर्गपालास्तीर्थमिति कौटिल्यः। Quoted in the *Raghuvaṁśa* edited by N. G. Nandargikar, notes on Tīrtha XVII. 68.

[3] *Śāk.*, p. 62.

[4] *Māl.*, p. 10, अन्तपालदुर्ग Ibid., p. 9.

[5] Ibid.

[6] *Śāk.*, p. 154; *Vik.*, p. 3.

[7] *Śāk.*, p. 182.

[8] Ibid., pp. 193-194.

[9] oराज्ञा धर्माधिकारे नियुक्त. Ibid., p. 40.

[10] *Māl.*, pp. 88-89; *Raghu.*, V. 39.

[11] *Śāk.*, p. 49, अधिकारपुरुषा. *Raghu.*, V. 63.

[12] *Raghu.*, IV. 6, V. 65, 75, VI. 8.

[13] वैतालिकाः *Śāk.*, p. 157; *Māl.*, p. 32, II. 12, *Vik.*, 1, 2.

[14] *Māl.*, p. 88.

[15] Ibid., p. 71.

[16] शासनहारिणा *Raghu.*, III. 68.

[17] *Śāk.*, p. 198.

[18] कोषगृहे नियुक्ताः. *Raghu.*, V. 29.

[19] अवरोधरक्षः *Ibid.*, VII. 19.

[20] प्रणिधि Ibid., XVII. 48; *Ku.*, III. 6, 17; अपसर्पैः *Raghu.*, XVII. 51.

[21] यन्तार, सारथि, etc. *Raghu.*, I. 54, 74. III. 37.

[22] अधोरण Ibid., V. 48.

keepers,[1] stewards,[2] Kirātī[3] and Yavanī.[4]

Antapāla was the officer-in-charge of the defences who protected the frontiers of the empire. There were frontier forts,[5] garrisoned and well manned,[6] which were under the direct control of the Antapāla. Vīrasena was such an Antapāla posted to guard the southern frontiers[7] of Agnimitra's possessions. *Kañcuki* of the plays is the same as the Pratihāra or Mahāpratihāra of the Gupta administration and the Antarvaṁśika of the *Arthaśāstra*. He was the Lord Chamberlain, an aged personality, held in high honour by the king and addressed with considerable deference and familiarity[8] by him. He was the head of the entire establishment of the royal harem and had the whole force of the palace guards and the female Greeks under him. For the symbol of his authority he carried a golden staff (हेमवेत्र).[9] This officer was confided with all the important secrets of the state for he acted as an announcer of opinions on both sides, i.e., the Council of Ministers as well as the king.[10] *Pratīhārī*,[11] the female counterpart of the Gupta Pratihāra, evidently worked under him and dealt directly with the ladies of the royal seraglio. She also, like the Kañcuki, carried a staff, but of cane.[12] *Nāgarika*, the Nāgaraka[13] of the *Arthaśāstra*, was the Lord Mayor of the Capital and in charge of the city police. He watched the night offenders of the city and brought them to book. Kauṭilya says that "Like the Collector General, the officer in charge of the capital city (*nāgaraka*) shall look to the affairs of the capital.[14]" *Rāṣṭrīya* was appointed to guard the peace of the kingdom (*rāṣṭra*). But from the context in which it is used it can be safely inferred that Rāṣṭrīya was a synonym of Nāgarika.

Dharmādhikārī had the charge of the department of religion. It is evidenced by the speech of such an officer: "I, that person who is appointed by the king, the descendent of Puru, to (perform) the duty of (the superintendent of) religion, have arrived at this sacred grove to ascertain (if your) rites are free from obstacles.[15]" Thus we see that there was actually a department of the state to look after the ascetics in the forests and an officer was put in charge of it. It is to be noted that this department had long been inaugurated by the piety-loving Aśoka, the great Buddhist Mauryan emperor, who had appointed

[1] द्वारस्था: *Ku.*, VI. 48.
[2] कुशल विरचितानुकूलवेश: *Raghu.*, V. 76.
[3] Ibid., XVI. 57.
[4] *Śāk.*, pp. 57, 224.
[5] *Māl.*, p. 9; *Rahgu.*, IV. 26.
[6] *Raghu.*, IV. 26.
[7] वीरसेनोनाम स भर्त्रा नर्मदातीरेऽन्तपालदुर्गे स्थापित. । *Māl.*, p. 9.
[8] Vide *Śākuntala* and *Mālavikāgnimitra.*
[9] *Ku.*, III. 41.
[10] *Māl.*, p. 101.
[11] *Raghu.*, VI. 20, 26, 82.
[12] वेत्रग्रहणे Ibid., VI. 26, वेत्रभृदा Ibid., 82.
[13] Bk. II. Ch. XXXVI.
[14] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II. Ch. XXXVI.
[15] य: पौरवेण राज्ञा धर्माधिकारे नियुक्त: सोऽहमविघ्नक्रियोपलम्भाय धर्मारण्यमिदमायात: । *Śāk.*, p. 40.

a set of officers called *Dharmamahāmātras*[1] whose duty it was to look after the promotion of religion preached by him through his edicts. The department appears to have endured till the time of Kālidāsa. Kālidāsa mentions both the Purohita or Purodhā and Dharmādhikārī which shows that these were two distinct officers. We have already shown above that the Purohita was a high dignitory of State and probably a member of the Council of Ministers. It is possible that the Dharmādhikārī, as a head of one of the eighteen tīrthas, worked under the guidance of the Purohita. It may be noted that both Caturdhara, a commentator on the *Mahābhārata* quoted above, and Govindarāja, a commentator on the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[2] mention Dharmādhyakṣa as one of the eighteen heads of departments. Kālidāsa clearly refers to the same. "...The place of the *Purohita* was taken," observes Dr. A. S. Altekar, "in our (Rāshṭrakūṭa) period by an officer whose business it was to exercise general superintendence over religion and morality. *Paṇḍita*, the minister of morality and religion in the *Sukranīti*, seems to embody the tradition of the *Dhammamahāmātyas* of Aśoka, *Samana-mahāmātas* of the Andhras,[3] and the *Vindyasthitisthāpakas*[4] of the Guptas. The tradition was continued in the north by the Chedis, one of whose records mentions *Dharmapradhāna* in addition to *Mahāpurohita*.[5] The office existed under the early Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler Nannarāja in 708 A.D.[6], and the officer bore the significant title of *Dharmāṅkuśa*. It is not unlikely that the descendants of Nannarāja may have continued the office when they rose to the Imperial position in the Deccan. One may be reasonably certain that at least under kings like Amoghavarsha I and Amoghavarsha III, who were more interested in matters spiritual than temporal, the office must have been revived, if it had been allowed to lapse under their predecessors.[7]" It may be remarked that both Dr. Jayaswal[8] and Dr. Altekar seem to overlook the fact that the *Sukranīti* refers twice[9] to a distinct department, of the religious establishments and the superviser of charities, and puts *Dharmādhikārī* in charge of it. It is interesting to note that Kālidāsa uses the same term for this officer and entrusts him with the same functions as the *Sukranīti*. It seems that like Cedis, following an earlier tradition, Kālidāsa gives both the offices—of the Purohita as well as of the Dharmādhikārī. It was natural for his king to have the assistance of these two officers for he has been often enthusiastically styled by the poet as *Varnāśramānām rakṣitā Varṇāśramarakṣaṇe jāgarūkaḥ*, *Sthiterabhettā*, *Niyantuḥ* and the like.

Dūta was an ambassador of the State who was sent to foreign powers to negotiate treaties and alliances and to estimate by his superior intelligence and

[1] Pillar Edicts No. VII, Rock Edicts No. XII.
[2] II. 100, 36.
[3] Nasik Inscriptions, *E. I.*, VIII. p. 9 .
[4] A seal of this officer was discovered at Vaisali by Bloach; R. *A. S.*, 1903-4, p. 109.
[5] Kumbhi Plates of Vijayasimha, *J. A. S. B.*, XXXI, p. 116.
[6] Maltai Plates, *I. A.* XVIII., p. 230.
[7] *The Rāshtrakūtas and their Times*, pp. 169-70.
[8] *Hindu Polity*, Part II. p. 135.
[9] Ch. II. 240-41, Ibid., 327-28.

opportunity the state of the foe. May be, the numerous spies of the State who acted as so many eyes[1] to the king worked under Dūta. An official of this designation is the Minister of Diplomacy in both the *Manusmṛti*[2] and the *Sukranīti*,[3] but the poet does not mean any such implication in the reference. Besides the above enumerated officers there were other important 'officers of State' (*Rājapuruṣas*), who by their various services rendered the machinery of the government efficient. They held various offices and were entrusted with important duties that enabled them to be termed as *adhikārapuruṣas*.[4] It is possible that the *Pratyavekṣakas* belonged to this class of officers whose duty it was to examine the place first which was to be later visited by the king and to see if some danger was not lurking there. They were thus the watchers of the safety of the king. Then there were the *Śāsanahāriṇaḥ*,[5] the bearers of the royal writs, who ran to and fro with the written commands of the king and the Heads of the various Departments of the State and thus contributed to a swift execution of affairs of the government. They have been mentioned also by the *Sukrdnīti*.[6]

There were further the lower officers who may now be mentioned. Bards, variously termed as *bandinaḥ*,[7] *bandiputrāḥ*,[8] and *sūtātmajāḥ*,[9] were more for pomp and dignity of the king than for actual business of State. Their business it was to sing the glories of the royal house on important occasions and in the morning and evening and to act as paraphernalia[10] of the sovereign. They were also a noted feature of the Gupta times.[11] Heralds or *Vaitālikas* were necessary attendants of the king Their duty was to announce the hours of the day as also perhaps of the night to the king, whose days and nights were divided in several periods assigned to different purposes in which he was expected to attend the State business. Thus the heralds reminded the king of the hours of the day and night and consequently of the respective duties allotted to be performed by him during those hours. *Lekhaka* was the scribe, writer and draftsman of the State. It was one of this class of officials who read toAgnimitra the letter sent by Vīrasena from Vidarbha to his sister, the queen of Agnimitra. *Daivacintakāḥ* were the soothesayers and fortune-tellers who were attached to the royal court. Besides these, there were several other petty officers, public servants and royal employees like the guards of the treasury and the harem, spies, drivers of chariots and elephants, gatekeepers, stewards, Kirātīs and Yavanīs. *Rakṣiṇaḥ*[12] were the city-guards and constables who led

[1] *Raghu.*, XVII. 48.
[2] VII. 65-66.
[3] Ch. II. 87.
[4] *Raghu.*, V. 6.
[5] *Ibid.*, III. 68.
[6] Ch. II.
[7] *Raghu.*, IV. 6, VI. 8.
[8] Ibid., V. 75.
[9] Ibid., 65.
[10] *Vik.*, IV. 13.
[11] वन्दकजनो Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription of Skanda Gupta, verse 7.
[12] *Śāk.*, p. 182.

criminals to the courts of justice. They worked under[1] the Nāgarika and might have served as the day pickets and the night guards of the city. *Kirātīs* and *Yavanīs* were officers of the royal harem and acted as the keepers and bearers of the king's personal arms.[2] They were constant companions of the king at home and abroad. They acted even as body-guards and surrounded the king when he went out ahunting[3] and for other sports.[4] It was customary with ancient Indian kings to employ Yavana females as their attendants, particularly as the bearers of their arms. By the term Yavana are to be understood the Greeks or Ionians. The *Arthaśāstra* also enjoins upon a king to be surrounded by women at the time of hunting or at that of leaving the bed in the auspicious hours of the morning.[5] The reference to Yavanīs is important inasmuch as we find in the writings of Megasthenes that when the king went out of his palace his palanquin was always surrounded by women bearing bows and arrows.[6]

Working of the Secretariat

The working of the secretariat was considerably advanced. All important cases were put on paper and submitted to the king for his perusal and orders of which perhaps a record was also kept in the imperial offices of the state after having imprinted them with the imperial seal. The existence of such a seal has been frequently warranted by Kālidāsa as we have seen before. The term used for the seal is *aṅka* the impression of a symbolic sign, and *Śāsanāṅka*, the seal of authority which was imprinted on the royal writs.

A quick despatch of business appears to have been a marked feature of the working of the secretariat. The *Mālavikāgnimitra* tells us that when Agnimitra received the information that his opinion on the issue of Vidarbha had been confirmed by the Council of Ministers, he ordered the Council to send a despatch to general Vīrasena, who had accomplished the conquest of Vidarbha, to act in the manner ordered.[7] Vīrasena was the officer in charge of those parts of the Narmadā valley as also the field-marshal who could well execute the orders received from home on the point of the sword, if necessary. Too much consultation was considered injurious to the observance of secrecy[8] about the matter.

Some Political Documents.

Here we may also add that the poet has left references to records[9] and

[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid., p. 224.
[3] Ibid., p. 57.
[4] *Raghu.*, XVI. 57.
[5] Bk., I. Ch. 21.
[6] *E. H. I.*, pp. 129-30.
[7] पूर्वकल्पितसमून्मूलनाय वीरसेनमुखं दण्डचक्रमाज्ञापय । *Māl.*, p. 11.
[8] *Raghu.*, XVII. 50.
[9] पत्रारूढं *Śāk.*, p. 219.

political documents[1] and letters[2] enclosed within envelopes[3] (*Prābhṛtaka*). Four very condensed political documents are mentioned by Kālidāsa and they may be quoted in full to give an instance of political letters and other official documents. The first of them, addressed by Puṣyamitra, is as follows:—

"My blessings to you. Puṣyamitra, the General, having affectionately embraced his son, Agnimitra, of long life, writes from the sacrificial enclosure as follows: The horse which was let loose to go about unobstructed by me, consecrated for the Rājasūya, having appointed Vasumitra, surrounded by a hundred rājaputras (princes), its guardian, and which was to return after one year, was seized while wandering on the southern bank of the Sindhu by a cavalry squadron of the Yavanas. Then there was a fierce fight between the two armies.

Then Vasumitra, the mighty archer, having defeated the enemies, rescued my noble horse that was being forcibly led away.

I, then, whose horse has been brought back by my grandson, will offer the sacrifice now, like Sagara who had his horse brought by Aṁśumat. You should, therefore, come without delay, to witness the sacrifice with my daughters-in-law and with a pure mind[4]."

This is a letter from Emperor Puṣyamitra to his son Agnimitra and it is one of the very few letters preserved in the Sanskrit literature. It is a remarkable document of the imperial secretariat which may sufficiently prove the existence of a high order of political transaction. This document is painstakingly precise. There is not a single word of useless import and not a phrase that can be removed from its context or can be improved upon. Its contents are thoroughly of a political nature except for some opening indispensable phrases of etiquette and affection. From the perfect political bearing of the draft one would hazard the suggestion that Kālidāsa actually copied it from an earlier document which was yet preserved in the secretariat of the imperial court[5], to which perhaps he was attached.

The following is again a letter received by Agnimitra from the king of Vidarbha which registers a high water-mark of statecraft and political correspondence. The terms of stipulation are put forth in a very clear, positive and precise language.

"The illustrious one (i.e. Agnimitra) wrote to me, 'Your cousin, prince Mādhavasena, who had promised to enter into a matrimonial alliance with me, was while coming to me, on the way attacked by your frontier guard and taken prisoner. He with his wife and sister, should be ordered to be set free by you out of regard for me.' Now you know full well that such is the course of action of kings with respect to relatives of equal descent; therefore the honoured one should assume a neutral position in this matter; as for the prince's sister she disappeared in the confusion of the capture: I will do my utmost to [illegible]

[1] Ibid., *Māl.*, pp. 88, 102.
[2] पत्रहस्ता *Śāk.*, p. 218, पत्रिकां Ibid., p. 219; लेखं *Māl.*, p. 88.
[3] सप्राभृतं लेखं *Māl.*, p. 101, प्रभृतको लेखः Ibid., Cf. लेखं उद्घाटयति (o[illegible]) Ibid.
[4] *Māl.*, p. 102.
[5] Cf. The Ayodhya Inscription of Puṣyamitra.

Now if your Majesty wishes that Mādhavasena should necessarily be caused to be set at liberty, please mark the terms:

"If the revered one will set my brother-in-law, the Mauryan minister, whom he has imprisoned, free, then I will immediately release Mādhavasena from confinement[1]."

The third is a document sent up to the king for his orders in which a revenue case has been reported by the Minister for Revenue. It runs as follows:—

"A leading merchant, named Dhanamitra, carrying on business by sea, died in a shipwreck. And childless, they say, is the poor man. His store of wealth goes to the king[2]."

This was the manner in which cases were reported to the king. The case with the decision thereon was put on paper (record), which was then sent to the king for his perusal and final order. The document in question is an excellent specimen of political organization of the business of the secretariat.

Lastly, there is on record another document sent up to the king by the Minister for Foreign Affairs which is a resume of all the presents received from a foreign power. Agnimitra listens to this document, received from General Virasena, being read to him by royal clerks (scribes[3]). It runs as below:—

"The Vidarbha king has been subjugated by the king's victorious army commanded by Virasena and his relation, Mādhavasena, released from captivity; the ambassador, sent by him to the king with a present of very costly jewels and vehicles and a body of servants consisting mostly of accomplished girls, will see his Majesty tomorrow[4]."

The functions of the Ministers and the Heads of Departments and of other officials, high and low, having been described, now a detailed reference to certain of the departments may be made.

[1] *Māl.*, I 7, and *ante* of ibid.

[2] समुद्रव्यवहारी सार्थवाहो धनमित्रो नाम नौव्यसने विपन्नः । अनपत्यश्च किल तपस्वी । राजगामी तस्यार्थसंचय इति । *Śāk.*, p. 219.

[3] मंगलगृहे आसनस्था भूत्वा विदर्भविषयादभ्रात्रा वीरसेनेन प्रेषितं लेखं लेखकैर्वाच्यमानं शृणोति । *Māl.*, p. 88.

[4] Ibid, p. 88.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ADMINISTRATION OF DEPARTMENTS

Capital

The Capital, (*rājadhānī*), otherwise known as *mūla*[1], was the seat of the government and was governed directly under the eye of the king. "The king", says the *Śukranīti*, "living in the capital city should discharge his daily duties[2]." Here the royal court of justice[3] was held every day where the hardworking sovereign despatched the business of the citizens[4] of his kingdom.

The grandeur of the imperial court was rendered remarkable by the attendance of numerous dependant ruling chiefs. The courts wore an appearance of the Mughal durbar where the feudatories vied with one another for the favour of the emperor.[5]

The existence of the Council of Ministers at the capital would show that the heads of the various departments had probably their headquarters there.

When the king left the capital he caused it to be protected by suitable garrisons[6]. The capital, which served as the type for cities in general, was protected by a strong wall called *prākāra*[7], *vapravalaya*[8] and *pariveṣṭana*[9] the gates of which were closed with huge doors from within by means of strong bolts[10] (*argalā*). These ramparts of the city were encircled by a broad and deep ditch[11] (*parikhā*). The *Arthaśāstra*[12] and the *Śukranīti*[13] both give a detailed description of the site, shape, and building, etc. of a capital. The latter observes with respect to a capital that it is "to have the beautiful shape of a half-moon or a circle, or a square, is to be surrounded by walls and ditches.....[14]" The ramparts and the ditch must have proved great barriers against the efforts of an invading army in those days of strife when a fortress was considered a safe retreat[15]. The entire city

[1] *Raghu.*, IV. 26.

[2] Ch. I. 550. Cf. Ibid., 434- "Having built (such a capital), the king, well protected, should live there with his subjects."

[3] *Raghu.*, VIII. 18; *Śāk.*, p. 198.

[4] *Raghu.*, VIII. 18; *Śāk.*, p. 219.

[5] सम्राजश्चरणयुगलं प्रसादलभ्यं *Raghu.*, VI. 88.

[6] सगुप्तमूलप्रत्यन्तं Ibid, IV. 26.

[7] Ibid., XII. 71.

[8] स वेलावप्रवलयां परिखीकृतसागराम् । Ibid., I. 30.

[9] Ibid., XI. 52.

[10] परार्गला Ibid., XVIII. 4.

[11] Ibid., XII. 66; परिघ *Śāk.*, II. 15.

[12] Bk. II. Chs. III and IV.

[13] Ch. I.

[14] Ibid., 429-30.

[15] दुर्गाणि दुर्ग्रहाण्यासन् *Raghu.*, XVII. 52.

(*nagara*) was under the protection of a *Nāgarika* as we have seen above. The administration of the metropolis[1] may serve as a model of the administration prevailing in other cities. There were numerous other towns[2] and rich coastal cities as may be inferred from the existence of extensive commerce by sea. We shall discuss this in due context.

Palace

The palace was a huge establishment with inner apartments[3] and outskirts[4]. Palaces were variously named as *Vimānapariccchanda*[5], *Maṇiharmya*[6], *Devacchandaka*[7]. There were several chambers in a palace. One of them was a fire chamber[8], with an elevated verandah. It was here that the king retired everyday to admit the physicians and ascetics[9] or to receive other kindred advents[10]. It was a chamber where the domestic sacred fire was kept ever kindled and the sacrificial cow waited. It was in consequence of its sacred character that the chamber was otherwise known as an auspicious room[11] (*maṅgala gṛha*). "Having seated himself in the room", says the *Arthaśāstra*[12], "where the sacred fire has been kept, he shall attend to the business of physicians and ascetics practising austerities; and that in company with his high priest and teacher after primary salutation (to the petitioners)." Thus the evidence of Kālidāsa has been corroborated by the *Arthaśāstra*. The inner apartments and outskirts of the palace as referred to by the poet have been fully described by the *Mānasāra*[13], which refers to them by the terms *antaḥ-śālā* and *bahiḥ-śālā*.

The palace had a pleasure garden attached to it which was called *pramadavana*[14]. It was so laid out and arranged that the ladies of the palace could walk about in it without being disturbed by strangers. The *Mānasāra* refers to it and locates it by the main gate of the palace[15]. A part of the palace garden was utilized for zoological purposes where wild animals and tamed apes[16] were kept. It may be noted that the *Mānasāra*[17] also has an identical idea with regard to the

[1] Ibid., II. 70, V. 40, XIV. 10, XVI. 22, 24, 38.

[2] प्राग्ज्योतिष् Ibid., IV. 81, माहिष्मती VI. 43. कुण्डिनपुर VII. 33, अयोध्या XIV. 29, XVI. 11-22 or साकेत XVIII. 36; विदिशा *Māl.*, pp. 89, 97, etc.

[3] अवरोधगृहेषु Sak., V. 3.

[4] अविरलजनसंपाते देवच्छन्दकप्रासाद आरुह्य *Vik.*, p. 26. जनाकीर्णे Ibid., The court of justice was located thus in the outskirts of the royal palace.

[5] M. U., 6.

[6] *Vik.*, pp. 64, 65.

[7] Ibid., p. 26.

[8] अग्निशरणमार्गमादेशय *Śāk.*, p. 156; वसंश्चतुर्थोऽग्निरिवाग्न्यागारे *Raghu.*, V. 25.

[9] *Śāk.*, p. 156.

[10] *Māl.*, p. 88.

[11] Ibid.

[12] अग्न्यागारतः कार्यपक्ष्येद्वैद्यतपस्विनाम् Bk., I. C. 19.

[13] P. K. Acharya: *Indian Architecture*, p. 58.

[14] *Vik.*, II. Rañganātha quotes 'स्यादेतदेव प्रमदवनमन्तः पुरोचितं' इति त्रिकण्डी.

[15] P. K. Acharya: *Indian Architecture*, p. 58.

[16] कुमारीः वसुलक्ष्मीः कन्दुकमनुधावन्ती पिङ्गलवानरेण *Māl.*, p. 85.

[17] P. K. Acharya: *Indian Architecture*, p. 58.

keeping of tamed monkeys along with other animals within royal enclosures. A prison was also located in the palace as we read it in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*[1]. It may be noted that the *Mānasāra*[2] also mentions the wisdom of building a prison in the palace and locates it in a 'rather out of the way place, such as the Brisha or the Antariksha part.' This is almost identical with the description given in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*[3]. A complete detail of building the palace is given in the *Sukranīti*[4].

The harem lay within a secluded part of the palace and was protected by a well-organized body of guards known as *avarodharakṣakaṣ*[5]. Like the later harems of the Mughal monarchs the royal seraglio was guarded by female officers who were mostly foreign stalwart Greeks (*Yavanī*.) These female guards were directly under the *Pratihārarakṣī*[6] or the lady-keeper of the royal harem. *Pratihārarakṣī* or *Pratīhārī*[7] as the feminine counterpart of the *Pratihāra* of the Gupta administration. She bore a cane staff[8] which was the symbol of her authority. She worked evidently under the *Kañcuki*, the Lord Chamberlain, the *Antarvaṁśika* of the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Pratihāra* of the Guptas. While giving a detailed description of the harem the *Arthaśāstra* says: "Eighty men and fifty women under the guise of fathers and mothers, and aged persons, and eunuchs shall not only ascertain purity and impurity in the life of the inmates of the harem, but also so regulate the affairs as to be conducive to the happiness of the king[9]." The *Sukranīti* also advocates the use of eunuchs in the royal harem. It observes: "Those who are sexless, who are truthful, sweet-tongued, come of respectable families and are of beautiful forms should be appointed in the inner apartments[10]." Kālidāsa does not make a specific reference to the appointment of eunuchs but it is very much probable that they were included among the class of guards styled by him as the *Avarodharakṣakas*[11].

The whole establishment of the palace was placed under the charge of the above mentioned *Kañcuki*, who was picked up from among the honest servants of the king for the responsibility of his office required him to be upright and stern. His entrance in the plays is generally marked by his thoughtful observations on old age decrepitude; and the serene dignity which age imparts to his mien adds to the impression he makes on the reader. He was a strong man, he informs us, when he was first appointed to his office, perhaps middle-aged. But the older he grew the more qualified he became for his office and that is why he was not let off even in his old age as is clear from the verse he utters: "Every householder

[1] पातालवासं निगलपद्यावदृष्ट *Māl.*, pp. 64, 79.
[2] P. K. Acharya: *Indian Architecture*, p. 58.
[3] पातालवासं *Māl.*, p. 64.
[4] Ch. I. 435-54.
[5] *Raghu.*, VII. 19.
[6] Ibid., VI. 20.
[7] *Śāk.*, *Māl.*; *Raghu.*, VI. 20, 26, 82.
[8] वेत्रग्रहणे *Raghu.*, VI. 26, वेत्रमूदा 82.
[9] Bk., I. Ch. 20.
[10] Ch. II. 371-72.
[11] *Raghu.*, VII. 19.

in early age, strives to obtain wealth; and when his burden (of the cares of his family) is taken off by his sons, he can enjoy rest; but our old age, daily wasting the body, is locked up in servitude. Alas! hard is the duty of serving in the harem[1]." As it will be evident from the above quotation the Chamberlain was also entrusted with the care and service of the ladies. His office in this respect seems to have been analogous to that of the *Antarvaṁsika* of the *Arthaśāstra*[2] and the *Striyadhyakṣa-Mahāmātra* of the Aśokan edict[3]. He was the head of the palace establishment in token of which he carried a golden staff[4] (*hemavetra*, golden cane).

Dauvārika[5] we have already discussed above. He is enumerated, as we have seen elsewhere, in Kauṭilya's list as 'the Lord Mayor of the Palace[6],' one of the eighteen heads of departments of State. We are not sure if he was independent of the *Kañcuki*. But being mostly in charge of the great gates of the palace, and controlling the entrance and exit of the palace, as his designation suggests, he could not be independent or even coordinate in authority with the Chamberlain. He was evidently subordinate to him in office. The context shows that he was certainly a much lesser officer than his predecessor and prototype of the *Arthaśāstra*, although his importance cannot be underrated, since it was under his supervision, watch and vigilance, that the gates of the palace closed and opened and business passed within and without through them. Life-like standing figures of a Dauvārika, cut in high relief in stone, in the doorway, bearing a staff, may be witnessed among the exhibits of the Curzon Museum of Archaeology at Muttra. *Dauvārikī*[7], his female counterpart in office, served in the royal harem, in the manner of the Pratihāra who assisted the kañcukì in the harem in the discharge of his duties.

Police

The Chief police officer of the town seems to have been the Nāgarika who was connected with the work of the police within the precincts of the city. Nāgarika, the Nāgaraka of the *Arthaśāstra*, was perhaps like the Koṣṭapāla of later times, the head of the establishment of the guards of the city. We find this official in the *Śākuntala* leading[8] a criminal to the Court of Justice with the help of his guards (*rakṣiṇaḥ*). In the *Vikramorvaśī* also he is connected with the city administration. There again he is entrusted with the work of police by the king who commands him to 'hunt after the winged offender (a bird which had flown away with a gold chain of the king) when at eve' it goes to its resting place.[9] There the term Nāgarika has been used in the plural number to

[1] *Vik.*, III. 1.
[2] Bk., V. Ch. II.
[3] Rock Edict No. XII.
[4] *Ku.*, III. 41.
[5] *Śāk.*, p. 62.
[6] *Hindu Polity*, Part II. p. 133.
[7] *Raghu.*, VI. 59.
[8] *Śāk.*, pp. 182-186.
[9] *Vik.*, p. 124 मद्वचनादुच्यन्तां नागरिकाः सायं निवासवृक्षाग्रे विचीयतां विहगाधमः। Cf. *Śāk.*, V. नागरिकवृत्त्या संज्ञापयैनाम् also सुष्ठु आर्य नागरिकः खल्वसि।

denote the whole establishment of the city administration. The reference by the king to the Nāgarika of the *Vikramorvaśī* suggests an officer of a higher grade than one who is referred to in the *Śākuntala*. This latter strikes one as a petty officer, perhaps placed immediately over the guards.

The guards who follow the Nāgarika of the *Śākuntala* are a typical set of constables much similar in mind and action to the modern policeman. The hands of one of them itch to fasten the flowers of death to the head of an alleged criminal.[1] But when the same is acquitted with rewards one of them eyes the money 'with envy'[2] and remarks cunningly with words pregnant with meaning that the Nāgarika has well served the fisherman. The latter in his turn offers half of his reward to them 'for the price of flowers'[3] which is considered very legitimate and proper[4] by one of them, and on which the Nāgarika himself remarks: "Fisherman, great as you are, you have now become my dear friend. With liquor as its witness our first friendship is desired. So let us go to the liquor-seller's shop itself.[5]" From the passage quoted above it becomes evident that the integrity of the police was not high. Tips, though not bribes, were not only freely accepted but even courted by the police who were moreover addicted to the habit of drinking.

But, nevertheless, one fact must be borne in mind, and it is that the constables were very stern in their treatment with the fisherman, the supposed criminal, before a verdict of the court had been passed against him, so much so that they had been threatening him with a capital punishment. They did not accept bribe to the detriment of the aims of justice. The money accepted from the fisherman is not a bribe as it is received out of a reward money only when a verdict of not guilty has been passed, and not as a conditional stipulation before the hearing of the case. The ends of justice could not have suffered on account of such tips for they came to the Nāgarika as a result of the liberated fisherman's pleasure rather than as that of his embarrassment.

Law and Justice

The king's schooling in the scriptures as well as treatises on polity gave him a thorough knowledge of law with the help of which he was expected to administer justice. The punishment of the criminals 'in proportion to their crimes[6]' required of the king a sharp grasp of the judicial laws[7] which alone could give him an idea of the legal remedies in proportion to crimes. The king was the protector (*Goptā*) of his people and he applied law to the ends of justice. He was not the fountain of law but only its administrator as we find no refer-

[1] प्रस्फुरतो मम हस्तावस्य वधार्थं सुमनसः पिनद्धुम् *Śāk.*, p. 185.

[2] असूयया पश्यति Ibid., p. 186.

[3] सुमनो मूल्यं Ibid., p. 187.

[4] एतावद्युज्यते Ibid., p. 188.

[5] धीवर, महत्तरस्त्वं प्रियवयस्क इदानीं मे संवृत्तः । कादम्बरीसखित्वमस्माकं प्रथमशोभितमिष्यते । तच्छौण्डिकापणमेव गच्छामः । Ibid.

[6] यथापराधदण्डानाम् *Raghu.*, I. 6.

[7] शास्त्रेष्वकुण्ठिताबुद्धिः Ibid., 19.

ence in the writings of Kālidāsa to the king being in any way connected with the making of law. Laws already existed before the king ascended his throne and in his coronation oath he promised to follow them. The coronation oath as embodied in the *Mahābhārata* reads: "Whatever law there is here and whatever is dictated by ethics and whatever is not opposed to politics I will act according to, unhesitatingly. And I will never be arbitrary.[1]" The *Sukranīti* enjoins upon the king to decide law suits according to the *Dharmaśāstra*.[2] He could not rise over the all-powerful Common Law of the Hindus. Besides the *Dharmaśāstras* and the treatises on polity there existed already the rājadharma taught in the Rājānuśāsanaparva of the *Mahābhārata*. We find a reference even in the *Jatakas*[3] to laws for kings inscribed on gold tablets. The king being the watchman of the *Varṇāśramadharma* of the social orders, was required to be wakeful to look to the proper career of the people as prescribed by the Varṇāśrama laws. He was to see that these laws were well observed and not transgressed, that like the chariot driven by an expert charioteer people did not leave the righteous path even so much as the breadth of a line and kept close to the line of conduct enjoined upon them by the *śāstras*.[4] The king, as chastiser of the wicked, was like Varuṇa, the God armed with the noose who also discharged a similar function.[5]

The art of government (*daṇḍanīti*) was the very science of punishment (*daṇḍanīti*). The penal law, therefore, was the very essence of administration. Criminals were to be chastised and brought to justice for the very existence of the State.[6] The system of punishment was a thorough and positive code of law in which punishment was graded according to the gravity of the offence.[7] The king governed his people with a mind free from passion and intoxication of power (*rajoriktamanaḥ*).[8] The effect of the *rajoguṇa* in a king is traceable in his whimsical, arrogant and vain, reckless and improper conduct. He was to act devoid of bias. The *Sukranīti* likewise observes that the king should look after law suits (*vyavahāras*) by freeing himself from danger and greed according to the dictates of the Dharmaśastras.[9] Holding the power of punishment in his hands, the king restrained (*niyamayasi*) those who had started on the illegal path (*vimārgaprasthitānām*), settled disputes (*praśamayasi vivādam*) and thus contributed to protection. It was thought that apparent friends were ganerally made when riches abounded but in the king was consummated the duty of an

[1] यश्चात्रधर्म्मो नियुक्तो दण्डनीतिव्यपाश्रयः ।
तमशङ्कः करिष्यामि स्ववशो न कदाचन ॥ Śānti Parva, (Cal.) LIX. 107; Kumbakonum, LVIII, 116.

[2] Ch. IV. Sec. V. 9-11.

[3] Vol. V. p. 125.

[4] *Raghu.*, I. 17.

[5] Ibid., II. 9.

[6] स्थित्यै दण्डयतो दण्डयान् Ibid., I. 25. नियमनदसतां IX. 6; अपराधीशासनीयः *Vik.*, p. 123.

[7] यथापराधदण्ड *Raghu.*, I. 6.

[8] राज्यं रजोरिक्तमनाः शशास Ibid., XIV. 85. Also cf *Śāk.*, VI. 23.

[9] Ch. IV. Sec. V. 9-11.

ever affectionate relative for the people.[1] The king sat in his Court of Justice along with his Minister for Law and Justice[2] and others as is evident from the word *asmābhiḥ* used in plural. The *Śukranīti* enjoins: "The king must never singly try the cases of two parties or hear their statements. Neither the wise king nor the councillors are ever to try in secret.[3]" It further says: "He should hear with the ministers the petitions and appeals of the people.[4]" The *Arthaśāstra* has a similar injunction for its king: "Accompanied by persons proficient in the three sciences (*trividyā*) but not alone....[5]" To this the *Śukranīti* adds that he should hear law suits attentively in company of the Chief Justice, Amātya, Brāhmaṇa and the Priest.[6]

The Court of Justice was situated in the outskirts of the palace[7] where the king sat at the proper time (*kāle*) marked out by the śāstra and looked into the business of the citizens.[8] It may be noted, as quoted elsewhere, that according to the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Daśakumāracarita*, the day of the king was divided into eight periods of which the second was assigned to the hearing of cases in appeals. The king sat in the seat of justice for a critical understanding of the nature of the business of the people[9] and to give his decision thereon. He himself looked with great vigilance into those intricate cases of plaintiffs and defendants, which, owing to their doubtful nature, necessarily demanded a careful scrutiny.[10]

The seat of justice was variously known as *Vyavahārāsana*,[11] *Dharmāsana*[12] and *Kāryāsana*. The term *vyavahārāsana* denotes the real capacity of the king as a dispenser of legal justice adjudicating on the points of law. *Vyavahāra* means law. "*Vyavahāra*," explains the *Śukranīti*, "is that which by discriminating the good from the evil, ministers to the virtues of both the people and the king and furthers their interests.[13]" It refers to the king sitting in his judicial capacity in business hours closing about the forenoon.[14] *Dharmāsana* signifies the righteous nature (*dharmakārya*)[15] of the work of justice and *Kāryāsana* indicates an untiring zeal and work in the cause of justice. The law courts were much frequented and the phrases *aviralajanasamṗāta*[16] and *janākīrṇam*[17] strikingly sug-

[1] *Śāk.*, V. 8.
[2] मद्वचनात् etc., ibid., p. 198, quoted *ante*.
[3] Ch. IV. Sec. V. 12-13.
[4] Ch. I. 166.
[5] Bk., I. Ch. XIX.
[6] Ch. IV. Sec. V. 9-11.
[7] *Vik.*, p. 26.
[8] स पौरकार्याणि समीक्ष्य काले *Raghu.*, XIV. 24.
[9] Ibid., XVII. 39, प्रकृतीमवेक्षितु व्यवहारासनमाददे Ibid., VIII. 18.
[10] Ibid., XVII. 39.
[11] Ibid., VIII. 18.
[12] *Vik.*, pp. 26, 30; *Śāk.*, pp. 154, 198.
[13] Ch. IV. Sec. V. 7-8.
[14] *Śāk.*, p. 154, V. 4, 5.
[15] Ibid., p. 154.
[16] *Vik.*, p. 26.
[17] Ibid.

gest the scene presented by a modern court of law where the tide of the litigant people was ever swelling.

Criminal Law

Kālidāsa refers to a rather severe code of penal law. According to the criminal code as evidenced in the writings of the poet the offence of theft was punishable with death.[1] The fisherman of the *Śākuntala* was accused of theft alone, although of royal jewel, and yet he was considered doomed to destruction by means of either a stake, dogs or vultures.[2] The capital punishment for theft is much in keeping with the Code of Manu[3] where a similar punishment for theft has been laid down. The same was the case in England down to the eighteenth century. The *Arthaśāstra* also directs capital punishment for simply entering a goldsmith's workshop.[4] The death sentence was executed by impaling[5] the condemned person and then throwing the remains of his body to be devoured by vultures[6] or dogs.[7] Before the execution it was customary to decorate the doomed criminal with flowers.[8] Murder was legally punishable with death.[9] Before execution, orders or royal writs[10] were necessary to be issued and passed to the proper authorities conducting the execution.

From the above record it would appear that the penal code was severe and legal penalties of criminal breaches of law were harsh. From a scene in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* it may be inferred that even women offenders could be put in fetters.[11] Despite the severity of the criminal law thieves[12] (*pāṭaccara*) and burglars[13] (*gaṇḍabhedakāḥ*) and waylayers were not unknown and the poet's assertion that theft, not being in practice was to be found in books alone,[14] is sadly exposed to criticism unless it be supposed to refer to an ancient regime, which it does. A verse[15] in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* warrants the existence of waylayers who used to waylay even armed merchants with their superior forces. "There appeared a host of waylayers," says the narration, "bow in hand and shouting, whose chests were covered with the quiver-straps, who wore plumes of peacocks' feathers that hung down to their ears and who were irresistible

[1] यमसदनं प्रविश्य प्रतिनिवृत्तः *Śāk.*, p. 186. वधार्यं 185 आत्मनोवधमर्हता *Vik.*, V. 1.
[2] शूलादवतार्य *Śāk.*, p. 187 गृध्रबलिर्भविष्यसि शुनोमुखं वा द्रक्ष्यसि Ibid., p. 186.
[3] *Manusmṛti*, VIII.
[4] Bk., II. Ch. 13.
[5] शूलादवतार्य *Śāk.*, p. 187.
[6] Ibid., p. 186.
[7] Ibid.
[8] वधार्थं सुमनसः पिनद्धुम् Ibid., p. 185.
[9] इत्थं गते गतघृणः किमयं विधत्ता वध्यस्तवेत्यभिहितो वसुधाधिपेन *Raghu.*, IX. 81.
[10] पत्रहस्तोराजशासनम् *Śāk.*, p. 186.
[11] निगलपद्धावदृष्ट *Māl.*, p. 64 निगलबन्धनेन कृता p. 79.
[12] *Śāk.*, p. 183.
[13] Ibid., p. 184.
[14] श्रुतौ तस्करतास्थिता *Raghu.*, I. 27.
[15] *Māl.*, V. 10.

at the first onset.[1]" The picture, it may be observed, is one of a frontier robbery.

The severity of the criminal law, however, may be easily explained. Kālidāsa was depicting the deeds of an age considered very ancient even in his times and themes of these deeds were naturally drawn from the epics. Therefore, in order to save himself and to rise above the possible anachronism, he has tried to apply to the old conditions the system of law as codified in the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* and the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*. That is why he repeatedly returns to the treatises on polity and law already considered old in his time and perhaps only partially in practice. Otherwise the award of capital punishment for the crime of theft would be preposterous and highly irreconcilable when read along with his patronising injunctions like the following: "Whoever imposes severe punishment becomes repulsive to the people, while he who awards mild punishment becomes contemptible.[2]" Thus he enjoins upon the king to take a middle course as regards the award of criminal punishment. His ideal in criminal punishment is *yathāparādhadaṇḍa* the sense of which would be entirely lost if we think that he is betraying himself and his times while depicting some of the older tales in his narratives. The suggestion of capital punishment might have been made in way of an irony and a satire on the older systems of law and punishments, which were indeed very disproportionate to the offence, and the irony of the poet depicting the severity of the archaic administration must have been appreciated by the public witnessing the play.

Prison

The prison[3] was located in an underground dungeon, as is evident from the phrase *pātālavāsam*,[4] in an out of the way part of the royal palace. We have already seen that the *Mālavikāgnimitra* and the *Mānasāra* refer to the existence of the prison in the outskirts of the palace. We have a reference to chains and cellers in the phrases *nigalapadyā*[5] and *nigalabandhane*[6].

Civil Law

There are comparatively fewer references to civil law in the writings of Kālidāsa. One singularly positive reference to it may be read in the *Śākuntala* Act VI, where the king orders his Minister for justice to look into the cases filed to him by the citizens[7] and then to submit a report thereon to him. The Minister reports to him the only case[8] heard that day due to the heaviness of business as follows:—

"A leading merchant named Dhanamitra, carrying on business by sea,

[1] Ibid.
[2] न खरो न च भूयसा मृदुः *Raghu.*, VIII. 9.
[3] कारागृह *Raghu.*, VI. 40.
[4] *Māl.*, p. 64.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid., p. 79.
[7] p. 198, text quoted *ante*.
[8] *Śāk.*, p. 219, text quoted *ante*.

died in a shipwreck. And childless, they say, is the poor man. His store of wealth goes to the king."

After reading the document the king orders the Minister to enquire if some one among his wives is quick with child. On enquiry it is learnt that one of Dhanamitra's wives has had her *Puṁsavana* ceremony performed only recently. The king orders the Minister to restore the property of Dhanamitra to his family with the remark that 'surely the foetus deserves the paternal property.[1]' The above quotation also incidentally shows that a regular record of tried cases was kept. This evidence is by no means peculiar to Kālidāsa The *Jātakas*,[2] refer to them in their phrase—*Viniścaya-Pustaka.*

Right of Inheritance of the Widow

From the above document it appears that the property of a deceased person in the absence of a male heir lapsed to the treasury of the Crown. It also appears that a widow had no right to inherit in her own right the property of her husband. The Minister had probably made enquiries as to whether Dhanamitra had a male issue, and on learning that he had none had decided that his large fortune should lapse to the Crown. Kālidāsa is rather hasty in his description regarding the devolution of wealth inasmuch as he purports to dispossess a widow without male child of all her property in favour of the Crown. As a matter of fact, almost all the Smṛtis make the king recepient of a man's wealth only when a long list of reversioners is exhausted. Thus Nārada[3] would give the king this right only in the absence of all—a son, a daughter, a daughter's son, sakulyas, bāndhavas, and sajātis. Vasiṣṭha[4], Yājñavalkya[5] and Viṣṇu[6] are even more exacting and they introduce after the list of the six kinds of dayādas even the ācārya and his pupils before the wealth of the deceased can be appropriated by the king. Nārada[7] gives the widow only the right to maintenance and that also on the condition that she remains chaste and keeps the bed of her deceased husband undefiled. It is further significant that Yājñavalkya[8], Viṣṇu[9] and Bṛhaspati[10] make the widow the first rightful successor to the property of her deceased husband. Bṛhaspati takes a very strong position in favour of the widow. He says that the widow is the acknowledged half of her husband's body (*śarīrādha*[11]), and so when the husband dies half of his body lives in the form of his widow. And when it is so, how can, he asks, any body get over the rights of the half-living husband ?[12] He asserts that in the presence of all the dayādas it is the chaste widow who

[1] ननु गर्भः पित्र्यं रिक्थमर्हति—Ibid.
[2] Vol. III. p. 292.
[3] *Nāradadharmaśāstra*, Dāyabhāga, Trayodasa Vyavahārapada, 50-51.
[4] *Vasiṣṭhadharmaśāstra*, 17th Adhyāya, 81-82.
[5] *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, Dāyabhāga Prakaraṇa, 8, 135-36.
[6] Quoted in the commentary on ibid.
[7] *Nāradadharmaśāstra*, Dāyabhāga, 13, 26.
[8] Dāyabhāga, 8, 135.
[9] Quoted in the Commentary on ibid.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid. शरीरार्धं स्मृता भार्या
[12] जीवत्यर्धशरीरेऽर्धं कथमन्यः समाप्नुयात् ॥ Ibid.

is the rightful successor[1] of all the movable and immovable property[2]. Further, he enjoins upon the king to deal with all the kinsmen of the deceased as one does with thieves if they stand in her way to inheritance[3].

Evidence

In matters of evidence due care was taken to enquire into the environments and conduct of a witness. A virtuous witness was naturally given preference over a deceitful one as may be inferred from the ironical remark[4] of a character in the *Śākuntala:* The statement of the person, who since his birth has never been taught deceit, is without authority; let those forsooth, by whom the deceiving of others is studied as a science, be of authoritative words!

The person with whom a part of the stolen property was found was compelled to restore the whole. This procedure was adopted in connection with the location of stolen property. The idea was that "he with whom a portion (of the stolen property) is discovered must restore the whole of what is claimed[5]." In the illustration the stand taken is on legal ground. A thief is forced by law to restore the whole when a part is recovered from his custody; the presumption is that he must have stolen the whole of it.

The above record of dispensing justice is remarkable. The anxiety of the king for his subjects was admirable. He proclaimed that he was to be taken assuredly for a relative that may have been lost by any of his subjects[6]. Such was his zeal for their welfare! There was the idea of *bandhutva* in regular practice. The same idea (*bandhurivaprajānām*) is embodied in a phrase used with respect to Bandhuvarmā, a vassal of Kumāra Gupta[7]. The same inscription at another place refers to the members of a guild as beloved by kings as their own sons (*sutavatpratimānitāḥ*[8]). When the king was so wakeful in administering justice to the people and awarding adequate punishment to the criminals and legal remedy and relief to the wronged, there could indeed be little chance of crimes to prosper in the land. The diseases supposed to take their rise from the perpetration of social crimes would vanish (*janapade na gadaḥ*)[9]. Peace and prosperity would naturally prevail in the kingdom, and the following enthusiastic acclamation of a certain ideal ruler by the poet would not be far from truth: "When he was reigning over the earth, even the breeze—did not dare disturb the garments of

[1] ०पत्नी तद्धनहारिणी ibid.

[2] जंगमं स्थावरं हेमं रूप्यधान्यरसाबरम् ibid.

[3] चौरदण्डेन शासयेत् ibid.

[4] आजन्मनः शाठ्यमशिक्षितो यस्तस्याप्रमाणं वचनं जनस्य ।
परातिसधानमधीयते यैर्विद्येति ते सन्तु किलाप्तवाचः ॥ *Śāk.*, V. 25.

[5] यदि हंसगता न ते नतभ्रूः सरसो रोधसि दृक्पथं प्रिया मे ।
मदखेलपद कथं नु तस्याः सकल चोरगतं त्वयागृहीतम् ॥ *Vik.*, IV. 32.
also of हंस प्रयच्छ मे कान्तां गतिरस्यात्वयाहृता ।
विभावितैकदेशेन देयं यदभियुज्यते ॥ ibid., 33.

[6] *Śāk.*, VI. 23.

[7] Mandasor St. Ins. of Kumāra Gupta and Bandhuvarmā, verse 26.

[8] Ibid., verse 15.

[9] *Raghu.*, IX. 4.

drunken women fallen asleep on half the way to pleasure ground.[1]" The rule of the paradise, therefore, was aptly considered as nothing but a prosperous reign[2].

Finance

The income of the State was brought to the office of accounts, chequed and treasured under the supervision of the Minister in charge of the Department of Revenue[3]. The *Arthaśāstra* mentions a department of Accounts and deals with it at length in a chapter entitled the 'Business of keeping up Accounts in the office of Accounts[4].'' The Mauryan King Aśoka also refers in one of his edicts[5] to a department of *Gaṇanā* which very probably was in existence.

The sources of the State revenue as mentioned by Kālidāsa may be discussed under the following heads: 1. Land Revenue; 2. Irrigation; 3. Excise; 4. State monopolies and other activities; 5. Taxes; 6. Conquests; 7. Presents and tributes; and 8. Lapses of property to the Crown.

Land Revenue

The State claimed one sixth of the produce of land from the people in return of the protection that it gave to their person and property[6]. "Protecting asceticism from obstacles and wealth from robbers the king was made the enjoyer of one sixth of their earnings respectively by the Āśramas and the different castes according to their respective capacities[7]." The *Śākuntala* makes the king enjoy a *bhāgadheyam*[8], which signifies a tax. The word is formed by the addition of *dheya* to *bhāga* without any change of meaning. Bhāga has been explained by Kauṭilya[9] in the sense of portion of land produce payable to the government. Manu lays down that if a king protected his subjects well, he would receive a sixth[10] part from them. He also lays down that a king should receive from his subjects a sixth, eighth or twelfth part of the crops, according to the fertility of the soil[11]. The *Sukranīti* is more severe and recommends a realization of one-third, one-fourth or one-half from places which are irrigated by tanks, canals and wells, by rains and by rivers, respectively[12]. It advocates the realization of one-sixth from barren and rocky soils[13]. "Both the customary receipts

[1] *Raghu.*, VI. 75.
[2] ०रिद्धं हि राज्यं पदमैन्द्रमाहु: Ibid., II. 50.
[3] Vide *ante* where Council of Ministers are discussed.
[4] Book II. Ch. 7.
[5] परिसा पि युते आञपयिसति गणनायं हेतुतो च व्यंजनतो च the Fourteen Rock Edicts, III. Girnar.
[6] षष्ठांशमुर्व्या इव रक्षितायाः *Raghu.*, II, 66, Cf. also Ibid., V. 8, XVII. 65; *Śāk.*, p. 76, II. 13, V. 4.
[7] तपो रक्षन्स विघ्नेभ्यस्तस्करेभ्यश्च सपदः ।
यथा स्वमाश्रमैश्चक्रे वर्णैरपि षडंशभाक् । *Raghu.*, XVII. 65.
[8] Act. II.
[9] *Arthasāstra*, Book II. Ch. VI.
[10] सर्वतो धर्म षड्भागो राज्ञो भवति रक्षत: *Manusmṛti*, VII.
[11] Ibid., 130.
[12] Ch. IV. Sec. II. 227-229.
[13] Ibid., 230.

of a king," says Nārada, "and what is called the sixth part of the produce of the soil, form the royal revenue, the reward for the protection of his subjects[1]." Kālidāsa, however, suggests the principle of the sixth part. This he calls the sustenance or the living allowance (*vṛttiḥ*) of the sovereign[2]. Land revenue was the first and foremost source of income which was rather strictly realized. Its collection was so thorough that symbolically even the spiritual earnings of the hermits in the penance groves were not spared and at one place it has been said that the wealth which arose from the castes or social orders was perishable but the foresters indeed paid the state the sixth part of their penance, which was imperishable.[3] As a matter of fact, we have a reference showing that even ascetics paid in kind their dues of the land produce, and it has been said that the sixth part of the rice collected by the ascetics due from them to the king was placed on the bank of the river to be taken away by the royal officers[4]. The principle of realizing land revenue from even the ascetics has been accepted by the *Arthaśāstra* as well, as will be evident from the following extract quoted from it: "Fed by this payment, kings took upon themselves the responsibility of maintaining the safety and security of their subjects (*yogakṣemāvahāh*), and of being answerable for the sins of their subjects when the principle of levying just punishments and taxes has been violated. Hence hermits, too, provide the king with one-sixth of the grains gleaned by them, thinking that 'it is a tax payable to him who protects us[5]'." From the above discussion it follows that the taxes had been fixed by law, both by treatises on polity and by the sacred common law. There could not thus be a tussle between the king and his people on the point of taxation and both could refer to the established laws if an occasion wanted it. The *Śukranīti* asserts that "God has made the king, though master in form, the servant of the people, getting his wages (sustenance) in taxes for the purpose of continuous protection and growth[6]."

Irrigation

We have a reference to *setu*,[7] which, among other things, meant irrigation works which, to explain in the terms of *Arthaśāstra*, were the source of crops; the results of a good shower of rain are attained in the case of crops below irrigational works[8]. Since the mainstay of the State income was the land revenue the maintenance of a system of irrigation was quite in the fitness of things. It may have been maintained for a further realization of revenue and for an increase of the grain produce. It must be remembered that the revenue of land was not fixed and so with the increase in the grass produce the king's revenue, which was one-sixth of the land produce, also proportionately increased. This reference of

[1] Nārada, XVIII. 48 (Jolly).
[2] *Śāk.*, V. 4.
[3] Ibid., II. 13.
[4] नीवारषष्ठभागमस्माकमुपहरन्त्विति Ibid., p. 76. Cf. तान्युञ्छषष्ठाङ्कितसैकतानि *Raghu.*, V. 8.
[5] अन्यद्भागधेयमेतेषां रक्षणे निपतति *Śāk.*, p. 76.
[6] Ch. I. 375.
[7] सेतुर्वातगिजबन्ध *Raghu.*, XVI. 2.
[8] *Arthaśāstra*, Book VII. Ch. 14.

Kālidāsa to a system of irrigation may be corroborated by the *Arthaśāstra* and by facts from history. The *Arthaśāstra*[1] notices such a department as of irrigation yielding revenue, and Megasthenes[2], the Greek ambassador at the court of the Mauryan emperor Candragupta, makes a mention of it in his description of the Mauryan administration.

Excise

Although there is no evidence in Kālidāsa of a tax levied on liquor shops, their existence in a large number is attested to by him. He refers to them as a common sight by the side of streets[3]; and it cannot be imagined that such a source of income should have been left untaxed when we find the realization of revenue to have been so thorough as not to exempt even the ascetics. It may be noted in this connection that the *Arthaśāstra*[4] makes them yield enormous revenue, where it also gives directions as to how liquor shops should be decorated in order to attract notice and to give comfort to their customers.

State Monopolies and Other Undertakings

The construction of bridges and running of ferry, farming, rearing of cattle and catching of elephants[5] were the chief State monopolies which yielded much income. Mines, which were exhaustively dug, appear to have been very rich in minerals[6]. They were so important a source of revenue in ancient India that the *Arthaśāstra* devotes a full chapter[7] to them and says that they 'are the source of whatever is useful in battle.'[8] Elephants also must have yielded considerable income in the market of ivory after they had been utilized for the military purposes of the State. They might have been even sold alive. The *Arthaśāstra* considers elephant forests as a source of elephants and as such advocates their preservation[9].

Several other undertakings of the State brought no less income to the coffers of the Crown. Construction of bridges[10] (*setu*), keeping of pasture lands and rearing of the cattle (*vārtā*) were some other profitable engagements of the State. Bridges might have yielded an income in the shape of ferries, and if we care to explain the phrase *setu* in light of the interpretation given by the *Arthaśāstra* on *setubandha*, we can derive from it the sense of 'building of any kind[11].' There might have been a nominal tax on the grazing of cattle in almost free State pastures which the *Arthaśāstra* considers to be the source of cows, horses and camels

[1] Ibid., Book II. 24.
[2] *E. H. I.*, p. 140.
[3] *Śāk.*, p. 188.
[4] Book II. Ch. 25.
[5] सेतुवातगिजबन्धमुख्यै: *Raghu.*, XVI. 2.
[6] Ibid., XVII. 66, XVIII. 22. III. 18; *Māl.*, V. 18.
[7] Book II. Ch. 12.
[8] Book. VII. Ch. 14.
[9] Ibid.
[10] *Ku.*, VII. 34.
[11] Book. III. Ch. 8.

to draw chariots[1]. *Vārtā* may be properly explained in the light of the *Arthaśāstra*, which says: "Agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade constitute *vārtā*. It is most useful in that it brings in grains, cattle, gold, forest produce (*kupya*), and free labour. It is by means of the treasury and the army obtained solely through *vārtā* that the king can hold under his control both his and his enemy's party[2]." The *Śukranīti* offers almost the same explanation of vārtā. "In Vārtā," it says, "are treated interest, agriculture, commerce and preservation of cows[3]." It appears that the government had also some *Nazul* land which they caused to be farmed[4] and which formed one of the State undertakings.

Taxes

Trade and commerce by land and sea flourished and great commercial magnates, *naigamas*[5] and *sārthavāhas*[6], paid sumptuously to their lord whose protection of the trade routes had made the transit of the articles of merchandise from and to different corners of the country possible and safe. The princely merchants poured streams of wealth[7] (*dhārāsāro*) into the coffers of the State, both in way of presents—the *nazara* of later times—and in that of levies on merchandise. As regards taxes on merchandise Kālidāsa does not specifically refer beyond the fact that the traders yielded much wealth to the government. This could be only in the two ways mentioned above. The *Arthaśāstra*[8] details the taxes on items of merchandise, and so does the *Śukranīti*[9]. Customs and octroi duties may have formed levies on the inland trade and they would have been included in these on the merchandise for Kauṭilya[10] refers to these also.

Conquests

Enormous riches were obtained through conquests[11]. Conquerors overran the country and realized horses[12], elephants[13], heaps of gold[14] and other precious presents.[15].

[1] Book. VII. Ch. 14.
[2] Book. I. Ch. 4.
[3] Ch. I, 311-12.
[4] क्षेत्रैःसस्यं *Raghu.*, XVII. 66. On the various undertakings of the State Kāmandaka quoted by the commentator, has the following:—

कृषिर्वाणिक्यपथो दुर्गं सेतुः कुञ्जरबन्धनम् ।
खन्याकरधनादान शून्याना च निवेशनम् ॥
अष्टवर्गमिम साधुः स्वय वृद्धोऽपि वर्धते ॥

[5] धारासारोपनयनपरा नैगमाश्चाम्बुवाहाः *Vik.*, IV. 13.
[6] *Śāk.*, p. 219; *Raghu.*, XVII. 64.
[7] *Vik.*, IV. 13, text quoted *ante*.
[8] Book. V. Ch. II.
[9] Ch. IV. Sec. II.
[10] Book. V. Ch. II.
[11] Cf. *Raghu.*, IV.
[12] Ibid., IV. 70.
[13] Ibid., 83.
[14] Ibid., 70.
[15] Ibid., 84; महासाराणि रत्नानि etc., *Māl.*, pp. 88, 94.

Presents, technically known as *Upāyana*[1], came also from foreign powers and foiled adversaries who paid enormous tributes in money. Horses[2], elephants[3] and heaps of gold[4] are referred to have been received as presents from conquered and befriended rulers. Elephants[5] and precious stones were received from the land of Kāmarūpa[6]. The Pulindas of the Vindhyas, we read, brought presents[7] to Kuśa marching with his armies through the mountains. The presents received[8] by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Agnimitra from the king of Vidarbha may be instanced to give an idea of the articles which were generally received by an overlord or an equal independent ruler. They included, besides other articles, a body of servants consisting mainly of accomplished girls, costly jewels, vehicles, such as elephants, palanquins, chariots, horses, etc. These may be taken as an income of the king as against that enumerated above as income of the State. It may be mentioned here that we read of similar articles of presents received by Samudra Gupta during his conquests[9]. Another occasion on which presents were received by the king was his travel in the countryside when he was brought visually before his loving subjects[10].

Lapse of Property to the Crown

Last, but not the least source of income was the lapse of the property of a deceased citizen to the treasury of the Crown in the absence of a male heir. A document containing all information regarding such a case as one described in the *Śākuntala*, Act VI, was prepared by the Minister in charge of the department and sent to the king for his perusal and sanction for attachment[11]. Large fortunes may have in this way lapsed to the Crown.

Payment in Cash or Kind

Revenue could be paid either in cash or kind. The reference to one-sixth of the land produce as land revenue renders it clear that it could be paid in kind. It could be paid in cash as well. In the report of the Minister there is a reference to the 'calculation of a collection of treasury[12],' i.e. revenue received from various quarters. The counting of money may point to the payment of revenue in cash or to an auditing of accounts of the revenue received in both cash and kind. Octroi duties and levies on merchandise, etc., may have been paid in cash.

[1] उपायन *Raghu.*, IV. 79, XVI. 32, IV. 84; *Māl.*, pp. 88, 94.
[2] *Raghu.*, IV. 70.
[3] Ibid., 83.
[4] Ibid., 70.
[5] Ibid., IV. 83.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid., XVI. 32.
[8] महासाराणि रत्नानि वाहनानि शिल्पकारिकाभूयिष्ठं परिजनमुपायनीकृत्य *Māl.*, p. 88 (referred to again in Ibid,. p. 94).
[9] Allahabad Pillar Inscription.
[10] हैयंगवीनमादाय घोषवृद्धानुपस्थितान् *Raghu.*, I. 45.
[11] *Śāk.*, p. 219.
[12] अर्थजातस्य गणना Ibid.

We find mention of gold coins (*Suvarṇa*) made by Kālidāsa in his writings as we shall see later.

The end of Revenue

Taxes (*bali*[1]) were levied and revenue realized from the people for their own benefit. Their realization never contemplated the personal comforts of the king. The budget of the State was so adjusted that the people derived benefit (*prajānāmevabhūtyartham*) from it in a thousand ways. The sun draws water from the earth, affirms the poet, only to restore it to her a thousand times as much. The king no less a benefactor, must act in the manner of the sun[2]. The degree to which this theory was actually put in practice is not quite evident and we may suppose that it may have differed with the types of kings, despotic or benevolent, or with the strength or weakness of ministers asserting in the popular cause. The reference is perhaps made to the various works of public utility on which the revenues were mostly spent.

Salary

There were several items of expenditure as well. Most of the public works were charged on the income. The administration, caprices of the kings, salaries of officials were all outlets of expenditure. Officials of the State drew regular salaries and we have one chapter of the *Arthaśāstra*[3] devoted to the discussion of the Civil List. The king himself has been indirectly referred to in a similar context as drawing a *vetana*[4]. This is in accordance with *Āpastamba*, who says that the king's salary must not exceed that of the Amātyas or Gurus[5]. Of other officials receiving monthly salary we have direct evidence regarding the teachers of fine arts[6] and Purohita[7]. If the latter was a member of the Council of Ministers he must have drawn a huge pay as mentioned by Kauṭilya[8].

King's Ownership in Land

The king's right to the sixth portion of the produce of land, exercised unsparingly, and the lapse of property to the crown, point to his ownership in the soil of his territory, although Kālidāsa has frequently referred to the king's claim to the land revenue as one in lieu of protection (*rakṣā sadṛśameva bhuḥ*).

Treasury

The government treasury was rich and means were adopted to fill it, for it

[1] *Raghu.*, I. 18.
[2] प्रजानामेव भूत्यर्थं स ताभ्यो बलिमग्रहीत् ।
सहस्रगुणमुत्स्रष्टुमादत्ते हि रसं रवेः ॥ Ibid.
[3] Book V. Ch. 3.
[4] दिदेश वेतनं तस्मै रक्षासदृशमेव भूः ॥ *Raghu.*, XVII. 66.
[5] गुरूनमात्यांश्च नातिजीवेत् *Dharmasūtra*, II. 9, 25, 10.
[6] किं मुधा वेतनदानेनैतेषाम् *Māl.*, p. 17.
[7] दक्षिणां मासिकीं पुरोहितस्य Ibid., p. 87.
[8] *Arthaśāstra*, Book V. Ch. 3.

was considered one of the most important limbs[1] (*aṅgāḥ*) of the State. It had its own employees and keepers[2]. We read of wealth being carried by hundreds of mules (*vāmi*) and camels[3] (*uṣṭra*) from the royal treasury, actually counted at fourteen crores[4] of coins in one case.

Coinage

The age of Kālidāsa witnessed extensive trade and commerce both by land and sea for which the existence of an advanced and elaborate system of coinage has to be presupposed. The revenues except that from land itself, as has been seen above, were mostly paid to the government in terms of cash, and the Minister for Revenue received from the various quarters of the empire the collection of treasures which he counted[5] The counting of fourteen crores[6] of wealth itself cannot yield any sense unless we understand it in terms of coins. Then, besides, we find reference in the writings of Kālidāsa to *niṣka*[7] and *suvarṇa*[8] which were the current coins of his times. It may be noted that the latter circulated in the currency of the Imperial Guptas[9]. The *Amarakośa*[10] equates *niṣka* with a *dīnāra* or Dinarius of the Romans. *Suvarṇa* was a coin of gold, generally sixteen *mashas* in weight. It seems to have been the legal tender of the age. Kālidāsa mentions no other coins except those made of gold, and consequently, we cannot gather directly from his writings whether silver or copper coins were also recognized as the legal currency of the land. We know from the coins of the imperial Guptas, however, that they were current in various types and were of gold, silver, copper and alloy[11].

Grant of Land

In this very context it will be proper to make a reference to the government grant of land to Brahmins which the poet mentions[12]. Such villages as were granted to them showed signs of Brahmanical possession in the form of the *yūpas*[13] or sacrificial posts to which animals were tied. It may be added that Kauṭilya[14] also advises such a grant. The grants by the Imperial Guptas and other dynasties of such villages which we come across in epigraphical records are too many to be recounted here.

[1] *Raghu.*, I. 60; Cf. *Amarakosa.* स्वाम्यमात्यसुहृत्कोशराष्ट्रदुर्गबलानि च.
[2] Ibid., V. 29.
[3] अथोष्ट्रवामी शतवाहितार्थं Ibid., 32.
[4] Ibid., 21.
[5] *Śāk.*, p. 219.
[6] *Raghu.*, V. 21.
[7] *Ku.*, II, 49; *Māl.*, p. 88.
[8] शतसुवर्ण *Māl.*, p. 88.
[9] *E. H. I.*, pp. 328-29. Also Cf. *Catalogue of Gupta Coins.*
[10] साष्टे शते सुवर्णानां हेम्न्युरोभूषणेपले । दीनारे च निष्कोऽस्त्री Quoted by the Commentator.
[11] *Vide* J. Allan: *Catalogue of Gupta Coins.*
[12] ग्रामेष्वात्मविसृष्टेषु *Raghu.*, I. 44 कुशावतीं श्रोत्रियसात्सकृत्वा Ibid., XVI. 25 ब्राह्मण इति कलयित्वा राजा परिग्रहोदत्तः *Śāk.*, p. 182.
[13] यूपचिह्नेषु यज्वनाम् *Raghu.*, I. 44.
[14] *Arthaśāstra*, Book, II. Ch. I.

The Army

The poet has referred at several places to the traditional four columned[1] army[2], namely, the infantry[3], cavalry,[4] chariots[5] and elephants.[6] But the reference to the chariots is only traditional because they, as a means of warfare, had become extinct long before the time of Kālidāsa. He alludes to the above divisions of the army to describe very ancient warfare, the rest three of course remained the means of fighting in India for a very long time after the poet. The poet has added to the traditional four divisions of army a fifth division, that of a fleet of warboats[7]. Countries inhabiting the sea coasts mainly depended upon their squadrons of ships for their defence (*nausādhanodyatān*). The people of the lower Ganges, in the delta formed by that river, defended themselves by means of their boats[8]. Particular countries utilized particular armies, of horses, elephants or boats as they suited them. The Persians[9] and Greeks,[10] for example, used cavalry, the people of Kaliṅga[11] or Orissa elephants and those of the lower Ganges[12] ships.

Kinds of Soldiers

The poet refers to the traditional six kinds of forces[13] or soldiers. He does not, however, mention them specifically. But on the strength of the *Amarakośa*[14], quoted by the commentator, the same may be enumerated and explained in the following manner: 1. *Maulas* or hereditary soldiers of the king; these have been referred to in the *Sukranīti*[15] also; 2. *Bhṛtyas* or those paid by the king; 3. *Suhṛts* or those who belong to the allies or are well disposed towards him; 4. *Śreṇīs* or forces furnished by the trade guilds in the State; the Mandasor Pillar Inscription refers to a few members of a Śreṇī or guild as skilled in the science of archery and valiant masters of the military art[16]; 5. *Dviṣads* or the forces of the kings inimically disposed towards his enemy; and 6. the *Āṭavikas* or the foresters. These last are cruel, rapacious and hardy, and therefore, best suited to lead an attack[17].

[1] चतुः स्कन्धेव *Raghu.*, IV. 30.
[2] सेना Ibid., IV. 32 चमू 30, पताकिनी 82, VII. 59, XI. 52; दंडचक्र *Māl.*, p. 11.
[3] पत्तिः पदाति *Raghu.*, VII. 36.
[4] पाश्चात्यः अश्वसाधनैः Ibid., IV. 62, 71; अश्वानीक *Māl.*, p. 102; *Raghu.*, VII. 36.
[5] *Raghu.*, I. 36, 39, 40, III. 42, IV. 30, 82, 85, VII. 36; *Vik.*, I. 5.
[6] *Raghu.*, IV. 29. गजसाधन 40, VI. 54, VII. 36
[7] नौसाधनोद्यतान् ibid., IV. 36, 31.
[8] Ibid.,
[9] Ibid., IV. 62.
[10] *Māl.*, p. 102.
[11] *Raghu.*, IV. 40.
[12] Ibid., IV. 36.
[13] Ibid., IV. 26, XVII. 67.
[14] मौल भृत्यः सुहृच्छ्रेणी द्विषदाटविकंबलम् ibid., IV. 26 (comment).
[15] Ch. IV. Sec. VII.
[16] Verses 16 and 17.
[17] *Hit.*, III. 96; *Kām. Nīti.*, VIII. 23.

Elephants, which made up one of the most important columns of the Indian army, were caught by the officers of the State from preserved forests[1]. Kauṭilya speaks of their great utility[2] and mentions Kaliṅga as one of the places from where they were mostly brought[3]. Kālidāsa, as we have already seen, associates elephants with the countries of Kāmarūpa[4] and Kaliṅga[5], the dense forests of which must have yielded large herds of them. Refractory elephants were held up by means of chains on their feet[6]. Horses were equally favoured. Pointed mention is made of the excellent breeds of horses licking salt[7] got from the countries of Vanāyu[8], i.e Arabia, and Kamboja[9]. Arabia is well known for the excellence of its steeds. The *Arthaśāstra*[11] also refers to Vanāyu horses. Kālidāsa speaks of horse stables and of a particular speed[12], perhaps gallop, of horse.

A comprehensive list of war implements can be made from the writings of the poet. We find very frequent references to *astra* and *śastra* which the *Śukranīti* explains as two distinct kinds of weapons. The former, it says, is one which is thrown or cast down by means of charms, machines, or fire, while the latter is any other weapon, for example, sword, dagger, etc[13]. The following offensive weapons[14] have been mentioned by him; *dhanus*[15] and *bāṇa*[16], *śūla*[17], *triśūla*, *sakti*[18], *vajra*[19], *paraśu*[20], *cakra*[21], *asi*[22], *bhindipāla*, *parigha*[23], *mudgara*[24], *hala*, *kṣurapra*[25],

[1] *Raghu.*, XVII. 66, XVI. 2.
[2] *Arthaśāstra*, Book II. Ch. 2.
[3] Ibid.
[4] *Raghu.*, IV. 83.
[5] Ibid., 40.
[6] त्रिपदी Ibid., 48, शृंखल V. 72.
[7] लेह्यानि सैन्धवशिलाशकलानि वाहाः Ibid., V. 73.
[8] वनायुदेश्याः Ibid.
[9] Ibid., IV. 69. सदश्वभूयिष्ठ Ibid., 70. Kamboja has been referred to by the *Arthaśāstra*, Book II. Ch. 30, also as yielding fine horses.
[10] Book II. Ch. 30.
[11] पटमण्डपेषु V. 73.
[12] Ibid., IX. 55.
[13] Ch. IV. Sec. VII. 381-82.
[14] आयुध *Raghu.*, VII. 52, 59.
[15] Ibid., II. 8, VII. 56, XI. 40, 43, 46, 72, IV. 62.
[16] Ibid., II. 31, III. 53, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 64, IV. 77, V. 55k VII. 38, 49, 59, IX. 72, XI. 29, 44, XII. 96, 103. XV. 24; *Ku.*, III. 27; *Vik.*, p. 127.
[17] *Raghu.*, XV. 5.
[18] Ibid., XII. 77.
[19] Ibid., IV. 68, XII. 79, XV. 22.
[20] Ibid., XI. 78.
[21] Ibid., VII. 46.
[22] Ibid., 68.
[23] Ibid., XII. 72.
[24] Ibid., 73.
[25] Ibid., IX. 62, XI. 29.

bhalla[1], *gadā*[2], *brahmāstra*[3], *gandharvāstra*[4] or *mohanāstra*,[5] *slings*,[6] *śataghnī*,[7] *khaḍga*[8], and *kūṭaśālmali*[9]. These were mostly the offensive weapons with which the army was equipped. The poet refers to the use of most of these after they have been enchanted[10] or poisoned.[11] These may now be explained.

Dhanus was made of a long flexible rod the ends of which were joined with a string called *jyā*[12] Kauṭilya refers to bows made of tāla (palmyra), of cāpa (a kind of bamboo), of dāru (a kind of wood), and śṛṅga (bone or horn respectively called kārmuka, kodaṇḍa, drūṇa, and dhanus[13]. It may be noted that the poet mentions all the above kinds of the bow except the drūṇa but without distinction. The *Arthaśāstra* likewise mentions bow strings as made of mūrva (Sansviera Roxburghiana), arka (Catotropis gigantea), śaṇa (hemp), gavedhu (Coix Barbata), veṇu (bamboo bark), and snāyu (sinew[14]). Hands marked with scars of the bow string were considered the sign of a great and tried warrior[15]. *Dhanurveda*[16] was one of the Upavedas and contained the science of warfare and the use of the bow and arrow. It was one of the items of study for the prospective soldier[17]. Arrows were of various kinds made of long cane or reed sticks with heavy and sharp ironpointed[18] blade-heads and feather-tails. "The edges of arrows," says the *Arthaśāstra*, "shall be so made of iron, bone or wood as to cut, rend or pierce."[19] The following sorts of arrows have been mentioned by the poet: one with the feather of a bird called *kaṅka*[20] or crow, and another with one of peacock[21]; a third kind was a long column-like[22] arrow, a fourth bore the form of a snake[23], a fifth had a point like the crescent moon[24] and a sixth that of an eagle[25]. Then there were arrows which formed a halo of radiating light as they were shot[26]. There

[1] Ibid., IV. 63, VII. 58, IX. 66.
[2] Ibid., VII. 52.
[3] Ibid., XII. 97.
[4] Ibid., VII. 61.
[5] Ibid., V. 57.
[6] क्षेपणीयाश्मनि Ibid., IV. 77.
[7] Ibid., XII. 95.
[8] Ibid., VII. 51.
[9] Ibid., XII. 95.
[10] Ibid., V. 59.
[11] सविषमिव शल्यं *Śāk.*, VI. 9.
[12] *Raghu.*, III. 59.
[13] *Arthaśāstra*, Book II. ch. XVIII.
[14] Ibid.
[15] *Raghu.*, XI. 40.
[16] *Vik.*, p. 128.
[17] गृहीतविद्यो धनुर्वेदे Ibid.
[18] *Raghu.*, V. 55.
[19] Book II. ch. XVIII.
[20] *Raghu.*, II. 31.
[21] Ibid., III. 56.
[22] Ibid., 53.
[23] Ibid., 57.
[24] Ibid., 59.
[25] Ibid., 57; cf. गरुत्मतं अस्त्रं XVI. 77. स्फुरत्प्रभामण्डलमस्त्रं Ibid., III. 60.

were those that bore a golden hue[1] and those again which had their points like the blade of a razor[2] (*kṣurapra*). These last have been referred to by the *Sukranīti* as well. These were high to the navel and had the lustre of the moon[3]. There were arrows or weapons which could pierce through an armour[4]. Soldiers of taste and position had their arrows inscribed with their names[5] or monograms[6]. The following example of such an inscription bearing the name of the owner may be quoted: "(This) arrow, a destroyer of enemies' lives, pertains to the bowman, prince Āyus, the son of Urvaśī and Aila."[7] Arrows were kept in a quiver[8].

Śūla was a pike and *triśūla* a trident. They were very like a spear or javelin. The difference between the two seems to have been that of blades. The former possessed only one blade point while the latter was furnished with three such points which had branched off like a fork. Both of these are known to the *Arthaśāstra* which classes the former among weapons with edges like a plough-share (*halamukhāni*[9]) while the latter among movable machines[10]. *Sakti* was a spear or javelin commonly used by a car-warrior. Made of iron it was plated with gold and adorned with bells.[11] It has been described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as furnished with eight bells, as giving out a frightful yell, as made full of art and guile by the wily Maya, as sure of aim, as destructive to the enemy's life, and as flying rapidly and leaving behind it a fiery track. It has been mentioned in both the Allahabad Pillar Inscription as well as the *Arthaśāstra*. The latter classes it with *halamukhāni*[12] and the commentator explains it as "A metallic weapon four hands long, and like the leaf of *karavīra* and provided with a handle like a cow's nipple."[13] *Vajra* was a thunderbolt, a kind of club made of iron.[14] *Paraśu* was the battle axe. It has been classed by the *Arthaśāstra* with the razor-like weapons[15] and the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta refers to it. *Cakra* was the discus and had diagonal bars in the middle and pointed projections on the periphery. The points of these projections were sharp like razor blades[16]. Kauṭilya[17] and Śukra,[18] like

[1] Ibid., 64.
[2] Ibid., IX. 62, XI. 29.
[3] *Śukranīti*, ch. IV. Sec. VII. 427.
[4] कंकटभेदि आयुधैः Ibid., VII. 59.
[5] स्वनामचिह्नं सायकं *Raghu.*, III. 55. बाणाक्षरैरेव परस्परस्य नामोर्जितं चावभृतः शशसुः Ibid., VII. 38. Ibid., XII. 103: *Ku.*, III, 27; *Vik.*, p. 127.
[6] स्वनामचिह्नं सायकं *Raghu.*, III. 55.
[7] उर्वशीसंभवस्यास्यमैलसूनोर्धनुष्मतः ।
कुमारस्यायुषो बाणः संहर्त्री द्विषदायुषाम् ॥ *Vik.*, V. 7.
[8] *Raghu.*, II. 30, VII. 56.
[9] Book, II. ch. XVIII.
[10] Ibid.
[11] *Mahābhārata*, VII. 106, 129.
[12] Book II. ch. XVIII.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid., (Commentator).
[15] Ibid.
[16] *Indo Aryans*, Vol. I. p. 312.
[17] *Arthaśāstra*, p. 102. [18] *Śukranītisāra*, p. 237.

Kālidāsa, regard it as a razor-like weapon, and, according to the latter, it was six cubits in circumference. The former places them among razór-like weapons. According to Vaiśampāyana it is a sort of circular disc with a quadrangular hole in the middle[1]. *Asi* was a long sword. *Bhindipāla* from all accounts[2] seems to have been a heavy rod thrown against the enemy like a missile. Its special work was 'battering, cutting, breaking, dealing strokes like those of the *laguḍa*[3] or stick. Both *asi* and *bhindipāla* have been mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription and the *Arthaśāstra*,[4] in the latter, with slight variation (*asiyaṣṭi*, perhaps a longer kind and *bhindivāla*). Kauṭilya classes *bhindivāla* among *halamukhāni*.[5] *Parigha*[6] was a club studded with iron-spikes.[7] *Mudgara* was a staff-hammer of iron. It has been classed by the *Arthaśāstra* with the movable machines.[8] *Hala*, like the plough-share, was an equally heavy weapon and must have been used in very early times. *Bhalla* was the spear or javelin-like weapon called *bhālā* in the Hindi vernacular. This name was also borne by a kind of arrow[9] because of its similarity in shape. *Gadā* was a club made of iron. It has been enumerated by the *Arthaśāstra* as one of the movable machines.[10] *Brahmāstra* was a missile never missing its object (*amogha*). It has been described as appearing like the body of the great serpent (*śeṣa*) wearing the ring of his formidable hood with its blazing points being divided into ten splinters in the sky[11]. *Gāndharvāstra* or *Mohanāstra* was supposed to be a 'prayoga' or hypnotic practice causing sleep. 'Prayoga' and 'Saṁhāra' signified the shooting or the thrusting back into the quiver of an arrow. Prayoga means repetition of a certain *mantra* to endow the arrow with a peculiar virtue which enables it to assume a particular form or to bring about a certain result; while *saṁhāra* the repetition of the counter *mantra* which takes away from the arrow the peculiar virtue it was endowed with and it becomes again an ordinary arrow. The initiation in this prayoga was effected by making the hero sip water with his face turned towards the north and then accept the *mantra*[12]. Slings were also used in warfare and Kālidāsa credits the mountaineers with much skill in throwing stones with slings[13]. Kauṭilya[14] refers to three classes of these, viz., *Yantrapāṣāṇa*, *Goṣpaṇapāṣāṇa* and *Muṣṭipāsāṇa*. *Sataghnī* is classed by some among immovable machines killing a hundred persons at a single discharge as the etymology of the word signifies. But most probably it was a club pierced with innumerable sharp iron

[1] *Oppert's Weapons*. Army Organization, etc.
[2] *J. A. O. S.*, XIII. p. 290; *Ram.*, pp. 1382, 1403; *Arth.*, p. 101; *Opport.*, p. 13.
[3] *Agni Purāṇa.*, p. 405.
[4] Book., II. ch. XVIII.
[5] Ibid.
[6] परिघ: परिघातिन: *Amarakośa* quoted by the commentator.
[7] Commentator. लोहबद्धकाष्ठानि यस्मिन्
[8] Book II. XVIII.
[9] *Raghu.*, IV. 67.
[10] Book II. ch. XVIII.
[11] *Raghu.*, XII. 98.
[12] Ibid., V. 59.
[13] Ibid., IV. 77.
[14] *Arthaśāstra*, Book II ch. XVIII.

spikes all round its surface, as the commentator explains, and it resembled the *Kūṭaśālmali* of Yama as the poet suggests through the simile. *Kūṭaśālmali*, literally, is the silk-cotton tree containing innumerable thorns on its surface but it was also the name of the particular arm of Yama[1], the god of death. Kauṭilya classes *Sataghnī* among the movable machines and the commentator explains it as "A big pillar with an immense number of sharp points on its surface and situated on the top of a fort wall[2]." *Khaḍga*, lastly, was a short sword.

Of the defensive weapons we read of the coat of mail[3], helmet[4] and steel gloves[5] protecting the body above the legs and below the neck, the head and the arms respectively. Of these the first two have been mentioned by the *Arthaśāstra*[6] and the first by the *Śukranīti*[7]. The stern days of warfare made the use of an armour necessary for the soldier, and this is why we find frequent mention of them in the writings of the poet. The strength to bear an armour was the sign of the beginning of youth[8].

Other Equipments of the Army

The army was supplied with other equipments besides weapons which were banners and ensigns[9], tents[10] and instruments of music[11]. Banners were the colours of the army and their number was so very preponderant that it derived one of its synonyms—*patākinī*[12]—from them. It seems that different ensigns belonged to different heroes. They were of various patterns like those of the fish[13] and the eagle[14] (*patrarathendra*).

Banners and Ensigns

The pattern which bore fish for its ensign was so contrived that its mouth easily opened by the force of the wind, and, receiving the dust of the army, it looked like a real fish drinking the new turbid waters[15]. The reference to the eagle banner is remarkable as this happened to be the flag of the Imperial Guptas which we learn from their inscriptions and coins[16]. Besides

[1] कूटशाल्मलिरिति व्युत्पत्त्या वैवस्वतगदाया गौणी संज्ञा Commentator.
[2] *Arthaśāstra*, Book II. ch. XVIII.
[3] वर्म *Raghu.*, VII. 48, VIII. 94, कङ्कट VII. 59; कवच *Vik.*, p. 131.
[4] शिरस्त्राण *Raghu.*, IV. 64, VII. 49, 57, 66.
[5] हस्तावाप *Śāk.*, p. 224.
[6] Book II. Ch. XVIII.
[7] Ch. IV. Sec. VII. 432-33.
[8] वर्महर *Raghu.*, VIII. 94; *Vik.*, p. 131. (कवचार्हः)
[9] ध्वजा *Raghu.*, III. 56, VII. 40, 60, IX. 45, XII. 85, केतु V. 42, VII. 65; *Śāk.*, I. 30, वैजयन्ती *Raghu.*, VI. 8.
[10] *Raghu.*, V. 41, 49, 63, 73, VII. 2, XI. 93, XIII, 79, XVI. 55, 73; *Vik.*, p. 121.
[11] तूर्य *Raghu.*, VII. 38, घण्टा 41, जलज 63, 64.
[12] Ibid., IV. 82.
[13] मत्स्यध्वजा Ibid., VII. 40.
[14] स्पष्टाकृतिः पत्ररथेन्द्रकेतोः Ibid., XVIII. 30.
[15] Ibid., VII. 40.
[16] Samudra Gupta's gold coins—Standard type, Chandra Gupta II's gold coins—Archer

choice ensigns of individual heroes, it appears that those peculiar to gods and heroes were also used[1]. They were sometimes made of China silk[2]. With regard to banners it would be well to quote below Hopkin's observation[3]:—

"The standard of a great knight is well spoken of as the upholder of the whole army. They (flags) are not, however, national, but individual.... We have next to distinguish between ensign and banner. At the back of the car, perhaps on one side, rises a staff, straight up high from the floor. The main staff, I incline to think, was in the back middle of the car while the little flags were on the sides. The staff bore the design at its top and apparently below the staff floated the flag. The flag pole was often the first objective point of the foes' arrows. When the symbol falls, the whole party falls into dismay and disorder. On the top of the staff was placed the *dhvajā* or *ketu*; the former meaning sometimes the whole arrangement, the staff. image or banner; the latter, the symbol or banner alone. This image was the likeness of some animal, as a boar or flamingo. Thus the Vānara or apesign of Arjuna was laced on the top of the *dhvajā*, and his car is usually termed 'the car with the ape standard."

Tents Camp

The army on its marches encamped in tents[4]. The term used for a tent is *upakāryā*[5] which means a tent prepared for temporary residence. The row of tents that accommodated the army was known as *senāniveśa*[6]. Tents were generally made of cloth[7] (*paṭamaṇḍapa*, canopy or tent of cloth). Horses were kept in stables in huge tents of cloth[8]. The following is the description of a camp thrown into confusion by an elephant in rut: "The animal in a moment threw the whole camp into confusion which became empty of the chariot horses which broke through their reins and took to flight, in which the chariots were overturned with their axles broken and in which the warriors were unable to protect their ladies[9]."

Instruments of Music of the War

The marches of the army and the progress of battle were accompanied with music. The instruments of music which were ordinarily used during the marches of an army or the progress of a battle were the following: *tūrya*[10], the war-horn, *dundubhi*[11], *ghaṇṭā*[12], bells, and the conch[13]. That, last named, was blown to open

[1] महाहिनध्वज *Raghu.*, III. 56.
[2] चीनांशुकमिव केतोः *Śāk.*, I. 30.
[3] *J. A. O. S.*, XIII. p. 243 ff.
[4] *Raghu.*, V. 41, 49, 63, VII. 2, XI. 93, XIII. 79, XVI. 55, 72.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid., V. 49, VII. 2.
[7] Ibid., V. 73.
[8] दीर्घेषु पटमण्डपेषु Ibid.
[9] Ibid., 49.
[10] Ibid., VII. 38.
[11] Ibid., X. 76.
[12] Ibid., VII. 41. [13] Ibid., VII. 63, 64.

and end war. But at the end it was blown only by the victor.[1]

Women in Army

From a solitary reference[2] by Kālidāsa it appears that women also accompanied the army in its marches. He clearly mentions that these were women companions of warriors.[3] In this regard he is supported by Kauṭilya who says that women with prepared food and beverage should stand behind uttering encouraging words to fighting men.[4]

There was a particular military ceremony which was performed in the army and was known as *Vājinīrājanā*.[5] It was performed by the king or the general on the ninth of Aśvina, or on the eighth, twelfth or the fifteenth day of the bright half of Kārtika, before taking the field. It consisted in the general purification of the king's Purohita, the ministers and all the various component parts of the army, together with the arms and implements of war, by offering oblations to the sacred fire, waving lights before idols, etc. and reciting the sacred *mantras*. *Vāji*, it may be noted, stands for both a horse and an elephant, and the ceremony, *Vājinīrājanā*, is so called because the lustration of the horses and the elephants is its essential part.[6]

Battle

Battles were generally fought in especial martial arrays called *vyūhas*[7] of which there were several kinds. A *vyūha* was a position in which a general drew up his army after ascertaining from due consideration of circumstances what would be the most advantageous position. When the actual battle began and the four parts of the army faced the enemy, the infantry fell on foot soldiers, the warrior in the chariot on one fighting in the car, the horseman on the rider of horse, and the elephant rider on one on elephant.[8] The morality of battle expected a soldier never to strike again a fallen foe.[9]

An Archer in Action

We have an instance in the *Raghuvaṁśa* of an archer in action.[10] He was so quick in operation, says the poet of an ideal soldier, that he was seen putting neither the right nor the left hand into the mouth of the quiver. To an observer it seemed that the arrows flying from his bow were not taken from the quiver by either of his hands, but that the bow-string itself, produced them as it were. One of his hands held the frame of his bow and the other pulled its string. The

[1] Ibid. 63.
[2] Ibid., V. 49.
[3] Ibid.
[4] *Arthaśāstra*, Book X. ch. 3.
[5] *Raghu.*, IV. 25.
[6] *Raghuvaṁśa* by N. G. Nandargikar, Note.
[7] *Raghu.*, VII. 54.
[8] Ibid., 37.
[9] पूर्वप्रहर्तां न जघान Ibid., 47.
[10] Ibid., 57-58.

left and right hands were used respectively for the purpose by ordinary archers, but an exceptionally skilled archer could also hold the frame by his right hand and pull the string with his left, which act was technically called *savyasācitva*.[1]

Postures in Fighting

On the term *ālīḍha*[2] used by Kālidāsa, Mallinātha quotes a lexicon[3] according to which there are five postures which archers assume when fighting of which it is one. *Alīḍha* is one in which the right foot is advanced and the left is bent back.[4] Vallabha mentions eight such postures.[5]

Discipline

The discipline among the Kṣatriyas had reached a high standard. The boy of a Kṣatriya, who was expected to become a soldier in due course, was trained from an early age. In fact his training as a soldier commenced as soon as he grew strong enough to draw the bow. The idea of protection was considered implied in the very epithet of a *Kṣatriya*.[6] And how could he protect the people without his bow? Therefore it was that a true Kṣatriya never parted with his bow and arrow and that is why we find the son of Purūravā saluting his father with his bow placed between his hand folded for the purpose of doing obeisance.[7] The vast army, living upon war,[8] had a perfect training in the art of throwing missiles. It may be noted that the soldiers relished wine and drank deep.[9]

The entire army was the charge of a Commander-in-chief, Senāpati.[10] When the king[11] or the heir-apparent[12] led the army in person he assumed the office of the field marshal.

Envoys and Espionage

Kālidāsa refers to envoys in the word *dūta*.[13] Kauṭilya[14] gives an elaborate account of the duties of an envoy. Dūta was a diplomatic officer sent to the court of a foreign power to safeguard his master's interest and to gather all the requisite information of the strength and weakness of the foe and transmit it

[1] Ibid., VII. 57.
[2] Ibid., III. 52.
[3] स्थानानि धन्विनां पञ्च तत्र वैशाखमस्त्रियाम् ।
त्रिवितस्त्यन्तरौ पादौ मण्डलं तोरणाकृति ॥
अन्वर्थं स्यात्समपदमालीढं तु ततोऽग्रतः ।
दक्षिणो वाममाकुञ्च्य प्रत्यालीढविपर्ययः ॥ Yādava.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Vallabha's comment on the word.
[6] क्षतात्किल त्रायत इति *Raghu.*, II. 53.
[7] चापगर्भमर्जलिं बध्वा (Different reading) *Vik.*, p. 127. M. R. Kale's edition.
[8] कृतास्त्रः *Raghu.*, XVII. 62; सापरायिकः Ibid.
[9] Ibid., IV. 42, 56.
[10] *Māl.*, p. 11; *Śāk.*, pp. 63 ff.
[11] *Raghu.*, IV.
[12] Ibid., V. VII. XVI. 31-32.
[13] *Māl.*, p. 88.
[14] *Arthaśāstra*, Book I. ch. 16.

to the home government. We read in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of an envoy[1] sent to the court of *Agnimitra* by the king of Vidarbha with numerous presents.

The poet alludes to the system of espionage in an unmistakable language. He calls spies 'rays of political light[2]' and speaks of a certain king that nothing in his 'territory was unseen by him who threw rays of political light in the shape of spies all over the country.[3]' Sleeping at the proper (scheduled) time the king was 'kept awake by spies who were ignorant of each other's office and especially deputed to move among enemies and friends.[4]' The spies (*cara, apaśarpa, praṇidhi*)[5] were employed as secret agents to gather information of importance in enemy's territory and report to the government. Kauṭilya[6] and the *Śukranīti*[7] deal in detail with the department of the spies and the Mauryan administration actually ran an elaborate system of spies.[8]

The spies may have worked under the direct control of the envoy as has been mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*.[9] This department was naturally the charge of the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Release of Prisoners

The release of prisoners on important occasions was an established custom. Such an occasion was the birth of an heir[10] to the kingdom. On the custom of liberating prisoners on the occasion of the birth of a child Vallabha quotes the following: "On the consecration of an heir-apparent, the birth of a son, or on the successful extermination of a conspiracy the liberation of prisoners should be effected.[11]" The coronation of a king, as also perhaps that of the heir-apparent, was an occasion when a release of all sorts of prisoners, including cattle, beasts of burden and birds, thus making it even ideally perfect, was effected.[12] On such an occasion even prisoners condemned to death[13] were pardoned and set free. Sometimes a release of prisoners was effected for averting the bad influence of stars maliciously disposed towards the king.[14]

Festivals were also suitable occasions for setting prisoners at liberty. The *Mālavikāgnimitra*[15] furnishes us with an illustration of a release of prisoners on such an occasion by the king: "Servants, even though they have committed

[1] *Māl.*, p. 88.
[2] दीधितेः *Raghu.*, XVII. 48.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., 51.
[5] Ibid., XIV. 13, 32, XVII. 48; *Ku.*, II. 6, 17.
[6] *Arthaśāstra*, Book I. ch. 12.
[7] Chs. I and II.
[8] V. A. Smith: *Early History of India*, pp. 145-47.
[9] Book I. chs. 12 and 16.
[10] सुतजन्महर्षितः *Raghu.*, III. 20.
[11] युवराजाभिषेके च परचक्रावमर्दने । (Perhaps from the *Kāmandakanītsāra*). पुत्रजन्मनि वा मोक्षो बद्धस्य हिविधीयते ॥
[12] *Raghu.*, XVII. 19, 20.
[13] वधार्हाणां अबध्यताम् Ibid., XVII. 19.
[14] दैवचिन्तकैर्विज्ञापितो राजा । सोपसर्गं वो नक्षत्रं । तदवश्यं सर्वबन्धमोक्षः क्रियतामिति । *Māl.*, p. 71.
[15] Ibid., IV. 17.

a crime, ought not to be kept in confinement on festive days—with this thought I got them set free and they came to bow down to me (in gratitude)." The hour of victory, which made the capital gay and furnished the people with an occasion of excessive mirth and merriment, was such a festival[1] (*Utsavadivasa*). It is possible that the Aśokan innovation of liberating prisoners on auspicious days[2] was continued under this very head of the *Utsavadivasa*. Kālidāsa thus makes a mention of all such occasions (as a conquest and the birth of an heir-apparent) as Kauṭilya[3] enjoins upon a king as fit for liberating prisoners.

Provinces and Political Divisions

For the efficiency of administration the empire, or the kingdom, as the case was, was divided among several provinces. Each province was made the charge of a Viceroy appointed ordinarily from among the royal kinsmen. Agnimitra, the son of emperor Puṣyamitra and the hero of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, was such a Viceroy who held his court at Vidiśā, the seat of the southern viceroyalty of his father's empire. Kālidāsa, however, treats him as a sovereign king, free to declare war[4] and conclude peace,[5] assisted by a Council of Ministers.[6] The poet designates him with almost godly epithets like *Bhagavān Vidiśeśvara*.[7] This looks like a peculiar case although the assistance of a Council of Ministers has been already referred to in the Aśokan edicts.[8]

Frontiers

The frontiers[9] (*pratyanta*) themselves must have formed provinces. They were protected by strong fortresses[10] on the boundary line which were well guarded by garrisons.[11] The charge of these important forts was given to an officer called *Antapāla*.[12] It appears that such an important office was ordinarily held by a royal relation. We know that during the Maurya period the princes of the royal blood had the charge of provinces and frontiers. Aśoka had been the Governor once of Ujjain and at another time of Takṣaśilā[13] while his son Kuṇāla that of Takṣaśilā.[14] The southern frontiers of Agnimitra in the Narmadā valley were guarded by Vīrasena the king's brother-in-law, who was a half-brother to the Chief Queen Dhāriṇī.[15] It may be noted that the *Artha-*

[1] मौद्गल्य, यज्ञसेनश्यालमूरीकृत्यमोच्यन्ता सर्वेबन्धनस्था: Ibid., p. 103.
[2] Pillar Edict No. V.
[3] *Arthaśāstra*, Book II. ch. 36.
[4] *Māl.*, p. 11.
[5] Ibid., p. 100, V. 13. 14.
[6] Ibid., pp. 100, 101.
[7] Ibid., Act. IV.
[8] Jaugada and Dhauli separate Rock Edicts and Siddhapura Inscription.
[9] *Raghu.*, IV. 26; अन्त *Māl.*, pp. 9, 10.
[10] अन्तपालदुर्ग *Māl.*, p. 9; *Raghu.*, IV. 26. [11] *Raghu.*, IV. 26.
[12] *Māl.*, p. 10.
[13] *Divyāvadāna*, p. 372; *Mahāvaṁśa*, V. 46.
[14] *Divyāvadāna*, p. 430.
[15] भ्रात्रा वीरसेनेन (विदर्भविषयात्) Ibid., p. 88, अस्ति देव्या वर्णविरो भ्राता वीरसेनो नाम स भर्त्रा नर्मदातीरेन्तपालदुर्गे स्थापित: Ibid., p. 9.

śāstra also refers to the frontiers and their guards (*antapāla*) in the following expression: "There shall be constructed in the extremities of the kingdom forts manned by boundary guards (*antapāla*), whose duty shall be to guard the entrances into the kingdom."[1]

Feudal States

The feudatory states were free in matters of internal administration and formed with the provinces integral units of the empire. Numerous references to feudatory chiefs, as seen above, presenting themselves at the metropolis for winning the pleasure of their suzerain and following him in his tours of conquest, as also for getting the titles to their respective states renewed, may show that even the dependencies served as provinces and their chiefs as so many Viceroys.

Further Political Divisions

Below is given a list of all the political divisions, both sovereign and subjugated, referred to by Kālidāsa. The north-western and northern lands and beyond were held by the *Pārasīkas*[2], *Hūṇas*[3] and *Kambojas*.[4] The north and north-eastern frontiers were occupied by the hill tribes of the *Kirātas*[5] and the *Utsava-saṅketas*,[6] and the far north-eastern part (Prāgjyotiṣa) was ruled by the king of the *Kāmarūpas*.[7] The 'eastern countries' (*Paurastyan*)[8] included *Suhma*,[9] *Vaṅga*,[10] *Utkala*[11] and *Kaliṅga*.[12] The south comprised of the country of the Malaya mountain[13] and of the *Pāṇḍyas*;[14] the south-west boundary was inhabited by the *Keralas*[15] and the west was called *Aparānta*.[16] Besides the above, the poet refers to the following as well: *Magadha*,[17] *Vidarbha*,[18] *Aṅga*,[19] *Avanti*[20], *Anūpa*[21], *Śūrasena*[22],

[1] Book II. Ch. 1.
[2] पारसीकांस्ततो जेतुं *Raghu.*, IV. 60.
[3] तत्र हूणावरोधानां Ibid., 68.
[4] Ibid., 69.
[5] Ibid., 76.
[6] Ibid., 78.
[7] Ibid., 83, 84.
[8] Ibid., 34.
[9] Ibid., 35.
[10] Ibid., 36.
[11] Ibid., 38.
[12] Ibid., 38, 40, VI. 53.
[13] मलयाद्रेरुपत्यका Ibid., IV. 46.
[14] Ibid., 49, VI. 60.
[15] Ibid., 54.
[16] Ibid., 58.
[17] Raghu., VI. 20.
[18] *Māl.*, p. 88, V. 2; *Raghu.*, V. 39, 61, VII. 32.
[19] *Raghu.*, VI. 26.
[20] Ibid., 32.
[21] Ibid., 37.
[22] Ibid., 45.

Kadambas,[1] *the Uttarkosalas*[2] and others (*anye*)[3], who, perhaps, were not important enough to require a mention. The geographical identification of the above has been attempted in the chapter on Geography.

Immigration and Formation of Villages

Kālidāsa also refers in a verse[4] to villages formed by immigrants due to their rush from elsewhere on account of overpopulation (*svargābhiṣyandavamanam*) and to the founding of colonies (*kṛtvevopaniveśitām*). While explaining the verse in reference Mallinātha gives it a political character by quoting a whole passage from the *Arthaśāstra*[5] which used the very phrase *abhiṣyandavamana* of Kālidāsa and thus precurses him. It runs as follows: "Either by inducing foreigners to immigrate (*pardeśāpavāhanena*) or by causing the thickly populated centres of his own kingdom to send forth the excessive population (*svadeśābhiṣyandavamanenavā*), the king may construct villages either on new sites or on old ruins (*bhūtapūrvamabhūtapūrvam vā*).

Efficiency of Administration

With a benevolent ruler as the head of the government treating his subjects as his own children and working incessantly for their welfare, and with several departments carrying out the work of governance, the efficiency of administration was assured. The roads, the royal highways[6], says Kālidāsa, were secure, and caravans wandered at ease at home and abroad, over mountains, forests and rivers[7]. It may be that this description is ideal, for the poet himself refers in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* to an attack on a royal party by forest robbers. But the incident occurs in a frontier forest the safety of which may not have been ensured due to the disputed nature of its possession. Ordinarily the roads of travelling were quite safe, which fact is amply borne out by the evidence of Fahien, who travelled in the Gupta dominions without any danger of molestation. The fear of chastisement was so great that even the breeze, says the poet, did not dare disturb the garments of drunken women fallen asleep on half the way to the pleasure ground.[8] The king, taking a moderate course, suppressed all calamities[9], whether earthly or heavenly[10], through his political and religious actions[11], and to surpass every thing he even announced to his people to consider him in place of all the relations who were dead[12]. Thus affectionately he strove

[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid., IX. I. XVIII. 7.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., XV. 29.
[5] भूतपूर्वमभूतपूर्वं वा जनपदं परदेशप्रवाहेण स्वदेशभिष्यन्दवमनेन वा निवेशयेत् Book II. ch. 1.
[6] राजपथं *Raghu.*, XIV. 30. राजवीथी XVIII. 39; महापथ *Ku.*, VII. 3.
[7] *Raghu.*, XVII. 64.
[8] Ibid., VI. 75.
[9] *Māl.*, V. 20; *Raghu.*, I. 63.
[10] दैवीनां मानुषीणां. . . . आपदानां *Raghu.*, I. 60.
[11] Ibid., XVII. 81.
[12] *Śāk.*, VI. 23.

to win the heart of his subjects. And it is no wonder if the people became restless in the absence of their king and drank his person, as it were, through their eyes[1] on his return. Laxities of all kinds tended to disappear in the kingdom and nothing inauspicious[2] touched the shadow of the people. Crimes had been much lessened and mostly restricted to the uncivilized tracts of the forests[3]. The poet declares in the Bharatavākya of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*[4]: "As for any other object of wish on part of the subjects, such as the removal of public calamities, there is none that cannot be accomplished while Agnimitra is their protector (*Goptā*)."

[1] *Raghu.*, II. 73.
[2] Ibid., V. 13.
[3] *Māl.*, V. 10 आटविकेभ्यो Ibid., p. 99.
[4] Ibid., V. 20.

BOOK III

SOCIAL LIFE

CHAPTER IX

STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY AND MARRIAGE

The picture of society as disclosed in the works of Kālidāsa is both graphic and varied. In the following pages is described the social life of the Indian people as reflected in the writings of the great Sanskrit poet. The description evidently is traditional, but since in this respect the Hindu community has hardly changed, it may as well reflect Kālidāsa's own age.

Structure of Society

Hindu society was composed of the four traditional castes or *Varṇas*[1], viz, Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra. A fifth class, composed of the fowlers[2], men living by net[3], i.e. fishing[4], Cāṇḍālas, and the like, has also been mentioned. This class, as the *Arthaśāstra*[5] and the *Śukranīti*[6] say, lived outside the walls of the city. This fact has been attested to by Fahien also who says that when the Cāṇḍālas entered the city they forewarned the caste Hindus of their approach by the sound of wooden sticks[7]. The various other foreign elements may also be classed with them. The three upper classes were technically known as *Dvija*[8] or the twice-born, for the Upanayana Saṁskāra or ceremony, which they underwent, was supposed to give them a second birth conferring upon them the status which they enjoyed, particularly over the Śūdra, the fourth Varṇa. Himself a 'non-transgressor of the established order' (*sthiterabhettā*),[9] the king was the 'protector of the Varṇas' (*Varṇāśramāṇām rakṣitā*) and to him was entrusted the responsibility of looking after the proper and righteous conduct of his people. It was in this capacity that the king merited the appellation of a 'charioteer' (*niyantuḥ*), who drove the chariot of righteousness to which were yoked his own people

[1] वर्णचतुष्टय *Raghu.*, XVIII. 12; वर्ण XV. 48; वर्णानां *Śāk.*, V. 10; वर्णाश्रमाणां *Raghu.*, V. 19, XIV. 67; *Śāk.*, p. 162.

[2] लुब्धकै: *Śāk.*, p. 56; श्वगणिवागुरिकै: *Raghu.*, IX. 53.

[3] जालोपजीवी *Śāk.*, p. 186.

[4] अहं जालोद्गालादिभिर्मत्स्यबन्धनोपायै: कुटुम्बभरणं करोमि । Ibid., p. 183; धीवर: Ibid., p. 182.

[5] Book II, ch. 4, p. 49.

[6] Formation of forts and bridges.

[7] James Legge: *Fahien's Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, p. 43.

[8] द्विजेन *Raghu.*, V. 23. द्विजेतरतपस्विसुतं Ibid., IX. 76.

[9] Ibid. III. 27.

whom he so led that they did not leave the righteous path even to the extent of a line[1].

Castes

People are thus described to have solemnly adhered to the conduct of life recommended by the scriptures. Although laxities were not altogether unknown in the free, merry and aesthetic society of Kālidāsa, for we have at least one allusion[2] in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* to a General who was of a mixed-caste (*varṇāvaraḥ*—born of a woman of a lower caste), of a Kṣatriya father and a Vaiśya or a Śūdra mother, nevertheless, the above was the ideal for the achievement of which the king strove with his people. Infringements of caste rules were rare and the king was always alert to put down the transgression (*apacāraḥ*) of those rules[3]. The leaders of society were anxious to keep their blood pure[4] and the transgressor was very severely dealt with. Kālidāsa, who stands as a great supporter of the Varṇāśramadhrama, comments applaudingly on the death punishment meted out to the son of a 'non-twice born ascetic' by Rāma, thus supporting the idea that a Śūdra could not perform austerities[5], for his duty was only to serve the three upper classes and his penances would mean a transgression of the caste rules. The vision of Kālidāsa is indeed 'Brahmanical and he deliberately repeats the condemnation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* on the Śūdra who threatened the security of the established order[6]'.

The highest of the three qualities (*sattva*) was supposed to belong to the Brāhmaṇas, the highest of the three castes, and the next to that (*rajas*) to the next lower caste, the warrior or Kṣatriya caste, as it is clear from the words of Paraśurāma, now subject to the prowess of Rāma: "You have indeed turned even the disgrace of my defeat into a favour on me resulting in excellent fruit, since you have removed from my nature the passions inherited from my mother and reduced me to peacefulness, the proper quality of my paternal descent[7]." The poet strikes at the etymological explanation of the root from which the word Kṣatriya, the style of the second Varṇa is derived. It is indeed from 'the protection from harm' that the word Kṣatra has originated and become prevalent in that sense in the world[8].

Caste and Vocation

In ordinary course of life the four castes pursued their respective callings and nobody looked down upon the apparent low earnings of a despised profession, although, at times, we do find a mocking tendency in a boaster of a higher caste with regard to such a vocation. In the *Abhijañāna Śākuntala* we have such a reference where a fisherman having been attacked injudiciously on the

[1] Ibid. I. 17.
[2] वर्णावरो भ्राता *Māl.*, p. 9.
[3] *Raghu.*, XV. 47, 48, 49.
[4] संततिः शुद्धवंश्या हि Ibid., I. 69.
[5] Ibid., XV. 53.
[6] A. B. Keith: *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 99.
[7] *Raghu.*, XI. 90.
[8] Ibid., II. 53.

point of his calling by a guard, presumably from the Kṣatriya caste, retaliates in a proper manner boldly justifying the pursuit of his profession. The fisherman enunciates one of the most important propositions of the Hindu social structure and adduces the example of the Brāhmaṇas. The pursuit of the different castes was supposed to be *sahaja* or born together, that which is enjoyed on account of one's birth. A Śrotriya, who is a learned Brāhmaṇa well versed in the Vedas, cannot be heartless, yet he has to be cruel in the act of killing animals in sacrifices, because that forms part of his *sahajakarma*. Similarly, the fisherman asserts, he follows his profession of catching and killing fish, not because he is naturally cruel of disposition, but because he has to pursue his *sahajakarma*[1]. The verse, embodying the sense of the above discussion, seems to assert that whatever the allotted actions may be they must not be abandoned. The caste of the fisherman has been alluded to as a 'jāti' which under the schedule of Yājñavalkya would mean a mixed caste.

Of the four castes the most frequent reference is made to the two upper Varṇas, the Brāhmaṇa and the Kṣatriya. We learn that the wearing of the sacred thread had almost become a privilege[2] of the Brāhmaṇas who were mainly recognized by their Upavīta. The principal means of livelihood in case of a Brāhmaṇa seems to have been his earnings through priesthood[3] (*dakṣiṇā*) to which several references have been made by the poet. The principal duty of a Kṣatriya was considered to be warfare. A distinction has been made between the son of a pure and that of a mixed Kṣatriya. The son of the former underwent all the ceremonies necessary for a twice-born.[4] A Kṣatriya boy took his lessons in archery[5] (*dhanurvede*) and saluted his elders by placing his bow, the principal sign of a Kṣatriya[6], between his joined hands[7]. This meant that a Kṣatriya could put off his weapon under no circumstances. Of the Vaiśyas also we read in terms of Naigamas[8], Śreṣṭhi[9], Vaṇija[10] and Sārthavāhas[11] trading extensively by land and sea.

Āśramas, the Stages of Hindu Life

The *āśramas*[12] or stages of life, also four in number, divided the life of a Dvija into four stages, those of the Brahmacārī' or the pupil, the Gṛhastha or the

[1] *Śāk.*, VI. 1.
[2] पित्र्यवंशमुपवीतलक्षणं *Raghu.*, XI. 64.
[3] गृहीतदक्षिणोऽस्मि etc., *Māl.*, pp. 33, 88.
[4] क्षत्रियकुलीनस्य जातकर्मादिविधान *Vik.*, p. 128.
[5] Ibid., p. 128.
[6] मातृक च धनुर्जित दधत् *Raghu.*, XI. 64.
[7] चापगर्भमञ्जलिं बद्ध्वा प्रणमति *Vik.*, p. 117.
[8] Ibid., IV 13.
[9] *Śāk.*, p. 219.
[10] *Māl.*, I. 17; p. 98.
[11] समुद्रव्यवहारी सार्थवाहो धनमित्रो नाम नौव्यसने विपन्नः *Śāk.*, p. 219.
[12] शैशवेऽभ्यस्तविद्यानां यौवने विषयैषिणाम् ।
वार्धके मुनिवृत्तीनां योगेनान्ते तनुत्यजाम् ॥ *Raghu.*, I. 8.
आश्रम also in *Raghu.*, V. 19, VIII. 14, XIV. 67; *Śāk.*, p. 162.

householder, the Vānaprastha or the forest-dweller, and the Sanyāsī or the complete renouncer. Although the scenes attaching to the stage of renunciation described by the poet refer to a very ancient state of the Hindu society and it is not safe to generalize on this evidence that the four stages of life were actually in practice. Kālidāsa, in fact, could not imagine a life which did not consummate in the last stage of a dvija, that of sanyāsa. His Raghu instals his son in his place and retires to a life of penance for 'never indeed do those born in the solar-line continue to live as a householder in the presence of an able successor'[1]. Such a recluse put on barks of trees[2] and lived beyond the gates of a city[3]. This was the last āśrama[4]. The first, that of the Brahmacārī, was occupied in the studies of the Vidyās, in case of Brāhmaṇa[5], and in the practice of archery and study of the four Vidyās in that of Kṣatriya[6]. After the period of study the brahmacārī was allowed to marry and enter on the life-stage of a householder[7]. Of all the four stages the stage of the householder was deemed the most important[8] for it fed all the rest of them. "The scheme of four stages", says Dr. Keith, "is in many ways perfectly adopted to Indian life, for it starves no side of a man's life[9]." Hindus studying the various Vidyās in the stage of a Brahmacārī, leading the life of comfort as a householder, practising asceticism in the old age ended their life in the last stage by means of Yoga and thus completed the allotted span of their existence[10]. This state of social life did exist, in howsoever crumbled a form, during the time of Kālidāsa as is evidenced by his references which are both emphatic and frequent.

The poet refers to a number of Saṁskāras which will be treated in the chapter on Religion. Here only one of them—Marriage—may be discussed as it is more of a social nature.

Marriage, one of the Saṁskāras, was a necessary rite to be performed by a dvija. Every religious rite, even the everyday sacrifice to Agni, was to be performed jointly with the wife and hence Kālidāsa emphasises her necessity for man, 'for the practice of religious duties in company[11]' (*sahadharmacaraṇāya*) with her. The stage of the householder (*gṛhasthāśrama*) was considered the most important[12] of the four āśramas, since it fed the rest of them, and therefore a brahmacāri, who had acquired a knowledge of the fourteen sciences[13], settled down

[1] *Raghu.*, VII. 71.
[2] तरुवल्कवाससां Ibid., VIII. 11.
[3] निवसन्नावसथे पुराद्बहिः Ibid., 14.
[4] आश्रममन्त्यमाश्रितो Ibid.
[5] उपात्तविद्यो Ibid., V. 1. समाप्तविद्येन Ibid., 20. चतस्रोदश Ibid., 21.
[6] गृहीतविद्यो धनुर्वेदे *Vik.*, p. 128; also of. क्रमाच्चतस्रः.....ततार विद्याः *Raghu.*, III. 30.
[7] *Raghu.*, V. 10.
[8] सर्वोपकारक्षममाश्रमं ते Ibid.
[9] A. B. Keith: *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 98.
[10] *Raghu.*, I. 8.
[11] *Śāk.*, p. 165 सहधर्मचारिणी Ibid., p. 260; *Ku.*, VIII. 29; सहधर्मचारिणं Ibid., 51; क्रियाणां खलु धर्म्याणां सपत्न्यो मूलकारणं Ibid., VI. 13.
[12] सर्वोपकारक्षमं *Raghu.*, V. 10.
[13] Ibid., III. 30. Ibid., V. 20; Ibid., 21.

as a married householder. The negotiation of marriage was a concern of the family priest or at least of a Brāhmaṇa as, for instance, we find the Saptarṣis,[1] a set of Brāhmaṇas, begging the hand of Pārvatī from her father for Śiva so graphically described in the *Kumārasambhava.*

Types of Marriage

We read of four types of marriage referred to in the works of Kālidāsa. They are as follows:. *Svayamvara*[2] or the self-choice of a husband; *Prājāpatya*[3], in which the father of the bride gave her away to the bridegroom after decorating her person with ornaments; *Gāndharva*[4], in which the parties themselves negotiated their marriage without the knowledge or intervention of their elders, and in which no marital rites were observed; and *Āsura*[5], in which the father accepted bride-money from the bridegroom.

A very graphic description of *Svayamvara* is given in the sixth canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa* which may be described below to point out the incidents of a marriage of free-choice, and which may serve also as a type.

Svayamvara

The guardian of the bride sent out invitations to kings to come in person or send their crown-princes to attend the Svayamvara[6]. Kings reached the city of the bride with their armies[7] where they were received by the host at the principal city gate[8] and were taken to the royal palace the entrance of which was decorated with auspicious articles like big vessels full of water[9], (*pūrṇakumbha*). There assembled a host of personages to attend the function with jealous feelings, eager to win the hand of the bride.[10] But it is to be noted that due care was taken on the part of the arriving kings to ascertain whether the family of the king inviting them to attend the Svayamvara was worthy enough for their matrimonial connection.[11] Dawn was announced to the sleeping royal guests by the bards of the host with panegyrical songs.[12] Later, the kings, bedecking their persons with attractive and agreeable attire, seated themselves on the costly thrones in the picturesque gallery of the arena of the Svayamvara, built for the occasion, reaching them by flights of steps.[13] A huge throng of citizens assembled to witness the

[1] *Ku.*, VI. 31, 65, 78, 79.
[2] *Raghu.*, V. 39, 64-76, VII. 13.
[3] Ibid., VII. 13, 15-28; *Ku.*, VII. 73-89.
[4] *Śāk.*, III, 20, Ibid., p. 259.
[5] दुहितृशुल्कसंस्थया *Raghu.*, XI. 38.
[6] Ibid., V. 39.
[7] प्रस्थापयामास ससैन्यं Ibid., V. 40.
[8] नगरोपकण्ठे Ibid., 61, द्वार 63.
[9] द्वारविभिवेशितपूर्णकुम्भाम् Ibid., 63.
[10] Ibid., 64.
[11] श्लाघ्यसंबन्धमसौ विचिन्त्य Ibid., 40.
[12] Ibid., 65.
[13] मञ्च Ibid., VI. 1.

Svayamvara, and surveyed[1] the suitors. The Svayamvara was supposed to be presided over by Saci[2]. Now there appeared bards who recited the glory of the assembly of the princes, representing both the solar and the lunar races[3]. Then, when the sweet fragrance of the floating 'fume of burning sandal-wood of excellent quality, spread around rising above the banners[4]' and auspicious 'trumpet sounds having extended to the end of the cardinal points swelled by the blowing of the conch[5],' the maiden princess, who was about to choose a husband (*patimavarā*), decked in wedding dress, took her seat in a palanquin, borne by men and looking beautiful by her train of attendants, entered on the 'royal road' built between the galleries[6]. Naturally all eyes were attracted to her, and kings who had betrayed their passion for her, began to draw her attention by various insinuations and meaning gestures[7]. A certain king, for instance, started turning round a pleasure lotus[8], another began to set to its proper place the displaced garland[9]; a third scratched the golden footstool with his foot[10]; a fourth tore the ketaka flower with his nails[11]; there was another who started talking with his neighbour by bending a little[12] and yet another was busy adjusting his crown[12] as though it had slipped off its proper place.[13] At last the chief of the attendants, the principal friend of the princess and keeper of the entrance of the royal harem (Pratihararakṣī), as bold as a man having full knowledge of the exploits achieved by, as also of the pedigrees of the kings, led the maiden princess from king to king[14]. Like the flame of a nightly moving torch the self-choosing maiden (*patimvarā*) proceeded forth, and as she passed on rejecting and leaving the kings behind her, they turned pale and gloomy and wore a dim and dusky appearance like the buttress of a mansion on the royal highway when the torch had passed beyond it[15]. Then at last, she stopped in front of one whom she adored and considered equal to her status in family, beauty and youth (*kulena kāntyā vayesā navena*), and who was endowed with excellent virtues (*guṇaiśca*), particularly with worthy humility, to make him her choice, for, indeed, a gem must necessarily be obtained by gold[16]. With modesty worthy of women she got placed through her companion (*dhātrīkarābhyām*) the long 'garland of choice' round the neck of her chosen lord[17], and thus ended the Svayam-

[1] Ibid., 7.
[2] Ibid., VII. 3.
[3] Ibid., VI. 8.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid., 9.
[6] Ibid., 10.
[7] Ibid., 12.
[8] Ibid., 13.
[9] Ibid., 14.
[10] Ibid., 15.
[11] Ibid., 17.
[12] Ibid., 16.
[13] Ibid., 19.
[14] Ibid., 20.
[15] Ibid., 67.
[16] Ibid., 79.
[17] प्रत्यग्रहीत्संवरणस्रजेव Ibid., VI. 80, cf. also ibid, 81, 83.

vara amidst the resounding cheers of the citizens, who gave vent to their feelings through a unanimous utterance, unpleasant to the ears of the disappointed throng of kings[1].

It may be noted in this connection that in such a Svayamvara very naturally the choice may have been already made in the heart of the bride which was practically given effect to in a legal way in the presence of a host of kings and spectators; for it is entirely inconceivable how the chief maid attending on the princess who was expected to be very clever should not have easily influenced the princess's mind in the choice of her husband. The practical display of the Svayamvara was meant, it appears, for the formal approval of the social authority unless it was marked by some feat of prowess which was a condition precedent to the winning of the hand of the bride.

The Svayamvara thus over, the bride and the bridegroom proceeded to the palace under the shade of various auspicious decorations like arches, banners and other articles of beauty on the king's highway[2]. All windows of the house of citizens opening on the road-side were filled with faces, the ladies having hurried to them to have a look at the procession[3]. Then the bridegroom reaching the royal palace decorated with auspicious articles and paintings got down from the elephant that he mounted[4]. Now started the various ceremonies of the marriage proper which was performed in the manner of Prājāpatya. It should have been described while dealing with incidents of the Prājāpatya form of marriage but may be quoted here also for the purpose of clarity.

The bridegroom was seated on a valuable lion-throne where he accepted the *madhuparka* mixed with other articles of pūjā, along with precious gems, and a pair of silken robes[5]. This was analogous to the present dvāra-pūjā. He was led to the bride by the well-disciplined guards of the harem[6]. There, after receiving the pūjā, and the priest having worshipped the fire with oblations, the bridegroom was joined with the bride in marriage[7]. He accepted the hand of the bride[8] and the couple made rounds of the sacred fire[9]. The bride performed the lāja-visarjana ceremony as instructed by the priest[10]. The oblation emitted forth an agreeable fragrance of the tender leaves of the śami tree and of the 'lāja' or parched rice[11]. The snātakas, royal kinsmen, i.e., the father or the guardian and unwidowed mothers with living children, in order of their respective ranks threw wet rice on the couple sitting on the golden lion-throne[12].

In the end the rest of the assembled kings were entertained with pūjā after

[1] Ibid., 85.
[2] Ibid., VII. 4.
[3] Ibid., 5-12.
[4] Ibid., 17
[5] Ibid., 18.
[6] Ibid., 19.
[7] Ibid., 20.
[8] Ibid., 21.
[9] Ibid., 24.
[10] Ibid., 25.
[11] Ibid., 26.
[12] Ibid., 28.

which they left for their respective kingdoms. The newly married husband also left with his wife taking with him the dowry on the completion of the marital rites[1]. It was no wonder if the disappointed kings confederated to revenge themselves on a common enemy, and waylaid him[2]. The practice of Svayamvara obviously prevailed among the Kṣatriyas, particularly the nobles and the kings, of early times.

Prājapātya

Kālidāsa considers the Prājāpatya as the best form of marriage and binds his principal deity Śiva with his consort with the incidents of this very form in the seventh canto of the *Kumārasambhāva*. In this form of marriage the father of the bride adorned his daughter with ornaments and gave her away to the bridegroom after the completion of the necessary rites as is enjoined by the Code of Manu. Sometimes the suitor through his agent approached the father of the bride and begged his daughter's hand in marriage. This was done at times in the presence of the bride herself as in the case of Pārvatī who blushed scarlet and naturally diverted her attention to the counting of petals of the lotus which she held in her hand[3].

The following narration occurring in the seventh canto of the *Kumārasambhava* gives a full account of the incidents of a Prājāpatya marriage and its rites. The marriage referred to in this canto is that of Śiva and Pāravatī. It is as follows:

Preliminary Rites and the Bride's Decoration

The father of the bride with his kinsmen made preparations for the marriage of his daughter on an auspicious date (*tithi*), generally falling in the Śukla-pakṣa, the bright-half of the lunar month[4]. The highway leading to the house of the bride was lined with flags, made of China silk and decorated with bright golden floral arches[5]. Friends and relatives of the bride embraced her and presented ornaments to her[6]. When the blessed hour of the *Maitra muhūrta* approached and the *Uttaraphālgunī* joined the moon women began the bride's toilet, the application of cosmetics, etc. Ladies who performed her toilet were required to be unwidowed dames, who had borne male children[7]. The bride was adorned with the *dūrvā* grass which was considered very auspicious, and she was given to wear a silken robe beneath her waist while she held an arrow in her hand[8], perhaps only when the bride was a Kṣatriya. Sandal oil and *kāleyaka* were applied to her body and *lodhra* dust was besmeared over her person. Then she received another robe and was led by ladies to the bathroom facing the pavilion of four pillars[9], which was

[1] Ibid., 29, 30.
[2] Ibid., 31.
[3] *Ku.*, VI. 84.
[4] ऋद्धौ तिथौ जामित्रगुणान्वितायाम् Ibid., VII. 1.
[5] Ibid., VII. 3.
[6] Ibid., 5.
[7] Ibid., 6.
[8] Ibid., 7.
[9] Ibid., 9.

more like a chamber than an ordinary pavilion decked with pearls and paved with sapphires, while the sweet sound of the choicest music breathed around. In the bathroom women poured over her limbs streams of water from golden urns[1]; and then after she had been arrayed in the fairest white costume[2], she was led by chaste and unwidowed dames to a court with canopies. There they seated her on a *vedi*[3] with her face to the east[4]. They dried her body with incense and decked her hair with flowers. They crowned her temples with a chaplet of fragrant grass[5]. Then again her face was painted in beautiful forms of leaves with white *aguru* mixed with yellow *gorocana*[6]. Her cheeks were dyed with glowing saffron, or with *gorocana* and *lodhra* dust; bunches of *yava* or barley were hung from her ears[7], and tints were applied to her lips[8]. Her feet were dyed[9] and unguent was applied to her eyes[10]. Her neck and arms were adorned with gems and precious stones. Gold ornaments[11] were next put on by her, standing before an auspicious mirror[12]. Thereafter her mother decorated her with the golden dye of the nuptial line, and fastened the woollen-band[13] on her wrist. This *kautuka-sūtra*, the auspicious thread generally dyed yellow, worn round the wrist by the bride is generally taken away on the third day after the conclusion of marriage. The fastening of the *kautuka-sūtra* thus done, the bride worshipped the *kula-devatā*, the deity of the family, and then proceeded to the elderly ladies, in order of seniority[14], to receive the blessings like one embodied in the following words: *akhaṇḍitam prema labhasva patyuḥ*—May you obtain the undivided love of your husband[15]!

The buss and hurry was no less marked in the house of the bridegroom than in that of the bride. The bridegroom was also decked with articles[16] worthy of his station in life by the ladies of his family. He was anointed with cosmetics like *aṅgarāga* and adorned with jewels on the head, wrists, neck, arms and ears. He put on a silken shawl woven with the figures of flamingoes[17], applied the tik mark of *haritāla* and *manahśilā*[18], and then stood before a looking-glass[19]. The marriage party then marched to the house of the bride's father accompanied

[1] Ibid., 10.
[2] Ibid., 11.
[3] Ibid., 12.
[4] प्राङ्मुखी Ibid., 13
[5] Ibid., 14
[6] Ibid., 15.
[7] Ibid., 17.
[8] किंचिन्मधूच्छिष्टविमृष्टरागा Ibid., 18.
[9] Ibid., 19.
[10] कालाञ्जनं Ibid., 20.
[11] Ibid., 21.
[12] आदर्शबिम्बे Ibid., 22.
[13] Ibid., 23, 24, 25.
[14] Ibid., 27.
[15] Ibid., 28.
[16] प्रसाधने Ibid., 30.
[17] Ibid., 32.
[18] Ibid., VII. 33.
[19] Ibid., 36.

with auspicious music[1]. The bridegroom was accorded the honour of a king inasmuch as he was accompanied by attendants with an umbrella (*ātapatra*) and fly-whisks (*camara*[2]).

Auspicious Decorations in Marriage

On the occasion of marriage houses and roads through which the procession of the marriage party passed were decorated with auspicious articles (*maṅgala-samviddhābhiḥ*[3]. The gates of the houses were decorated with pitchers full of water (*pūrṇakumbha*[4]). Other articles considered auspicious were musk (*mṛgarocanā*), clay brought from places of pilgrimage and sprouts of *dūrvā* grass, etc[5]. The highways were decorated with arches painted with the figures of rainbow arches[6] and flags (*dhvajā*[7]).

Marital Rites

The party of the relations of the bride, with their persons well-adorned, proceeded on elephants to receive the procession of the bridegroom.[8] The gates of the city were thrown open and flowers were strewn over the procession.[9] Women climbed the roofs of their houses to have a look at the procession.[10] The highway (*patha*) was decorated with flags and arch-ways under which the procession walked on receiving the auspicious *akṣata* thrown over it.[11] The bridegroom was received and seated with due ceremony. Honey and milk along with rich gems and a pair of silken robes were given to him, while priests chanted the hymns.[12] At length he was led to the bride by well-behaved attendants.[13] The priest laid the hand of the bride on that of the bridegroom.[14] Now the symbols of Śiva and Pārvatī, as presiding marital deities were formed and worshipped.[15] The couple then trod round the sacred fire thrice in solemn rite[16] and at the biddings of the priest the bride threw the parched grain into the fire in due order.[17] Thereafter the officiating priest blessed the bride and her spouse in the following manner: "This sacred flame is the witness of your marriage. Be a faithful husband and a true

[1] Ibid., 40.
[2] Ibid., 41, 42.
[3] *Raghu.*, VII. 16, X. 77; *Śāk.*, p. 129.
[4] *Raghu.*, V. 63.
[5] *Śak.*, p. 127.
[6] *Raghu.*, VII. 4.
[7] Ibid.
[8] *Ku.*, VII. 52.
[9] Ibid., 55.
[10] Ibid., 56.
[11] Ibid., 63, 69.
[12] Ibid., 72.
[13] Ibid., 73.
[14] Ibid., 76.
[15] Ibid., 78.
[16] Ibid., 79, 80.
[17] Ibid., 81.

wife.[1]" The bridegroom addressed his wife: "Look up, gentle lady, do you see the brightness of the polar star? Your faith must shine like that unchanging ray.[2]" And to it the bride replied: "Yes, I see[3]" (*dṛṣṭa*). Here ended the Vedic rites and commenced the Laukika[4] ones. The couple was seated on a golden *āsana* or seat, placed on a square *vedī* and the auspicious moistened grain was scattered over them.[5] Thus were concluded the rituals pertaining to the Prājāpatya form of marriage.

Consummation of Marriage

After the ceremony of marriage was over the period of mirth and merriment commenced. Some sort of a dramatic performance was given by maids, who 'entwined expressive dance in graceful play,' and whose eloquent motions with an actor's art showed to the life the passions of the heart. These maids were accomplished in the vṛttis like the Kauśikī.[6] The couple was then left alone to proceed to the bridal bower where a soft bed of flowers had already been prepared and where auspicious golden pitchers had been placed.[7] This last incident perhaps points out to the act of consummation of marriage. This practice is still current in Bengal. The night of consummation is called *Suhāgrāta* in the U. P. In the narrative of the marriage given by Kālidāsa the bridegroom and the bride started on an excursion of pleasure,[8] a honeymoon.

Gāndharva

The *Gāndharva* form of marriage was entirely an affair of love which consummated in a union without the proposal of marriage. It proceeded entirely from free love and mutual inclination of a youth and a maiden, and was concluded with the mutual consent and agreement of the couple without consulting their relatives. It was then ratified as a *fait accompli* under the Hindu law of *Factum Valet* by the parents of the contracting parties as is clear from the following verse: "Here elders were not regarded by her; nor were the kinsmen consulted by you too. In a matter done singly by each, what should another say to either.[9]" This is the disappointed expression of one who feels for the folly of such a union as the Gāndharva form of marriage sanctions. The Hindu rules of matrimony do not, in fact, approve explicitly of courtship. The problem of marriage was thought to be very important and its grave responsibility was not to be left to the discretion of the young folk. This is why Kālidāsa praises 'a discreet daughter waiting for the consent of her father,' in the event

[1] Ibid., 83.
[2] Ibid., 85.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., 88.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid., 91.
[7] Ibid., 94.
[8] प्राणिपीडनविधेरनन्तरं. . . . .कामदोहद Ibid., VIII. 1.
[9] *Śāk.*, V. 16.

of her marriage who does not rush to contract a marital agreement of her own free-will.[1] Elders must help their youngsters in search of a proper match with their vast experience of the world for the way is too dark for individual experiments. This is why a suppressed reproach is implied by Kālidāsa in the above expression of Gautamī—*'ekkakkame vva charie bhaṇāmī kim ekkamekkassa.'* Mistakes by youngsters, indeed, would be too many and mistakes in marriage among Hindus are irretrievable for they result in an extinction of life in society. "Therefore," observes Kālidāsa, "a union, especially when in private, should be formed after careful examination. Friendship towards those, whose hearts are unknown, thus turns into hostility.[2]" Matrimonial connection should always follow a careful scrutiny of the other party ; especially when such an agreement is secretly entered into, this examination becomes all the more obligatory. Otherwise friendship turns into enmity in the case of persons whose hearts are not previously acquainted with each other.

We are not sure if the Gāndharva marriage was permissible at the time of Kālidāsa. The custom had become long obsolete and from the above injunctions of the poet himself it is evident that it was at least not prevalent during the time of the poet, except, perhaps, in case of a few laxities which he seems to deprecate. The most explicit reference to the Gāndharva marriage is found in the union of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā described in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala.* This is obviously a traditional reference to an archaic incident which has been supported by the poet only by quoting instances from times still more archaic, as in the following: "Many daughters of kings and sages are reported to have been married by the Gāndharva form ; and they were congratulated by their fathers.[3]" Nevertheless, this verse suggests the idea more of a subdued permission, even in those ancient days of the epics to which this verse refers, than of a form of marriage actually prevalent in society. To Kālidāsa it is not at all a homely incident but one the sanction for which he is constrained to quote from instances, not contemporaneous, but only 'reported' (*śrūyante*) as old and archaic even during the days of Duṣyanta.

Āsura

There is an indirect reference made to the *Āsura* form of marriage in the phrase *duhitṛśulkasaṁsthayā*,[4] i.e. by the condition of the Śulka or bride-money of his daughter. In the Āsura form of marriage payment of some consideration to the relatives and the father of the bride with a view to marrying the bride is imperative. This form of marriage differs from the Brāhma form inasmuch as consideration plays an essential part in it while in the Brāhma it does not. Āsura form of marriage might not have been unknown to the times of Kālidāsa for this is the last resort of the desertless people who have money but not worth, and who always remain in every society.

[1] श्री साभिलाषापि गुरोरनुज्ञां धीरेव कन्या पितुराचकांक्षा । *Raghu.*, V. 38.
[2] *Śāk.*, V. 24.
[3] *Śāk.*, III. 20.
[4] *Raghu.*, XI. 38.

Departure of the Bride

A stanza occurring in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* describes the typical Hindu attachment to the daughter. She has been alluded to as another's property and as being guarded by the father as a trust or deposit (*vyāsaḥ*).[1] The typical mind of the contemporary society is reflected in the following verse: "People suspect a married woman, whose only resort is her kinsmen's house, to be otherwise (i.e. unchaste), although she is chaste. Hence a woman is desired by her kinsmen to keep near her husband, although not liked by him.[2]" Resorting to a state of independence was looked down as a grave offence[3] on the part of a married woman and, as said above, a woman living in the family of her kinsmen was considered to be transgressing social rules and compromising her own status as a wife, whereas even slavery in the house of her husband was considered commendable.[4] It is therefore natural that a father should have felt greatly relieved by sending away her daughter to her husband.[5] At the time of her departure the bride was decked with auspicious adornments (*prasthāna-kautuka*)[6] like the applying of *gorocana* and clay brought from holy places and sticking of the sprouts of *dūrvā* grass.[7] She wore auspicious silk garments,[8] white like the moon, dyed her feet with lac-dye, and put on ornaments. She took another pair of silk garments which served as the upper and lower pieces of her robe. Then she was asked to make rounds of a newly kindled fire.[9] When ready to leave her old home she was blessed to take a route free from obstacles and thorns and guarded by auspiciousness (*śāntānukūlapavanaśca śivāśca panthāḥ*).[10] Then the father spoke thus: "Serve your elders, act the part of a dear friend towards your co-wives; though ill treated by your husband never go against him in anger, be extremely courteous towards your servants; be not puffed up in fortune; in this way do young women attain the position of housewives; the perverse are the banes of their family.[11]" The reference to *gṛhiṇīpada* in the stanza is notable for the position of the *gṛhiṇī* or matron was considered most honourable for a woman. Kaṇva concludes his advice by the exhortation: "Having become for a long time the co-wife of the Earth, bounded by the four oceans, and having settled your son by Duṣyanta, an unrivalled warrior, you will make your abode in this tranquil hermitage again along with your husband, who will have transferred the responsibility of his family on him.[12]"

[1] *Śāk.*, IV. 21.
[2] Ibid., IV. 17.
[3] ०पुरो भागे स्वातन्त्र्यमवलम्बसे Ibid., p. 178.
[4] पतिकुले तव दास्यमपि क्षमम् Ibid., V. 27.
[5] Ibid., IV. 21.
[6] Ibid., p. 125.
[7] *Śāk.*, p. 127.
[8] परिधेहि संपदं खोमजुग्मलं Ibid., p. 133.
[9] वत्स इतः सद्यो हुताग्नीन्प्रदक्षिणीकुरुष्व Ibid.
[10] Ibid., IV. 10.
[11] Ibid., 17.
[12] Ibid., 19.

Although the blessing is addressed to a prospective queen, the spirit embodied in it is typical.

The above verse may also serve to suggest that the daughter once having gone to the house of her husband, may be, never returned to her original home, as the sage enjoins upon Śakuntalā to return to his hermitage only at the end of her life as a householder and at the commencement of Vāṇaparstha stage. May be, such a custom prevailed among kings and nobles, as it is even now a practice with certain families of native chiefs.

Age of the Couple

The marriageable age was considered to fall in the post-puberty period. The bride was ever conscious of the love she was making and of the rituals she was a witness to. We have seen above that on several occasions she was required to assent to certain features of the marriage ceremony.[1] It is really inconceivable how a girl could have gone out to choose her husband in a Svayamvara unless she was intelligent enough to grasp the sense and estimate the degree of responsibility she had soon to shoulder. The post-puberty marriage is well evidenced in the fact that Kālidāsa alludes to the bride's and bridegroom's state of horripilation at the touch of each other.[2] The idea is also brought home by the fact that the poet speaks of the preparation of a marriage-bed soon after the connubial rites are over.[3] How could this be possible unless the couple were of mature age. The age of Śakuntalā may be instanced in this connection. But if, perhaps, some may object that since Śakuntalā was the daughter of a Kṣatriya, the rule of marriage at eight did not apply to her, the examples of Anusūyā and Primyavadā may be cited. They were Brāhmaṇa and although they were of the same age as Śakuntalā, the sage did not much worry about their marriage, but merely remarked that they also were *pradeya* (bestowable).[4]

The custom of marrying in order of age seems to have been established in the time of Kālidāsa, in pursuance of which the eldest married first and the youngest last. A younger brother marrying before his elder brother was called *Parivettā* in the manner of one ascending the throne and enjoying royalty before his elder brother and such one, therefore, has been referred to by the same term.[5] The son of a Brāhmaṇa married after his period of study as it is reflected in the reference of Kautsa, the pupil of Varatantu. He was allowed to marry and make a home[6] (*gṛhāya*). The son of a Kṣatriya likewise married after his period of training.[7] A prince observed celebacy at least till he became sixteen years old, when he was able to bear the weight of a coat of mail. Then he observed the ceremony of tonsure (*godāna*) and married.[8] It was seen that he was of the mar-

[1] *Ku.*, VII. 85.
[2] Ibid., 77.
[3] Ibid., also cf. Ibid., 95.
[4] *Śāk.*, p. 144.
[5] *Raghu.*, XII. 16 cf. Amarakośa परिवेत्तानुजोऽनूढे ज्येष्ठे दारापरिग्रहात् quoted by Mallinātha.
[6] अनुमतो गृहाय *Raghu.*, V. 10.
[7] Ibid., III. 30, 32.
[8] Ibid., V. 40.

riageable age fixed for a Kṣatriya prince by the scriptures (*dārākriyāyogyadaśām*).

Dowry

The custom of giving dowry existed although, unlike now, it was not a condition precedent to the marriage. When the ceremonies of marriage were over the bridegroom received a dowry[1] (*haraṇam*) from the guardian of the bride in proportion to the guardian's means and zeal (*sattvānurūpa*). The daughter was given away with the ornaments decking her person (*maṅgalālaṅkṛtā*)[2] and these ornaments along with the presents received by her from her relatives on the occasion of her marriage,[3] became her *strīdhana*.

Polygamy

Although the Prājāpatya marriage prevailed, and people, in general, wedded a single wife, plurality of wives was not unknown. Nobles and rich men were often wedded to several wives.[4] All kings, portrayed by Kālidāsa in his plays, indulge without exception in a multiplicity of wives. The following makes it clear how co-wives lived in peace: "Even to the extent of admitting a rival, noble ladies who love their husbands, honour their spouses; the great rivers bear to the ocean the waters of many a tributary stream.[5]"

Caste-marriage

Ordinarily it was expected that a man should marry a woman of his own caste and it appears from the passage quoted below that a girl of the hermitage in ordinary course could marry a hermit alone. The Clown says: "Then indeed let your Majesty quickly rescue her, that she may not fall into the hands of some hermit whose head has turned greasy with the oil of the iṅgudi fruit."[6] But, nevertheless, intercaste-marriages were not unknown, and we have a reference to such a marriage in the phrase *varṇāvaraḥ*[7], i.e. born of a lower caste. In the story Vīrasena (a general and half-brother of queen Dhāriṇī), born of a step-mother of lower caste, is mentioned.

Some Remarks on Marriage

As we have seen above, marriage was meant for the accomplishment of an end which was the 'performance of the social and religious duty in company[8]' (*Sahadharmacaraṇāya*); this phrase was an essential injunction of the priest on the

[1] Ibid., VII. 32; cf. Mallinatha. हरणं कन्यायै देयं धनम्। यौतुकादि तु यद्देयं सुदायो हरणं च तत्' इत्यमरः

[2] *Ku.*, VI. 87.

[3] Ibid., VII. 5.

[4] अवरोधे महत्यपि *Raghu.*, I. 32; बहुबल्लभा राजानः श्रूयन्ते *Śāk.*, p. 105. बहुपत्नीकेन Ibid., p. 219; ज्येष्ठमातरम् *Vik.*, p. 140.

[5] *Māl.*, II. 14, V. 19.

[6] *Śāk.*, p. 73.

[7] *Māl.*, p. 9, text quoted *ante*.

[8] *Śāk.*, pp. 165, 260; *Ku.*, VIII. 29, 51; cf. also *Ku.*, VI. 13.

couple, and in consequence of it the wife was termed a *dharmapatnī*[1]. Wife was considered the chief necessity for the performance of rites of those that were righteous and were ever busy in the observance of religious duties (*kriyāṇām khalu dharmyāṇām satpatnyo mūlakāraṇam*). The wedlock itself was considered a result of 'affection to which real love was tied[2]' (*bhāvavandhanaprema*). The phrase *bhāvabandhana* has been explained by Vallabha by the phrase *cetovṛttigumphanam* which suggests a complete fusion of the feelings of two hearts. *Prema* is kind and tender behaviour towards one whom we love; *bhāva* is the mind, the feeling which in the present passage is equivalent to love. So marriage, in spite of its cold responsibilities of religion, was impregnated with affection. Affection itself was supposed to be the perfect abnegation of two persons who were desirous of blending their beings into one. The bridegroom therefore has been called an *arhat* while the wife a very 'image of righteous observances[3]' (*satkriyā*). It was the union of a gem with gold[4]. It was a fusion of two hearts in this life as well as in other lives to come (*manohi janmāntara saṅgatijñam*)[5]. It was a union of Prakṛti and Pratyaya.[6] In fact the importance of marriage in the time of Kālidāsa, as even before and after, could not be overrated as it was the main source from which an *aurasa putra*[7] a legitimate male child, could be obtained. The absence of such a son was considered an extreme misery.

It may be mentioned in this connection as pointed out by Prof. A. B. Keith[8] that "the wedlock of Śiva and Pārvatī, as described in the *Kumārasambhava* is not an adventure, a mere sport, no episode of light love as that of Zeus with Danae or many another. Their nuptials and their love serve as the prototype for human marriage and human love, and sanctify with divine precedent the forces which make the home and carry on the race of men." Śiva is won only by an uncommon zeal of affection which endows the slender and weak frame of Umā with enough strength to endure the extraordinary hardship and severity of the penances which could put even the most austere ascetics to shame[9]. Śiva is won, but this victory of Umā cannot be consummated into a union with him without the positive sanction of the Prājāpatya form of marriage.[10] Her hand is sought from her father, who does not only sanction the proposal but also tacitly consents to the austerities of his daughter to win the love of her would-be husband which may even amount to a sanction to love; otherwise it would have been only a union not for *sahadharmacaraṇāya* but for the attainment of the pleasures of lust or kāma. Where the cause of union was kāma, dharmācaraṇa or the performance of social and religious duties could not be an effect, as in the case of the marriage of Duṣ-

[1] *Śāk.*, VI. 24.
[2] *Raghu.*, III. 24.
[3] *Śāk.*, V. 15.
[4] *Māl.*, V. 18; *Raghu.*, VI. 79.
[5] *Raghu.*, VII. 15.
[6] Ibid., XI. 56.
[7] *Śāk.*, p. 242.
[8] *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 87.
[9] *Ku.*, VI. 29.
[10] Ibid., V. 86; cf. Ibid., VII.

yanta and Śakuntalā on whom the punishment of religious indignation fell severely. The *Kumārasambhava* and *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* respectively show the merits and demerits of Prājāpatya and Gāndharva forms of marriage. The *Śākuntala* points to the unworthiness, insecurity and the hollowness of a Gāndharva marriage, and the consequent suffering which it entailed on the couple so much so that they had to part, and later on they were united only when the wrong had been made good by the subjective torture of Duṣyanta, and by Śakuntalā having perceived the sin of making love in a hermitage.

Wife

Kālidāsa quotes an interesting view about the relation of the husband and wife. To the husband he gives complete authority over his wife (*dāreṣu prabhutā sarvato mukhī*). In the *Śākuntala* Śāradvata retorts angrily in the face of Duṣyanta on the latter's declining to accept Śakuntalā as his wife: "This then is your wife, accept or reject her. Meet verily is the 'alround' dominion of the husbands over their wives[1]." This view has its nearest approach to that propounded by Manu when he says that the legal effect of the gift of the wife to her would-be husband is demonstrated in the latter's complete ownership over her (*pradānam svāmyakāraṇam*[2]).

The works of Kālidāsa reveal a high status of the wife since they give the reader repeatedly the idea that wedded love alone is capable of producing successful results in religious rites[3]. When Śiva conceives this truth and looks upon the chaste Arundhatī, his yearning for the ethereal pleasures of wedlock grows remarkably[4]. "Only the foolish distinguish," says Kālidāsa, "between man and woman; the good respect both equally[5]." Śiva's regard for Arundhatī is not a bit less due to the reason of her sex, as to the good the "distinction in terms of the male and female is of no account.[6]"

The wife was endeared and loved by her husband, who bore a highly respectful attitude towards his consort[7] (*arcitā*, highly respected, *lit.* worshipped). Very naturally did the wife, separated in the rainy season from her husband, eagerly await the return of her lord at the commencement of the rains, and so when the clouds began to hover over her head, she looked up to them with unaccountable pleasure as they were considered the heralder of her beloved[8]. The reference to brushing aside with the hand of the hair from their forehead in the act of looking up to the clouds points to the custom of chaste women refraining from oiling and combing their hair[9]. A wife's conduct of life is reflected in that of the consort of the yakṣa who may be taken for a type living at home in the ab-

[1] उपपन्ना हि दारेषु प्रभुता सर्वतोमुखी *Śāk.*, V. 26.
[2] *Manusmṛti*, V. 152.
[3] क्रियाणां खलु धर्म्याणां सत्पत्न्यो मूलकारणम् *Ku.*, VI. 13.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid., 12.
[6] Ibid.
[7] अर्चिता तस्य कौसल्या *Raghu.*, X. 55.
[8] *M. P.*, 8.
[9] उद्गृहीतालकान्ता: *M. P.*, 8; cf. *M. U.*, 21.

sence of her husband. She is entirely unmindful of her clothes and sits to sing the glories of the family of her lord to the tune of the *vīṇā* placed on her thighs. She wipes off the constantly falling drops of tears from her *vīṇā* and forgets even the most thoroughly practised *mūrcchanā*[1]. She is either counting flowers placed on the threshold to indicate the number of days yet remaining in the return of her husband or performing several auspicious rites. These aforesaid, says Kālidāsa, were the ways in which wives separated from their husbands often employed themselves to while away the period of separation[2]. In the absence of her husband the wife gave up sleeping on the bedstead and slept on the ground.[3] She left her hair unoiled and uncombed, as said above. She never cut her nails nor did she undo her tresses to make fresh ones[4]. Thus she renounced every sort of toilet and decoration[5]. Her eyes remained without unguent, her eyebrows lost their charms for want of wine[6]. The tresses were knitted by her husband on his return[7]. In her grief she kept herself employed in painting her lord's portrait, in playing with the domestic parrot[8], or in making her tame peacock dance with the clappings of her hands[9].

When a wife died in coverture her dead body was decorated with ornaments and patterns of painted foliage before being consigned to fire[10]. It may be noted that funeral decorations have been described by Āśvalāyana[11].

The following verse describes the person of a wife observing a vow: "Clad in a white silk garment decked only with ornaments indispensable to auspiciousness, and having her hair marked with the holy *dūrvā* grass, appears to be reconciled with me from her very person, while its haughty deportment given up under the pretext of a vow[12]." Married ladies during their coverture put on certain ornaments, which even the poorest lady could not dispense with as auspicious tokens of their good fortune. It further appears that the fine blades of the *dūrvā* grass, which even to the present day are held sacred by Hindus, were worn in their hair by women observing a vow. A person during the performance of a *vrata*, or rather any religious observance, must be free from the spiritual enemies of humanity, such as lust, anger, avarice, arrogance, etc. The phrase '*ujjhitagarva*' is significantly used to denote this.

The wife was recognized by her husband as the 'matron, counseller (lit, minister) in reference to the domestic affairs, a friend in retirement, and a dear pupil

[1] *M. U.*, 23.
[2] Ibid., 24.
[3] Ibid., 25.
[4] Ibid., 29.
[5] Ibid., 30.
[6] Ibid., 32.
[7] मयोद्वेष्टनीयां Ibid., 29.
[8] Ibid., 22.
[9] Ibid., 16.
[10] *Ku.*, IV. 22; *Māl.*, p. 45.
[11] प्रेतं स्नपयित्वा नलदेनानुलिप्य नलदमालां जपामालां वा प्रतिमुच्य मूलतो हलवासस: पदमात्रमच्छिद्यशेषेण प्रत्यागग्रेण प्राक्शिरसमावि: पादमाच्छादयेयु: परिधानीयं चान्यद्दद्यु: *Gṛhyapariśiṣṭha*, Adhyāya III. Khanda I.
[12] *Vik.*, III. 12.

in the fine arts[1].' The chaste wife[2], who was indeed a dvotee of her living god, her husband[3], considered the fulfilment of all her desires in that of her lord's[4].

The wife addressed her husband with the usual epithet of *Āryaputra*[5], i.e. son of the venerable one, viz. the father-in-law. Her devotedness to the husband was remarkable. She aspired for his undivided love[6] and all her decorations in toilet were meant for a mere satisfied glance of her husband[7].

Widows and the Custom of Satī

The custom of *satī* or wife of a deceased husband immolating herself to death on the funeral pyre of her husband has been alluded to by the poet in the phrase 'wives following their lords to heaven[8] (*pativartmagā*).' The custom is further illustrated in the instance of Rati preparing to throw herself upon the burning remains of her husband[9]. This custom is commended by the poet as being natural and as an ordinary, matter of course event even in connection with the lifeless and inanimate things[10].

Many allusions to widows[11] show that they existed in society. At the time of marriage the bride and the bridegroom were adorned with auspicious decorations by *unwidowed* dames[12] which may refer to the custom of keeping the widows away from all auspicious occasions. In the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* there is mention of the widows of a great merchant, Dhanamitra[13]. A widow who bore a foetus was obliged to live on and keep away from the funeral pyre of her deceased husband[14]. The *Mālavikāgnimitra* also refers to a widow "whose sorrows of widowhood were renewed[15]." One of the rites performed by a widower[16] was to place a fire-pan before him and then to proceed anywhere.

In spite of the fact that the society at the time of Kālidāsa led a free and outdoor life, it cannot be inferred in the face of unmistakable evidence that purdah or seclusion of women was entirely discarded. We have more than a dozen

[1] गृहिणी सचिवः सखी मिथः प्रियशिष्या ललिते कलाविधौ । *Raghu.*, VIII. 67.
[2] पतिव्रता: *Ku.*, VI. 86. पतिव्रताधर्ममधिकृत्य *Śāk.*, p. 240.
[3] पति पतिदेवता: *Raghu.*, IX. 17, XIV. 74.
[4] *Ku.*, VI. 86.
[5] *Māl.*, pp. 48, 57.
[6] अखण्डितं प्रेम लभस्व प्रत्यु: *Ku.*, VII. 28.
[7] स्त्रीणां प्रियालोकफलोहि वेष: Ibid., 22.
[8] Ibid., IV. 33; cf. मरणव्यवसायबुद्धि Ibid., 45; चितां Ibid. 35, 36.
[9] Ibid., 20; त्वामनुयामि Ibid., 21; also cf. Ibid., 22.
[10] शशिना सह याति कौमुदी सह मेघेन तडित्प्रलीयते ।
प्रमदा: पतिवर्त्मगा इति प्रतिपन्नं हि विचेतनैरपि ॥ Ibid., IV. 33.
[11] नववैधव्यमसह्यवेदन *Ku.*, IV. 1; पुनर्नवीकृत्यवैधव्यदु:खया *Māl.*, p. 99.
[12] Ibid., VII. 6.
[13] बहुधनत्वाद्बहुपत्नीकेन तत्र भवता भवितव्यं *Śāk.*, p. 219.
[14] *Raghu.*, XIX. 56.
[15] *Māl.*, p. 99, text quoted *ante*.
[16] *u.*, XV. 98.

references to restricted harems, variously known as *avarodha*[1], *antaḥpura*[2] and *śuddhānta*[3], meaning a seraglio.

The Custom of Purdah

It is probably not just to say, therefore, that the seclusion of womenfolk took hold of the Hindu society with the advent of the semitic element. The evidence in Kālidāsa conclusively shows that purdah as a custom was not unknown. The terms referring to the Hindu harem give the sense of seclusion, to whatever little extent it may be, and of a jealously preserved chastity thanks to which the harem received the sacred name of *shuddhānta*. They should not, however, be, interpreted to mean a complete seclusion of women. Women were on no account immured in the zenana as now. We find references to women enjoying bath[4] in a river publicly which may show that there was no unqualified restriction to their appearing in public. But this may not be interpreted to mean that they moved about in society unchecked and unhindered. Modesty was considered a capital virtue among women, and we have allusions to veiled faces. Śakuntalā feels bashful to go near elders in company with her husband, which again must not be mistaken for purdah. It is sheer modesty which restrains her from appearing before elders in the presence of her husband, and hence her veil[5]. When out of her house, she covered her body with a shawl[6], or some such other mantle, and put on a veil as is evidenced in the following passage: "Who could she be possessed of a veil and with the loveliness of her body not fully manifested[7]." Also in the passage below we find a like allusion: "Keep apart your bashfulness for a moment and remove your veil[8]."

Women were never restricted to go out on business. Not only did they attend the ceremonies like marriage[9] in the house of a neighbour or relation, but they even kept watch in certain cases over their sown fields of rice and sugarcane, where they sang merrily in a chorus sitting under the scanty shade afforded by the sugarcanes[10].

Some Remarks about Women

The daughter was endeared and caressed, and her birth was not deprecated. She was the very life of the family[11] (*kulajīvitam*), and in case of wealthy persons, perhaps she also was nursed by nurses like male children. She played by

[1] Ibid., I. 32, IV. 68, XVI. 25, 58, 71; *Śāk.*, VI. 12.
[2] *Raghu.*, XVI. 59, *Ku.*, VII. 2, *Śāk.*, p. 104 *Māl.*, II. 44.
[3] *Raghu.*, III. 16, VI. 45; *Śāk.*, I. 15.
[4] *M. P.*, 33.
[5] अवगुण्ठनवती *Śāk.*, V. 13, Ibid., p. 168.
[6] Ibid., V. 13.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid., p. 168.
[9] बन्धुस्त्रियो *Raghu.*, VII. 16; *Ku.*, VII. 6.
[10] *Raghu.*, IV. 20.
[11] कन्येयं कुलजीवितं *Ku.*, VI. 63.

preparing sand *vedikās* on river banks and with dolls[1] *kṛtrimaputrakaiḥ* and balls[2] (*kandukaiḥ*).

From the *Kumārasambhava* we learn that Sarasvatī went to Śiva after his marriage and sang in Sanskrit verses. To Śiva she spoke in chaste Sanskrit but Umā she blessed in simple Prakrit style[3]. This should not come as a surprise and may not be supposed to suggest that it was so because women could not understand Sanskrit, for generally all the Sanskrit plays make women speak Prakrit alone, and Kālidāsa is only conforming to a literary tradition. In the plays even queens speak Prakrit, and it is absolutely inconceivable how they could not have grasped the sense of Sanskrit while they were constantly addressed in Sanskrit by their husbands, royal ministers and chamberlains. It may be further pointed out that ladies like Mālavikā were highly accomplished in fine arts. Parivrājikā was learned in several subjects like medicine and fine arts. Her accomplishment entitled her to sit in judgment over the merits of two veteran professors of dramatic art.

Nevertheless, unsophisticated and uncharitable remarks were not wanting regarding women. Women were regarded by some as cunning since their very birth and we have a reference in the words of Duṣyanta to the idea of the people who considered that they were by their very nature endowed with a presence of mind[4]. Their natural cunning which did not need be acquired from external teaching was most manifest in the cuckoo whose young ones were brought up by other birds which lost them as soon as they were able to fly up[5]. They were even at times considered objects of satisfying the carnal lust of man[6].

Still one can never forget that the status of the woman as mother was considerably high. She was indeed a gem[7] (*strīratna*) whose attainment was much appreciated, for it was she who gave birth to the male child so very essential to perpetuate the line and to appease the hunger and thirst of the manes. And naturally the husband was congratulated when he was attended by the mother of a valiant son[8]. A repentant husband naturally wished to be preceded forth[9] by his wife when he went to see a sage, who had the knowledge of his gilt and was appeased by the presence of the wife. It may be remarked that in obvious preference to several men Śakuntalā had been appointed by Kaṇva to look after his guests in his absence[10].

Importance of a Son

Kālidāsa has dwelt long on the importance of a son. In course of about

[1] Ibid., I. 29.
[2] Ibid.; and *Māl.*, p. 85.
[3] *Ku.*, VII. 90.
[4] इदं तत्प्रत्युत्पन्नमति स्त्रैणमिति.... *Śāk.*, p. 172.
[5] Ibid., V. 22.
[6] *Raghu.*, XIV. 35.
[7] स्त्रीरत्नलाभं Ibid., VII. 34.
[8] *Māl.*, V. 16.
[9] *Śāk.*, p. 255.
[10] दुहितां शकुन्तलामतिथिसत्कारायनियुज्य Ibid., p. 22.

eight verses (65-71) in the first canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa* he has shown the emptiness of the life of a sonless man. The ancestors, he asserts, do not accept with delight their shares in the obsequies performed by a sonless descendant due to the anxiety of their losing them in the next generation[1], and their sighs of grief render hot the libation of water offered to them by their descendant[2]. The extinction of the male[3] line is a great misfortune, for the merits resulting from the austerities and alms are for the happiness in the next world, but the son begotten on the wife of pure blood (*śuddhavaṁśyā*) is indeed the cause of happiness both here and hereafter[4]. The sonlessness, which keeps one from paying the last debt (*ṛṇamantyam*), is an unbearable misery[5], for the son alone is the means by which this last debt—the act of procreation through a male child—is settled[6]. Son is the cause of the line as also that of endless fame[7]. All the wealth of the family, where there is no son, is rooted out at the end of the last male descendant[8]. That is why there was a great merriment on the birth of a son[9], who was characterized as the seed[10] and sprout[11] and the prop of a family[12]. It was for the son, and for him all the more, that the brassier of the mother got wet with the oozing milk[13]. And naturally it was a great pleasure to watch the running child with his locks of hair falling constantly[14] on his temples and cheeks. What exhilaration it was to watch such a child when it was one's own and what a reflective melancholy when it was not![15]

The purity of blood was carefully guarded and eagerly sought to be preserved. The wife was, therefore, sought to be drawn from a pure family[16] as is implied in the phrase *santatiḥ śuddhavaṁśyā hi* (child born of a woman of pure extraction). A legitimate son[17] (*aurasa*) was a necessity and, he, again, was expected to bear a striking resemblance with the father both in form[18] and qualities.[19]

[1] *Raghu.*, I. 66; *Śāk.*, VI. 25.
[2] *Raghu.*, I. 67.
[3] प्रजालोपनिमीलितः Ibid., 68.
[4] Ibid., 69.
[5] असंतानत्वं वर्जयित्वास्य न किमपि *Vik.*, p. 121. लोचनीयम् cf. *Raghu.*, I. 71.
[6] ऋणनिर्मोक्षसाधनम् *Raghu.*, X. 2.
[7] Ibid., II. 64.
[8] *Śāk.*, p. 221.
[9] *Raghu.*, X. 76.
[10] बीज *Śāk.*, VII. 15.
[11] कुलाकुर Ibid., VII. 19.
[12] वंशस्थिते *Vik.*, V. 15.
[13] *Śāk.*, VII. 12.
[14] चलकाकपक्षकैः *Raghu.*, III. 28.
[15] *Vik.*, V. 9.
[16] *Raghu.*, I. 69.
[17] औरस इव पुत्रे *Śāk.*, p. 242.
[18] सदृशप्रजम् *Raghu.*, I. 65.
[19] पुत्रं लभस्वात्मगुणानुरूपम् Ibid., V. 34.

CHAPTER X

FOOD AND DRINK, DRESS AND TOILET

Food

Kālidāsa refers to the following items of food: *yava*[1] or barley including perhaps wheat also, rice of various kinds like the *śāli*[2] and the *kalamā*[3]; *tila*[4] or seasamum; sugar with its several kinds like the *guḍavikāra*[5] and *matsyaṇḍikā*,[6] and its sweetmeat preparations of round-balls[7] (*modaka*); milk[8] and its various preparations like butter[9], clarified butter,[10] curds,[11] *khīra* or *payaścaru*[12] and the like; honey,[13] meat[14] of various kinds; fish;[15] various spices like peppers,[16] cardamoms[17] and cloves,[18] and salt;[19] and innumerable fruits like the sweet mango.[20]

ITEMS

Cereals

Indian food during the time of Kālidāsa was nutritious and vigorous. Barley, wheat, and rice were the staple food of the people. Of rice there were several kinds like the *śāli*, *kalamā*, and *nīvāra*. Sugarcanes produced *guḍa* and sugar. *Guḍavikāra* was a particular stage in the preparation of sugar. *Matsyaṇḍikā* was one of the many kinds of sugar.[21] It was globular in shape like the eggs of fish as the phrase would suggest. Various preparations of sweetmeat (*modaka*)

[1] यवाँकुरैः *Raghu.*, IX. 43; प्रम्लानबीजाकुर Ibid., VII. 27.
[2] *Ṛtu.*, III. 1, 10, 16, IV. 1, 8, 18, V. 1, 16; *Raghu.*, XV. 78, XVII. 53.
[3] *Raghu.*, IV. 37; *Ku.*, V. 47.
[4] *Śāk.*, p. 94.
[5] *Ṛtu.*, V. 16.
[6] एदं खु सीहुपाणुव्वेजिदस्स मच्छण्डिआ उवणदा *Māl.*, p. 42.
[7] मोदक *Vik.*, p. 75.; मोदखण्डिआए *Māl.*, p. 81 मोदखण्डिआए *Śāk.*, p. 62, खण्डमोदअसरिसं अ *Vik.*, p. 65.
[8] *Raghu.*, II. 63.
[9] नवनीत *Māl.*, p. 57.
[10] हैयंगवीन *Raghu.*, I. 45.
[11] सिहरिणी *Vik.*, p. 71.
[12] *Raghu.*, X. 51, 54.
[13] *Ku.*, VIII. 72.
[14] सुल्लमंसभूइट्ठो आहारो *Śāk.*, p. 55; भवं वि सूणापरिसरचरो विअगिद्धो आमिसलोलुओ भीरुओअ० *Māl.*, pp. 33-34.
[15] लोहिअमच्छो *Śāk.*, pp. 184, 206.
[16] मारीच *Raghu.*, IV. 46.
[17] एला Ibid., 47.
[18] लवंग Ibid., VI. 57; *Ku.*, VIII. 25.
[19] सैन्धवशिला *Raghu.*, V. 73.
[20] रसालं *Vik.*, p. 71.
[21] मत्स्यण्डिका नाम शर्करावि शेष—Commentator, *Māl.*, p. 42.

were made with sugar. Apart from its various uses in food, it was also used as an antidote for the intoxication from wine.[1]

Sugar and Sweetmeats

Modaka was prepared from rice or wheat-flour stuffed with sugar, thin slices of the kernel of the cocoanut, together with spices, and then either boiled over steam, or fried in clarified butter.[2] It was a round ball and its parts have been supposed to resemble the phases of the moon[3]. We find the cowherds (*Ghoṣas*) running to meet their king taking clarified butter with them as a present.[4] These *Ghoṣas* were the professional breeders and rearers of cows as now.

Preparations of Milk

The enormous wealth of cows supplied the people with the vigorous milk, butter (*navanīta*), clarified butter and curds. *Siharinī* (*śikhariṇī*), as the commentator points out,[5] was prepared from curds mixed with spices like cardamoms, cloves, camphor and other fragrant ingredients and cooked in milk and sugar. Sometimes it was also prepared in milk and ripe plantains and other ingredients enumerated above (without curds) and named *Sikhariṇī*.[6] Honey was another item of food which was also used in the reception of a guest[7] and at other festive rites. It was given the name of *madhuparka* and *arghya*;[8] the latter was honey mixed with rice and *dūrvā* grass.[9] The innumerable flowers of India attracted swarms of sucking bees yielding much honey, which served not only as an item of food but also as an ingredient of oblations to gods.

Meat

An important item of food appears to have been meat and fish. Extensive hunting did not waste life for nothing and the meat of the hunted prey like the dear and the boar was eaten as a common practice. Even a Brāhmaṇa did not abstain and he also freely indulged in taking meat as may be instanced from a passage occurring in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* where the Vidūṣaka says with a little reluctance, however: "At irregular times a meal, mostly consisting of meat roasted on spits is eaten.[10]" Meat was not obtained only from the hunted animals of the forest but even regular slaughter houses were run for killing animals, the flesh of which might have been sold consequently in the market. The passage referring to the slaughter house is the following: "As for your

[1] Ibid.; text quoted *ante*.
[2] M. R. Kale: *Mālavikāgnimitra*, notes.
[3] *Vik.*, p. 65.
[4] *Raghu.*, I. 45.
[5] एलालवंगकर्पूरादिसुरभिद्रव्यमिश्रितं दुग्धेन सह गलितं सितासंगतं दधिशिखरिणीत्युच्यते *Vik.*, p. 71.
[6] दध्यतिरिक्तपूर्वोक्तद्रव्यमिश्रितः पक्वकदलीफलान्तः सारोऽपि तत्पदवाच्यः Ibid.
[7] *Ku.*, VII. 72.
[8] *Raghu.*, XI. 69; *Ku.*, VI. 50.
[9] *Ku.*, VII. 72.
[10] अनियतवेलं शूल्यमांसभूयिष्ठ आहारो भुज्यते *Śāk.*, p. 55.

honour, you are like a bird hovering round a slaughter house (*śūnā*) greedy, of meat, but timid.[1]" Fish was also taken. One particular kind of it was *rohita* or carp found in lakes and ponds in the neighbourhood of the Ganges. It grows to the length of three feet, is very voracious, and its flesh, though it often has a muddy taste, is edible. Its back is olive-coloured, its belly of a golden hue, its fins and eyes red.[2] It may be noted here that Fahien dwells at length on perfect abstention but there is unmistakable evidence in Kālidāsa to show that meat was commonly taken. Fahien says: "They do not keep pigs and fowls, and do not sell live cattle; in the markets there are no butcher's shops and no dealers in intoxicating drink.[3]" The pilgrim obviously saw every thing with Buddhistic glasses and his description can hardly be accepted as literally true when, soon after, he contradicts himself by adding that "Only the Chandalas are fishermen and hunters, and sell flesh and meat.[4]" From his own statement the point is proved beyond doubt that there *were* butcher's shops although not run by *dvijas*. But this is so even now when the practice of eating meat is common. No upper class or even lower class Hindu sells flesh. Even now it has been retained by fowlers and hunters or by Khatiks who are the Cāṇḍālas of old.

Spices

Spices were also used in preparation of food. We have a reference to at least three of them—cardamoms, cloves and pepper—growing wildly in the region of the Malaya mountains in the south.[5] *Śikhariṇī* was prepared, as mentioned above, by mixing curd or milk and plantains with these spices. Salt, such an important item of the present day, was known and must have been used along with the spices. With highly spiced preparations without sugar salt becomes almost a necessity, and since it was known and given to the horses for licking,[6] it must have been used in human diet also.

Fruit

Besides the above, people had the abundance of fruits which may have been widely eaten, particularly in the ascetic settlements. Kālidāsa makes innumerable references to fruit-trees. Mango[7] was naturally a favourite.

Categories of Food

The poet has also made a general reference to the traditional five kinds[8] of food which may be enumerated below: Things to be chewed and then

[1] *Māl.*, p. 33, text quoted *ante*.
[2] *Śākuntala* by Monier Williams, Notes.
[3] *Fahien's Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*. Trans. by James Legge, p. 43.
[4] Ibid.
[5] मारीचोद्भ्रान्तहारीता: *Raghu.*, IV. 46; एलानामुत्पतिष्णव: Ibid., 47; सलवंगकेसर *Ku.*, VIII. 25.
[6] सैन्धवशिला *Raghu.*; V. 73.
[7] *Vik.*, p. 71.
[8] पञ्चविहस्स Ibid., p. 32. Commentator Kāṭayavema has the following on this: **अभ्वहारस्य पञ्चविधित्वं भक्ष्यभोज्यलेह्यचोष्यपानीयभेदेन ।**

eaten (*bhakṣya*) like bread and other flour preparations, for example *modaka*; things to be eaten without chewing (*bhojya*), such as rice; things to be licked[1] (*lehyāni*) like thin liquid condiments, for instance *Śikhariṇī*; things to be sucked (*coṣya*), such as mango-pickles; and things to be drunk[2] (*peya*), such as milk, wine, etc.

Drink

Drinking of wine appears to have been an extensive habit of the people. Kālidāsa makes innumerable allusions to the occasional intemperence of people, who drank at times so much that the after-effects were uncontrollable.[3] Not only men but even women indulged in drinking. It was believed that intoxication gave a special charm to women.[4] Irāvatī, one of the consorts of Agnimitra, is seen in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* in a state of intoxication.[5] Indumatī, the beloved queen of Aja, received wine from the mouth of her husband, who directly transferred it to her mouth.[6] In the *Kumārasambhava* we read of Śiva himself drinking wine and making his wife drink it.[7] Wine may be said to have been a regular indulgence of the married couple. Then we read in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* the Nāgarika and his constables indulging in wine.[8] In the *Raghuvaṁśa* mention is made of the whole army of Raghu drinking wine extracted from the cocoanuts.[9] We have references to the drinking peg[10] (*caṣaka*), a grogshop[11] on the road side, and to an open place of drinking[12] (*pānabhūmi*) 'abounding in drinking cups' (*caṣakottarā*). *Pānabhūmi*, literally, is a place of drinking in. The name, however, does not signify a grogshop, nor is it confined to the idea of a drinking place strictly so called, but it also means a place—generally a part of a palace adjoining the seraglio[13]—where revelries in honour, so to speak, of Bacchus are celebrated.

Kinds of Wine

The common words for wine in Kālidāsa are *madya*,[14] *āsava*,[15] *madhu*[16] and

[1] *Raghu.*, V. 73; *Vik.*, IV. 44.
[2] पान *Māl.*, p. 33.
[3] स्खलयन्पदेपदे *Ku.*, IV. 12; घूर्णमाननयनं Ibid., VIII. 80.
[4] पुष्पासवाघूर्णितनेत्रशोभि Ibid., III. 38.
[5] ण मे चलणो अण्णदो पवट्टन्ति । मदो मं विआरेदि *Māl.*, p. 49.
[6] *Raghu.*, VIII. 68.
[7] *Ku.*, VIII. 77.
[8] *Śāk.*, p. 188.
[9] नारिकेलासवं *Raghu.*, IV. 42.
[10] Ibid., VII. 49.
[11] सोण्डिआपण *Śāk.*, p. 188.
[12] *Ku.*, VI. 42. cf. the commentator on आपानभूमिषु—पानगोष्ठीप्रदेशेषु घ्राण कान्तमधुगन्धकर्षिणी: पानभूमिरचना: प्रियासखे: *Raghu.*, XIX. 11. रचितापानभूमय: Ibid., IV. 42.
[13] वेश्मसु *Raghu.*, XIX. 5.
[14] पिबन्ति मद्यं मदनीयमुत्तमम् *Ṛtu.*, V. 10.
[15] *Raghu.*, IV. 42, XIX. 12, 46; *Ṛtu.*, IV. 11; *Ku.*, III. 38; *Vik.*, IV. 44.
[16] *M. U.*, 3; *Raghu.*, VIII. 68.

madirā[1] although other phrases like *vāruṇī*,[2] *kādambarī*[3] and *śīdhu*[4] also have been used. Kālidāsa refers particularly to three kinds of preparation of wine, viz. 1. extracted from the cocoanuts[5] (*nārikelāsava*), 2. prepared from the juice of sugarcanes[6] (*śīdhu*) and 3. extracted from flowers like *madhūka*[7] (*puṣpāsava*). Generally scented wine[8] was used by the well-to-do classes. Flowers of the mango and red pāṭala[9] (Stereospermum suaveolnes) were used to perfume the various wines. Apart from scenting the wine the effect of bad odour was sought to be removed by the use of the skin of mātuluṅga or bījapūraka[10] (Citrus medica). "The bījapūraka skin was chewed to remove all traces of the smell of drink, to prevent melodorous belching after a generous meal, to sweeten the breath....."[11] Another way of removing the trace of ill odour of wine was the chewing of betel leaves,[12] and nuts.[13] The wildly growing betel leaves intertwined with the branches of the cardamom trees in the Malaya regions of the far south and the long line of the areca-nut trees on the sea shores must have provided the Indian people with the articles making up for a perfect betel roll, when its use had been pretty old in India even in the time of Kālidāsa as is evidenced by the *Kāmasūtra* where a detailed description of a nāgaraka's room and habits is given.

The effects of drunkenness were manifested in the beauty produced by the rolling red eyes and in the meaningless expression at every faltering step.[14] In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* we have a reference[15] to the effects of intoxication being undermined by the use of *matsyaṇḍikā*, a variety of sugar prescribed by ancient medical works as an antidote for over-intoxication in their sections devoted to *Madātyayacikitsā*.[16]

We have seen above that the drinking of wine was a fashionable vice among the people during the time of Kālidāsa. Fahien's assertion that there were no

[1] *M. U.* 15; *Ṛtu.*, VI. 10; *Vik.*, II. 13, IV. 42.
[2] *Ku.*, IV. 12.
[3] *Śāk.*, p 188.
[4] पुराणशीधु *Raghu.*, XVI. 52; सीहु *Māl.*, p. 42.
[5] *Raghu.*, IV. 42—Mallinātha: नारिकेलमद्यं
[6] शीधु *Raghu.*, XVI. 52, cf. Mallinātha. शीधुपक्वेक्षुरसप्रकृतक: सुराविशेष: cf. Yādava lexicon पक्वैरिक्षुरसैरस्त्री शीधु: पक्वरस: शिव:"
[7] पुष्पाणामासवो मद्यं पुष्पासव: । पुष्पोद्भवमद्यमित्यर्थ: । Mallinātha on *Ku.*, III. 38.
[8] पुराणशीधुं—पुराणं वासितं Mallinātha on *Raghu.*, XVI. 52.; *Ṛtu.*, IV. 11 *Vik.*, IV. 44.
[9] सहकारमासवं रक्तपाटलसमागमं पपौ *Raghu.*, XIX. 46.
[10] *Māl.*, p. 35.
[11] Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra: a Study—The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XI. No. 1, March 1935, pp. 40-41.
[12] *Raghu.*, IV. 42; *Ṛtu.*, V. 5.
[13] *Raghu.*, IV. 44.
[14] *Ku.*, IV.
[15] P. 42.
[16] मद्यं पीत्वा यदि वा तत्क्षणमेव लेह्यात् शर्करां सघृताम् ।
मदयति न जातु मद्यं मनागपि प्रथितवीर्यमपि ॥
also मदयति न हि मद्यं जातुचित्पीत मद्यं ।
पिबति घृतसमेता शर्करामेव सद्य: ॥ *Ajīrṇāmṛtamañjarī* by Kāśirāja.

dealers in intoxicating drinks[1] can hardly be admitted for truth for reasons given elsewhere. Although it is possible that the poet may have made much of it, yet it cannot be dismissed as a pure poetical fiction. It may be noted that most of the instances of drinking were associated with royal classes and the nobility. It is possible that the Kṣatriyas indulged in drinking wine but the Brahmins abstained. Nevertheless, the works of the poet disclose ample and unmistakable evidence that drinking was a favourite indulgence among the common people[2] as well.

Dress

We have references to various sorts of dress of men and women suiting all weathers and occasions[3] of India. We read of hunting dresses[4] and dresses put on by repentant and love-sick[5] persons, by *abhisārikās*[6] and by those observing a vow.[7] What dress was to be worn by what type of persons was settled, so that as soon as a character made his entrance on the stage, the audience at once knew whether he was repentant, love-sick or observing a vow. People were particular about their clothes and dressed themselves in winning[8] white apparel.[9] Clothes of various colours[10]—white,[11] red,[12] blue,[13] saffron[14] and black[15]—were worn. Apart from colours, cloth was made of various patterns suited to the hot and cold weathers. We find mention of both silk[16] (*kauśeyaka*) and wool[17] (*patrorṇa*). Silk was woven with fine patterns of the fingers of flamingoes,[18] and one of its kind, *Cināṁśuka*,[19] came from China as the etymology

[1] *Fa-hien's Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, Trans. by James Legges, p. 43.

[2] Cf. *Śāk.*, p. 188; *Ṛtu.*, I. 3, IV. 11, VI. 10; *Raghu.*, II. 42, 61, XVI. 52; *M. U.*, 3, 11, 15, 32.

[3] अनुकूलवेष: *Raghu.*, V. 76 क्लृप्तविवाहवेषा VI. 10 मृगवनोपगमक्षमवेषभृत् IX. 50; मृगयावेशम् *Śāk.*, p. 68.

[4] अपनयन्तु भवन्तो मृगयावेशम् *Śāk.*, p. 68.

Raghu., IX. 50. In the hunting dress the hair was tied with a *vanamāla* and the clothes used for the body were of a colour matching with leaves (of Palāśa, etc.), so that the beasts might be easily deceived cf. *Raghu.*, IX. 51.

[5] *Vik.*, III. 12.

[6] Ibid., p. 68.

[7] *Śāk.*, VII. 21.

[8] मनोज्ञवेषा: *Raghu.*, VI. 1.

[9] शुद्धवेषयो: Ibid., I. 46 उज्ज्वलनेपथ्ययो: Commentator; उदारनेपथ्यभृतां Ibid., VI. 6; उज्ज्वलवेशधारिणा Commentator.

[10] वासाश्चित्रं *M. U.*, 11.

[11] सितदुकूला *Ṛtu.*, II. 25 श्वेतवासोवसाना Ibid., III. 26; सिताशुक *Vik.*, III. 12, cf. *Raghu.*, I. 46, VI. 6.

[12] अरुणरागांशुक *Raghu.*, IX. 43, रक्तांशुकै: *Ṛtu.*, VI. 4, 19; वासोवसानातरुणार्करागं *Ku.*, III. 54.

[13] नीलांशुक *Vik.*, p. 68; *M. P.* 41.

[14] काषाय *Raghu.*, XV. 77; कुसुम्भरागारुणितैर्दुकूलै: *Ṛtu.*, VI. 4.

[15] श्यामस्तनांशुक *Vik.*, IV. 17.

[16] सरागकौशेयकभूषितो *Ṛtu.*, V. 8; कौशेय *Māl.*, p. 105.

[17] *Māl.*, V. 12, p. 105.

[18] हंसचिह्नदुकूलवान *Raghu.*, XVII. 25; वधूदुकूलंकलहंसलक्षणम् । *Ku.*, V. 67.

[19] *Ku.*, VII. 3.

of the phrase suggests. There were patterns of cloth made of such thin texture as could be easily blown away by the breath.[1] Perhaps the reference is to the famous Indian muslin. In summer people generally put on clothes[2] suitable for the scorching heat of the Indian sun. Then there were apparels made by weaving gems[3] in their texture to keep the body cool by soothing the heat in summers. In winter naturally the heavy attire[4] made of wool[5] or silk-wool was a great favourite. We have even an allusion to the distinctive attires of night and day.[6] There is no wonder if the luxury-loving Indian of the time did not like to spoil his costly robe of the day by using it at night while in bed. It would be better to deal separately with dress with reference to articles put on by men and women.

Wedding Dress

It appears that different wedding dresses prevailed in different countries within India. In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* the Parivrājikā is requested to display on Mālavikā's person the wedding dress which prevailed in the Vidarbha country.[7] Consequently the bride appeared in her 'marital costume'[8] clothed in a silk garment, not much hanging down and putting on beautiful ornaments.[9] The ordinary wedding dress seems to have been a pair of silk robes in which were woven forms of swans, serving for the upper and lower garments of the bride and the bridegroom.

Dress of Men and Women

The articles of dress put on by man were generally three in number. His head he covered with a turban,[10] *veṣṭana*, and then he wore two pieces of cloth[11] (*dukūlayugmam*), namely, the *uttarīya*[12] and the lower garment. *Veṣṭana* was a headgear encircling the head and binding the hair locks of men[13] and boys.[14] *Uttarīya* was an upper scarf covering the shoulders. People favoured by fortune used scarfs made by weaving gems into their texture[15] (*ratnodgrathitottarīyam*), evidently used in summers. The dress of a scarf and *dhoti* or loin-cloth may be witnessed on the beautifully carved bas-reliefs and other images carved in

[1] नि.श्वासहार्यांक *Raghu.*, XVI. 43.
[2] Ibid., तन्वंशुक *Ṛtu.*, I. 7, IV. 3; प्रतनुसितदुकूला Ibid., II. 25, गुरूणिवासांसि विहाय तूर्णं तनूनि Ibid., VI. 13.
[3] रत्नग्रथितोत्तरीय *Raghu*, XVI. 43.
[4] वासासिगुरूणि *Ṛtu.*, I. 7, V. 2, VI. 13.
[5] *Māl.*, V. 12, Ibid., p. 105.
[6] *Ṛtu.*, V. 14.
[7] *Māl.*, p. 93.
[8] विवाहनेपथ्य Ibid, pp. 90, 93.
[9] Ibid., V. 7.
[10] *Raghu.*, I. 42, VIII. 12.
[11] दुकूलयुग्मं Ibid., VII. 18, 19.
[12] Ibid., XVI. 43; *Śāk.*, p. 218.
[13] *Raghu.*, I. 42.
[14] Ibid., VIII. 12.
[15] Ibid., XVI. 43.

the round, dating from the time of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta periods or still earlier, preserved in the Muttra Museum. Some fine exhibits bearing long-flowing *uttarīya* and an elaborate loin-cloth with pleated effect reaching the ankles are the Nos. 1448 (a perfect specimen of terracotta Kāmadeva with five arrows), C. 18, 186, E.8 (figure of a *yakṣa*) 1. 8, 14, P. 14 and P. 68. *Uttarīya* was perhaps so essential in those days that among the sculptural compositions at Sanchi, Bharhut and Amraoti there is not one male figure without it.[1] This, however, does not hold good in case of the painted figures at Ajanta.[2] The innumerable figures especially the figure of Śṛṅgī Ṛṣi (J. 7) of the Muttra Museum, more especially still the Suṅga figures, put on a turban (*Uṣṇīṣa*) beautifully executed whereon, at times, we find imitations of gems scattered or set. At Sanchi all male figures have *Uṣṇīṣa* in the manner of a *pheta*, the mode of doing which is given by Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi in Pl. 2 of his work *Ajanta*. Many figures at Sanchi and Bharhut are carved in the style of wearing a *pheta*.[3] The wedding dress of the bridegroom comprised of those very two articles of robe with the only difference that they were not made of ordinary cotton but of silk fabric in which figures of swans[4] (*haṁsacihnadukūlavān*) were woven. This was a favourite design in the silk texture and such a pattern we find illustrated in a picturesque style in the dress of Kumārī riding the peacock preserved in the Muttra Museum.

Women put on three pieces of robe. The phrase *aṁśuka* has been used to signify their costume. Although the phrase signifies any cloth, still all references to the word have been made invariably in connection with a woman's apparel[5]. Of the three pieces of the woman's garment one was an upper and another a lower garment and a shawl. The upper garment was a bodice[6] (*kūrpāsaka*) the like of which we find displayed on the person of a few female images of the Muttra Museum. This bodice has been generally referred to by the word *stanāṁśuka*[7]. This shows that the upper garment did not cover the entire breast region but like the modern *choli* it covered the breasts alone and was worn with the help of bands[8]. It is still used by most women of southern India, Rajputana, and of the locality round Muttra. We are not sure of what sort this lower garment was, but from the use of the words *nīvī*[9], and *nīvī-bandha*[10], we can infer that it hung low to the ankles and was held up on the loin at its upper end by a *nīvī*. *Nīvī* was a cord which tied the upper end of the front folds into a round knot called *nīvī-bandha*. There is no reference to putting on of the lower garment in

[1] Shrimanta Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi: *Ajanta*, p. dd
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid., p. ee.
[4] *Raghu.*, XVII. 25; *Ku.*, V. 67.
[5] *Raghu.*, VI. 75, XI. 4, 26, *Ku.*, I. 14; *Ṛtu.*, I. 7, IV. 3, VI. 4, 19; *Vik.*, III. 12, IV. 17.
[6] कूर्पासकं *Ṛtu.*, IV. 16, V. 8.
[7] Ibid., VI. 8; *Vik.*, IV. 17, V. 12.
[8] श्लथबन्धनानि *Ṛtu.*, VI. 8.
[9] न ववन्धनीवीम् *Raghu.*, VII. 9; *Ku.*, VII. 60.
[10] नीवीबन्धोच्छ्वासितशिथिलं *M. U.*, 5; नीविबन्धं *Ku.*, VIII. 4.

the manner of the modern *sari*, although the Kambojikā[1] of the Muttra Museum wears a *sari* in a perfectly modern manner. Most probably the lower garment reached up to the loin only and there it was supported by a cord in the manner of the Saptamātṛkās[2], the composite image of the Seven Mothers of the Muttra Museum. The lower garment was bound over the region of the waist covering the zone round the waist-band[3] (*Kṣaumāntaritamekhale*). Lastly, there was a long shawl[4] used by women which covered them almost from head to foot serving even for a veil. There was a particular dress for the occasion of wedding[5] and it comprised of two pieces of silk-cloth, the upper and the lower garments. We have already made a reference to the fact that different wedding dresses prevailed in different countries within India. The ordinary wedding dress of a woman was a pair of silk garments[6], serving as a bodice and a lower loin-cloth. The newly married wife (*navabadhū*) put on a red bodice[7].

The *Yavanīs* or the Greek attendants of the king, while hunting, were at once marked out by their distinctive attire[8]. We have no mention of the articles of their apparel specifically except that they moved about with a bow, putting on many garlands and encircling the king[9]. In the famous so-called Bacchanalian Group of the Muttra Museum the attire of the Greek females may be seen. It is a long-sleeved jacket and a skirt falling down on the feet which are shod with plump shoes and a fillet like *veṣṭana* checking the locks of hair from falling[10]. A perfect specimen of a *Yavanī* is instanced in a figure carved on a railing pillar[11] with a sword in hand and wearing bobbed hair. Another such may probably be seen in the image of a maid with a wine jar attending on the drinking royal couple in a fresco at Ajanta.

Dress of Ascetics.

The ascetics put on saffron clothes in the manner of Sītā[12] generally made of tree-skin[13]. Girls of the hermitage put on a bark-made dress[14] in the manner of the ascetics. We have no reference to distinctive dresses of male and female ascetics although we may infer that there may have been a difference. Śakuntalā wears a bark dress with a knot[15] on her shoulder. It is not clear whether only one knot was tied on one of the shoulders, or two, one on each.

[1] F. 42 of *The Catalogue of the Sculptures of the Archaeological Museum, Mathura*, by J Ph. Vogel.
[2] F. 38. Ibid
[3] *Raghu*, X. 8
[4] *Śāk.*, V. 13.
[5] पत्रोर्णयुगल *Māl.*, pp. 90. 93, 105; *Raghu.*, VI. 10, VII 18, 19, XIX 25; *Ku.*, V. 67.
[6] *Raghu.*, XVII. 25; *Ku.*, V. 67.
[7] *Rtu.*, VI. 19.
[8] *Śāk.*, p. 57.
[9] Ibid.
[10] C. 2 of *The Catalogue of the Sculpture of the Arcl. Mu., Mathura.*
[11] J. 63. of Ibid.
[12] काषायपरिवीतेन *Raghu.*, X. 77.
[13] बक्कलेण *Śāk.*, p. 28, I. 17.
[14] Ibid., I. 17.
[15] Ibid., p. 28.

Of Robbers

Robbers living in forests and representing the wild tribes, perhaps the aborigines, covered their chests with quiver-straps and wore plumes of peacocks' feathers that hung down to their ears[1].

Ornaments

Kālidāsa refers to the following ornaments calling them variously as *bhūṣaṇa*[2], *ābharaṇa*[3], *alaṅkāra*[4] and *maṇḍana*[5]. Ornaments worn on the head were *cūḍāmaṇi*[6], a precious stone of uncommon brilliance, *ratnajāla* or *muktājāla*[7], a net made of precious stones or pearls to cover the locks of hair, jewels inserted in the tresses of hair, and *kirīṭa*[8], a tiara put on by kings. Ears were adorned with various sorts of ear-rings called *karṇabhūsaṇa*[9], *karṇapūra*[10], *kuṇḍala*[11] and *maṇikuṇḍala*[12] (ear-pendants) made of rubies and other precious stones. On the neck was worn what was called *niṣka*[13], a necklace probably made by stringing together coins known as *niṣkas*. This sort of neck-ornament (*kaṇṭhe*) has been referred to in as early a document as the *Ṛgveda*. Then there were in use various kinds of long necklaces falling in strings on the breast. Of these *muktāvalī*[14] was a string of pearls, *tārahāra*[15], a necklace of big pearls (*sthūlamuktāhārāḥ*—Mallinātha), *hāra*[16], an ordinary necklace, *hāraśekhara*[17], a snow-white string, *hārayaṣṭi*[18], 'an only string of pearls—*suddha ekāvali*—with a gem in the centre' referred to by Kauṭilya (ch. xg. p. 77), *vaijayantikā*[19], explained by T. A. Gopinath Rao[20] under the heading of *vaijayantī* as a necklace composed of a successive series of groups of gems, each group wherein has five gems in a particular order; he quotes the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* to elucidate the meaning of this necklace: "Viṣṇu's necklace called vaijayantī is five-formed as it consists of the five elements, and it is therefore called the elemental necklace. Here five-formed points to five different kinds of gems, namely, the pearl, ruby, emerald, blue-stone, and diamond." *Hemasūtra*[21]

[1] *Māl.*, V. 10.
[2] *Raghu.*, XVIII. 45, XIX. 45; *M. U.*, 11
[3] *Māl.*, V. 7; p. 104; *Vik.*, p. 68; *Raghu.*, XIV. 54; *Ku.*, III. 53, VII. 21.
[4] *Māl.*, p. 92.
[5] *Ku.*, I. 4; *M. U.*, 11.
[6] *Vik.*, p. 122.
[7] *M. P.*, 63; Ibid., *U.* 9.
[8] *Raghu.*, VI. 19.
[9] Ibid., 65.
[10] Ibid., VII. 27.
[11] Ibid., X. 51; *Ṛtu.*, III. 19.
[12] *Ṛtu.*, II. 19.
[13] *Ku.*, II. 49.
[14] *Raghu.*, XIII. 48.
[15] Ibid., V. 52.
[16] Ibid., V. 70, VI. 16, XVI. 62; *Ṛtu.*, IV. 2, VI. 24, 56; *M. U.*, 9.
[17] *Ṛtu.*, I. 6.
[18] Ibid., I. 8, II. 25.
[19] *Vik.*, p. 38.
[20] *The Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I. part I. p. 26.
[21] *Vik.*, pp. 122, 123.

was a chain of gold with a precious stone in the centre[1]. *Prālamba*[2] and *mālā*[3] were long garlands of flower. Ear-ornaments (*karṇabhūsaṇa*[4]) of various designs were worn on the ears. A few of them have been mentioned by Kālidāsa: *Karṇapūra*[5], or *kuṇḍala*, an ear-ring, made of gold or precious stones like ruby[6], and ear-ornaments of gold made in imitation of yellow lotus[7]. *Aṅgada*[8] or *keyūra*[9], armlets of gold and of gold with gems set in them, were frequently used by both men and women. *Valaya*[10], bracelets, adorned the forearm of the two sexes, and rings (*aṅgulīya*[11], *aṅgulīyaka*[12]) of various designs decorated the fingers. Besides gold, which was mostly used for ornaments, diamonds and other gems[13] were also employed for making rings. Several rings bore the design of a serpent[14], while others were imprinted with the names of their owners. Sometimes a ring was used as a pass-word of authority[15]. The poet makes endless references to the gold[16] and gem-set girdles, mostly alternated with gold and precious stones thus made to look variegated in colour[17], worn by women on their waist. He alludes to them by several designations like *mekhalā*[18], *hemamekhalā*[19], *kāñcī*[20], *kanakakāñcī*[21], *kiṅkiṇī*[22] and *raśanā*[23], which may warrant the existence of as many types. An actual variety of the waist-band may be studied among the scores of images of female goddesses preserved in the Muttra Museum. Perhaps there were two further types of girdles, the jingling[24] and the silent sort. Nūpuras[25], producing sweet sound adorned the ankles of women and were made of various precious stones[26]. We read of a jewel-casket[27] and a box containing ornaments[28]. Ornaments were aslo set in costumes

[1] *Vik.*, V 2.
[2] *Raghu.*, VI. 14
[3] *Māl.*, p. 36.
[4] *Raghu*, V. 65.
[5] Ibid., VII. 27.
[6] *Rtu.*, II. 19.
[7] *M. U.*, 9.
[8] *Raghu.*, VI. 14, 53, 73; XVI. 60; *Ṛtu.*, IV. 3, VI. 6; *Vik.*, I. 15.
[9] *Raghu.*, VI. 68, VII. 50, XVI. 56.
[10] *Śāk.*, III. 10, VI. 6; *M. P.*, 12; *Raghu.*, XVI. 73; *Ṛtu.*, VI. 6.
[11] *Raghu.*, VI. 18; *Śāk.*, p. 47.
[12] *Śāk.*, pp. 49, 120, 146; *Māl.*, p. 4.
[13] *Raghu.*, VI. 18.
[14] *Māl.*, p. 4.
[15] *Śāk.*, p. 120, VI. 12; *Māl.*, p. 4.
[16] *Raghu.*, XIII. 3; XIX. 41; *Ṛtu.*, I. 6; III. 24; *Māl.*, III. 21.
[17] *Raghu.*, XIX. 45; *Ku.*, I. 38; *Ṛtu.*, IV. 4, VI. 3.
[18] *Māl.*, p. 59; *Ṛtu.*, I. 4, 6, VI. 3; *Ku.*, I. 38, VIII. 89; *Raghu.*, VIII. 64, XIX. 25, 26, 45.
[19] *Ṛtu.*, I. 6.
[20] Ibid., II. 19, III. 24, IV. 4; *Raghu.*, VI. 43; *Ku.*, I. 37, III. 55; *Māl.*, III. 21, p. 28.
[21] *Ṛtu.*, III. 24.
[22] *Raghu.*, XIII. 33.
[23] Ibid., VII. 10, XVI. 65, XIX. 27, 41; *M. P.*, 35; *Ṛtu.*, VI. 24; *Māl.*, p. 59.
[24] *M. P.*, 35; *Ṛtu.*, III. 24.
[25] *Raghu.*, VIII. 63, XIII. 23, XVI. 12, 56; *Ku.*, I. 34; *Ṛtu.*, I. 5, III. 25, IV. 4; *Vik.*, III. 15, IV. 30, p. 100.
[26] *Ṛtu.*, III. 25.
[27] *Māl.*, pp. 73, 87.
[28] Ibid., p. 104.

for use in summer[1] to give a cool touch to the person of the wearer. Of the above mentioned ornaments, *cūḍāmaṇi* or *kapālamaṇi*[2], *kirīṭa*, *kuṇḍala*, *niṣka*, various types of gold chains and pearl strings, *aṅgada*, *valaya*, *aṅgulīyaka* were worn by men, and these same excepting perhaps the *kirīṭa* and *vaijayantī*, and the rest served as ornaments for women. Thus men also wore ornaments, and to bring the picture home we may quote an almost contemporary image of Viṣṇu in a ruined temple of Deogarh in Jhansi which wears *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*, *kuṇḍala*, *hāra*, *keyūra*, *kaṭaka* and *vanamālā*. This image has been reproduced in Pl. XXXII of the *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. 1. Part. 1. of T. A. Gopinath Rao. The profusion of ornaments used by women may be marked in the Ajanta paintings where they are worn with much warmth particularly by the maid-servant of cave No. 2 who is otherwise devoid of clothing.

Toilet—Hair

We read in Kālidāsa of cropped head with a long bunch of hair called *śikhā*[3] on it as well as of long hair grown by men[4]. When men wore long hair they tied them with a hair-band[5]. They shaved their beard but during the period of mourning they let it grow long[6]. The word for beard is *śmaśru*. Persians kept long beards.[7] Boys wore hair in locks called *kākapakṣa*[8], as they, falling on the sides, resembled the wings of a raven.

Women grew long hair[9], oiled and combed[10] them, and then parted[11] and knit them in long tresses[12]. They wore flowers[13], pearls and gems in their long hanging tresses, and on the parting line. Sometimes a network of pearls was worn to cover the hair. Separated wives neither oiled nor combed their hair nor did they undo their tresses in order to knit them afresh which consequently grew rough and dry[14]. Women perfumed[15] their hair with the incense of *aguru*, sandal, etc. They tied their *veṇis* or tresses in one knot and put it on the crown of the head. It was called *śikhā*[16] or *cūḍā*. They also knit the mass of hair in

[1] *Raghu.*, XVI. 43.
[2] *Vik.*, p. 122.
[3] *Raghu.*, XVI. 43.
[4] *Vik.*, Act. IV; सिहण्डवो Ibid., Act. V.
[5] लताप्रतानोद्ग्रथितैः स केशः *Raghu.*, II. 8.
[6] श्मश्रुप्रवृद्ध Ibid., XVIII. 71.
[7] श्मश्रुल Ibid., IV. 63.
[8] काकपक्ष Ibid., III. 28, XI. I, 42, XVIII. 43.
[9] *M. P.*, 8; *Ṛtu.*, IV. 15.
[10] Ibid.
[11] सीमन्ते *M. U.*, 2.
[12] *Raghu.*, XIX. 12; *M. U.*, 2; *Śāk.*, p. 250.
[13] *M. U.*, 2; *Raghu.*, VI. 23.
[14] *M. U.*, 29.
[15] *Ṛtu.*, I. 4 II. 21, V. 5, VI. 13; *Ku.*, VII. 14; *M. P.*, 32.
[16] *M. U.*, 29.

a single long braid technically known as *'ekaveṇī*[1].' *Ekaveṇī* is not the modern *jura*, for the description of a wife in separation refers to the *ekaveṇī* hanging on her back down to the buttocks[2].

Articles of Toilet

Among the articles of toilet may be summed up flowers of an innumerable variety, garlands, perfumes, odoriferous powders, incense, collyrium, ointments and pastes, a sort of lip-stick, lac-dye for the feet and fragrant substances used to perfume the body and mouth.

Flower

Of the many articles of toilet flower was the chief and it played a great part in the aesthetic make up of the people. Innumerable references to flower are made by the poet. No festivity could be held without it and it chiefly figured among decorations on all occasions. Men and women wore garlands long enough to reach their knees. Most of the ornaments of precious stones and metals were replaced by flower imitations[3]. We have a reference to a zone or girdle made of flowers[4] to be worn in place of the usual one of gold. Young women stuck flowers and new leaves of *kesara* in their hair and bore them as ornaments. Flowers of *kesara* were also used to make a girdle[5]. *Karṇikāra* flowers were employed as ear-pendants[6]. Women played with lotuses in their hands, placed *kunda* blossoms and *mandāra* flowers in their hair, *śirīṣa* flowers on their ears, flowers blossoming in the rainy season on the parting line of the hair, and knit *kurabaka* flowers in their tresses[7]. Girls living in a hermitage wore ornaments made exclusively of flower[8]. Already a class (*puṣpalāvī*[9]) had grown up and taken the business of flower for its profession.

Cosmetics

Several cosmetics were used by both men and women. Before bathing, they used to anoint their bodies with various pastes called *anulepana*[10] and *aṅgarāga*[11], (fragrant ointments ordinarily made of fine sandal-wood paste) prepared of the roots of a grass called *uśīra*[12] (Andropogon muricatum) or of sandal[13]. Other kinds of paste were prepared from *kāleyaka*[14] (a plant producing essential

[1] *Śāk.*, VII. 21; *M. U.*, 29.
[2] *Ṛtu.*, IV. 16.
[3] *M. U.*, 11.
[4] *Ku.*, III. 55.
[5] Ibid.
[6] *Ṛtu.*, VI. 5.
[7] *M. U.*, 2.
[8] *Śāk.*, IV., ibid., p. 129.
[9] *M. P.*, 26.
[10] *Ṛtu.*, V. 5; *Vik.*, p. 121.
[11] *Ku.*, V. 68, VIII. 9; *Raghu.*, VI. 60, CII. 27, XIV. 14, XVII. 24.
[12] *Śāk.*, p. 84. [13] *Ṛtu.*, II. 21. The sandal wood paste was prepared by mixing together fragrant ingredients like *priyaṅgu, kālcyaka* and saffron and was further scented with *mṛganābhi*, musk.
[14] *Ṛtu.*, IV. 5; *Ku.*, VII. 9.

oil), *kālāguru*[1] (the black *aguru*) and *haricandana*[2]. *Haricandana* was a yellow pigment, perfumed and therefore called *candana*. Oils were prepared from *Iṅgudi*[3] fruits and also perhaps from *manaḥśilā*[4] (realgar) and *haritāla*[5]. *Manaḥśilā* and *haritāla* (orpiment) along with *kāleyaka* have been enumerated in the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*[6] as the three varieties of Tailakarṇika (plants producing essential oils[7]). After bath the hair was dried with the fragrant incense of the black *aguru*[8], lodhra-dust[9], *dhūpa*[10] and other scented substances (*kāṣeya*[11]). The body was further perfumed by musk[12]. Men and women applied the *tilaka* mark on their forehead with a paste made of a mixture of *haritāla*[13] and *manaḥśilā*[14]. Women also sometimes applied collyrium[15] to their forehead for *tilaka*. Unguent[16] was applied to the eyes with a pencil (*śalākā*[17]). *Candana*[18] and *kuṅkuma*[19] (*saffron*), besides being used for *tilaka*, were also applied by women to their breasts[20] in order to give them a cooling effect. Women painted their cheeks with various foliage patterns. This painting as a whole was known as *Viśeṣaka*[21] which was an ornamental arrangement of dots of different colours on the face This arrangement when made in the form of leaves was styled as *Patraviśesaka*[22] or *Patralekha*. *Viśeṣaka* was otherwise known as *Bhakti*[23] which was mainly a beautiful arrangement of little dots of *kuṅkuma* (saffron) made to ornament the *tilaka* mark. The *Amarakośa* explains *viśeṣaka* as *patralekha patrāṅguli tamālapatra tilaka citrakāni viśeṣakam*[24]. The white *aguru*[25] (*śuklāguru*) and *rocana*[26] or *gorocana*[27] were mixed up to make the paste with which *Viśeṣaka* was painted. This was a white paste as its both ingredients—the *śuklāguru* and *gorocana*—were white substances.

[1] *Ṛtu.*, II. 21, IV. 5, V. 5, 12, VI. 13; *Ku*, VII. 15; *Raghu*, XIV. 12.
[2] Ibid., VI. 60.
[3] *Śāk.*, p. 73.
[4] *Ku.*, VII. 23.
[5] Ibid.
[6] pp. 653, 656.
[7] *Arthaśāstra* quoted in 'Toilet (Man's Indebtedness to plants) by Girija Prasanna Majumdar, *Indian Culture*, Vol. I. No. 4, April 1935.
[8] *Ṛtu.*, II. 21, IV. 5, 12, VI 13, *Ku.*, VII 15, *Raghu.*, IV. 12.
[9] *M. U.*, 2.
[10] *Ṛtu.*, IV. 5, V. 5, 12, VI. 13, *M. P.*, 32; *Ku*, V. 55, VII. 14; *Raghu.*, XVI. 50.
[11] *Ṛtu.*, I. 4.
[12] Ibid., VI. 12; *Raghu.*, XVII. 24.
[13] *Ku.*, VII. 23.
[14] Ibid.
[15] *Māl.*, III. 5.
[16] Ibid., *Raghu.*, VI. 55, VII. 8; *Ku.*, V. 51; *Ṛtu.*, IV. 17.
[17] *Raghu.*, VII. 8; *Ku.*, I. 47, VII 20.
[18] *Ṛtu.*, I. 2, 4, 6, II. 21; *Raghu.*, XVII. 24.
[19] *Ṛtu.*, IV. 2. V. 9.
[20] Ibid., I. 4, 6. II. 21, IV. 2, V. 9.
[21] *Māl.*, III. 5; *Raghu.*, III. 55, IX. 29; *Ku.*, III. 33, 38.
[22] *Ṛtu.*, IV. 5; *Raghu.*, III. 55, IX. 29; *Ku.*, III. 33, 38.
[23] *Ku.*, III. 30, VII. 15.
[24] *Indian Culture*, pp. 660-61.
[25] *Ku.*, VII. 15.
[26] *Raghu.*, VI. 65; XVII. 24.
[27] *Ku.*, VII. 15.

Women applied lac-dye[1] (*ālaktaka*) to their lips and then besmeared over them a kind of powder called lodhra-dust[2] prepared from the lodhra wood which turned them yellowish red. The lip-dye was like a wax-solvent to protect the lips from the effects of the winter cold. Women dyed their feet with lac and the red dye of it applied to the sole of their feet reddened the flights of steps as they walked down to the edge of water of tanks[3]. *Mātuluṅga* or *bījapūraka*[4] and betel[5] spices were used to dispel the foul smell of the mouth. The skin of the *bījapūraka*, again, was as much a necessary of life to a *nāgaraka* or fashionable gentleman as were dice, musical instruments, betel-leaves, etc. The *Kāmasūtra gives* a detailed description of *nāgaraka*'s room and habits. "The Bījapūraka skin was chewed to remove all traces of the smell of drink, to prevent melodorous belching after a generous meal, to sweeten the breath so that the refined lady coming to his embrace might not be repelled by it. These being the facts, one might almost infer that to offer Bījapūraka to a lady friend or superior might almost have been construed in those days as an offensive libel on her unladylike habits[6]."

Mirror

The looking-glass[7] was an important article of toilet. We are not sure as to the metal of which it was made but an indirect reference points to one made of a substance like glass or at least polished and made glossy like glass as in use now-a-days. While drawing upon a simile Kālidāsa has the following: "Like a stain caused by the wind surcharged with watery vapour[8]." Such a stain is particularly noticed on a mirror made of glass, although we have a reference to a looking-glass made of gold[9]. "In ancient times," says Gopinatha Rao, "when glass was either unknown or was not employed for making mirrors, highly polished metal plates of various designs were utilised to serve as mirrors. It may be remarked, by the way, that this old speculum industry has not yet died out in India. In a place called Aramula in Travancore, such mirrors are still manufactured; and the mirrors made by the workmen of this place are so true that they do not show distortion in reflection[10]." As a matter of fact we find on the authority of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*[11] India importing crude glass in the opening century of the Christian era. Perhaps it was made as early as the 3rd century B. C. in Ceylon.[12] Pliny refers to the Indian glass made of pounded crystal as superior to all others[13]. Dr. Acharya in his *Indian Architecture* refers to nine

[1] *Māl.*, III. 5; *Ku.*, V. 35.
[2] *Ku.*, VII. 9; *M. U.*, 2.
[3] *Rtu.*, I. 5; *Ku.*, IV. 19. VII. 19, VIII. 89; *Raghu.*, XVI. 15; *M. P.*, 32; *Māl.*, III. 13; *Vik.*, IV. 16.
[4] *Māl.*, V.
[5] *Rtu.*, V. 5.
[6] "Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*: a Study," *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, March 1935.
[7] *Raghu.*, XIV. 37, XVII. 26, XIX. 28, 30; *Ku.*, VII. 22, 26, 36, VIII. 11; *Śāk.*, VII. 32.
[8] *Raghu.*, XIV. 37.
[9] Ibid, XVII. 26.
[10] *The Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I. part I. p. 12.
[11] Translation by Schoff, p. 45, § 56.
[12] Mitra: *Antiquities of Orissa*, I. p. 101.
[13] XXXVII. 20.

alternative measurements of a mirror ranging from 5 or 6 to 21 or 22 *aṅgulas*[1]. The *Mānasāra* says that mirrors should be quite circular (*suvṛtta*) with the edge a little raised. The surface must be perfectly bright, the rim should be decorated with linear ornaments (*rekhā*) and the reverse with the figures of Lakṣmī and others[2]. After finishing their toilet people looked in it. It was considered auspicious as now.

We have references to the art of toilet[3], (*prasādhanakalā* and *prasādhanavidhi*), to toilet-men-attendants[4] *prasādhakāḥ* and toilet-maid-attendants[5] (*prasādhikāḥ*) and even perhaps to a toilet-case[6]. Toilet of the face was known as *mukhaprasādhana*[7] and that of the tresses *veṇīprasādhana*. The latter may be witnessed in a perfect specimen carved out in relief among several panels of a door-jamb preserved in the Muttra Museum. The *prasādhikā* and the toilet-case may be seen sculptured in some of the exhibits of Bharhut and Muttra. The most perfect specimen of it may be witnessed in an exquisitely finished piece of sculpture, carved on a railing pillar[8], preserved in the collection of the Bharata Kala Bhavana, Benares. This toilet-maid-attendant stands in an admirable pose bearing a case (*peṭikā*) which perhaps was supposed to contain little things such as perfumes, flowers, etc.

In connection with toilet the *Kāmasūtras* may be quoted to show a similarity of description between Kālidāsa and Vātsyāyana. "A concrete illustration of the art or arts of toilet," says G. P. Majumdar, "may be found in Vātsyāyana's description of the life of a nāgaraka and his wife:

"The first article in the toilet of a nāgaraka is anulepana—a fragrant ointment ordinarily made of fine sandal-wood paste or a preparation of a variety of sweet smelling substances (*acchīkṛtamcandanamanyadvānulepanam*). He then scents his clothes in a sweet smelling smoke of aguru, and wears a garland on the head or hangs it round his neck. He uses other perfumes (*saugandhikaḥ*), and a box of scents (*saugandhaputikaḥ*), is kept in readiness for the purpose. He applies collyrium, made of various substances, to his eyes. To his lips he applies ālaktaka (*ālaktakam viśiṣṭarāgārtham*), and then rubs them over with wax to make the dye fast (*sikthakamālaktakam*). Then he looks at himself in a glass (*dṛṣṭvādarśe mukham*), perfumes his mouth by chewing spiced betel-leaves (*gṛhīta mukhavāsa tāmbūlaḥ*), and proceeds to attend to his business (*kāryānyanutiṣṭhet*). He shaves (*āyuṣyam*) and during the bath he uses a soap-like substance (*phenakaḥ*) to cleanse his person.[9]"

[1] p. 69.
[2] Ibid.
[3] *Māl.*, p. 50, III. 13; *Śāk.*, p. 129; *Vik.*, I; *Ku.*, VII. 13, 30.
[4] *Raghu.*, XVII. 22.
[5] Ibid., VII. 7; *Ku.*, VII. 20.
[6] *Vik.*, IV. 121.
[7] *Māl.*, III. 5.
[8] No. 100.
[9] *Sādhāraṇamadhikaraṇam*, IV. 5 and 6 pp. 120-21: स प्रातरुत्थाय कृतनियतं कृत्यः गृहीतदन्धावनः: मात्रयानुलेपनं धूपं स्रजामिति च गृहीत्वा दत्वासिक्थकमलक्तकं च दृष्ट्वादर्शेमुखे गृहीतमुखवाससः ताम्बूल': कार्य्याण्यनुतिष्ठेत् ॥ See Chakladar, *Social Life*, pp. 156-157.

CHAPTER XI

SOCIAL HABITS AND OTHER INCIDENTS OF SOCIAL LIFE

Social Habits

Kālidāsa defines relationship between man and man as one sprung up from mere talk[1] (*sambandhamābhāṣaṇapūrvamāhuḥ*). The cause of all friendship is thus a previous talk between two persons. This gives rise to society. Society consists of persons who are either elders, equals or inferiors. Kālidāsa incidentally refers to the habits of these towards one another. Obeisance was a necessary form of accost on the part of a social inferior when he met a superior. Generally he hailed his superior by bowing his head, which act was known as *praṇāmakriyā*.[2] The person saluting his superior often pronounced the phrase *praṇāma*,[3] *vande*[4] or *namaste*.[5] Such an inferior threw himself on, or touched, the feet[6] of a respectable superior like the preceptor,[7] mother[8] or father[9]. The elders and superiors returned the salutations with their blessings[10] (*āśiṣam*). There were many forms of such blessings; for example, an ascetic would bless a king with the words *cakravartinam putramāpnuhi*[11] (May you be blessed with a son of universal sovereignty!), and the king would reply: *pratigṛhītam*[12] (am obliged); elderly ladies would return a girl's salutation with *ananyabhājam patimāpnuhi*[13] (May you win a husband entirely devoted to you!) or a bride's with *akhaṇḍitam prema labhasva patyuḥ*[14] (May you command the undivided love of your husband!) Sītā raises Lakṣmaṇa from her feet and sends him away with the following words: *prītāsmi te saumya cirāya jīva*[15] (I am pleased with you; may you live long!). At the time of departure from the hermitage of a sage, persons of conduct made rounds of the sage and his wife as also of the worshipped fire.[16] The elders blessed the parting youngsters

[1] *Raghu.*, II. 58.
[2] Ibid., VI. 25.
[3] Ibid., XIV. 13, 60, XV. 14; *Ku.*, III. 62.
[4] *Raghu.*, XIII. 72, 77, XIV. 5, 71.
[5] *Māl.*, p. 97.
[6] प्रणिपत्यपादयोः *Raghu.*, VIII. 12, XI. 89, XIII. 70, XIV. 2, 60; *Śāk.*, p. 145.
[7] *Raghu.*, I. 57.
[8] Ibid., XI. 7; *Ku.*, VII. 27.
[9] *Raghu.*, XI. 4, 5.
[10] Ibid., XI. 6, 31; *Ku.*, VI. 90; *Vik.*, p. 137. आयुष्मान् ।
[11] *Śāk.*, p. 21.
[12] Ibid.
[13] *Ku.*, III. 63.
[14] Ibid., VII. 28.
[15] *Raghu.*, XIV. 59.
[16] Ibid., II. 71.

with the words *śivāste panthānaḥ santu*[1] (May your path lie free from dangers!). When brothers and equals met they generally embraced[2] or shook hands[3] with each other. To those at a distance, words of endearment and well-being were conveyed[4] (*yoga kṣemam*).

While talking to an elder or to a socially superior person one slightly bent forward and spoke with chosen phrases and polite manners.[5] While requesting something, an inferior joined his hands and then addressed his superior.[6]

Family Relations

Family ties spring up from marriage. We read of very tender bonds of family affection. Naturally, since the begetting of a male child was considered so very important, he was loved with the deepest affection. When the child crawled about on all its fours and then stood up and walked with the help of his nurse[7] (*dhātrī*), it was a scene for the eyes of the father. When it stammered out its first words[8] and sat restlessly in the lap of its father, what a joy the contact meant to the latter![9] This is why a parting with the son was painful and brought tears to the eyes of many a royal father,[10] howsoever impassible. The death of a son in the life-time of the parents almost killed them.[11] A daughter although not so important with regard to inheritance and funeral obsequies, was yet the recepient of ample affection from parents, brothers and other kinsmen. She was considered to belong to a different family[12] to which she was added as a wife, and her parting made her parents cry.[13] Act IV of the *Śākuntala* is full of such references.

Of other members of a family we read of brothers,[14] elder and younger, loving affectionately, of sisters[15] well cared for by brothers, daughters-in-law[16] loved by the father-in-law and mother-in-law, of the ideal relations of husband and wife,[17] of maternal uncles,[18] of the kinsmen both on the side of the father[19] and mother,[20] of uncles[21] and of the affection existing between the father and son[22], and the mother and son.[23]

The children of the kings and nobles were entrusted to the care of nurses[24] who suckled and fed them and trained them to walk and speak.[25]

[1] *Śāk.*, p. 148.
[2] *Raghu.*, XIII. 73.
[3] परस्परं हस्तौ स्पृशतः *Vik.*, p. 21.
[4] *Māl.*, p. 68.
[5] *Raghu.*, V. 32.
[6] Ibid., II. 64.
[7] Ibid., III. 25.
[8] प्रथमोदितं वचो Ibid.
[9] Ibid., 26.
[10] Ibid., XI. 4.
[11] *Raghu.*, IX. 78.
[12] अर्थो हि कन्या परकीय एव *Śāk.*, IV. 21.
[13] Ibid., Ibid., pp. 133, 136; *Ku.*, VI. 92.
[14]—[23] Common-place.
[24] *Raghu.*, III. 25.
[25] Ibid.

Entertainment of Guest (Atithi)

When a guest arrived, he was treated with singular hospitality. He was given the honour of a god and was actually worshipped[1] (*arcayitvā*). Water was given to wash his feet[2] and then he was asked to grace a seat prepared of cane-weed.[3] After that he was entertained with auspicious offerings like the *arghyam*,[4] a respectful offering or oblation meant for gods, venerable men or a son-in-law[5] consisting of rice, honey, *dūrvā* grass, etc. There were important guests like the kings, nobles and ṛṣis who were treated with especial care and honour.[6] When an old acquaintance or friend arrived, he was also received with due honour and we read of the Yakṣa welcoming his cloud-friend with sweet and tender words and with offerings like *arghyam* and flowers of *kuṭaja*.[7]

While walking together with his preceptor and ministers a king paid due honour to the former who was requested to walk in front, then the king followed and thereafter his ministers.[8] The elders were held in high regard and men of good breeding were not expected to make the orders of their elders subject to queries or criticism.[9] *Vinaya*[10] or discipline was considered a capital virtue and even the king did not use his arrogance to despise his inferiors, and spoke mildly to the lowly.[11] This was an outcome of his disciplined education.[12]

Amusements

The Society of the time of the poet which had the theatre and the intoxicating liquor to its aid had naturally cultivated almost a Grecian taste in its merriments. Wine and flower were the chief aids to this end. Long garlands and various cosmetics added to the charms of ladies. Music, which had attained to a very high standard both in theory and practice, has been expounded almost to a trying degree in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*.[13] *Vasantotsava*. which was supposed to be a fit occasion for staging various plays,[14] also witnessed the merriments of the intoxicated people all round. During the pleasure baths in the public tanks women enjoyed themselves to a questionable extent in childlike raptures. They beat the water to produce the sound resembling that of tamtams.[15] Joyous ladies, residing in towns, were accustomed to plucking flowers and utilizing them in abundance in their toilet. This verse is important inas-

[1] *Raghu*, I. 55, V. 3, XI. 35; *Ku*, V. 31, 32.
[2] *Śāk.*, p. 37.
[3] *Ku.*, VI. 53.
[4] *Raghu.*, XI. 69, XIII 66, 70; *Ku.*, VI. 50, *Śāk.*, pp 37, 46; *Vik*, p 137.
[5] *Raghu.*, VII. 18; *Ku.*, VII. 72.
[6] अतिथिविशेषलाभेन *Śāk.*, pp. 37, 46, 156, 22; *Raghu.*, V. 2. XIV. 82.
[7] *M. P.*, 4.
[8] *Raghu.*, XIII. 66.
[9] Ibid., XIV. 46.
[10] Ibid., III. 34.
[11] Ibid., 25.
[12] Ibid.; also Ibid., X. 79.
[13] Acts I and II.
[14] *Māl.*, p. 2.
[15] *M. P.*, 33; *Raghu.*, XVI. 64.

much as it suggests an environment in which the mirthful citizen proceeded in his enjoyments. We read of beds of flowers and leaves prepared in chambers of creepers.[1] When a king fell to evil ways leaving the affairs of the State to his ministers and became a servant of 'wine and women,' 'of him, cupidinous, and living in company of women, each succeeding festivity richer than its predecessor, superseded the latter rich in its preparations, in palaces resounding with the sound of the mṛdaṅga.'[2]

Another popular amusement was the springing of coloured water ejected through syringes.[3] Dice[4] was a similar game of interest which attracted many men. Boys and girls[5] played with balls[6] which rebounded by the strokes of the hand.[7]

Swings[8] (*dolā*) were a common means of merriment which people, especially women, enjoyed unmindful of the danger of being thrown[9] away. The word used for a swing is *dolā*, and *dolādhirohaṇa*, referred to in the passage quoted below, means 'to ride on a swing.' Queen Irāvatī says : 'I wish to enjoy the pleasure of sitting in the swing in company with your lordship.'[10] There were regular joy-swings in pleasure gardens attached to the mansions of the rich as suggested by the passage quoted above. Another passage warrants the existence of rooms fitted with swings,[11] and of those meant for other sports[12] (*līlāgāreṣu*).

Story-telling was another sort of diversion for the people, who gathered together in the evening round the village elders versed in narrating ancient romantic tales, and listened to the interesting stories.[13] Thus they generally spent their evenings. The details of royal hunt has already been given.[14] From the *Śākuntala* we learn that on his hunting expeditions the king was accompanied with *Yavanīs* or the Greek female attendants carrying bow and arrow and profoundly garlanded.[15] Kauṭilya, as noted elsewhere, also enjoins upon a king to go surrounded by female attendants carrying bow and arrows while hunting. Megasthenes[16] found this practice in existence in the royal family of Magadha.

[1] *Raghu.*, XIX. 23.
[2] Ibid., 5.
[3] वर्णोदकैः काञ्चनश्रृग मुक्तैः Ibid., XVI. 70.
[4] Ibid., VI. 18.
[5] *Māl.*, p. 85.
[6] Ibid., *Raghu.*, XVI. 83; *Ku.*, I. 29.
[7] *Raghu.*, XVI. 83.
[8] Ibid., XI. 46, XIX. 44; *Māl.*, pp. 39, 41, 47, 48, 49.
[9] *Māl.*, pp. 41, 49.
[10] Ibid., II.
[11] Ibid., pp. 47, 48.
[12] *Raghu.*, VIII. 95.
[13] *M. P.*, 30.
[14] pp. 194-96.
[15] *Śāk.*, p. 57.
[16] McCrindle's *Ancient India as Depicted by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 72.

Morality

Under the social circumstances described in the preceding pages one may naturally infer that the morality of the society was not entirely unquestionable, yet we find the people described as keeping close to the righteous path[1] as enjoined by the holy scriptures, and the king, himself remaining an untransgressor of the prescribed limits, as keeping guard over the observance of *varṇāśramadharma*[2] and chastising the casual offenders.[3] This is why it apparently looks difficult to reconcile the righteous people with their common merriments and the habit of drinking.

We have several allusions to courtesans[4] and prostitutes,[5] who, besides being accomplished musicians and dancers employed to sing and dance at childbirth[6] and such other occasions, were bad characters of the society. The caves of the Nīcagiri are referred to as becoming fragrant with the anointed bodies of the prostitutes[7] who met the distracted lads of the city in those caves. In the temple of Mahākāla at Ujjainī they danced holding fly-whisks in their hands.[8] The employment of courtesans, displaying their various graces and winning postures in the temple of Mahākāla is remarkable. The dance in Śiva's temple is similar to one arranged in modern times in northern India in honour of Śiva in the month of Śrāvaṇa. It is possible that the custom of employing *devadāsīs* in the temples of southern India may have descended from that of attaching courtesans to the temples of gods.

References[9] to *abhisārikās* or adulteresses warrant their existence in the society. A verse says that 'the highway along which the *abhisārikās* producing inarticulate music from, and lighting the road side with, the anklets, were wont to tread, now jackals go.'[10] Rendezvous or secret places of meeting of lovers have been alluded to.[11] Such a *saṅketagṛha*, as the *Mālavikāgnimitra* describes, was a verandah erected round an aśoka tree and covered with a roof.[12] *Dūtīs*[13] or female messengers, hastening the meeting of lovers at the rendezvous and expediting their love intrigues into consummation of love were not wanting. So were extant *śaṭhas*[14] or deceitful lovers, who apparently loved their wives but secretly paid their addresses to other sweethearts. From the *Śākuntala* and the *Kumārasambhava* we learn of love-letters[15] from one lover to another.

[1] *Raghu.*, I. 17.
[2] Ibid., III. 27, V. 19, XIV. 67; *Śāk.*, p. 162.
[3] *Raghu.*, XV. 51.
[4] *Ṛtu.*, II. 5; *M. P.*, 8, 35.
[5] *M. P.*, 25.
[6] *Raghu.*, III. 19.
[7] *M. P.*, 25.
[8] Ibid., 35.
[9] Ibid., 37; *Raghu.*, XVI. 12, XVII. 69; *Ku.*, VI. 43; *Ṛtu.*, II. 10.
[10] *Raghu.*, XVI. 12.
[11] *Śāk.*, III. 23; *Māl.*, p. 93.
[12] *Māl.*, Act III.
[13] Ibid., III. 14; *Raghu.*, VI. 12, XVIII. 53, XIX. 33.
[14] *Raghu.*, XIX. 31.
[15] *Ku.*, I. 73; *Śāk.*, p. 97, III. 23.

It was an age when the *Kāmasūtras* of Vātsyāyana were lovingly read, appreciated and quoted as may be inferred from myriads of indirect references[1] to them made by Kālidāsa. The poet draws freely from *Vātsyāyana* in his descriptions regarding love and other amorous aspects. The 6th, 9th and 19th cantos of the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the 8th canto of the *Kumārsambhava* abound in such allusions.

Thieves and burglers were not unknown and we read of their several synonyms in Kālidāsa.

Nevertheless the society was mostly composed of righteous people treading the path of righteousness. Chaste wives in the absence of their husbands discarded all items of varied toilet and pleasure. They looked at no one except their own husband[2] and it was with no mean justification that their residential apartments were styled as *śuddhānta*,[3] i.e., a pure and sinless harem. Many a widow expired[4] on the funeral pyre of her husband for the excessive love she bore to him. A man also thought it sinful to look at others' wives ;[5] to touch their bodies[6] was indeed a sin beyond all retribution. The proper conduct of a man in the presence of a woman is exemplified in the person of Kuśa who got startled at the approach of the personified Rājyalakṣmī and observed that the descendants of Raghu were entirely inattentive to the charms of others' wives.[7] Others' property likewise was respected and Dilīpa refrains from drinking the milk of Vasiṣtha's cow when offered to him by her without the permission of her owner.[8]

Furniture and Other Household Necessaries

With regard to furniture we read of several kinds of seats, viz. thrones, high-seats and benches; bedsteads; boxes, etc. *Siṁhāsana*[9] was the throne of a king and was naturally costly, made of gold with set gems.[10] T. A. Gopinatha Rao explains it as 'a four-legged seat, circular or rectangular in shape and one hasta or cubit in height. The four legs of this seat are made up of four small lions.'[11] There were other seats made of gold[12] and of precious stones[13] which must have been the property of the rich.

[1] *Raghu.*, VI. 12-19, 81, VII. 22 (Vātsyāyana quoted by the Commentator), VIII. 7, IX. 31, 32, 34, 38, 39, 46, 47, XVI. 12, XVII. 69, XVIII. 53, XIX. 9, 18, 23, 32, 33; *Ku.*, III. 8, IV. 16, VI. 43, 45, VIII. 1-12, 16, 21, 29, 51; *Ṛtu.*, II. 10,, *Māl.*, pp. 37. 39, 53, 84, III. 14, IV. 14, 15; *Śāk.*, I. 21.

[2] *Raghu.*, VII. 67.

[3] Ibid., III. 16, VI. 45.

[4] *Ku.*, VI. 20, 33.

[5] *Śāk.*, p. 164, V. 28.

[6] Ibid., V. 29.

[7] *Raghu.*, XVI. 6-8.

[8] Ibid., II. 66.

[9] Ibid., VI. 6.

[10] Ibid.

[11] *The Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 21.

[12] *Raghu.*, VII. 28; *Vik.*, p. 130.

[13] *Raghu.*, VI. 4.

Furniture

We also read of beautiful seats made of ivory[1] covered with white covers. *Bhadrapīṭha*[2] or *Bhadrāsana* is another kind of seat, "the height whereof," says Gopinatha Rao, "is also divided into sixteen parts, of which one forms the thickness of the upāna or the basal layer, four of the jagatī or the next higher layer, three of the kumuda, one of the paṭṭika, three of the kaṇṭha, one of the second paṭṭika, two of the broader mahā-paṭṭika and one of the ghṛitavāri the topmost layer (see Pl. VI. fig. 6). Bhadra-pīṭha may be either circular or rectangular[3]." "*Vetrāsanas*[4] were seats made of cane weed and we actually find an example of such a cane chair with wicker work sculptured on one of the exhibits of the Muttra Museum. *Pīṭhikā*[5] or *pīṭha*, says Dr. P. K. Acharya, "is probably corrupted from pi-sad to sit upon, hence means a stool, seat, chair, throne, pedestal, altar[6]."

Viṣṭara[7] was also an honoured seat, a high seat worthy of a royal household as the context in which the word has been used suggests. Besides these there were benches and high bedsteads. *Mañca*[8] was a bench. Dr. Acharya explains it as 'a bedstead, couch, bed, sofa, a chair, a throne, a platform, a pulpit[9].' There were gallery-like structures of these *mañcas*, rising one over the other, like a stadium with space to walk about between the rows. *Talpa*[10] was a high bedstead, and so was *paryaṅka*[11]. The latter was 'of nine varieties,' says Dr. Acharya, 'as they may be from 21 to 37 aṅgulas in width with increments of 2 aṅgulas[12].' "The materials of which bedsteads and seats (āsana) are generally constructed are various kinds of timber[13]." *Saiyyā*[14] was the cover, bed and bedstead referred to as a whole. All furniture enumerated above was almost invariably furnished with a cover as white as the colour of a swan[15]. The phrases used for a cover are *uttara-chada*[16] and *āstaraṇa*[17]. The former appears to have been a bedcover as it has been mostly used in reference to a bed or a long seat, whereas the latter was one for chairs, cushions and the like. There is a reference to a ceiling-cover also from which decorative balls[18] were hung.

[1] Ibid., XVII. 21.
[2] Ibid., 10.
[3] *The Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part I. p. 20.
[4] *Ku.*, VI. 53.
[5] *Māl.*, p. 66.
[6] *A Dict. of Hindu Arch.*, p. 349.
[7] *Vik.*, p. 138; *Ku.*, VII. 72.
[8] *Raghu.*, VI. I. 3.
[9] *A Dict. of Hindu Arch.*, p. 461.
[10] *Raghu.*, V. 75, XVI. 6.
[11] Ibid.
[12] *Indian Architecture*, p. 62.
[13] *A Dict. of Hindu Arch.*, p. 346.
[14] *Raghu.*, III. 15, V. 65, 72.
[15] *Ku.*, VIII. 82.
[16] *Raghu.*, V. 65, XVII. 21; *Ku.*, VIII. 89.
[17] *Raghu.*, VI. 4.
[18] *M. U.*, 7.

Of household utensils we read of vessels made of precious metals[1] and gold[2] plates of metals and of clay[3]. Costly utensils decorated the household of the rich whereas the earthen ones that of the middle class. *Kumbha*[4] was a big pitcher which was used as a huge water receptacle. *Ghaṭa*[5] was a small one used for the same purpose.

Boxes were also a necessary furniture of the household and have been variously referred to as *mañjūṣā*[6], *karaṇḍaka*[7], and *tālavṛntapidhāna*[8]. Dr. Acharya explains *mañjūṣā*, as 'a box, casket, receptacle, a wardrobe[9].' Kālidāsa has invariably alluded to it in respect of a casket containing ornaments. *Karaṇḍaka* was a basket[10] perhaps for carrying articles of toilet. *Tālavṛntapidhāna* was a similar casket. *Mañjūṣā* was the largest of the three. Dr. Acharya, details its three kinds. It was 'of timber or iron,' says he, 'square, rectangular or circular generally fitted with three chambers. It had three names corresponding to its three kinds, and use—Parṇamañjūṣā, Tailamañjūṣā and Vastramañjūṣā[11].'

Then there were miscellaneous articles of daily use like lamps[12], fans of palms[13] and lotus or lily leaves[14] and tents made of cloth[15]. The parasol[16] also was an article of daily use for warding off the sun and rain. Every house was furnished with a store-room[17] to accommodate various articles of the household.

Of conveyances we read the following, viz. *syandana*[18], *caturasrayānam*[19] and *karṇīratha*[20], besides horses and elephants on land and boats[21] on water, and the beasts of burden like the camels[22], mules[23] and oxen[24]. *Syandana* was the chariot used in earlier times in warfare which must have become extinct by the time of Kālidāsa. *Caturasrayāna* was a litter or palanquin carried by four men. *Yāna*

[1] *Ku.*, VIII. 75; *Raghu.*, II. 36, X. 51.
[2] *Raghu.*, II. 36, X. 51.
[3] Ibid,. V. 2.
[4] Ibid., II. 36, V. 63, IX. 73, 75, 76.
[5] Ibid., XIV. 78, XIII. 34; *Śāk.*, pp. 25, 47.
[6] *Māl.*, pp. 73, 87, 104.
[7] *Śāk.*, p. 217.
[8] *Vik.*, p. 121.
[9] *A Dict. of Hindu Arch.*, p. 463. The word in the sense of a casket has been used in the Bhattiprolu Inscription, Nos. I, IV, VIII, *Ep. Ind.*, VII. p. 326-29.
[10] *A Dict. of Hindu Arch.*, p. 114
[11] *Indian Architecture*, p. 69.
[12] *Raghu.*, V. 37 74; *M. U.*, 5; *Vik.*, III. 2, 3.
[13] *Ku.*, II. 35.
[14] *Raghu.*, V. 74.
[15] *Śāk.*, III. 18.
[16] आतपत्रं Ibid., V. 6.
[17] *Māl.*, pp. 63, 64.
[18] *Raghu.*, I. 36, 39, 40.
[19] Ibid., VI. 10.
[20] Ibid., XIV. 13.
[21] Ibid., I. 4, IV. 31, XIV. 30, 52, XVI. 57, 68, XVII. 81; *Śāk.*, p. 219.
[22] *Raghu.*, VI. 32.
[23] वामी Ibid.
[24] Ibid., IV. 22.

was a general name for conveyances: it was one of the four kinds of Vāstu consisting of *Adika*, *Syandana*, *Sibikā*, and *Ratha*.[1] *Karṇīratha* was a small chariot for driving ladies in, as explained by the commentator (*strī yogyo alparathaḥ*).

Horticulture

Gardens were a necessity to the people as they furnished them with flower, the most essential item of their decoration and toilet. Flower served alike the daughter of a recluse and the queen of an emperor, as the sole ornaments for the former and an adornment of the hair for the latter. And hence it was that the art of gardening was cultivated and horticulture[2] (*udyānavyāpāra*) had grown to be an affectionate concern of a household.

We read of gardens of two types, viz. one attached to a house or a royal palace[3] popularly known as a *pramadavana*[4] and another, a public sort[5] There was a specific cultivation of the flower garden and the orchard[6]. A garden in the sense of Kālidāsa often contained both the flower plants as well as fruit trees. A garden was variously known as *upavana*[7], *udyāna*[8], etc. Kālidāsa has invariably associated a residential house with a garden. According to Vatsyāyana's *Kāmasutras*, all decent houses and palaces of kings must have pleasure gardens attached to them. "Attached to it," says he, "there must be a vrikṣavāṭikā (or puṣpavāṭikā), or a garden with wide grounds, if possible, where flowering plants and fruit can grow as well as kitchen vegetables तत् भवनमासन्नोदकं वृक्षवाटिका अच्छिमक्तकर्म्मकक्ष द्विवास गृहकारयेत 3, p. 114. In the middle of the ground should be excavated either a well or a tank, or a lake (मध्ये कूपवापी दीर्घिकां वा खानयेत्)"[9] The *Upavana Vinoda*, a treatise on arbori horticulture, says: "He is verily the king whose abode is provided with spacious gardens, containing large tanks or pools adorned with beautiful lotus blossoms over which humming bees fly—that may be regarded as the consummation of all happiness on the part of men, and that give intense pleasure to the mind of sportive and pleasure-seeking ladies puffed with the pride of beauty[10]." The conditions and requirements of a garden as pointed out by Vātsyāyana and Śārṅgadhara seem to have been fully recognized by the garden-planters of Kālidāsa's time. Gardens were generally laid out within the palace and they grew most of the trees, plants and creepers mentioned in the chapter on *Flora and Fauna*. The whole family felt attracted to the garden.

[1] *A Dict. of Hindu Arch.*, p. 517.
[2] *Māl.*, p. 35.
[3] गृहोपवन *Raghu.*, XIX. 23; *Māl.*, pp. 35, 86; *Vik.*, p. 34.
[4] *Māl.*, pp. 39, 40; *Śāk.*, pp. 193, 198; *Vik.*, p. 34.
[5] *M. U.*, 8; *Raghu.*, VIII. 32, XIII. 79, XIV. 30; *Mal.*, V. 1.
[6] *Śāk.*, p. 25.
[7] *M. U.*, 8, *M. P.*, 23.
[8] *Ku.*, II. 35, 36.
[9] Chakladar: *Social Life in Ancient India*, quoted in the Introduction, p. 17, to the *Upavana Vinoda*.
[10] पुंसां सर्वसुखैकसाधनफलाः सौन्दर्य्यगर्वोद्धुर क्रीडालोलविलासिनीजनमनः स्फीतप्रमोदावहाः।
गुञ्जद्भृंगविनिद्रपंकजभरस्फारोल्लसद्दीर्घिकायुक्ताः सन्ति गृहेषु यस्य विपुलारामाः स पृथ्वीपतिः ॥१॥

Plants were loved and ladies themselves watered them[1] out of love. To Pārvatī a devadaru had become as dear as her own son[2]. So was also a mandāra tree to the wife of the Yakṣa of the *Meghadūta*[3]. Śakuntalā also felt deep affection for the plants of the hermitage.[4].

The garden was irrigated by means of narrow drains[5] (*kulyā*) full of running water with water-fountains[6] as their source These water-wheels incessantly threw jets of cool water and thus kept the beds of the garden flooded. The circular ditch (*ālavāla*) round the trees was filled with water[7]. The *ālavāla* was otherwise known as *ādhārabandha*[8]. The *Upavana Vinoda* says that "during the rainy and autumn seasons when it does not rain one should fill the circular ditch under the tree with water[9]." It must have been a pleasure to see the daughters of hermits watering the small plants of the hermitage with jars[10]. Perhaps there were special pitchers for watering purposes[11] (*secanaghaṭa*).

The garden contained a tank of water[12] and creepers, specially the mādhavī[13] and the priyaṅgu[14], with their luxurious spread of foliage formed into fragrant canopies and arbours[15] which were fitted with crystalline[16] or other stone slabs to sit on. The gardens of the rich were further fitted with artificial hillocks or mock-hills[17] (*krīḍāśaila*), and with crystalline posts on which the domestic peacock roosted and disported itself[18]. Swings were fitted there either in the open garden, or within a bower[19] or in an open room[20]. Big and shady trees were surrounded with a raised and round *vedikā*[21].

Public gardens[22] (*nagaropavanāḥ*) were generally situated outside the town and were hence called by the name of *bahirupavana*[23] or 'a pleasure garden situated out-

[1] *Raghu.*, I. 51, V. 6, XIII. 34, XIV. 78, *Śāk.*, pp. 25, 47. 121.
[2] *Raghu.*, II. 36.
[3] *M. U.*, 12.
[4] *Śāk.*, pp. 26, 27.
[5] *Raghu.*, XII. 3.
[6] *Māl.*, II. 12.
[7] *Raghu.*, XII. 3.
[8] Ibid., V. 6.
[9] 73.
[10] Ibid., I. 51, XIV. 78.
[11] *Śāk.*, p. 25.
[12] *Raghu.*, XIX. 9; *M. U.*, 13; *Māl.*, II. 12.
[13] *M. U.*, 15; *Māl.*, pp. 199, 200.
[14] *Māl.*, p. 38.
[15] *Raghu.*, XIX. 23; *Śāk.*, pp. 87, 173.
[16] *Śāk.*, p. 200; *Vik.*, p. 36; *Māl.*, p. 38.
[17] *M. U.*, 14; *Vik.*, p. 54.
[18] *M. U.*, 16.
[19] *Māl.*, pp. 39, 41, 49.
[20] Ibid., pp. 47, 48.
[21] Ibid., p. 87; *Śāk.*, p. 38.
[22] *Raghu.*, XIV. 34; *Māl.*, V. 1. Public parks and gardens were provided by the Government (*Arthaśāstra*, *Śukranīti*, *Kāmandakanīti*) for health, recreation and enjoyment of the public (Introduction to *Upavana Vinoda*, p. 2).
[23] *M. U.*, 8.

side' (the city). Sometimes they were planted and laid out alongside a river[1] and ran in rows[2] one after another.

In the garden often a tree was married to a creeper[3] and the occasion was celebrated with great mirth. *Dohada*[4] or the ceremony of touching the aśoka tree with the foot of a maiden which caused it to blossom was one of great pleasure and gave poets many occasions to elaborate it and weave the threads of their love-yarns. Gardeners or *udyānapālikās*[5] were appointed to look after the gardens.

Gardens furnished endless enjoyments to their owners. The creepers provided them with pleasure bowers fitted with crystalline benches and beds of flowers and leaves where many a love-scene was consummated, into first a rendezvous and eventually a Gāndharva wedlock, where lovers soliloquized within the hearing of their beloveds resting uneasily in love agony. It was here that a libidinous king retired to pursue his amorous ends having dropped the yoke of administration on the shoulders of his ministers[6]. It was here again that the *aśoka*, *karṇikāra* and the mango blossomed, the parrot echoed the sounds around, the cuckoo cooed, the peacock danced, and the *yūthikā* and the *mādhavī* perfumed the air. The most exquisite description of a garden given by the poet is one contained in the *Vikramorvaśī* where, he says, the peacock and the swan strut and hover over the fountain to catch the water sprays, where the domesticated caged parrot shouts for water, and the bees crowd on the karṇikāra tree[7]. In these gardens seasonal birds and bees poured forth their sweet music and aroused the amorous feeling of the aesthetic citizens to a height of dreadful rapture. There the citizens lay callously tossing on their sides sunk in the reveries of their romances and the lull of the soothing slumber of their happy musings on the cool crystalline benches fixed in the love-feeding silence of the most artistically contrived arbours of the sweetly fragrant creeper of the *mādhavī*, *priyaṅgu* and the like. In such solitary nooks did the aesthetic citizen of the time of Kālidāsa spin the yarn and weave the texture of his love-sheet. The picture is one of an incorrigible lotus-eater!

[1] *M. P.*, 36.
[2] Ibid., 35.
[3] *Raghu.*, VIII. 61; *Śāk.*, pp. 31, 32.
[4] *Raghu.*, VIII. 62, 63; *M. U.*, 15; *Māl.*, p. 54.
[5] *Māl.*, pp. 35, 86; *Śāk.*, pp. 189, 193; *M. P.*, 36.
[6] *Raghu.*, XIX. 4.
[7] *Vik.*, II. 22.

BOOK IV

CHAPTER XII

POETRY AND DRAMA, MUSIC AND DANCING

Kālidāsa, as is evident from his works, was a man of great attainments and was endowed with an uncommon degree of aesthetic sense He has described at length the several branches of Fine Arts. Poetry and Drama, Music and Dancing, Painting, Sculpture and Terracottas, and Architecture have all been described in varied details and an attempt will be made in the following pages to give an account of them as disclosed by a study of the poet. Poetry and drama have been treated here only in principle as their detailed account is given in chapters on *Education and Learning.*

Poetry and Drama

Kālidāsa represents the Augustan age of Sanskrit poetry. His own poetry is of the highest order and is the sweetest and most perfect of all that the Sanskrit literature has ever known. *Meghadūta*, a lyrical poem, has charmed the world by its simple imagery and romantic melody. The *Raghuvaṁśa* and *Kumārasambhava* are two such narratives as have earned universal credit for the genius of Kālidāsa. The *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* is an embodiment of the most tender feelings that sways the mortals and it marks its author out as one of the foremost poets of the world of all times.

Kālidāsa himself recognizes the high worth of his poetry and he inserts a pregnant line suggesting that the excellence of a work depends not on its priority of composition but on the appreciation that it can elicit from competent critics[1]. His attitude towards his renowned predecessor the sage Vālmīki is one of respectful humility[2], but his self-consciousness in the domain of poetry and drama is more assertive with regard to the classical poets like Bhāsa, Saumilla, Kaviputra and others with whose works he appeals for a critical and impartial comparison and is in no way prepared to acknowledge tamely their vaunted superiority[3]. There can be no mistake about the implication of his famous verse[4] in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* in which he makes a reflection on the contemporaneous view of some critics who invoked the plea of antiquity and age for their favourite poets. About the well established position of these poets there can be little doubt since of Bhāsa[5] alone we have luckily discovered a number of plays which are of no mean

[1] *Māl.*, I. 2.
[2] *Raghu.*, I. 4.
[3] पुराणमित्येव न साधुसर्वं *Māl.*, I. 2.
[4] पुराणमित्येव न साधु सर्वं न चापि काव्यं नवमित्यवद्यम् ।
सन्तः परीक्ष्यान्यतरद्भजन्ते मूढः परप्रत्ययनेयबुद्धिः ॥ Ibid.
[5] भाससौमिल्लकविपुत्रादीनां Ibid., p. 2.

merit. Saumilla[1] and Kaviputra[2] are nothing more than mere names to us, but there is no doubt about the fact that they had established their name in literary traditions of the times and were well understood in poetical allusion.

In the time of Kālidāsa the well-cultured (*saṁskārapūta*) Sanskrit language had made a great progress but the simple natural style[3] of the vernacular, i.e. Prakrit, was held in high honour. The plays abound in the sweetest and simplest expressions of Prakrit; naturally the sphere of Prakrit was wide since it was the common dialect, and in the plays it was that dialect which was spoken by the characters excepting a few like the king, preceptor, chamberlain, ministers. It was the time in poetry when all the *vṛttis* were well cultivated and put to practical use during the staging of the drama[4].

The stage was busy and the theatre full. A dramatic performance was a common feature on festive occasions,[5] like the marriage and the advent of the spring. After the rites of marriage were over the period of mirth and merriment ensued and something like a dramatic performance was given by maids who entwined expressive dance in graceful play and whose eloquent motions with an actor's art showed to the life the passions of the heart[6], and who were further accomplished in *vṛttis* like the *kauśikī*[7]. The play entitled the *Mālavikāgnimitra* was staged on the day of the vernal festival[8].

The dramatic art[9] was held in great honour as is evidenced by the speech of Gaṇadāsa, the preceptor of music and acting, who refers to one's hereditary lore or *kulavidyā* while defining this art as quoted below: "Granted that everyone of course thinks highly of his own hereditary lore; but the great regard I have for the dramatic art is not without reason[10]." The above quotation shows that different families specialized in different branches of art. Dramatic art was supposed to be a peaceful sacrifice to the gods (where bloodshed was absent), and divided in two different ways by Śiva in his body (attended with that of Umā). It was an art which aimed at disclosing the human behaviour (life) arising from the three prime qualities of *Sattva*, *Raja* and *Tama*, and it was chequered by various sentiments. This *nāṭya* or scenic art was said to be an amusement which satisfied the *varied* tastes of the people[11]. It is interesting to note that this definition of the dramatic art is much in keeping with similar ideas regarding its origin which have been set forth in works of poetics like the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata and the *Daśarūpaka* of Dhanañjaya Here is a definition of the dramatic art which is remarkably scientific.

[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid.
[3] *Ku.*, VII. 90.
[4] Ibid., 91.
[5] Ibid., p. 2; *Vik.*, p. 60.
[6] *Ku.*, VII. 91.
[7] Ibid.
[8] वसन्तोत्सवे *Māl.*, p. 2.
[9] नाटयं Ibid., p. 7. I. 4.
[10] Ibid., p. 7.
[11] Ibid., I. 4.

In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* an intellectual contest between two preceptors of music, dancing and acting is held in which the pupils of the respective preceptors vie with each other to establish the reputable skill of their teachers: "The two preceptors of acting, each eager for victory over the other, who wish to see you like two dramatic sentiments in bodily form[1]." One of the preceptors says that he learnt the art of acting from a competent authority (*sutīrthāt*), and that furthermore he had given practical lessons in the art of dramatic representations, and had been consequently favoured by the King and the Queen[2]. This statement also speaks highly of the State patronage of fine arts, particularly that of the dramatic art. The following speech further refers to the theory and practice of the art. "Let your Majesty, therefore, be pleased to examine him and me in the theoretical knowledge and in practical skill. Your Majesty alone is a critical judge of us both[3]." The art had attained to the position of a well-defined scientific subject[4]. The King, himself an accomplished person, was considered an adept in the dramatic art by authorities on acting and was deemed fit enough to act as their judge.

Women, it would seem, were specially marked out in the learning of the fine arts and when it was discovered that in judging the performance the king would be suspected by the queen of complicity in the intrigue, which might thus be detected, Kauśikī, a woman ascetic, was approached and addressed thus: "Revered lady, a dispute about superiority in knowledge has arisen between Gaṇadása an Haradatta; your reverence, therefore, must occupy the position of judge in this matter[5]." The word *Prāśnika* is to be noted in this connection. This signifies examination. The art of dancing was recognized as one chiefly of practical demonstration[6] and although its theory also had considerably developed it was not given such importance as its practice. About the cultivation of the art it has been said: "One man is at his best when exhibiting his art in person; another has as his special qualification in the power of communicating his skill; but only he who possesses both these excellences, should be placed at the head of teachers[7]." An exposition of the art of dancing, which was in fact a branch of the dramatic art, is thus put in the speech of the Parivrājikā. The contest of the teachers in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* in the science of dramatic performance (*vijñāna saṅgharṣa*[8]) further brings out the notion of the art. The acceptance of an unfit pupil was denounced as want of discernment on the part of the teacher[9] and it was expected of him to exercise enough care in the choice of his pupil, for on the latter's inherent aptitude for the cultivation of an art depended in a large measure the success of the preceptor's efforts.

[1] Ibid., I. 10.
[2] Ibid., p. 14.
[3] Ibid., p. 15.
[4] Ibid., I. 4.
[5] . . . . विज्ञानसंघर्षिणः . . . . प्राश्निकपदमध्यासितव्यम् । Ibid., p. 17.
[6] प्रयोगप्रधानं हि नाटयशास्त्रम् Ibid.
[7] Ibid., I. 16.
[8] विज्ञानसंघर्षिणोः Ibid., p. 17.
[9] विनेतुरद्रव्यपरिग्रहोऽपि बुद्धिलाघवं प्रकाशयतीति Ibid., p. 19, cf. Ibid., I. 19.

In the following extract there is a reference to the dramatic art and its founder Bharata: "The lord of the gods, with the guardians of the quarters, is desirous of seeing to-day the dramatic performance taught to you by the sage Bharata, which is the substratum of the eight sentiments, and wherein there is charming acting[1]." The references to Bharata, *aṣṭarasāśrayaḥ* and *lalitābhinayam* discussed in chapters VI, VII, VIII, IX and X of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* show that the great work of Bharata on the principles of dramatic art had almost been completed by the time of Kālidāsa. Kālidāsa himself refers to Bharata as a *muni* thus denoting antiquity as regards the time of the author of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. One thing more is to be noted in this connection. As this was the first occasion on which the play *Mālavikāgnimitra* was being staged, as is evidenced by the phrase *navena nāṭakena*[2], the *Abhirūpas* probably included the *Prāśnikas* or judges of the play. It may be noted that according to the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata special officers technically known as the *Prāśnikas* were charged with the duty of witnessing the performance of new dramatic pieces and reporting on their respective excellences to the king who in such cases acted as the virtual custodian of the interests of young aspiring poets. It may be assumed that the favourable verdict of these judges earned a speedy fame for really deserving sons of the Muse and the patronage of the sovereign at once got them into limelight. There is distinct reference to these *Prāśinka*[3] officers in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*.

In the phrase *prekṣāgṛha*[4] we have a reference to the representation or theatre-hall. Tārānātha, however, accepts a different reading, *varṇaprekṣā*, in its place which he explains to mean 'the waiting-room for the actor', 'green room.'

Before staging the final drama a rehearsal was given. On the day of the rehearsal, it appears, Brahmins were fed for the auspicious opening of the theatre which is borne out by the *Mālavikāgnimitra*.[5]

This feeding of a Brahmin during a rehearsal or the first opening of a theatre refers to a definite social custom. It was customary in ancient times to worship the tutelary deity and make presents to Brahmins by way of *dakṣiṇā* when a person was initiated into some art or *śāstra*, or at any inaugural ceremony. *Nepathya-sevana* is another reading of the phrase which means a 'sacrifice accompanied with musical entertainment' performed when a dramatic company was formally declared open[6].

We give below a description of the stage and acting as given by the poet. The parivrājikā of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* while announcing her decision on the performance of the first part fully analyses the performance and brings out its features: "The meaning was well brought out by her limbs which were eloquent with expression; the movements of her feet (*pādanyāso*) was in perfect unison with time;

[1] *Vik.*, II. 17.
[2] *Māl.*, p. 2.
[3] Ibid., p. 17.
[4] Ibid., p. 21.
[5] प्रथमोपदेशदर्शने प्रथमं ब्राह्मणस्य पूजा कर्तव्या । *Māl.*, p. 30.
महाब्राह्मण, नखलु प्रथमं नेपथ्यसेवनमिदम् । अन्यथा कथं त्वां दक्षिणीयं नार्चयिष्याम: Ibid.
[6] Ibid., p. 30.

there was complete identification with the sentiments conveyed; the acting performed by means of the movements of the hands was gentle, while in its successive stages chased away emotion gave rise to another from its substratum; still the interest remained just the same[1]."

Nepathyaparigatā[2] refers to a curtain hanging on the stage. The term used for a curtain is *tiraskariṇī*[3]. The word *saṁhartum*[4] reflects that there were more curtains than one, and that the front curtain was rolled up; for the king speaks of its being rolled up and not of its removal. Thus there were curtains on the stage which were rolled up and dropped down according to the needs of the stage. A study of the stage directions makes the above facts clearer still. The phrase *praviśati āsanastho rājā*[5] contains a stage direction which ordinarily means that 'the king seated on a throne enters upon the stage.' This would mean a contradiction for if the king were *āsanastha* he could not be described as *praviśati*. We must therefore suppose that the stage knew a certain kind of arrangement, suggests Kale, by which the curtain could be removed and the characters discovered to the audience in various postures. In Kālidāsa (also in Bhavabhūti) we often come across situations with appropriate stage directions which make it necessary to admit the existence of a rollable curtain, if we do not want to make those situations and stage directions absurd. *Praviśati* thus means 'is discovered (sitting)' when the curtains are rolled up to reveal him.

There were different types of stage dresses meant for different kinds of parts played by the characters[6] of the drama. Kauśikī says: "I speak in my capacity as a judge. Let the two pupils enter dressed in fine attire, that the elegance of movements of all their limbs might be clearly displayed."[7] This particular dress was given to those who had to dance on the stage. Among the many styles of dress for the stage was the dress of the *abhisārikā*. She was 'decked with but a few ornaments and veiled with a blue silk[8].' She would dispense with such ornaments as were likely to produce lustre or sound. She was to walk out clad in dark vestments so that she might not be recognized by the people who knew her. A third kind of stage dress has been alluded to in the hunting costume[9]. The *Yavanīs*[10] the custodians of the king's arms and forming the first row of the bodyguards of the king, put on distinct costumes to distinguish them as foreigners on the stage. In like manner one acting the part of a *māninī* or a wife remonstrating against the conduct of her husband, had a special dress, and so had one acting the part of a *virahiṇī*, or a *munikanyakā* or of a woman observing a vow[11] or of one repenting[12].

[1] *Māl.*, II. 8.
[2] Ibid., II. 1.
[3] तिरस्करिणी Ibid.; Ibid., II. 11; पटाक्षेपेण *Śāk.*, p. 208; *Vik.*, p. 11.
[4] *Māl.*, II. 1.
[5] *Śāk.*, p. 150.
[6] सर्वांगसौष्ठवः. . . . .विगतनेपथ्ययोः पात्रयोः *Māl.*, p. 22.
[7] Ibid.
[8] नीलांशुकपरिग्रहोऽभिसारिकावेषः *Vik.*, p. 68.
[9] अपनयन्तु भवन्तो मृगयावेशम् *Śāk.*, p. 68.
[10] Ibid., p. 224.
[11] Ibid., VII. 21. [12] *Vik.*, III. 12.

In like manner the person going out for a hunt wore a distinctive attire, that matching with the leaves of the sylvan trees, so that he might not be distinguished by his prey. He was followed by fowlers carrying nets and a pack of hounds[1]. Thus every character had a distinct dress. The king had his own, the chamberlain was distinguished by his robe (*kañcuka*) and a staff (*vetra*), the ascetics had their dress made of tree-skin (*valkala*), so had Śakuntalā and other daughters of the recluses, and all who acted on the stage.

Thus equipped with curtains, proper dresses and superb acting while staging the excellent pieces, the stage of Kālidāsa presented a picture of a considerably advanced state in the theatrical art.

Music

Music may be studied under two heads, popular and technical. We have many allusions to both but the latter has been elaborately described.

Popular music was cultivated exclusively by women. As now, they may have picked it up in course of time without any regular training within the house where they hardly needed any instrument to aid their vocal music. On festive occasions, they had ample opportunities of cultivating the old traditional songs suited to the occasion and of picking up new ones from some of their new acquaintances. They sang auspicious songs at the time of marriage and songs of glory[2] while watching the standing crops. While bathing in a river, they sang and beat the water to the tune of their sweet music.[3]

Of technical music[4] there are very elaborate discussions in he *Mālavikāgnimitra*. We read of music helped by all its six accompaniments. The accompaniments themselves have not been specifically enumerated by the poet.

Towns resounded with the sound of music and the description of the city of Kubera may well serve for a type. The city of Alakā is described as resounding with the sound of musical instruments, such as *mṛdaṅga*, played evidently by accomplished ladies[5]. It is the wife of the exiled Yakṣa who, in the absence of her husband, tries and is repulsed by all sorts of music, instrumental and vocal, in her extreme sorrow. She takes to singing the glories of her lord to the tune of the *vīnā* placed on her thighs, although such is her anguish that she cannot pursue it with ease and pleasure; and she forgets even her well practised *mūrcchanā*.[6]

In the development of fine arts, state patronage was given. Kings took much interest in the advancement of fine arts of which music formed a most important branch. To the king who had neglected his duties for the luxury of wine and women,[7] music indeed became 'the food of love' on which he constantly fed himself. "On him cupidinous, and living in the company of

[1] *Raghu.*, IX. 50-51.
[2] *Raghu.*, IV. 20.
[3] Ibid., XVI. 64; cf. Ibid., 62. Ibid., 13.
[4] Acts I and II.
[5] *M. U.*, 1.
[6] Ibid., 23.
[7] स्त्रीविधेय *Raghu.*, XIX. 4; कामिनीसहचरस्य Ibid., 5.

women each succeeding festivity, richer than its predecessor, superseded the latter rich in its preparations, in palaces resounding with the sound of the *mṛdaṅga*[1]." At another place too much association with music and its accompaniments on the part of a king is made the cause of criticism by his queen[2]. We may note that Indumatī, the wife of king Aja, was taught fine arts[3], probably music by her husband himself which shows the royal house cultivating them. Agnivarṇa is a past master of music and dancing and corrects the courtesans that attend on him to the shame of their teachers[4], and naturally the poet calls him a *kṛtī*, expert.

We read of a music hall[5], which fulfilled the purpose of a dramatic and dancing hall as well, where teachers of the highest order[6] (*sutīrtāḥ*) imparted scientific and technical training in the arts of music, dancing, acting and painting to the intelligent pupils of the royal household. This music hall, which looks like a school meant for the inmates of the royal harem, was run at State expense, and the teachers attached to the institution drew regular salaries (*vetana*[7]). The poet refers to a *saṅgītaracanā* or concert[8]. Musical concerts were arranged by the teachers of the *saṅgītaśālā* in which their skill as well as their pupils' was put to test. One described in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, however, was the result of an intrigue In the music hall regular classes appear to have been held and exercises given to and heard from the lady scholars[9].

It was an institution like the *saṅgītaśālā*, referred to above, which turned out women with poficiency in the fine arts of music and drama like *Mālavikā*[10], *Parivrājikā*[11] and *śarmiṣṭhā*[12]. The last named, in earlier days, had attained to an unparalleled skill in the branch of music. Her achievement in that art has been alluded to by the poet in giving her composition (*chalika*) for a test in acting[13]. The treatise written by Sarmiṣṭhā is a composition in four parts in which the time kept is the middle one[14]. This passage incidentally warrants the existence of a treatise on music by a lady. Śarmiṣṭhā has been mentioned in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala*[15] as well. She is said to have composed some musical pieces and laid down some rules regarding music.

There were professional singers also. We read of courtesans[16] employed

[1] Ibid., XIX. 5.
[2] जइ राअकज्जेसु ईरिसी उवाअणिउणदा अजउत्तस्स . . . . *Māl.*, p. 22.
[3] ललिते कलाविधौ *Raghu.*, VIII. 67.
[4] Ibid., XIX. 14.
[5] संगीतशाला *Śāk.*, p. 150; *Māl.*, pp. 4, 6.
[6] *Māl.*, p. 14; *Raghu.*, XIX. 36.
[7] वेअणदाणेण *Māl.*, p. 17.
[8] Ibid., p. 22.
[9] संगीतव्यापारमुज्झित्वा *Vik.*, p. 27.
[10] परमनिपुणामेधाविनी चेति, etc., *Māl.*, p. 8.
[11] पण्डितकौशिकी Ibid., p. 16.
[12] Ibid., pp. 21, 24; *Śāk.*, IV. 6.
[13] तस्यास्तु छलिकंप्रयोगं *Māl.*, p. 24, छलिकं नाम नाटयं Ibid., pp. 4, 5, 6.
[14] Ibid., p. 24.
[15] IV. 6.
[16] वारयोषिताम् *Raghu.*, III. 19, गणिका Ibid., XIX. 35, 14, 15, 19; वेश्या *M. P.*, 35.

in singing on occasions like the child-birth. This allusion of the poet to courtesans dancing and singing at child-birth has been corroborated by Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita* where he gives a graphic description of the birth of his hero. It appears that the people called them in, as now, for these performances. They were accompanied by their attendants[1], who perhaps played on instruments of music while they sang and danced.

Courtesans were employed to sing and dance in the great temple of Mahākāla at Ujjainī[2]. They were regular servants of the temple whose business it was, apart from their demonstration in honour of Śiva, to act as the bearers of the Lord's flywhisks[3]. The interest in music and dancing of certain lay men[4] was so great and their accomplishment in the art so admirable that when the courtesans committed faults in dancing they rose and corrected them by a practical show and thus put their teachers to shame[5].

The following musical instruments were in use and have been frequently mentioned by the poet: *vīṇā*[6] *vaṁśakṛtya*[7] (incidentally referring to the flute), *veṇu*[8] (flute) *mṛdaṅga*[9] with its other names, viz., *puṣkara*[10] and *muraja*[11], *tūrya*[12], *śaṅkha*,[13] *dundubhī*[14] and *ghaṇṭā*[15]. Of these the three last named were mostly used in warfare. The *śaṅkha* or conch opened and ended a battle; when it was blown at the end of the battle, its sound announced victory to the blower[16]. It was also blown for auspiciousness[17]. *Tūrya*, however, was a musical instrument of both peace and war[18]. *Veṇu* was a flute; *mṛdaṅga*, *puṣkara* and *muraja* were kinds of tabor; *tūrya* was a kind of trumpet, and *dundubhī* a sort of kettledrum. *Saṅkha* was the conch-shell.

Kālidāsa had a good musical ear and a knowledge of the airs of the Indian music. He notes the songs or airs composed and to be chanted. He gives sporadic indications of his study of the theory of the subtle science[19] of music. His women and *vīṇa* are almost constant companions. It is, however, strange that he makes no specific reference to the *ragas*.

[1] *Raghu.*, XIX. 14.
[2] *M. P.*, 35.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Agnivarna, *Raghu.*, XIX: Agnimitra, *Māl.*, I. II.
[5] *Raghu.*, XIX. 14. गुरुष्वलज्जयद्
[6] वीणा *Raghu.*, VIII. 33; *M. P.*, 45, V. 23; परिवादिनी *Raghu.*, VIII. 35, XIX. 35; वल्लकी Ibid., VIII. 41; *Ṛtu.*, I. 8; सुतन्त्री *Ṛtu.*, I. 3.
[7] *Raghu.*, II. 12.
[8] Ibid., XIX. 35.
[9] Ibid., XIII. 40, XVI. 13; *Māl.*, p. 21.
[10] *Raghu.*, XIX. 14; *M. U.*, 3; *Māl.*, I. 21.
[11] *Ku.*, VI. 40; *M. P.*, 56; *U.*, 1; *Māl.*, I. 22.
[12] *Raghu.*, III. 19, VI. 9, 56, X. 76, XVI. 87; *Vik.*, IV. 12.
[13] *Raghu.*, VI. 9; VII. 63, 64; *Ku.*, I. 23.
[14] *Raghu.*, X. 76.
[15] Ibid., VII. 41.
[16] Ibid., 63, 64.
[17] Ibid., VI. 9; XVI. 87.
[18] Ibid., III. 19, VI. 9, X. 76.
[19] काकलिगीत (सूक्ष्मकला—Commentator) *Ṛtu.*, I. 8.

Dancing

Nṛtya[1] or dance has been cultivated in India from very early times and during the age of Kālidāsa it had reached almost a height of consummation with its various division and details. In his works as well as in still earlier works dancing has been associated with stage acting. The parivrājikā, while judging the demonstration of the two preceptors of acting, gives an admirable exposition of the art of dancing in her following observation. "The art of dancing consists chiefly in practical 'demonstration (*prayogapradhānam*[2]). She clearly shows that the art of dancing was much allied to that of acting and that is why Kālidāsa deals with both of them as almost a single art. In consequence, a separate study of this art is difficult since the affinity between the two, as treated by the poet, is so great.

Several modes of dancing were practised. And although Kālidāsa does not give a detailed and specific reference to the kinds of dance, we get, nevertheless, a glimpse into the manysidedness of it from what we gather from his writings. Thus Gaṇadāsa, the teacher of music, dancing and acting, asserts to have taught Mālavikā the five-limb dance[3] (*pañcāṅgābhinaya*); perhaps the allusion in this passage can be explained by the *Saṅgītaratnākara*. We read of yet another kind of dance known as *Chalika*[4]. It was based on the *catuṣpada*[5], i. e. a song of four parts, and it has been regarded as the most difficult of dances to be demonstrated[6]. Chalika, as explained by the commentator Kāṭayavema[7], is that kind of dance in which the dancer, while acting the part of another, gives expression thereby to his own sentiments.*

[1] *Vik.*, IV. 12; *M. P.*, 36.

[2] प्रयोगप्रधानं हि नाट्यशास्त्र *Māl.*, p. 17; प्रयोग pp. 13, 21, 24, 1. 5. प्रयोगसिद्धि pp. 12, 32. शास्त्रे प्रयोगे च p. 15; प्रयोगविज्ञानम् *Śāk.*, p. 10, प्रयोग p. 13; प्रयोगेण *Vik.*, p 60. प्रयोगमाद्यम् *Ku.*, VII. 91; प्रयोगनिपुणैः प्रयोक्तृभि. *Raghu.*, XIX. 36.

[3] पंचांगादिकमभिनयमुपदिश्य *Māl.*, p. 14.

[4] छलिकं *Māl.*, pp. 4, 5, 6, 21, 24. Dif. reading चलित

[5] चतुष्पदोत्थं छलिक Ibid., pp. 21, 24.

[6] दुष्प्रयोज्यम् Ibid., p. 21.

[7] तद् एतच्चलितं नाम साक्षात् यत् अभिनीयते । व्यपदिश्य परावृत्त स्वाभिप्राय प्रकाशकम् ।

* A number of Prakrit passages occurring in the 4th Act of *Vikramorvaśī* have been declared to be interpolations by some scholars headed by Mr. S. P. Pandit on the following grounds: (1) Six out of the eight Manuscripts collected by Mr. Pandit do not contain them. (2) A commentator of the critical acumen of Kāṭayavema does not know them. (3) Dr. Pischel's edition of the *Vikramorvaśī* based on a Dravidian Manuscript omits them. (4) The king, when being an *Uttamapātra* he should have spoken only Sanskrit, speaks alternately in two languages. This would be unnatural. (5) The Prakrit passages alternating with the Sanskrit ones are tautological. (6) Many of them, though occurring in the king's soliloquy, contain vague descriptive allusions in the third person to some one in his situation and not distinctly to himself. (7) They are redundant and several of them obstruct the free flow of the feelings expressed in the Sanskrit passages. (Vide Pandit's edition, Preface, pp. 8-9. Kale's edition, Notes, p. 92).

The above grounds are strong enough to drop the Prakrit passages out of consideration. They, however, contain some stage directions referring to certain musical. *Rāgas* and *Layas*, and to a number of dancing postures, and it may be worthwhile therefore to make below in this footnote a succinct allusion to them.

The art of dancing like that of music was kept alive by professionals like courtesans who have been frequently mentioned. We have already alluded to their employment as dancing girls in the temple of Mahākāla at Ujjaini. Female dancers called *nartaki*[1] and *vāṇinī* pursued the exclusive calling of the professional dancer.

Rāga, ordinarily, is a musical note, harmony, melody. But in the later system of Hindu music it has been further elaborated. There it is a particular musical mode or order of sound or formula. Bharata enumerates six, viz., *Bhairava*, *Kauśika*, *Hindola*, *Dīpaka*, *Śrīrāga*, and *Megha*, each mode exciting some affection. Other writers give other names. Sometimes 7 or 26 *Rāgas* are mentioned. They are personified and each of the six chief *Rāgas* is wedded to 5 or 6 consorts called *Rāginis*. Their union gives rise to many other musical modes. *Rāginī*, thus, is a modification of the musical mode called *Rāga*. Some 35 or 36 *Rāginīs* are enumerated. *Laya* is the perfect harmonious combination of *nrtya*, *gāna* and *vādya* (dance, vocal and instrumental music. लय साम्यम् explains the *Amarakośa*). A *Dvilaya* is a double such. *Laya*, time, a kind of measure, has been given three kinds, viz., *druta*, 'quick,' *madhya*, 'mean or moderate,' and *vilambita*, 'slow'. द्रुतो मध्यो विलम्बितश्च लयः । स त्रिविधो मत. —com.).

The following kinds of musical airs or tunes and dance have been mentioned: *Āksiptika*, which is a kind of song sung while an actor is approaching the stage and is accompanied with dancing and the musical marking of time with the hands (Bharata gives its definition thus. (चञ्चत्पुटादितालेन मार्गत्रयविभूषिता । आक्षिप्तिका स्वरपदग्रथिता कथिता बुधैः ॥); *Dvipadī*, which is a type of song and is of four kinds, viz., *Śuddhā*, *Khaṇḍā*, *Mātrā*, and *sampurṇā* (शुद्धा खण्डा च मात्रा च सम्पूर्णेति चतुर्विधा । Bharata); *Jambhalikā*, another kind of song in which each line is sung once or twice and no pause allowed between the chorus and the next line; *Khaṇḍadhārā*, which is both a kind of dance and an air in music (रागेण क्रीडनेन च); *Carcarī*, which is a strain sung by an actor or actress under the influence of passion and in a tone either low, middle or of the highest pitch (द्रुतमध्यलय समाश्रिता पठति प्रेमभरान्नटी यदि । प्रतिमण्ठकरासकेन वा द्रुतमध्या प्रथमा हि चर्चरी ॥ Com). *Bhinnaka*, which is the name of a musical mode (रागविशेषः); *Khandaka* or *Khaṇḍikā*, which is a kind of song sung with particular gestures; *Khuraka*, which is a particular kind of dance (पठमञ्जरिरागसंयुत यद् द्रुतमध्यलयेन यत्प्रयुक्तम् । प्रतितालयुत च नर्तनम्); *Valantikā*, a kind of *Rāga*, which is sung in accompaniment with a distinct mode of gesticulation; *Kakubha*, again was a kind of *Rāga* (मध्यमापञ्चमोधैवत्युद्भवः); *Upabhangāh*, are the several divisions of a song; *Kuṭilikā* and *Mallaghaṭī* are kinds of dance of which the former is danced without the help of a *Rāga* but in accompaniment of a particular pose and gesticulation called *Ardhamattalī* (the *Ardhamattalī* posture is explained as उपेतापसृतौ पादौ वामश्चेद्रेचित· करः । कटचामन्यः); *Galitaka* is another distinct type of dance and gesticulation. Besides these a number of other dancing postures and acting gestures have been mentioned like the *Caturasraka*, *Ardhacaturasraka*, *Sthānaka*, and *Vāmaka*, as also modes of dancing by falling on the knees (जानुभ्यां स्थित्वा) or acting with hands joined.

[1] *Raghu.*, XIX. 14, 15, 19.

CHAPTER XIII

PAINTING, SCULPTURES AND TERRACOTTAS

Kālidāsa furnishes us with vivid accounts of the artistic activities of his times. He has dwelt extensively in his works on the various branches of fine arts including painting, architecture, sculpture and the terracottas. An attempt is made in the following pages to examine the data furnished by him on these topics. Architecture, however, will be treated in a separate chapter.

Personal Embellishments

There is ample evidence[1] in the works of the poet to show the high level to which his times had reached. The development of an aesthetic sense is warranted by the incidents of everyday life of the people. Men kept long hair and dried the wet hair with fragrant incense of *aguru* in the manner of women[2]. They anointed their bodies before bath with various sorts of cosmetics[3] of which the chief were the *aṅgarāga* and *haricandana*. Both, men and women, were great lovers of ornaments[4] which they put on freely and eagerly. They were fond of flowers, which women particularly loved and used in place of metal and jewelled ornaments[5] and the blossoms of which they stuck in their hair[6] and knit in their tresses[7]. Women wore garments of different hues[8]. The items of their toilet were strikingly modern in their tone and spirit. The cosmetics which they used are strong enough to conjure up images of the Parisian women with their picturesque paints and odoriferous powders. They applied the lac dye, (a kind of red dye said to be obtained from the cochineal insect and from the resin of a particular tree), to the soles of their feet,[9] and the *tilaka* mark to their forehead with the black sandal of musk[10] and ornamented it with dots of collyrium[11]. They painted their face with dots[12] of different hues. Cheeks were decorated with picturesque figures of tiny leaves[13]. Eyes were adorned with unguent, and lips[14] reddened by the application of the *ālaktaka* paint. The latter were further

[1] ललिते कलाविधौ *Raghu.*, VIII. 67; कला *Māl.*, p. 95. ललिताभिनय Ibid., IV. 9; *Vik.*, II. 17.
[2] *Ṛtu.*, IV. 5, V. 5, 12.
[3] Vide *ante*.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.
[13] पत्रविशे षक पत्रलेख Ibid.
[14] Ibid.

besmeared with the lodhra powder[1] which turned them yellowish red. Thus women applied several methods of decoration to beautify their person and to distinguish themselves as ladies of taste.

Painting

Numerous references to the art of painting and its various branches of landscapes, portraits and frescoes prove the fact beyond doubt that the age of the poet had made astonishing progress in that art. We shall see presently that he alludes to frescoed walls and doors and interiors of houses, caves of mountains lit up at night by phosphorescent herbs abounding in the vicinity, painting-halls (studio, schools) run with the aid of the state,portraits of monkeys and men, magnificent landscapes, admirably planned sketches, various colours, and to painting boards and a box of brushes.

Citraśālā[2], the hall of paintings or studio, referred to in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*,[3] formed part of the saṅgītaśāla, the institution where music, dancing and stage acting were taught. There a picture gallery was also kept where pictures were hung[4] and numerous colours were prepared and used. To such a hall queen Dhāriṇī goes where she appreciates a painting the colours of which are not yet dried up[5].

Fresco Paintings

Mural paintings in residential houses[6] were a common feature of the times and Kālidāsa makes innumerable references to them. These may well illustrate the example of paintings in caves of mountains of which we have hundreds strewn over the ridges of the Western Ghats. The frequency of allusions to fresco paintings strongly suggests that the poet had a first hand knowledge of, and access to them. The famous caves of Ajanta, some of which were cut as early as the second century before Christ existed there. Later caves, many dating from the opening century of the Christian era and later, were excavated only a few centuries prior to his existence. Some of the later caves might have been excavated even during the epoch in which he lived and it is possible that he might also have paid visits to the glowing frescoes of Ajanta when some of them were in the process of being finished.

We read of the walls of palaces and houses[7] being decorated with paintings. Mention is made of paintings adorning the courtyards[8] of the houses which were occasionally blurred by the clouds entering the windows and moistening them[9],

[1] Ibid.
[2] चित्रशालां गता देवी *Māl.*, p. 5.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] प्रत्यग्रवर्णरागां चित्रलेखां Ibid., p. 5.
[6] सद्मसु चित्रवत्सु *Raghu.*, XIV. 15, 25; सचित्राः प्रासादाः *M. U.*, 1, 17.
[7] आलेख्यशेषस्य *Raghu.*, XIV. 15 सद्मसु चित्रवत्सु 25 सचित्राः प्रासादाः *M. U.*, 1. विमानाग्रभ्मिरालेख्यानाम् 6, द्वारोपान्तोलिखित वपुषो शंखपद्मौ च दृष्टवा 17, *Raghu.*, XVI. 16.
[8] *M. U.*, 6.
[9] Ibid.

when the houses happened to be situated on high mountains. It is not quite clear whether these paintings were on the walls or on the floor of the courtyard. But as we find several references to floors being as transparent as crystal, it appears that the paintings alluded to were on the walls surrounding the courtyard. The main gate of the house was painted with figures of the auspicious rainbow,[1] lotus and conch-shell[2]. There were frescoes in which pleasure ponds were painted displaying elephants, who, while entering into the spread out forest of lotuses, were being presented with pieces of lotus stalks by female elephants[3]. This particular painting is an interesting piece as we come across an amazingly similar one painted in the cave no. 17 of Ajanta.

Portrait

We have several references[4] to portraits[5] (*pratikṛti*) sketched and painted. We read of a wife, separated from her husband, employing herself in the sweet occupation of painting a portrait of the latter[6] as the idea of his person presented to her mind's eye (*bhāvagamyam*[7]). The Yakṣa of the *Meghadūta* drew the sketch of his wife's figures in the form of a wife pretending anger against her husband[8], on the boulder of a rock with a piece of *geru*. Urvaśi is said to have been portrayed in the *Vikramorvaśī*[9],and Mālavikā is shown as painted in a picture in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*[10]. There is a reference to a portrait compared to another in which a monkey had been portrayed[11].

There are complete plans of portraits sketched and of those proposed to be sketched. A rather detailed account of the same may be given below. The height of success achieved by the Indian painter can be well imagined from a passage occurring in the speech of the Vidūṣaka in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* which refers to the representation of various human feelings and sentiments of fear, curiosity and the like along with the feeling of exhaustion shown by representing loose hanging hair and the little drops of perspiration[12] on the face. A concourse of sentiments[13] were portrayed. The excellent portraying of feelings[14] has been commended in a passage. Duṣyanta complains that in the portrait of Śākuntala before him, through the process of being painted, want is yet felt of a knot of the

[1] सुरपतिधनुष्चारुणातोरणेन Ibid., 12.
[2] Ibid., 17.
[3] *Raghu.*, XVI. 16.
[4] *Māl.*, II. 2, pp. 5, 6, 12, 73; *Raghu.*, XVIII. 53; *M. U.*, 22, 42; *Śāk.*, pp. 199, 200, 208, 210, 218, VI. 18, 30, pp. 213-14; *Vik.*, p. 42.
[5] प्रतिकृतिं *Raghu.*, XVIII. 53; *Śāk.*, pp. 200, 218; *Māk.*, pp. 12, 73; *Vik.*, p. 42.
[6] *M. U.*, 22.
[7] मत्सादृश्यं भावगम्यं लिखन्ती Ibid.
[8] प्रणयकुपितां Ibid., 42.
[9] p. 42.
[10] p. 5.
[11] आलेख्य वानर इव *Vik.*, p. 27.
[12] तर्कयामि यैषाः. . . . लिखिता सा शकुन्तला *Śāk.*, pp. 209-10.
[13] रागबद्धचित्तवृत्तिरालिखित इव सर्वतो रंग Ibid., p. 13.
[14] Ibid., p. 208.

hair over the ears, of śirīṣa flowers sticking to the ears and touching the temples, and of the thread of the stalk of lotus reposed between the breasts[1]. It is otherwise proposed to fill the background of this picture with kadamba trees of the hermitage[2]. Another reference is made to a portrait in which Śakuntalā is portrayed standing with her hand holding a red lotus and warding with it the attack of a bee off her lips[3].

Group Painting

Like portrait painting, group painting had also reached a high stage. We read of three persons[4] painted in a group in which all the individual figures are commended for their excellent finish[5]. Śakuntalā stands in a group portrait, her hair knots getting loosened and the flowers stuck in the hair falling, and drops of perspiration decorating her face. She is portrayed slightly tired under a mango tree full of new leaves, and by her side are seen her friends[6]. Another similar group portrayed Malavikā[7] close to the queen surrounded by her attendants[8].

Kālidāsa refers, besides the above, to landscapes representing masterly skill in its planning and imagination. The following is the theoretical sketch of a picture proposed to be finished: "The river Mālinī is to be drawn with pairs of swans resting on its sandy banks; and on both sides of it are to be painted the sacred adjoining hills of the Himalayas, with deer reclining on them; and under a tree, displaying bark garments suspended from its branches, I desire to represent a doe rubbing her left eye on the horn of a black antelope[9]." Here is a remarkable sketch from which a perfect landscape can be finished which will very well show to what an extent the art of painting had advanced. Another allusion reflects on a possible landscape in which the evening is depicted with the sky filled with an endless concourse of clouds of several colours as an effect of the touch of the brush[10].

Materials for Painting

Let us now turn to the technique of the art of painting. Kālidāsa mentions the following articles needed in painting of picture: *śalākā*[11], *vartikā*[12], or

[1] *Śāk.*, VI. 18.
[2] परितव्यं . . . कदम्बैः Ibid., p, 212.
[3] कुसुमरसः . . . मधुकरः Ibid., pp. 213-14.
[4] तिस्रस्तत्र भवत्यो दृश्यन्ते Ibid., pp. 209-10
[5] सर्वाश्च दर्शनीयाः Ibid., p. 209.
[6] सख्याविति Ibid., pp. 209-10.
[7] चित्रगताया . . . आसन्नदारिका *Māl*, p. 5. अपूर्वेय . . . आलिखिता
[8] Ibid., p. 5.
[9] *Śāk.*, VI., 17.
[10] *Ku.*, VIII. 45.
[11] *Ku.*, I. 47, 24; *Raghu.*, VII. 8 (used for a different purpose).
[12] *Raghu.*, XIX. 19; *Ku.*, VIII. 45.

tūlikā[1], *lambakūrca*[2], *citraphalaka*[3], *varṇa*[4] and *rāgas*[5] and *vārtikākaraṇḍaka*[6]. Śalākā was a pencil with which the sketch or outline of the picture was drawn. Vartikā or tūlikā was the brush, as was also the kūrca. But perhaps there was a difference between the two, vartikā or tūlika and the kūrca, inasmuch as the latter had a sharp split point serving for an actual modern paint-brush while the former was a blunt pointed pen. Of the brush (*kūrca*) itself there might have been two kinds, a long and a short one, as the expression lamabakūrca—a long brush—suggests. Citrphalaka was a painting board on which a picture was painted. Varṇa or rāga was the colour used in painting. We read of several colours including red, yellow and green[7] used in painting a picture. Vartikākaraṇḍaka was a paint-box containing the brushes, and also perhaps colours and other auxiliaries required for painting a picture.

Colours

Dyes, it seems, were used with much discretion. Several colours were used for this purpose. In reference to colours[8] the poet remarks in the *Kumārasambhava* that the beauty of a picture is much enhanced by the application of colours[9]. In the picture gallery of the hall of painting mentioned in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, the queen sat examining the pictures finished in a multiplicity of colours which were still fresh[10].

The popularity of the art of painting was so great that its cultivation had penetrated even the forests where it was pursued in hermitages by the daughters of hermits. We read that when Śakuntalā was preparing to leave the hermitage of Kaṇva for her husband's home the ṛṣikanyās, who had never seen the use of gold ornaments, learnt the proper position of ornaments through their acquaintance with paintings[11] and decorated the person of Śakuntalā after their manner.

The cultivation of the art of painting was not only a diversion and Kālidāsa makes it as important as the pursuit of yoga. It has been enjoined upon a sculptor[12] that before starting on carving out an image he must sit for a long while absolutely lost in contemplation of his theme and he shall proceed to fashion and finish it only when it has appeared in a vision during his contemplation exactly in the posture he wants to sculpture. If the composition turns out a failure, the

[1] *Ku.*, I. 32.
[2] *Śāk.*, p. 212.
[3] Ibid., pp. 199, 208, 210; *Vik.*, p. 42.
[4] *Śāk.*, p. 216.
[5] *Māl.*, p. 5.
[6] *Śāk.*, p. 217.
[7] *Ku.*, VIII. 45.
[8] *Śāk.*, p. 13; *Māl.*, p. 5.
[9] *Ku.*, I. 32.
[10] प्रत्यग्रवर्णरागां *Māl.*, p. 5.
[11] चित्रपरिचयेनांगेषु *Śāk.*, p. 131.
[12] "The characteristic of an image is its power helping forward contemplation and *yoga*. The human maker of images should therefore be meditative. Besides meditation there is no other way of knowing the character of an image—even direct observation (is of no use)."—*Śukranīti*, Ch. IV. Sec. IV. 147-50.

failure must be attributed to a slackness in the contemplation of the artist. Kālidāsa almost uses the same expression and refers to want of contemplation on the part of the artist before commencing his work in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*[1]. The king has seen Mālavikā in a group picture. Her extraordinary beauty wins him over. He is struck by her uncommon charms and suspects exaggeration on the part of the painter. But when Mālavikā appears before him in person and her form surpasses in beauty the one portrayed in the above mentioned picture, the king is taken aback and he remarks: "When she was only a picture to me, my mind apprehended that her (real) beauty might not come up to that of the picture; but now I think that the painter, by whom she was drawn, was slack in his contemplation[2]." The expression, *sithilasamādhi*, refers to the slackness of contemplation on the part of the artist which is the reason of the remarkable difference between the charm of the real person and that of her portrait.

With the material of painting mentioned above and the excellent theory of representation coupled with a rich imagination the Indian artist could give the fullest expression to human thought and feeling.

Sculpture

Comparatively fewer are the direct references to sculpture but indirectly the poet echoes the trend of his times in the field of sculpture through scores of phrases which present a concrete picture and conjure up visions associated with several pieces now exhibited in the museums of India. We shall first deal with such allusions as have a direct bearing upon sculpture. In course of the description of parts of a palace the poet says: "The peacocks dull, on account of the slumber coming over them at nightfall, perch on their roosts as if they were sculptured figures[3]."

Carved Peacock

The word *utkīrṇa* means 'carved out,' probably in *basso relievo*. In the description of the deserted city of Ayodhyā in the *Raghuvaṁśa* we read of images of women carved in high relief (basso relievo) on posts, evidently railing pillars, of a palace. "The slough-strips," says the poet, "left by cobras become, on account of their contact with (the breasts) a covering on the breasts of the images of women carved on posts which have a dusty appearance and the lines of colour on which have been disfigured[4]."

Female Relief on Railing Pillars

Here is an allusion to painted figures in high relief. Both of the above references have their excellent examples in the sculptural pieces of the Muttra Museum. A beautiful image of a peacock carved in the round is preserved there[5]. Similarly a whole section of the Museum is represented

[1] शिथिलसमाधि *Māl.*, II. 2. [2] Ibid

[3] *Vik.*, III. 2.

[4] स्तम्भेषु योषित्प्रतियातनानामुत्कान्तवर्णक्रमधूसराणाम् ।
स्तनोत्तरीयाणि भवन्ति संगान्नर्मोकपट्टाः फणिभिर्विमुक्ताः ॥ *Raghu.*, XVI. 17.

[5] Muttra Museum exhibit no. 466. cf. Kumāri on peacock, ibid., no. R. 104.

by the images of the Kuṣāṇa Yakṣīs carved in high relief on railing pillars which are such a harvest of artistic masterpieces fashioned and turned out in the ateliers of ancient Muttra. The description quoted above may convince one of the fact that no poet however great and rich in his imagination could have brought this grand picture to our mind's eye unless he had himself been influenced by these iconic wonders of ancient Muttra. The temptation is irresistible to conclude that Kālidāsa had visited Mathura and seen these railing pillars and the remarkable subjects of their composition which form the pride of the Muttra Museum today. The earlier type of the railing pillars can be witnessed in the admirable specimen of Bharhut. The poet further refers to the icons of Gaṅgā and Yamunā carrying flywhisks[1].

Images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā

The beginnings of the representation of these two river godesses as cauri-bearers of gods in sculpture mark the later stages of the Kuṣāṇa and early stages of the Gupta art. Gaṅgā and Yamunā stand on crocodile and tortoise, their respective symbols abounding in their waters, and waive or carry the flywhisk. Such images have been found and exhibited in the Muttra Museum[2]. Another specimen may be seen at Elora. The Hindu renaissance under the Imperial Guptas after the supremacy of Buddhism had brought about a Brahmanical revival in art and sculpture also, and side by side with the Buddhistic images there started an era wherein the reproduction of the images of the gods of Hindu pantheon became growingly marked and prolific. The enlarged Hindu pantheon itself proves that the innumerable number of idols was meant for some purpose—for being installed in temples. The poet mentions several images (*pratimā*) of gods[3] (*devapratimāḥ*) and other iconic compositions[4] (*mūrtimantam*). He also specifically refers to the carved images of certain Hindu gods besides those of Gaṅgā and Yamunā mentioned above.

Brahmā

The image of Brahmā was being chiselled and fashioned with the Puranic four faces[5] (*caturmūrteḥ, dhātāram sarvatomukham*). The most vivid description of an image given by the poet is that of Viṣṇu (....*mūrtibhiḥ*) for which he even enters into the domain of technical iconography. In course of a few verses a complete figure is brought out.

Viṣṇu

Viṣṇu rests on the body of the serpent Śeṣa and under the circle

[1] मूर्ते च गंगायमुने तदानी स चामरे देवमसेविषातम् । *Ku.*, VII. 42.

[2] Exhibit No. 1507 of Gangā from Maholi and No. 2659 of Yamunā from Katra Keshavadeva. There is another such Yamunā figure bearing No. 5563 preserved in the Lucknow Museum. It has been reproduced in fig. 3. Plate 46 of Vincent A. Smith's *Jaina Stupa and other Antiquities from Kankali Tīlā, Mathurā*. The reverse of the tiger type of Samudra Gupta's coins show Gaṅgā holding a fillet and lotus (cf. Allen, p. LXXIV, B. M. C.).

[3] *Raghu.*, XVI. 39, XVII. 36.

[4] Ibid., XVII. 31.

[5] Ibid., X. 73; *Ku.*, II. 3.

of its hoods[1] *bhogibhogāsanāsīnam*. His consort Lakṣmī sitting on a lotus and covering with her silken robe (undergarment) her girdle, holds his feet in her hands placed on her lap[2]. This god whose characteristic symbol is his Śrīvatsa[3] wears the Kaustubha gem on his broad chest[4]. This description is verily an imitation of an image. It is interesting that the poet uses in his description of this image the word *vigraha*[5] which means an idol. The image is completed by association of further symbols, namely *kirīṭa*[6] (daidem), *jalaja* (conch), *cakra*, *gadā*, and *śārṅga*[7] (bow instead of the usual *padma*, lotus). He is further attended by Garuḍa[8] (eagle). In another picture presented by the poet, Viṣṇu with his Kaustubha gem is attended by Lakṣmī bearing a lotus fan in her hand[9]. The important features of the description is that the poet calls the symbols, named above, the characteristic signs[10] (*lāñcchita*) by which the images (*mūrtibhiḥ*) of dwarf Viṣṇus are recognized. These symbols have been mentioned, it may be noted, in the *Trimūrtilakṣaṇavidhāna*[11], a treatise on iconography. Besides, with these iconic features any image of Viṣṇu in both the forms reclining on the Śesa, or standing, may be identified in an Indian museum. Trimūrti[12], which Kālidāsa mentions, is a composite figure with three heads of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, a commonplace image in the museums. We read another reference to a sculptural piece in which the image of radiating moon encircled by lotuses[13] was carved.

Here we must remember that with an Indian sculptor the act of image carving was a sacred one and he was enjoined upon first to sit in contemplation of the theme of his proposed piece and to proceed to fashion it only when its vision had come to him in contemplation. The *Sukranīti*[14] says: "The characteristic of an image is its power of helping forward contemplation and *Yoga*. The human maker of images should therefore be meditative. Besides meditation there is no other way of knowing the character of an image—even direct observation (is of no use)." Kālidāsa reiterates this idea and the failure of an artist he attributes to his want of contemplation (*śithilasamādhi*) which point we have fully discussed while treating of painting.

Terracottas

An interesting reference to terracottas may be given below. The son of

[1] *Raghu.*, X. 7; श्रीवत्सलक्ष्मा पृथुवक्षसाक्षात् *Ku.*, VII. 43
[2] *Raghu.*, X. 8.
[3] श्रीवत्सलक्षणं Ibid., XVII. 29.
[4] Ibid., X. 10.
[5] Ibid., X. 7.
[6] Ibid., VI. 19, X. 75.
[7] Ibid., X. 60.
[8] Ibid., 13, 61.
[9] Ibid., 62.
[10] Ibid., 60.
[11] Ch. LI.
[12] Ku., II. 4.
[13] पंकजानां मध्ये स्फुरन्तं प्रतिमाशशाङ्कम् *Raghu.*, VII. 64.
[14] Ch. IV. Sec. IV. 147-150.

Sakuntalā plays with a coloured clay-peacock[1] (*varṇacitrito mṛttikāmayūraḥ*). The same has been again commended for its colour[2] (*śakuntalāvaṇyam*). We have lots of terracottas unearthed from ancient sites representing birds and animals meant to serve as toys. They mostly bear a red slip or a black or ochre paint which is nothing but the *varṇacitraṇa* of the present terracotta piece. A beautiful large terracotta peacock is actually exhibited in the Muttra Museum. It is significant that with regard to Bharata's hand Kālidāsa uses the phrase *jālagrathitāṅguliḥ karaḥ*[3], i.e. webbed fingers. Sculptures and terracottas with webbed fingers are amazingly rare and those that are extant date from the Gupta period. The Mankunwar stone Buddha preserved in the Lucknow Museum is a case in point. It has webbed fingers on both the hands.

Now we shall discuss the indirect evidence with reference to sculpture. We must note that the Sanskrit literature in the field of classical kāvyas tended to specialize in the art of poetical suggestion so much so that there grew up a regular branch of suggestive poetry. Kālidāsa is supposed to be a master in the suggestive (*dhvani*) art. Where he does not directly refer to a particular sculptural image, he actually indirectly expresses it by giving a complete picture of it. And if we care to read between his lines we shall get innumerable allusions to sculptural masterpieces the likes of which are deposited in most of the Indian museums and be able to identify them without difficulty. We shall attempt to discuss the same in the following pages.

Halo

The poet refers frequently to *prabhāmaṇḍala*[4] and *chāyāmaṇḍala*[5], halo, and to *sphuratprabhāmaṇḍala*[6], radiating halo. It should be noted that actual representation of halo in the sculptural art of northern India dates mostly from the Kuṣāṇa period of Indian history. During the later Kuṣāṇa and early Gupta period the halo takes a recognized form and becomes a striking feature. The earlier *chatra*, umbrella, itself, which had been shown behind the big images and had been raised over their head, becomes the halo of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta images of Buddha. The *chatra* tradition is almost lost and its place is taken by the halo represented by a flat *chatra* attached to the image itself and rising from the pedestal behind its back and head. Unlike the earlier *chatra* it has no *daṇḍa*. Such haloes with decorative figures of flowers and birds on their margin and surface may be seen rising behind several images of the Buddha and Bodhisattva preserved in the museums at Muttra[7] and Sarnath.

[1] वर्णचित्रितो मृत्तिकामयूरस्तिष्ठति *Śāk.*, p. 243 मृण्मयूरहस्ता Ibid., p. 247; भद्रमयूर: Ibid., p. 248.

[2] वर्णचित्रितो Ibid., p. 243 शकुन्तलावण्यं Ibid., p. 247.

[3] Ibid., VII. 16.

[4] *Raghu.*, XV. 82, XVII. 23; *Ku.*, VI. 4, VII. 38.

[5] *Raghu.*, IV. 5.

[6] Ibid., III. 60, V. 51, XIV. 14; *Ku.*, I. 24.

[7] Exhibit Nos., A.1, A. 2 (broken), A. 45 (broken), B. 1. A. 5.

Kārttikeya on Peacock

The conception of a *mayūrāśrayīguha*[1], Kārttikeya riding a peacock, is as patent in Kālidāsa as in sculpture. We have a very realistic specimen of Kārttikeya riding a peacock with its wings spread out in full *maṇḍala* exhibited in the museum at Muttra[2]. A large replica of the same in terracotta has already been mentioned. The representation of the Kārttikeya riding a peacock model had become so dear to the Indian sculptor of the epoch of Kālidāsa that we find the armlets (*keyūra*) decorating the arms of the Bodhisattvas[3], particularly marked on the torso no. A. 46, of the Kuṣāṇa period (exhibited in the Muttra Museum) fashioned almost invariable after the dancing peacock. And with the poet himself the armlet is a favoured ornament[4].

Armlets and Girdles

Kālidāsa has described waistbands and girdles frequently[5] and we witness endless varieties of broad girdles on the images of the goddesses[6] carved in the later Kuṣāna and early Gupta period. The armlet and the girdle seem to have been a specialization of the Gupta age as we find endless references to them and to their numerous varieties in both the literature and sculpture of the period. In like manner the falling locks with ringlets of hair, *alaka*[7], are such other characteristic symbols in the identification of Gupta images and terracottas. The Gupta Śiva, now worshipped at many places at Muttra[8], has locks with ringlets falling about and away from the top.

Locks of Hair

The terracotta female statuettes of the Gupta period have such picturesque locks and ringlets falling from the head. Several such pieces were recently discovered from an inhabited mound of the Gupta period known as Mason about half a mile east of Aunrihar (Dist. Ghazipur, U. P.) and about a mile and a half to the north-west of Saidpur Bhitari, the site of the victory pillar of Skanda Gupta Vikramāditya.

Data Regarding the Sculptural Physique

We may also in this connection refer to the striking similarity between the physique of the carved specimens of Gupta sculpture and that portrayed in the penpicture of the poet. Kālidāsa dwells frequently on the descip-

[1] मयूरपृष्ठाश्रयिणा गुहेन *Raghu.*, VI. 4.
[2] Exhibit no. 466.
[3] Torso, A. 45, A. 46.
[4] *Raghu.*, VI. 14, 53, 68, 73, VII. 50, XVI. 56, 60, 73; *Rtu.*, IV. 3, VI. 6; *M. P.*, 2; *Śak.*, III. 10, VI. 6; *Vik.*, p. 15.
[5] *Māl.*, pp. 28, 59, III. 21; *Raghu.*, VI. 43, VII. 10. VIII., 64, XIII. 33, XVI. 65, XIX. 25, 26, 27, 41, 45; *Ku.*, I. 37, 38, VIII. 89, 35; *Rtu.*, I. 4, 6, II. 19, III. 24, IV. 4, VI. 3, 24, 43.
[6] Exhibit nos. F. 14, 1692, 10, 11.
[7] *Raghu.*, I. 42, etc.
[8] Cf. Muttra Museum Exhibit No. 124; another from Kamavana, Bharatpur (now in England).

tion of full breasts[1] pressing each other. The fullness of the breasts in the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta sculptures[2] is marked at the first sight. So also is the remarkable similarity between the description of the heavy hips[3] of the poet's literature and their parallelism in sculptures[4] and terracottas[5]. Master specimens of terracotta female statuettes with falling ringlets, full breasts, slender waist and heavy buttocks decorated with broad zones have been discovered from the site mentioned above. Āvartaśobhā[6] or the beauty of the navel forming a deep circle is an important feature of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta sculptures and the image of Ṛṣya Śṛṅga[7] and the reliefs of Yakṣis carved on the railing pillars[8] of Muttra are examples of the kind. Although these features are not wholly unwarranted in earlier times during the Gupta epoch they become most conspicuous both in literature and art.

Dohada

Both in the Kuṣāṇa as well as Gupta sculptural compositions we find scenes of *dohada* (striking by a woman of an Aśoka tree with her feet to make it blossom) depicted vividly. The Yakṣī stands half-naked exhibiting the exquisite roundness and the fleshy pliancy of her features preparing to kick or kicking the aśoka tree to make it burst into flowers[9]. Kālidāsa makes frequent allusions to such *dohadas*[10] which present to us the forms of the above mentioned scenes. The extreme sameness is so patent that the visitor stands convinced of the identity of the two. While preparing the catalogue of the Muttra Museum, Dr. Ph. Vogel was struck by the similarity in a corresponding scene in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* which he quoted to point out the parallelism in his *Catalogue of Sculptures in the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*[11]. Here we must observe that literature draws from life as also does art, but whereas the former may be an aristocratic occupation of the few, the specimens of the latter are always the attraction of both, the exalted and the common. The endless variety of such scenes in public buildings, monasteries, temples and private houses of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta periods was bound to create an imgae for like reflections in literature. Imagination, howsoever wild, is chained to earth and it is always fed by incidents of life. Kālidāsa therefore is alluding to contemporary or antecedent models in art.

[1] गुरुश्रोणिपयोधरत्वात् *Raghu.*, XVI. 60, VI. 28.
[2] Muttra Museum Exhibit Nos. 1007, F. 9, 27, 1600.
[3] नितम्बगुर्वी *Raghu.*, VII. 25.
[4] Muttra Museum Exhibits, J. 4, R. 108 and other railing pillars.
[5] Masôn, near Aunrihar on the B. N. W. R., district Ghazipur, U. P.
[6] *Raghu.*, XVI. 63.
[7] Exhibit No. J. 7.
[8] Exhibit Nos. J. 10, 11.
[9] Exhibit Nos. J. 55, F. 27.
[10] *Raghu.*, VIII. 62, IX. 12; *M. U.*, 15; *Māl.*, pp. 37, 41, 43, 45, 46, 49, 54, 86, III. 11, 17, 19.
[11] P. 153. "It recalls a scene in Kālidāsa's play 'Mālavikā and Agnimitra,' in which the king watches the heroine, while she performs the act, just referred to at the request of her mistress the Queen."

Seven Mothers

The Saptamātṛkas[1] of the poet we actually find hewn and represented in a piece of Kuṣāṇa composition of the Muttra Museum[2]. Kālī one of the Seven Mothers, mentioned by the poet as wearing a necklace of sculls[3] (kapālābharaṇā), is a common feature of his times. A striking figure of it may be seen at Ellora.

Rāvaṇa lifting Kailāsa

The scene of Rāvaṇa lifting the abode of Śiva[4] described by Kālidāsa is not quite an infrequent favourite of the Kuṣāṇa sculptor. A fine specimen of it is preserved at Muttra. A later recension may be witnessed in the Kailāsa cave at Ellora[5].

Lakṣmī

Lakṣmi standing on a full-blown lotus[6] or holding a stalk of it in her hand[7] or playing with a lotus stalk[8] (*līlāravinda*) have all their corresponding counterparts in the sculpture of Muttra[9] and other places. Other references to *līlāravinda*[10] are also extant. The beautiful description of Śiva and Umā given by the poet[11] is vividly represented in several Kuṣaṇa specimens showing a loving couple. Scenes showing the tying and unfastening of the tresses[12] are beautifully carved in one of the panels of a door-jamb[13] at Muttra.

Toilet

In another panel of the same a foot is held out to a toilet-maid-attendant (*prasādhikā*). A Prasādhikā[14] is finely modelled in a bas-relief on one of the railing pillars of Muttra carrying a toilet case[15]. But the best specimen of the toilet woman is exhibited in the Bharata Kala Bhavana of Benares.

Other Pieces

We have also references to *pūrṇakumbha*[16] (sculptured on door-jambs, Muttra), nāgi[17], the striking and consequent rebounding of a ball[18], a flute

[1] *Ku.*, VII. 30, 38, VI. 80, 81.
[2] Exhibit nos. 552, F. 38.
[3] कालीकपालाभरणा *Ku.*, VIII. 39; चलकपालकुण्डला *Raghu.*, XI. 15.
[4] दशमुखभुजोच्छ्वासितप्रस्थिसन्धेः कैलासस्य *M. P.*, 58 रामस्तुलित कैलासं *Raghu.*, XII. 49, IV. 80; *Ku.*, VIII. 24.
[5] Cave No. XVI. Kailāsa or the Ranga Mahal. [6] *Raghu.*, IV. 14, X. 8; *Ku.*, VII. 89.
[7] *Māl.*, V. 6.
[8] *Ku.*, III. 56, VI. 84; *Raghu.*, VI. 13.
[9] Exhibit No. 2345.
[10] *Raghu.*, VI. 13; *Ku.*, VI. 84.
[11] शंभुनादत्तहस्ता
[12] *M. U.*, 29, 36.
[13] Exhibit No. 186.
[14] *Raghu.*, VII. 7.
[15] Exhibit No. (J) 369.
[16] *Raghu.*, V. 63; Muttra Museum Exhibit No. 1507.
[17] *Māl.*, p. 64. Muttra Museum, Exhibit No. F. 2.
[18] कराभिघातोत्थितकन्दुकेयम् *Raghu.*, XVI. 83; Muttra Museum Exhibit No. J.

player[1], the long garland[2] and Dauvārika,[3] gate-keeper, holding a staff[4] (sculptured under a door-way, Muttra) in the writings of the poet and their parallels in sculpture[5]. We have two grand votive sacrificial posts at Muttra[6] to the likes of which we have several parallel references in the works of the poet.

Kinnara and Aśvamukhī

The Kinnara and Aśvamukhī of Kālidāsa[7] have their counterparts in two excellent pieces preserved in the Muttra Museum. One of them is a Kinnara couple with the body of a fine horse and a beautiful human face. One of the couple rides its companion[8]. The other represents the scene of the *Aśvamukhī Jātaka*[9] in the Kuṣāṇa art.

Hut

Then we must not forget that Kubera[10], the preponderating figure in Kuṣāṇa and Gupta images is a frequent allusion of our poet[11], and the noose-bearing Varuṇa[12] and Indra of Kālidāsa also have their models in art. Full-blown lotuses[13] of the earlier art are also a favourite simile of the poet. The busy huts of the hermitage of the *Raghuvaṁśa*[14] with their doors full of deer is remarkably carved in a long Śuṅga frieze at Muttra[15] which gives a perfect picture of an ascetic's hut, deer, an altar, a *kamaṇḍalu* and other surroundings of a hermitage.

Kāmadeva

Kāmadeva with his flower bow and five arrows similar to one of the literature of the poet[16] has been picturesquely carved in a perfect standing model of the terracotta exhibited in the Muttra Museum[17], perhaps the only terracotta specimen of its kind in India.

Yakṣa

Maurya, Śuṅga, specially the Kuṣāṇa and early Gupta periods of Indian history were marked by representations of Yakṣas in sculpture. There had arisen something like a Yakṣa cult which rose to unforeseen heights during the Kusāṇa

[1] *Raghu.*, XIX. 35; M. M. Exhibit No. 62 (Harp player).
[2] *Raghu.*, VI. 60, XIX. 37; M. M. Exhibit no. 186.
[3] *Ku.*, III. 41; (cf. Dauvārika, etc.); M. M. Exhibit Nos. p. 14, 68, 69, G. 1.
[4] *Ku.*, III. 41; M. M. Exhibits Nos. G. 1, p. 68.
[5] M. M. Exhibits Nos. G. 1, p. 14, 68.
[6] M. M. Exhibits Nos. 13, 144.
[7] *Ku.*, I. 8, यक्षमुख्य: Ibid., 11.
[8] M. M. Exhibit No. F. 1.
[9] Ibid., No. 191.
[10] Muttra Museum Exhibits Nos. 124, C. 3, 31; 75; another, now in England.
[11] *Raghu.*, V. 26, 28, IX. 24, 25, XIV. 16, 20; *Ku.*, II. 22. III. 25.
[12] *Raghu.*, IX. 24; *Ku.*, II. 22.
[13] Muttra Museum Exhibit No. 586.
[14] *Raghu.*, I. 49-52.
[15] Muttra Museum Exhibit No. I. 4.
[16] *Ku.*, I. 41, II. 64, VII. 92; *Raghu.*, IX. 39, XI. 45; *Vik.*, II. 11.
[17] Exhibit No. 1448.

and Gupta periods and which also influenced literature, a reflex of human belief. Kālidāsa could not resist the temptation of making a Yakṣa, symbol of love, the hero of his *Meghadūta*. Further, he has referred to the Yakṣas frequently[1]. Beautiful Yakṣa images carved in the round are in a considerable number exhibited in the Muttra Museum[2].

Siva and Buddha

. Lastly no reference to a treatment of sculpture in the writings of Kālidāsa can be complete without giving a description of his Śiva in meditation, attacked by Kāmadeva and showing its remarkable affinity with the perfect calm of the Buddha images in contemplation. Without doubt the picture is a second hand, attempted after those images. It will be quite clear if the entire description of the meditation of Śiva is quoted below. Śiva is sitting in meditation in the *vīrāsana* posture having bent forward both his shoulders and placing his hands like full-blown lotuses in his lap[3]. His hair is tied in a knot on the head[4]. His eyes are slightly open and are lowered and their pupils are gazing at the pointed end of the nose below[5]. He rests calmly holding within himself the various winds that live in the body and resembles strictly the absolutely calm and undisturbed flame of the lamp[6]. The light emanating from his *brahmarandhra* (the highest point within the head) puts that emanating from the moon on his forehead to shade[7]. Closing all the nine doors of the body thus cutting away all connection from the external world and applying the mind absolutely to the heart by stopping all its functions, he looks within himself, within his own soul[8]. The Cupid (Kāmadeva) eyes with doubt and fear this unassailable god and his bow drops from his hand[9]. It may be recollected that this exactly is the attitude and posture of Gautama, the perspective Buddha, when Māra attacks him at Bodh Gaya with all his following and is foiled in like manner in his mission. The remarkably calm meditation of the Buddha and Bodhisattva images of the Indian museums (specially those preserved in the Muttra Museum)[10] may be instanced in this connection to bring out the iconic affinity between these images and those furnished by the description of the poet. The images where they have long hermits' hair have it tied in a knot on the top of the head[11] and sit calmly in the manner of an undisturbed flame having restrained the winds of the body within them and looking, as it were, invertly gazing with half-open eyes at the end of their nose and sitting in the *vīrāsana* mudrā with the palms of hands placed on their lap disclosing figures of lotuses and themselves resembling lotuses. The projecting

[1] *M. P.*, I, 5; *M. U.*, 3; *Ku.*, VI. 29.
[2] Exhibit Nos. 5, 10, 14, E. 8, 24, C. 18.
[3] *Ku.*, III. 45.
[4] Ibid, 46.
[5] Ibid., 47.
[6] Ibid., 48.
[7] Ibid., 49.
[8] Ibid., 50.
[9] Ibid., III. 51.
[10] M. M. Exhibits Nos. A. 27, 45, I, B. 1 (Jaina), 57 (Jaina).
[11] Ibid., A. 1.

light of Śiva from his *brahmarandhra* has its corresponding feature in the Uṣṇīṣa, the bump or protuberance of intelligence, on the head of the Buddha images. It may be asserted that this picture of the meditation of Śiva has the reflex of its form buried in these Buddha and Bodhisattva images of Muttra, for the vivid picture that Kālidāsa has drawn of Śiva's meditation cannot be accepted to have been a result of mere fancy. And when we have evidence of these specimens being a common sight in the land it is but natural that the poet may have drawn his image from them.

It is thus that we find Kālidāsa speaking in phrases which can very well be said to have originated from their parallels in the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta art (sculpture).

CHAPTER XIV

ARCHITECTURE

Architecture

From the stray references in the writings of Kālidāsa a glimpse of the early architecture of India can be caught. We find description of the repairs and rebuilding[1] of a capital by guilds of architects[2] (*śilpisaṅghāḥ*). Architecture has been referred to by the phrase Vāstu[3]. Its application to the building of a capital has been mentioned in the *Raghuvaṁśa*[4].

We have a complete picture of the architecture of a town given in the poet's writings. The plan of the town was well laid. It was intercepted with roads. The main road was the royal highway[5] (*rājapatha*) which probably crossed the town and connected it with other cities of the country. There was a busy market place[6] (*vipaṇi*) in the centre and big houses lined[7] the market street on both sides which was technically known as *āpaṇamārga*[8]. The capital or a rich city abounded in sky-kissing palaces[9] and high mansions[10], white coloured[11], with terraces and buttresses[12]. There were laid out in the city public parks[13] (*puropakaṇṭhopavanam*) and baths with beautiful flights of steps[14], hundreds of sacrificial posts[15], arches[16], artificial hills[17] (*krīḍāśaila*), the outer walls[18] surrounding the city (*prākāra*) and the great gates[19] (*gopuradvāra*) and the deep ditch[20] (*parikhā*) encircling the ramparts of the city.

[1] पुरं नवी चक्रु: *Raghu*, XVI. 38.
[2] शिल्पिसघा: Ibid.
[3] Ibid., 39.
[4] वास्तु Ibid., XVII. 36.
[5] Ibid., XVI. 12 नरेन्द्रमार्ग VI. 67.
[6] Ibid., XVI. 41.
[7] प्रासादमालासु *Ku.*, VII. 56, 63.
[8] Ibid., 55.
[9] अभ्रंलिह, अभ्रंलिहाग्र *Raghu.*, XIV. 29; *M. U.*, 1.
[10] *Raghu.*, VII. 5, VIII. 93, XIII. 40, XV, 30, XVI. 18, XIX. 2, 40; *Ku.*, VI. 42, VII. 56, 63; *M. P.*, 7, 27, *M. U.*, 3; *Ṛtu.*, I. 3, 9, 28, V. 3; *Māl.*, II. 2.
[11] सौध etc.; *M. P.*, 7; *Ṛtu.*, I. 9.
[12] अट्ट *Raghu.*, VI. 67, XVI. 11; V. 75, XVI, 6, 11. XIX. 2.
[13] Ibid., XIV. 30.
[14] *M. U.*, 13.
[15] यूपानपश्यच्छशतो *Raghu.*, XVI. 35, I. 44.
[16] तोरण Ibid., I. 41, VII. 4; *M. U.*, 12; *Ku.*, VII. 63.
[17] आक्रीडपर्वतास्तेन कल्पिता: स्वेषु वेश्मसु *Ku.*, II. 43; *M. U.*, 14, 18.
[18] *Raghu.*, I. 30, XI. 52, XII. 71.
[19] *Śāk.*, p. 185.
[20] *Raghu.*, I. 30, XII. 66; *Śāk.*, II. 15.

We shall deal with the above at certain length one by one. As we have said above, the city was crossed by broad streets. *Rājapatha*[1] was 'the broad street, the big road, the highway[2].' Its description is given in the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, part 1, 2nd anuṣaṅga-pada, ch. 7, vs. 113, 114, 115. *Rājavīthī*[3] is another name which Kālidāsa gives to the highway. P. K. Acharya mentions it separately, however, in his *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*[4] where he explains it as 'the public road, the broad street, a road which runs round a village or town, also called *maṅgalavīthī* or *rathavīthī*.'[5] Since Kālidāsa distinguishes *rājapatha* from *rājavīthī* by mentioning them distinctly, it may be suggested that the former was a royal highway passing through the centre of the town and connecting other towns of the country while the latter was one of the main streets of the town itself. It may even be possible that the part of the *rājapatha* itself, which ran across the town, was called *rājavīthī*. The distinction between the two has got to be made in view of their etymology—*patha* and *vīthī*. The roads on both sides were lined by white-washed mansions[6] the upper windows of which opened in them[7]. The market place ran along the main road or the highway and was marked out by prosperous (*ṛddha*) high shops (*āpaṇa*[8]).

Royal Palaces

Royal palaces were extensive buildings fitted with inner apartments[9] and outskirts[10]. They were many-storeyed[11] buildings with attic rooms[12], terraces, arches[13], balconies[14], courtyards[15], sabhāgṛha[16], prison[17], court-room,[18] high doors[19], verandahs[20] opening on the roofs flooded with moon-beams[21] at night, and pleasure gardens[22]. Palaces were variously named as Vimānapratiechanda[23], Maṇiharmya[24],

[1] *Raghu.*, XVI. 12.
[2] P. K. Achaiya: *A Dict. of Hindu Arch.*, p. 524.
[3] *Raghu.*, XVIII. 39.
[4] P. 524.
[5] Ibid.
[6] प्रासादमालासु *Ku.*, VII. 12.
[7] Ibid., 57-64; *Raghu.*, VII. 5-12.
[8] *Ku.*, VII. 55; *Raghu.*, XVI. 41.
[9] *Śāk.*, V. 3; कक्ष्यान्तराणि *Ku.*, VII. 70, गृहरहः VIII. 81; गर्भवेश्मसु *Raghu.*, XIX. 42.
[10] *Vik.*, p. 26.
[11] Vide below.
[12] *Raghu.*, V. 75, XVI. 6, 11, XIX. 2 तल्प
[13] तोरण Ibid., I. 41, VII. 4; *Ku.*, VII. 63; *M. U.*, 12.
[14] अलिंद *Śāk.*, p. 159; *Māl.*, p. 78.
[15] *M. U.*, 6; *Śāk.*, p. 223.
[16] *Raghu.*, XVII. 27 सदोगृह III. 67.
[17] *Māl.*, pp. 64, 79.
[18] *Vik.*, p. 26.
[19] *Śāk.*, p. 185; *M. U.*, 17.
[20] मणिहर्म्यपृष्ठतलं *Vik.*, p. 65.
[21] Ibid.
[22] प्रमदवन Ibid., p. 54.
[23] *M. U.*, 6.
[24] *Vik.*, pp. 64, 65.

Meghapraticchanda[1], Devacchandaka[2], and the like. These names were not of fanciful choice of the owners but they actually stood for distinct types of buildings as mentioned in the *Mānasāra*. Vimānapraticchanda has been mentioned by the *Matsya Purāṇa* under the name Vimānacchanda[3]. There it is explained as a palace with eight storeys, many spires and faces, measuring 34 cubits in breadth[4]. Maṇiharmya was another kind of palace which has been mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*[5] as well. P. K. Acharya explains it 'as an upper storey, a crystal palace, jewelled mansion[6].' 'A crystal palace,' as explained by Mr. Acharya, is perhaps the nearest approach to its sense. It might have been one built of marble. It is quite possible that some of its building materials were comprised of crystalline ingredients. Naturally with a 'crystalline staircase possessing the beauty of the waves of the Ganges[7]' its roof[8] (*pṛṣṭhatalam*) looked exceedingly beautiful. Meghapraticchanda has been alluded to by the *Mānasāra* under a slightly different name Meghakānta which classes it among a class of ten-storeyed buildings[9]. Devacchandaka also was a similar building. The height of these palaces has been suggested by phrases like *abhramliha*[10] and *abhraṁlihāgra*[11] (lit. sky-licking and sky-licking-point respectively), *tala*[12] (storey) and *vimānāgrabhūmi*[13] (quadrangular roof in front of the uppermost storey of a Vimāna palace). The many-storeyed style of the palaces is also established by the reference to the uppermost floor of the palace mentioned in the *Śākuntala*[14]. The palace was ordinarily divided into two parts, the inner apartment (the *antaḥśāla* of the *Mānasāra*[15]) where the *antaḥpura* or royal harem was situated, and the outskirts where courtyards, fire-chamber[16] for meeting ascetics and the like *sabhāgṛha*[17], prison and court room were located. The pleasure garden, as we have seen elsewhere, was attached to the palace, close to the main gate. It contained all sorts of seasonal flowers and birds, tanks and perhaps also a zoo[18].

Besides the above, we read of yet another kind of palace called Samudragṛha[19]. It was a summer house built in a cool place. It might even have been a pleasure-

[1] *Śāk.*, pp. 213, 221, 228.
[2] *Vik.*, p. 26.
[3] V. 25, 32, 33, 47, 53.
[4] Acharya: *A Dict. of Hindu Archt.*, p. 408.
[5] Vide under *Gṛha-Vinyāsa*.
[6] *A Dict. of Hindu Archi.*, p. 467.
[7] गंगातरंगशिशिरेणस्फटिकमणिशिलासोपानेन *Vik.*, p. 65.
[8] Ibid.
[9] XXVIII. 16-17. Acharya: *A Dict. of Hindu Archt.*, p. 512.
[10] *Raghu.*, XIV. 29.
[11] *M. U.*, 1.
[12] *Vik.*, p. 65; *Raghu.*, VIII. 93, XIX. 2.
[13] *M. U.*, 6.
[14] Pp. 218, 221, 223.
[15] Acharya: *Indian Architecture.*, p. 58.
[16] अग्न्यागारे *Raghu.*, V. 25; अग्निशरण *Śāk.*, pp. 125, 156; *Vik.*, p. 60. मंगलगृह *Māl.*, p. 88.
[17] *Raghu.*, XVII. 27, सदोगृह III. 67.
[18] पिंगलवानरेण *Māl.*, p. 85.
[19] Ibid., pp. 72, 48, 80.

house surrounded on all sides by water-ejecting fountains. It was in the garden of this mansion that the king retired to enjoy the several pleasures of summer[1]. It is important that Samudra has been referred to by the *Matsya Purāṇa*[2], *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*[3] and the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*[4] which class it as a particular type of buildings. The *Matsya Purāṇa* describes it as a sixteen-sided double-storeyed building[5].

Saudha and Harmya

Other houses besides the royal palaces were *saudha*[6] and *harmya*[7]. Saudha, according to Prof. Acharya, was 'a plastered, stuccoed or white-washed house, a great mansion, a palatial building, a palace[8].' Harmya has been mentioned by the *Mānasāra* as a class of seven-storeyed buildings[9]. Saudha and harmya were high-roofed buildings and it is to such mansions of Ujjainī that the poet refers in his *Meghadūta*[10]. These mansions are said to have sheltered pigeons[11]. Pigeons, it may be noted, generally nestle in high buildings. The mansions of Alakā, the city of Kubera, have been compared to the clouds and their summits described as 'kissing the clouds[12].' We have already seen that the height of the houses won them the names of Abhraṁliha or Abhraṁlihāgra. Those which bore terraces were called *atta*[13], *saudha* or *harmya*[14]. The houses were built with bricks and were plastered over with lime water as the word *saudha* signifies. The word *dhauta*[15] (in *dhautaharmya*) has the same significance. Besides bricks and stones, it appears that marble[16] (*maṇiśilā*) was also used for building the costly houses of the rich. Roofs of houses were built generally sloping and this slope was known as *valabhi*[17]. It has been explained by Prof. Acharya as 'the roof, the frame of a thatch, the topmost part of a house, a class of storeyed buildings, a type of entablature, a class of rectangular buildings, a top-room, a turret, a balcony[18], etc.' It has even been used as a synonym of the entablature in the *Mānasāra*[19]. Bhavana[20] was an ordinary house of a rectangular sort[21]. A complete picture of an ordinary house may be given below. Within there was a courtyard[22] surround-

[1] Ibid.
[2] Ch. 269, vs. 38, 53.
[3] Ch. 130, v. 24.
[4] Acharya: *Indian Architecture*, p. 116.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Evidenced *ante*.
[7] Ibid.
[8] *A Dict. of Hindu Arch.*, p. 642.
[9] XXV. 29.
[10] *M. P.*, 38; *M. U.*, 1.
[11] *M. P.*, 38.
[12] अभ्रंलिहाग्रा. *M. U.*, 1.
[13] Evidenced *ante*.
[14] *M. P.*, 7; *Ṛtu.*, I. 9.
[15] *M. P.*, 7.
[16] मणिशिलागृह *Ku.*, VIII. 81.
[17] *M. P.*, 38.
[18] *A Dict. of Hindu Arch.*, p. 537.
[19] XVI. 19.
[20] *M. P.*, 38.
[21] *Agni Purāṇa*, ch. 104, vs. 16-17; *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, ch. 47, vs. 21-22, 26-27. [22] Vide *ante*.

ed by four walls, in the verandahs of which would have opened the interior rooms. Of the interior rooms[1] Kāḷidāsa mentions the bed[2] and fire chambers[3], *garbhaveśma*[4] (a cell, strong-room or sanctum), rooms for sport[5], storeroom[6] and others. The house had many windows[7] which opened in the street[8]. The roof above the house had a balcony[9] (*alinda*). The frontage of the house was called *mukha*[10] which was the door itself. Above the door was the lintel[11] (supported by the door-jambs) bearing for its shape sometimes a simple arch (*toraṇa*) and at others an arch with the shape of a fish or crocodile[12] (*makaratoraṇa*). Such a makaratoraṇa is beautifully exhibited in a fine specimen in the museum at Muttra[13]. Below the toraṇa was the threshold called *dehaghī*[14]. The several-storeyed buildings contained even verandah[15], on the uppermost storey where there was also situated an attic room[16] (*talpa*). It will not be out of place here to discuss a few of these terms in the light of architecture.

Toraṇa

Toraṇa, an arch of the terrace or balcony, usually refers to the outer gate of a palace or city, or an arched gate-way. It also meant a temporary ornamental arch generally erected on the door of the houses or on roads to receive a great personage, the entrance being termed as *dvāra*[17] or *mukha*. Toraṇa has been explained as 'an arch, a mechanical arrangement of blocks of any hard material disposed in the line of some curve and supporting one another by their mutual pressure'[18]. "Arches are both architecturally and ornamentally decorated with carvings of gods, sages, demigods, goblins, crocodiles, sharks, fish, leographs, serpents, lions, flowers, leaves, creepers, etc. and are beautifully set with jewels[19]." We have already cited above a reference to the crocodile type.

[1] कक्ष्यान्तराणि *Ku.*, VII. 70, VIII. 81; *Raghu.*, XIX. 42; (गर्भवेश्म) *Śāk.*, V. 3.

[2] शय्यागृह *Raghu*, XVI. 4; *Māl.*, p. 65.

[3] अग्न्यागार *Raghu.*, V. 25; अग्निशरण *Śāk.*, pp. 125, 156; *Māl.*, p. 88.

[4] *Raghu.*, XIX. 42.

[5] क्रीडावेश्म *Vik.*, II. 22, V. 22.

[6] सारभाण्डभूगृहे गुहायामिव *Māl.*, pp. 63, 64. This seems to have been a celler, a room underground.

[7] *Raghu.*, VI. 24, 43, 56, VII. 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, XIII. 21, 40, XIV. 13, XIX. 7; *M.P.*, 32; *M. U.*, 25, 27, 35; *Ṛtu.*, V. 2; *Vik.*, p. 63.

[8] *Raghu.*, VII. 5-12; *Ku.*, VII. 57-63.

[9] *Śāk.*, p. 159; *Māl.*, p. 78.

[10] *Māl.*, p. 78.

[11] तोरण *Raghu.*, I. 41, VII. 41; *Ku.*, VII. 63; *M. U.*, 12.

[12] Exhibited in the Muttra Museum.

[13] Exhibit No. M. 2.

[14] *M. U.*, 24.

[15] Evidenced *ante*.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Acharya: *A Dict. of Hindu Arch.*, p. 247.

[19] Ibid., p. 248.

Alinda

Alinda, generally decorated with an arch (*toraṇa*), was a balcony. The commentary on the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* or *Kiraṇatantra*, quoted in the *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, explains it thus: "By the word 'alinda' is understood, the lattice covered path beyond the wall of a hall and facing the courtyard[1]." But this does not properly explain the architectural design proposed to be conveyed by the phrase *alinda* in Kālidāsa. Kern, in his paper[2] on the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, LIII. 17, rightly observes that "the word might as well be rendered balcony, gallery." It seems that all big buildings had a running terrace over the roof and the outer important rooms were topped with balconies which these *alindas* were, for we read of an *alinda* on the top of the door[3], (*muhā-, linda*) of the Samudragṛha[4] and another on that of the fire-chamber[5].

Aṭṭa and Talpa

The buildings were ornamented with turrets[6] (*aṭṭa*) and attic rooms[7] (*talpa*). The deserted city of Ayodhyā gave an appearance of 'hundreds of broken aṭṭas and talpas[8].' Mr. Acharya explains aṭṭa as a turret[9]. Talpa is an attic room situated on the top of the house. It was the only room on the topmost storey.

Windows

The big and spacious houses were generally surrounded by an outer wall from which opened the windows in the streets. There are innumerable references to windows opening in the street. *Ālokamārga*[10] was a window which admitted light in the building and through which one could have an outside view. *Vātāyana*[11] was another kind of window 'to let in the air.' *Vātāyana* was perhaps the general name of which *ālokamārga*, *gavākṣa*[12] and *jālamārga*[13] were kinds[14]. *Gavākṣa* resembled a cow's eye in its shape as its etymology suggests. It has been even so explained in the *Mānasāra*[15]. The *Mālavikāgnimitra* refers to this kind of window as commanding 'a view of the garden tank and receiving the plentiful breeze[16].' Jālamārga was fitted with a frame containing a net-work of wood, stone, plaster or metal with air-holes in it. It was in fact a lattice work which may yet

[1] p. 54.
[2] *J. R. A. S.*, (N. S.), Vol. VI. p. 282, Note 3.
[3] *Māl.*, p. 78.
[4] Ibid.
[5] *Śāk.*, p. 159.
[6] नरेन्द्रमार्गट्ट *Raghu.*, VI. 67 विशीर्णतल्पाट्ट XVI. 11.
[7] Vide *ante*.
[8] *Raghu.*, XVI. 11.
[9] *A Dict. of Hindu Arch.*, p. 15.
[10] *Raghu.*, VII. 6; *Vik.*, p. 63.
[11] *Raghu.*, VI. 24, VI. 8, XIII. 21, XIV. 13; *M. U.*, 25; *Ṛtu.*, V. 2.
[12] *Raghu.*, VII. 11, XIX. 7; *M. U.*, 35. *Māl.*, p. 9.
[13] *Raghu.*, VI. 43, VII. 9; *M. P.*, 32; *M. U.*, 27.
[14] *Mānasāra*, XXXIII. 568-597.
[15] Ibid.
[16] दीर्घिकावलोकनगवाक्षगताग्रवातमासेवमाना *Māl.*, p. 9.

be seen in old houses and royal palaces in the native states. The mansions of the city of Bhoja, fancifully declares Kālidāsa, had their windows with lattice made of gold[1]. The windows were so designed as to admit in abundance moonlight in the room[2] which cooled the tired bodies of the dwellers. The poet imagines that these even received small clouds which entered the courtyard through them and obliterated the paintings[3] on the inner walls by their vapour.

Courtyard

Within the house there was a courtyard surrounded by walls. It was paved, in certain cases, with crystalline[4] slabs which glistened with the rays of the sun at day and reflected the heavenly bodies at night[5].

Lattice Work

Palaces and mansions had covered paths with fine lattice work through which the ladies could have a view of the outside world. Many other apartments of the mansion were fitted with lattice work from which issued volumes of smoke[6] in the evening and which served as an outlet for the smoke caused by cooking meals or the burning of incense during the evening worship.

Bathroom

Some houses also contained a bath-room[7] (*yantradhārāgrha*) fitted with crystalline benches and water pipes[8] (*yantrapravaha, yantradhārā*). This bathroom had some sort of arrangement through which water was kept flowing for the purpose of bath and for other cooling needs.

Stables

The out-skirts of the palace, or also in certain cases the mansion, contained stables for horses[9] and elephants[10]. Those for elephants contained posts[11] to which they were tied.

Sopāna or Stairs

Palaces and other mansions and tanks were fitted with beautiful stairs[12] about which Kālidāsa speaks with so much admiration. In the *Vikramorvaśī* he describes a crystalline flight of steps possessing the beauty of the waves of

[1] *Raghu.*, VII. 5.
[2] *M. U.* 7.
[3] Ibid., 6.
[4] *Ku.*, VII. 10.
[5] Ibid., VI. 42.
[6] *Vik.*, III. 2.
[7] यन्त्रधारागृह *M. P.*, 61; धारागृहेषु *Raghu.*, XVI. 49.
[8] यन्त्रप्रवाहैः शिशिरैः परीतान्रसेन धौतान्मलयोद्भवस्य ।
शिलाविशेषानधिशय्य निन्युर्धारागृहेष्वातपमृद्धिमन्तः ॥ *Raghu.*, XVI. 49.
[9] मन्दुर आसंश्रयिभिः तुरंगैः *Raghu.*, XVI. 41.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] सोपानमार्ग Ibid., VI. 1, 3, XVI. 15, 56; *M. U.*, 16; *Śāk.*, p. 225; *Vik.*, p. 65.

the Ganges[1]. Then he mentions the stairs of a tank made of emeralds leading to the surface of the water[2]. This description may not be altogether imaginary and cannot be dismissed as a piece of mere hyperbole although the picture may be a little overdrawn. Even now we find crystalline flights of steps in the palaces of several Indian princes.

Railing Pillars and Vāsayaṣṭi

Besides the above, houses and palaces had also railing pillars[3] on which female figures were carved in relief which we shall notice later. It may be noted in this connection that the Museum at Muttra abounds in exhibits of such railing pillars with female yakṣī figures carved on them in high relief which are the pride of the Kūsāṇa period. There were also roosts[4] architecturally provided in the houses for the permanent perching of the domestic birds. They were called *Vāsayaṣṭi*.

Other Buildings

There were the coronation hall, the council hall[5] and the occasional *vivāhamaṇḍapa*, *catuṣka*[6] and *catuhśālā*[7]. The coronation and council halls were permanent structures within the palace while *vivāhamaṇḍapa* and *catuṣka* were temporary ones. Vivāhamaṇḍapa was a pavilion erected for the wedding ceremonies. It was a *catuṣka* or a foursided pavilion. Catuḥaśālā was any rectangular building. Vedī[8], was a raised altar with a canopy (*vimāna*) of four pillars erected under the rules of the *Mānasāra* architecture. *Yajñaśaraṇa*[9] was perhaps a yajñaśālā, a sacrificial enclosure, where sacrifices were held. We have a reference to a *pratimāgṛha*[10] where worship was carried on by offering sacrifices to gods. Besides, we read of the Aśvamedha and several other sacrifices which may have been held in such a hall of sacrifices as this. Then, outside the palace, was erected occasionally a temporary structure for holding the *svayamvara*[11]. This structure was a gallery of benches rising one above another[12]. There were many paths[13] constructed between the rows of the gallery.

The city deserted by its inhabitants by its king[14] or destroyed by a conqueror presented the appearance of hundreds of broken turrets and terraces with dilapidated ramparts, and of houses the tops of which were overgrown with

[1] *Vik.*, p. 65, text quoted *ante*.
[2] *M. U.*, 16.
[3] *Raghu.*, XVI. 17.
[4] यष्ठिनिवासभंगाः *Raghu.*, XVI. 39; XVII. 36. वासयष्टि *M. U.*, 16.
[5] सदोगृह *Raghu.*, III. 67, सभा XVII. 27.
[6] *Ku.*, V. 68, VII. 9; *Raghu.*, VII. 17.
[7] *Māl.*, p. 87.
[8] *Raghu.*, XVII. 9.
[9] *Māl.*, p. 102.
[10] *Raghu.*, XVI. 39, XVII. 36.
[11] Ibid., VI.
[12] मञ्च Ibid., VI. 1, 3, 10.
[13] मञ्चान्तरराजमार्गे Ibid., VI. 10.
[14] Ibid., XVI.

grassy blades. The highways were deserted and the market place empty and hushed[1].

Gardens and Parks

Gardens and parks abounded (*udyānaparamparāsu*[2]) in the city. Gardens were of two kinds. They were the *pramadavana*[3], attached to the palace or the house, and parks for the citizens[4] (*nagaropakaṇṭhopavanāni*) generally situated outside the town. Both were laid out spaciously enough to contain an orchard and a flower garden the bowers[5] of which contained stone or crystalline benches[6] to cool the body, tanks[7] (*dīrghikā*) containing pleasure rooms, reservoires of water[8] (*vāpī*) and wells[9] (*kūpa*), columns on which domesticated birds perched[10], water fountains[11] and irrigation channels and a zoo[12], perhaps an adjunct of the *pramadavana* alone.

Dīrghikā, Vāpī and Kūpa

The terms above metioned will need elucidation. Dirghikā was rather a narrow long tank; perhaps its water came from the fountain of the garden. Vāpi has been explained by Prof. Acharya as a tank, a well, a reservoire of water[13].' Kalidāsa uses it in the sense of a beautiful tank. Perhaps *dīrghikā* and *vāpī* were both tanks with the only difference that the former was a longer narrower reservoire of water while the latter was a square one. The poet mentions a *gṛhadīrghikā*[14] to distinguish it from a *dīrghikā* of the public parks and locates it in the pleasure garden (*pramadavana*). Vāpī, says the poet, had a flight of steps paved with emeralds[15]. Dīrghikās were furnished with secret chambers meant for amorous sports[16] (*gūḍhamohanagṛhāḥ*). Many a libidinous monarch, fallen from the virtue of public service to the vice of wine and women disported in such tanks with beautiful damsels occasionally retiring in these chambers below the ground and on the same level as water. The commentator[17] explains that these rooms were meant for *surata* and *kāmabhoga*. These rooms stood in water, waist-deep part of its ground lying on a dry slope. Such a tank with secret chambers may be wit-

[1] Ibid., 11-12.
[2] Ibid., VI. 35, XIV. 30.
[3] प्रमदवन *Māl.*, p. 70; *Vik.*, p. 54.
[4] *Raghu.*, XIV. 30.
[5] माधवीमण्डप *Śāk.*, p. 200.
[6] मणिशिलापट्टसनाथो Ibid.
[7] *Raghu.*, IX. 37, XVI. 13, XIV. 2, 9; *Ku.*, II. 33; *Māl.*, II. p. 9, 12.
[8] *M. U.*, 13; *Ṛtu.*, VI. 3.
[9] *Ṛtu.*, I. 23.
[10] *M. U.*, 16; *Raghu.*, XVI. 14.
[11] *Māl.*, II. 12; cf. also *Ṛtu.*, I. 2; *Raghu.*, XVI. 49.
[12] पिंगलवानरेण *Māl.*, p. 85.
[13] *A Dict. of Hindu Arch.*, p. 543.
[14] *Raghu.*, IX. 37.
[15] *M. U.*, 13.
[16] *Raghu.*, XIX. 9.
[17] Comment on Ibid.

nessed even to-day at Lucknow built perhaps for Nawab Wajid Ali Shah of Oudh behind the Picture Gallery. Kūpa was a well. Vāpī, described in the *Meghadūta*, had beside it standing an artificial hill[1] encircled with plantains.

Krīḍāśaila

The existence of the artificial hills seems to have been a common feature in the garden as we read several references[2] to them made by the poet. The garden of the Yakṣa contained in its middle a crystalline post also on which perched the domesticated peacock. On the top of the post rested a square tablet (*phalaka*). It was on this tablet that the favourite peacock of the Yakṣa's wife (tied to its staff at the foot) danced to the tune of its mistress's bangles[3].

Water-fountain

We read of Vāriyantra, fountains, or water-wheels, fitted in a garden in the following allusion: "The peacock desirous of drinking the drops of water thrown up flies round the revolving vāriyantra[4]." Mr. S. P. Pandit[5] thinks that "vāriyantra or jalayantra was the Persian wheel (a large wheel surrounded with buckets for raising water); but it does not seem to mean that. It must be noted that a water-wheel with buckets does not throw up or about drops of water; water trickles down from the buckets. Besides, *bhrāntimat* cannot properly apply to such a wheel; *bhrāmyat* would have been the proper phrase. A whirling fountain with a motion of its own is implied by the poet. The peacocks flying after the drops of water as they flew forward had to hover and hover round the fountain to catch them. There was, however, some sort of contrivance at the top of it which made it revolve and throw sprays of water up and around. The water thus thrown out gathered in the irrigation channels of the garden and flooded the flower beds and *ālavālas* of the trees. We have already referred to water pipes or some such contrivances through which water flowed (*pravāha*) in the bath rooms, *yantradhārágṛhā*.

Yūpa

The town also contained temples (*pratimāgṛha*) of gods[6] and sacrificial posts[7] *yūpa*. Yūpa was a post[8] to tie the sacrificial animal to and it can be instanced in two beautiful specimens dedicated by the Kuṣāna emperors Vāiṣiska and Vāsudeva now exhibited in the Muttra Museum. They are curved at the top to form a bend like the neck of a horse and below, in the middle of and round the long shaft,

[1] *Ku.*, II. 43; *M. U.*, 14, 18; *Vik.*, p. 54.
[2] Ibid.,
[3] *M. U.*, 16.
[4] *Māl.*, II. 12.
[5] *Vikramorvaśī*, notes.
[6] Ibid., 39, XVII. 36; विश्वेश्वर Ibid., XVIII. 24; महाकाल *M. P.*, 33, 34; स्कन्दवसतिं Ibid., 43.
[7] यूपानपश्यच्छ्रपतो *Raghu.*, XVI. 35.
[8] Ibid., XVIII. 4.

there runs the carved impression of an *argalā* (bridle or noose). The great gates of the walls of the town were closed with the help of strong bolts[1].

Hut

Uṭaja[2] or parṇaśālā[3] was a hut with a thatched roof. A vivid example of it may be seen in a relief composition preserved in the Muttra Museum which will give an idea as to what it was like.

Rock-cut Caves

It was an age of excavation of the architectural wonders called *darīgṛha*[4] or *śilāveśma*[5]. These were caves cut and fashioned to make temples out of solid massive rocks of mountains to which Kālidāsa frequently refers[6]. A look at one of these strewn over the ridges of the Western Ghats and other mountains of the Deccan will give an idea of the stupendous labour and expense they must have entailed.

After finishing a piece of architecture the god, the guardian deity of it, was worshipped with various sorts of efferings which included sacrificed animals[7], and then alone it could be utilized.

[1] Ibid., XVIII. 4.
[2] Ibid., I. 50, 52, XIII. 22, XIV. 81, XIX. 2; *Ku.*, VIII. 38.
[3] *Raghu.*, XII. 40.
[4] *Ku.*, I. 10, 14; *Rtu.*, I. 25.
[5] *M. P.*, 25.
[6] Ibid., *Rtu.*, I. 25; *Ku*, I. 10, 14.
[7] ०सपर्यांसपशूपहारां *Raghu.*, XVI. 39, cf. also Ibid., XVII. 36.

BOOK V

ECONOMIC LIFE

CHAPTER XV

WEALTH AND PROSPERITY

General Prosperity

The reader of the works of Kālidāsa is struck by the prosperous condition of the people which is most lavishly attested to by innumerable allusions of an economic nature. It must be noted, however, that since he refers mostly to the rich section of society his description cannot be accepted as depicting the state of the common people. Yet from what one reads in his works one is overwhelmed with the evidence of opulence and plenty. Big mansions with their many-storeyed roofs, attic rooms, balconies and terraces were common sights along both sides of streets. To many of these houses were attached luxuriously laid out gardens where flowers and plants of every season were grown in abundance in the lovely beds of the rich Indian soil. The wealth of precious stones was not only a source of income to the State but in most cases it also satisfied the taste of the luxury-loving rich who put them to different uses. Food was rich and wine was of many kinds and much in use. Trade flourished and the caravans of merchants by land and *sārthavāhas* by sea poured forth immense wealth got in trade (*vāṇijya*). Trade routes were very commonly frequented. Cities abounding in the land, were noisy and thickly thronged by people. Shops lined both sides of the highway and rich customers moved to and fro making their purchases in the crowded bazaras where articles, big and small, imported from lands with which India carried on her brisk trade, were heaped in piles. We shall now survey below the economic state of the people under specific heads.

National Wealth

The following were the sources of the national wealth. Agriculture[1] was the main source of the sustenance of people as also of the land revenue for the State. Pastures[2] yielded grass for crores[3] of cows and other cattle. Ferries[4] paid were considerable; trade and commerce brought in much riches, and forests yielded elephants for warfare and ivory. Exhaustively worked mines[5] produced precious stones and metals, diamonds, marbles and gold. Seas[6] were the source of

[1] *M. P.*, 16.
[2] वार्ता *Raghu.*, XVI. 2.
[3] गाः कोटिशः Ibid., II. 49.
[4] Ibid., XVI. 2; *Ku.*, VIII. 34.
[5] *Raghu.*, III. 18, XVII. 66, XVIII. 22; *Māl.*, V. 18.
[6] *Raghu.*, III. 9, IV. 50, X. 30, 85, XIII. 13, 17; *Ṛtu.*, III. 4; *Māl.*, I. 6.

pearls, conches, various shells (*śukti*) and corals, and so were certain rivers[1] the source of pearls and their sands that of gold dust[2] (*kanakasikatā*).

Agriculture

The wide expanse of land which yielded enormous revenue to the coffers of the State and fed the swelling masses of the country reached the shores of the seas. Many crops[3] (*śasya*) were cultivated and grown. The following is a record of the various grains referred to by Kālidāsa as sown and harvested in India and outside: barley[4], a kind of small sprouts of barley[5], paddy[6] of various sorts, sugarcanes[7], tila[8] (seasamum) and saffron[9]. The above were extensively sown and harvested in the soil befitting their respective growth. Thus the Punjab and uplands of U. P. may have grown wheat and barley, while Bihar, the lowlying plains of Bengal and the southern plateau paddy. We read of many kinds of paddy sown, namely, *śāli*[10], *kalamā*[11] and *nivāra*[12]. Sugarcanes yielded various processes (*vikāra*) of sugar[13] (*guḍavikāra*). A particular area of land in the valley of the Oxus produced the precious saffron[14]. We read of the pleasant aroma rising from the recently tilled fields of the province of Māla[15].

Besides the sugarcanes, reference to only one cereal crop, rice, has been made with much frequency and fondness. Kālidāsa knows its different seasons in different countries. The winter crop is reaped from November to January in Bengal and British Burma and elsewhere as is mentioned in the *Ṛtusaṁhāra*[16] though it appears that the early crop of rice in Bengal, reaped between July and September, is not known to him. At least he makes no reference to it. He knows of the varieties of rice called *kalamā*[17] and *śāli*[18], and of *nīvāra*[19], growing wildly. The *kalamā* variety of rice and the plantation of sugarcanes with rice fields are also known to our poet[20]. The autumn crop reaped in Kashmir is noted from ancient times for its only important crop of rice, *śāli*. Songs associated with the sugarcane and rice fields of autumn appear in the *Raghuvaṁśa*[21]. The rainy season was

[1] *Raghu.*, IV. 50.
[2] *M. U.*, 4.
[3] *Raghu.*, X. 59, XVII. 66.
[4] बीजांकुर (Commentator) *Raghu.*, VII. 27.
[5] यवांकुर Ibid., X. 43, XIII. 49; *Ku.*, VII. 17.
[6] *Raghu.*, IV. 20, 37; *Ṛtu.*, III., 1, 10, 16, IV. 1, 7, 18, V. 1, 18.
[7] *Raghu.*, IV. 20; *Ṛtu.*, V. 1, 16; *Śāk.*, p. 224.
[8] *Śāk.*, p. 94.
[9] *Raghu.*, IV. 67; *Ṛtu.*, IV. 2, V. 9, VI. 4, 12.
[10] *Raghu.*, IV. 20; *Ṛtu.*, III. 1, 10, 16, IV. 1, 17, 18, V. 1, 16.
[11] *Raghu.*, IV. 37.
[12] Ibid., I. 50; *Śāk.*, I. 13.
[13] प्रचुरगुड़विकार: *Ṛtu.*, V. 16.
[14] *Raghu.*, IV. 67.
[15] *M. P.*, 16.
[16] The Birth-Place of Kālidāsa, p. 24.
[17] Quoted *ante*.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.
[20] *Raghu.*, IV. 20, 37. [21] Ibid., 20.

eagerly awaited for the purposes of agriculture, and we find the women of Māladeśa expecting the advent of the rains, who knew that the clouds were the cause of it[1]. Māladeśa had its fields ploughed in the beginning of July. Mention is made of the cultivation of saffron in the valley of the Oxus[2].

Auxiliaries of Agriculture

There were other auxiliaries of agriculture. Oxen were utilized to till the soil and bulls[3], mules[4] and camels[5] were used as the beasts of burden. Pastures[6], particularly on the lowlying hills, yielded enough grass for the sheep which supplied the nation with the warm wool[7] (*patroṛṇa*). Cattle were fed in these pastures. Setu[8] has been used by Kālidāsa[9] in the sense of building bridges. Kauṭilya, however, uses it in the sense of irrigation also[10].

Pasture

Vārtā[11] referred to the rearing of the cattle. It must have yielded excellant breeds of bulls, oxen and the cows. We read of crores of cows[12] forming the national wealth. It was the meadows that gave fodder for the horses, cattle and mules and the dry lands and deserts for the camels.

Occupations

The chief occupations of the people were the following, namely, agriculture (dealt with above); metal-working, done by goldsmiths and other artisans[13]; weaving, which produced cotton and silk fine enough to be blown away by the breath[14] as also canvas-like cotton cloth thick and strong enough to serve for tents[15]; trade[16]; arms[17]; fish-catching;[18] sailor's work[19]; and other ways of living by net[20];

[1] *M. P.*, 16.
[2] *Raghu.*, IV. 67.
[3] ककुदन्त: Ibid., IV. 22.
[4] वामी Ibid., V. 32.
[5] उष्ट्र Ibid.
[6] Ibid., XVI. 2.
[7] पत्रोर्ण *Māl.*, V. 12, Ibid., p. 105; ऊर्णामयं *Ku.*, VII. 25.
[8] *Raghu.*, XVI. 2.
[9] Ibid., (IV. 38), XVI. 2; *Ku.*, VIII. 34.
[10] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. III. Ch. 8 and Bk. VII. Ch. 14.
[11] *Raghu.*, XVI. 2.
[12] Ibid., II. 49.
[13] शिल्पि *Māl.*, p. 4.
[14] नि:श्वासहार्यांशुक *Raghu.*, XVI. 43.
[15] Ibid., V. 41, 49, 63, 73, VII. 2, IX. 93, XIII. 79, XVI. 55, 73; *Vik.*, p. 121.
[16] वणिजं *Māl.*, I. 17.
[17] सांपरायिक: *Raghu.*, XVII. 62.
[18] मत्स्यबन्धन *Śāk.*, p. 183.
[19] धीवर Ibid.,
[20] जालोपजीवी Ibid.

government service[1]; teaching of fine arts[2]; the priesthood[3]; singing and dancing[4]; gardening[5]; fowler's work[6]; mason's work[7] and the like.

From frequent allusions to mines[8] and their yields we learn that they were exhaustively worked and they produced precious stones and metals and other minerals. The following are the precious stones[9] (*maṇi*) named by the poet: *vajra*[10] (diamond), *padmarāga*[11] (ruby), *puṣparāga*[12] (topaz), *mahānīla*[13] or *indranīla*[14] (sapphire), *marakata*[15] (emerald), *vaidūrya*[16] (lapis lazuli), *sphaṭika*[17] (crystals), *maṇi-śilā*,[18] *sūryakānta*[19] (sun-glass) and *candrakānta*[20] (moon-glass). The two, named last, were respectively sun and moon gems resembling crystals. The latter was supposed to ooz out water in drops at the touch of the beams of the moon[21], whereas the former 'received, like a sun-glass, from the sun the flame that fell upon and destroyed wood[22].' This refers to the well-known fact that the rays of the sun received, and transmitted by the sun-glass to a piece of wood beneath it burnt it. This disc of crystal was not a fabulous stone with fabulous properties, as some imagine, but it was a kind of glass lense and it shows that Indians were not ignorant of the properties of this glass or crystal when Kālidāsa wrote his *Abhijñāna Śākuntala*[23]. The following metals were drawn from the mines: gold[24] (*suvarṇa, hema, hiraṇya, kanaka, kañcana* and *dravina*), sand or dust of gold[25] (*kanakasikatā*) from which were made most of the ornaments, silver[26] (*rajata*), copper[27] (*tāmra*), and iron[28] (*aya*), from which the necessaries of war and other requirements produced by cast iron like hammer[29] (*ayoghana*) were cast and fashioned. We

[1] The army, ministers and other officials discussed *ante*.
[2] *Māl.*, p. 17.
[3] पशुमारणकर्मदारुणा *Śāk.*, p. 183.
[4] Courtesans evidenced *ante*.
[5] *M. P.*, 26.
[6] शकुनिलुब्धकैः *Śāk.*, p. 56.
[7] *Raghu.*, XVI. 38.
[8] Ibid., III. 18, XVII. 66, XVIII. 22; *Māl.*, V. 18.
[9] *Raghu.*, III. 18, XIII. 53, 59, XVIII. 42, XIX. 45; *Ku.*, VIII. 75; *M. U.*, 4, 16; *Māl.*, V. 18.
[10] *Raghu.*, VI. 19.
[11] Ibid., XVIII. 53, 59.
[12] Ibid., 32.
[13] Ibid., 42.
[14] Ibid., XIII. 54, XVI. 69; *M. P.*, 46; *M. U.*, 14.
[15] *M. U.*, 13.
[16] *Ku.*, I. 24, VII. 10; *Rtu.*, II. 5; *M. U.*, 13.
[17] *Raghu.*, XIII. 69; *Ku.*, VI. 42; *M. U.*, 16.
[18] *Ku.*, VI. 38.
[19] *Raghu.*, XI. 21; *Śāk.*, II. 7.
[20] *M. U.*, 7.
[21] Ibid.
[22] *Śāk.*, II. 7.
[23] Ibid.
[24] *Ku.*, VII. 50; *Raghu.*, I. 10, 30, II. 36, V. 2, 29, IV. 70, VI. 79; *M. U.*, 4, 16.
[25] *M. U.*, 4, (Perhaps also from the sand of some rivers).
[26] *Rtu.*, II. 13.
[27] *Ku.*, I. 44, VI. 51.
[28] *Raghu.*, XIV. 33. [29] Ibid.

read of a certain other metal, perhaps mica, manganese or glass from which looking glasses[1] were manufactured. Other products of the mines and mountains have also been mentioned. They may be referred below: sindūra[2] (red lead), a kind of stone product from which unguents[3] were prepared, *manaḥśilā*[4] (realgar) used in various cosmetic preparations, *gairika*[5] (*dhāturāga, dhāturasa, dhātureṇu*), a kind of red stone yielding colour, and *śaileya*[6], a stone secretion (fluid) containing strong medicinal properties much used in preparations in *Āyurvedic* tonic mostly for the metabolic diseases. We have no comprehensive mention of specific rocks, yet stray allusions furnish us with the following kinds of them namely, *śilā*[7], meaning all simple rocks of granite and sandstone, crystalline rocks[8], including marble (*maṇiśilā*), and a kind of red stone[9] *geru* (*adrigairika*).

Yields of the Marine Sources

The river Tāmraparṇi of the Pāṇḍya country of the south and the Indian Ocean have been noted by the poet for their precious and useful yields. Seas[10] have been considered the womb which yielded precious gems[11] (*ratna*). They yielded besides pearls[12], (*muktā*), conchshells[13] (*śaṅkha-yūtham*) discovered in lots and so commonly used in peace and war, shells[14] (*śukti*—vernacular *sīpī*) and corals[15] (*vidruma*). The river Tāmraparṇi has been referred to as a prolific source of pearls[16]. It may be noted that this source continues to yield pearls even now.

Forests

The wild extensively growing forests produced besides building timber and fuel, the sacred skin of the *ruru*[17], *kṛṣṇasāra*[18], deer and other skins[19], musk[20] (*mṛga-nābhi*) obtained from the navel of the roaming deer, lac[21], (*lākṣā*) furnishing women with their various dyes, and the yak tail[22] (*camarī*) so commonly used as a symbol

[1] Ibid., XIV. 37, XVII. 26, XIX. 28, 30; *Ku.*, VII. 22, 36, VIII. 11; *Śāk.*, VII. 32.
[2] *Ṛtu.*, I. 24.
[3] *Raghu.*, VI. 55, VII. 8; *Ku.*, V. 51; *Ṛtu.*, IV. 17; *Māl.*, III. 5.
[4] *Raghu.*, XII. 80; *Ku.*, I. 55.
[5] *Raghu.*, V. 72, 44, IV. 71; *Ku.*, I. 7, VI. 51; *M. U.*, 42.
[6] *Raghu.*, VI. 51; *Ku.*, I. 55.
[7] *M. U.*, 42.
[8] स्फटिक *Raghu.*, XIII. 69; *Ku.*, VI. 42; *M. U.*, 16.
[9] *M. U.*, 42; *Raghu.*, V. 72.
[10] *Raghu.*, III. 9, X. 300, 85.
[11] Ibid., VI. 14, 79; *M. U.*, 3.
[12] *Raghu.*, XIII. 17, XIX. 45; *Ku.*, VII. 10; *Māl.*, I. 6.
[13] *Raghu.*, XIII. 13; *Ṛtu.*, III. 4.
[14] *Raghu.*, XIII. 17; *Māl.*, I. 6.
[15] *Raghu.*, VI. 16, 31.
[16] Ibid., IV. 50.
[17] Ibid., III. 31.
[18] Ibid., IV. 65.
[19] *Ṛtu.*, VI. 12.
[20] Ibid., VI. 13.
[21] *Ku.*, I. 13.
[22] *Raghu.*, XVI. 2.

of royalty and serving as a flywhisk. Elephants were caught from the forests of Kaliṅga[1] and Kāmarūpa[2]. They have been associated also with Aṅga[3]. Perhaps these forests which yielded elephants were preserved. It may be noted that Kauṭilya refers to preserved forests of elephants[4]. It may also be remembered that Kālidāsa exempts elephants from being shot at[5]. Elephants were utilized in times of war and they formed one of the four traditional columns of an Indian army[6]. They must have yielded in value of tusks[7] in the market of ivory when dead. The forests also gave building material for the river canoes[8] and the coastal rowing boats[9] and the inland[10] and sea going[11] vessels for war[12] and trade.[13] The Himalayan mountain, besides yielding mineral dusts[14] of various kinds, grew the *śāla*[15] and *devadāru*[16] which produced resin (*niryāsa*, *kṣīra*), the source of an important oil. Further, the wildly growing trees of the Malaya valley produced spices like cardamom[17] (*elā*), cloves[18] (*lavaṅga*) and black pepper[19] (*marīca*) as also betel leaves[20] (*tāmbūlavallī*). Then there were the yields of fruit trees in forests and orchards. The coastal countries produced cocoa-nuts and other palms and nuts described elsewhere[21]. Sandal was also obtained in the sandal[22] forests of the Malaya valley.

Trade and commerce (*vaṇijam*[23]) flourished briskly as may be gathered from references to busy trade carried on by princely merchants who flooded the country with wealth[24] (*dhārāsāro*) and who were addressed by the king with considerable deference[25]. There were two trade routes[26], those of the land and the sea.

[1] Ibid., IV. 40.
[2] Ibid., 83.
[3] विनीतनागैः कि सूत्रकारैः Ibid., VI. 27.
[4] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. VII. Ch. 14.
[5] प्रतिनिषिद्धम् *Raghu.*, IX. 74, अवध्यो Ibid., V. 50.
[6] Ibid., IV. 30, 40, VI. 54.
[7] दन्त Ibid., V. 72, XVII. 21.
[8] उडुप Ibid., I. 2.
[9] Ibid., IV. 31, XIV. 30, XVI. 51, 68, XVII. 81.
[10] Ibid., XIV. 30.
[11] *Śāk.*, p. 219.
[12] *Raghu.*, IV. 36.
[13] *Śāk.*, p. 219.
[14] *Raghu.*, IV. 71.
[15] Ibid., I. 38.
[16] *M. U.*, 44.
[17] *Raghu.*, IV. 47.
[18] Ibid., VI. 57; *Ku.*, VIII. 25.
[19] *Raghu.*, IV. 46.
[20] Ibid., VI. 64, XIII. 14, 49, IV. 42.
[21] Ibid., IV. 42, खर्जूरी 57 etc., Vide *ante* (*Flora and Fauna*).
[22] Ibid., 48, 51.
[23] *Māl.*, I. 17.
[24] *Vik.*, IV. 13.
[25] *Śāk.*, p. 219.
[26] मार्ग *Raghu.*, V. 41.

Raghu prefers the land route[1] (*sthalavartmanā*) to a sea-route. This shows that there was a sea route, besides, to reach the Persians which he forsook from some consideration. Mallinātha, the renowned commentator of the works of Kālidāsa suggests that the preference to the land route was due to religious considerations[2] which forbade sea voyage. But this is hardly reliable for there is ample evidence in the works of Kālidāsa to show that great marine activities were in vogue during his time. Besides, Fahien[3], a contemporary, records that he returned to China by the sea route in a ship which had on its board besides others, Brahmins, the up-holders of the Bhāgavata dharma, who explained the storm that raged for several days as caused by the presence of the foreign Buddhist. Then it was only after about a century that the neighbouring islands of Bali, Java and Sumatra were colonized through marine activities of the Indians. Even much before the Guptas there existed an enormous sea-borne trade with the western countries of Arabia, Egypt and Rome. *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, Pliny and many others prove this statement in their respective accounts. Therefore Mallinātha's explanation cannot be accepted as correct. For a conqueror who had overrun the entire country proceeding by land the reference afresh to taking journey by land in the middle of his conquest would mean nothing unless we suppose that there was a sea route also on the shore leading from Trikūṭa. It was here that the two roads bifurcated. Probably from here people embarked on sea voyages to Persia and other places by ship. It may be further noted that Kalyāṇa was a flourishing seaport in the vicinity. The great land route which ran from one end of the country to the other was variously known as *mahāpatha*[4], *rājapatha*[5], and *narendramārga*[6] (great highway or royal highway). The inland trade was very brisk as is attested to by the *Mālavikāgnimitra*[7] although the highways in certain zones were not altogether free from danger of robbers[8] and we read of occasional cases of plunder of the caravans[9] being reported to the king. The inland trade-route may have been one indicated by the southward march of Raghu in course of his conquest[10]. Aja's march to the country of the Bhojas (Berar) was perhaps another route leading to south-mid-India[11]. A third was perhaps one taken by the cloud messenger in the *Meghadūta*[12], but this route can be accepted only with some modification. Ujjainī must have, for example, lain on the highway to the north although in one which the cloud messenger takes, it lies off the way and the messenger has to bend

[1] Ibid., IV. 60.
[2] समुद्रयानस्य निषिद्धत्वादितिभाव: On Ibid.
[3] *Fa-heien's Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms*. Trans. by James Legge, p. 113.
[4] *Ku.*, VII. 3.
[5] *Raghu.*, XIV. 30.
[6] Ibid., IV. 67.
[7] स चाटव्यन्तरे निविष्टो गताध्वा वणिग्गण: *Māl.*, p. 98, I. 17.
[8] Ibid., V. 10.
[9] गताध्वा वणिग्गण: Ibid., p. 98.
[10] *Raghu.*, IV.
[11] Ibid., V. 41 ff.
[12] *P. M.*

its course[1] in order to reach the poet's pleasant resort. The cloud naturally should have taken a direct course to the north, the dense forests or high mountains having been no barriers to its flight over head. But for a tradesman or a pedlar these would have proved unsurmountable barriers. The route therefore had Ujjainī also lying on it. The *Periplus* actually places it on this route. It records:[2] "Eastward from Barygaza is a city called Ozene, formerly the capital where the king resided. From this place is brought down to Barygaza every commodity for local consumption or exports to other parts of India, onyxstones, porcelain, fine muslins, mallow-tinted cottons and the ordinary kinds in great quantities. It imports from the upper country through Proklais for transport to the coast, spikenard, kostos and udellium." Thus Ujjainī was connected with all the countries of the north whose trade passed to the western foreign lands through the parts situated on the western coast of India. It may possibly have been connected also with the more southern ports of Sopara and Kalyan. The travelling routes were frequented and were usually safe for journey.

The existence of the seaborne trade is attested to by ample evidence. We have already shown that there was an oft-sailing route to Persia by sea which Raghu preferred not to choose. The people of the Vaṅga country are said to have possessed warships:[3] of course this reference is to ferrying in the inland waterways. From other records we gather that India kept a commercial intercourse with Ceylon and the islands neighbouring Burma and China, especially the islands of Java and Bali. Kālidāsa mentions canoes[4], rowing coastal boats[5] of various kinds, one of them having a structure like a canopy[6] (*vimāna*) worthy of the state of a king. There were sea-going vessels which occasionally sustained a wreckage[7]. In an important passage Kālidāsa refers to merchants making sea voyages for the purposes of commerce[8]. The first seventeen verses of the thirteenth canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa* are no doubt, descriptive of a sea voyage. In the phrase *dvīpāntara* occurring in the *Raghuvaṁśa,* VI, 57, the poet directly refers to spice islands[9]. The China silk[10] imported in India might have more probably come by the sea-route.

Imports

The trade of India may be described under the headings imports and exports. The articles mentioned below were those received from other countries. A kind

[1] वक्रः पन्था यदपि भवतः *M. P.*, 27.
[2] Sec. 48.
[3] नौसाधनोद्यतान् *Raghu.*, IV. 36
[4] उडुप Ibid., I 2.
[5] Ibid., IV. 36, XIV. 30.
[6] नौविमान Ibid., XVI. 68.
[7] नौव्यसने विपन्नः *Śāk.*, p. 219.
[8] समुद्रव्यवहारी सार्थवाहः Ibid.
[9] द्वीपान्तरानीतलवङ्गपुष्पं *Raghu.*, VI. 57.
[10] *Ku.*, VII. 3; *Śāk.*, I. 30.

of silk came from China and was known as *Cināṁśuka*[1]. The westerners[2] (*pāścātyāḥ*), both Persians[3] and Greeks[4], have been mentioned by the poet as cavaliers (*aśvasādhanāḥ*). It is natural, therefore, that fine horses were imported from the west. Kālidāsa mentions an excellent breed of the *vanāyu*[5] steeds in use in India. Kauṭilya[6] also mentions Vanāyu as celebrated for its horses. *Vanāyu* has been identified by Nundo Lal Dey with Arabia[7]. Arabia is noted for its breed of horses. Horses also came from Kamboj[8]. Cloves also came from other islands[9] as now. To supplement the account of Kālidāsa we may quote here an important authority of the closing years of the first century A. D. In *the Periplus of the Erythrean sea* is preserved a complete list of articles and goods imported in India from foreign lands through Bhṛgukaccha, Kalyāṇa and others ports on the western and the eastern coast. Thus in the kingdom of Nambanus were imported the following, namely, wine: Italian preferred, also Laodiccan and Arabian copper; tin; lead; coral; topaz; thin clothing and inferior sorts of all kinds; bright coloured girdles a cubit wide; storax, sweet clover; flint glass; realgar; antimony; gold and silver coins (yielding a profit on the exchange); ointments, not costly, a little; presents for the king; costly vessels of silver, singing boys, beautiful maidens for the harem, fine wines, thin clothing of the finest weaves, the choicest ointments. In the Cera and Pāṇḍya kingdoms were imported: coins in great quantity; topaz; thin clothing (not much); figured linens; antimony; coral; crude glass; copper; tin; lead; wine (not much); realgar; orpiment; and wheat. On the east coast of India, where ships called from the west coast, the Ganges and Chryse, was received everything made in Damirica and the neighbouring countries and most of what came from Egypt[10]. It is important to note that the great work does not refer to any article of trade imported on the east coast, farther north, in the countries of the Ganges delta or in those of the Himalayan mountains.

Export

We are not sure as to which were the articles exported to other countries: but it may be surmised that the surplus of the grain market, precious products of the mines and pearls, India always having been famous for her pearl-fisheries and ivory, were exported. The famous spices[11] of India, besides, must have been a coveted delicacy in the countries which did not produce them and with which India carried on trade. Since clothes of all seasons were extensively used which

[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid., IV. 62.
[3] Ibid., 60-65.
[4] अश्वानीकेन यवनेन *Māl.*, p. 102.
[5] *Raghu.*, V. 73.
[6] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II. Ch. 30.
[7] *Geo. Dict. of Anc. and Med. India*, p. 22.
[8] *Raghu.*, IV. 69-70.
[9] Ibid., VI. 57.
[10] *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, Trans. by Schoff, pp. 287-88.
[11] *Raghu.*, IV. 46, 47; *Ku.*, VIII. 25.

were woven with the finest fibres capable of being blown away by breath[1], we may infer that cloth was also exported. It may be noted that Pliny refers to such importation of cloth into Rome from India. The list furnished by the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*[2] is exhaustive. It records that the kingdom of Nambus exported through its ports the following articles of trade produced in India or received from countries of the north-west, north and north-east: spikenard (coming through Scythia, also through Poclais, from Caspapyra, Paropanisus and Cabolitis), Costus bedllium, ivory, agate and carnelian (Onyx and murrhine), lycium, cotton cloth of all kinds (muslins and ordinary), silk cloth, mallow-cloth, yarn, long pepper and other things coming from the various ports. The Cera and Pāṇḍya kingdoms exported pepper (produced in Cottonara), fine pearls in great quantity, ivory, silk cloth, spikenard from the Ganges, malabathrum from the interior, transparent stones of all kinds, diamond, sapphires, and tortoise-shell from Chryse and from the near-by islands. The Cola kingdom likewise sent out pearls and muslins. The east coast exported pearls, transparent stones, muslins, and tortoise-shell. The same coast, farther north, exported muslin in great quantity. Dosarene sent out ivory and the delta of the Ganges malabathrum, Gangetic spikenard, pearls, muslins of the finest sort, called Gangetic (may have been the famous Dacca muslins). China also is recorded to have exported overland through Bactria to Barygaza (also by way of the Ganges to Damirica) raw silk, silk yarn and silk cloth. The Himalayan countries in like manner exported mostly malabathrum in three forms, the large-ball, the medium-ball and the small-ball.

Thus we find that most of the articles of trade which the *Periplus* records were extensively used in India as we have shown from the works of the poet. The surplus of these articles was evidently exported to, and the requisite quantity imported from countries beyond India.

Inland Trade

We have already referred to the briskness of inland trade. Kālidāsa refers to the mineral resources of Kāmarupa[3] (the hilly tracts of Assam) which yielded gems in a large quantity. He has also mentioned mines[4] existing at several places. Then, besides, he refers to the pearl-fisheries of the Tāmraparṇī[5] and of the Indian Ocean. These gems, pearls and other yields of the sea like the conch-shells, other shells (*śukti*) and corals must have been carried and sold in distant markets of India where there was a demand for them. Elephant in the same manner might have reached other corners of India from Kaliṅga[6], Aṇga[7] and Kāmarūpa[8]. It may be interesting to note that Kaliṅga has also been mentioned by Kauṭilya[9] as the source of elephants. In the town the market place[10]

[1] *Raghu.*, XVI. 43.
[2] Trans. by Schoff, pp. 287-88.
[3] *Raghu.*, IV. 84.
[4] Ibid., III. 18, XVII. 66, XVIII. 22; *Māl.*, V. 18.
[5] *Raghu.*, IV. 50.
[6] Ibid., IV. 40. VI. 54.
[7] Ibid., VI. 27.
[8] Ibid., IV. 83.
[9] *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II. ch. 2.
[10] *Raghu.*, XVI. 41; *Māl.*, pp. 33, 80.

(vipaṇi) was crowded with people come for making purchases. *Niṣkraya* is the word used for purchasing[1]. High shops lined both sides of the highway[2]. Besides other shops we read of those of liquor[3]. Up on the road people passed to and fro selling their articles and making their purchases, while down on the river boats plied and ferries ran[4]. The market road was called āpaṇamārga[5].

Thus the inland as well as foreign trade was a busy concern of the Indian merchants. The tradesmen always made sea voyages[6] and braved all the dangers of the ocean. We read of a great commercial magnate of Hastināpura suffering a shipwreck in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala*[7]. The trade routes had been ordinarily made very secure on land from robbers and on sea from pirates and the poet applauds: "Caravans wandered at ease over mountains as if their own houses, over rivers as if wells and over forests as though gardens[8]." Thus the inland trade as well as the shipping and maritime activities added a fair harvest of wealth to the national income.

Coins, Weights and Measures

Such a flourishing state of trade presupposes the existence of money transactions. Coins in this regard become indispensable and we know that they were received and counted[9]. In their absence the counting of wealth to the extent of fourteen crores[10] could not have possibly conveyed any sense. It is in their term that wealth to the extent of fourteen crores were conveyed on hundreds of mules and camels[11]. *Suwarṇa*[12] and *Niṣka*[13] were the current coins of the country and we have a reference to a hundred gold coins[14] called *Suwarṇas*. We know that the Guptas struck gold coins of both types, the *Dīnāras* and the *Suwarṇas*[15] which were long current in India. There must have been other lesser coins of silver and alloy copper current in the country to which, however, Kālidāsa does not make a specific reference. The silver coinage of the Guptas had already started with the overthrow of the Western Satraps by Candra Gupta II[16] and the copper currency which had been practically confined to the reign of the same king[17]

[1] *Raghu.*, II. 55, V. 22.
[2] ऋद्धापणं राजपथं Ibid., XIV. 30.
[3] शौण्डिकापणं *Śāk.*, p. 188.
[4] सरयूं च नौभिः *Raghu.*, XIV. 30.
[5] *Ku.*, VII. 55.
[6] *Śāk.*, p. 219.
[7] Ibid.
[8] *Raghu.*, XVII. 64.
[9] अर्थजातस्य गणना *Śāk.*, p. 219.
[10] परिसंख्यया कोटिशः *Raghu.*, V. 21.
[11] Ibid., V. 32.
[12] *Māl.*, p. 88.
[13] Ibid., *Ku.*, II. 49.
[14] शतसुवर्णपरिमाणां *Māl.*, p. 88.
[15] Brown: *The Coins of India*, p. 45.
[16] Ibid., pp. 46-47.
[17] Ibid., p. 47.

also existed. Cowries, states Fahien[1], were a common sight in the market place.

The poet mentions weighing blances[2] (*tulā*) at several places. A measuring rod[3] (*mānadaṇḍaḥ*) has also been alluded to. The prices thus were paid for in terms of money and sale goods, liquid or otherwise, were sold in weighed quantity, and articles like cloth with measurable length were measured out with a measuring rod when sold.

Useful arts and crafts were pursued and skilful artisans followed their respective specialized callings. Metals were worked and articles of the finest designs were finished by master goldsmiths. Gold was tested in fire[4]. Ornaments were worn in abundance and so their making also must necessarily have occupied artisans[5] (*śilpī*). The use of ornaments as decorative embellishments has been extensively made in contemporary and earlier sculptures of Mathura[6], and other places[7] and paintings of Ajanta[8]. Ornaments of gold and precious stones of various designs, as warranted elsewhere[9], are a conclusive proof of the fact that much fine work of jewellery was successfully executed. Of ornaments requiring uncommon skill were the girdle (*mekhalā*)[10] of which an endless variety in designs is mentioned by Kālidāsa and of which scores of excellent patterns we see exhibited in the Muttra Museum, and the armlets[11] (*keyūra, aṅgada*) of which again the poet has mentioned several varieties many of which are exhibited in sculpture at Muttra. Ear ornaments were sometimes designed after the lotus[12]. Burnished gold[13] was hammered out into the shape of several beautiful jewels. Rings of various designs were made of which one bore the impression of a serpent[14]. Sometimes the same had the name of its owner engraved[15] on it. Then there was the setting of jewels in ornaments of gold[16]. The long handle of a flywhisk was set with jewels[17]. There were those skilled artisans who worked in precious stones, bored holes in diamonds[18], cut[19] and gave them and other gems[20] new lustre[21].

[1] *Fa-hien's Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms*, Trans. by James Legge. See under Madhyadeśa.
[2] *Raghu*, VIII. 15, XIX. 8, 50; *Ku.*, V. 34.
[3] मानदण्ड: *Ku.*, I. 1.
[4] *Raghu*, I. 10,
[5] *Māl.*, p. 4.
[6] Vide *ante*.
[7] Cf. Exhibits in the Muttra Museum.
[8] Indian Museum, Achaeological section, Calcutta, Sarnath Museum; Lucknow Museum.
[9] Vide *ante*.
[10] Evidenced at length *ante*: cf. *Māl.*, p. 59.
[11] Vide *ante*.
[12] *M. U.*, 9.
[13] तप्तचामीकर *Vik.*, I. 15.
[14] नागमुद्रासनाथमंगुलीयकम् *Māl.*, pp. 4, 69.
[15] मणिबन्धनोत्कीर्ण. . . .अंगुलीयकम् *Śāk.*, p. 182.
[16] *Māl.*, V. 18.
[17] *M. P.*, 53; *Māl.*, V. 18.
[18] *Raghu.*, VI. 19, मणौ I. 4, रत्नानुविद्ध VI. 14; अनाविद्धं रत्नं *Śāk.*, II. 10.
[19] संस्कारोल्लिखित *Śāk.*, VI. 6; *Raghu.*, III. 18.
[20] Ibid.
[21] *Raghu.*, III. 18.

It seems that in order to render the gems more lustrous new deep lines were incised[1] (*ullikhita*) on them which work was that of actual engraving or cutting. When new precious stones like diamond were first dug out of mines they were cleaned and cut, which was endowing them with a *saṁskāra*[2] and making them *saṁskṛta*. There were masons[3]. Besides, there were blacksmiths working in iron, heating[4] and melting it and turning it into steel[5] with the help of a steel hammer[6] (*ayoghana*). There, again, were weavers who prepared cloth fine enough to be blown away by the breath[7]. Sculptors hewing image[8] and potters making terracotta toys[9] were excellent masters of their art. Besides, there were those artisans who made instruments of music, which was a commonly cultivated art.

Guild of Artisans

The guild system seems to have prevailed in the field of various trades (*śilpisaṅghāḥ*). The guild was a corporation of artisans practising the same trade. We read of a guild of architects in the *Raghuvaṁśa*[10] and of the chief of a guild in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala*[11]. We also read of the *Naigamas*[12] and the *Śreṣṭhi*[13], technical terms used to denote respectively the representatives of various trade guilds[14] and the chief of the guild of city merchants[15]. The guild was called a *saṅgha* and its chief a *śreṣṭhin*. Bṛhaspati, quoted in the *Vyavahāramayūkha*, refers to a council of the *Naigamas*[16]. The *Vivādaratnākara* explains Naigama as a town corporation[17]. The *Rāmāyaṇa* also refers to it as a corporate body[18]. From the four Taxila coins it would appear that these *Naigama* corporations issued coins also[19]. We may also here remark that the guilds of artisans were great manufacturers and agents of merchandise. The Mandasor inscription of Kumāra Gupta and Bandhuvarmā records the building of a noble and unequalled temple of the bright-rayed sun 'by the silk-cloth weavers as a guild with the stores of wealth acquired by the exercise of their craft[20].' It was these guilds which were the chief manufacturers of the daily articles of use including the cotton and silk fibres and

[1] *Śāk.*, VI. 6.
[2] *Raghu.*, III. 18; *Śāk.*, VI. 6.
[3] *Raghu.*, XVI. 38.
[4] Ibid., XIV. 33.
[5] अयोघन (Cf. the etymology of the word) Ibid.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid., XVI. 43.
[8] Ibid., XVI. 39, XVII. 36; *M. P.*, 33, 34.
[9] *Śāk.*, p. 247.
[10] शिल्पिसंघा: XVI. 38.
[11] श्रेष्ठिनो p. 219.
[12] *Vik.*, IV. 13.
[13] *Śāk.*, p. 219.
[14] Jayaswal: *Hindu Polity*, Part II. p. 105.
[15] *Śāk.*, p. 71.
[16] Mookerji: *Local Government in Ancient India*, p. 127.
[17] Ibid., p. 114, Note.
[18] II. 14, 54.. Kasinath Pandurang Parab Edition, Bombay, 1888.
[19] Cunningham: *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 63.
[20] Fleet: *Gupta Inscriptions*. p. 86.

cloth which flooded the foreign markets and drained much money out of Rome against which Pliny so resentfully protests.

Advertisement

In the Gupta epigraph, quoted above, a beautiful advertisement is implied. It is recorded on behalf of the guild of silk-weavers who built the sun temple referred to therein. The interesting advertisement reads: "(Just as) a woman, though endowed with youth and beauty (and) adorned with the arrangement of golden necklaces and betel leaves and flowers, goes not to meet (her) lover in a secret place, until she has put on a pair of coloured silken cloths, (so) the whole of this region of the earth, is adorned through them as if with a silken garment, agreeable to the touch, variegated with the arrangement of different colours, (and) pleasing to the eye."[1]

Banking and Deposit

We have a reference to the banking and deposit in the works of Kālidāsa. He speaks of *nikṣepa*[2]. *Nikṣepa* is what is deposited with another in trust, and with the object of taking it back. *Nyāsa*[3] is another banking term meaning deposit. *Nīvi* is what remains after deducting all the expenditure already incurred and excluding all revenues to be realized. It is thus the net balance. We learn from inscriptions that guilds served in ancient India as banks receiving deposits and advancing loans of money[4]. The contemporary evidence of the Mandsor Inscription of Kumāra Gupta and Bandhuvarmā may be cited as an interesting case in point[5].

Population

Population of India was mainly composed of the Aryan descendants living peacefully and pursuing their respective callings. Foreigners like Persians[6] and Greeks[7] also lived to the north-west of India[8]. Hūṇas[9] and Kambojas[10] were residents of the north, i. e., the valleys of the Oxus and Yarkand. Then there were the mountaineer tribes of the *Pulindas*[11] and the semi-civilized *Kirātas*[12] and *Utsavasaṅketas*[13] of the Vindhyan and Himalayan forests. Besides these there

[1] तारुण्यकान्त्युपचितोऽपिसुवर्णहारताम्बूलपुष्पविधिना समलंकृतोऽपि ।
नारीजनः प्रियमुपैति न तावदग्यां यावन्नपट्टमयवस्त्रयुगानि धत्ते ॥ *U.* 20; Translation by Fleet, *C. I. I.*, III, p. 85.

[2] निक्षेप इवार्पितं द्वयं *Ku.*, V. 13.

[3] *Śāk.*, IV. 21.

[4] Mookerji: *Local Government in Ancient India*, pp. 94-98.

[5] Fleet: *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 86.

[6] *Raghu.*, IV. 60.

[7] *Māl.*, p. 102.

[8] *Raghu.*, IV. 60 ff; *Māl.*, p. 102.

[9] *Raghu.*, IV. 68.

[10] Ibid., 69.

[11] Ibid., XVI. 19, 32.

[12] Ibid., IV. 76; *Ku.*, I. 6, 15.

[13] *Raghu.*, IV. 78.

were other foresters[1] also. It was mainly a class of this forest population that lived on freebooting and waylaying the travellers. Such an instance of robbery is furnished by the *Mālavikāgnimitra*[2]. The Hindu population lived in the provinces or kingdoms named in the 4th and 6th cantos of the *Raghuvaṁśa* already enumerated elsewhere. Overpopulation was settled in newly formed villages to which people migrated from overpopulated areas[3].

Wealth and Luxury

We have thus seen above that the age of the poet was one of affluence, plenty and luxury. The economic prosperity may be well instanced in the description given of Ayodhyā and Kuṇḍinapur in the *Raghuvaṁśa*[4] and of Alakā in the *Meghadūta*[5]. There in Ayodhyā were streets lined with rich shops and the Sarayū was filled with rowing boats.

The Household

We have already spoken of the household elsewhere[6]. It will be worthwhile to recapitulate the same below. Palaces of kings were enormous establishments thronged[7] with people coming in and going out. They were richly built and highly decorated with auspicious and beautiful paintings and were fitted with several apartments. Houses of the rich were many-storeyed buildings to which were attached pleasure gardens and tanks. These houses, particularly the tanks, had beautiful, and sometimes even crystalline, flights of steps. The courtyards of palaces and rich mansions were paved with crystalline slabs. Mansions had also attic rooms, balconies and terraces. Luxury-loving kings had summer-houses called *Samudragṛha* to shelter them from the summer heat. Houses were further furnished with water-fountains and pipes and in the hot weather rich people passed away the heat by retiring in cool rooms fitted with benches of costly stones. They used the sandal paste in summer in profusion which gave them a cooling effect.

Within the house there moved to and fro people wearing loose flying garments of the most artistic patterns, sometimes having the forms of flamingoes woven in their texture. The fine fibred clothes capable of being blown away with the breath were those naturally used in summer and the heavy warm woollen ones were worn during the winter season. People had dresses suitable for the day and night. Several oils[8] were used. The oil of Iṅgudi was used for the head[9] as well as for burning lamps[10].

[1] *Ku.*, I. 10.
[2] V. 10.
[3] स्वर्गाभिष्यन्दवमनं कृत्वेवोपनिवेशिताम् *Ku.*, VI. 37.
[4] XIV. 30, XVI. 11-38, VII.
[5] *Uttaramegha.*
[6] Vide *ante.*
[7] जनाकीर्णं *Vik.*, p. 26; अविरलजनसंपात Ibid.
[8] तैलं *Raghu.*, XIV. 38.
[9] *Śāk.*, p. 73.
[10] *Raghu.*, XIV. 81; *Śāk.*, IV. 13.

The utensils of the household of kings and nobles were made of gold[1] and precious stones. We have already given a complete list elsewhere[2] of the items of furniture used in an Indian home.

The domestic cattle were well looked after. The cow was venerated. She yielded the nourishing milk, curds, butter and clarified butter. The items of food have already been discussed at length elsewhere[3].

Thus we find that Kālidāsa gives a very rich and prosperous picture of the people of India when he lived and wrote and when wealth reckoned in hundreds of million coins was conveyed on hundreds of mules and camels.

[1] हेमकुम्भ *Raghu.*, II. 36.
[2] Vide *ante*.
[3] Ibid.

BOOK VI

EDUCATION AND LEARNING

CHAPTER XVI

EDUCATION

Subjects of Study

Kālidāsa has dealt exhaustively, directly and indirectly, with subjects of study, teacher, student life, life in the hermitages which were the centres of education, sciences and other literature. This description, however, is traditional, although much of it may have been an incident of his own age. He has referred to the subjects of study by the word *Vidyāḥ*[1]. Vidyās comprised of four kinds[2]. At another place[3] he refers to three Vidyās only on which Mallinātha quotes Kauṭilya and Kāmandaka[4], while at yet another we find mention of fourteen Vidyās[5] as we shall see below. Kauṭilya also refers to four Vidyās. The poet does not specifically refer to these courses of study but the *Kāmandaka Nītisāra* enumerates them which we find quoted by the commentator while explaining the phrase *catasraḥ vidyāḥ*.[6] According to Kāmandaka[7] the course of study were the following four, namely, (1) *Ānvīkṣikī*, logic, systems of philosophy and metaphysics; (2) *Trayī*, the three Vedas, their sections, sub-sections and appendages; (3) *Vārtā*, agriculture, trade and commerce, pastures and rearing of the cattle; and (4) *Daṇḍanīti*, statecraft, the science of government and administration. The school of Manu (Mānava) accepts only three sciences, namely, the triple Vedas, Vārtā and Daṇḍanīti and thinks that Ānvīkṣikī is nothing but a special branch of the Vedas[8]. According to Bṛhaspati there are only two sciences, namely, Vārtā and Daṇḍanīti[9]. The school of Uṣanas declares that there is only one science, that of Government[10]. "But Kauṭilya holds that four, and only four, are the sciences[11]." Thus Kauṭilya agrees with Kālidāsa in his enumeration of the Vidyās.

[1] *Raghu.*, I. 8, 23, 88, III. 30, V. 20, 21, X. 71, XVIII. 50; *Śāk.*, p. 125; V. 25; *Vik.*, pp. 40, 128; *Māl.*, p. 7.

[2] *Raghu.*, III. 30.

[3] Ibid., XVIII. 50.

[4] धर्माधर्मौ त्रय्यामर्थार्थौ वार्तायां नयानयौ दण्डनीत्याम् । *Artha.* त्रयीवार्तादण्डनीतिस्तिस्रो विद्यामनोर्मता *Kām.* Here Kāmandaka refers to three vidyas discussed by Manu.

[5] *Raghu.*, V. 21.

[6] Ibid., III 30.

[7] आन्वीक्षिकीत्रयीवार्तादण्डनीतिश्च शाश्वती ।
एता विद्या चतस्रस्तु लोकसंस्थिति हेतवः ॥ Quoted by the commentator on Ibid.

[8] R. Sham Sastry: *Arthaśāstra*, Trans. p. 5.

[9] Ibid., p. 6.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

The *Sukranīti* enumerates thirty Vidyās and sixty-four Kalās[1] and defines the former as those which can be said and the latter as those which can be done by even the dumb[2]. Although Kālidāsa does not specifically refer to the above divisions of Vidyās and alludes to them merely categorically, nevertheless, he mentions occasionally a good number of subjects which, when put together, will make an exhaustive syllabus of study. We shall make an attempt below to give a synthetic account of the subjects of study as mentioned by the poet.

Of the four kinds of learning or courses of study for a citizen Kālidāsa even mentions two, namely, *vārtā*[3] and *daṇḍanīti*[4] by name. *Ānvīkṣikī* comprised subjects like logic, systems of philosophy and metaphysics. Kauṭilya defines *Ānvīkṣikī* as comprising the systems of Sāṅkhya, Yoga, and Lokāyata (atheism[5].) The poet has made allusions to almost all the systems of Hindu philosophy as we shall see while dealing with Religion and Philosophy. Here we may satisfy ourselves by making a hurried reference to them. Kālidāsa, for instance, clearly refers to the aphorism *nityaḥ śabdārtha sambandhaḥ* of the Mīmāmsakas in his phrase *vāgarthāviva saṁpṛktau*[6]. Similarly he has the *Yogasūtras* of Patañjali in his mind while describing the scene of undisturbed contemplation of Śiva in his *Kumārasambhava*[7]. Several allusions to *yoga-samādhi*[8] have been made. Similarly references have been made to the philosophies of Kapila, Kaṇāda and Gautama also which we shall discuss in their proper places. *Jaimini*[9] has been mentioned even by name teaching one of the six systems although not his own. It is interesting to note that Raghu learns Yoga from Jaimini for the latter has been never known to teach Yoga. Although he has been quoted no less than ten times in the *Brahmasūtras*[10], he has never been connected with Yoga. Trayī included the Śruti[11] or the revealed literature comprising the four Vedas, *R.k*, *Yajus*, *Sāman*, and *Atharva*; the Brāhmaṇas, Āranyakas and the Upaniṣads; Aṅgas[12] (lit, limbs) of the Vedas or aids to their study which were six in number, namely, chandas (prosody), mantra (hymns), nirukta (etymology), jyotiṣa (astronomy and astrology), vyākaraṇa (grammar) and śikṣā (pronunciation); Upavedas[13] which again were six in number, viz, *Dhanurveda* (the treatises on the use of bow and arrow and other arms), *Āyurveda* (medicine), etc. *Smṛti*[14], Śāstras[15] or the Dharmaśās-

[1] Trans. of *Śukranīti*, Ch. IV. Sec. III.
[2] Ibid , 47-48.
[3] *Raghu.*, XVI. 2.
[4] Ibid., XVIII. 46.
[5] Sastry: *Arthaśāstra*, Trans. p. 6.
[6] *Raghu.*, I. 1.
[7] *Ku.*, III. 47-50.
[8] Ibid., I. 59, III. 40; *Raghu.*, VIII. 17, 22, 24. (योगसमाधि).
[9] *Raghu.*, XVIII. 33.
[10] Quoted in footnote No. 3 on p. 715.
[11] Ibid., II. 2, III. 21, V. 2, 22, 23, 24.
[12] Ibid., XV. 35.
[13] *Vik.*, p. 128.
[14] *Raghu.*, II. 2.
[15] Ibid., I. 19.

tras like the code of Manu; Itihāsa[1] comprising the epics like the *Rāmāyana*[2] and the *Mahābhārata*[3]; and Purāṇa[4] treating of the genealogies of gods and kings in the various Purāṇas. *Vārtā*, as mentioned above, was agriculture, rearing of the cattle and trade and commerce. *Daṇḍanīti*[5], or the art of government, was a necessary subect of study for a king and it might have comprised the sections of the Dharmaśāstras which dealt with the duties of a king, and of treatises on statecraft like the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, *Nītisāra* of Kāmandaka and Sūtras of Uśanas[6]—perhaps an earlier recension of the *Sukranīti*. Thus the curriculum for a king comprised subjects bearing on the administration of his kingdom and the chastizement of casual offenders wherefor he was expected to have an *akuṇṭhitābuddhi* in the śāstras[7] (the scriptures and the *Arthaśāstras*), besides those marked out for an ordinary student.

At another place we find mention of fourteen kinds of Vidyās[8] *vidyāparisaṅkhyāya....catasrodaśa*) after the manner of Manu. Manu, quoted by the commentator[9] on this point enumerates the following fourteen kinds of the Vidyās: six Aṅgas of the Veda, the four Vedas, Mīmāmsa, Nyāya, Purāṇa and Dharmaśāstra[10]. Yājñavalkya also has the same[11].

Kālidāsa specifically mentions the following: Śruti[12], *Ṛk*[13], *Yajus*[14], *Sāman*[15], *Atharva*[16], Aṅgas[17] of the Vedas (*sāṅgam vedam*), and the Smṛtis[18] following the sense of the Śrutis. The mention of *Dhanurveda*[19] and its several terms, namely, *ālīḍha*[20], *vājinīrājanā*[21]. etc. may warrant the existence of the other Upavedas also of which medicine (*Āyurveda*) has been alluded to, which we shall discuss below. Smṛtis have been referred to in the phrase *śāstra*[22] which also

[1] इतिहासनिबन्धेषु *Śāk.*, p. 91. पूर्ववृत्तकथितैः पुराविद *Raghu.*, XI. 70, XVIII. 23.
[2] *Raghu.*, XV. 33, 63, 64. I. 4.
[3] पूर्वसूरिभिः Ibid., I. 4; *M. P.*, 48.
[4] *Raghu.*, XI. 10, XVIII. 23.
[5] Ibid., XVIII. 46.
[6] अध्यापितस्योशनसापिनीतिं *Ku.*, III. 6.
[7] *Raghu.*, I. 19.
[8] Ibid., V. 21.
[9] Ibid.
[10] अंगानि वेदाश्चत्वारो मीमांसान्यायविस्तरः ।
पुराणं धर्मशास्त्रं च विद्या ह्येता चतुर्दश ॥ *Manusmrti.*
[11] पुराणन्यायमीमांसाधर्मशास्त्रांगमिश्रिताः ।
वेदाः स्थानानि विद्यानां धर्मस्य च चतुर्दश ॥ *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*
[12] *Raghu.*, II. 2, III. 21, V. 2, 22, 23, 24.
[13] वेदविदां Ibid., V. 23 refers to all the four Vedas.
[14] Ibid.
[15] *Ku.*, VIII. 41.
[16] *Raghu.*, I. 59.
[17] Ibid., XV. 33.
[18] श्रुतेरिवार्थं स्मृतिरन्वगच्छत् Ibid., II. 2.
[19] *Vik.*, p. 128.
[20] Vide *ante* under Army.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Raghu., I. 19.

denoted the treatises on statecraft[1] like the *Arthaśāstra* and codes of punishment. The study of grammar has been mentioned in expressions like *dhātor-gamanārthamarthavat*[2], *dhātoḥ sthāna ivādeśām*,[3] *pratyayaprakṛtiyogasannibhaḥ*[4] and *pravṛttirāsītśabdānāmcaritārthācatuṣṭayī*, which allude to the primitive roots, suffixes and prefixes and to the pure and undeclined nominal and verbal bases. Again there occur analyses of several proper names which point to the same direction. Then we read of *varṇas* (alphabets) and their *sthāna*[5] (pronunciation) which are parts of Śikṣā, an aṅga of the Veda. Further, study of etymology may be instanced in phrases like *vāgārthāvivasampṛktau vāgārthapratipattaye*[6] and *kṣatātkila trāyata iti*[7], which refer to the inseparability of a word from its sense and to the elucidation of the sense of a word through etymological analysis. Mention of the *Rāmāyaṇa*[8] as the first style and model of kāvya by Vālmīki is made by name while the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and other such metrical compositions have been referred to by the phrase *pūrvasūribhiḥ*[9]. Purāṇas (*pūrvavṛtta*) naturally formed part of the knowledge of the *Purāvidas*[10], the narrators of the Purāṇas. Other metrical *kāvyas* and dramatic plays extant in the time of Kālidāsa have been alluded to by him in the names of their authors, namely, Bhāsa, Saumilla and Kaviputra[11] whose superiority in the excellence of their poetic pieces he is not prepared to acknowledge[12]. Treatises on polity and governance also formed part of the study of a king and his ministers and were quoted in discussions[13]. Music and dancing as well as acting were other important subjects which were mostly specialized by ladies, particularly the courtesans[14] who practised them as trade[15]. Śarmiṣṭhā has been credited with the invention of a particular kind of dance based on a certain order of pacing called *catuṣpada*[16], and with the accompanying music the entire system is known as *chalika*[17]. It is contained in a distinct treatise composed by her[18]. From the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta we learn that he was a past master of poetry and music[19]. His excellence in music is also attested to by his Lyrist type of coins. Aja also is

[1] शास्त्रदृष्टमाह *Māl.*, p. 11.
[2] *Raghu.*, III. 21.
[3] Ibid., XIII. 58.
[4] Ibid., XI. 56.
[5] वर्णस्थानसमीरिता Ibid., X. 36.
[6] Ibid., I. 1.
[7] Ibid., II. 53.
[8] कविप्रथमपद्धतिम् Ibid., XV. 33.
[9] Ibid., I. 4.
[10] Ibid., XI. 10, XVIII. 23.
[11] Text quoted *ante*; *Māl.*, p. 2.
[12] Ibid., I. 2.
[13] Ibid., I. 8, तन्त्रकारवचनं p. 11; शास्त्र Ibid.
[14] *Raghu.*, III. 19, XIX. 35.
[15] Ibid., XIX. 35.
[16] *Māl.*, p. 21.
[17] Ibid.
[18] शर्मिष्ठायाः कृतिं Ibid.
[19] Text quoted *ante*.

reported to have taught fine arts (*lalita kalāvidhau*) to his wife[1]. Agnimitra runs a school of fine arts where music, dancing, acting and painting are taught[2]. Agnivarṇa puts courtesans and their preceptors to shame by pointing out their mistakes in singing and dancing[3]. Thus kings were expected to be proficient in fine arts no less than in other important branches of learning. Painting was likewise an academical pursuit. We read of architecture, sculpture and terracottas and of pots and utensils of clay and metals and of other useful arts of the goldsmiths and blacksmiths. A guild of artisans is mentioned[4] and we may therefore safely conclude that students of the above useful arts must have flocked to the various guilds for training in their respective professions. Soldiers, particularly the Kṣatriyas and kings, were trained in the use of arms which called for the physical strength[5] of the student and even occasionally was endowed with a subtle occult influence through the charm of mantras[6]. Kings learnt, besides other aspects of learning, diplomacy and various other deceptive[7] items of the statecraft as part of *daṇḍanīti*. Astronomy and astrology have also beem mentioned and so has been mentioned medicine. But of astronomy and medicine we shall treat later. Other arts were of magic. *Aparājitā*[8] was a kind of magic, otherwise known as *Śikhābandhinī vidyā*[9] which made one free from all molestation[10]. It was chanted while the *śikhā* was being tied. Another kind of magic known as the *Tiraskariṇī vidyā*[11] made one invisible the moment one chanted a particular mantra. A fourth stranded the movements of a snake within a charmed circle[12].

Here we must distinguish between the liberal education and the training in the useful arts. Besides the primary education (to which we shall refer below), which may have been imparted ordinarily to all, the technical education naturally fell to the respective callings of men, who may be easily classed among the following, namely, kings, nobles, state officers, teachers, priests, military-men, musicians and actors, workers in metals, other craftsmen, artisans, etc. *Vāstu* and the like were the usual arts which naturally formed a branch of learning specialized by a particular class. For the apprentices learning the useful arts Manu[13], Yājñavalkya[14], Bṛhaspati[15], Kātyāyana[16], Nārada[17], and Gautama[18] prescribe

[1] *Raghu.*, VIII. 67.
[2] Cf. *Māl.*, Acts I and II.
[3] Evidenced *ante*.
[4] शिल्पिसंघा: *Raghu.*, XVI. 38.
[5] स्ववीर्यगुप्ता Ibid., II. 4.
[6] Ibid., V. 57, 59.
[7] परातिसंधान the six expedients, four kinds of Rājanīti, etc. quoted in the *Thoughts on Polity*. Vide *Ante*.
[8] अपराजिता नाम *Vik.*, p. 40.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Pandit: *Vikramorvaśī*, II. Note on the passage.
[11] *Vik.*, pp. 41, 47, 49, 72.
[12] *Raghu.*, II. 32; *Ku.*, II. 21.
[13] *Manusmṛti*, IV. 146, VIII. 299 300.
[14] *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, II. 187.
[15] XVI. 6.
[16] Colebrooke's *Digest of Hindu Law*, Vol. II. p. 7. [17] *Nāradasmṛti*, V. 16-21. [18] II. 43-44.

special rules.

The above are the subjects which Kālidāsa mentions in his writings, a thorough study of which awakened in the pupil a sense of perfect discipline[1] (*prabodhavinayāviva*). A study of the language[2] (*vānmaya*) started with first picking up the alphabets[3] (*varnnaparicayam*). The characters (*akṣara*) of the alphabets were first picked up by writing them on the ground[4]. This practice obtains even now in some pāṭhaśālās of the eastern U. P. and Bihar.

Initiation of a Student

The commencement of education was marked by a particular ceremony called *Upanayana*[5] with which the student was initiated in his new venture by his teacher. The choice of an intelligent pupil was the credit of a good teacher[6], but the latter was not blamed if an initiated pupil turned out to be dull and slow in learning his course of study;[7] yet that teacher was commended who had the excellence of imparting education to his pupil of little merits and making him grasp the sense of a subtle art or science[8].

Teacher

The teacher, the priest-preceptor, was held in high reverence[9] by his pupils and by the people at large including their sovereign. He was respected as a very god and it was supposed that nothing was unattainable by him which he desired. His status and ability were such that the king again and again approached him for advice in his difficulties[10]. The common names for the teacher were *Guru*[11] and *Ācārya*. He was generally the head of his establishment. In an institution, whether a State school or a hermitage, there were several teachers[12]. The diversity of subjects naturally called for a multiplicity of teachers. Huen Tsang refers to a hundred professors lecturing at one time on as many diverse subjects in the University of Nālandā[13]. The religious preceptor was known by the simple term *Guru*[14]. Another sort of teachers was called *Upādhyāya*[15], who presumably worked under the Guru or *Kulapati*. Those who taught the professional and

[1] *Raghu.*, X. 71.
[2] Ibid., III. 28.
[3] *Śāk.*, p. 150; लिपेर्यथावद्ग्रहणेन *Raghu.*, III. 28, XVIII. 46.
[4] न्यस्तक्षरामक्षरभूमिकाया Ibid., XVIII. 46.
[5] *Raghu.*, III. 29.
[6] *Māl.*, p. 19, text quoted *ante*.
[7] Ibid., text quoted *ante*; ibid., I. 6; *Raghu.*, III. 29.
[8] *Māl.*, II. 9.
[9] अथाथर्वनिधे *Raghu.*, I. 59, तयोर्जग्रहतु. पादान् 17. गुरोर्भवान्दर्शितशिष्यभक्तिः Nāl II, 9, 40; Cf. Ibid., I. 61-64, 71-72.
[10] *Raghu.*, I. 61 ff.
[11] Ibid., II. 40, III. 29, V. I. 17, 20, 24, 31, 38; आचार्य *Māl.*, pp. 4, 14, 19, 60 etc.
[12] गुरु *Raghu.*, II. 40, III. 29, V. 1, 17, 20, 24, XVIII. 50; आचार्य *Māl.*, pp. 4, 14, 19 etc; उपाध्याय *Vik.*, pp. 60, 61.
[13] Water's Translation of Huen Chwang—Nālandā, 165, *Harṣa*, p. 130.
[14] Cf. note No. 1.
[15] *Vik.*, pp. 60, 61.

technical arts like music, acting, dancing and painting have been styled in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* as Ācāryas[1]. Gaṇadāsa and Haradatta are such ācāryas whose contest in the dramatic art (*vijñānasaṅgharṣa*) is described in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*[2]. The specialization of different topics of learning had tended to make the various lores hereditary[3] (*kulavidyā*). The head of the teaching institution, which was mostly the hermitage of the sage, was called *Kulapati*[4]. The term illustrates the fact that the entire establishment breathed a homely atmosphere and it was consequently known as a *Kula*, family, of which the *Guru* or sage was the head. His love for his concern is brought forth by his designation.

Salary

The teachers of the penance grove do not seem to have received any pay, but those of an institution run at the state expense drew regular salaries[5] (*vetana*) from the coffers of the state. Such an institution with a building containing several windows commanding a grand landscape has been described in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*[6]. This, however, seems to have been a place where only inmates of the royal household were taught.

School of Music and Painting

There the students studied music and painting. We read of exercises[7] given to students. Besides great authorities, sutīrthas[8], on the various subjects of art, there were lay persons equally adepts (*viśeṣajñaḥ*) in them who occasionally judged contests between teachers[9]. The teacher succeeding in the contest was rewarded[10] by the king (*puraskāramarhati*). This particular school mentioned in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* had two branches in one of which was taught music (*saṅgītaśālā*)[11] and in the other painting (*citraśālā*[12]). In later times when the system of hermitages serving as educational institutions declined *pāṭhaśālās* of the mediaeval type came into existence. We read in an epigraphical record of the generous gift of a donor who assigned some land for the maintenance of a grammar hall in the temple at Tiruvorraiyur called '*Vyākaraṇa-dāna vyākhyāna-maṇḍapa*' for the upkeep of the teachers and pupils who should study grammar there[13]. In another record there is a reference to the establishment of a school for the study of the Vedas, Śāstras, Grammar, *Rūpāvatāra*, etc. in a certain jananātha-

[1] pp. 4, 14, 19,
[2] p. 17.
[3] Ibid., p. 7, *Raghu.*, XVII. 3.
[4] *Raghu.*, I. 95; *Śāk.*, pp. 21, 32, 84.
[5] वेतनदानेन *Māl.*, p. 17.
[6] Ibid., p. 9, text quoted *ante*.
[7] संगीतव्यापार *Vik.*, p. 27.
[8] सुतीर्थादभिनयविद्यासुशिक्षिता—*Māl.*, p. 14.
[9] विशेषज्ञः प्राश्निकः Ibid., p. 15, मध्यस्था p. 17, प्रधानपुरुषसमक्ष Ibid., p. 15.
[10] Ibid., 24.
[11] Ibid., pp. 4, 6.
[12] Ibid., p. 5.
[13] Mookerji: *Local Government in Ancient India*, p. 274

maṇḍapa by a royal grant of Vīrarājendra Deva (A. D. 1062[1]). During the time of Kālidāsa the system of gurukula seems to have yet flourished and not quite died out as may be gathered from abundance of such references, and the reference to the state school of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* would mark the beginning of the type of institutions recorded in the inscriptions cited above.

Life of the Student

When the pupil was first initiated by his guru his period of studentship commenced. He was called a *śiṣya*[2] or *varṇi*[3]. The latter designation was in consequence of the fact that the pupil had to lead a life of strict celebacy till the completion of the courses of his study. The teacher's feet was touched as a mark of obeisance at the hermiage[4]. The pupil became a resident of the hermitage of his teacher and put on the skin of the *ruru* deer in the manner of other residents of the āśrama. Although *Raghu* did not enter a hermitage for his education, he is said to have put on the skin of a *ruru* deer[5] which was an essential form of conduct in the hermitages. In the penance grove the pupil slept on a mat of kuśa grass in the manner of Dilīpa[6]. There a very cordial[7] and intimate relationship grew up between the teacher and the taught. Kālidāsa himself was perhaps taught in a hermitage, which is suggested by a detailed description given by him in the 1st canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa*. His Vasiṣṭha, Kaṇva, Marīca and Cyavana are typical Kulapatis of their respective *guru-kulas* as is Varatantu (*Raghu.*, V.) a typical pupil. It was in this surrounding of purity and affection, where even the most timid deer frolicked and played with him[8], that the student pursued his courses of study[9]. There the masters of the Vedic literature[10] and learning infused in him the secrets of the Aryan culture. A Kṣatriya was at times taught the use of arms by his own father[11]; but there is a reference to this too as being taught in the hermitage[12]. There residing, he finished the study of Vedas[13] (*śrutapāradṛśvā*). When he had completed the period of learning the fourteen vidyās[14] he was permitted to return home (*anumatogṛhāya*). It may be noted here that treatises[15] make the permission of the Guru obligatory and the poet only conforms to this older tradition. Then

[1] Ibid., p. 275.
[2] *Raghu.*, V. I. 18, XV. 74; *Śāk.*, p. 84.
[3] *Raghu.*, V. 19.
[4] Ibid., I. 57. Dilipa, an old pupil of Visiṣṭha, does so.
[5] Ibid., III. 31. The commentator quotes Manu on this.
[6] कुशशयने निशां निनाय *Raghu.*, I. 95.
[7] गुरवो गुरुप्रियम् Ibid., III. 29.
[8] तदंकशय्या. . . मृगीणां Ibid., V. 7.
[9] विद्यामभ्यसनेन Ibid., I. 88.
[10] वेदविदां Ibid., V. 23.
[11] अशिक्षितास्त्रं पितुरेव Ibid., III. 31.
[12] *Vik.*, V. Ayus comes taught from the hermitage of Cyavana.
[13] उपात्तविद्यं *Raghu.*, V. 23. श्रुतपारदृश्वा Ibid., 24.
[14] Ibid., 21, ज्ञानमशेषं Ibid., 4.
[15] Ibid., III. 33.

the graduate performed the *godāna*[1] ceremony and married[2]. This *godāna* ceremony was performed at the close of the student life and prior to marriage[3]. The graduate or *Snātaka* married immediately after. Manu enjoins *godāna* to be performed by the Brāhmaṇa in his sixteenth year, by the Kṣatriya in his twenty-second year and by the Vaiśya in his twenty-fourth year[4]. *Godāna* ceremony, which was the shaving of the hair on chin, was performed at the appearance of the first crop of hair on the face.

Period of Study

Therefore it may be concluded that the end of the period of study for the the *dvija* generally ranged between the sixteenth and the twenty-fourth year of his age.

Students

Students were naturally both slow[5] and brilliant[6]. Mālavikā, for example, is *medhāvinī* (very brainy) and *paramanipuṇā*[7] (perfect adept). The choice and initiation of an intelligent pupil reflected credit on the part of the teacher[8], and it was supposed that the degree of success of a teacher much depended upon the proportion in which his pupil was slow or intelligent to receive his teaching, otherwise the skill of the teacher had chances of being wasted in the manner of an article placed in a utensil of bad metal[9], and consequently no discredit was attached by a section of thinkers to those teachers[10] who had by chance initiated slow pupils. Nevertheless, it was contended that the method of teaching on the part of a teacher should be so excellent as to turn even a dull pupil into an intelligent one and make him fully receive the secret of his lore. The excellence of his art must not be affected by the dullness of his pupil just as gold remains unimpaired even when tested in fire.[11] In fact the capacity of the pupil to receive and absorb his teacher's teaching was supposed to grow in proportion to the *saṁskāras* (impressions) of his earlier birth[12]. It was the previous *saṁskāras* that determined a pupil's dullness or intelligence. Thus it is evident that theories regarding types of students differed as they do now. When the pupil had completed his course and had married he was termed a *snātaka*. Kālidāsa refers to Brahmin *snātakas*

[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] केशान्तः षोडशे वर्षे ब्राह्मणस्य विधीयते ।
राजन्यबन्धोर्द्वाविंशे वैश्यस्य द्व्यधिके तत. ॥ Manu quoted by the Commentator on *Raghu.*, III. 33.
[5] मन्दमेधाः *Māl.*, p. 19.
[6] उदारधीः *Raghu.*, III. 30; text quoted *ante*; *Māl.*, p. 8.
[7] *Māl.*, p. 8.
[8] Ibid., p. 19.
[9] Ibid., I. 6; cf. also *Raghu.*, III. 29.
[10] *Māl.*, p. 19.
[11] Ibid., p. 9.
[12] प्राक्तनजन्मविद्या *Ku.*, I. 30.

receiving largesses on the occasions of marriage[1] and coronation[2].

Fees

It seems that no fees were charged from the pupil. At the end of his student life[3] he presented to his teacher something by way of fees for learning[4] (*śrutaniṣkraya-vidyāmūlya*—commentator) which was technically known as *gurudakṣiṇā*[5]. But to receive something from pupil was considered by a section of teachers so low as to occasion their wrath at the mention of the *gurudakṣiṇā* by a pupil[6]. Thus there was a marked reluctance on the part of the guru to receive anything as fees for his teaching from his pupil. It has been even affirmed that one who teaches for an income or subsistance is verily one who trades in learning[7] and is therefore condemnable.

Writing

Kālidāsa has alluded frequently[8] to writing. We read of letters[9], letters within an envelope[10], love letters[11], sometimes written on the leaves of lotus[12], and of other written documents[13]. Letters had a set form and were mostly commenced with a mention of blessing and a few phrases of affection[14] which was known as *svastivācanikā*[15]. We also read of letters written in a versified form[16] (*kāvyabaddha*). Writing of biographies (*caritam*[17]) is also referred to at one place. There are references to characters inscribed on arrows[18] and rings[19]. An allusion has been made to the materials of writing[20] (*lekhanasādhanam*). It is not specifically mentioned as to what these materials were. But two of these, *bhūrjatvaca*[21] (the skin

[1] *Raghu.*, VII. 28.
[2] Ibid., XVII. 17.
[3] उपात्तविद्य Ibid, V. 38, ज्ञानमशेषप्राप्तं Ibid., 4.
[4] Ibid., V. 22.
[5] Ibid, I, 20, 24.
[6] निर्बन्धसजातगुरुषार्थकार्श्य—Ibid., 21.
[7] यस्यागमः केवल जीविकायै
त ज्ञानपण्यं वणिज वदन्ति ॥ *Māl.*, I. 17.
[8] *Raghu.*, III. 28, XVIII. 46; *Śāk.*, pp. 150, 97, 100, 124, III. 23, VII. 5; *Vik.*, pp. 44, 45, 46, 47, 53, 54.
[9] *Vik.*, p. 56; *Māl.*, pp. 10-11, 102.
[10] Text quoted *ante*—*Māl.*, p. 101.
[11] अनगलेख मन्मथलेख—*Śāk.*, p. 67, III. 23.
[12] Ibid., p. 100.
[13] Ibid., p. 219; *Vik.*, II. 13.
[14] *Vik.*, p. 46; स्वस्ति *Māl.*, p. 102.
[15] Ibid.
[16] काव्यबन्ध—*Vik.*, p. 54.
[17] *Śāk.*, VII. 5.
[18] *Raghu.*, III. 55, VII. 38, XII. 103; *Ku.*, III. 27, V. 127; *Vik.*, V. 7.
[19] *Śāk.*, pp. 49, 120, VI. 12.
[20] लेखनसाधनानि Ibid., p. 100.
[21] *Ku.*, I. 7.

of the birch tree) and *bhūrjapatra*[1] (leaves of the same tree), have been frequently[2] mentioned as materials to write upon. Students beginning to learn alphabets wrote on the ground[3], presumably with a piece of chalk or chalk-like substance which practice is retained uptil now in most of the old type village schools of India.

[1] *Vik.*, pp. 44, 53.
[2] *Ku.*, I. 7; *Vik.*, pp. 44 (thrice), 53.
[3] *Raghu.*, XVIII. 46.

CHAPTER XVII

LITERATURE

Internal

We shall now discuss below the works of Kālidāsa themselves and the sciences and other literature cited in his writings. No study of literature furnished by the poet can be complete which ignores the invaluable literary treasure which he himself has created. Therefore a study of what he himself produced becomes almost imperative at the outset and we consequently must start with a discussion of his own works.

Works of Kālidāsa

These works bear ample testimony to his considerable acquaintance with the Vedas, the philosophy of the Upaniṣads, the *Bhagavadgītā*, the Purāṇas, the philosophical systems of the Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Vedānta, Mīmāṁsā and Nyāya, medicine and astronomy and to works on polity and other sciences. For the sake of clarity and convenience we shall divide our study in this chapter between two sections, namely, Internal and External literature. Internal literature is obviously the poet's works whereas the external one is that reflected in the same. We shall proceed first with the former.

Of a score of works ascribed to his authorship only the following seven may be authentically proved to have been the production of his genius. They are: the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala*, *Vikramorvaśī*, *Mālavikāgnimitra*, *Raghuvaṁśa*, *Meghadūta*, *Kumārasambhava* and *Ṛtusaṁhāra*. Of these the first three are plays and the rest four epics and short lyrical poems. We shall treat them individually.

Śākuntala

Abhijñāna Śākuntala ranks undoubtedly the foremost in the whole range of the Sanskrit dramatic literature. It has been pronounced by the greatest masters of the art of dramaturgy as one of the best works of the literatures of the world. The genius of the poet has been remarkably displayed in this work in his treatment of the admirable graces of poetry, in the exquisite description of nature, in the melody of the rhythm, in the lucid simplicity of his language, in the grand conception of his ideas and in the pathetic grace with which the various scenes are depicted. The piece is a *nāṭaka* and contains seven Acts. Its theme has been drawn from the *Mahābhārata* but it deviates at several places from the narrative of its source. The pathos and tenderness of the grief of the heroine is portrayed with consummate skill. Her attachment to her comrades, lower animals, trees, creepers, the sorrow of separation felt by the sage Kaṇva, have so much life in them that they cannot fail to win for the immortal bard undying fame and monumental glory in dramatic skill and poetic diction.

Vikramorvaśī

The *Vikramorvaśī* belongs to the class of Troṭaka and is completed in five Acts. It represents events partly terrestrial and partly celestial. The theme is taken from the *Ṛgveda*[1]. This play is very skilfully finished and the succession of events herein is very natural. Dr. Wilson has rightly pointed out that "Fate is the ruling principle of the narrative and the monarch, the nymph and the sovereign of the gods himself are portrayed as subject to the inscrutable and inevitable decrees of destiny."

Mālavikāgnimitra

Mālavikāgnimitra is a play in which court life is fully depicted. Though this play does not contain either the dignity and the tenderness of the *Śākuntala* or the natural sequence of events of the *Vikramorvaśī* yet its importance cannot be underrated. The simplicity of the theme is particularly marked, the story having been taken from the life of a historical personage—Agnimitra, the son of Pusyamitra and the Viceroy of the southern possessions of his empire. The description of events is lifelike and the court intrigues would have held the breath of the audience for a time. Nevertheless, the play is not of the first order and the painstaking exposition of the theory of music and acting, however learned and detailed, must have tired out the patience of the audience. It tends to turn prosaic.

Raghuvaṁśa

The *Raghuvaṁśa* is an epic. The line of the *mahākāvyas* inaugurated by the great and earliest poet *Vālmīki* has been consummated by the genius of Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvaṁśa*. With perfect poetical skill the poet has compressed the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* within the scope of ninteen cantos adding here and there his own contribution to the theme. Philosophic reflection is happily mixed with descriptive verse, the beauty of which at places remains unsurpassed by any other composition in the whole range of the Saṇskrit literature. The great work may rightly rank as the finest specimen of the *mahākāvya* as defined by writers of poetics.

Kumārasambhava

The *Kumārasambhava* also seems to be intended as a *mahākāvya* but it has been left unfinished by the poet. The reader is struck by its rich variety, the brilliance of its fancy and the great warmth of its feeling. While describing the progress of the procession of the marriage party of Śiva in the city of *Himālāya*, Kālidāsa repeats several verses of the *Raghuvaṁśa* evidently for the sake of beauty and graphic description. The theme of description happens to be the same in both the works which is the procession of a marriage party. The *Kumārasambhava* is replete with natural beauties. It ends with the eighth canto.

Meghadūta

The *Meghadūta* has won the applause of the western critics. It has been nearly

[1] X. 95.

as often translated as the odes of Horace. It is a lyric piece of a hundred and odd stanzas. The theme of the lyric is absolutely original and its treatment is subjective. It may stand to proclaim the inauguration of a romantic era in Sanskrit poetry. The touches are brilliant and personal. The use of so elaborate a metre as the *Mandākrāntā* throughout the work proves its author to be a masterly wielder of poetic pen.

Ṛtusaṁhāra

The *Ṛtusaṁhāra* is a descriptive poem of the six Indian seasons. It contains brilliant scenes depicting the beauties of nature where the human feelings have been brought in full accord with the voice of nature. Erotic scenes are interspersed here and there and the poet has successfully interwoven the expression of human emotions with his brilliant and graphically detailed penpicture of nature. Nature has everywhere played a prominent part in the works of Kālidāsa but being dissatisfied with them all, as it were, he treats an exclusive theme devoted to nature and to make it live he has brought a stream of human sentiments to flow within. Nowhere has the poet been so much in sympathy with nature as here. His observation and skill in depicting weather have nowhere been so striking and the hues of his pictures so varied as in the *Ṛtusaṁhāra*.

Style

One chief reason of Kālidāsa's, superiority over other poets is his brilliantly polished style. There is no other Sanskrit poet who possesses such command over language, so simple and withal so graceful. All the works of the poet have been written in what is known as the *Vaidarbhī* style which contains the ten chief excellences of a poetical composition as mentioned by Daṇḍin[1]. Kālidāsa's poems have been taken for a standard of poetical perfection and natural melody. His similes are known for their aptness. His style is simple, graceful and natural and he generally touches a point and passes on working upon the reader's feeling to exercise his full imagination. He has an inexhaustible store of fancy and is a consummate artist. He stands unsurpassed, even unequalled, in his profound knowledge of the human heart, in his delicate appreciation of its most refined feelings and in his familiarity with its conflicting sentiments and emotions.

His language following the convention of Sanskrit drama consists of Sanskrit and Prakrit. For his Prakrit he uses *Saurasenī* for prose and *Mahārāṣṭrī* for verse. In the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* the constables and the fisherman speak Māgadhī but the Śyālā uses *Saurasenī*. Prakrit seems to have become stereotyped by the poet's time. That is why there are deviations, but of course they are defensible.

The age of Kālidāsa had come to appreciate stereotyped tastes which he challenged and replaced or improved upon to a great extent. Everything new was spurned at and whatever was ancient was welcomed with zeal and respect. But he asserted himself and inspired a class of admirers for his newly

[1] श्लेषः प्रसादः समता माधुर्यं सुकुमारता ।
अर्थव्यक्तिरुदारत्वमोजः कान्तिसमाधयः ॥ *Kāvyādarśa*, I. 41.

and new plays. He declared that things ancient alone were not good simply by virtue of their being ancient and the new ones were not to be necessarily despised and dismissed as futile merely because of their newness[1].

The poet's works together employ a number of meters which are the *āryā*, *śloka*, *vasantatilakā*, *śārdūlavikrīḍita*, *upajāti*, *praharṣiṇī*, *śālinī srucirā*, *sragdharā*, *rathoddhatā*, *mañjubhāṣiṇī*, *aparavaktrā*, *aupachandasikā*, *vaitālīya*, *drutavilambita*, *puṣpitāgrā*, *pṛthivī*, *mandākrāntā*, *mālinī*, *vaṁśastha*, *śikhariṇī*, *hariṇī*, *indravajrā*, *mattamayūra*, *svagatā*, *toṭaka*, and *mahāmālikā*.

Judging from the comparative merits and poetical and dramatic skill of the poet as evidenced in his works, their chronology may be indicated in the following order: *Ṛtusaṁhāra*, *Mālavikāgnimitra*, *Vikramorvaśī*, *Raghuvaṁśa*, *Kumārasambhava*, *Meghadūta*, and *Abhijñāna Śākuntala*. But since the *Kumārasambhava* is an incomplete work, it may have been attempted last and left unfinished by the event of the poet's death. Mallinatha stops with eighth canto.

External

There are scores of references in the works of the poet which throw immense light on the existing literature of his time. This literature, which we have termed *external* at the outset of this chapter, also incidentally points to the sources of Kālidāsa's knowledge and to those of his works. Several branches of learning, arts and sciences, have been referred to which we shall discuss below.

Astronomy

We get a fair glimpse of astronomy in the works of the poet. The solar system and other stars have been referred to. Below is given a list of astronomical names furnished by him. The planets[2], nine in number, the zodiacs (*rāśis*[3]), *nakṣatras*[4] and other stars[5] have been mentioned, some of them even specifically. Of the planets, counting by the Hindu system, the following have been specifically alluded: *Sūrya*[6] (sun), *Candra*[7] (moon), *Bhūmi*[8] or *Pṛthvī* (earth), *Maṅgala*[9] (mars), *Budha*[10], *Bṛhaspati*[11] (*Jupiter*), *Rāhu*[12] and *Ketu*[13]. The last two have been traditionally acknowledged as casting baneful influence[14]. The distance or pro-

[1] *Māl.*, I. 2.
[2] *Raghu.*, III. 13, XII. 28, 29.
[3] राशिं *Māl.*, p. 61.
[4] *Raghu.*, VI. 22.
[5] Ibid., IV. 19, VI. 22, ध्रुव *Ku.*, VII. 35.
[6] *Raghu.*, II. 15, III. 13, 22, XII. 25, et.
[7] Ibid., I. 46, 83, II. 39, III. 17, V. 61, VII. 19, XII. 36, XVI. 27, III. 22, VI. 22, VIII. 42, XIV. 40, XVII. 30, XVIII. 27; *Ku.*, VII. 1, 6; *Śāk.*, p. 96, VII. 22; *Vik.*, pp. 19, 72; *Māl.*, V. 7, etc.
[8] *Raghu.*, XIV. 50, etc. etc.
[9] *Māl.*, p. 61, अंगारक: (मंगलग्रह: Kāṭayavema). The planet is called अंगारक because of its dull red colour as seen in the sky which resembles that of a heated charcoal.
t., XIII. 76.

[12] Ibid., II. 32, XII. 28.
[13] *Ku.*, VI. 7.
[14] *Raghu.*, II. 39, XII. 28, 29; *Ku.*, VI. 7.

ximity from one another among the planets has been considered as causing good or evil[1] according to the circumstances. Of the *nakṣatras* the following are on record: *Citrā*[2], *Viśākhā*[3], *Puṣya*[4], *Phālguni*[5] and *Rohiṇī*[6]. The existence of Svāti is also warranted in a passage referring to the cātakas[7]. Comets[8] (*dhūmaketu*) were considered to auger misfortune to the people[9]. A passage in *Vikramorvaśī* has the expression *sūryopasthānam*[10] which according to the *Bhāgavata*[11] refers to the six *gaṇas* attending each month on the sun. The *apsaras* of the said passage is one of those same. In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* there is a passage referring to the return of the planet Mars[12]. In a simile[13] a lion constantly watching a pine tree without moving from his place is compared to *Suradviṣ* (*rāhu*), which is the name given to the nodes of the path of the moon. Hence the poet implies that *Rāhu* is

[1] *Māl.*, p. 61.
[2] *Raghu.*, I. 46; *Vik.*, p. 12.
[3] *Śāk.*, p. 96; *Vik.*, p. 19.
[4] *Raghu.*, XVIII. 32.
[5] *Ku.*, VII. 6.
[6] *Śāk.*, VII. 22; *Vik.*, pp. 64, 72; *Ku.*, VIII. 82.
[7] *Śāk.*, VII. 7.
[8] *Ku.*, II. 32.
[9] Ibid.,
[10] *Vik.*, p. 86.
[11] Sk. XII. Adh. 11 vs. 47-49. "Every month in Sūrya's progress the Ṛṣis praise him in such of the hymns of the three Vedas as are addressed to him: the Gandharvas sing and the Apsarases dance before his car; Nāgas serve him as ropes to tie his car; the Yakṣas accompany the car as harnessers; mighty Rākṣasas push the car from behind, and the sixty thousand holy Brahmarṣis called Vālakhilyas go forth before him, the Lord Sūrya, singing his praises." Each month these six gaṇas serve the sun by turns. The names of the Ṛṣis, the Gandharvas, the Apsarases, the Yakṣas, etc., that attend upon and serve the sun, are set forth with the months in which they serve (stt. 33, 43). We learn there that the Apsaras Kṛtasthalī attends and serves in the month of Caitra, Puṇjikasthalī in Vaiśākha, Menakā in Jyeṣṭha, Rambhā in Āṣaḍha, Anumlocā in Bhādrapada, Tilottamā in Āśvin, Rambhā in Kārtika, Urvaśī in Mārgśīrṣa, Purvacitti in Pauṣa. Ghṛtācī in Māgha and Senajit(?) in Phālguna. The month of Śrāvaṇa is omitted doubtless accidentally. A commentary on the *Bhāgavata* (*Bhāvārthadīpikā*) quotes from the *Kūrma Purāṇa* certain verses which give all the seven gaṇas that form the Sūrya's train of attendants in the twelve months. It will be seen that our Citralekhā of the *Vikramorvaśī* is not among the apsarases enumerated there in the *Bhāgavata* or the *Kūrma Purāṇa* unless she is identical with one of those there enumerated. According to what Citralekhā says she has to attend upon the sun in the hot season which comes after the spring; i.e., in Jyestha or Āṣāḍha in which months according to the *Bhagavata* the attendant apsarases are Menakā and Rambhā, according to the *Kūrma Purāṇa* Menakā and Sahajanyā. Citralekhā can be identified with none of these as they are separately mentioned in the play. It is probable therefore either that Citralekhā and her turn of service in the hot season are creation of our author or, if not, he has refused to follow slavishly the order of service of the Purāṇas and assigned her the month that suited her purpose best being indebted to the Purāṇa simply for the idea that the apsarases have to attend upon the sun by rotation.

[12] *Māl.* The passage reads: "least she should return like the planet Mars." This, it was supposed, when turned back towards the Earth, was more favourable than when it had turned back from it. In certain positions the planets are said to look towards the Earth and in others to turn away from it. When they had turned their back on it they were said to be unfavourable and when they were looking towards it they were favourable. Mars is the only exception, because it was supposed to cast a favourable influence when it returned towards the Earth.
[13] *Raghu.*, II. 39.

fixed and does not hunt after the moon to devour her. This is also evident from the epithet *pradiṣṭakālā upasthitā*. The cow had her time to become a meal of the lion, ordained before-hand, and she appeared at the appointed hour, just as the moon has her time, and appears before *Rāhu* accordingly. There is a limited area (*aṅga*) within which the animal must be, in order to be seized upon by the lion, just as there is a limit, on both sides near the node, within which the moon must be for the eclipse to be possible. This is the astronomical theory of eclipses which Kālidāsa knows scientifically. The cow was copper coloured after entering the penumbra, just before the actual eclipse takes place. In the *Śākuntala*[1] a reference is made to the 'path of *parivaha*.' The heavens are divided into seven *mārgas* (paths or orbits) to each of which a particular wind is assigned. The sixth of these paths is that of the Great Bear, and its peculiar wind is called *Parivaha*. The wind is supposed to bear along the seven stars of Ursa Major, and to propel the heavenly Ganges which is the *chāyāpatha*[2] or the milky way of the poet. Even *āvaha* the *bhūvāyu* or the region of clouds and lightning of the *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi* is indirectly referred to in the *Śākuntala*, VII. 7. The relation of *Citrā* to moon is also alluded to[3]. In the month of *Caitra* when the *Citrā* rises with the moon the latter scans the sky which is rendered cloudless[4], when the night is free from the frost[5]. The beauty of *Viśākhā* rising with the moon is also registered[6]. The beauty of the moon was supposed to grow by the contact with *Rohiṇi*[7]. The period commencing with the contact of the moon with *Phālgunī* was considered auspicious for the applying of the cosmetics and other items of toilet to the body of the bride on the eve of her marriage[8]. The phases of the moon have also been alluded to[9]. Her contact with the planets *Budha* and *Bṛhaspati* has been mentioned in a verse[10]. The moon further has been named as the lord of the herbs or plant life[11]. On a full moon day the rise of the water of the ocean and the seas due to attraction and gravitation has been recorded[12]. Again the act of looking at the moon or the second day of the bright half month has been metioned as auspicious as also of the people flocking about to have a look at her[13]. The moon reflecting light received from the sun at the end of the dark fortnight is indirectly referred to in a verse as we shall see below. *Dhruva*[14], a fixed star was shown to

[1] *Śāk.*, VII. 6. According to the *Siddhāntaśiromani*, quoted by the commentator Rāghavabhaṭṭa, the seven courses of the wind in order of their distance from the Earth are Āvaha, Pravaha, Saṁvaha, Udvaha, Suvaha, Parivaha and Parāvaha.

[2] *Raghu.*, XIII. 2.
[3] Ibid., I. 46.
[4] Ibid.
[5] हिमनिर्मुक्त Ibid.
[6] *Vik.*, p. 19; *Śāk.*, p. 96.
[7] *Ku.*, VIII. 82; *Śāk.*, VII. 22; *Vik.*, pp. 64, 72.
[8] *Ku.*, VII. 6.
[9] *Raghu.*, XVII. 30.
[10] Ibid., XIII. 76.
[11] नाथमिवौषधीनां Ibid., II. 73.
[12] Ibid., III. 17, V. 61, VII. 19, XII. 36, XVI. 27.
[13] नेत्रोत्सवः सोमइवद्वितीयः Ibid., XVIII. 27.
[14] *Ku.*, VII. 85.

the bride and the bridegroom to make their relationship and love steadfast. The formation of the clouds by smoke (steam), light (heat—*jyotiṣ*), water (*salila*) and air (*maruta*) together making a compact mass is mentioned in the *Meghadūta*[1]. There is another reference to the young moon receiving and growing by the rays of the sun[2]. Thus the principle of the light of the sun being received and reflected by the moon was known. The *Varāhasaṁhitā* has been quoted by the commentator to elucidate this sense[3]. A popular branch of astronomy had grown up and astrology had been given the place of a pseudo-science. Particular moments had been declared auspicious against those inauspicious. The year[4] (*saṁvatasara*) had been divided into six seasons (*ṛtu*) called *Nidāgha* or *Grīṣma*,[5] *Varṣā*[6], *Sarat*[7], *Hemanta*[8], *Śiśira*[9], and *Vasanta*[10]. Further the year was divided into twelve months each named after a particular *nakṣatra*. A few of these months have been named. They are *Āṣāḍha*[11], *Śrāvana*[12] and *Kārtika*[13]. The months of *Caitra*, *Vaiśākha* and *Pauṣa* may be inferred from the reference to corresponding nakṣatras *Citrā*[14], *Viśākhā*[15] and *Puṣya*[16]. The months had been further parcelled out in days[17], which, although they are not specifically named, are in their turn divided into increasingly smaller units of time, and these moments were reckoned as auspicious or inauspicious according to the principles of astrology, by the distance and nearness of the good and evil stars[18]. Thus a higher positon of five planets with the sun was considered very auspicious and a son born at this hour was, it was supposed, bound to be great and favoured by fate[19]. The direction dominated by Śukra was awaited by an invading force[20]. There were auspicious and inauspicious days on which one could start on journey[21] (*yātrānukūle ahani*). The *brāhma muhūrta*[22] about four o'clock in the morning was an auspicious time when the

[1] *M. P.*, 5.
[2] ०हरिदश्वदीधितेरनुप्रवेशादिव बालचन्द्रमाः *Raghu.*, III. 22.
[3] The commentator quotes the *Varāhasaṁhitā*:
सलिलमयेशशिनिरवैर्दीधितयो मूर्च्छितास्तमो नैशम् ।
क्षपयन्ति दर्पणोदरनिहिता इव मन्दिरस्यान्त. ॥
[4] *Māl.*, p. 100.
[5] *Ṛtu.*, I. 1.
[6] Ibid., II. 1.
[7] Ibid., III. 1.
[8] Ibid., IV. 1.
[9] Ibid., V. 1.
[10] Ibid., VI. 1.
[11] *M. P.*, 2.
[12] Ibid., 4; *Raghu.*, XIII. 6.
[13] *Raghu.*, XIX. 39.
[14] Ibid., I. 46.
[15] *Śāk.*, p. 96; *Vik.*, p. 19.
[16] *Raghu.*, XVIII. 32.
[17] वाररात्रिषु—Ibid., XIX. 18.
[18] सोपसर्गं वो नक्षत्रम् *Māl.*, p. 71.
[19] सूचितभागसंपदे—*Raghu.*, III. 13.
[20] *Ku.*, III. 43.
[21] यात्रानुकूलेऽहनि Ibid., XVI. 25.
[22] *Raghu.*, V. 36.

hermits and students left their bed. The ceremonies of marriage were sought to be performed in the auspicious period of the bright fortnight (*śukla pakṣa*) on a date marked by the *Jāmitra lagna*.[1] *Jāmitra* is the Diametron of the Greeks. The *Maitra muhūrta* when the nakṣatra *Uttarra phālgunī* was in contact with the moon was considered particularly favourable for preparing the bride for marriage by applying auspicious cosmetics to her body and thus anointing it for the hour of sacred wedlock[2]. The branch of astrology had become pretty popular and a profession[3] had already arisen which lived by reading the fate of the people as a result of the influence cast on them by good or evil stars.

Medicine

Medicine had made considerable headway, which may be inferred from many references furnished by the poet. Mallinātha, Hemādri, Cāritravardhana and other commentators repeatedly turn to works of medicine like Vāgbhaṭa, *Ajīrṇāmṛtamañjarī* by Kāśirāja, *Madātyayacikitsā* and others in their commentaries for explaining passages of the poet.

As may be expected, there are several general references to *Vyādhi*. We read of diseases[4] (*vyādhi*), their treatment[5] (*cikitsā*) medicine[6] (*auṣadhi*) and cure[7] and of physicians[8] (*vaidya, bhiṣaja*). The following diseases have been referred to by the poet: bile[9] (*pitta*), consumption[10] (*rājayakṣmā*) and delirium[11] (*sannipāta*). Bile was supposed to produce aberration, raving and ardent passion[12], and it was sought to be cured by sweet and delicious food[13], as the Vidūṣaka desires, for it is caused in one case by lack of food[14]. The fatal disease of consumption baffled all efforts of the physicians and was incurable[15]. Its symptoms are given as paleness of the face, emaciation[16], walking with the help of a support (in its last stage), hoarseness of the voice and an increased yearning for the sex[17]. Its cause, how-

[1] *Ku.*, VII. 1.
[2] Ibid.
[3] दैवचिन्तका: *Māl.*, p. 71.
[4] लंघित एष . . . व्याधिना—*Śāk.*, p. 197.
[5] न जाने . . . इति—Ibid.
[6] *Ku.*, II. 48; *Raghu.*, XII. 97; *Māl.*, pp. 32, 68.
[7] रोगशान्ति *Raghu.*, XIX. 54, स्वस्थ: भवतु *Vik.*, p. 56; *Māl.*, p. 69.
[8] वैद्य *Raghu.*, XIX. 53; *Māl.*, pp. 32, 68, भिषज *Raghu.*, I II. 12, VIII. 93, XIX. 49.
[9] पित्त, *Vik.*, p. 56.
[10] *Raghu.*, XIX. 48, 50.
[11] *Ku.*, II. 48.
[12] Cf. धीविभ्रम: सत्त्वपरिप्लवश्च पर्याकुलादृष्टिरधीरता च ।
अवद्धवाचस्व हृदयं च शून्यं सामान्यमुन्मादगदस्यचिह्नम् ॥ Quoted by the commentator.
[13] त्वरयस्वास्य भोजनं *Vik.*, p. 56 कफं दुर्जनवत् तीक्ष्णैर्वातं स्नेहेन मित्रवत् ।
पित्तं जामातामिव मधुरैर्भोजनैर्जयेत् ॥ Quoted by the commentator.
[14] कुप्यति पित्तमुपोष्णत: *Añjanamidāna*, quoted by the commentator.
[15] *Raghu.*, XIX. 53. .
[16] क्षिणोत् Ibid., 48.
[17] Ibid., 50.

ever, was attributed wrongly to sexual indulgence [1] (*ratirāgasambhavam*). The modern medical science has proved beyond doubt that the disease is the result of the activities of Tubercular Bacilli which attack a part of the body, deposit and multiply there and consume the area about them and cause the various symptoms of sputum, fever and the like. Sexul indulgence is also recognized by the modern authorities but only as an auxiliary and not as a cause. Evidently the germ theory of Tuberculosis was not known to the physicians of the time of Kālidāsa. Caraka himself is silent regarding the germ theory. Delirium or *Sannipāta* was the extreme effect of the disease when the affected brain aberrated. For its treatment very potent medicines were prescribed[2]. Poisons[3] and their antidotes[4] were known. *Kalpa*[5] was a technical term meaning the doctrine of poisons and their antidotes. A particular class of physicians treated ailments produced by poisons and they were known as *Viṣavaidyas*[6]. Even charms and chants were used to cure certain diseases. The effect of the poison occasioned by a snakebite was sought to be cured by a ceremony called *Udakumbhavidhāna*[7]. The manner in which the ceremony was performed may be described from other sources. An unbroken earthen jar was selected. Its neck was tied round with a thread spun by a maiden. A paste was made of several specified plants which was then to be mixed with the juice of the plant Kumāri, and the inside of the jar served with it. The outside of the jar was to be fumigated with the paste as also with the plants madhūka, madhūkapadma, kesara and sandal. The jar was then filled with water which had been brought in a copper jar by a person observing silence. While the water was being poured into the earthen jar certain mantras were to be chanted. When the jar was filled the performer was expected to touch it, and standing with his face to the north he was to charm the water with another mantra. Then a maiden who had just bathed, pounded and threw into the water certain other plants. The water thus prepared was sprinkled upon the part bitten by the snake the same mantras being repeated again. The poison of the deadliest snake, it was supposed, could thus be completely counteracted. The process is described in the *Bhairavatantra* at length. Like the *Udakumbhavidhāna* there was also a *Nāgamudrāvidhāna* or a ceremony whereby a ring or something having the image of a snake upon it was charmed for curing snakebites. In this case too, however, what cures is water charmed for curing snakebites, with chants and sprinkled upon the person bitten. The *Rasaratnāvalī* gives a full account of it. The use of profuse water in curing the snakebite was called *Śītakriyā*[8]. Kālidāsa, evidently drawing from some medical authority suggests amputation, burning or pressing out the blood from the wound caused by the bite as a pos-

[1] रतिरागसंभवो Ibid., 48.
[2] *Ku.*, II. 48.
[3] *Māl.*, pp. 67, 69; *Raghu.*, XI. I 61.
[4] महौषधि *Raghu.*, XII. 61.
[5] *Māl.*, p. 69; निवृत्तविषवेगः Ibid.
[6] विषवैद्याना कर्म संप्रति Ibid.
[7] Ibid.
[8] शीतक्रिया प्रशस्ता *Māl.*, p. 70.

sible cure[1]. Thus surgical operation is also recorded. The movements of a snake were further sought to be restricted within a circle by the force of a mantra[2]. A fatal poison and a highly efficacious medicine are warranted respectively by the phrase *viṣaballī*[3] (a particular creeper) and *mahauṣadhi*[4]. The use of a certain kind of sugar called *matsyaṇḍikā*[5] has been recorded as an antidote against intoxication by liquor which is borne out by several medical authorities[6]. The Parivrājikā of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* is an adept in medicine[7].

Kālidāsa alludes to *Kumārabhṛtya*[8], a name given by Suśruta to one of the eight branches (*aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*) of medical science which deals with the proper development of the foetus, taking care of the mother during the days of her pregnancy and of the babe when born. Extensive references are on record to the state of pregnancy[9] (*dauhṛda*) and its symptoms (*lakṣaṇa*). The following symptoms[10] have been noted: the thinness of the body[11], paleness of the face[12], geophagy or the desire to eat earth[13], and the enlargement of the breasts and the growing darkness of the nipples[14]. The room marked out for the birth of the child is also mentioned. It was known as the sūtikāgṛha[15]. We have references also to a nurse[16] (*dhātrī*) suckling the babe[17]. Other references to diseases and their treatment are directly and indirectly alluded to in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, VIII. 94, XII. 97, XIX. 49, etc. While commenting on a verse in the *Meghadūta* Mallinātha depicts a dhvani and quotes Vāgbhaṭa[18]. (We have also allied references in the *Śāk.*, II. 40, *Raghu.*, IX. 59, ii. 32, iv. 75, viii. 54, ix. 70, xii. 61, xiv. 80 and *Ku.*, vi. 45. In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* IV. 4 and further in ibid., Dhruvasiddhiḥ, etc. there is a reference to Suśruta[19]).

[1] Ibid., IV. 4. Similar remedies are given in *Vāgbhaṭa*, VI.
[2] *Raghu.*, II. 32; *Ku.*, II. 21.
[3] *Raghu.*, XII. 61.
[4] Ibid.
[5] एतत्खलु . . उपनता—*Māl.*, p. 42, cf. *Vāgbhaṭa*, I. 5, 49, *Ajṛṇāmṛtamañjarī*, 42 by Kāśināja, and the *Yogācāra. Madāyatayaṭkṛtsā* on the point.
[6] Ibid.
[7] *Māl.*, p. 67; IV. 4.
[8] *Raghu.*, III. 12. cf. कौमारभृत्यं नाम कुमारभरणधात्रीक्षीरदोष संशोधनार्थं दुष्टस्तन्यग्रहसमुत्थानांच व्याधीनामुपशमनार्थम् । Suśruta quoted by the commentator कुमारभृत्या गर्भिण्याः परिचार्योच्यते । *Hārāvalī* quoted by a commentator.
[9] *Raghu.*, III. 1, 6, XIV. 26.
[10] Ibid., III. 1.
[11] Ibid., III. 2, 7, X. 69.
[12] Ibid., III. 2, X. 59, XIV. 26. Cf. Vāgbhaṭa quoted by a commentator.
[13] मत्सुरभि *Raghu.*, III. 2.
[14] Ibid., Cf. Vāghabhata quoted by the commentator. श्लेष्टता स्तनौ पीनौ श्वेतान्तौ कृष्णचूचुकौ
[15] अरिष्टशय्या *Raghu.*, III. 15, X. 68.
[16] Ibid., III. 26, X. 78, XIII. 62.
[17] धात्रीस्तन्यपायिन. Ibid., X. 78.
[18] "काषायाश्चाहिमास्तस्य . . . योगिनः"
[19] Cf. *Cikitsākalpa*, Adhyāya, V (p. 25). 2, 3.

Other Sources and Literature

Kālidāsa refers to other external literature and has drawn upon other sources which may now be discussed below. Although the citations are obscure sometimes, nevertheless, it is not very difficult to bring out a possible parallelism between the ideas of the poet and their probable sources. The poet could not help referring to the existing literature from which he borrowed themes for many of his immortal works. The subject matter of the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* was drawn from the *Mahābhārata*, of the *Vikramorvaśī* from the Ṛgveda[1] and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[2], of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* from the Purāṇas, of the *Raghuvaṁśa* from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Viṣṇu Purāna* and of the *Kumārasambhava* from the Purānas. We have already seen that he refers directly to the Vedas, Purāṇas and the Itihāsas[3] and Nibandhas[4]. Other sources of his knowledge were the *Manusmṛti*, *Kāmasūtras*, some edition of the *Śukranīti*, for he directly refers to the study of tl e polity of Uśanas[5], the *Arthaśāstra*, treatises on music, astronomy and medicine to which we have already made a reference and to various other works. We find further references to the Ṛgveda in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, 1,61, xv. 76 and the *Kumārasambhava*, ii. 12. A reference to the *Yajurveda* is implied in the Aśvamedha sacrifice of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* and the *Atharvaveda* has found mention in the *Raghuvaṁśa*. i 59 and xvii 13. In like manner there is a deep imprint of the Upaniṣadic thought left on his writings. His prayers to gods breathe an air of the philosophy propounded in the Upaniṣads and the *Bhagavadgītā*. But this point we shall deal later in its proper place.

Smṛtis

Kālidāsa's ideas about the divine right of kingship are quite akin to those of Manu. In the performance of personal purity and social rites also the poet mostly follows Manu. This idea is much strengthened by the fact that Manu has been very frequently[6] named by him. Besides Manu, several smṛtikāras or subjects of their works have been indirectly alluded to. Smṛtis following the sense of the Śruti[7] is a patent expression of Kālidāsa. The devolution of property in the *Śākuntala*[8] and the partition of Rāma's empire in the *Raghuvaṁśa*[9] impliedly refer to the Smṛti laws. Conduct of the newly married couple in the *Kumārasambhava*[10] and the marriage ceremonies of Aja and Indumati in the *Raghuvaṁśa*[11] evidently follow the details of the Gṛhyasūtras.

[1] X. 95.
[2] V. 1-2.
[3] *Śāk.*, p. 91.
[4] Ibid., p. 91.
[5] *Ku.*, III. 6.
[6] *Raghu.*, I. 11, 17, II. 33, IV. 7, ICX. 3, XIV. 67. Indirect references to Manu are too many to be quoted here. They have already been enumerated in the foregoing chapters.
[7] *Raghu.*, II. 2.
[8] *Act.*, VI.
[9] XV.
[10] VII. 84.
[11] VII.

Kāmasūtras

The poet has evidently made use of the *Kāmasūtras* of Vātsyāyana or other authors not extant now, for his descriptions in his dramas, in the last canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa* or in cantos vii and viii of the *Kumārasambhava*. Although it may not be strictly possible to equate passages of the poet with those occurring in Vātsyāyana, it, nevertheless, appears on the whole that he does refer to the *Kāmasūtras* such as Ghoṭakamukha, Gonardiya, Gaṇikaputra, Vātsyāyana and others. The following are the general references to the *Kāmasūtras*: the *Kumārasambhava* canto viii, verses 8-10, 14-19, 22, 23, 25, 83, 87, 88; the *Raghuvaṁśa*, vi. 17, xi. 52, xix, 16-21, 22-35, 38-46 and others as also several references in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, *Vikramorvaśī* and *Śākuntala*. The entire talk of Anusūyā and Priyamvadā, the friends of the heroine of the *Śākuntala* with Duṣyanta, the hero, bears a deep stamp of the Kanyāsamprayuktaka adhikaraṇa of the *Kāmasūtra*, and so have the blessings of Kaṇva to Śakuntalā been greatly influenced by the Bhāryyādhikaraṇa of the same work[1]. In the *Meghadūta*,'11, 4, the poet uses the technical term *praṇayakalaha*[2] from Vātsyāyana's tenth adhyāya, second adhikaraṇa[3]. At the close of the third Act of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* king Agnimitra falls at the feet of Irāvatī; so does the king Dusyanta in the seventh Act of the *Śākuntala*. This act of the two kings corresponds to a particular Sūtra of *Vātsyāyana*[4]. In the 23rd and 33rd verses of the nineteenth canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa dūtī* affairs are described; these affairs come under the fifth chapter of Vātsyāyana where *dūtīkarma* is explained in detail.

Arthaśāstra

Mallinātha has in his commentaries freely quoted from the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya to explain political terms used by Kālidāsa in the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the *Kumārasambhava*. Of these quotation, given below[5] along with their parallels in the commentaries, the first is intended to explain the pharse *svargābhiṣyandavamana*, which occurs both in the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the *Kumārasambhava*; the second to expound the words *niyoga* and *vikalpa*; the third *prakṛtivairāgya*; the fourth *śakyeṣuyātrā*; the fifth *parābhisandhāna*; the sixth *daṇḍopanatacaritam*; and the seventh to point out the three branches of knowledge, *tisro vidyāḥ*. Again in defence of hunting as a good sport of kings Kālidāsa uses in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* almost the same words as are used by Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra*[6] for the same purpose.

It follows therefore that Kālidāsa was indebted to Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* for the technical terms of polity and that Mallinātha could find their explanation in

[1] *Kāma.*, IV. 1, 39-40

[2] नाप्यन्यस्मात्प्रणयकलहाद्विप्रयोगोपपत्ति (Some editions omit it).

[3] स्वभवनस्था तु निमित्तात्कलाहिता तथाविधचेष्टैव नायकमभिगच्छेत् । तत्र पठिमर्दविटविदूषकैर्नायक-प्रयुक्तैरपशमितशेषा तैरेवानुनीतैः सहैव तद्भवनमधिगच्छेत् । तत्र च वसेत् । इति प्रणयकलहः ॥

[4] तत्र युक्तरूपेण साम्ना पादपतनेन वा प्रसन्नमनास्तमनुर्नयन्नुपक्रम्य शयनमारोहयेत् quoted by a commentator.

[5] Text quoted *ante* at several places.

[6] Cf. *Śāk.*, II. 5; *Arthaśāstra*, VIII. 3.

no other political work than that of Kauṭilya[1]. The great detail given of the administration of Atithi in the 17th canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa* presupposes a thorough knowledge of the Arthaśāstras and the Nītiśāstras on the part of the poet. Mallinātha, however, quotes Kāmandaka's *Nītisāra*[2] also in order to explain the political terms used by the poet.

Other Works Cited

In the *Raghuvaṁśa*, canto vi, verse 27, Kālidāsa refers to *Gajasūtrakāras*. By *Gajasūtrakāras* he means the treatises of Gautama, Rājaputra, Mṛgaśarman, Pālakapya and others. In the footnote[3] below are given the poet's reference to the *Gajasūtras* of Pālakapya. The commentators have also supported these verses with quotations from Gautama, Rājaputra, Mṛgacarman or Mṛgaśarman and Pālakapya. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata was a work mastered by the poet as is evidenced by the various dramatic terms used by him in the 1st and 2nd acts of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*. The *Vikramorvaśī*, Act III, preserves a reference to the course of Bharatamuni to Urvaśi in consequence of her fault in a play entitled the *Lakṣmīswayamvara* composed by the author of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and staged in the presence of Indra under the instructions of Bharata himself. Most of the mythology referred to by the poet came from the Purāṇas. The prayers to various gods, Brahmā[4], Viṣṇu[5], and Śiva have been drawn from the Purānas and other works the chief of which were the Upaniṣads, and the six systems of philosophy a detailed reference to which will be given in the chapter on Philosophy. The details of the coronation rites of the *Raghuvaṁśa*, 17th canto, embody the principles of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. Works on polity have been categorically referred to in the phrase *tantra*[6]. He also draws from extant works on music[7]. Then there were extant dramatic and poetical compositions of Bhāsa[8], Saumillaka[9] and Kaviputra[10]. Of these Bhasa's works are still available.

[1] Preface to the Translation of the *Arthaśāstra* by R. Sham Sastry.

[2] On *Raghu.*, XVII. 51; परेषु 66 कोशेन and on others.

[3] पवनस्यानुकूलत्वात् etc., *Raghu.*, I. 42 अनिर्वाणस्यदन्तिन. 71 असूययेव तन्नागा IV. 23, अकुश.. वेदिन: 39 गन्ध.... द्विरेफा. VI. 7, विनीत: 27 सुरद्विपा....वश XVI. 3 रणो. .दन्तिन XVII. 70.

[4] *Ku.*, II. 4-25.

[5] *Raghu.*, X. 7-33.

[6] *Māl.*, p. 11.

[7] Ibid., Acts I and II.

[8] Ibid., p. 2.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

BOOK VII

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

CHAPTER XVIII

RELIGION

The Outlook

The works of Kālidāsa reveal a store of data on which a detailed account of the spiritual activities of the people can be built up. Had the poet not furnished us with endless allusions to the spiritual outlook and the religious character of the people, it would have been a common-place error to believe that the people during the epoch when the poet lived and wrote had fallen to a state of utter materialism. But it is here, that the superiority of the Indian life asserts itself. Other branches of the Aryan family, for example the Greeks and Romans, succumbed ultimately to cultural death in spite of their 'Stoics' and 'Philosophers', whereas the Hindu Aryans despite their wealth and wine, art and luxury, have lived with their store of spiritual knowledge to this day. Most of their beliefs and superstitions, philosophy and rational speculations have survived along with their religious and social institutions. Below we shall attempt to give an account of the religious activities of the people as disclosed in the writings of Kālidāsa.

Pantheon

The people were god-fearing and righteous. Temples of the Brahmanical gods and goddesses abounded in the land and the drift from the Vedic to the Puranic worship had been completed. Now this trait on the whole is of the poet's own times; and in view of the frequent references to the Hindu pantheon and the innumerable images, as also to the Puranic outlook on the religious life, we may safely conclude that although Kālidāsa is describing ancient times, he in most incidents is giving an account of contemporary India. Everywhere in the writings of the poet one gets the impression of the prevalence of the Puranic faith, although the culture of the Upaniṣadic thought and of the systems of philosophy does not seem to have been in any way the less known. The Puranic pantheon had been almost completed wherein the Vedic gods had been reborn. The earlier gods had assumed new names and associations. Their nomenclature had grown to enormous dimensions. Their preponderant number had already suggested to the Purāṇas and to Kālidāsa through them the idea of an 'army of gods' (*'devasenā*)[1].

[1] ., VII. 1; *Ku.*, II. 52.

Vedic and Puranic

The following (Vedic) gods (*devas*,[1] *divaukasaḥ*)[2] with their various names have been referred to by the poet: Indra[3], Agni[4], Varuṇa[5] Sūrya[6], Yama[7], Tvaṣṭā[8], Dyāvā Pṛthivī[9], the Rudras[10] and Viṣṇu[11]. Of these, as we shall see below, all, except Agni and Dyāvā Pṛthivī, have been described with the later Puranic imprint on them. They are no more the anthropomorphic features of nature and have already become personal gods to their respective devotees. Of these Viṣṇu is no more a phase of Sūrya but his all-powerful Puranic successor who incarnates himself among such leaders and heroes of men as Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, and Buddha. Of the new advents to the older pantheon the following have been named: Brahmā[12], Viṣṇu[13], Śiva[14], and their composite form of Trimūrti[15], Kubera[16], Skanda[17], Śeṣa[18], Jayanta[19], Lāṅgalī[20], Madana[21] and the Lokapālas[22].

Goddesses

Of the Vedic goddesses only Śacī[23], the consort of Indra, Sarasvatī[24] (or Bhāratī[25]) and Pṛthivī (jointly with Dyāvā[26]) are mentioned. But these also have been amply coloured by Puranic notions, and when looked at through their Vedic traits, they can hardly be recognized. Sarasvatí and Bhāratī, unlike their Vedic prototypes[27], are not two distinct goddesses; the latter instead has been made

[1] *Ku.*, VII. 35.
[2] Ibid., II. 1. VII. 92.
[3] *Raghu.*, II. 50, 42, 74, III. 23, 38, 39, 42, 43, 44, 46, 49, 53, 62, 64, IV. 3, 28, IX. 24, XVII. 81. *Ku.*, II. 1, 23, etc.
[4] *Raghu.*, X. 50, 51, I. 6, V. 25; *Śāk.*, VI. 30.
[5] *Raghu.*, IX. 6, 24, XVII. 81; *Ku.*, II. 23.
[6] *Vik.*, pp. 11, 26, 86; *Ku.*, VIII. 41, 42, 43, 44; *Rtu.*, I. 16; *Śāk.*, p. 18, VI. 30.
[7] *Raghu.*, II. 62, IX. 6, 24, XVII. 81; *Ku.*, II. 23.
[8] *Ku.*, VII. 41; *Raghu.*, VI. 32.
[9] *Raghu.*, X. 54.
[10] *Ku.*, II. 26; *Raghu.*, II. 54.
[11] *Māl.*, V. 2; *Raghu.*, III. 27, 49, IV. 27, VI. 49, VII. 13, 35, X. 9, 18, 6-35, XI. 86; XXVIII. 8; *Ku.*, III. 13; *M. P.*, 15, 46; *M. U.*, 47.
[12] *Raghu.*, V. 36, *Ku.*, I. 1, II. 3, 4-15.
[13] Vide above.
[14] *Raghu.*, I. 1, II. 35, 36, 38, 44, III. 49, XI. 13, XVIII. 24; *Ku.*, I. 57, II. 57, 60, III. 17, 65-70, V. 77-81, VI. 16-24, 26, 75-77; *Śāk.*, I. 1; *Vik.*, I. 1; *Māl.*, I. 1, etc.
[15] *Ku.*, II. 4.
[16] *Raghu.*, V. 26, 28, IX. 24, 25, XIV. 20, XVI. 10, XVII.81; *Ku.*, II. 22,23, III. 25; *M.P.*, 7.
[17] *Raghu.*, II. 36, 37; *Ku.*, II. 52; *M.P.*, 43, 45.
[18] *Raghu.*, X. 13, 7.
[19] Ibid., III. 23, VI. 78.
[20] *M. P.*, 49.
[21] *Ku.*, III. 22, II. 64, III. 10, 21, 23, VII. 92, etc.
[22] *Raghu.*, II. 75; *Ku.*, VII. 45.
[23] *Raghu.*, III. 13, 23.
[24] Ibid., IV. 6; VI. 29; *Ku.*, VII. 90.
[25] *Raghu.*, X. 36.
[26] Ibid., X. 54.
[27] *Cf.*, *Ṛgveda*, I. 3, 10, 11, 12; I. 22, 10.

identical with the former and both denote the goddess of learning[1]. The Puranic goddesses preponderate during this age and have been named as follows: Lakṣmī[2] Pārvatī[3] and the Seven Mothers (Mātaraḥ[4]).

Semi-Gods and Goddesses

A number of semi-gods like the Gandharvas[5], Yakṣas[6], Kinnaras[7], Kiṁpuruṣas[8] or Aśvamukhyas[9], Puṇyajanas[10], Vidyādharas[11] and Siddhas[12] have either made their appearances anew or have been reborn from their Vedic predecessors. The feminine counterparts of the Siddhas[13] are on record. Of these those of the Gandharvas have been named as the Apsarasaḥ[14] or Surāṅganās[15].

Deification of Animals and Rivers, etc.

Kālidāsa has referred to that phase of the popular religion also in which the deification of animals and inanimate objects becomes a marked feature. Thus Vṛṣa[16] (the bull or Nandi) the vehicle of Śiva, Garuḍa[17] (the eagle), the vehicle of Viṣṇu, Śeṣa[18] (the thousand-headed serpent) the couch of Viṣṇu, and Siṁha[19] (the lion), the vehicle of Pārvatī, the consort of Śiva, are all deified objects. The cow[20] likewise has been sanctified and is endowed with divine qualities. She[21] and the lion[22] speak the human language at will. Nandī keeps guard over the entrance to Śiva's abode[23]. Airāvata[24], the vehicle of Indra, is also mentioned. Rivers also have been deified and Gaṅgā and Yamunā become the bearers[25] of the fly-whisks of important gods. The Sarasvatī[26] of the Brahmāvatta is also simi-

[1] Cf. *Raghu.*, IV. 6; *Ku.*, VII. 90.
[2] *M. P.*, 32; *Raghu.*, IV. 5, X. 8, etc.
[3] *Ku.*, V. 6-29, VI. 80, 81, VIII. 18, 78, *Raghu*, I. 1, *M. P.*, 36, 44, etc.
[4] *Ku.*, VII. 38, 39.
[5] *Raghu.*, V. 53; *Ku.*, VII. 48, etc.
[6] *Ku.*, VI, 39; *M. P.*, 1 and later etc.
[7] *Raghu.*, VIII. 64; *Ku.*, I. 8, 11, 14, VI. 39; *M. P.*, 56.
[8] *Ku.*, I. 14.
[9] Quoted *ante*.
[10] *Raghu.*, IX. 6.
[11] *Raghu.*, II. 60; *Ku.*, I. 4.
[12] *Ku.*, I. 5; *M. P.*, 45.
[13] *M. P.*, 45.
[14] *Vik.*, I. II. III; *Raghu.*, VII. 53, etc.
[15] *Raghu.*, VI. 27, etc.
[16] *Raghu.*, II. 35, 36; *Ku.*, III. 41, VII. 37, 49, etc.
[17] *Raghu.*, X. 13, etc.
[18] *Śāk.*, V; *Raghu.*, X. 7, 13.
[19] *Raghu.*, II. 35, before and after.
[20] Ibid., I. 75-81, II.
[21] Ibid., II. 61.
[22] 34-40, 47-51, 52.
[23] *Ku.*, III. 41.
[24] *Raghu.*, III. 55.
[25] *Ku.*, VII. 42.
[26] *M. P.*, 49.

larly deified. The three together make up the sacred confluence called Triveṇī[1].

Demonology

The enemies of gods are no less prolific in number, and just as the number of the Puranic gods has multiplied so has also grown that of the demons (*daityas*[2], *suradviṣas*)[3], for without the creation of important terrifying traits of the latter, the greatness of the former could have hardly been possible to extol. Rāvaṇa[4], Kāliyā[5], and Lavaṇa[6] have therefore been alluded to. Rāhu[7] and Ketu[8], represented by two evil planets, have also been classed among the demons after the manner of the Purāṇas. Śiva has his following made up of the Gaṇas[9] who belong to the class of spirits. So also are the yoginīs[10] making up the following of Pārvatī, the consort of Śiva. An apparition has been metioned in the *Śākuntala*[11] possessing the Vidūṣaka while he himself remaining invisible.

A class of gods the spirits of the forest, Vanadevatā[12], evidently benign, have been alluded to. Pitṛs[13] or the manes, the deceased ancestors, also figure among the gods and so do the Seven Sages, the Saptarṣis[14] or Brahmarṣis[15]. Ancient historical and mythological personages and heroes like Paraśurāma[16], Kārttavīryārjuna,[17] Sagara[18], Yayāti,[19] Dilīpa[20], Raghu[21], Aja and such others figure as endowed with almost divine powers.

Some of the important gods, goddesses, both Vedic and Puranic, and other superhuman characters may be treated with a special reference below.

Indra

Indra had been the most powerful god[22] in the pantheon of the *Ṛgveda* but later on he was superseded by younger gods of the Puranic pantheon of whom Viṣṇu and Śiva became the ruling deities. Kālidāsa refers to Indra usually with

[1] *Raghu.*, XIII. 54-58.
[2] Ibid., X. 12 etc.
[3] Ibid., 15 etc.
[4] Ibid, XII. 51, 55, etc ; *M. P.*, 58, etc.
[5] *Raghu.*, VI. 49.
[6] Ibid., XV. 17.
[7] Ibid., II. 39.
[8] Ibid.
[9] *Ku.*, VII. 36, 40, etc.
[10] *Raghu.*, XI. 5.
[11] अदृष्टरूपेण केनापि सत्त्वेनातिक्रम्य *Śāk.*, p. 223; cf. *Raghu.*, XI. 16.
[12] *Ku.*, VI. 39, VII. 38, 40.
[13] *Raghu.*, I. 66, 67, 69, 71, V. 8, etc.
[14] *Ku.*, I. 16, VI. 3, 6, 7, 3-12; *Raghu.*, X. 63, etc.
[15] *Raghu.*, X. 63.
[16] Ibid., XI. 68, 61-68; *M. P.*, 5[illegible].
[17] *Raghu.*, VI. 38.
[18] *Śāk.*, III.
[19] *Māl.*, p. 102.
[20] *Raghu.*, I. II. III.
[21] Ibid., III, IV.
[22] 250 hymns have been addressed to him cf. *Vedic Mythology*, p. 59.

regard to ancient narratives[1]. It would appear that during his time this god had ceased to be worshipped except on the occasion of the first appearance of the rainbow[2] and on that of a sacrifice[3]. According to the Puranic mythology an earthly king performing a hundred sacrifices attained to the office of Indra but the latter would not permit him to complete the number hundred and would thus save his exclusive designation of the *Śatakratu* which idea the poet reiterates through his use of the phrase[4]. This is why we find Indra stealing away the horse[5] consecrated for the Rājasūya by a king who has already performed ninety-nine sacrifices. Yet a number of names has been given to the god evidently in pursuance of the Puranic mytholoy, viz., Vajrī, Puruhūta[6], Śatakratu[7], Vṛtraśatru, Vajrapāṇi[8], Purandara[9], Surendra[10], Śakra[11], Parvatapakṣaśātana[12], Hari[13], Maghavā[14], gotrabhid[15], Vāsava[16], Viḍaujā[17], Sureśvara[18], Prācīnabarhī[19], Turāsāha[20], Sahasranetra[21]. In the Gupta epigraphs the exploits of a king have been equalled to those of Indra[22]. His son Jayanta[23] was considered an ideal prince. Agni, another important deity of the *Ṛgveda*[24], is thrown in the background and is alluded to only in connection with sacrifices[25], marriage[26], etc.

Agni

It was expected of a king to receive ascetics, physicians and such other personages in a room (*agnyāgāra*) where fire was kept ever kindled[27]. He has been called *Havirbhuj*[28] for he receives the oblations.

[1] *Raghu.*, III; *Ku.*, VII. 45; *Śāk.*, VI.
[2] *Raghu.*, IV. 3.
[3] Ibid., III. 38, 44, VI. 23.
[4] Ibid., III. 38, 49.
[5] Ibid., 39, 50.
[6] Ibid., IV. 3.
[7] Ibid., III. 38.
[8] Ibid., II. 42.
[9] Ibid., III. 23, 51.
[10] Ibid., 11.
[11] Ibid., 39.
[12] Ibid., 42.
[13] Ibid., 43.
[14] Ibid., 46.
[15] Ibid., 53.
[16] Ibid., 58.
[17] Ibid., 59.
[18] Ibid., 64.
[19] Ibid., IV. 28.
[20] *Ku.*, II. 1.
[21] *Raghu.*, VI. 23.
[22] All P. Ins. of Samudra Gupta, l. 26; Mathura Stone Ins. of Chandra Gupta II.
[23] *Raghu.*, III. 23, VI. 78.
[24] 200 hymns are addressed to him; cf. *Vedic Mythology*, p. 88.
[25] *Raghu.*, X. 50, 79, etc.
[26] Ibid., VII. 20, 24; *Ku.*, VII. 79, 81.
[27] *Raghu.*, V. 25; *Śāk.*, V.
[28] *Raghu.*, X. 79.

Varuṇa

Varuṇa of the Ṛgvedic pantheon becomes a water god (Jaleśvara)[1], but his character as the chastizer of the wicked he retains, although even in the Ṛ*gveda* he is often called a regulator of the waters[2], is connected with oceanic[3] and other waters[4]. He is one of the eight regents of regions and it is in his capacity that the king of Kālidāsa brings the renegade to book (*niyamayasi kumārgapraṣthitān*[5], *pathaścyutaḥ*[6]). In the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta sculptures Varuṇa is represented as riding a crocodile and bearing a noose, *pāśa,* of chastizement. He is a familiar god in the Gupta epigraphical records[7].

Yama

Yama, also called Daṇḍa[8], Vaivasvata[9] and Antaka, has been metioned fifty times in the Ṛ*gveda*[10] and three whole hymns are dedicated to him in the 1st and 10th maṇḍalas. He 'gives bliss to the good and woe to the bad[11]' in the Ṛ*gveda*. This character he retains till the time of Kālidāsa, and as the chastizer of the wicked he is given a weapon like the thorny silk-cotton tree called the *Kūṭaśālmali*. The poet refers to this weapon[12]. Yama in his epithet Antaka, the destroyer, has been referred to in Gupta inscriptions[13].

Tvaṣṭṛā

Tvaṣṭṛā, the Vulcan of the Hindu pantheon, is the architect of the gods. He has been mentioned sixty-five times in the Ṛ*gveda*[14]. He is the precursor of the later Viśvakarmā and is referred to by the poet in an ancient context where the story of *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*[15] is hinted at. Tvaṣṭṛā's daughter Sañjñā was married to the sun and it is said that the god placed the sun on his turning lathe and trimmed off a portion of the bright disc since his daughter was unable to endure the excessive splendour of the luminary. Tvaṣṭṛā used the part of the sun, so trimmed, in fashioning the discus of Viṣnu, trident of Śiva, the rod of Yama, and other weapons of gods with which they destroyed the demons.

[1] Ibid., IX. 24, XVII. 81.
[2] II. 28, 4, V. 85, 6.
[3] I. 161, 14, VIII. 58, 12; VII. 87, 6.
[4] VII. 49, 3, IX. 90, 2.
[5] *Śāk.*, V. 8.
[6] *Raghu.*, Text quoted elsewhere.
[7] All P. Ins. of Samudra Gupta, 1. 26; Mathura Stone Ins. of Candra Gupta II. etc.
[8] *Ku.*, II. 23.
[9] *Raghu.*, XII. 95.
[10] *Vedic Mythology*, p. 171.
[11] V. 42, 6.
[12] *Raghu.*, XII. 95.
[13] All P. Ins. of Samudra Gupta, 1. 26; Eranst. Inst. of Ibid., 1. 9; Mathura Stone Ins. of Candra Gupta II, etc.
[14] *Vedic Mythology*, p. 119.
[15] 106-108.

Rudra

Rudra, to whom three entire hymns are addressed in the *Ṛgveda*[1], is identified with Śiva by Kālidāsa[2]. But it is to be noted that Tryabamka, a common epithet of Śiva in post-Vedic literature which has been used as a designation of Śiva by the poet[3] also, is already applied to Rudra in Vedic texts[4].

Sūrya

Sūrya also belonged to the *Ṛgvedic* pantheon[5]; and his other aspect, that contained in Savitā, has been referred to by Kālidāsa in his word Savitā[6]. He has been given other names like Ravi[7], Bhānu[8], Hari[9], Saptasaptiḥ[10] and Haridaśvadīdhiti[11]. His horses have already found a mention in the *Ṛgveda*[12]. It may be noted here that the worship of Sūrya had been a feature of the Ṛgvedic times but the sun-cult as such, was introduced in India later as a foreign form of worship. The tradition preserved in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*[13] that the first sun temple was built in Sindhu on the Candrabhāgā by Śāmba, the son of Kṛṣṇa by Jāmbhavatī, who brought the Śakadvīpī, Brāhmanas (the Maga priests) to serve as priests to the deity, also corroborates this view. It may be remarked that according to Varāhamihira the Magas should be appointed priests of the sun temples[14]. It is interesting that the specimens of the Sūrya image of the Kuṣāṇa period[15] evidence an absolutely foreign treatment of the god by giving him a dagger, a close-fitting waist-coat and a pair of long Central Asian boots, the last item of dress being specially marked on the Kuṣāṇa royal[16] and military images. Kālidāsa refers to a temple containing an image of the sun-deity and mentions people returning from the shrine at the feet of which, obviously the feet of the image, (*pādamūlam*[17]) their attendance was required. We know that at one time the sun-cult had become considerably popular in northern India, particularly in Kashmir, and specially with the Hūṇas. Several temples of the sun were erected of which

[1] *Vedic Mythology*, p. 74.
[2] *Raghu.*, II. 54; *Ku.*, II. 26.
[3] Ibid.
[4] *Vājasaneyi Samhitā*, III. 8; *Śatapatha Brāhmana*, II. 6, 2, 9.
[5] Ten entire hymns are addressed to him in the *Rgveda*; cf. *Ved. Mytho.*, p. 31.
[6] *Ṛtu.*, I. 16.
[7] *Ku.*, VIII. 43, 44; *Śāk.*, V. 5.
[8] Śāk V. 4.
[9] Ibid., p. 18.
[10] Ibid., VI. 30.
[11] *Raghu.*, III. 22.
[12] VIII. 61, 16.
[13] Ch. 139. It may be remembered that a sun temple standing in Multan on the bank of the Candrabhāgā (Chenab) was actually seen by Huen Tsang. The same temple which was seen by Alberuni about four centuries later was destroyed by Aurangzeb in the 17th century. Obviously it was not the temple built by *Śāmba*, but it may have been one of the reference of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* which the Purāṇakāra may be associating with the name of *Śāmba*.
[14] *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, 60, 19.
[15] Muttra Museum, Exhibit No. D. 46.
[16] Muttra Museum Exhibit Nos. 212 (Caṣṭana) 213 (Kaniska), and 215 (Vema Kadphises).
[17] *Vik.*, V. 4.

the Mārtaṇḍa temple of Kashmir, the remains of which may still be seen, was the most famous. The Kuṣāṇas and the Śakas in general were great worshippers of the sun even though Śaivism gained the upper hand with them also later on. Muttra seems to have been a prolific centre furnishing the devotees of Sūrya with the beautifully finished images of this deity and their several specimens dating from the Kuṣāṇa period are preserved in the Muttra Museum. Kālidāsa refers to the deity as having seven horses, all of the green colour[1] (*haridaśva*) harnessed to his chariot. Seven, sometimes four, horses draw the chariot of Sūrya in sculptural pieces. The images of the Muttra Museum have their chariots yoked to the horses, which manifest a highly animated attitude while flying fast with the chariot. The deity himself is represented as sitting in the squatting posture with a long knife or dagger in his right hand, and he puts on a close-fitting vest or bodice and a pair of long boots in the manner of those worn by the Kuṣāṇas and other Central Asian people, as pointed out above The composition gives easily the impression of an alien method of execution. An indigenous specimen may be witnessed among the sun-images in the collection of the Bharata Kala Bhavana, Benares, where the deity stands or sits on a chariot borne by seven horses and driven by his carioteer, the thighless Aruṇa. The deity bears the figures of lotus on the spread out palm of the hand or on the shoulders. Often he is accompanied with his two wives, Prabha and Chāyā. During the mediaeval period the making of the Sūrya images after the Indian manner became very prolific and we find an endless number of such images both of stone and metal (bronze and copper) finished during the Pāla period. The sun temple of Konarak in the district of Puri is a marvel of the mediaeval age. The repairs of a sun temple almost contemporary with Kālidāsa is the elaborate subject of an important inscription of the reign of Kumāra Gupta[2].

Lokapālas

Lokapālas were a class of eight gods including Indra, Kubera and Varuṇa who were the guardians of directions and who were expected to enter the womb of a queen to impregnate her for the birth of a royal child.[3] It was supposed that the body of a king was formed by the lustre gained from the Lokapālas[4].

Brahmā

Brahmā is one of the principal deities described in the writings of Kālidāsa. He forms along with Viṣṇu and Śiva the well-known Hindu triad called *Trimūrti*. The poet endows him with most potent powers in the panegyrical prayer that is addressed to him. He is called *svayambhū*[5], self-born, four-faced[6], the lord of expression[7] (*vāgīśa*), the creator (*prabhavaḥ*) of all the mobile and immobile

[1] *Raghu.*, III. 22.
[2] Mandasor stone Inscription of Kumāra Gupta and Bandhuvarmā.
[3] *Raghu.*, II. 75.
[4] Ibid.
[5] *Ku.*, II. 1.
[6] चतुर्मुख Ibid., 17, धातारं सर्वतोमुखं Ibid., 3.
[7] Ibid.

universe[1] (*carācaram viśvam*) because of his having thrown the seed on water[2], and the cause of all the three conditions of creation (*sarga*), maintenance (*sthiti*) and destruction[3] (*pralaya*). The three qualities of Sattva, Raja and Tama are said to reside in him, the only existent being (*kevalātmane*) before the creation[4]. He is called the parents, i. e. both the father and the mother, for he is said to have split his body up in a man and a woman for the purposes of creation[5]. He works during the day and sleeps during the night and thus the creation and dissolution are commensurate with his waking and sleep[6]. He is unborn (*aja*[7]). Himself unconditioned by and so immune from causality, he is the cause of all. Himself without a cause, he is the cause of the universe; himself without an end, he is the end of the world; himself without a beginning, he is the beginning of the world; and himself without a master, he is the lord of all[8]. He knows himself through his own self, he creates himself, he is acted upon by himself and ultimately he loses himself in his own self[9]. He becomes both fluid and solid, gross and subtle, light and heavy, and manifest and unmanifest at will[10]. He is the cause of that expression of which *praṇava* is the beginning and of which sacrifices are the actions and heaven is the fruit[11]. He is known as the Puruṣa, transcendent and indifferent, who is conceived as a witness to his own Prakṛtí which is the cause of all attainments[12]. He is the father of the fathers (i. e. the manes, ancestors), god of the gods, beyond all, and the creator of creators[13]. He is both the offering and the offerer, the edible and the eater, knowledge and the knower, the contemplated and the contemplater[14]. In this manner Brahmā has been given the epithets of Dhātā[15], Vidhātā[16], Vedhā[17], Caturmukha[18], and the like. Thus here Brahma of the Upaniṣads has been treated by the poet as Brahmā of the Purāṇas. We shall have an occasion to analyse this panegyric and locate its incidents to their proper sources. Kālidāsa, following the Purāṇas, treats him as the husband of Sarasvatī in the manner of the Hindu sculptors. Composite images of Brahmā bearing a bearded sitting figure (with Sarasvatī sitting in his lap in some) with four heads (*sarvatomukha* of Kālidāsa[19]) and four hands holding

[1] चराचरं विश्वं Ibid., 5.
[2] अमोघं बीजं Ibid.,
[3] Ibid., 6.
[4] Ibid., 4.
[5] स्त्रीपुंसावात्मभागौ Ibid., 7.
[6] Ibid., 8.
[7] *Raghu.*, V. 36; *Ku.*, II. 5.
[8] *Ku.*, II. 9.
[9] Ibid., 10.
[10] Ibid., 11.
[11] Ibid., 12.
[12] Ibid., 13.
[13] Ibid., 14.
[14] Ibid., 15.
[15] Ibid., II. 3.
[16] Ibid., VII. 43.
[17] *Raghu.*, I. 29.
[18] *Ku.*, II. 17.
[19] Ibid., II. 3.

the Veda, kamaṇḍalu; rudrākṣa and sruvā may be witnessed in most of the Indian museums. It is strange that we find no reference in the works of the poet to a temple of Brahmā; nor do we always come across such a temple in modern times. The only known temples of Brahmā are perhaps the late mediaeval temple of Puṣkara and the comparatively recent insignificant one at Benares. It is difficult though to realize the purpose of the images of Brahmā, which are numerous, if they were not installed in temples dedicated exclusively to that deity. Or it may be that some of the temples, as now, contained images of several deities together, and the image of Brahmā may have formed an important item of such collection. Otherwise it will be difficult to reconcile the existence of a large number of such images and the endless references by Kālidāsa to the deity with the absence of a temple dedicated exclusively to Brahmā.

Prajāpati

Prajāpati has been identified by Kālidāsa with Brahmā. This is not unwarranted in earlier literature. The *Aśvalayana Gṛhyasūtra*[1] makes the two gods identical. This sūtra seems to have been followed by the poet in this regard. Already in the Brāhmana literature Prajāpati had become supreme and had received the attributes of Brahmā. The *Śatapatha*[2] and the *Taittirīya*[3] *Brāhmaṇas* make him the father of all gods and the former refers to him as existing alone in the beginning[4]. Even earlier, in the *Ṛgveda* he is addressed a hymn[5] wherein he is called the lord of all that breathes and moves, the god above gods whose ordinances are followed by all, who traverses the atmosphere, and who embraces with his arms the whole world.

Viṣṇu

Viṣṇu, a sun deity of the *Ṛgveda*, is reborn in the Puranic pantheon and has acquired new glory and boundless power. New epithets are given to him, as for example, Hari[6], Puruṣottama[7], Trivikrama[8], Puṇḍarīkākṣa[9], Purāṇa[10], Kavi[11], Caturmūrti[12], Puruṣa[13], Parameṣṭhin[14], Śārṅgi[15], Māhāvarāha[16], Acyuta[17], Bala-

[1] III. 4.
[2] XI. 1, 16, 14.
[3] VIII. 1, 3, 4.
[4] *Ś. B.*, II. 4, 1.
[5] X. 121.
[6] *Raghu.*, III. 49.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid., VII. 35.
[9] Ibid., XVIII. 8, X. 9.
[10] Ibid., X. 19, 36.
[11] Ibid., 36.
[12] Ibid., 22.
[13] Ibid., 6, XI. 85.
[14] Ibid., X. 33, XI. 86.
[15] Ibid., XII. 70; *M. P.*, 46, *U.*, 47.
[16] *Raghu.*, VII. 56.
[17] Ibid., IV. 27.

niṣūdana[1], Cakradhara[2], Bhagavān[3], Kṛṣṇa[4]. Viṣṇu in the *Ṛgveda* is a sun deity, who, like the sun, takes three strides (*vikrama*) across the terrestrial spaces[5]. There his weapon as the precursor of the later *cakra* is a rolling wheel represented like the sun[6]. Even his vehicle bearing the name Garutmad and Suparṇa is mentioned. The later Puranic conception of Viṣṇu's recovering the earth through his measuring out the three regions by three strides during his Vāmana incarnation is thus already foreshadowed in the Ṛgvedic allusion given above. The inferior position of Viṣṇu as a sun deity in the *Ṛgveda* is changed to one of supreme importance in the Brāhmaṇas where he already assumes the form of a dwarf and rescues the Earth from the Asuras in three strides[7]. Viṣṇu of Kālidāsa, who obviously follows the Purāṇas, is one of the most important gods of the later Hindu pantheon and to-day, beside Śiva, he is the supreme deity who is worshipped by the Hindus through one or other of his incarnations. By analysing the panegyrical prayer addressed to Viṣṇu as given by Kālidāsa, we get his following form, attributes and functions: Viṣṇu is reclining on the couch formed by the thousand-hooded serpent[8], his feet resting on the lap of Lakṣmī sitting on a lotus[9], her zone covered by the silk-woven garment[10]. He wears on his chest the gem named Kaustubha[11] and is waited upon by the humble Garuḍa[12]. He is beyond the scope of word and mind[13]. He remains in threefold forms being the creator of the universe in the beginning, afterwards the upholder of it and last of all its destroyer[14]. As rain water, originally of one taste, obtains a diversity of flavours in different lands, so does he, the immutable assume different conditions when connected with different qualities of Sattva, Rajas and Tamas[15]. Immeasurable himself, he has measured out all the worlds; indifferent to all the desires himself, he grants the desires of all; himself unconquered, he has conquered all; himself imperceptible, he is the cause of all the perceptible world[16]. Sages declare him to be present in the heart and yet not near, free from desires yet performing penance, compassionate yet not affected by grief, old and yet not subject to decay[17]. Though omniscient, he is himself unknown; though the source of all, he is self-existent; though himself the lord of all, he has no superior; and though he is

[1] Ibid., IX. 3.
[2] Ibid., XVI. 55.
[3] Ibid., X. 35.
[4] Ibid., VI. 49.
[5] VII. 99, 2.
[6] Cf. V. 63, 4.
[7] *J. R. A. S.*, 27, 188-89.
[8] *Raghu.*, X. 7. The word विग्रह (idol) has been used here.
[9] Ibid., 8.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid., VI. 49, X. 10.
[12] Ibid., X. 13.
[13] Ibid., 15.
[14] Ibid., 16.
[15] Ibid., 17.
[16] Ibid., 18.
[17] Ibid., 19.

single, immutable, one, he assumes all forms[1]; the sole refuge of the seven worlds, resting on the waters of the seven oceans, he has been sung in the seven *sāmans*, and he has the seven fires for his mouth[2]. From his four mouths have sprung the knowledge resulting in the group of the four ends of life, the arrangement of time into the four cycles, and the people consisting of the four castes[3]. With minds checked by practice from the external objects, the Yogins seek him for emancipation, and he full of light abides in their hearts[4]. Unborn, he takes birth; actionless, he destroys enemies; and sleeping he keeps vigilant[5]. Able to enjoy the objects of sense, such as sound and others, he practises austere asceticism; able to protect the people, he yet lives in utter indifference[6]. The ways which lead to supreme felicity though many and differently laid down in the scriptures, it is in him that they all meet[7]. To persons whose desires for worldly enjoyments are completely gone, and who have devoted their hearts and consigned their actions to him, he is the refuge for obtaining absolution[8]. His greatness, which consists in earth and other elements, though perceptible by senses is yet undefinable; he is inferable by inference and the Vedas[9]. Since he purifies a person simply when he remembers him, the remaining functions of sense with reference to him, by this act, do declare their effects (i. e. become at once known[10]). His inscrutable nature transcends all praise[11]. Nothing is unattainable by him. As an act of favour to the people he condescends to take birth and act like human beings[12]. He is the primeval bard[13], (*purāṇasya kaveḥ*). The first and middle qualities (i. e. *Sattva* and *Rajas*) of embodied beings are overpowered by the third quality Tamas[14]. Later he is described as being dreamt by the wives of Daśaratha. They were guarded by dwarfs bearing conches, swords, maces, *śārṅga* bows and quoits (*cakra*[15]). They were being borne in the sky by Garuḍa who displayed the mass of splendour of his golden wings and who on account of his great speed dragged the clouds in his train[16]. Viṣnu is further described as waited upon by Lakṣmī with a fan of lotus in her hand, bearing the Kaustubha gem suspended between her breasts[17]. He is worshipped by the seven sages, who had performed the ablutions in the celestial triple streamed Ganges and who recite the hymns of the

[1] Ibid., 20.
[2] Ibid., 21.
[3] Ibid., 22.
[4] Ibid., 23.
[5] Ibid., 24.
[6] Ibid., 25.
[7] Ibid., 26.
[8] Ibid., 27.
[9] Ibid., 28.
[10] Ibid., 29.
[11] Ibid., 30.
[12] Ibid., 31.
[13] Ibid., 36.
[14] Ibid., 38.
[15] Ibid., 60.
[16] Ibid., 61.
[17] Ibid., 62.

Vedas[1]. He is endowed with four hands[2]. The mount Himālaya has been called Viṣṇu[3] in one immovable form. The pantheists identify Viṣṇu with the highest specimen of all substances and consequently with the Himālaya as the highest of all mountains. It is said that the extension of Hari's glory upward, downward and horizontally curved (*trivikrama*) was at a fixed time only when he took the corresponding three steps and covered all space—but his is everlasting—he covers space without any commencement[4]. Here, it may be noted, the reference is to Viṣṇu's dwarf incarnation. He is endowed with the eight attributes, atomic, etc. (*aṇimādiguṇopetam*) by which he can subtilize or enlarge his stature[5].

Nārāyaṇa

Nārāyaṇa has been identified by Kālidāsa with Viṣṇu[6] "The goddess born of the thigh of the sage, the friend of Nara, is, while returning after she had attended on the lord of Kailāsa, taken prisoner on the road by the enemies of the gods.[7]" Nara and Nārāyaṇa of this reference are originally two ancient ṛṣis. To the former two hymns[8] and to the latter the famous Puruṣasūkta[9] of the *Ṛgveda* are attributed. But in later literature they are usually coupled together as 'most eminent ancient ṛṣis' (*purāṇarṣisattama*,), 'great ascetics' (*tāpasa*) and 'gods and original gods' (*devau pūrvadevau*). Sometimes Nārāyaṇa is represented as god and Nara as the wisest of men. Subsequently Nara came to be identified with Arjuna and Nārāyaṇa with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and in this form they became dual deities whose representation in sculpture is not infrequent. Urvaśi, said to be born from the thigh of Nārāyaṇa in the above reference, flies into the sky, the middle region of her father (*pituḥ*[10]), who thus becomes identified with Viṣṇu whose middle region, as represented through the second stride of Vāmana as well as through the progress of the sun, is the sky. Sky as the region of Viṣṇu has been referred to at another place also where Kālidāsa describes it as *ātmanaḥ* (i. e. *Viṣṇoḥ*) *padam*[11]. Since Viṣṇu as said above, is originally only a sun-deity, the firmament becomes his region as the progress of the sun through the sky is called a middle stride.

Trivikrama

Subsequently elevated to the status of an independent deity, Viṣṇu naturally retained all the poetical conceptions that belonged to him when he was only a form of the sun-god. Hence he came to be called *Trivikrama*, i.e., 'three paced' or 'of the threefold prowess,' an attribute which belongs to the sun. Thus again the ancient ṛṣi Nārāyaṇa having been identified with Viṣṇu, all the attributes and

[1] Ibid., 63.
[2] Ibid., 86.
[3] *Ku.*, VI. 67.
[4] Ibid., VI. 71.
[5] Ibid., 77.
[6] *Vik.*, I. 3.
[7] Ibid.
[8] VI. 35, VI. 36.
[9] X. 80.
[10] पितुः पदं मध्यममुत्पतन्ती *Vik.*, Act, I.
[11] *Raghu.*, XIII. 1.

the poetical conceptions of the latter came to be associated with him.

Mahāvarāha, Bhagavān, Rāma, Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa

Varāha or Mahāvarāha[1], Bhagavān[2], Rāma[3] and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa[4] have all been identified with Viṣṇu. Mahāvarāha, Rāma and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa were all famous incarnations of Viṣṇu of whom the first rescued the Earth from the Daityas, the second killed Rāvaṇa and the last rescued the people from the clutches of the cruel Kaṁsa. Kṛṣṇa is given the Kaustubha gem of Viṣṇu to wear[5] and his Gopāla form also is alluded to in a context where Kālidāsa compares the cloud adorned with a piece of rainbow with Viṣṇu in the shape of the cowherd adorned with a shining peacock feather. Nārāyaṇa, evolved as the Supreme Being during the Brahmanic period, was later identified with Vāsudeva[6].

It will be relevant to survey here the progress of the Vaiṣṇava cult through its Bhāgavat dharma and Vāsudeva cult which has been referred to by Kālidāsa. Vaiṣṇavism with its incident of Vāsudeva worship is at least as old as the *Aṣṭadhyāyī* of Pāṇini[7]. An ambassador of the Graeco-Bactrian monarch Antialkidas named Heliodorus calls himself *Bhāgavata*, i.e., a follower of Bhāgavat dharma, in the votive inscription on the column bearing a Garuḍa capital which he erects in honour of Vāsudeva at Besnagar in the 2nd century B. C.[8]. Later during the times of the Kuṣāṇas themselves most of the Puranic tales regarding Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa take shape and we have in the Muttra Museum a stone slab bearing the carved scene of Vāsudeva, the father of Kṛṣṇa crossing the Jumna with the newborn babe over to Gokula in order to shield the child from the wrath of Kaṁsa. Kālidāsa himself refers to Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa[9], calling him Viṣṇu in the form of a Gopa. He also refers to his peacock feathers[10] and gives his other associates like his brother Balarāma (*Lāṅgalī*[11]) and his wife Rukmiṇī[12]. The reference to Kāliyā and Kaustubha with regard to Kṛṣṇa is also given[13], although it may be noted that the poet while indirectly alluding to Kṛṣṇa in the context of Indumatī's *Svayaṁvara*[14] does not save himself from falling into anachronism. It is significant that Rādhā has not been alluded to by Kālidāsa. Possibly the stories connected with this lady-love of Kṛṣṇa were yet getting shape. It is remarkable that the Imperial Guptas style themselves as *Paramabhāgavata*[15] (*Paramavaiṣṇava*). There is no doubt

[1] Ibid., VII. 56.
[2] Ibid., X. 35.
[3] Ibid., XIXV.
[4] *Māl.*, V. 2; *Raghu.*, VI. 49, गोपवेषस्य विष्णो *M. P.*, 15.
[5] *Raghu.*, VI. 49, X. 10; *M. P.*, 15.
[6] *Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems*, by Sir R. G. Bahndarkar, p. 45.
[7] वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां वुन् IV. 3, 98.
[8] Luders, *List of Brāhmī Ins.*, No. 6.
[9] *M. P.*, 15, text quoted *ante*.
[10] बर्हेणेव Ibid.
[11] Ibid., 49.
[12] विष्णो. च रुक्मिणी *Māl.*, V. 2.
[13] *Raghu.*, VI. 49.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Gadhwa St. Ins. of Candra Gupta II (both 1st and 2nd parts); Ibid., of Kumāra Gupta;

about the fact that during the epoch in which the poet lived and wrote Vaiṣṇavism was a leading cult. Besides their Vaiṣṇava style in the epigraphs, their being worshippers of Bhagavat or Vāsudeva is attested to also by the occurrence of the phrase *Paramabhāgavata* on the coins of Candra Gupta II[1], Kumāra Gupta[2] and Skanda Gupta[3]. There are a number of other votive inscriptions and sculptures of the Gupta times pointing to the same conclusion. A four-armed Viṣṇu figure carved on a panel at Udayagiri is dated in the Gupta era 82, i. e. A. D. 400[4]. An enormous figure of Mahāvarāha (an incarnation of Viṣṇu) rescuing the Earth in the form of a woman and lifting it on its snout dating from the reign of Candra Gupta II may be seen in the Udayagiri cave of Central India. It answers admirably to the poet's idea embodied in his phrase—*bhuvā, mahāvarāhadaṁṣṭrāyām viśrāntaḥ*[5]. The epigraph inscribed on the Mehroli iron pillar of Candra (Candra Gupta II) calls the pillar a flag-staff of Viṣṇu[6]. The great stone pillar of Skanda Gupta at Saidpur Bhitari records the installation of an image of Śārṅgin[7], i. e., Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. Kālidāsa, it will be noted, also calls Viṣṇu Śāṁgin[8]. An inscription recording the erection of a temple of Viṣṇu by Cakrapālita, the Viceroy of Skanda Gupta in Saurāṣṭra, opens with an invocation to the Vāmana incarnation of Viṣṇu. A fifth century pillar of Mandor near Jodhpur depicts scenes from Kṛṣṇa legends like the overturning of a cart by Kṛṣṇa and lifting of the Govardhana. 'Atyanta Bhagavadbhakta' brothers Māṭrivisṇu and Dhanyaviṣṇu are referred to in an inscription of A. D. 483 at Eran as having erected a dhvajastambha (flagstaff) in honour of Janārdana[9]. Jayanātha's gift of a village for the repairs and up-keep of a temple of Bhāgavat is the subject matter of a copper-plate inscription of A. D. 495 found near Khoh in Baghelkhand. In a cave cut in Saka 500 by Maṅgaliśa of the Cālukya dynasty[10] there are figures of Viṣnu and Nārāyaṇa lying on the body of a serpent with Lakṣmī rubbing his feet, and of his incarnations boar and Narasiṁha[11]. The Bhāgavatas have been mentioned by Varāhamihira, who died in Śaka 509 (A. D. 587), as the peculiar worshippers of Viṣṇu[12]. The Daśāvatāra temple of Ellora contains huge images of Viṣnu reclining on the serpent and his incarnations. Thus both before and after Kālidāsa the cult of Viṣṇu was a progressive form of worship. During his own time the cult had made a great headway as may be gathered from the Gupta epigraphical records referred to above and from allusions to it in his own works. Viṣṇu along with Brahmā and Śiva makes up the Trimūrti.

another of Ibid., at Gadhwa; Bihar St. P. Ins. of Skanda Gupta, 2nd part, etc.

[1] Allan: *Gupta Coins*, p. CXIV.

[2] Ibid., p. CXV, CXX.

[3] Ibid., p. CXXI, CXXII.

[4] C. I. I., Vol. III. pp. 22 ff.

[5] *Ku.*, VI. 8.

[6] विष्णोर्ध्वजः V. 3.

[7] Verse 10.

[8] *Raghu.*, XII. 70; *M.P.*, 46, *U.*, 47, etc.

[9] जनार्दनस्य ध्वज.

[10] Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples*, p. 407.

[11] Ibid.

[12] *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, 60, 19.

Śiva

Śiva along with Brahmā and Viṣṇu makes up the Hindu triad. He is a favourite deity with Kālidāsa whom he invokes in the beginning of his works. From this as well as from his frequent references to the deity it would seem that the poet himself was a worshipper of Śiva and a follower of the Śaiva cult. But Kālidāsa, it must be noted, was never a sectarian. As a matter of fact his praises and invocations to Brahmā and Viṣṇu are so devotedly worded that it can be said that he was no more a Śaiva than a devotee of Vishnu or a worshipper of Brahmā. He is a veritable liberal in the treatment of religious beliefs and refers to sects other than Śaivism with unmitigated respect.

From the description given by Kālidāsa we may easily conclude that Śiva was considered a supreme deity. The names and attributes that are assigned to him well bring out his all powerful character. They are: Īśa[1], Īśvara[2], Maheśvara[3], Parameśvara[4], Astamūrti[5], Vṛsabhadhvaja[6], Śulabhṛt[7], Paśupati[8], Tryambaka[9], Trinetra, Ayugmanetra, Sthānu[10], Nīlalohita[11], Nīlakaṇṭha[12], Śitikaṇṭha, Viśveśvara[13], Candeśvara[14], Mahākāla[15], Śambhu[16], Hara[17], Girīśa[18], Bhūteśvara[19], Bhūtanātha[20], Śankara[21], Śiva[22], Pinākī[23], etc. Several temples were dedicated to Śiva of which Kālidāsa refers to a *jyotirliṅga* called Mahākāla at Ujjainī[24], to another of Viśveśvara[25] or Viśvanātha at Benares, and to a third at Gokarṇa. Śiva has been spoken of as the wearer of eight forms, as being identical with the five elements, mind, individuality and crude matter[26]. The worshippers of Śiva who were pantheists in the sense that to them Śiva was himself all that exists, as well as the cause of all that is, held that there were eight different manifestations of their god (*aṣṭa-*

[1] *Māl.*, I. 1
[2] *Vik*, I. 1, IV 65, *Ku*, VI. 76.
[3] *Raghu.*, III. 49
[4] Ibid, I. 1, II. 39.
[5] Ibid., II, 35, *Ku.*, I 57.
[6] *Raghu.*, II. 36, III. 23.
[7] Ibid., 38, *Ku.*, VI. 94, VII. 40, etc.
[8] *Ku.*, VI. 95, *M P.*, 36.
[9] *Raghu*, II. 42, III. 49, etc.
[10] *Ku*, III. 17, *Vik.*, I. 1.
[11] *Ku.*, II. 57.
[12] Ibid., VII. 51.
[13] *Raghu.*, XVIII. 24.
[14] *M. P.*, 33.
[15] Ibid., 34.
[16] Ibid., 60.
[17] *Ku.*, VII. 44; *Raghu.*, IV. 32, etc.
[18] *Raghu.*, II. 41, XVI. 51, etc.
[19] Ibid., II. 46.
[20] Ibid., 58.
[21] *M. P.*, 33-36.
[22] *Ku.*, V. 77.
[23] Ibid.
[24] *Raghu.*, VI. 34; *M. P.*, 34.
[25] *Raghu.*, XVIII. 24.
[26] *Śāk.*, I. 1; *Raghu.*, II. 35; *Māl.*, I. 1.

mūrti[1]), called Rudra; and that these had their types in the eight visible forms, viz, Rudra, Bhava, Śarva, Īśāna, Paśupati, Bhūma, Ugra and Mahādeva. It may be interesting to note that in the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*[2] all these gods with Agni, Aśani, etc. are enumerated as so many forms of the same god. In the *Śatapatha*[3] and *Śāṅkhyāyana*[4] *Brāhmaṇas* they have been represented as eight different forms of Agni. The *Śākuntala* enumerates the following eight forms: water, fire, priest, the Sun and Moon, ether (ākāsa), earth and air.[5] The *Śākuntala* refers to Śiva with the appellation of Īśa, the supreme lord[6]. Presiding over dissolution[7], he is associated with Brahmā, the creator, and Viṣṇu the preserver. Kālidāsa here refers to the religious predilection of his fellow townsmen by beginning and ending the play with a prayer to Śiva, who had a large temple at Ujjain. He is alluded to have taken a deadly poison named Kālikūta at the deluge which gave a dark-blue colour to his neck in consequence of which he bears the names Nīlakaṇṭha, Śitikaṇṭha and Nīlalohita. He is represented in mythology as constantly sporting at the head of ghosts in the cremation ground to which fact Kālidāsa alludes[8]. The following translation of a verse praying Śiva brings out many of his functions and attributes:—

"Īśa preserve you! he who is revealed
In these eight forms by man perceptible—
Water, of all creation's works the first;
The fire that bears on high the sacrifice
Presented with solemnity to heaven;
The priest, the holy offerer of gifts;
The sun and moon, those two majestic orbs,
Eternal marshallers of day and night;
The subtle Ether, vehicle of sound,
Diffused throughout the boundless universe;
The Earth by sages called 'The place of birth'
Of all the material essences and things;
And air which giveth life to all that breathe[9]."

Śiva has been alluded to as being the cause of the creation, preservation and destruction of all things animate and inanimate (*sthāvarajaṅgamānām.... sargasthiḥpratyavahārahetu*[10]). The attribute of the cause of *sargasthiti* also has been given to Śiva in imitation of the usual way in which a worshipper praises his own particular deity, however inferior in the theogony of his religion. The proper

[1] Ibid.
[2] 39, 8.
[3] VI. 1, 3, 7.
[4] VI. 1.
[5] I. 1.
[6] I. 1. cf. I. 1; *ViS.*, I. 1, IV. 65; *Ku.*, VI. 76.
[7] *Raghu.*, II. 44; *Ku.*, II. 77, etc.
[8] विकीर्ण केशासु *Ku.*, V. 68.
[9] *Śāk.*, I. 1.
[10] *Raghu.*, II. 44.

function of Śiva is only the last of the three—*pratyavahāra*, i.e., universal destruction. His image is said to pervade the water[1]. This also signifies the fact of the Earth being submerged under water after the pralaya when Śiva holds sway. He is the very image of the universe (*viśvamūrtiḥ*)[2]. He is called Īśvara, is endowed with the *siddhis* like the *aṇimā* and he wears the crescent on his forehead[3]. The universe is upheld by him[4]. Yogīs contemplate on him[5]. He is the witness (*sākṣī*) of all actions performed in this universe[6]. All the Lokapālas with Indra as their head bow down to him[7]. A verse says: "He whom (the sages) describe in the Vedāntas as the supreme spirit that remains (without space to occupy) after filling the earth and the heaven; he with respect to whom the word Īśvara (ruler), having no other person to denote, is literally true; he who is sought within themselves by those desirous of salvation, who restrain the five winds commencing with prāṇa—may that Eternal one, easily obtainable, through firm faith and contemplation, grant you salvation:[8]" The phrase *vyāpyasthitim rodasī* used in the above verse makes him so great as not to be containable by the earth and sky together. This idea has already been forecast in the famous Puruṣasūkta of the *Ṛgveda* where the deity is said to have encircled the earth from all sides and yet being above, uncontained, to the measure of ten aṅgulas[9].

His Form

Innumerable images of Śiva, both alone and with Pārvatī, his consort, are extant. They were quite common during the Gupta period when both his image and the phallic form were worshipped. Several of those images of his, which do not show the face have locks of matted hair falling from the top of the *liṅga*. There are several such still worshipped at Muttra. A complete picture of a Śiva image is given in Kālidāsa's description of the deity in the context of his marriage in the *Kumārasambhava*. Bhasma (ashes) is besmeared over his body[10] and the crescent serves for his tilaka mark on the forehead[11]. He wears the elephant-hide[12] (*gajājina*). This robe of Śiva is also given to Rudra (his earlier representative) in the *Atharvaveda*[13] where the latter is clad in an elephant-hide (*kṛttim vasānam*—śatarudriya). He uses snakes on several spots of the body for ornaments[14]. He is attended by his merry Gaṇas bearing swords[15] and by gods

[1] *Ku.*, II. 60.
[2] Ibid., V. 78, 78-81.
[3] Ibid., VI. 75, VII. 33; *Vik.*, IV. 65, etc.
[4] धियते विश्वं *Ku.*, VI. 76.
[5] Ibid., 77.
[6] साक्षी विश्वस्य कर्मणाम् Ibid., 78.
[7] Ibid., VII. 45.
[8] *Vik.*, I. 1.
[9] स भूमिं विश्वतो वृत्वात्यतिष्ठद् दशाङ्गुलम् । X. 90, 1.
[10] VII. 32.
[11] Ibid., 33; *Vik.*, IV. 65.
[12] Ibid; *M. P.*, 36; *Māl.*, I. 1. (कृत्तिवासः)
[13] XI. 2, 1.
[14] *Ku.*, VII. 34.
[15] Ibid., 36.

like Brahmā and Viṣṇu[1], and by goddesses like Gaṅgā and Yamunā bearing flywhisks[2]. He rides his bull-vehicle[3], on whose back is spread the skin of a lion[4]. And the way of his *Nandī* wearing golden girdle containing tiny bells[5] lies through the sky[6]. This picture has quite a number of specimens produced in sculpture. It may be remarked here that the poet makes a distinction between Nandī, one of Śiva's gaṇas, and the bull which Śiva rides[7].

Pāśupata Dharma

Here we may, with profit, refer to the Pāśupata cult of Śaivism which played such an important part during the early centuries of the Christian era, which became almost the ruling cult in Śaivism during the days of the Imperial Guptas and of which Kālidāsa was probably a follower. The poet refers indirectly to the cult through his designations of Śiva—Pāśupati[8], Bhūtanātha[9], Bhūteśvara[10], etc. Here we may succinctly refer to the doctrine, and the progress of the cult through the centuries. The principles embodied in the system of Paśupati are three: (1) the lord (*pati*), the individual soul (*Paśu*) and (3) the fetters (*Pāśa*).[11] The whole system has four Pādās, or parts, which are knowledge (*Vidyā*), actions (*Kriyā*), meditation (*Yoga*), and conduct or discipline (*Caryā*[12]). Rudra has already been given the epithet, Paśupa in the *Ṛgveda*[13]. In the *Atharvaveda* Bhava and Śarva are called *Bhūtapati* and *Paśupati* and five distinct species of animals, kine, horses, men, goats, and sheep, are marked out as belonging to the rule of Pāśupati[14]. In the Brāhmaṇas Rudra becomes almost completely identified with Śiva. In the *Mahābhārata*[15] the Pāśupata is named as one of the five schools or religious doctrines. Arjuna desires to possess the Pāśupatāstra which is endowed with the power of destroying the most formidable enemies[16]. Such a Paśupati—Śiva, says Kālidāsa, is a deity 'easy to be obtained by firm devotion and contemplation' (*sthirabhaktiyogasulabhaḥ*[17]).

Kālidāsa refers to the composite figure called *Ardhanārīśvara*[18] represented by Śiva with Pārvatī on his right. Such images are quite innumerable in the Hindu

[1] Ibid., 43.
[2] Ibid., 42.
[3] Ibid., 37, 49.
[4] *Ku.*, VII. 37.
[5] Ibid., 49.
[6] खे खेलगामी, Ibid.
[7] *Ku.*, VII. 37, III. 41.
[8] Ibid., VI. 95; *M. P.*, 36.
[9] *Raghu.*, II. 58.
[10] Ibid., 46.
[11] Bhandarkar: *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism*, etc., p. 177.
[12] Ibid.
[13] I. 115, 9.
[14] XI. 2, 9.
[15] Śānti P. (Nārāyaṇīya), Ch. 349. 64.
[16] Chs. 38-40.
[17] *Vik.*, I. 1.
[18] *Raghu.*, I. 1. etc.

pantheon of the Gupta times. The god, fond of music and dancing and being their generator, is represented as dancing[1].

Trimūrti

The conception of the Trimūrti, the Hindu triad, is a compromise. It is a unity in diversity and it marks a drift from the pantheistic outlook to the monotheistic one. We have seen in the foregoing pages that each of the deities, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, is all-potent in his sphere and to his devotee. But Trimūrti is a composite picture where the functions and attributes of all of them have fused. As a matter of fact the prayers addressed and the attributes assigned to each of them have in themselves the necessary elements which made for a unified character. Kālidāsa's idea that individual gods are nothing but several aspects of the same god also refers to the same idea. Here we must note that the catholic character of the poet's treatment of popular religion must have gone a long way to keep down the jarring tendencies of the followers of different sects of later days. It is interesting to note that the exploits of the family of Raghu in which those of Rama (Visnu) are the most important, open with an invocation to Śiva while the *Kumārasambhava*, which is a story of Śiva, contains an elaborate prayer to Brahmā[2]. This method of Kālidāsa has been carried on by Tulasídāsa in his *Rāmacaritamānasa* which also, being a narrative of the exploits of Visnu through his incarnation of Rāma, opens with a prayer to Śiva.

Skanda

Skanda, the god of war and the commander-in-chief of the celestial armies[3], is the same as Kārttikeya and Kumāra. He is also called Śaravaṇabhava[4] or Śarajanma[5] from the myth that he was born among reeds. He had a temple dedicated to him on the Devagiri hill[6]. He is generally represented in sculpture with six faces and as mounted upon a peacock. Kālidāsa has taken note of his form[7] which is reproduced by a Gupta sculptor, the figure now lying in the Muttra Museum. It is significant that Patañjali makes a reference[8] to the worship of this god and that a few coins of Kaniṣka show on their reverse figures with names. in Greek letters of Skando, Mahāseno, Komaro, and Bizago[9]. A Gupta inscription of A. D. 414 records the building of a *Pratolī* or gallery by one Dhruvaśarman in the temple of Svāmi Mahāsena at Bilsad[10].

[1] *M. P.*, 36.
[2] II. 4-16.
[3] सेनानी *Raghu.*, II. 37, गोप्तार सुरसैन्याना *Ku.*, II. 52; रक्षाहेतोः. . . .चमूनाम् *M. P.*, 43: *Raghu.*, VII. 1.
[4] *M. P.*, 45.
[5] *Raghu.*, III. 23.
[6] *M. P.*, 43-45.
[7] मयूरपृष्ठाश्रयिणा गुहेन *Raghu.*, VI. 4; cf. also *M. P.*, 44.
[8] V. 3. 99.
[9] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX. p. 385.
[10] Ibid., p. 395.

Kubera

Kubera, the lord of Alakā[1], is a lokapāla, the guardian deity of the northerly direction which consequently derives the name *Kauverīm*[2] from him. His name is expressive of deformity. In sculpture he is represented as a typical *bania* or banker sitting with a protruding belly and deformed shoulders holding a purse in his hand. Several images of this deity are preserved in the Muttra Museum. His worship had become considerably popular and this is why we come across references to him in the Gupta epitaphs[3]. Kālidāsa also alludes to him frequently[4].

Seṣanāga

Seṣanāga was a mythical serpent, the personification of eternity and king of the nāgas. His body formed the couch of Viṣṇu, reposing on the waters of chaos, whilst his thousand hoods were the god's canopy. A number of images of this deity in this form are extant. He is also supposed to be supporting the earth on one of his hoods.

Seven Mothers

The Seven Mothers have been alluded to in the phrase *mātaraḥ*[5]. They are enumerated in the *Amarakośa* as the following: Brāhmī, Māheśvarī, Kuamārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Varāhī, Indrāṇī and Cāmuṇḍā[6] A row of the Saptamātṛkas in low skirts is carved in high relief on a Muttra stone of the Kuṣāṇa period. A similar row is to be met with in cave No. 14 of the Ellora cave temples. We have a reference to them along Skanda in a Gupta inscription[7].

Umā

Umā[8], the consort of Śiva, has been referred to by the poet under several names like Pārvatī[9], Ambikā[10], Bhavānī[11], Gaurī[12], etc. Her usual vehicle is the lion.

Kālī

Kālī[13], the destructive counterpart of Mahākāla Śiva, wears a necklace

[1] *M. P.*, 1 *Vik.*, I. 4.
[2] *Raghu.*, IV. 66.
[3] Allahabad Pillar Ins. of Samudra Gupta, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III., line 26; Eran Stone Ins. of Samudra Gupta, l. 9; Mathura Stone Ins. of Candra Gupta II; Bhitari Stone Pillar Ins. of Skanda Gupta.
[4] *Raghu.*, V. 26, 28, IX. 24, 25, XIV. 20, XVI. 10, XVII. 81; *Ku.*, II. 22; *M. P.*, 7; *Vik.*, I. 4.
[5] *Ku.*, VII. 38.
[6] ब्राह्मी माहेश्वरी चैव कौमारी वैष्णवी तथा ।
वाराही च तथेंद्राणी चामुण्डा सप्तमातरः ॥
[7] Bihar Stone Pillar Ins. of Skanda Gupta, l. 9.
[8] *Ku.*, I. 43, III. 58, 62, etc.
[9] Ibid., I. 26, V. 1, VI. 80; *Raghu.*, I. 1, etc.
[10] *Ku.*, VIII. 18, 78, etc.
[11] *M. P.*, 36, 44.
[12] *Ku.*, V. 50, VII. 95.
[13] Ibid., VII. 39.

of human sculls[1]. She cannot be identified either with Umā or with one of the Saptamātṛkas as she is mentioned distinctly as one of the train of Śiva[2] before his marriage following him after the divine Mothers[3].

Sacī

Sacī or Indrāṇī is the wife of Indra and is invoked at the beginning of a Hindu marriage to preside over the ceremony as she is considered a wife remaining in perpetual coverture.

Gaṅgā and Yamunā

Gaṅgā and Yamunā had already become goddesses and Kālidāsa mentions them as the fly-whisk bearing attendants[4] of Śiva. It may be noted that their representation as chouri-bearers of gods or as auspicious decorative patterns carrying water-pots and standing on the crocodile and the tortoise, the symbols of the aquatic animals predominating in the Ganges and Jumna respectively, were not infrequent during the Kusāna and Gupta times. Gaṅgā is supposed to have been generated from the toe of Viṣnu[5].

Sarasvatī

Sarasvatī or Bhāratī, the consort of Brahmā, is the goddess of speech and learning and the patroness of arts and sciences. She holds a vīṇā in her images.

Lakṣmī

Laksmī[6] to whom several references are made is the consort of Viṣnu and is represented in sculpture as massaging the feet of her lord reclining under the hood of Śeṣa. A complete picture of this pose has been given by Kālidāsa where she sits on a lotus, her silken robe having covered her girdle and Viṣnu's feet lying on her lap[7].

Pitṛs and Ṛṣis

Pitṛs have also been alluded to as semi gods receiving oblations[8]. These are the deceased ancestors. The primeval sages—Bhṛgu, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Aṅgiras, Marīci, Daksa, Atri and Vasiṣtha according to the *Viṣnu Purāna*— are only seven[9] in references by the poet. Kālidāsa follows the traditional number in this regard. They have been already numbered seven the *Ṛgveda*[10]. There

[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid.
[3] cf. Ibid., 38-39.
[4] *Ku.*, VII. 42.
[5] Ibid., VI. 70.
[6] *Raghu.*, VI. 58, IX. 16, IV. 5; *M. P.*, 32, etc.
[7] *Raghu.*, X. 8.
[8] Ibid., I. 66, 67, 69, 71, V. 8; *Śāk.*, VI. 25.
[9] *Raghu.*, X. 63; *Ku.*, I. 16.
[10] IV. 42, 8.

they are associated with gods[1], and are called divine[2]. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* gives each a name[3] and so also does the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*[4]. The present belief which makes them stars—the Ursa Major—is already conceived in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, which calls them the constellation of the Great Bear[5]. In the story furnished by Kālidāsa the Saptarṣis beg the hand of Umā from her father for Śiva[6].

Vidyādharas

The Vidyādharas, Kinnaras or Kiṁpurusas, Puṇyajanas, Yakṣas, Siddhas and Gaṇas have been treated by the poet as endowed with divine powers which may reflect the popular belief. The Vidyādharas were supposed to haunt the highest peaks of the Himalayas. Their *belles* are said to have written love letters on the birch leaves with geru[7]. Later, King Harṣa makes a Vidyādhara the hero of his *Nāgānanda*.

Kinnaras

Kinnaras were supposed to possess a human head and the body of a horse. Such specimens in sculpture are preserved in the Muttra Museum. Another kind of them was that which bore the head of a horse and the body of a human being. Females of this type have been alluded to by Kālidāsa in his phrase *aśvamukhyaḥ*[8] The *Aśvamukhī Jātaka* contains a story of such a being which finds itself carved on many a railing pillar of the Kuṣāna times. Like Gandharvas, they are also described as celestial minstrels[9]. They are otherwise called Kiṁpuruṣas.

Puṇyajanas

Puṇyajanas, a similar kind of demigods, have been mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*[10] along with the Gandharvas, Apsaras, Sarpas, Devas and Pitaras.

Yakṣas

Yakṣas attended on Kubera, the lord of wealth, residing in Alakā. A detailed and fanciful description of their living and habitat is given by the poet in the later part of his *Meghadūta*. A regular Yakṣa cult seems to have developed as early as the Mauryan period and numerous extant images of the Yaksas support the view that their worship had spread over a long range of time down to the Gupta period. It may be noted that the earliest specimen of the Indian sculpture is a Yakṣa image,

[1] X. 109, 4.
[2] Ibid., 130, 7.
[3] XIV. 5, 2, 6.
[4] II. 2, 6.
[5] II. 1, 2, 4.
[6] *Ku.*, VI. 47-88.
[7] *Ku.*, I. 7.
[8] Ibid., 11.
[9] Ibid., 8.
[10] गन्धर्वाप्सरसः देवाः पुण्यजनाः पितरः VIII. 8, 15.

carved in the round, of a colossal height[1] representing the Mauryan period. Finished by Dinna, it may yet be seen preserved in the Muttra Museum. Hundreds of Yakṣa images, mostly carved in the round in all sizes, are exhibited there and they easily impress on the visitor the idea of a Yakṣa cult and worship once current in the religious practices in India. The very fact that the poet chooses for the theme of his immortal *Meghadūta* the story of a Yakṣa points conclusively to the prominent place of this class of demigods in the religious beliefs of the people. They were the ideal in love and we may witness one[2] of the sculptural pieces of the Muttra Museum showing a Yaksa couple proceeding, perhaps to the market place, in a most romantic fashion, putting on a slanting head-dress in the manner of a modern Indian beau, and one of the couple supporting on the hand a bird like the parrot. The Yakṣa seems to have been a symbolical embodiment of the romantic life of the people. The Yakṣī when treated alone in art represents evil desires and passionate yearnings of man under the weight of which the latter is crushed to death. Innumerable images of the Yakṣī stand crushing under their feet the poor dwarfish creature, which is man, crouching under the weight of his own *tṛṣṇā*, the Yaksī.

Siddhas and Gaṇas

Siddhas also, like the Vidyādharas, live on the top of the Himālayas[3]. They are also supposed to be semi-divine and possessing the *siddhis*. Gaṇas are similar inferior deities attending on Śiva[4], and supposed to be living under the lordship of Gaṇesa, the elephant-headed god and son of Śiva.

Theology and Polytheism

The description of the individual gods given above brings in the context of theology to which we may briefly refer below. The existence of numerous gods in the Hindu pantheon of the time of Kālidāsa points to the belief of the people in the doctrine of Polytheism. But although the existence of a plurality of gods does point to Polytheism there is an essential unity running through the endless multiplicity of divinities

Monotheism and Pantheism

In the popular belief the individual gods held sway and in this regard the outlook of the people can be characterized polytheistic but from this polytheistic base there emerges a monotheistic conception, for whenever Kālidāsa praises an important deity, for example Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Śiva, he forgets the rest for the present and makes him the generator, the sustainer and the destroyer of the entire universe. Thus this belief in the omnipotence of one god and the conception of a fundamental unity in all the gods makes for what is called Monotheism. And inasmuch as the poet makes the universe part and parcel of God by making the latter the cause and end of the former, the principle of Pantheism also easily comes to be accepted. The

[1] Parkham Yaksa, No. C. 1.
[2] Plate XIV of *Handbook of Sculptures in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology* by V. S. Agarwala.
[3] *Ku.*, I. 5.
[4] Ibid., VII. 40, I. 54.

principle of pantheism has been suggested in the prayer to Śiva[1] where he is said to cover all the universe, pervade it, and to be yet too large to be accommodated. He is also identified with the elements of nature and is hence called Aṣṭa-mūrti[2].

Monism

Again the Vedantic[3] conception of Kālidāsa regarding Śiva and the point of Śiva being but single (*ekaivamūrtiḥ*) divided threefold[4] (i. e. Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva) directly point to the doctrine of Monism.

Idol Worship

The endless number of gods that we have discussed above were worshipped through their idols[5] (*pratimā*). A very high order of technique in iconography had already developed which had helped to bring into existence the numerous beautiful images and idols of the Mauryan, Kuṣāṇa and Gupta periods. These images and icons were meant to be installed in temples dedicated to various gods. The Gupta epigraphs attest to the existence and to a growing number of consecrated temples and other votive monuments. Kālidāsa himself refers to several temples of gods (*pratimāgṛha*[6]). A Śiva temple at Benares dedicated to Viśveśvara finds mention in the *Raghuvaṁśa*[7]. The famous temple of Mahākāla (Śiva) otherwise known as Caṇḍeśvara at Ujjayinī has been described at length in the *Meghadūta*[8]. The same work refers to a temple dedicated to Skanda[9]. Thus the popular faith centred round the practice of idol worship.

We shall now pass on to other religious practices, the rites and ceremonies like the saṁskāras, sacrifices and anuṣṭhānas, festive occasions, beliefs and superstitions, etc.

Saṁskāras

Kālidāsa refers to various Saṁskāras[10] or ceremonies necessary for the three *Dvija*[11] castes. These ceremonies were supposed to confer on them the rights of a new birth by virtue of which they were termed *Dvija* or the twice-born. Of them the following have been noted by the poet, viz., the Puṁsavana,

[1] *Vik.*, I. 1.
[2] *Raghu.*, II. 35; *Śāk.*, I. 1; *Māl.*, I. 1.
[3] *Ku.*, VII. 44.
[4] *Vik.*, I. 1.
[5] *Raghu.*, XVI. 39, विग्रह Ibid., X. 7, जलजासिगदाशार्ङ्गचक्रलाञ्छितमूर्तिभिः Ibid., 60 etc. We have already discussed the making of images and idols of gods in our chapter on *Sculptures and Terracottas.*
[6] *Raghu.*, XVI. 39.
[7] XVIII. 24.
[8] *Pūrva.*, 33 ff. also महाकालनिकेतन *Raghu.*, VI. 34.
[9] *M. P.*, 43.
[10] *Raghu.*, III. 18, X. 78.
[11] Ibid., III. 10; *Śāk.*, p. 219.

Jātakarma,[1] Nāmadheya,[2] Cūḍākarma[3], Upavīta,[4] Godāna,[5] Vivāha[6] and Daśāha.[7]

Puṁsavana

Puṁsavana is the first of the purificatory rites performed on the quickening of the foetus on a woman perceiving the signs of a living conception with a view to the birth of a male child[8]. Hindus from the earliest times rejoiced at the idea of being blessed with a son, who freed them from one of the three debts, that of their ancestors[9]. The most important and peculiar part of the Puṁsavana ceremony is one in which a grain of barley and two of *masha* are placed on the palm of the right hand of the woman and after pouring a small quantity of cream or curds over these the woman is made to sip and taste the whole while mantras are chanted.

Jātakarma

Jātakarma, natal ceremony, is the fourth of the purificatory rites and the first after the child-birth. It was performed before the scission of the navel string. Soon after the birth of a son was announced the father saw his face and bathing and anointing himself properly, he performed a śrāddha to his nine ancestors and gave to the babe honey mixed with clarified butter. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa gives the details of this ceremony in his *Prayogaratna*.

Nāmadheya and Cūḍākarma

The father performed this rite, but in his absence any one might take his place. Treatises on saṁskāras and prayogas do not make a difference between the birth ceremonies of a Brāhmaṇa and those of a Kṣatriya. The *Nāmadheya* saṁskāra was performed just after the purificatory bath after the natal impurity was over according to Śaṅkha quoted by the commentator[10]. Cūḍākarma was performed in the first or the third year of the child[11]. It was in this ceremony that the bunch of long hair[12] (śikhā) on the crown of a male child was left to grow.

[1] Ibid., III. 18; *Śāk.*, pp. 249, 261; *Vik.*, p. 128.
[2] *Raghu.*, III. 21, V. 36, VIII. 29, X. 67.
[3] वृत्तचूल (चूडाकर्म) Ibid., III. 28.
[4] Ibid., 29.
[5] Ibid., 33.
[6] Ibid., also cf. *Raghu.*, VII and *Ku.*, VII.
[7] *Raghu.*, VIII. 73.
[8] व्यक्ते गर्भे द्वितीये तु मासे पुसवनं भवेत्। गर्भेऽव्यक्ते तृतीयेचेच्चतुर्थे मासि वा भवेत ॥ Śiunaka quoted by the commentator; मासे द्वितीये तृतीयेवा पुंसवनं यदा पुसा नक्षत्रेण चन्द्रमायुक्तः स्यात् Pāraskara quoted by the commentator.
[9] ऋणनिर्मोक्षसाधनम् *Raghu.*, X. 2; संततिच्छेद. . . उपतिष्ठन्ति *Śāk.*, p. 220; also cf. *Raghu.*, I. 66; *Śāk.*, VI. 25; *Vik.*, V. 9.
[10] 'अशौचे तु व्यतिक्रान्ते नामकर्म विधीयते'—on *Raghu.*, p. 42, III. 21.
[11] चूडाकार्या द्विजातीनां सर्वेषामेव धर्मतः।
प्रथमेऽब्दे तृतीये वा कर्तव्या श्रुतिचोदनात् ॥ *Manusmṛti*, II. 35.
[12] स वृत्तचूलश्चलकाकपक्षकैः *Raghu.*, III. 28.

Upanayana

Upanayana[1] was a ceremony performed on the male child of a 'dvija' when he was given a sacred thread to wear and when he was first initiated in the vedic studies. It was thus a ceremony of initiation. The sacred thread has been considered on the person of Paraśurāma as the representative of his father[2] (*pitryamaṁśa*), a Brāhmaṇa. His bow likewise was considered the sign of a Kṣatriya[3] and in his case pointed to his descent from a Kṣatriya mother Reṇukā, the daughter of king Prasenajit. In still earlier times, however, the Upavīta was not the characteristic of a Brāhmaṇa alone, but of the first three classes alike. From Kālidāsa mentioning it as if it belonged to the Brāhmaṇas exclusively, it is quite likely that in his time it had come to be considered fit to be worn, as now in some cases, by the Brāhmaṇas alone. This thread, as described in the *Manusmṛti*[4], could be made of various substances, such as cotton, hemp or woollen thread according to the class of the wearer, and it was worn over the left shoulder and under the right arm. The right of investiture with this thread which conferred the title of 'twice-born' was performed on youths of the first three classes, at ages varying from eight to sixteen, from eleven to twenty-two, and from twelve to twenty-four, respectively in pursuance of the Code of Manu[5].

Godāna

Godāna[6] was the first shaving ceremony. This ceremony differed from the Cūḍākarma in that it was performed when the chin was shaved for the first time. According to the Code of Manu[7] it was performed in the sixteenth year of a Brāhmaṇa, twenty-second year of a Kṣatriya and in the twenty-fourth year of a Vaiśya. According to the description of Kālidāsa, it seems that the Godāna ceremony preceded the 'Vivāha' ceremony by a few hours and that it was probably performed on the occasion of Marriage[8].

Daśāha

Vivāha was the next ceremony, that of marriage. Kālidāsa gives a detailed account of the various forms of this saṁskāra which we have already discussed at length in a previous chapter. Then comes the last that the poet has mentioned. Daśāha. This was the last ceremony performed on a *Dvija* when he was dead. It refers to the tenth impure day after which the Śrāddha ceremony was performed when the final purification was attained. These ten days were counted since the day of death, and so the saṁskāra included all the rites relating to obsequy, or *aurdh-*

[1] Upanayana or initiation in Vedic studies is a subject for which Kālidāsa furnishes enough that we have discussed under *Education*.
[2] *Raghu.*, XI. 64.
[3] Ibid.
[4] II. 44.
[5] Ibid., 36 ff.
[6] *Raghu.*, III. 33.
[7] *Manusmṛti*, II. 65.
[8] *Raghu.*, III. 33.

vadaihikam[1], for example, the final decoration[2] (*antyamaṇḍanam*) of the dead body (which, as the passage—this very painting will be my funeral adornment[3]—states, refers to a custom according to which the dead body was adorned with ornaments and flowers and anointed with aguru and sandal wood[4] before being consigned to fire); Agni-Saṁskāra[5] or actual setting fire to the funeral pyre, after wrapping the dead body with the new white cloth (*preta cīvara*[6]); and finally the rites of the tenth day[7]. It particularly refers to the obsequial ceremony on the tenth day, still prevalent in Kashmir, which is practised in a still more complicated form among the Śivites of Kashmir. *Vallabha*, a commentator on Kālidāsa, however, points out that "Daśāha here denotes a particular ceremony and not the ten days of impurity[8]."

We read of morning purities[9] forming the many rites to be performed in course of the day by a *dvija* as enjoined by the Śāstras.

Fires

Before we proceed to discuss the religious observances, rites and ceremonies it will be necessary to make a reference here to the sacred fire through which all the sacrifices reached gods and with the help of which the ceremonies and rites were performed. The brahmacārī performed his various rites by the sacred fire and the householder offered his daily and other sacrifices with the help of it. It was the sacred fire of which the couple made rounds at the time of the marriage and they were expected consequently to keep it kindled all their life. The poet refers to the various kinds of the sacred fire. In the *Raghuvaṁśa*[10] he alludes indirectly to its three kinds, namely Dakṣiṇā, Gārhapatya and Āvahanīya[11] which a twice-born was enjoined to consecrate and keep up. Manu[12] mentions two more fires, namely Sabhya and Avasath. The second of the three fires was that which the householder received from his father and passed on to his son and from which fires for sacrificial purposes were lighted; the third was that, lighted from the perpetual fire, in which all the offerings were made. A particular room of the house consecrated for this purpose was called *agnyagāra*[13], fire-chamber, where fire was.

[1] Ibid., VIII. 26.

[2] Ibid., VIII. 71; cf. *Ku.*, IV. 22.

On अन्त्यमण्डनम् Āś. alāyana's injunction is as follows प्रेतं स्नपयित्वा नलदेनानुलिप्य नलदमाला जपामालां वा प्रत्तिमुच्य मूलतो हतवाससः पादमात्रमच्छिद्यशेषेण प्रत्यागग्रेण प्राक्शिरसमावि: । पादमाच्छादयेयु: परिधानीयं चान्यद्द्यु. *Grhyapariṣṭhā*, Adhyāya III, Khanḍa 1.

[3] मृत्युमण्डन भविष्यति *Māl.*, p. 45.

[4] *Raghu.*, VIII. 71.

[5] अग्निसंस्कारतत्परा Ibid., XII. 56; cf. Ibid., VII. 72, 57; *Ku.*, IV. 22.

[6] *Raghu.*, XI. 16.

[7] Cf. Ibid., VIII. 73; *Śāk.*, p. 94.

[8] दशाहोऽत्र विधिविशेषो न तु दशदिनानीति Vallabha—*The Birth-Place of Kālidāsa* by Lakshmidhar Kalla, p.

[9] *Raghu.*, V. 6.

[10] चतुर्थाग्नि V. 25, I. 6.

[11] *Manusmṛti*, II. 321.

[12] Ibid., III. 100, 185.

[13] *Raghu.*, V. 25; अग्निशरण *Śāk.*, pp. 125, 156; *Vik.*, p. 60. मंगलगृह *Māl.*, p. 88.

kept always kindled. Every morning and evening oblations were offered to it.

Sacrifices

Kālidāsa describes sacrifices frequently[1]. We have already referred to the horse sacrifice as a means of conquest in a previous chapter. This was of a political nature. In the following pages we shall briefly discuss its religious aspect. Sacrifices were long and short. That kind of sacrifice in which priests sat a sacrificial session was called a *dīrghasatra*[2]. According to the fanciful theory of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the period of time required for the performance of a *satra* varied between a year and a thousand years[3]. *Adhvara*[4] has been explained by earlier writers as a sacrifice in which there was no killing[5]. But Kālidāsa does not seem to use it in this sense as his references allude to the immolation of animals[6] and 'medhya' indeed originally referred to the object which was to be sacrificed. The animal was tied to a post called *Yūpa*[7] and the process of fastening of the sacrificial victim itself was one of the rites of the sacrifice[8]. The poet speaks of villages granted to the śrotriya Brāhmaṇas marked by the abundance of sacrificial posts[9]. Two colossal images of such a Yūpa with an *argalā*, fastening rope, in relief are preserved in the Muttra Museum one of which is dedicated for worship by a Sāmavedī Brāhmaṇa[10].

Avabhṛtha

At the beginning of a sacrifice the sacrificer (yajamāna[11]) underwent an initiatory ceremony called dīkṣā[12]. At that time Śiva was supposed to enter his body[13] and make it as sacred as himself. The sacrificial enclosure was called *Yajña-śaraṇa*[14] and it could not be left by the sacrificer after he had once entered it[15]. The close of the sacrifice was marked by the performance of an important ceremony

[1] यज्ञ *Raghu.*, I. 26, 44, VIII. 30; *Ku.*, I. 17, II. 46, VI. 72; अध्वर *Raghu.*, I. 31, V. 1, VI. 23, XI. 1, XVI. 35; अवभृथ Ibid., I. 84, IX. 22, XIII. 61; क्रतु Ibid., IX. 20, XVII. 80; *Ku.*, I. 51; सत्र *Raghu.*, I. 80; सवन VIII. 75; *Śāk.*, III. 24, cf. also *Raghu.*, I. 82, VI. 38, IX. 21, X. 4, 51, 79, XI. 24, XI. 25, 30. XIII. 37; *Ku.*, VI. 28.

[2] *Raghu.*, I. 80, महाक्रतु XVII. 80.

[3] I. 1, 4.

[4] *Raghu.*, I. 31, V. 1, VI. 23, XI. 1, XVI. 35.

[5] *Vide Manusmṛti*, V. 44.

[6] पशुमारणकर्मयारुणो . . . श्रोत्रियः *Śāk.*, VI. 1; also cf. the use of the Yūpas.

[7] *Raghu.*, I. 44, XI. 37, VI. 38, IX. 30, XIII. 61, XVI. 35.

[8] Cf. *Raghu.*, XI. 37.

[9] Ibid., I. 44.

[10] Q. 13 of J. Ph. Vogal *Catalogue*.

[11] *Ku.*, VI. 28; *Raghu.*, I. 82; cf. *Raghu.*, IX. 21.

[12] *Raghu.*, VIII. 75, XI. 24.

[13] Ibid., IX. 21.

[14] The letter of Emperor Pusyamitra to his son Agnimitra; *Māl.*, p. 102.

[15] Cf. *Raghu.*, VIII. 75, मात्वन्यत्रदीक्षितविमितादादित्योभ्यदियाद्वाभ्यस्तमिवाद्वा Also Baudhāyana, Somaprakaraṇa.

called *Avabhṛtha*[1] (which itself was a short sacrifice). It was performed with sixteen officiating priests at the conclusion of a *dīrghasatra*, and it consisted chiefly in collecting the articles, the sacrificial implements and the refuse of the principal sacrifice for throwing them down in a river after offering oblations to Varuṇa, and in taking the final bath[2].

Viśvajit And Putreṣṭi

Kālidāsa alludes, besides the *Aśvamedha* and the *Dīrghasatra*, to two other kinds of sacrifices called the *Viśvajit*[3] and *Putreṣṭi*[4], the former of which was performed after a world conquest and hence styled as *Mahākratu*. It distinguished itself from other sacrifices of conquest by making the sacrificer give all his treasures away[5]. The *Putreṣṭi* was performed by one desiring a son.

Dakṣiṇā to Priests

Dakṣiṇā[6], the sacrificial fee, was an essential gift to officiating priests made after the conclusion of a sacrifice. The number of the officiating priests had long before become sixteen. Two of them, the Hotā[7] and the Ṛtvij[8], have been mentioned by the poet. The former of these was a term applied to the sacrificer, Yajamāna, also. The latter (i.e. Ṛtvij) was the priest. Dakṣiṇā to sixteen priests would indeed have been considerable. After the Viśvajit sacrifice which Raghu performed his treasury became absolutely empty[9] and he had to make use of utensils made of clay[10] instead of those of gold.

The material offered at the sacrifice was called *medhya*[11]. It could be an animal or other offerings called *havi*[12] (also *svadhā*[13]) or *payaścaru*[14], *khīra* (a preparation of rice in milk and sugar). It was because of accepting the havi that the sacrificial fire was called *Havirbhuj*[15]. The sacrifices were usually offered to Indra[16], whence he was styled as *makhāṁśabhāj*[17] also. Srucā[18], ladle, made of the *Vikaṅkata* wood[19]

[1] *Raghu.*, I. 84, IX. 82, XIII. 61.

[2] Baudhāyana, Agniṣṭomasūtra, Praśna 5, Sūtras 62, 63 cf. दीक्षान्तोऽवभृथो यज्ञः *Amarakośa*. Also a purificatory bath at the close of a great sacrifice, Vide *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, II. 66.

[3] *Raghu.*, V. 1.

[4] Ibid., X. 4.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid., I. 31, XVII. 80.

[7] Ibid., I. 82.

[8] Ibid., X. 4, XI. 25, 30, XVII. 80.

[9] निःशेषविश्राणितकोषजातम् Ibid., V. 1.

[10] मृण्मये वीतहिरण्मयत्वात्पात्रे Ibid., 2.

[11] Ibid., I. 84.

[12] Ibid., 79, XIII. 37; *Ku.*, II. 15, 46, VI. 28.

[13] *Raghu.*, VIII. 30.

[14] *Raghu.*, X. 51.

[15] Ibid., 79.

[16] Ibid., VI. 23, etc.

[17] Ibid., III. 44.

[18] Ibid., XI. 25.

[19] Ibid., XI. 25.

and *araṇī*[1] were respectively the implements by which the oblations (*āhuti*[2]) were offered and the fire churned. *Sruvā* has been explained by Sir N. Monier Williams as 'a small wooden ladle (with a double extremity, or two oval collateral excavations, used for pouring clarified melted butter into the large ladle or *Sruk*; sometimes also employed instead of the latter in libations.)'[3] *Araṇī* is likewise explained by the same lexicon as 'the piece of wood used for kindling fire by attrition.'[4] Kuśa[5], a sharp grass, was also utilized in the sacrifices. The sacrificer during the performance of the sacrifice carried a staff[6] (*daṇḍa*) and sat on a skin[7] (*ajina*). The altar was known as *vedi*[8].

Endless slaughter of animals in sacrifices seems after all to have reacted on the minds of some as we find a reference to a sacrifice free from killing an animal and thus rendered agreeable to the eye[9]. Buddhism also must have contributed its quota in bringing about such ideas respecting life.

Worship

Apart from the institution of sacrifices there were other modes of worship. The act of worship was variously called as *saparyā*[10], *vidhi*[11], *kriyā*[12], *arcanā*[13], *balikarma*[14], *pūjā*[15], and the like. Vidhi also stood for the proper mode[16] of the worship. Kuśa[17], dūrvā[18], unhusked rice[19] (*akṣata*), flowers[20], etc. were the main requirements in worship. *Arghya*[21], a preparation of honey and clarified butter mixed with certain other ingredients, was an offering made to gods[22] and guests[23]. We learn of offerings made at least twice a day, i. e., in the morning[24] as well as in the evening[25]. *Añajalikriyā*[26] was the offering of water made during the daily prayer.

[1] *Ku.*, VI. 28.
[2] *Raghu.*, I. 82.
[3] *Samskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 1274, column 3.
[4] Ibid., p. 86. column E.
[5] Ibid., I. 49.
[6] Ibid., IX. 21.
[7] Ibid.
[8] *Śāk.*, III. 24.
[9] कान्तं क्रतुं चाक्षुषं *Māl.*, I.
[10] *Raghu.*, V. 22.
[11] Ibid., I. 56, V. 76, VIII. 76; *Ku.*, VIII. 50.
[12] *Raghu.*, V. 7; *Ku.*, 73, VIII. 47.
[13] *Śāk.*, p. 117.
[14] Ibid., *Vik.*, III. 2, *M. M.*, 22.
[15] *Raghu.*, VII. 30.
[16] Ibid., 22; *Ku.*, VIII. 47.
[17] *Raghu.*, I. 49.
[18] *Vik.*, II. 12, etc.
[19] साक्षतपत्रहस्ता *Raghu.*, II. 21; लाज Ibid., VII. 25, 26; *Ku.*, VII. 81.
[20] *Vik.*, III. 2; *Māl.*, p. 66; *M. U.*, 24.
[21] *Raghu.*, V. 2; *Ku.*, VI. 50.
[22] *Raghu.*, V. 2.
[23] *Ku.*, VI. 5.
[24] दिवसमुखोचितं विधिं *Raghu.*, V. 76.
[25] Ibid., I. 56; *Ku.*, VIII. 47, 50; *Śāk.*, III. 24.
[26] *Ku.*, VIII. 47.

This was also an incident of an offering made in an obsequial ceremony wherein sesamum (*tila*) was also used along water[1]. The modes of worship were prescribed by the śāstras[2] which were followed[3].

Anuṣṭhānas

We read in Kālidāsa, besides the above, *anuṣṭhānas*[4] and *vratas*[5] or religious rites and observances. Anuṣṭhāna among other things meant the reciting of certain Vedic verses for a certain number of times within the limit of a definite period accompanied by fasts and offering of oblations. It was performed to avert an imminent calamity, to restore a sick man's health or to gain an objective. For its performance generally a part of the house was kept separate. It was called *maṅgalagṛha*[6], and it may have included even the *agnyagāra* about which we have already made a mention.

Vrata

Vratas, religious observances, were commonly observed. Their main feature was fasting[7] (*upavāsa*) during which certain rites were performed. Vrata was broken with a meagre meal called *pāraṇa*[8] when Brāhmaṇas were fed and presents[9] were given to them. Vratas were kept on the fulfilment of a vow, and on certain religious festivals. A woman performing a *vrata* put on a white garment, a few indispensable ornaments and stuck *dūrvā* blades in her locks of hair[10]. The separation from the husband threw a wife into a state of *vrata* and her clothes got soiled and her tresses dry and rough[11]. We read also of a wife observing a vow for gaining the pleasure of her husband[12] (*priyaprasādanavratam*). Some people kept the fatal observance of *prāyopaveśa*[13] which was a gradual death through fasting. It must have been something in the manner of the religious suicide of the Jainas. Kālidāsa very enthusiastically describes the *Govrata*[14] observed by Dilīpa. The veneration of the cow was a marked feature of the poet's days and already she had been made worthy of a reverential round by the scripture. *Asidhārāvrata*[15] was perhaps the act of sleeping on the same bed with a young wife and yet abstaining from the temptation of sex appe-

[1] तिलोदकं *Śāk.*, p. 94; also जलाञ्जलिं *Raghu.*, VIII. 68.
[2] शास्त्रदृष्ट *Raghu.*, V. 76; विधिविदो *Ku.*, VIII. 47.
[3] Ibid.
[4] *Māl.*, Act. V.
[5] *Śāk.*, VII. 21; *Vik.*, III. 12, Ibid., pp. 74, 77.
[6] *Māl.*, p. 88.
[7] *Śāk.*, p. 81; *Raghu.*, VIII. 94.
[8] *Raghu.*, II. 39, 55.
[9] स्वस्तिवायनं *Vik.*, III.
[10] *Vik.*, III. 12.
[11] *Śāk.*, VII. 21.
[12] *Vik.*, pp. 74, 77.
[13] *Raghu.*, VIII. 94.
[14] Ibid., II. 25.
[15] *Raghu.*, X. 41, XIII. 67.

tite[1]. It may also have indicated a difficult task.

Religious Festivals—Puruhūta

We may here make a brief mention of the religious festivals when certain gods were worshipped. The *Puruhūta*[2] festival was observed in honour of Indra on the first appearance of the rainbow. It was held for five days from the eighth of the bright half of Bhādrapada to the twelfth. Kale explains this festival as follows: "Its chief feature is the erection of a post with a flag attached to it. Its size—गजाकारं चतुःस्तम्भ पुरद्वारे प्रतिष्ठिम् । पौराः कुर्वन्ति शरदि पुरुहूत महोत्सवम् ॥ पुरुहूत, पुरुहूतध्वज lit., is he who is invoked by many, either for protection or in sacrifices; Indra, पुरुहूतध्वज, originally meant the rainbow which being the standard of fresh or retiring clouds was worshipped to show honour to Indra, the god of rain[3]."

Kākabali

Kākabali[4] was performed for the safety of a husband living in a distant land. The wife hung up flowers corresponding to the number of days her husband was expected to remain absent. She then threw them on the floor, one by one, to ascertain the number of days that they had passed alone.

Ṛtūtsava

Ṛtūtsava[5] or the great vernal festival was celebrated on the return of the spring, in honour of Kāmadeva, the god of love, who was worshipped with mango blossoms[6]. The occasion was marked with distribution of sweets[7]. This festival at present has become identical with the *Holi*, the saturnalia or the carnival of the Hindus when people of all conditions take liberties with one another, especially by throwing coloured water with syringes and waterpipes, as described in the *Ratnāvalī*. *Ṛtūtsava* or *Vasantotsava* was also celebrated by inaugurating the performance of a piece of drama. The *Mālavikāgnimitra* was first staged on such an occasion[8].

Full-Moon Night

On full-moon days the public (*janatā*) celebrated the occasion by coming out in the open and enjoying the sight of the setting sun and the rising moon[9]. It was pre-eminently a social festival.

Festivals were observed by decorations. The external form of a festivity

[1] यत्रैकशयनस्थापि प्रमदा नोपभुज्यते ।
असिधाराव्रतं वदंति मुनिपुंगवाः ॥ Yādava.
[2] *Raghu.*, IV. 3.
[3] *Raghuvaṁśa*, note on IV. 3.
[4] *M. U.*, 22, 24.
[5] *Raghu.*, IX. 46; *Śāk.*, pp. 189, 912. Māl., p. 2.
[6] *Śāk.*, p. 191.
[7] *Māl.*, p. 48.
[8] *Māl.*, p. 2.
[9] *Raghu.*, XI. 82.

was the decoration of the houses and the city with auspicious articles like *toraṇa*[1], flags[2], made of China silk, and paintings[3], etc. Ayodhya, at the coronation of Rāma[4] Oṣadhiprastha[5], the imaginary city of Himalaya, on the occasion of Śiva's marriage with Pārvatī, and Kuṇḍinapura[6], the capital of Vidarbha, were all well decorated. *Toraṇa* was a row of hanging leaves from a rope tied to posts in front of doors and along walls[7]. It was also constructed in the form of crescent gates, or arches,[8] on roads through which a procession passed.

Pilgrimage

An important religious practice was to visit the places of pilgrimage. A bath at a place of pilgrimage (*tīrtha*[9]) was supposed to wash away sins and to attain righteous merit for the bather. The places of pilgrimage were generally fixed on the bank of some sacred stream, or in the vicinity of some holy stream. Sacī-tirtha, referred to in the *Śākuntala*[10], was such a place of pilgrimage and so were the confluences of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā[11] (*triveṇī*), and Gaṅgā and Sarayū[12]. Kaṇva goes to Somatīrtha[13] (Prabhāsa) in order to propitiate the evil destiny of Śakuntalā. Other places of pilgrimage were Gokarṇa[14], Puṣkara[15], Apsarastīrtha[16]. The bank of the Tamasā was full of ascetics[17] and consequently it was considered a place of pilgrimage. A dip at these tīrthas was supposed to render the soul free from re-birth[18] and the attainment of the status and body of gods[19] possible. At the coronation ceremony of a king water brought from places of pilgrimage was used for his consecration[20].

Popular Beliefs and Superstitions

Let us now describe the religious beliefs and superstitions of the people. A blind faith in superstitions and omens is a weakness of all early peoples, and Indians at the time of Kālidāsa were no exception to this rule. Kālidāsa says that

[1] Ibid., VII. 4; *M. U.*, 12; *Ku.*, VII. 3.
[2] ध्वजं *Raghu.*, VII. 4; *Ku.*, VII. 3.
[3] *M. U.*, 12.
[4] *Raghu.*, XII. 3.
[5] *Ku.*, VII. 3.
[6] *Raghu.*, VII. 4.
[7] Ibid., *M. U.*, 12.
[8] *Raghu.*, VII. 4; *M. U.*, 12.
[9] *Raghu.*, V. 8, VIII. 95, XI. 4, 7; *Ku.*, VI. 56; *Śāk.*, pp. 22, 172, 182, 206, 260, V. 30.
[10] Pp. 172, 206.
[11] *Raghu.*, XIII. 54-57; गंगायमुनयोः संगमे *Vik.*, p. 121.
[12] *Raghu.*, VIII. 95.
[13] *Śāk.*, p. 22.
[14] *Raghu.*, VIII. 33.
[15] Ibid., XVIII. 31.
[16] *Śāk.*, V. 30, pp. 88, 260.
[17] तपस्विगाढ़ां तमसां *Raghu.*, IX. 72.
[18] Ibid., XIII. 58.
[19] Ibid., VIII. 95.
[20] Ibid., XIV. 7.

the throbbing of the right[1] eye foreboded ill to women and that of the left one[2] good to them. Likewise the throbbing of the right arm[3] in case of a man was supposed auspicious and expected to result into something very beneficial to him.

The noise of jackals was considered an ill-omen[4] and the work-in-hand was postponed to counteract the effects of the omen. Likewise the vulture was considered a very inauspicious bird and to auger evil to an army round whose flags it fluttered[5].

Amulets of protection[6] and charms of victory[7] were worn by children and men respectively. A kind of amulet was a sort of locket, containing some herb[8] (*aparājitā*) with supposed talismanic properties and was worn round the wrist as a safeguard against the dangers of evil spirits or the evil eye. Aparājitā is a climber and is botanically known as *Clitoris ternata*. If an undesirable person touched the body of the child wearing this amulet, it was supposed to change instantaneously into a serpent and bite that person[9] (*sarpo bhūtvā daśati*).

It was believed that those who had cultivated the charm or *vidyā* called *Tiraskariṇī*[10] and thus attained the power of remaining invisible, could disappear all of a sudden from the vision of all around them although remaining actually where they were. Raṅganātha explains it as *antardhāna vidyā*—the power of remaining unseen. We read of a particular *Śikhābandhana vidyā* known as *Aparājitā*[11]. "The idea appears to be", says S. P. Pandit, "that they were taught certain charms which they were to repeat and as they repeated them they were to tie their hairs. As long as the tie remained undisturbed they were to be proof against all molestation from the enemies of the gods. Tying certain parts of the body with charms is still practised and with this belief.....The Śikhābandhana may be either tying the hair by collecting into a knot or simply tying a piece of thread round it as round the arm. Bṛhaspati appears to have taught the Apsarases the vidyā in question[12]."

The belief in the lines of the palm as divine writing predestining every happening has been alluded to[13], and we can infer from it that palmistry was a supposed science of current belief. Belief in astrology—in the effect on the fate of a person of the nearness or distance of a particular good or evil star—has been registered[14] by the poet. It was believed that the swan had the instinct of separating water from milk[15].

[1] *Śāk.*, p. 161.
[2] *Māl.*, p. 92.
[3] *Śāk.*, VII.; *Vik.*, III. 9.
[4] *Raghu.*, XVI. 12.
[5] Ibid., XI. 26.
[6] रक्षाकरण्डकं *Śāk.*, p. 248.
[7] जयश्रियः वलयः *Raghu.*, XVI. 74; जैत्राभरणं Ibid., 83.
[8] *Śāk.*, p. 249.
[9] Ibid., p. 249.
[10] *Vik.*, pp. 41, 47, 49, 72; *Śāk.*, p. 189.
[11] Ibid., p. 40.
[12] S. P. Pandit, Note on the passage in the *Vikramorvaśī*, Act. II.
[13] *Ku.*, V. 58.
[14] *Māl.*, p. 71. [15] *Śāk.*, VI. 28.

A passage refers to a general belief of the people in the idea that a miser whose whole heart is set on his treasure throughout his life becomes a serpent after his death and keeps guard over his treasure buried in the earth[1], so that no one can touch it without the risk of his life. The guarding of the treasure is a very old belief and must have originated from the idea that serpents live in the nether regions and treasures also are kept under ground. The *stūpa* of Rampurava containing the remains of the body of Buddha was guarded by serpents of which many representations in sculpture may be witnessed in the Muttra Museum.

It was an established belief that the cobra could be reduced to a helpless condition[2] and made a prisoner within a charmed circle by serpent charmers. It is so even at the present time. Snake-bite was sought to be remedied by the performance of a rite called *Udakumbha-vidhāna*[3]. The details of the rite curing a snake-bite by using charmed water from a specially enchanted water-jar will be found in the passage quoted in the commentary from the *Bhairvatantra*. It appears that something bearing a serpent's image was duly enchanted which, it was believed, acted as an antidote. This is the manner in which the feigned snake-bite of the Vidūsaka in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* is sought to be cured. From the following speech of the Vidūsaka it also appears to have been a common notion of the people that a person who falsely pretended an illness was visited by the fates with a reality of it in retribution, and he is glad that he is fortunate enough to escape the chastizement of pretension after a mere fright: "I think, however, I am punished for the pretended snake-bite[4]."

There were also *Daivacintakas*[5] or fate-tellers who were believed to read and foretell the destinies of people. They seem also to have been attached to royal courts who, under the code of the *Arthaśāstra*[6], received regular salaries like other officials of the State.

It was believed that an adverse fate could be reconciled through propitiation[7]. We read of moving shades of apparitions[8], of houses haunted by ghosts[9] and of persons possessed[10].

It was the current popular belief that subjectively developed powers could work wonders. These powers were termed *siddhis*[11] *aṇimā*, *laghimā*, etc. and through these one could even journey through the air (sky[12]). Power to enter through closed doors was supposed attainable through the pratice of yoga[13].

[1] Ibid.
[2] *Raghu.*, II. 32.
[3] *Māl.*, p. 69.
[4] Ibid., p. 82.
[5] Ibid., p. 71.
[6] Bk. V. ch. 3.
[7] दैवमस्या:. . .सोमतीर्थं गत: *Śāk.*, p. 22
[8] Ibid., III. 24.
[9] सत्त्वैरभिभूयन्ते गृहा: Ibid., p. 223.
[10] संशयगतं Ibid.
[11] Ibid., p. 30.
[12] विहायसा गत्वा Ibid., p. 263.
[13] *Raghu.*, XVI. 7.

Most of the Puranic traditions and mythological legends had got current. Thus the story of Sagara's sacrificial horse and Kapila Muni[1], the birth of Agastya from a jar[2], the birth of the Gaṅgā from the toe of Viṣṇu[3] and her subsequent descent to Earth from Śiva's matted hair through the efforts of Bhagīratha[4] were current beliefs. So also were current the superstitions of a rock-raining mountain[5], the flying mountains[6], the gods moving in the sky[7], celestial women[8], Bali's deceipt by Viṣṇu[9], the rescue of Earth by Mahāvarāha an incarnation of Viṣṇu[10], the birth of Hariṇī in the form of Indumatī[11], the existence of fire in the Śamī tree[12] and such other legends referred to at several places in this work. The Puranic legends had become so current that they were recorded by poets freely and were understood clearly in poetical allusions.

The age undoubtedly believed in the supernatural tales that were made current by the Purāṇas many of which were compiled during the epoch of the poet. Magical incantations and occult rituals were freely practised. In this regard the picture of society painted by Kālidāsa is very much similar to that described by Daṇḍin, the writer of the great romance *Daśakumāracarita*, who flourished not much later than the former.

Attitude towards Life.

The attitude towards life was a fusion of both optimism and pessimism. As a matter of fact, the organization of the Hindu society is based on a synthetic and well balanced arrangement of situations and values and naturally therefore, all phases of outlook are easily discernible in it. The arrangement of the *āśramas*, particularly of the first two—the Brahmacarya and the Gārhasthya—was such as to necessarily fill the holders of these stages with a will to make progressive efforts. And in this regard the attitude of the people may be considered optimistic. It may also be borne in mind that the common people led a happy, merry and contented life. But the fact of the birth being considered a misery from which emancipation was sought, and the belief in the predestination of events and happenings may point to the acceptance of a helpless state of things and in this regard the outlook may have tended to become pessimistic. It must, however, be added here that although asceticism and the renunciation of the world may have been the outcome of such an attitude towards life which the Buddhistic pessimism may have accentuated, yet exertion was an essential and marked feature of the hermitages also. The āśramas themselves, especially the last two, i. e., the

[1] Ibid., III. 50.
[2] Ibid., IV. 51.
[3] *Ku.*, VI. 70.
[4] *Raghu.*, IV. 32.
[5] Ibid., 40.
[6] *Ku.*, I. 20.
[7] वैमानिकां *Raghu.*, VI. 1.
[8] Ibid., 27, etc.
[9] Ibid., VII. 35.
[10] Ibid., 56.
[11] Ibid., VIII. 79-82.
[12] *Śāk.*, IV. 3.

vāṇaprastha and *sanyāsa*, were not a result of disgust and sorrow, but the consequence of a properly thought out project of life in which it was seen that no side of life starved.

Asceticism[1], of course, was considered an ideal state necessary for the attainment of the highest bliss[2] and Kālidāsa makes almost all his kings renounce the world and retire to the solitude of the forest. But there also an intense activity was their lot and function. There the ascetics worked for their own emancipation from the births by spiritual practices and strove to create a good order of things by imparting education to the youth who flocked to their hermitages. Those who ran the *Gurukulas* were the Brahmin anchorites. It was there that they strove to burn their actions in the fire of knowledge (*jñāna*[3]) and practised yoga.

Kinds of Ascetics

We read in Kālidāsa of many kinds of ascetics[4]. They were the *Jaṭilas*[5], *Sādhakas*[6] and *Yatīs*[7] besides those other numerous types not mentioned by the poet. Of these the Jaṭilas were eremites growing long matted hair[8]. Sādhakas were those performing anuṣṭhānas and bent upon acquiring their objective—the sādhya. Yatis were another class of ascetics whose dead body was not cremated but buried under ground.

Dress, etc.

The dress and emblems[9] of an ascetic were distinctive. The dress proper was made of the bark of trees[10] (*valkala*) which was worn even by women[11] ascetics. Śiva is said to use an elephant hide for his dress[12]. Whenever dress made of cloth was put on it was dyed red (*kaṣāya*[13]). The girdle was made of a rope of the *muñja* plant whence it was called *mauñjī*[14]. It was also sometimes made of *kuśa*[15]. The seeds of *akṣa* or *rudrākṣa*[16], as they were called, were made into a string and used as an earring[17], wristlet (*valaya*[18]) and a necklace (*mālā*) and a rosary. Sometimes even crystals were used to make an *akṣamālikā* for the fingers[19]. Skin (*ajina*[20]) and

[1] प्रव्रज्या *Raghu.*, VII. 6; न्यास Ibid., 18.
[2] अपवर्ग Ibid., VIII. 16.
[3] Ibid., 20.
[4] Ibid., 17, 25, IX. 76, बैखानस *Śāk.*, p. 21; *Raghu.*, XIII. 87; *Ku.*, V. 29; *Māl.*, p. 97.
[5] *Raghu.*, XIII. 78.
[6] *Vik.*, IV.
[7] *Raghu.*, VIII. 25; *Māl.*, I. 14, p. 97.
[8] *Raghu.*, XIII. 59; *Ku.*, III. 46, V. 9, 47; *Śāk.*, VII. 11; *Vik.*, V. 19.
[9] *Raghu.*, VIII. 16.
[10] *Raghu.*, XII. 8, XIV. 82; *Ku.*, V. 8, 30, 44; *Śāk.*, I. 17, p. 28, II. 12; *Vik.*, p. 135.
[11] *Śāk.*, I. 17, II. 12; *Raghu.*, XIV. 82; *Ku.*, V. 8, 44.
[12] कृत्तिवास *Ku.*, I. 54.
[13] *Māl.*, p. 99.
[14] *Ku.*, V. 10.
[15] *Raghu.*, IX. 21.
[16] Ibid., XIII. 43; *Ku.*, III. 46, V. 11 63.
[17] *Raghu.*, XIII. 43.
[18] Ibid.
[19] *Ku.*, V. 63.
[20] *Raghu.*, IX. 21; *Ku.*, V. 30.

kuśa were utilized as *āsanas*. The bed of the ascetic was either of the *kuśa*[1] grass or the bare earth[2] itself. A particular class of ascetics called Daṇḍī carried a staff (*daṇḍa*[3]). A kamaṇḍalu also was a necessary emblem of the ascetic. People living in penance groves used *iṅgudī* oil for their head[4] and for lamps[5].

Austerities

Ascetics excelled in the performance of *tapas*[6], i. e., self-mortification. Kālidāsa depicts very vividly the kinds of rigorous austerity which they practised in their *tapovanas*, the penance groves. The descriptions do not always seem to have been given of austerities witnessed and they may have been recorded on the strength of the Purāṇas which are full of them. The description of Marīci in the *Śākuntala* is vivid. The sage had become so completely absorbed in meditation that he was quite oblivious to all that was happening to his mortal tenement in the place where he was sitting. He stayed unmoveable like the trunk of a tree or a pillar. An anthill had grown round him and had buried half his body. Serpents freely moved on his chest and birds had made nestles in the mass of his matted hair[7]. Another mode of performing penance was by sitting in the middle of four fires, the summer sun shining on the head as the fifth[8]. In the *Kumārasambhava* Umā, performing penance for obtaining Śiva as her husband, exposes herself to the appalling heat and smoke of four fires during summer, lies in icy cold water in winter and sleeps on naked rocks in the rains[9]. She puts on a girdle of the *muñja* plant[10] and wears a string of akṣa on her fingers[11]. She living on bare water like trees[12] and wearing barks of trees[13] put the austerities of great anchorites to shame[14] through her own mortification. The penance of Umā may be taken for the type. We have, besides, the reference to a sage living exclusively on *darbha* grass[15], to another, self-restrained in his actions, standing in the midst of four fires constantly fed with fuel while the sun scorching his head[16], to a third with his one arm always kept raised up and the other holding the rosary of *rudrākṣa* on the wrist[17]. Another such ascetic is said to be throwing himself in the fire propitiated with the sacred fuel after having consecrated himself with

[1] *Raghu.*, VIII. 18.
[2] Ibid., I. 95.
[3] स्थाण्डिल *Ku.*, V. 12.
[4] *Raghu.*, IX. 21.
[5] *Śāk.*, p. 200; *Raghu.*, XIV. 81.
[6] *Ku.*, V. 6, 18, 25, 28, 29; *Śāk.*, p. 262.
[7] *Śāk.*, VII. 11.
[8] *Ku.*, V. 20; *Raghu.*, XIII. 41.
[9] *Ku.*, V. 23-25.
[10] Ibid., 10.
[11] Ibid., 10.
[12] Ibid., 22.
[13] Ibid., 8, 16.
[14] Ibid., 29.
[15] *Raghu.*, XIII. 39.
[16] Ibid., 41; cf. 43.
[17] Ibid., 43.

mantras[1]. There were those others hanging from the branches of trees with their heads downwards and their eyes red with the smoke of the fire[2]. In this manner the ascetics performed *tapas* for the realization of their object[3]. It was supposed that as a result of penance one could know and see everything[4] whether past or future, and that the ascetic could punish his offender through *śāpas* (curses). But *śāpa* utilized as a weapon against a miscreant when other means were existent was considered ruinous to tapa[5]. A non-twice-born ascetic had no right to perform penances[6]. In spite of these instances of self-mortification, sane people advocated moderation in austerities and asserted that the physical body was the first and the foremost requisite in the performance of *Dharma*[7] and so it must be kept safe. As a matter of fact, there is an indication in a reference that keeping a moral restraint on the body, speech, and thought was the real *tapas* of the three kinds[8].

Hermitages

Uninterrupted austerities could be practised only in the hermitages situated in the solitude of forests. There the conventional bonds of the society were conspicuous by their absence and harder regulations and stricter modes of religious life were practised. There in the sylvan solitude, nature herself aided the meditation of the ascetics. Kālidāsa gives a graphic picture of the quiet and peaceful life in these hermitages (*taporanas*)[9]. A hermitage could be easily distinguished by the wild rice fallen about from the nests of the parrots[10], by the oily stones used for cracking the iṅgudi fruit,[11] by the deer, accustomed to freedom and love, standing unconcerned on the approach of a chariot[12], by the water dripping from the bark-clothes of the ascetics suspended from the boughs of trees[13], and by the narrow artificial canals full of water washing the roots of trees[14].

Towards the end of the day the penance grove got full of hermits returning from other parts of the forests fetching the sacrificial wood, *kuśa* grass, and flowers and fruits[15]. This function was perhaps allotted to the young sons of the sages[16]. Birds and animals were affectionately looked after[17]. Many a deer was almost

[1] Ibid., 45.
[2] Ibid., XV. 49.
[3] फलोदय *Ku.*, V. 6.
[4] तपः *Śāk.*, p. 262.
[5] *Raghu.*, XV. 3.
[6] द्विजेतरतपस्विसुतं Ibid., IX. 76.
[7] शरीरमाद्यं खलुधर्मसाधनम् *Ku.*, V. 33.
[8] *Raghu.*, V. 5.
[9] *Ku.*, III. 24, V. 17; *Raghu.*, II. 18, XI. 13; *Śāk.*, I. 28, p. 52, II. 7, p. 174; *Vik.*, p. 135.
[10] नीवाराः शुकगर्भकोटर *Śāk.*, p. I. 13.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid., also ibid., 28.
[14] *Raghu.*, I. 51.
[15] Ibid., I. 49; *Vik.*, p. 128.
[16] पुष्पसमित्कुशनिमित्तं ऋषिकुमारकैः *Vik.*, p. 128.
[17] *Śāk.*, I. 13, IV. 13; *Raghu.*, I. 50, 51, etc.

adopted as a son and was given a name[1]. When the deer got hurt by the sharp *kuśa* grass while grazing, iṅgudi oil was applied to its wound[2]. Hermitages were often crowded with the deer blocking the doors of the huts approaching the wives of sages to be fed[3] by them as children by mothers[4]. After the sunset the deer sat ruminating[5] on the *āśrama* ground near the altars[6]. The wild rice (*nīvāra*) was collected and heaped[7] before the huts. The trees of the *āśrama* were regarded as children and were irrigated by the daughters of hermits.[8] Umā[9], Sītā[10], and Śakuntalā[11] are said to have watered these trees with small irrigating jars[12].

Guests

An ascetic was given a hut (*uṭaja*[13], *parṇaśālā*[14]) where a light fed by the *iṅgudi* oil[15] burned at night and a bed of the holy hide[16] or *kuśa* mat[17] was spread out. Such a peaceful *āśrama*[18] was indeed to be approached with due restraint[19] on the part of a guest, for it was a *dharmāraṇya*[20], a righteous penance grove. Polite eremites, who were themselves pre-eminent in the practice of self control[21], received him with regard while the gathering smoke laden with the sacrificial offerings sanctified[22] the new comer. The guest to the hermitage was then duly entertained[23].

Hermitages were celebrated for their life of restraint (*śamapradhāna*[24]) and they breathed a calm and peaceful air. This is why the city when entered by a hermit presented such a contrast to him. He felt as though he had entered a house ablaze with fire[25] or as though the bathed had been touched by the oily, cleanliness

[1] स मे पुत्रकृतको दीर्घापांगो नाम मृग *Śak.*, p. 173. IV. 13. Ibid., IV. 13.
[2] *Raghu.*, I. 50.
[3] Ibid., *Śāk.*, IV. 13, p. 173.
[4] *Raghu.*, I. 52.
[5] Ibid., XIV. 79.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Cf. Ibid., II. 36; *Ku.*, V. 14.
[8] तपस्विकन्यका: सेचनघटै: *Śāk.*, p. 25; cf. *Raghu.*, XIV. 78; *Ku.*, V. 14.
[9] *Ku.*, V. 14.
[10] *Raghu.*, XIV. 78.
[11] *Śāk.*, pp. 25 ff.
[12] *Raghu.*, XIV. 78; *Ku.*, V. 14; *Śāk.*, p. 25.
[13] *Raghu.*, I. 50, XIV. 81, XIX. 2; *Ku.*, V. 17.
[14] *Raghu.*, I. 95.
[15] Ibid., XIV. 81.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid., I. 95.
[18] शान्तं *Śāk.*, I. 14; cf. आश्रम Ibid., pp. 23, 65, VII. 11; *Vik.*, 128.
[19] विनीतवेषेण *Śāk.*, p. 24.
[20] Ibid., I. 29.
[21] *Raghu.*, I. 55.
[22] Ibid., 53.
[23] Ibid., 58, XIV. 82; *Ku.*, V. 31; *Śāk.*, pp. 21, 22.
[24] *Śāk.*, II. 7.
[25] Ibid., V. 10.

had been oppressed by dirt and the free put in chains[1]. Naturally therefore, the conduct not suited to the hermitage was condemned. Violence was detested and considered an unpardonable offence[2]. A rigorous discipline was maintained and the transgressor was readily sent away. A little boy, Āyus, the son of Purūravā, who had aimed at and killed a vulture, was expelled[3] from the *āśrama* by Cyavana despite his young age.

A number of ancient hermitages has been recorded by Kālidāsa. We read of penance groves spreading along the Ganges[4]. The *āśramas* of individual sages mentioned by the poet were those of Vālmīki[5], Vasiṣṭha[6], Kaṇva on the Mālinī[7] Cyavana[8], Agastya[9], Śātakarṇī[10], Śarabhaṅga[11], Marīci[12] and of others.

Religious Cults

Religious cults had arisen long before Kālidāsa and both Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism were flourishing in the land. We have already discussed the Bhāgavata, Pāśupata, and other cults before in the context of important individual deities. Although there are no direct references made by the poet to Buddhism, its existence is warranted by the recordsof Fahien[13], a contemporary pilgrim from China.

Cosmogony

We have already noted the belief in the creation of the cosmos (*sṛṣṭi*[14], *sarga*[15]) by Brahmā, here we may revert to the subject of cosmogony and mark a few more features of it. The universe has been variously called as *saṁsāra*, *jagat*, and by such other synonyms of these which imply a constant change of form typified by the births and deaths. The universe is supposed to be created and destroyed by Brahmā at the end of a *Kalpa*[16]. A Kalpa which forms but a day of Brahmā is equal to 1,000 cycles of human ages, i.e., 432 millions of human years; so long the creation exists. At the end of this period a night of equal duration follows, in which the universe collapses and is turned into an immense ocean, all things merging into hopeless chaos. Viṣṇu, the lord of all, sleeps on his Śeṣa on the surface of water till the break of the morn, when the universe is created again, and a new Kalpa begins. It is supposed that Viṣṇu in the form of an immense boar

[1] Ibid., 11.
[2] आश्रमविरुद्धवृत्तिना *Śak.*, VII. 18; cf. *Vik.*, pp. 128-129.
[3] निर्यातमैनमुर्वशीहस्ते न्यासमिति Ibid., p. 129.
[4] *Raghu.*, XIV. 28.
[5] Ibid., 75-82.
[6] Ibid., I. 35, 48 ff.
[7] *Śāk.*, p. 21.
[8] *Vik.*, pp. 128-129.
[9] *Raghu.*, XIII. 36.
[10] Ibid., 38, ff.
[11] Ibid., 45.
[12] *Śāk.*, pp. 238 ff.
[13] James Legge: *Fiahen's Record of Buddhistic Kingdom*, (throughout the work).
[14] *Ku.*, II. 4, 6, 7, 8, 10.
[15] Ibid., 6, 7.
[16] *Raghu.*, VII. 56; *Ku.*, II. 8.

lifted up the submerged earth above the surface of the ocean holding it upon his jaws[1].

Kālidāsa refers to seven regions[2] of the cosmos which rise one above the other. He, however, does not specifically name them. But traditionally they are enumerated thus: the earth; the space between the earth and the sun, the region of the munis, siddhas, etc.; the heaven of Indra above the sun or between the sun or the polar star; the region above the polar star and the abode of Bhṛgu and other celestial sages, who survive the destruction of the three worlds situated below; that, which is described as the abode of Brahmā's sons; the abode of deified sages; and the abode of Brahmā. Brahmā, here identified with Viṣṇu[3], is the holder[4] of all these regions enumerated above.

Eschatology

Here we may discuss a few incidents of eschatology referred to by Kālidāsa. We shall first refer to the soul and its transmigration. Dim recollection of occurrences in former states of existence are supposed occasionally to cross the mind[5].

The Soul and Its Transmigration

The chain of births[6] is the transmigration of soul and it is the main principle of all Hindu metaphysics. The spirit or soul which occurs so often in course of the descriptions of the poet has been defined as 'witness, solitary, bystander, spectator, passive' by the *Sāṅkhya Kārikā*[7], and 'eternal' and 'indestructible' by the *Bhagawadgītā*[8]. All speculations in the Hindu philosophy start with it making it the very foundation of the metaphysical discussions. All philosophical speculations, whether Brahmanical or Buddhistic, seek to answer the question: How to stop the metempsychosis? The chain of births must be discontinued. The soul which is a prisoner in the body must be emancipated. The ephemeral unreal corporeal existence must cease and the soul must be set free from the fetters of the body (*śarīrabandha*[9]) to attain the state of undefinable bliss. Freedom from the transmigration (*śarirabandha*) is not possible unless all actions good or bad, i.e., the fruits thereof, are burnt down[10]. Aja, wailing for Indumatī and contemplating to commit suicide in order to regain her is warned against it by the disciple of Vasiṣṭa in the following manner: You will not be able to claim her, even if you die after her; for the ways of those who enjoy the other world lie along different roads according to their respective actions[11].

[1] Ibid., *Ku.*, VI. 8.
[2] *Raghu.*, X. 21.
[3] Ibid., 20-22.
[4] *Ku.*, II. 6-8.
[5] *Raghu.*, I. 20.
[6] जन्मान्तर Ibid., VII. 15. प्रथमजन्मचेष्टिताम् XI. 22, cf. I. 20; XVIII. 50; *Śāk.*, IV. 1.
[7] Verse XIX.
[8] II. 17-25.
[9] *Raghu.*, XIII. 58.
[10] Ibid., VIII. 20; cf. *Vedānta sūtrā*, IV. 1, 13, 14.
[11] *Raghu.*, VIII. 85.

But the poet asserts that for those that take a dip on the confluence of Gaṅgā and Yamunā there is no *śarīrabandha* although they may not have obtained *tattvajñāna*[1]. The idea of 'Paraloka[2]' or next world was always present in the mind of the people during the age of the poet.

The phrase saṁskāra is used in different senses by Kālidāsa, i.e., in the sense of polishing[3], grammatical purity[4], mental culture[5], etc. He uses this word also for the impressions produced by good or bad actions performed by an individual in a previous existence[6]. Such impressions are called saṁskāras because they are supposed to remain clinging to the soul of the individual who performed them like the smell (*vāsanā*) of a thing like musk, which though itself separated, yet remains in the cloth. The new-born infant proceeding, untaught, to suck its mother's breast, is said to illustrate a case in point.

Death

Death was supposed but the nature of the sentient beings[7]. Life, however, was a mere deviation from that mature state, death was natural and normal, life unnatural and abnormal[8]. It has been said that death is not the final extinction of life of the spirit but only its sleep, long sleep (*dīrghanidrā*[9]). This idea accords well with the theory of a chain of births and the transmigration of soul. The stupid minded alone were supposed to consider the loss of a dear person as a dart fixed in the heart, but the firm-minded regarded the same as a dart extracted on account of its serving as a door leading to bliss[10]. It was said that the uninterrupted flow of tears shed by relations simply tormented the departed soul[11]. Yama, the restrainer, the Pluto of the Greeks and the regent of the southern region, was supposed to be the god of the dead and the lord of the nether regions.

Life after Death

There was thus a life after death. We read of the *lokāntara*[12] and *paraloka*[13] which imply an existence of the spirit (*preta*[14]) beyond death in a particular region. The conception of *svarga* and *naraka,* consequent upon actions meritorious and otherwise, had long before come into existence. Good actions were expected to gain *svarga*[15] for a man where divine women received him[16] and where

[1] Ibid., XIII. 58.
[2] Ibid., 49, 85; *Ku.*, IV. 10, 28.; *Raghu.*, I. 69.
[3] *Raghu.*, III. 18.
[4] Ibid., XV. 76, *Ku* , I. 28
[5] *Raghu.*, III. 35; *Ku.*, VII. 74.
[6] *Raghu.*, I. 20.
[7] Ibid., II. 57.
[8] मरणं प्रकृतिः शरीरिणा विकृतिर्जीवितमुच्यते बुधैः Ibid., VIII. 87.
[9] Ibid., XII. 81.
[10] Ibid., 88.
[11] Ibid., 86.
[12] Ibid., I. 69.
[13] Ibid., VIII. 49, 85; *Ku.*, IV. 10, 38.
[14] *Raghu.*, XI. 16; *Ku.*, V. 68.
[15] *Raghu.*, XI. 87, XV. 29; *Ku.*, VI. 37; *M. P.*, 30. [16] *Raghu.*, VII. 53.

the company of gods[1] was assured. Among such good actions were also included a bath on the confluence of certain rivers[2] and death resulting through fighting[3]. Svarga was otherwise known as the heaven of Viṣṇu (*Vaiṣṇavaṁ dhāmaṁ*)[4]. Those spirits that cannot gain admittance in Svarga go to the *pitṛloka*, i. e., the celestial region of the Pitṛs, the ancestors. The seven *lokas* have already been treated elsewhere.

Pitṛs[5] are the deceased ancestors. They reside in a particular region. The Hindu conception of a man's relationship with his departed ancestors is in the form of an obligation of the former to the latter. The Hindu male owes three kinds of *ṛṇas*, i. e, debts, namely *ṛṣi-ṛṇa*[6] which is paid through his studies of the Vedas, *deva-ṛṇa*[7], paid through his performance of sacrifices and other religious practices, and the *pitṛ-ṛṇa* paid through the procreation of a male child. *Pitṛ-ṛṇa*[8] was the last of the three debts whence it was called also the last debt (*antyaṁ ṛṇaṁ*[9]). The idea was of handing down what one had received. Man receives a life and he must, therefore, beget a son and thus perpetuate his line. Hence the compulsory character of the rite of marriage among the Hindus. The Pitṛs are styled as *piṇḍabhājāḥ*,[10] eaters of oblations. This term is applied to the three immediate ancestors namely, the father, the grandfather and the great-grandfather. The ceremony of offering oblations, which was performed on the death-of the father and on his death anniversaries, was called *Pitṛ-kriyā*[11] or *Śrāddha*. These offerings were supposed necessary for securing the well-being of the souls of the dead. The offering of the oblations could be performed only by a male child in whose absence the ancestors would not receive their meals. Duṣyanta[12] and Dilīpa[13] equally bemoan their childlessness and its far-reaching consequences.

Excepting a few incidents like the description of hermitages, the details of worship and religious convictions of the people, the endless Puranic references to idols and incarnations, rites and modes of worship are by no means remnants of that early age which the poet seeks to describe for it can be shown that they had not yet developed. They are, therefore, more truly a reflection of his own age.

[1] Ibid., 51, VIII. 95.
[2] Ibid., VIII. 95, XIII. 58.
[3] Ibid., VII. 51-53.
[4] Ibid., XI. 85.
[5] Ibid., I. 67, 71, V. 8, VI. 20, VIII. 30, XII. 61; *Śāk.*, VI. 24, 25.
[6] *Raghu.*, VIII. 30.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid., I. 71, VI. 20.
[9] Ibid., I. 71.
[10] *Śāk.*, VI. 24.
[11] *Raghu.*, XII. 61.
[12] *Śāk.*, VI. 25.
[13] *Raghu.*, I. 67-71.

CHAPTER XIX

PHILOSOPHY

Innumerable references to philosophical doctrines in the writings of the poet throw a flood of light on the metaphysical speculations current during the poet's time. By bringing together the data furnished by Kalidāsa it will be possible to build up a readable account of the contemporary philosophy. Almost all the schools of Indian philosophy, the Sāṅkhya, Vedānta, Mīmāṁsā, Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya and Yoga, have been alluded to by the poet, and we shall treat of them in the following pages, one by one.

Sāṅkhya

Kālidāsa seems to accept the Sāṅkhya-yoga view of the nature of the universe. The three constituents of Nature, *Sattva* (light), *Rajas* (activity) and *Tamas* (inertia) have found constant mention in his works[1]. The mystic-three or the triad of *guṇas* (*triguṇāḥ*) residing in Prakṛti (*prakṛtistham*[2]) are the Sattva, Rajas and Tamas[3]. Prakṛti is the state of a perfect equipoise of these three *guṇas*[4]. The three *guṇas* have been explained in the *Tattva Samāsa*, a text book of the Sāṅkhya school, in the following manner: By the triad of guṇas is meant the '*three guṇas.*'

Triad of Qualities

Goodness is endlessly diversified accordingly as it is exemplified in calmness, lightness, complacency, attainment of wishes, kindliness, contentment, patience, joys and the like; summarily it consists of happiness. Foulness is endlessly diversified, accordingly as it is exemplified in grief, distress, separation, excitement, anxiety, fault-finding, and the like; summarily it consists of pain. Darkness is endlessly diversified, accordingly as it is exemplified in envelopment, ignorance, disgust, abjectness, heaviness, sloth, drowsiness, intoxication and the like; summarily it consists of delusion.

Prakṛti

The triad of guṇas is a term familiar to all the systems of Hindu philosophy. The life of man with all its virtues, motives, feelings, passions, aspirations and actions of all kinds are supposed to have been generated from the three guṇas[5].

[1] *Ku.*, II. 4; *Raghu.*, VIII. 21, X. 38; *Māl.*, I.

[2] *Raghu.*, VIII. 21.

[3] सत्त्वं प्रकाशकं इष्टं, उपष्टम्भकं चलञ्च रजः, गुरुवरणकमेव तमः *Sāṅkhya-Kārika*, 13., cf. *Yogasūtras*, II. 18.

[4] सत्त्वरजस्तमसां साम्यावस्था प्रकृतिः *Sāṅkhya-sūtra*, I: 61. cf. also *Karikā*, 16.

[5] त्रैगुण्योद्भवं लोकचरितं *Māl.*, I.

These guṇas constitute matter and generate all modifications. Prakṛti[1] is, according to the Sāṅkhya school, the root cause in the formation of the universe[2]. Following *Sāṅkhya*, the poet calls it *avyakta*[3]. The two principal categories of the Sāṅkhyas are Prakṛti also called Pradhāna, the chief, and Puruṣa (spirit). Prakṛti is the principle of change and the object enjoyed and also the origin of the seven principal evolutes and sixteen other products[4]. Puruṣa is consciousness, the unchanging amidst change, the subject par excellence. According to the Sāṅkhya system, the universe is the development of Prakṛti, and Puruṣa or spirit takes no part in its creation. He is passive, a mere looker on, while Prakṛti evolves the cosmos. Prakṛti acts for the benefit of the Puruṣa: "The one is blind," says the *Kārikā*[5], which Kālidāsa seems to endorse[6], "the other is lame. Their union is essential for the purpose of creation." Prakṛti is said by the poet to be the accomplisher of the desire or purpose (*artha*) of the Puruṣa[7]. The epithet *puruṣārthapravartinī* used for Prakṛti is strictly in keeping with the Sāṅkhya system[8]. It may be noted here that although the context is one of a eulogy of God, nevertheless the terminology, and the manner of treatment is that of the Sāṅkhyas. Kālidāsa characterizes Puruṣa as *Udāsīna* and *taddarśi*[9]. This conception, indeed, is of the older Sāṅkhya system contained in the *Kāṭhaka* and the *Mahābhārata*.

Buddhi

The Sāṅkhya concepton[10] of *Buddhi* (*mahattatva*) or intellect has also been alluded to by Kālidāsa in his phrase *buddherivāvyaktam*[11]. Hemādri explains the phrase to mean 'like *mūlaprakṛiti*, the invisible cause of Buddhi'. Mūlaprakṛti is in fact the three guṇas that have not yet produced anything[12]. While commenting on the phrase Cāritravardhana notes that 'Prakṛti is said to be the cause of Intellect (Buddhi) or Mahattatva.[13]

The poet refers also to the external sensory or motor organs in his phrase

[1] *Ku.*, II. 13.

[2] मूलप्रकृतिरविकृतिर्महदाद्याः प्रकृतिविकृतयः सप्त । षोडशकस्तु विकारो न प्रकृतिर्न विकृति पुरुषः *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, 3. Cf. प्रकृतेर्महान्महतोऽहंकारः *S. Sutrās* cf. *Kaṭha* I. 1, 10-11, II. 3, 7-8; cf. also *Ku.*, II. 11. व्यक्तोव्यक्तेतरश्चासि

[3] *Raghu.*, X. 18.

[4] Cf. *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, 3.

[5] पंग्वन्धवदुभयोरपि संयोगस्तत्कृतस्सर्ग. *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, 21, cf. also Ibid., 57.

[6] *Ku.*, II. 13; cf. *Sāṅkhyasūtra*, II. 161, 163, cf. also तस्माच्चविपर्यासीत्सिद्धि साक्षित्वमस्य पुरुषस्य । कैवल्यं माध्यस्थ्यं द्रष्टृत्वमकर्तृभावश्च ॥ *S. K.*, 19.

[7] प्रकृतिं पुरुषार्थप्रवर्तिनी *Ku.*, II. 13.

[8] *S. K.*, 17; *S. S.*, III. 1.

[9] *Ku.*, II. 13. Puruṣa is characterized elsewhere as दर्शितविषय (*Yogasūtra-bhāṣya*: Cf. तद्दर्शिनम् of the poet), and for whom the object exists. तदर्थ एव दृश्यस्यात्मा *Yogasūtra*, II. 21; द्रष्टृदृशिमात्रः शुद्धोऽपि प्रत्ययानुपश्यः Ibid., II. 20; also cf. *S. S.*, II. 161, 163.

[10] *S. K.*, 23-24.

[11] *Raghu.*, XIII. 60; cf. *Vik.*, p. 61.

[12] बुद्धेर्व्यक्तं मूलप्रकृतिकारणमिव । अनुत्पादितकार्य्याणि सत्त्वरजस्तमांसि मूलप्रकृतिः ॥

[13] बुद्धेर्महत्तत्वस्य कारणं प्रकृतिं कथयन्ति ।

sabāhyakaraṇa[1] and to the mind in the phrases *antarātmā*[2] and *antaḥkaraṇa*.[3] The organs of sense, according to the Sāṅkhya system,[4] are divided into two classes, external (*bāhyendriya*) and internal (*antaḥkaraṇa*). The external organs are of two kinds: the five organs of perception (*Jñānendriya*), namely the ears, eyes, skin, tongue and nose; and the five organs of actions (*karmendriya*), namely the throat, hands, feet, the organ of digestion and that of generation.[5] The internal organs are the following, namely the inner sense (*manas*) or the organ of thought, the intellect (*buddhi*) and the ego sense (*ahaṁkara*). Antaḥkaraṇa carries the consciousness and feeling of misery from one birth to another. The control of the senses, the *Indriyas*[6], the poet says, is to be achieved through *tattvajñāna*[7], knowledge of the real nature of things. The *Kaṭhopaniṣad* brings out the relationship of the senses, mind, intellect, soul and Brahmā.[8]

Pramaṇās

Kalidasa, following the Sāṅkhya school, refers to the three *pramāṇas*[9] or means of obtaining correct knowledge of the nature of all existing things. They are as follows: Pratyaksa, perception by the senses, Anumāṁa, inference, and Āptavāk, credible assertion or trustworthy testimony including Vedic revelation.

The saving knowledge which delivers Puruṣa, from the misery of transmigration consists according to the Sāṅkhya system, in realizing the absolute distinction (*vivekakhyāti*) between spirit and latter. Kapila was the first to draw a sharp line of demarcation between the two domains of matter and spirit. His conception is entirely dualistic, admitting only of two things, both without beginning and end, but essentially different, matter on the one hand, and an infinite plurality of individuals on the other.

Vedānta

Kālidāsa does not specifically allude to the Vedānta philosophy as a system. There is no theory of illusion (*māyā*), no proper doctrine of the identity of the individual with the absolute except perhaps in one reference.[10] He refers instead to the popular Vedānta and the pantheistic conception of God. His panegyrical prayers

[1] *Śāk.*, p. 235; *Vik.*, p. 117; *Raghu.*, XIV. 50.
[2] *Śāk.*, p. 235.
[3] *Vik.*, p. 117.
[4] करणं त्रयोदशविध *S. K.*, 30; अन्त करणं त्रिविधं दशधा बाह्य Ibid., 33, For sense organs बुद्धीन्द्रियाणि चक्षु. श्रोत्र, etc. of ibid., 26.
[5] श्रोत्र त्वक्चक्षुषी जिह्वा नासिका चैव पञ्चमी ।
पायूपस्थं हस्तपादं वाक्चैव दशमी स्मृता ॥ *Ms.*, II. 90.
[6] *Raghu.*, IV. 60, V. 23, VIII. 10; *Vik.*, p. 61.
[7] *Raghu.*, IV. 60, XIII. 58.
[8] इन्द्रियेभ्य: परा ह्यर्था अर्थेभ्यश्च परं मन: । मनसस्तु परा बुद्धिर्बुद्धेरात्मा महान्पर: । महत: परमव्यक्तात्पुरुष: पर: । पुरुषान्न पर किंचित्सा काष्ठा सा परा गति: I. 3, 10-11
ऽहंकारात् पञ्चतन्मात्राण्युभयमिन्द्रियं तन्मात्रेभ्य. स्थूलभूतानि पुरुष इति पञ्चविंशतिर्गण: ॥ *S*
[9] *Raghu.*, X. 28, XIII. 60. cf. दृष्टमनुमानाप्तवचनं च सर्वप्रमाणसिद्धत्वात् । त्रि
प्रमेयसिद्धि: प्रमाणाद्धि ॥ *S. K.*, 4.
[10] ब्रह्मभूयं गतिं *Raghu.*

embody the spirit of the Upaniṣads and the *Bhagavadgītā* which we shall try to elucidate in due context. To the Upaniṣads the poet directly refers in his phrase *Vedānteṣu*.[1] Passages[2] treating of the origin of the universe from *Īśvara*, i.e., both the material and the efficient cause of the universe, and of all things going back to him in *pralaya* are reminiscent, of yet not identical with the Upaniṣadic conception of *Brahma* as the cause of the universe.[3] The same ideas are referred to in the *Brahmasūtras*.[4] In the *Raghuvaṁśa* we have a long prayer addressed to Viṣṇu. There the deity is praised as one producing, holding in existence and ultimately destroying the universe[5]. According to the Vedānta philosophy, Nirguṇa Brahma without form and entirely unbound and unaffected by any of three qualities is the only really existing entity. This idea of the transcendent Brahma existing as a *Kevalātmā* prior to his assumption of the three qualities for the purpose of creation is noted by the poet.[6] The Upaniṣads repeat this idea of the existence of the only entity before creation.[7] When Brahma wishes to create the phenomenal world he assumes the quality of activity (*Rajas*) and becomes a male person, Brahmā (at one stage splitting himself into two persons, both male and female[8]), the creator; next in the process of still further evolution, he invests himself with the quality of goodness or Sattva and becomes Viṣṇu or the preserver, and finally he invests himself with the third quality of *Tamas* and appears as Śiva, the destroyer. It is always one Brahmā that assumes these three characters[9]. In the phrase *jagadyoniḥ*[10] again we read an allusion to the Vedāntic theory of creation, for there it is said that God being the material and efficient cause of the universe there can be nothing beyond Him[11]. The principle of pantheism is illustrated in the designation of Śiva as *Aṣṭmūrti*[12] and in his identification with the eight elements of Nature, namely Pṛthvī, Āpa, Teja, Vāyu, Ākāśa, Sūrya, Candra, and Brāhmaṇa.[13] Viṣṇu is identified with the highest specimens and consequently with the Himālaya as the highest of all mountains[14]. This conception is remarkably akin to that contained in the tenth chapter of the *Bhagavadgītā* where the lord identifies himself with all the best parts of the universe. Following the same source, Brahmā is identified with the father of the fathers, god of the gods, with one be-

[1] *Vik.*, I. 1.

[2] *Raghu.*, X. 16, 18, 20; *Ku.*, II. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

[3] यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते। येन जातानि जीवन्ति। यत्प्रयन्त्यभिसंविशन्ति। तद्विजिज्ञासस्व। तद्ब्रह्मेति। *Taittrīya Up.*, III. 1.

[4] जन्माद्यस्य यतः I. 1, 2; योनिश्च हि गीयते I. 4, 27.

[5] X. 16. cf. Śiva सर्गस्थितिप्रत्यवहारहेतुः Ibid., II. 44; Brahmā प्रलयस्थितिसर्गाणां *Ku.*, II. 6.

[6] *Ku.*, II. 4.

[7] आत्मा वा इदमेक एवाग्र आसीन्नान्यत्किंचनमिषत् स ईक्षत् लोकान्नुसृजा इति *Aitareya Up.*, I. 1. सदेव सोम्येदमग्र आसीदेकमेवाद्वितीयम् —*Chāndogya Up.*, VI. 2, 1. तदैक्षत बहुस्यां प्रजायेयेति... Ibid., 3.

[8] Ibid., 7.

[9] एकैवमूर्तिर्बिभिदे त्रिधा सा said with reference to *Śiva; Ku.*, VII. 44.

[10] Ibid., II. 9, विश्वयोनिः Ibid., 62.

[11] Ibid., II. 10.

[12] Ibid., I. 1; VI. 26; *Raghu.*, II. 35; *Śāk.*, I. 1; *Māl.*, I. 1; cf., *Gītā*, VII. 4 ff.

[13] *Harṣacarita*, I; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, I. 88.

yond that which is beyond all, and with the creator of the creators[1]. Likewise he has been called both the offering and the offerer, eatable and the eater, knowledge and the knower, and the meditator and the object of meditation[2]. This seems to have been directly drawn from the *Gītā*[3]. He is said to cover all space without commencement[4]. He is beyond the scope of mind[5]. Following the idea contained in the Puruṣasūkta of the *Ṛgveda*[6], Brahmā is described as remaining larger in expanse after having filled the ten directions, the entire earth and heaven[7]. Viṣṇu is endowed with the eight attributes[8], atomic, etc. by which he can subtilize or enlarge his stature. He is supposed to dwell in the heart and yet away, to be free from desires yet an ascetic, compassionate yet unaffected by grief, old yet not subject to decay[9]. This idea is similar to those contained in the Upaniṣads[10]. Though omniscient, he is himself unknown; though the source of all, he is self existent; though the lord of all, he is himself without a superior; he is one yet he assumes all forms[11]. As an act of favour to the people he condescends to take birth and act like human beings[12]. The *Gītā*[13], where a similar view of incarnation is expressed, seems to be the source of this idea. He is able to protect the people and yet he keeps indifferent[14]. The *Gītā*[15] again seems to be the source of this view: The same work is followed in the expression of the poet where he makes Viṣṇu the end of all the roads and to whom he advocates complete resignation and consignment of all actions on the part of the devotee. The poet says: The ways which lead to supreme felicity, although they are many and differently laid down in the scriptures, all meet in him alone[16]. To persons whose desires for worldly enjoyments are completely gone, and who have devoted their hearts and consigned their actions to him, he is the refuge for obtaining absolution[17]. The phrase *antargatāṁ prāṇabhṛtāṁ* brings in the idea of the *antaryāmī* Brahma so well illustrated in the Antaryāmi-Brāhmaṇa of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*[18]. God being attainable through *bhakti-yoga* seems to be reflected in a verse[19]. We

[1] *Ku*, II. 14.
[2] Ibid., 15.
[3] ब्रह्मार्पणं ब्रह्महविर्ब्रह्माग्नौ ब्रह्मणा हुतम् । IV. 24.
[4] *Raghu.*, X. 71.
[5] यतो वाचो निवर्तन्ते । अप्राप्य मनसा सह । *Taitt. Up.*, II. 4, 9.
[6] X. 9, 1.
[7] Ibid., XIII. 5; *Vik.*, I. 1.
[8] *Raghu.*, X. 77; cf. *Śvetāśvatara*, III. 20.
[9] Ibid., X. 19.
[10] तदेजति तन्नैजति तद्दूरे तदन्तिके *Īśa*, 4, 5. For further antithesis cf. also *Śvetāśvatara*, III. 10, 20 etc.
[11] *Raghu.*, X. 20. cf. एकं रूपं बहुधा यः करोति —*Kathopaniṣad*, V. 12.
[12] *Raghu.*, X. 31, 24.
[13] IV. 6-8.
[14] *Raghu.*, X. 25; *Ku.*, II. 13.
[15] Cf. IX. 8-10.
[16] *Raghu.*, X. 26, cf. *Gītā*, III. 23.
[17] *Raghu.*, X. 27, cf. *Gītā*, IX. 27, 34, also VII. 1.
[18] III. 15, 16, 22; cf. सर्वभूतान्तरात्मा *Katha. Up.*, V. 9, 10, 11, 12; cf. also *Brahmasūtras*, I, 2, 18ff.
[19] *Vik.*, I. 1.

have a parallel to this idea in the *Gītā*[1].

Mīmāṁsā and Nyāya

There is a reference made to the *yajña*[2], i.e., the performance of sacrifices. The Mīmāṁsakas hold that the Vedas enjoin action or more correctly, the performance of the rituals as the means of attaining heaven[3]. Kālidāsa also refers specifically to this view and makes the performance of the rituals in accordance with the Vedic authorities for the attainment (*phalaṁ*) of heaven (*svargaḥ*)[4]. In this reference, it may be noted, the word *girāṁ* has been used which refers to the Vedas that comprised the *Saṁhitās*, i.e., the body of the chief mantras, the Brāhmāṇas, consisting of *Vidhi* and *Arthavāda*, and the Āraṇyakas and the Upaniṣads. The sacrifices and other rituals (*vidhi*, *kriyā*, etc.) to which the poet frequently alludes and which we have fully discussed before, are the sacrifices the performance of which the Mīmāṁsakas stress. Mallināṭha remarks on this: *karmasvargau brahmāpavargayorapyupalakṣaṇe*. He is evidently a follower of the school of the later theologians who propounded the philosophy of Brahma and whose doctrines were systematically set forth by Śaṅkara and others. The Vedantins maintain that actions cannot lead one to salvation or *Mokṣa*, but they simply prepare the way for the knowledge of Brahma which alone leads to the final emancipation. In another place[5] the poet makes a direct reference to Jaimini. This reference, however, makes Jaimini a master of the practices of Yoga[6], but it may be noted that this sage is hardly ever connected with Yoga. Jaimini has been quoted ten times by Bādarāyaṇa in his *Brahmasūtras*[7] but, it is significant, he has been associated nowhere with Yoga.

Another reference to the school of Mīmāṁsā is embodied in his expression *vāgarthāviva saṁpṛktau vāgarthapratipattaye*[8]. This evidently implies a reference to the doctrine of the Mīmāṁsakas embodied in their expression *nityaḥśaḥdārthasambandhaḥ*[9]. The phrase *śabdaguṇa*[10] may be interpreted to imply a reference to the three systems of the Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya and Sāṅkhya. It may, however, be pointed out that the same significance of the phrase is not uniformly maintained in the three systems.

Yoga

Like Vedānta, Yoga also seems to have been treated by the poet in a popular

[1] VIII. 14.
[2] *Ku.*, II. 12.
[3] चोदनालक्षणोऽर्थो धर्म. आम्नायस्य क्रियार्थत्वादानर्थक्यमतदर्थानाम् *Jaiminīyasūtra*, I. 1, 2. विधिनात्वेकवाक्यात्वात्स्तुत्यर्थेन विधीनां स्यु: Ibid., II. 1, 7, cf. दृष्टो हि तस्यार्थ: कर्मविबोधनाम् *Śabarbhāṣya* on ibid., I. 7.
[4] *Ku.*, II. 12.
[5] *Raghu.*, XVIII. 33.
[6] Ibid.
[7] I. 2, 28; I. 2, 31; I. 3, 31; I. 4, 18; III. 2, 40; III. 4, 2; III. 4, 18; III. 4, 40; IV. 3, 12; IV. 3, 5.
[8] *Raghu.*, I. 1.
[9] Cf. औत्पत्तिकस्तुशब्दस्यार्थेन सम्बन्ध: *Jaimini S.*, I.1. Also cf. सिद्धे: शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे *Navāhnika*, I. 1. 1.
[10] *Raghu.*, XIII. 1. Cf. also ibid., IV. 11, X. 25, XVIII. 3.

manner although, as we shall see below, he shows perfect acquaintance with the terms[1] of Patañjali. Very frequently mention of Yoga has been made by Kālidāsa. Yoga or contemplation as a means of attaining salvation[2] and oneness with the supreme soul[3] is alluded to. *Yogavidhi*[4], the practice of meditation or abstract contemplation, according to Mallinātha, is 'realizing in the mind the identity of the individual soul with the supreme spirit[5].'

Yoga has been defined by Patañjali as the restraint of the function of mind (*citta*[6]). There are eight limbs of Yoga[7]. Of these the internal ones, namely dhyāna[8], dhāraṇā[9] and samādhi[10], are mentioned by the poet. All the three have been fully defined in the *Yogasūtras*[11]. *Samādhi* is the final stage wherein a complete cessation of the functions of the senses and the mind takes place, the contemplater loses all consciousness of the external world and is lost in his self. This is also known by the word *praṇidhāna*[12]. It is after this that the Yogī conquers the three *guṇas* of the Prakṛti, becomes oblivious of the distinction in the values of clay and gold[13], and attains to the state of *Sthiradhī*[14]. Sthiradhīḥ is that state of the Yogī when he attains perfect tranquillity of mind. Sthiradhīḥ is the same as the Sthiraprajña of the *Bhagavadgītā*[15]. His 'heart is not agitated in the midst of calamities, he has no longing for pleasures and from him the feelings of affection, fear and wrath depart[16]'. It is a state of perfect calm. The word *prasaṁkhyāna* of Patañjali[17] is also utilized by the poet in the context of Samādhi[18].

The method of practising Yoga has also been alluded to by Kālidāsa. *Paryaṅkabandha*[19], also called *Vīrāsana*[20] or the heroic posture, is one of the postures assumed by ascetics when practising contemplation. Śiva is described sitting in that posture, with the upper half of his body drawn straight up and motionless, the shoulders a little depressed owing to the lotus like palms, with their concave

[1] Ibid., I. 8, 74, X. 23, XIII. 52, XIV. 72, XVI. 7, XVIII. 33, *Ku.*, I. 59, III. 40, 44-60 etc.

[2] *Raghu.*, X. 23, XVIII. 33.

[3] Ibid., VIII. 22, 24.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Comment on ibid.

[6] योगश्चित्तवृत्तिनिरोधः, *Yogasūtras*, I. 2.

[7] यमनियमासनप्राणायामप्रत्याहारधारणाध्यानसमाधयोऽष्टवङ्गानि Ibid., II. 29.

[8] *Raghu.*, XIII. 52; *Ku.*, III. 48.

[9] *Raghu.*, VIII. 18.

[10] *Ku.*, I. 59, III. 40, V. 6, 45, *Raghu.*, XIII. 52, tec.

[11] देशबन्धश्चित्तस्य धारणा III. 1; प्रत्ययैकतानता ध्यानम् III. 2. तदेवार्थमात्रनिर्भासम् स्वरूपशून्यमिव समाधिः III. 3.

[12] *Raghu.*, I. 74, VIII. 19, XIV. 72; cf. *Y. S.*, I. 23, II. 1.

[13] *Raghu.*, VIII. 21.

[14] Ibid., 22.

[15] स्थिरधी *Bh. Gītā*, II. 54, 56; स्थितप्रज्ञ Ibid., II. 54, 55.

[16] Ibid., 56.

[17] *Y. S.*, IV. 29.

[18] *Ku.*, I. 59.

[19] Ibid., III. 45, 59.

[20] *Raghu.*, XIII. 52.

surfaces turned upwards placed on the lap[1]. The palms were placed one over the other[2]. The half closed and steady eyes were fixed on the extreme point of the nose[3]. The five kinds of the air (*pañcamaruta*[4]) were restrained within the body in the manner of a cloud pregnant with water or in that of a still lake. Thus all the winds within the body were stilled to action[5]. The five airs of the body are as follows: *prāṇa, apāna, vyāna, samāna* and *udāna*. This *prāṇāyāmavidhi* of the poet[6] has found mention with a slight detail in the *Bhagavadgītā*[7]. The use of the term 'Śirastaḥ'[8], has been made in imitation of the *Yogasūtra*[9]. It refers to the Brahmarandhra or an aperture on the crown of the head which is said to be extremely brilliant and which is connected with the Suṣumṇā or the spinal cord. Viṣṇu is supposed to sleep in the Yoganidrā[10]. This sleep of meditation different from the ordinary sleep to which mortals are subject and in which all consciousness is suspended and which, therefore, is a form of death. It is a sleep such as a Yogī sleeps, in which consciousness as well as memory is present, and in which the sleeper enjoys communion with absent things and persons belonging to different ages—in which, in fact, the ordinary condition, and limits of knowledge are outstripped. This is a state of the Puruṣa who practises it, i.e., the contemplation repose, at the end of each quaternion of Yugas takes repose, having annihilated the worlds, and being praised by the first creator seated on a lotus sprung from his own navel[11].

In the state of contemplation the mind is absolutely restrained by stopping all bodily communication with external objects through the nine doors (*navadvāra*) and fixed in the heart[12]. The nine doors referred to in the *Bhagavad Gītā*[13] also, are the nine openings of the body through which the mind has communication with the external world around. An exactly similar state of the practice of samādhi is given in the *Gītā*[14]. Thus the mind must be made 'antarmukha,' i. e., turned inward from external objects of the senses. In this state of perfect contemplation Yogīs - meditate upon the *akṣara* Brahma[15] and obtain the transcending light (*paraṁjyotiḥ*[16]). The idea of the *akṣara* Brahma has been ela-

[1] This posture is warranted by the *Bh. Gītā.*, VI. 13.
[2] *Ku.*, III. 45; cf. *Mṛcchakaṭika*, I. 1.
[3] *Ku.*, III. 47; cf. *Bh. Gītā*, VI. 13.
[4] *Raghu.*, VIII. 19.
[5] *Ku.*, III. 48.
[6] *Raghu.*, V. 24.
[7] IV. 29, VI. 11-13.
[8] *Ku.*, III. 49.
[9] III. 32; cf. the comment on it.
[10] *Raghu.*, XIII. 6.
[11] Ibid.
[12] *Ku.*, III. 50.
[13] V. 13, VIII. 12; also cf. *Śvetāśvatara Up.*, III. 18.
[14] VIII. 12; cf. *Śvetāśvatara Up.*, II. 8, 9.
[15] *Ku.*, III. 50; *Raghu.*, X. 23.
[16] *Ku.*, III. 50; also cf. ज्योतिषामपि ज्योतिः *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad.*

borated in the *Gītā*[1]. The idea of *kṣetra* of the poet[2] is the subject of discussion in the *Bhagavad Gītā*[3]. The state of the Yogī is considered remarkable and supposed to endow him with supernatural powers[4]. One possessing the power of Yoga was supposed, for instance, to gain entrance even through bolted doors[5]. Such powers have been dealt with by Patañjali also[6].

The contemplation or Yoga, which required one to deaden entirely the activity of the senses, naturally necessitated a Yogī to seek the solitary corner of a forest. The penance grove was, therefore, a necessary institution where even sylvan 'trees in the middle of the altars of the ascetics who devoted themselves to meditation in the Vīrāsana posture, appeared absorbed in contemplation, on account of the stillness caused by the absence of breeze[7].'

Yoga was taken in the sense of contemplation leading to the final emancipation[8]. When strictly analysed, this idea does not seem much to refer, as pointed out above, to the philosophy of Yoga, developed in the *Bhagavad Gītā*[9] where Yoga has been defined as '*karmasu kauśalam*'[10]

Buddhism and Jainism

It is significant that no direct reference is made to the Buddhists and Jainas. There are perhaps a few veiled references to the Buddhism but to Jainism there is none unless we care to interpret the word *Prāyopaveśa*[11] in the Jaina sense of starvation to death. As regards Buddhism perhaps we have a few indirect references. The word *Nirvāṇa* has been used by the poet several times[12] but it is doubtful if its implication is common with that similar term peculiar to the Buddhistic terminology. 'Nirvāna' means full bliss, supreme happiness. It literally means 'what is blown out' and refers to the blowing off, complete extinction, of the self. Perhaps the Parivarājikā of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* was a Buddhist nun as the Hindu rules of asceticism do not encourage *pravrajyā* among women. Her dress of the hermit colour is commended[13] and she utters the formula *Śāntaṁ pāpaṁ, śāntaṁ pāpaṁ*[14] akin to the similar Buddhistic expression. We must note that the description of Siva's contemplation[15], to which we have made a reference above and which we have described at length elsewhere, bears a deep im-

[1] VIII. 3, 11, 13.
[2] *Ku.*, III. 50, VI. 77.
[3] XIII.
[4] *Raghu.*, XVI. 7; *Śāk.*, p. 263.
[5] *Raghu.*, XVI. 7.
[6] *Yogasūtra*, III. (विभूतिपाद)
[7] *Raghu.*, XIII. 52; cf. Ibid., X. 14.
[8] Ibid., VIII. 22, 24.
[9] IV. 1-2, cf. IV. VI.
[10] II. 50; cf. Ibid., 48.
[11] *Raghu.*, VIII. 94.
[12] Ibid. XII. 2; *Śāk.*, p. 88; *Ku.*, III. 52; *Vik.*, III. 21.
[13] इमे काषाये गृहीते—युक्तःसज्जनस्यैष पन्थाः *Mālk.*, p. 99.
[14] Ibid. But there is another use of the phrase made in the *Śāk.*, p. 172 in a purely non-Buddhistic context.
[15] *Ku.*, III. 45-50.

pression of the Buddhistic Yoga. It was mainly Buddhism that popularised the practices of Yoga in India. Śiva in contemplation resembles Buddha under the Bodhi tree and the images of Buddha in the Vīrāsana *mudrā* of which we have an endless variety preserved in the museums of India. The poet makes an allusion to the word Arhat[1] but perhaps without meaning thereby the Buddhistic acceptation of the term.

From the above notice of the philosophical references it will be evident that Kālidāsa takes his stand on popular Vedantism. It would seem that the saner section of the people, as represented by Kālidāsa had turned to the conception of a deity of universal character embracing all.

Mokṣa

The human aspirations according to the Hindu view centre round four ends, namely *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*[2]. The last of these, *mokṣa*, is the final felicity, the ultimate bliss, the supreme beatitude. The poet variously refers to it by the terms *mukti*[3], *apavarga*[4], *anapāyipada*[5], *parārdhyagati*[6], the state of *anāvṛtti*[7], *ajanmā*[8] and by such other expressions. Birth is considered a misery and a confinement of the soul within the walls of body (*śarīrabandha*[9]) from which liberation, *mukti*, is sought. In the absence of this liberation the soul has to take birth again and again (*punarbhavam*[10]) and to undergo a chain of existences according to the actions of the previous birth. Each one of the noted six systems of Hindu philosophy, and Buddhism and Jainism seek to formulate their ideas and ways regarding the final emancipation of the spirit. According to the Vedānta this state is attained by the disappearance of the distinction of the individual souls and Brahma. Kālidāsa remarks that according to the system of Yoga this state is achieved by meditation.[11] The Buddhists employ the word *Nirvāṇa* to express this state. *Nirvāṇa* literally means 'what is blown out' and it refers to the blowing off, the complete extinction of the self, a sublime state of conscious rest in omniscience. It later on came to mean the highest delight, the greatest felicity[12].

It may be noted here that actions, *karmas*, good or bad, cannot win *mokṣa* for however do we keep them unstinted with desires and *saṅga* they are bound to get tinged with some sense of the results. The attainment of the *manorathas* will necessarily form part of the end of *karmas* for there is no end to the *manorathas*[13].

[1] *Śāk.*, V. 15.
[2] धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाणाम् *Raghu.*, X. 84; cf. Ibid., 22.
[3] Ibid., 23; *Ku.*, III. 5. मोक्ष Ibid., II. 5.
[4] *Raghu.*, VIII. 16.
[5] Ibid., 17.
[6] Ibid., 27.
[7] *Ku.*, V. 77.
[8] *Raghu.*, XVIII. 33.
[9] Ibid., XIII. 58.
[10] *Śāk.*, VII. 34.
[11] *Raghu.*, VIII. 22, 24, XIII. 33; *Vik.*, I. 1.
[12] *Raghu.*, XII. 2; *Ku.*, III. 52; *Māl.*, III. 1; *Śāk.*, II. 10, p. 88; *Vik.*, III. 21; cf. *Kir.*, XI. 69; निर्वाणोऽवातो *Pāṇ.*, VIII., 2. 50.
[13] *Ku.*, V. 64.

The Mimāṁsakas lay much stress on the performance of good actions comprised in the rituals and religious ceremonies, but good actions (*puṇya*), at their best, can bring only delight (*sukha*[1]), a residence in one of the seven *lokas*[2]. Their achievement in the last end can be only the attainment of *svarga*[3], heaven. But this state will not be one of the final beatitude and will not bring about a cessation of rebirths. The length of residence in the *svarga* will be in accordance with the *puṇya karmas* and when the latter will exhaust, the spirit will have to revert once again to the earth[4] and resume its existence through the chain of births. The reference of Kālidāsa to the liberation from rebirths through a dip in the Triveṇī[5] is only an instance of *arthavāda* and is meant to encourage people to perform good actions. In fact, the existence of the spirit itself has been considered one enchained with the *karmas*, and for *mokṣa*, the freedom[6] from them, the cutting of the Gordian knot will be imperative. It is only when the actions have been burnt down with the fire of knowledge (*tattvajñāna*[7]) that *mokṣa* can be achieved and this horrid chain of existences put aside.[8]

[1] *Śāk.*, II. 10.
[2] *Raghu.*, X. 21.
[3] *Ku.*, II. 12, *Raghu.*, XI. 87, 85, *M. P.*, 30.
[4] *M. P.*, 30.
[5] *Raghu.*, XIII. 58.
[6] कर्मबन्धच्छिद *Ku.*, II. 51.
[7] *Raghu.*, VII. 58; cf. Ibid., IV. 60.
[8] I am indebted for a few suggestions in this Chapter to my friend Prof. T. R. V. Murti.

APPENDIX A

THE DATE OF KĀLIDĀSA

Much has been written on the date of Kālidāsa and the range of time in which he is sought to be placed is extensive. He is supposed to have lived in the 2nd century B. C. on the one hand and in the 7th century A. D. and even later on the other. And the epochs marked out for him between these two ends are indeed many. We shall not discuss here the merits or demerits of the arguments put forth in favour of one extreme or in that of the other; as a matter of fact, most of the various theories will not even repay the labour of scrutiny. It is proposed to briefly examine here just a few of the theories and then to furnish the data which may fix the poet's date as accurately as possible. An attempt will be made, therefore, to bring the two lines closer and thus to indicate the utmost possible narrow range wherein the poet may have flourished.

The two limits of the poet's date are easily determined. The earlier limit is settled by the fact that the *Mālavikāgnimitra* depicts the court life of Agnimitra the son of Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga family, whose rule ended about 148 B. C. The lower limit is fixed by the Aihole inscription of 634 A. D. which names the poet.

The 2nd century B. C. theory has no serious defenders. We must remember, besides, that Kālidāsa cannot be accepted as a contemporary of Patañjali for he shows a thorough acquaintance with the terminology used by the latter in his *Yogasūtras*. Panatañjali, we know, was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra. Then the tradition makes the poet contemporary with Vikramāditya, which was never a Śuṅga royal epithet and who cannot be placed earlier that the 1st century B.C.

Likewise, there is a number of unsurmountable difficulties in accepting the 1st century B. C. theory. This theory depends much for its strength on the fact that the Vikrama era was founded in 56 B. C. by a king named Vikramāditya who was also the patron of the poet. But we do not know of any Vikramāditya in the 1st century B. C. likely to have been so strong as to oust the Śakas and assume the epithet of *Śakāri* and to found an era. It is even doubtful if the era was at all founded in the 1st century B. C. The first use of this era (in the name of Vikrama)[1] was made about a thousand years after the time when it is said to have been founded! The theory, however, has had two brilliant champions, namely Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya and Professor K. C. Chattopadhyaya. Vaidya's arguments, set forth in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*[2], have been thoroughly met by K. G. Sankar in the next issue of the same publication[3]. The endeavours of Prof.

[1] This era was in use under a different name, *viz. Kṛta.*
[2] July 1920, pp. 63-68.
[3] Pp. 189 ff.

Chattopadhyaya also have been controverted by Prof. V. V. Mirashi in his *Kālidāsa*[1]. But here a few remarks may be made against the conclusion of Mr. Chattopadhyaya. He has taken his stand on the fact that there are similarities in the expressions of Kālidāsa and Aśvaghoṣa and he has tried to show that the latter is a borrower and that since he lived in the 1st century A. D., the poet must have lived in the 1st century B. C. It may be observed at the very outset that many of the supposed similarities are no similarities at all and ninety per cent of the phraseology of Kālidāsa which the learned professor reads in Aśvaghosa are common to all Sanskrit poets. As a matter of fact, they are the common property of the Sanskrit literature. And even when it may be established that the borrowing is genuine it will remain to be proved as to who borrowed from whom. The evidence deduced from the writings of the two poets and the subsequent conclusions drawn from them by the professor are hardly convincing Some of the conclusions are indeed absolutely unwarranted. A searching scrutiny will easily show this to be the case.

Prof. Chattopadhyaya thinks that when a philosopher is constrained to write poetry he will read and imitate others[2]. But there is hardly any justification for his view that Aśvaghoṣa was *constrained* to write poetry. We hold that the compositions of the poet were never a result of constraint. They were on the contrary a product of choice, voluntary choice. He has amply put his credentials before his critics and whoever judges him will be convinced that he may be inferior to this poet or that in the dignity of diction, in the sweetness of expression or in the skill and dexterity of the arrangement of his plots, but certainly the *Buddhacarita* and the *Saundarananda* are products of no mean merit. Why, Mr. Chattopadhyaya himself admits that Aśvaghoṣa is a first rate poet[3]. The professor quotes Mr. K. G. Sankara approving his remark that there are unnecessary repetitions in Aśvaghosa which clearly indicate a novice's hand[4]. This cannot be accepted. There are endless repetitions of expressions and ideas in Kālidāsa himself who is the master of Sanskrit poetry. A number of verses of the seventh canto of the *Kumārasambhava* finds repetition in the seventh canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa*[5]. And surely every litterateur, whether a poet or a prose writer, has a particular weakness for certain expressions which he repeats. Mr. Chattopadhyaya supposes that Kālidāsa's single verse (*Ku.*, VII. 62, *Ra.*, VII. 11) is repeated twice by Aśvaghoṣa and he asks: "Does not this clearly indicate who is the plagiarist?" He further adds that "the puritanic monk has taken care to omit 'the fragrance of wine[6].'" Mr. Chattopadhyaya conveniently uses the same argument in two opposite contexts as it suits him. He, for example, approvingly quotes Principal Saradaranjan Ray,"....On this consideration the presumption is that Kālidāsa is the author of these common ideas. If he were not, he would not have paraded them this way. The thief does

[1] Hindi edition, pp. 14 ff.
[2] *The Date of Kālidāsa* p. 83.
[3] Ibid., p. 106.
[4] Ibid., p. 87.
[5] *Raghu.*, 5-11; *Ku.*, 56-62; *Raghu.*, 19; *Ku.*, 73.
[6] *The Date of Kālidasa*, p. 88.

not make a display of stolen goods[1]." Now, one may ask, who is the plagiarist Kālidāsa or Aśvaghoṣa?—one who conceals his borrowing or one who parades it? If Aśvaghoṣa had borrowed expressions from Kālidāsa, could he have paraded them by repeating their use? And can the same argument not be utilized the other way by saying that the plagiarist will try to convince the world regarding a borrowed expression by repeating it and making it patently his own? And it is strange that the learned professor should have thought that a *single* verse of Kālidāsa has been repeated twice by Aśvaghoṣa when he himself refers[2] to two verses of Kālidāsa one contained in the *Kumārasambhava* and the other in the *Raghuvaṁśa* as a case in point. About the omission of 'the fragrance of wine' it may be said that the 'puritan' does not take care to omit it but that he cannot think of it. Kālidāsa, on the other hand, being obsessed by the prejudices and the preferences of his age betrays himself in the expression. His age, as it is amply proved in the body of this book, was marked by drinking wine. It is thus not that one omits the expression but that the other improves upon the context by using it right in keeping with the spirit of the age. It is further, pointed out that "It is because the *Saundarananda* is his first *kāvya*, Aśvaghoṣa wrote those apologetic lines at the end of the work. When writing the *Buddhacarita*, his fame as a poet must have been established and he needed no apology[3]." But can this view at all endure? Does not an apology form almost an integral part of the opening portion of a Sanskrit poet? And is the habit forsaken when a certain poet has achieved celebrity? Does not Kālidāsa himself begin his *Raghuvaṁśa*[4], the maturest product of his genius, with profound humility and studied apology? And is it that this apology is the essential start of a novice? Does not Kālidāsa himself again challenge the old standards of valuation in his *Mālavikāgnimitra*[5], a work positively of questionable merit?. And do we not find that majestic poet Bhavabhūti throwing gauntlets in the face of his contemporaneous world of critics through his famous verse[6]....*tānpratinaiṣayatnaḥ*....*Utpatsyate mamatu koapi samānadharmā Kālohyanuravadhirvipulā ca pṛthvī*? About the professor's assertion that there is no occasion for the pre-history of the Śākyas and the birth and ancestry of Nanda and that it has been done by Aśvaghoṣa in imitation of the *Raghuvaṁśa*[7], it can be asked: Can the mere existence of an historical *Kāvya* induce another poet to preface his *kāvya* with a dynastic account? And is not the practice of giving dynastic history warranted in literature? Does not Bāṇa follow the same practice in his *Harṣacarita*? [Mr. Chattopadhyaya supposes to have gained a capital point in a faulty expression of Aśvaghoṣa. He says, "It is a bull's shoulder and not a lion's that can be an object for comparison. Aśvaghoṣa has made Nanda have the shoulders of a lion and the eyes of a bull! Kālidāsa does not mention the eyes of Dilīpa but his shoulders are likened to those of a bull.

[1] Ibid., p. 84.
[2] Ibid., p. 88.
[3] Ibid., p. 90.
[4] Cf. I. 2, 3.
[5] I. 2.
[6] *Mālatīmādhava*, I. 8.
[7] *Date of Kālidāsa*, p. 92

Aśvaghoṣa attempted variation but betrayed plagiarism[1]." The professor also remarks[2], "or, may we think that the variation in Aśvaghoṣa is due to wrong memory?" In this observation, firstly, it is presumed without any ground whatever that a borrowing has been made and then a further error is committed on this hypothetical deduction. If at all there is a wrong comparison, indeed it is genuine. There is hardly any point in looking for a conscious effort in an innocent flaw. And as a matter of fact the shoulders of a lion are broad enough to be used for comparison and the bull's eyes are without doubt ideally big. 'As to the learned scholar's suggestion that the variation may have been occasioned[6] due to wrong memory,' we can only say that it knocks the bottom out of his purposeful endeavour. Is it not strange that Aśvaghoṣa had no manuscript of Kālidāsa's works before his eyes? It is expected that a person who is freely borrowing from a poet, and is making conscious efforts for effecting variations in them should at least possess a copy of his works! And surely one who borrows at such an exhaustive length should become a veritable master and must not suffer to occur such a common-place mistake as one pointed out above by the professor. He points out that the description of the conquest of Māra by Aśvaghoṣa is borrowed from the destruction of Kāma in the *Kumārasambhava*[3] But just the opposite may be possible for it must be borne in mind that in the life of Buddha the noted incident is a remarkable one. It is interesting to note that Mr. Chattopadhyaya thinks that one improvement is sought to be made by Aśvaghoṣa in making Sundarī paint her cheeks herself on Kālidāsa's making Kāma dye the feet of Rati with lac[4]. And in this connection he quotes *Smaragaralakhaṇḍanam mama śirasi maṇḍanam dehi padapallavamudāram*[5] of Jayadeva. It may be pointed out that it is no improvement of Aśvaghoṣa on Kālidāsa but it occurs in Kālidāsa as also later in Jayadeva because both Kālidāsa and Jayadeva come after Vātsyāyana. As to the parallelism of Nārada's prophecy regarding Umā's marriage with Śiva and Asita's prophecy regarding the future greatness of Buddha[6], it may only be said that the latter happens to form an incident of the Buddhist legends important enough to have been taken from there. "Lastly," the professor adds, "the still later *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, to judge from the three passages preserved in the *Divyāvadāna* (pp. 357-64, 382-4, 430-3), is a first rate work with very little obligation to Kālidāsa.[7]" This is a candid confession undoing all that he has said, for, taking the professor for his word, if Aśvaghoṣa could bring out 'a first rate work' with very little obligation to Kālidāsa can he not be credited with enough poetical sense to compose much inferior pieces without the influence of Kālidāsa? In continuation of his last point perhaps trying to retrieve his ground lost through his confession, the professor adds in a footnote[8]: "The third passage, contain-

[1] *Date of Kālidāsa*, p. 94 footnote.
[2] Ibid., p. 94.
[3] Ibid., p. 97.
[4] Ibid., p. 97 footnote.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid., p. 100
[7] Ibid., p. 106.
[8] Ibid.

ing a touching story of Aśoka's liberality towards the Sangha may have been influenced by the story of Raghu's liberality in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, V." This makes the confusion worse confounded. For a devout Buddhist was not the Aśokan liberality closer at hand to go by and the *Aśokāvadāna* the hoard to draw from? Thus using the professor's own words we can say that "One may object about my inferences that such coincidences are natural when there is an agreement in the subject matter and they do not necessarily imply borrowing[1]."

Here we may refer to a few more points raised in the same paper. Mr. Chattopadhyaya has fallen a victim to the usual error when he says that Khāravela did much mischief in Puṣyamitra's dominions[2]. Since the coins bearing the name of Puṣyamitra have now been discovered the equation of this king with Bahasatimitra of the Hathigumpha Inscription of Khāravela is hardly justified and therefore Khāravela and Puṣyamitra cannot be considered contemporaries at least on the basis of that evidence. As to the professor's objection to Candra Gupta II being considered king of Ujjayini[3], it may be asserted that he was king of Ujjayini by virtue of his having conquered Avantī and Surāṣtra. We know from inscriptions[4] that both Kumāra Gupta I and Skanda Gupta continued to hold sway over these two provinces. Regarding his observation—"The manner in which Kalidāsa has paraded his astronomical learning indicates the popularity of the study in that region, and probably also its recent introduction there[5]"—it can only be added that if the terms became known in the 1st century B. C. we must allow a fair interval of time to let them become current so as to be popularly understood in poetical allusions. Kālidāsa then could not have lived in the 1st century B. C.

We may here note a few further points to show that the 1st century B. C. theory cannot be accepted for the date of Kālidāsa.

Firstly, Kālidāsa nowhere in the whole range of his works mentions the Śakas. If he had lived in the 1st century B. C., say about 57 B. C., he would have surely known of the Śaka invasion mentioned in the Yugapurāṇa[6] of the *Gārgī Saṁhitā* which came about 35 B. C. and to which a reference would have become inevitable. It was a very important invasion coming from the frontier under Amlāta[7], perhaps a governor of the Śaka king Azes (58 B. C.–11 B C.)

Secondly, the calm times and the sense of luxury pervading throughout the works of the poet could not have been an incident of the disturbed political condition of the 1st century B. C.

Thirdly, the Puranic traditions and details which find such frequent mention in the works of the poet came mostly to be compiled under the Gupta patronage and may yet have been in the melting pot during the 1st century B. C.

[1] Ibid., p. 92.
[2] Ibid., p. 117.
[3] Ibid., p. 143.
[4] Mandasor Stone Inscription of Kumāra Gupta I and Bandhuvarmā; Junagarh Rock Inscription of Skanda Gupta.
[5] *The Date of Kālidāsa*, p. 162.
[6] Diwan Bahadur Professor K. H. Dhruva's edition, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 1, 21, I. 5+ ff. cf. Ibid., p. 41.
[7] Ibid., p. 21, l. 58.

Fourthly, the enormous number of the images of Hindu Gods and their temples to which the poet makes frequent references cannot point to the conditions of the 1st century B. C. Surely the idol worship had long become prevalent in India but the prolific fashioning of the Hindu images marks out the period after the Kuṣāṇas. The impetus was received through the introduction of the Mahāyāna, a bhakti movement of the 1st century A. D. Before that mostly the images of Yakṣas were worshipped. This is how references to the idols of gods are not so ftequent in Aśvaghoṣa as in Kālidāsa. This may also incidentally point to the posterity of the latter poet to the former who live in the 1st century A. D.

Thus the 1st century B. C. theory must be abandoned. Likewise the sixth century theory of Hoernle[1]. M. M. Hara Prasad Shastri[2] and Dr. D. A. Bhandarkar[3] making Kālidāsa contemporary with Yasōdharman have been very ably combated by scholars like Dr. A. B. Keith[4] and Mr. B. C. Mazumdar[5] and must be abandoned. The theories of Hoernle and Pathak are based on the reference to *kuṅkuma* which idea is also set at right by accepting with Prof. Pathak the reading *Vaṅkṣu* for *Sindhu*[6]. We have already discussed the point of saffron in the valley of Oxus in our chapter dealing with the place names in connection with the identification of the habitat of the Hūṇas. There we have also discussed that the Hūṇas had already crossed the Oxus and settled in its valley in A. D. 425 when they had been defeated by Behramgour of Persia and when the Oxus had been recognized by them as their boundary. Even as early as A. D. 350 they had attacked Persia and had been repulsed by Shapur the Great[7]. Therefore there is absolutely no need of Kālidāsa being dragged to the 6th century for giving the Hūṇas time to invade India and settle in Kashmir. Then the fact that the poet has been followed by Vatsabhaṭṭi[8] points that he lived before A. D. 472 in which year the inscription is dated.

The poet is not aware of the Huṇa and the Puṣyamitra trouble of the reign of Kumāra Gupta, and so Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti's date[9] of the end of the fifth century A. D. is also precluded. Thus the range of time in which Kālidāsa lived and worked has been narrowed down to a considerable limit, i.e., about A. D. 400. Since Kālidāsa follows Vātsyāyana in many details, as has been shown in the chapter on *Learning*, he must have come after the third century which is the accepted date for Vātsyāyana. Therefore the poet must have lived about A. D. 400. This view has the concurrence of Sir R.G. Bhandarkar[10], Keith[11] and Smith[12].

[1] *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, pp. 109 ff.
[2] *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1916, pp. 31 ff.
[3] *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, 1927, Vol. VIII. pp. 200-4.
[4] *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, pp. 433 ff.
[5] Ibid., pp. 731 ff; *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1916, pp. 389 ff.
[6] Cf. *Meghadūta*, Introduction; *J. B. O. R. S.*, XIX. pp. 35-43.
[7] *Indian Antiquary*, 1919, p. 66.
[8] Mandasor Inscription, cf. V. 31 with *Rtu.*, V. 2, 3; cf. also Kielhorn-*Gott. Nach.*, 1890, pp. 251 seq. Buhler—Die Indischen Inscription, p. 71. *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, pp. 433 ff.
[9] *J. R. A. S.*, 1903, pp. 183 ff; ibid., 1904, pp. 158 ff.
[10] *J. B. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XX. p. 399.
[11] *A His. of Sans. Lit.*, p. 82.
[12] *E. H. I.*, p. 321.

Below will be given a few points to bring about the contemporaneity of Kālidāsa with the Guptas. Most of these points are absolutely new and will fix the poet to the reigns of Candra Gupta II Vikramāditya and his son Kumāra Gupta. We shall start, however, with two points commom with others.

There is a perfect similarity of expression between the language of Kālidāsa and that of the inscriptions of the Imperial Guptas. Sometimes the very same phrases occur in Kālidāsa as well as the inscriptions. Mr. Chakravarti[1] and Mr. Basak[2] have compared this affinity at length and Dr. F. W. Thomas has referred to a number of expressions formed from the root *gup*[3]. And although he does not subscribe to this view at least one thing positively follows from this. It is that Kālidāsa was greatly fond of using the derivatives from the root *gup*. This may have been due to his patronage by the Imperial Guptas. Throughout the present work also affinities in expressions and ideas pertaining to the social, religious, aesthetic and sculptural aspects have been alluded to. We may refer here to three such further affinities. The legends on the Gupta coins—*Samaraśatavitatavijayo jitaripur ajito divaṁ jayti*[4], *Rājādhirājaḥ pṛthivīvijitvādivam jayatyā hṛtavājimedhaḥ*[5], *Kṣitimavajitya sucaritair divaṁ jayati Vikramādityaḥ*[6], etc, are much akin to Kālidāsa's *purā saptadvīpam jayati vasudhāmapratirathaḥ*[7]. Kārttikeya riding a peacock, found on the coins of the Imperial Guptas[8], was perhaps their family deity. Kālidāsa makes frequent allusions to Kumāra and Skanda[9] and actually translates the coin figure of Kārttikeya riding a peacock in his expression *mayūrapṛṣṭhāśrayiṇā guhena*[10]. Kālidāsa also refers to this symbol borne on the seals.

The works of the poet disclose a very calm and prosperous state of things. The life of luxury, pursuit of art and literature and the social and economic greatness of a people are possible only in a well protected state and Kālidāsa's was a time of prosperous and benevolent rule. It may have been of the Guptas. The features referred to above have been alluded to throughout this work.

The religious toleration as evidenced by the inscriptions of the Guptas and as described by Fahien is borne out by the writings of Kālidāsa. The Puranic traditions which are utilized to a great length by the poet were mainly compiled during the Gupta period. The multiplicity of the idols of Hindu gods is a conspicuous feature of the writings of Kālidāsa as they are of the Gupta times. In the sculpture during the pre-Gupta epochs images of Yakṣas and Buddha preponderated.

[1] *J. R. A. S.*, 1903, pp. 183 ff., 1904, pp. 158 ff.
[2] *Proceedings of the 2nd Oriental Conference*, pp. 325 ff.
[3] *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, pp. 740 ff.
[4] Samudra Gupta, Standard Type, Obverse.
[5] Candra Gupta I, Aśvamedha Type, Obv.
[6] Ibid., Chatra Type, Obv.
[7] *Śāk.*, VII. 37.
[8] Kumara Gupta, Peacock Type, Reverse.
[9] *Raghu.*, II. 36, 37, 75, III. 16, 23, 55, V. 36, VI. 2, 4, VII. 1, 15, 61, IX. 24, 25, 26, X. 83, XIV. 22; *Ku.*, III. 24, 25, 26.
[10] *Raghu.*, VI. 4.

The poet must have flourished, as already pointed out, after Vātsyāyana whom he follows closely in his description of erotic scenes. Vātsyāyana has been placed in the 3rd century A. D. The tradition makes the poet contemporary with a Vikramāditya and since after the 3rd century we know of only one Vikramāditya, i.e., Candra Gupta II, before Skanda Gupta, he lived about A. D. 400.

He knows of the Greek terms like Jāmitra[1], Diametron, and so may have lived during the Gupta period for we must allow an interval of time for the foreign terms getting current in the land.

Huṇas are defeated by Raghu in their own land of the Oxus valley. They definitely settled down in that area about A. D. 425 when after their defeat by Behramgour, the Oxus was made the boundary between their habitat and Persia. The conquest of Bactria had actually been made by Candra Gupta II as is attested to by the Mehroli iron pillar of Candra. The *Raghuvaṁśa* may have been composed soon after A. D. 425, say by A. D. 430, the work being the last and the most consummate piece of the poet.

We may also refer here to some conclusive sculptural data furnished by the poet.

Kālidāsa refers to the webbed fingers *jālagrathitāṅgoliḥ karaḥ*[2] of Bharata. Sculptures and terracottas with webbed fingers are amazingly rare and those that are extant date from the Gupta period alone. The Mankunwar Stone Buddha[3] preserved in the Lucknow Museum may serve for an instance. It has webbed fingers on both the hands.

Kālidāsa alludes to the figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā carrying flywhisks.[4] The beginnings of the representation of these two river goddesses as chauri-bearers of gods in sculpture mark the later stages of the Kuṣāṇa and the early stages of the Gupta art. Such images are preserved in the Muttra[5] and Lucknow[6] museums. The reverse of the tiger type of Samudra Gupta's coins shows Gaṅgā holding a fillet and a lotus[7].

The *chatra* of the pre-Kuṣāṇa images later on developed into the halo rising from the pedestal from the back of the image. During the Kusāṇa period it was plain and was called *prabhāmaṇḍala*. Later, during the Gupta period, it was elaborated and its ground mostly filled with fanciful figures and rays of radiating light. This has been particularly marked by Kālidāsa in his term *sphurat-prabhāmaṇḍala*[8].

The description given by the poet of the samādhi of Śiva in the *Kumārasambhava*[9] perfectly tallies with the Buddha and Budhisattva images sitting in the *Vīrāsana mudrā* of the Kuṣāna times. The poet has these images for his model.

[1] *Ku.*, VII. 1.
[2] *Śāk.*, VII. 16.
[3] Pointed out to me by my friend Dr. V. S. Agarwala.
[4] *Ku.*, VII. 42.
[5] Exhibit No. 1507 of Gaṅgā from Maholi and No. 2659 of Yamunā from Katra Keshavadeva.
[6] Yamunā figure No. 5563.
[7] Cf. Allen, p. LXXIV. B. N. C.
[8] *Raghu.*, III. 60, V. 51, XIV. 14; *Ku.*, I. 24.
[9] *Ku.*, III 42-50.

These points will conclusively prove that Kālidāsa was a poet of the Gupta times. The perfect calm that pervades his works precludes the reign of Skanda Gupta and the closing years of the reign of Kumāra Gupta I which were marred by the trouble with the Puṣyamitras and the Hūṇas. The lower limit of the date of the poet thus may be put in the year 449 A. D., 450 being the year of the war with the Puṣyamitras. But if both Kumāra Gupta and Skanda Gupta have been referred indirectly by the poet he might have lived to see the birth of Skanda Gupta. The poet wrote extensively and his work must have extended over a long period of time. If he lived to an old age, say eighty years, then taking his death about A. D. 445, we can place his birth about A. D. 365. Thus he may have been born during the reign of Samudra Gupta and lived during the whole of Chandra Gupta II's reign and the major part of Kumāra Gupta's rule. He thus may have seen the birth of Skanda Gupta also as the prince must have been at least twenty years old when he beat back the Puṣyamitras. And if Kālidāsa began his career as a poet in his twenty-fifth year his *Ṛtusaṁhāra* may have been begun about A. D. 390, and his period of activities may have spread over a long range of time coinciding with what is popularly known as the Golden Age of Indian history[1].

[1] Professor V. V. Mirashi has discussed the evidence from the *Kuntaleśvaradautya* in his *Kālidāsa*, Ch. I, but here no discussion on that work has been made since the piece is not yet recovered.

APPENDIX B

EXTENT OF PUṢYAMITRA'S EMPIRE

It is not the purpose of this Appendix to settle the limits of the great Śuṅga empire on all its four directions. The point occasioned for discussion is due to an observation of Kālidāsa in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* which has been misunderstood by certain scholars. Sindhu, a river, finds mention in the above named play, Act V, in course of emperor Puṣyamitra's letter to his son, Agnimitra, the ruling prince of Vidiśā and the viceroy of his father's southern possessions. There it is narrated that on the southern bank of the Sindhu (*sindhordakṣiṇarodhasi*) Vasumitra, the grandson of the emperor and the guardian of his sacrificial horse had an encounter with *Yavanas*, the Greeks, whom he vanquished. The interest of this Appendix is therefore, to identify the river Sindhu of the text and to indicate the north western frontier of the Śuṅga empire. In this regard the title of this Appendix will prove a misnomer as there is no endeavour made to settle the limits of that empire on all its four points. The discussion, however, is not free from difficulties and it incidentally brings to the fore some very important and interesting points. There is an important section of the *Early History of India*[1] devoted by Dr. Vincent A. Smith to a discussion of the invasion of Menander on India of which several incidents and conclusions will prove unfounded and mistaken. We shall indicate them as we proceed.

Smith, following Cunningham, thinks that the western foreigners took up the challenge of the Śuṅga emperor "on the banks of the river Sindhu, which now forms the boundary between Bundelkhand and the Rajputāna states[2]." He further adds that "These disputants may have been part of the division of Menander's army which had undertaken the siege of Madhyamikā in Rajputānā[3]." But the utter untenability of Smith's position is easily established by a few facts which we give below. We shall, at the start, examine the savant's conclusion itself and so we shall have to take into account a few antecedent facts as well.

I. Smith confuses the invasion of Menander with that of Demetrios and makes Puṣyamitra a contemporary of both Khāravela and Menander[4]. The contemporaneity of Puṣyamitra and Khāravela rests on an extremely dubious datum, that of the equation of the former with Bahasatimitra of the Hathigumpha inscription of *Mahāmeghavāhana* Khāravela. Now since the coins of Puṣyamitra have been discovered bearing his own name, there is hardly any justifiable ground for clinging to an unnatural and indirect equation of part of the etymology (Pusya-Bṛahaspati) of the two names, Jayaswal himself having had accepted it

[1] 4th Edition, pp. 209 ff.
[2] Ibid., p. 211.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., pp. 209, 210, 227-229.

only as a temporary workable hypothesis. The equation then easily falls to the ground. Then, if we accept with Jayaswal 'Dimita' as the correct reading of the Hathigumpha inscription, which seems very probable, the Greek king (Yonarāja) of the Indian invasion turns out to be Demetrios and not Menander. There is another important point which makes the contemporaneity of Puṣyamitra with Khāravela highly improbable. The *Yugapurāṇa* of the *Gārgī Saṁhitā*, an astronomical work of about the 1st century B. C.[1] (i.e. written within a range of fifty years of Puṣyamitra's time) narrates the incidents, of this Greek invasion just after the reign of Śāliśūka Maurya[2], the fourth successor of Aśoka. Now, according to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*,[3] Śāliśūka Maurya is followed by at least three kings, namely Somaśarman Maurya (Daśavarman or Devavarman of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*), Śatadhanvan Maurya (Śatadanus of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*), and Bṛhadratha Maurya (Bṛhadaśva or Bṛjadaśva of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*). And it is after killing this last named Maurya king that Puṣyamitra ascends the throne of Magadha. Now, if the invasion came after the reign of Śāliśūka Maurya, certainly the Śuṅga emperor was removed downwards at least three reigns from the event of the occupation of Pāṭaliputra. According to Smith's computation itself Puṣyamitra is removed from Śāliśūka Maurya at least twenty-one years[4] (i. e. 206 B. C. acc. of Somaśarman, 185 B. C. the acc. of Puṣyamitra). Thus the invasion must not have fallen in the reign of Puṣyamitra. This important piece of evidence of the *Yugapurāṇa* has been overlooked by scholars. Now Khāravela's invasion against Puṣyamitra itself is unfounded and it must have come earlier probably during the time of Śāliśūka Maurya himself, to which fact Smith himself reluctantly, and perhaps doubtfully, accedes[5]. The *Yugapurāṇa* says that Śāliśūka Maurya was terribly irreligious himself although he persecuted the people of Saurāṣṭra and emulating Sampiati, forcibly converted them to Jainism, his own faith. This indeed may have been considered enough ground for a foreign invasion and there is therefore no wonder that the almost contemporaneous chronicler calls the Greek invader Demetrios Dharmamīta[6], a 'friend of the faith.' Thus the invasion came much before the accession of Puṣyamitra to the throne of Magadha. We learn, besides, of two invasions of Khāravela on Magadha. On the first occasion the Magadha king was humbled. It seems that it was now that the Greek invasion came. On the second invasion of Khāravela, according to the Hathigumpha inscription, the Greeks (Yonarāja Dimita) retired to Mathura and Khāravela again held sway over Magadha[7]. We may remark at this stage that according to the *Yugapurāṇa*[8] already 'the kings(of Magadha) had perished and the Greeks had been ruling' in the Madhyadeśa. It may, however, be observed on the

[1] *J. B. O. R. S.*, XIV. 1928, p. 399.
[2] *E. H. I.*, 4th Edition, p. 207.
[3] Ibid.; pp. 401-02, II. 16 ff.
[4] *E. H. I.*, 4th Edition, p. 207.
[5] Ibid.
[6] *J. B. O. R. S.*, XIX. 3, 1928, p. 401, l. 19.
[7] Ibid., p. 403, l. 40.
[8] यवना ज्ञापयिष्यन्ति नक्ष्येरन् च पार्थिवा: Ibid., l. 41.

same authority that the Greeks did not retire due to the Orissan pressure but they did so in consequence of a civil war which had broken out among themselves. It was the revolt of Eukratides that had compelled Demetrios, the *Rex Indorum* of Justin[1], to speed up with a desperate haste towards the north. All the same, the incident served as a great event for the panegyrical exploits of the great Orissan potentate. The Greek withdrawal from the Āryāvarta is indirectly alluded to by Patañjali also while commenting on the Paninian ephorism *Śūdrāṇāmanirvasitānām*[2]. Thus if all this happened during Śāliśūka Maurya's time or soon after his demise, then at least three reigns had to intervene before the great usurper could be brought to the scene of action, Puṣyamitra, therefore, could not have been the ruler of Magadha contemporary with either Khāravela or Demetrios. He may, however, have been a younger contemporary, serving in the Mauryan army and making his plans for and keeping a distant cast over his future usurpation.

I am prepared, however, to accept the view of Tarn as expressed in his *Greeks in Bactria and India*, a remarkable publication of recent years, that Menander was probably a General of Demetrios and also perhaps his son-in-law[3] If it was so, Menander would indeed become a contemporary of another youngman Puṣyamitra. Menander may have joined Demetrios in his attack on the Magadhan empire and Tarn's thesis[4] that it was led by Menander on the east and by Demetrios and Apollodotus on the west like a pair of pincers, the points of the pincers meeting at Pāṭaliputra may be correct. This may besides be borne out by the fact that Patañjali referring obviously to this event mentions simultaneously the sieges of Sāketa and Madhyamikā (*aruṇadyavanaḥ sāketam, aruṇadyavanaḥ madhyamikām*) in an example. It is significant how of the two sieges one located in Oudh and the other near Chitor in Rajputana could have been simultaneously effected if they had not been carried on by two flanks led under independent and yet tactfully coordinated units of an Invader's rushing columns of army. It may also be observed here that both Patañjali and the *Gārgī Saṃhitā*[5], refer to the same Greek invasion for in both the allusions to the siege of Sāketa are common. By analysing the *Yugapurāna* we find that there has not been only one invasion on Magadha but several. Smith considers them to be only one and this he supposes to have come towards the close of Puṣyamitra's reign[6], the invader being Menander! But actually the first came-under Dometrics, as is attested to by both the Hathigumpha inscription[7] and the *Yugapurāṇa*[8], Menander as a general leading an attack on the eastern side[9]. The Greeks become supreme in Pāṭaliputra for a time. The kings disappear and the Greeks rule[10]. The provinces get disrupted and

[1] XLI. 6, 4, *Demetrii regis Indoram*. cf. *Greeks in Bactria* and India, p. 154.
[2] *Mahābhāsya* (While describing the boundaries of Āryāvarta).
[3] W. W. Tarn: *Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 140, 225, 226.
[4] Ibid., pp. 140 ff.
[5] *J. B. O. R. S.*, XIV, 3, 1928, p. 402, l. 22.
[6] *E. H. I.*, 4th Edition, pp. 210, 229.
[7] *Yonarāja Dimita*.
[8] *J. B. O. R. S.*, XIV. 3, 1928, p. 403, l. 40.
[9] *Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 140 ff. [10] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Ibid., l. 41.

fall to disorder[1] and anarchy. But the Greeks do not stay in the Madhyadeśa for long[2] and Demetrios is constrained to hasten homeward to extinguish the conflagration set by the wily Eukratides. Necessity compels him to abandon his eastern possessions to Menander, who sets himself up as king at Śākala. At this stage the *Yugapurāṇa* comes in with an interesting event if we accept the reading Śākala with Professor Dhruva[3]. Seven stalwarts arise in the Greek camp at Śāgala, an internecine war develops and the Greek leaders meet their doom in the disaster. Then there is another move towards the east, probably under Menander. Swords are unsheathed, steel cracks under steel, may be near about Saketa and the east meets the west. There is a storm and then a consequent lull: the beaten foreign divisions decamp in disorder. And if we are to believe Plutarch that Menander died fighting in camp[4], who could indeed his invincible inveterate enemy be, but Puṣyamitra? Now the interval between the two Greek invasions must have fallen apart from each other several decades in distance of time. This would allow the three Mauryan reigns to pass off, the assassination of the last Mauryan king and the usurpation of the Magadhan throne by Puṣyamitra to be successfully attempted, the first performance of the *Aśvamedha* to be accomplished and a long reign to be established. Then came the vigorous attempt to reclaim the lost possessions to the dominions of Demetrios on the part of Menander who considered them his own both by virtue of his having succeeded to the eastern possession of Demetrios and by that of his part collaboration in the earlier victory over Magadha. But his designs were foiled by the Brahmanic veteran, Puṣyamitra, Patañjali's model of a Brahmanical revivalist. And it was now when the storm on the west had passed off, the throne of Śākala had lain vacant and the possessions near about Taxila and the Indus had been rendered uncertain, the Indian worthy thought of a complete effacement of the enemy and of claiming the dubious possessions of the Indus as his own. The second *Aśvamedha* followed in consequence. Vasumitra, the valiant escort of the agile sacrificial horse and the grandson of the redoubtable Puṣyamitra overran the vast tableland of the Āryāvarta and swept past the kingless capital of Śākala and Taxila and crushed the challenge of the gathering Greeks in a bend of the Indus, the Sindhu of our text, and thus reiterated the claims of his grandfather as a paramount sovereign of India. Tarn draws an affinity between the designs of Alexander and Demetrios[5] in their projected conquest of India. The analogy may be completed by observing that it proves true on the Indian side as well. It can be said that just as Demetrios had Alexander for his model perhaps Pusyamitra also had Candragupta for his. But just as Alexander could accomplish nothing Demetrios' plans also fell through. It was Menander who had to strive to lay claims to the possessions of his master, Demetrios, right in the manner of Seleukos endeavouring to regain possession of the lost dominions of his master, Alexander. But

[1] आकुला विषया: सर्वे भविष्यन्ति न संशय: । Ibid., p. 402, l. 25.
[2] मध्यदेशे न स्थास्यन्ति यवना युद्धदुर्मदा: ॥ Ibid., p. 403, l. 42.
[3] *J. B. O. R. S.*, XVI. I. pp. 20, l. 22.
[4] *Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 228, (*Mor.*, 821, D.)
[5] Ibid., p. 131.

just as Seleukos had received the surprise of his life in his defeat by Candragupta Maurya so also did Menander receive his in his adverses at the hands of Puṣyamitra. Nor was the Indian sovereign less energetic in his demands on the humble Greeks. Had not Candragupta received a Greek princess in the daughter of Seleukos as a term of stipulation in the treaty? Why should then Puyṣamitra hold back in a similar circumstance? This is why the *Yugapurāna* tells us as to how it was that he demanded the hand of a certain Greek princess, may be for his grandson (he himself being over sixty now), and pushing hard his point to gain his object, he died in camp[1] in the north. The evidence is corroborated by the *Aśokāvadāna*[2] as well whose author was probably a younger contemporary of Puṣyamitra[3]. Perhaps Agnimitra, who continued the war[4] started by his father, succeeded in gaining Puṣyamitra's objective[5].

II. With the defeat of Menander the United Provinces must have been evacuated of the Greeks and thus this part of the country dominated hitherto by a heretical Buddhist king[6] secured. The Yavanas may have been constrained to keep a hold only on the extreme western Punjab and it is not likely that Pusyamitra, an emperor of the status of one who could perform two horse sacrifices[7], would have left the followers of Menander, an adversary whom he had defeated, at a harmful distance who could threaten the safety of his newly won empire and a squadron of whose army actually came in conflict with his grandson.

III. Another evidence may be taken into account in this regard. The *Aśokāvadāna* says that Puṣyamitra was a great persecuter of the Buddhists whose monasteries he burnt upto Jalandher[8]. The authenticity of the story has been doubted and the narration has been characterised as an exaggerated piece[9] But there is no evidence to assail the incidents of the story and there is hardly any justification for supposing it to be a fabricated exaggeration. Perhaps there is some untrodden ground and some evidence not yet properly weighed which may be discussed below: The Mauryas from Aśoka downwards were rulers converted to Buddhism or Jainism holding them in high respect. We read not infrequently of the consequent inequities that occasionally befell the fate of the followers of the Brahmanical religion. Whenever there was an ascendency of the Brahmanical faith the Buddhist *Saṅghas* had shown ample desire to plot against it. Puṣyamitra was a hater of the Buddhists and had wrested from Bṛhadratha, the last Buddhist emperor of the Maurya dynasty, his empire by killing him in open day light. This successful revolution that he led was itself evidently the outcome of a Brahmanical conspiracy of which he may have been the leader. He, besides being him-

[1] *J. B. O. R. S.*, XVI 1, 1930, p. 21, II. 44 ff., cf. also Jayaswal's text, Ibid, XIV. 3, 1928, ll. 84 ff.

[2] *E. H. I.*, (Tārānātha), p. 229.

[3] *Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 177.

[4] *J. B. O. R. S.*, XVI. 1, 1930, p. 36.

[5] Ibid.

[6] That Menander had taken to the Buddhist faith is proved by the evidence of the *Milinda-pañha*.

[7] Ajodhya Inscription of Puṣyamitra.

[8] *Early History of India*, 4th edition, p. 213.

[9] Ibid.

self-a Brahmin, was furthermore a great revivalist of the temporarily overshadowed Brahmanic culture. He revived the long forgotten horse sacrifice and other rituals and must have been regarded with awe and hatred by the followers of Mahāvira and Buddha. The Jainas and Buddhists might have been driven to extreme wrath. The Buddhists were given to intrigue; it is very probable that they intrigued with the background of a long-lived Buddhistic state, and with many adherents of their faith who were yet quite large in number in the country. Let us digress a little here and examine Smith. The two invasions, if we were to depend on Smith, against the Brahman emperor, both by rulers professing faiths inimical to Brahmanism, were the result. The coincidence is intriguing and calls for an explanation It may be that the Jainas and the Buddhists made a common cause against this Brahmanical revivalist and animal sacrificer and it is not improbable that their combined intrigue had something to do with the invasion of Khāravela apart from the additional reason of his patriotic sentiments of vengeance against his contemporaneous successor of Nanda, who had the audacity of forcibly carrying away a Jaina image by humiliating one of the predecessors of Khāravela on the Kalinga throne. The first invasion came and was bought off, the second compelled Puṣyamitra to undergo the privation of an exile and to retire to Mathura. But the diplomat seems to have been an invincible match to his wily opponents as he soon recovered his kingdom and was able to establish his authority in the land. But we, however, do not agree with Smith on this point or seek the aid of his argument to establish our theory. The wreckers were hot at work and won over the services of a Buddhist monarch, Menander, to the cause of their faith. It was subsequent to the withdrawal of Demetrios and the assumption of powers at Śākala by Menander. Menander came with the ardour of a newly converted brother-of-faith and with the personal designs of a territorial aggrandisement and penetrated far into the east. But the hand that had struck Bṛhadratha and wrested the empire of the Buddhist Mauryas was strong enough to hold it and the intruder was violently repulsed and thoroughly routed. The wrath of the Śuṅga general, who could well have seen through the real cause of this invasion (i. e. a Buddhistic conspiracy), was naturally raised to a frenzied pitch and, it seems, he followed his conquest by pressing hard upon the heels of the followers of Menander slaughtering the Buddhist monks and burning down their monasteries, the centres of plots against him and his religion. And it is in the fitness of things that the reference in the *Aśokāvadāna* story should have been made to the burning of the Buddhist monasteries up to Jallandher, and around Śākala for the head of each Śramana of which he is said to have put a hundred gold pieces for the price[1]. We may note here that Śākala was full of Buddhists then and the capital is said to be a possession of the Śuṅga emperor[2]. This story seems to be absolutely correct to us and the idea that Puṣyamitra could not be so cruel on the ground that the Brahmanical rulers were generally tolerant does not appeal to us. The story of Śaśāṅka's persecution is on record after all.

[1] पुष्यमित्रो यावत् संघारामान् भिक्षूंश्च प्रघातयन् प्रस्थित । स यावच्छाकलमनुप्राप्त । तेनाभिहितम् । यो मे श्रमणशिरो दास्यति तस्याहं दीनारशत दास्यामि । Aśokāvadāna in the *Divyāvadāna*.

[2] *Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 177.

The truth of the story cannot be denied especially as the uncalled for assumption is made with reference to a man who remained a soldier all his life so much so that it gained him the epithet of *Senāpati* which he preferred to his well-deserved title of the emperor, and who revelled in bloody wars and sanguinary sacrifices. Then we must remember that the occupation of Pāṭaliputra and the sieges of Sāketa and Madhyamikā would have been very fresh in his mind and would have urged him on to wreak full vengeance on the Greeks, the perpetrators and the Buddhist monks, the abettors of a national crime.

IV. The horse sacrifice referred to in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*[1] seems to have been the second of the two that the emperor performed and must have fallen almost at the fag end of Puṣyamitra's reign in view of the fact that his grandson had grown old enough to venture out with an army in foreign lands guarding the horse consecrated for a Rājasūya sacrifice. We know that Agnimitra has been portrayed in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* as making love with Mālavikā in an advanced age and as having a household with several wives and children. These facts show that this was the second sacrifice of Pusyamitra who was an old man now. By this time it is expected that a man of his energy, push and tact should have consolidated his empire and made it peaceful and prosperous. There is no strength in the plea that the Greek squadron that Vasumitra stumbled into on the bank of the Sindhu may have been a part of the rear guard of a bigger army and that this Sindhu is a minor stream of that name near Bundelkhand. Then the fact yet remains to be proved that this Kalisindh did not flow through the dominions of Puṣyamitra. It can, on the contrary, be established that the valley of this river was a possession of the Śuṅgas, father and son. How can it be possibly imagined that the Kalisindh which flows at a short distance from Vidiśā, the capital of Agnimitra, lay out of the territory of Puṣyamitra? Thus whereas the region about Śākala[2], Malwā and the protectorate[3] of Vidarbha (Berar) lay at the feet of the Śuṅga emperor and since the entire course of the Kaliṣindh wound through his territory, it would be untenable to think that a Greek army could bivouac on the bank of this river towards the close of Puṣyamitra's reign and endanger his prosperity.

V. Mathura to which, according to Smith, the general had retired after his defeat from Khāravela must not have lain beyond his dominions in the west, nay, nor even on the extreme western border of his empire for we have to take into account the inimical Buddhists and the ambitious Menander whose territory was conterminous with his. But we shall not build our theory on the failure of Smith, when we have the evidence of the *Aśokāvadāna* (quoted *ante*) to go by. It says that Śākala was a Śuṅga possession. Mathurā also, therefore, was included in his empire. Thus, if Śākala lay within his empire which cannot be doubted now, it is only natural and logical that we should look for a Sindhu beyond this city, for the Kalisindh will fall farther within the Indian side of Śākala. And

[1] p. 102.

[2] Represented as a possession of Puṣyamitra in the *Aśokāvadāna*. cf. *Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 177.

[3] *Mālavikāgnimitra*, V. 13.

beyond Śākala there is only one Sindhu that we know of which is none other than the Indus.

VI. An *Aśvamedha* sacrifice obviously refers to a conquest of lands lying beyond the dominions of the sacrificer. His horse cannot possibly be attacked at home and since the Kalisindh lay within the empire of the General the horse must have moved beyond Śākala and its leader must have encountered the Greeks on the bank of the Indus.

VII. Lastly, as we learn from the *Mālavikāgnimitra*[1] that Dhāriṇī, the mother of Vasumitra and Agnimitra his father, rejoice on the victory of their son to a great length which fact may indicate their anxiety for him as it is further strengthened by the mother's remark: अति घोरे खलु पुत्रकः सेनापतिना नियुक्तः[2]. 'Our young son has been appointed by the General to a dangerous undertaking.' Now we know that their information about the victory of their son comes through the letter from Puṣyamitra[3]. This would have looked strange if the battle had been fought on the Kalisindh which flowed within the possession of Agnimitra. He would have been the first person to know the results of the battle fought in his neighbourhood. It will be futile to press the point that he was engaged more in the personal affairs of his harem and did not seriously care for politics because he shows himself considerably alert in the disposal of the affairs regarding Vidarbha. The information comes from the General for he was closer to the scene of operation which was the frontier Indus than Agnimitra and the courier that brought the message of victory from Vasumitra changed post at Pāṭaliputra[4].

The data discussed in course of the above few pages amply make out a case for the identification of the river Sindhu of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* with the frontier Indus.

[1] Pp. 102-104.
[2] Ibid., p. 101.
[3] Ibid., p. 102.
[4] I have discussed at length the *Sindhu* problem in the *Journals* of the U. P. Historical Society and the Benares Hindu University (Silver Jubilee number) in the year 1943.

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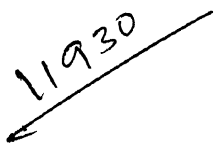
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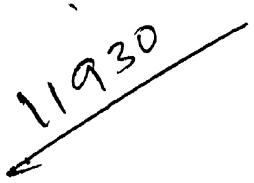
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