

M. R. KALE



R *The* *Raghuvamśa*
of Kālidāsa

IND Oct 3.1 2

VK

THE
RAGHUVAMŚA
OF KĀLIDĀSA

With the Commentary Sañjivani of Mallinātha

CANTOS I—V

Edited with a literal English Translation and copious notes

M. R. KALE

UNIVERSITY OF MUMBAI
LIBRARY FOR MUMBAI
INDIAN LIBRARY
MUMBAI

2002/10/3

Indology

MOTILAL BANARSIDASS PUBLISHERS PVT. LTD.
DELHI

Reprinted: Delhi, 1972, 1991, 1997
Copyright with Shri V.M. Kale and other legal heirs of the author

MOTILAL BANARSIDASS

ISBN: 81-208-0861-4

41 U.A. Bungalow Road, Jawahar Nagar, Delhi 110 007
8, Mahalaxmi Chamber, Warden Road, Mumbai 400 026
120 Royapettah High Road, Mylapore, Chennai 600 004
Sanas Plaza, Subhash Nagar, Pune 411 002
16 St. Mark's Road, Bangalore 560 001
8 Camac Street, Calcutta 700 017
Ashok Rajpath, Patna 800 004
Chowk, Varanasi 221 001

Universität Würzburg
LEHRSTUHL FÜR INDLOGIE
Institut für Kulturwissenschaften
Ost- und Südasiens

Inventar-Nr.
Indologie

237/2002

PRINTED IN INDIA

BY JAINENDRA PRAKASH JAIN AT SHRI JAINENDRA PRESS,
A-45 NARAINA, PHASE I, NEW DELHI 110 028
AND PUBLISHED BY NARENDRA PRAKASH JAIN FOR
MOTILAL BANARSIDASS PUBLISHERS PRIVATE LIMITED,
BUNGALOW ROAD, DELHI 110 007

CONTENTS

Introduction	i-xli
Important Abbreviations	xlii
Text of रघुवंश	
प्रथमः सर्गः	(१)-(२७)
द्वितीयः सर्गः	(२७)-(४६)
तृतीयः सर्गः	(४६)-(७३)
चतुर्थः सर्गः	(७३)-(६६)
पञ्चमः सर्गः	(६६)-(१२४)
Translation	
Canto I	1-9
Canto II	9-17
Canto III	18-25
Canto IV	26-34
Canto V	34-42
Notes	
Canto I	(1)-(36)
Canto II	(37)-(65)
Canto III	(65)-(89)
Canto IV	(89)-(120)
Canto V	(120)-(144)

INTRODUCTION.

I. THE SANSKRIT KĀVYA.

Before the student enters upon a critical and detailed study of the Raghuvamśa it is necessary that he should be acquainted with the salient features of what is called Kāvya in Sanskrit.¹ Sanskrit rhetoricians have divided all kinds of literary compositions into two main divisions, दृश्य (what is capable of being seen) and श्रव्य (what can only be heard or chanted). All the varieties of dramatic pieces come under the दृश्य class, while everything else can be broadly described as श्रव्य. The श्रव्य Kāvya² again, has been further sub-divided, on considerations of its form, according as it is written in verse, or in prose, or in mixed verse and prose.³ (1) Compositions in verse or metrical form are the commonest specimens of श्रव्य Kāvya. They generally fall into two classes, the distinction being based chiefly on their length:⁴—(a) महाकाव्य or 'Great Poems', such as the Raghuvamśa, the Śiśupālavadha &c., (b) and लघुकाव्य or 'Small Poetical Pieces', a class which includes all minor lyrical poetry and such works as the Meghadūta, the Śāminivilāsa, the Amarśataka &c. (2) Prose works are comparatively rare in Sanskrit; their main kinds are two⁵—Kathā (e. g. the Kādambari of Bāṇabhaṭṭa) and Ākhyāyikā (e. g. the Harshacharita of the same author). (3) Works in which prose and

1 The information given here has been briefly summarized from the Kav.-D. and the Sāh.-D. For a *historical* outline of Kāvya literature the student is recommended to consult any standard History (e. g. Macdonell's) of Sanskrit Literature.

2 The student should be on his guard against the common conception that Kāvya, 'Poetry', is *metrical* composition. Kāvya originally signifies any literary piece, whether in prose or in verse; in popular usage it has been chiefly applied to verse.

3 पर्यं गयं च मिश्रं च तन्निधैव व्यवस्थितम् । Daṇḍin.

4 This is clear from the words of Viśvanātha who says लघुकाव्यं भवेत्काव्यस्यैकदेशावुल्लारि च; 'a Khaṇḍa kāvya treats of some portion of (the subjects that fill a whole) Mahākāvya.'

5 अपादः पदस्तानो गयमाख्यायिकाकथे । इति तस्य प्रभेदो द्वौ ॥ Daṇḍin. The Agnipurāṇa mentions five kinds, viz. आख्यायिका कथा लघुकथा परिकथा तथा । कथालिकेति मन्वन्ते गयकाव्यं च पञ्चधा ॥

verse are mixed are classed as Champūs (e. g. the Bhāratachampū, the Viśvagunādarśa-champū, &c.)⁶

The student will thus notice that, along with dramas, the महाकाव्य and खण्डकाव्य have been the most popular forms of literary composition, and have attracted the best geniuses to try their hand at them. It is true that the Khanda Kāvya attracted more attention, chiefly because it is short and requires less expenditure of time and energy; and that the number of extant Mahākāvya, therefore, is not very large. But what is here lacking in quantity has been amply made up in quality. For in dignity of style, depth of thought and majesty of movement, the Mahākāvya is far and away the best expression which the Sanskrit literary artist has found for his genius. The Raghuvamśa is a Mahākāvya, which the Sāh.-D.⁷ defines as follows:—

सर्गबन्धो महाकाव्यं तत्रैको नायकः सुरः ।
सदृशः क्षत्रियो वापि धीरोदात्तगुणान्वितः ॥
एकवर्गभवा भूपाः कुलजा बहवोऽपि वा ।
गृह्णन्वीरशान्तानामेकोऽङ्गी रस इष्यते ॥
अङ्गानि सर्वेऽपि रसाः सर्वे नाटकसंघयः ।
इतिहासोद्भव एतन्मन्यद्वा सज्जनाश्रयम् ॥
चत्वारस्तस्य वर्गाः स्पृष्टेभ्यो च फलं भवेत् ।
आदौ नमस्त्रियाधीना वस्तुनिर्देश एव वा ॥

6 गद्यपद्यमयं काव्यं चम्पूरित्यभिधीयते । Sāh.-D. If we set aside the distinction between श्रव्य and दृश्य, and consider form alone, it is also possible to class dramas as 'mixed Kāvya,' as indeed has been done by Dandin who says मिश्राणि नाटकादीनि (K.—D. I. 31).

7 We give above the definition of the Sāh.-D. which is more detailed, since its author, who lived in the fifteenth century, had all the famous Mahākāvya before him, including even the later specimens. The definition of Dandin (of the sixth century) is earlier and concise, and we give it below for comparison with that of Viśvanātha: सर्गबन्धो महाकाव्यमुच्यते तस्य लक्षणम् । आशीर्नमस्त्रियावस्तुनिर्देशो वापि तन्मुखम् ॥ इतिहासकथोद्भूतमितरद्वा सदाश्रयम् । चतुर्वर्गफलायत्तं चतुरोदात्तनायकम् ॥ नगरार्णवशैलतुल्यचन्द्राकोदयवर्णनैः । उद्यानसलिलक्रीडामधुपानरतीस्त्वैः ॥ विप्रलम्भैर्विवाहैश्च कुमारोदयवर्णनैः । मन्त्रहृतप्रयाणाजिनायकाश्च दयैरपि ॥ अलंकृतमसंक्षिप्तं रसभावनिरन्तरम् । सर्गैरुत्तिविस्तीर्णैः श्रव्यदृश्यैः सुसंविभिः ॥ सर्वत्र भिन्नवृत्तान्तैरुपेतं लोकरञ्जनम् । काव्यं कल्पान्तरस्थायि जायते सदलंकृति ॥

Other definitions, more or less similar, will be found in Agnipurāṇa (337), Kāvya-lampkāra (I), Sarasvatī-Kaṇṭhābharava (V.), &c.

कचिर्निदा खलादीनां सतां च गुणकीर्तनम् ।

एकद्वयमयैः पयैरवसानेऽन्यद्वयैः ॥

नातिस्वल्पा नातिदीर्घा सर्गा अधाधिका इह ।

नानाद्वयमयः क्वापि सर्गः कश्चन दृश्यते ॥

सर्गान्ते भाविसर्गस्य कथायाः सूचनं भवेत् ।

संघास्येन्दुरजनीप्रदोषध्वान्तवासराः ॥

प्रातर्मध्याह्नमृगयाशैलतुल्यवसागराः ।

संभोगविप्रलम्भौ च धुनिस्वर्गपुराध्वराः ॥

रणप्रयाणोपशममन्त्रपुत्रोदयादयः ।

वर्णनीया यथायोगं साङ्गोपाङ्गा अमी इह ॥

कवेर्दृष्टस्य वा नाम्ना नायकस्येतरस्य वा ।

नामास्य सर्गोपादयैकथया सर्गनाम तु ॥

(Parichchheda VI.)

Thus, a Mahākāvya should be divided into chapters, called सर्ग or Cantos. The hero should be either a divine personage, or a Kshatriya of noble descent and possessed of the qualities of a Dhīrodātta⁸ Hero. This is when the poem is concerned with the description of the life of a single hero (as in the Śiśupālavadha or the Vikramāṅkadevacharita); if like the Raghuvamśa it has for its theme a number of Heroes, then they should all be Kshatriya princes sprung from the same race, and of pure descent. The prominent sentiment (रस) should be either गृह्णन्, वीर or शान्त, others being introduced as accessories. The subject-matter should be arranged as in a nāṭaka with the necessary changes. The plot may be historical, or may have for its subject-matter the glorious deeds of the good and the virtuous. The object of such compositions should be the attainment of the four aims of human pursuit—i. e. they should be written in such a way that their study would point out the means of attaining them. It should open with a verse or verses expressive of a salutation to a deity, or a blessing conferred on the readers, or a hinting of the subject-matter; these may sometimes be followed by censure of villains and praise of the good (as in the Vikramāṅkadevacharita). A Mahākāvya should be divided into सर्ग not less than eight⁹ which should be neither too

8. A 'Dhīrodātta' ('self-controlled and exalted') Hero is one who is magnanimous, exceedingly grave, forbearing, not boastful, resolute one whose high spirit is concealed, and who is faithful to his promise (महासत्त्वोऽतिगम्भीरः क्षमाशानविकल्पनः । स्थितो निष्ठाईकारो धीरोदात्तो दृढव्रतः ॥ D.—R. III.)

9. Some restrict the number to thirty; cf. अष्टसर्गात् तु न्यूनं विंशत्सर्गाच्च नाधिकम् । Isānasamhitā; but the Haravijaya possesses as many as fifty cantos. So the rule is not absolute.

long nor too short¹⁰. They should be composed in the same metre, which should change only at the end; sometimes (as a variety) a सर्ग may be written in a number of metres. The contents of the next Canto should be indicated at the end of the preceding one. It should describe, at more or less length, such incidents and topics as twilight, the rise of the sun and the moon, the night, the evening, darkness, the day, morning, noon, hunting, mountains, seasons, forests, oceans, the union and separation of lovers, sages, heaven, cities, sacrifices, battles, invasions, marriage ceremonies, advice, the birth of a son, &c. &c. It should be named after the poet, or the plot, or the Hero, or some other person; while each Sarga should be named in accordance with its own contents (e. g. the 6th canto of the Ragh. is named स्वयंवरवर्णन).

It should be borne in mind that these elaborate rules were evolved after a minute examination of all available specimens. The works of early poets like Kālidāsa will not therefore be found to conform strictly to the definition given above, nor is it necessary that they should do so, provided they follow the broad lines laid down. For Daṇḍin himself says, न्यूनमप्यत्र यैः कैश्चिदङ्गैः काव्यं न दुष्यति । बहुपातेषु संपत्तिरापश्यति तद्विदः ॥ (I. 20). Thus the Raghuvamśa, though it does not describe everyone of all those incidents and topics, still conforms mostly the definition given, as the student can verify for himself. Thus, it has for its theme a number of noble kings born of the same family. The predominant sentiment is वृत्तार, though वीर and कर्ण are often introduced as accessories (e. g. in Canto III. and VIII.). It is named after Raghū, the most eminent among its many heroes. The subject of the next Canto is indicated towards the close of the previous one; e. g. it is evident from what is said at the end of Canto V. that the *Swayamvara* of Indumatī would be described in Canto VI. The metre changes at the end of each Canto, and the ninth Canto is written in a number of different metres. प्रातःकाल described in Canto V., मृगया in IX., क्रतु in XVI. and XIX., संभोग in XIX., रण in VII., उपवास in VII., पुत्रोदय in III. Each Canto is named after the most important event described in it. Other particulars the student can find out for himself. Technically, the Raghuvamśa is quite a representative specimen of its class; as regards

10. The *Isāna-Samhitā* explains that the number of stanzas in a single canto should not exceed 200, and should not be less than 30.

its other merits and distinguishing features, we shall have a few remarks to make, but these more properly belong to a subsequent Section.

II. KĀLIDĀSA.

(A) HIS LIFE, WORKS AND POETRY.



To turn now to the poet it must be admitted that we have absolutely no trustworthy information regarding the personal **His Life.** history of Kālidāsa, by universal consent the greatest of Indian poets. The curiosity of the querist who would ask—'Where and when was he born?' 'Who were his parents?' 'When did he die?' &c.—must ever remain unsatisfied. The poet has studiously observed complete silence about himself in his works. Read them howsoever we may, we find no allusion, no incident mentioned, that may directly shed any light either on his personal history or on any remarkable event of his life. Under these circumstances we have to content ourselves with gathering what little information we can about a poet of world-wide repute from external sources, and a few incidents found here and there in his works, which may be supposed to have a distant bearing upon the history of his life. Reserving for another Section the question of the date of the poet, we proceed here to state the few facts that can thus be known about him. A time-honoured tradition, supported by internal and external evidence, associates the name of Kālidāsa with that of the epoch-making king Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī. The keen interest and admiration with which the poet describes the Mahākālā, the Śiprā, and other beauties of Ujjayinī, unmistakably point to the conclusion that he must have been a native of that city. And the various covert references¹¹ to the name of Vikrama in fully eulogistic terms, which are doubtless meant to immortalize king Vikramāditya, are inexplicable if that monarch be not regarded as the poet's patron. Kālidāsa also betrays considerable acquaintance with court-life in his works. This circumstance, coupled with the fact that there is no allusion in his writings to the goddess of wealth having ever frowned upon him, shows that he was in affluent

11. E. g., अश्वसेकः खलु विक्रमलंकारः (Vikr.), विक्रममहिम्नावर्णे भवान् (*Ibid.*) &c.

circumstances, and had not the misfortune ever to drink the bitter cup of poverty. He was a Brāhmaṇa by caste and was a devout worshipper of Śiva, though by no means a sectarian. As seems to have travelled a good deal, at least in Northern India. For, as Dr. Bhau Dāji remarks, he is the only poet who describes a living saffron flower, the plant of which grows in Kashmir. His graphic description of the Himālayan scenes looks very much like that of one who was an eye-witness. Unlike Bhavabūti and many other brother-poets, he appears to have enjoyed great popularity during his lifetime. He was 'an admirer of field-sports,' and 'describes their beneficial effects with the exactness of a true sportsman.' Though fond of pleasures he was not the unscrupulous voluptuary he is supposed to be by some critics, as is clear from the many noble sentiments expressed in the *Śākuntala*.¹² It also appears from the same play that he was against love-marriages, though always actuated with the most generous sentiments towards the fair sex. His works bear further testimony to his considerable acquaintance with the Vedas, the philosophy taught by the Upanishads, the Epics and the Purāṇas, the Bhagavadgītā, the systems of Sāṃkhya, Yoga, and Vedānta as propounded by Bādarāyaṇa, Medicine, and the rudiments of Astronomy. Beyond these few facts nothing is known for certain about our poet at present. It is inevitable that, during the course of time, a number of fanciful stories and legends should have clustered round the popular hero of literary India. Thus there is a story which relates how the poet was born a blockhead and a dunce, but had wisdom bestowed upon him in consequence of his subsequent propitiation of the goddess Kālī, whence his name *Kālidāsa*. Another story makes him a friend of King Kumārādāsa of Ceylon, in whose city Kālidāsa was murdered by a courtesan. No reliance need be placed on such accounts. Many such stories will be found in the Sanskrit Bhojaprabandha, and in a collection which, under the title of *Tales of King Bhoja and Poet Kālidāsa*, is a popular book in many Indian vernaculars. A few conjectures have been advanced as to some other particulars, but to test their veracity falls strictly within the province of the antiquary.

The poet's silence about himself in his works gave an opportunity to many unscrupulous inferior poets to father their own works upon him. The following is

a list of the works generally attributed to him:—(1) शाकुन्तल (2) विक्रमोर्वशीय (3) मालविकाग्निमित्र (4) रघुवंश (5) कुमारसंभव (6) मेघदूत (7) कुन्तेभरद्वाज (8) ऋतुसंहार (9) अम्बास्तव (10) कल्याणस्तव (11) काळीस्तोत्र (12) काव्यनाटकाङ्ककाराः (?) (13) and (14) two गङ्गाष्टक (15) वटकर्पूर (16) चण्डिकाष्टकस्तोत्र (17) चर्चस्तव (18) ज्योतिर्विदाभरण (19) दुर्दैवकाव्य (20) नदीद्वय (21) नवरत्नमाला (22) पुष्पदाणविलास (23) मकरन्दस्तव (24) and (25) two गङ्गाष्टक (?) (26) महापद्मदूत (27) रत्नकोश (28) राक्षसकाव्य (29) लक्ष्मीस्तव (30) लघुस्तव (31) विद्वद्भिन्नोदकाव्य (32) वृन्दावनकाव्य (33) वैष्णवोदकाव्य (34) शुद्धिचन्द्रिका (35) शृङ्गारतिलक (36) शृङ्गाररसाष्टक (37) शृङ्गारसारकाव्य (38) श्यामलाष्टक (39) श्रुतबोध (40) सप्तश्लोकीरामायण and (41) सेतुबन्ध. Of these the first six are acknowledged by all critics to be undoubtedly his. (7) is not yet discovered, but is known only in a quotation by the Kashmirian scholar Kshemendra, in his *Auchityavichāracharchā*. The authorship of (8) is somewhat doubtful; while the remaining ones are certainly to be dismissed as the productions of other poets. There is another fact also which should be borne in mind in this connexion. In Sanskrit literary history there have been many poets who bore the name *Kālidāsa*, and at least three were known to Rājasekhara who wrote एकोऽपि जीयते इत्य काळिदासो न केनचिद् । शृङ्गारे ललितेद्वारे काळिदासप्रयी किञ्च ॥ It is possible, therefore, that other Kālidāsas than the author of the *Raghuvamśa* are responsible for the trifling pieces mentioned above. Here, then, we are concerned with the first six only. The most convenient and reliable method of studying the development of a poet's mind and its relation to his productions would be to read his works in their chronological order. But we have no external evidence, whatsoever, to ascertain the chronology of Kālidāsa's works. It must, therefore, be based wholly on internal evidence. Judged as such the works would stand in this order—Poems—कुमारः, मेघदूत and रघुवंश; Plays—मालविकाः, विक्रमोः and शाकुन्तल or, both indiscriminately as—कुमारः, मालविकाः, विक्रमोः, मेघदूत, शाकुन्तल; and रघुवंश. Space will not permit us even to refer to these briefly. We will only remark in passing that the last three are the outcome of the poet's matured poetic faculties and riper years.

Kālidāsa is indisputably the greatest master-mind in Sanskrit poetry. His genius has been recognized in India from very early times. He has been and will ever be enshrined in the hearts of his countrymen as the Prince of Indian poets. Most Indian successors of Kālidāsa have expressed in suitable words their admiration of the poet who stood far ahead of

12. Cf. अनिर्वर्जनीयं परकलत्रं &c. Śāk. V. and our note *ad loc.*

them in the perfection of his art. Thus Bānabhatta, the famous author of the Kādambarī, speaks of him in the following words:—

निर्गताह न वा कस्य कालिदासस्य सक्तिः ।

प्रीतिर्मधुरसाद्राह मञ्जरीशिव जायते ॥

“When Kālidāsa’s sweet sayings, charming with sweet sentiment, went forth, who did not feel delight in them as in honey-laden flowers?” Kumārila, who flourished about the first half of the eighth century, has quoted with approval the passage from the Śākuntala सर्ता हि संदेहपदे वस्तु प्रमाणमन्तःकरणप्रवृत्तयः. There is a Subhāshita which says:—

पुरा कवीनां गणनाप्रसङ्गे कनिष्ठिकाऽधिष्ठितकालिदासा ।

अथापि तनुत्यक्वेरभावाद्नामिका साऽर्धवती नभूव ॥

“While once the poets were being counted, ‘Kālidāsa’ (as being the first) occupied the last finger. But the ring-finger remained true to its name (अनामिका=nameless), since his second has not yet been found (by whom it can be occupied)”. Pandit Govardhanāchārya thus speaks of our poet:—

साकूतमधुरकोमलविलासिनीकण्ठकूजितप्राये ।

शिवात्ममयेऽपि हृदे रत्नलीलाकालिदासोकी ॥

“Two things only *viz.* love-sport and Kālidāsa’s poetry, delight the heart even at the time of instruction, as they mostly consist of the sweet, tender and touching words of a sportful girl.” Almost every Pandit has in his mouth the following memorable verse—

काव्येषु नाटकं रम्यं तत्र रम्या शकुन्तला ।

तत्रापि च चतुर्थोऽङ्कस्तत्र श्लोकचतुष्टयम् ॥

“Among Kāvya the drama is the most charming. Among dramas Śākuntala is specially charming. Even there the fourth Act is the best, and lastly, four ślokas¹³ therein are especially most beautiful”. The highest place is assigned to Kālidāsa among poets for the construction of happy similes, when it is said—

उपमा कालिदासस्य भावेरप्यगौरवम् ।

दण्डिनः पदालित्यं मावे सन्ति त्रयो गुणाः ॥

Among later writers, Jayadeva has called our poet कविकुलगुरु ‘the lord of poets’ and the विलास or ‘Graceful Play’ of the Muse of Poetry.¹⁴

That his countrymen should place him at the head of all Sanskrit poets, unparalleled and unsurpassed by those who have

13 They are—यास्यत्यय शकुन्तलेति &c.; दृष्टवस्व गुरुन् &c.; अभिजनवतो भर्तुः श्लाघ्ये &c.; and भूत्वा चिराय चतुरन्तमहीसपत्नी &c.

14 भासो हासः कविकुलगुरुः कालिदासो विलासः ।

preceded or followed him, is natural enough; but he has evoked spontaneous outpourings of praise and manifestations of admiration even from foreign scholars and poets who had access to his works either directly or through translations. Goethe has voluntarily bestowed the highest meed of praise on him—so much was he enraptured by the charms of Kālidāsa’s Muse and struck with his poetic genius. This is what he says about the Śākuntala—

“Wouldst thou the young year’s blossoms and the fruits of
its decline,

And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted, fed ?
Wouldst thou the earth and heaven itself in one sole name
combine ?

I name thee, O Śākuntalā, and all at once is said.”¹⁵

When we remember that Goethe himself was the greatest poet of Germany and one of the greatest of the world, we realize the importance of his estimate of our poet. The well-known philosopher and traveller, Humboldt, pronounces the following judgment— ‘Kālidāsa is a masterly describer of the influence which Nature exercises upon the minds of lovers. Tenderness in the expression of feelings and richness of creative fancy have assigned to him his lofty place among the poets of all nations.’ The celebrated critic, Schlegel, has assigned him a very high position amongst the glorious company of the ‘Sons of Song’. Several eminent modern orientalists have also offered their tribute of praise to our Indian Shakespeare, as Sir William Jones was the first to call him—the very comparison of Kālidāsa to Shakespeare is the highest form of eulogy that could be bestowed upon him by foreign critics. Sir Monier-Williams, while writing about the Śākuntala, thus expresses himself:—“No composition of Kālidāsa displays more the richness of his poetical genius, the exuberance of his imagination, the warmth and play of his fancy, his profound knowledge of the human heart, his delicate appreciation of its most refined and tender emotions, his familiarity with the workings and counter-workings of its conflicting feelings—in short more entitles him to rank as the Shakespeare of India.” Prof. Lassen calls him “the brightest star in the firmament of Indian poetry.”

Wh thus find that Kālidāsa has established sovereignty in the hearts of all alike. Now it may be asked, ‘What is that in

15. As translated from the German by Mr. E. B. Eastwick.

Kālidāsa which establishes his undisputed claim to the highest honour which is thus bestowed upon him? Unless this question is satisfactorily answered Kālidāsa's merits as a poet cannot be said to be determined.¹⁶ His poetic genius has brought Sanskrit poetry to the highest elegance and refinement. His style is peculiarly pure and chaste. It has 'neither the laxity of the Purāṇas nor the extravagant colouring of later poems.' It is unartificial and characterized by brevity consistent with perspicuity. An unaffected simplicity of expression and an easy-flowing language mark his writings which are embellished with similes unparalleled for their beauty and appropriateness, and with pithy general sayings. His diction is marked by the absence of long compounds, involved constructions, over-wrought rhetoric, and artificial puns. Kālidāsa excels other poets in his description of the sublime and the beautiful. It is a principle recognized by all modern critics that 'Nature must be the life and essence of poetry'; and in respect of this, Kālidāsa may be said to be essentially a poet of Nature (of course in the limited sense of the term which it is possible to attach to it in those times of gay luxury and general prosperity). He describes with most effective touches the gorgeous scenery of the mountain Himālaya—its snow-clad and mineral-covered summits, the peaks where sunshine ever reigns, the fragrant and cool breezes blowing there, the wilds with the hunters, the musk-deer, the potent herbs shedding lustre at night, the *chamara* deer, the Mānasa lake &c.; and his description of the Ganges and the peaceful hermitage-life is very striking and life-like. His descriptive powers are great, and some of the scenes in the Śāk., the Megh., and the Ragh. are so enchanting as to hold his readers spell-bound. And as regards *व्यङ्ग्य*, the kind of poetry which suggests more than what it expresses, he is a master of acknowledged skill.

(B) HIS DATE.

The problem of the date of Kālidāsa is a vexed one and it has yet to be finally settled. The earliest mention of Kālidāsa by name is in the Aihole Inscription dated 634 A. D., and it furnishes the 7th Century A. D. as the downward limit of the poet's date. Tradition mentions Kālidāsa as a contemporary and a court-poet of king Vikramāditya. One king of that name founded the era known after him, which is accepted as commencing with 57 B. C. Some antiquarians once did not accept this date as the correct one, but

16. For this the student is referred to pp. 27-29 of our introduction to the Śākuntala, 5th ed.

brought Vikramāditya down to A. D. 544, propounding what was known as the Korur Theory. The battle of Korur marked a turning-point in Indian history, Vikramāditya having defeated the Mlechchhas in it. Curiously enough, Mr. Fergusson held that to commemorate the battle an era was invented, and that its beginning was placed back 600 years. So he put the true date of Vikramāditya at 544 A. D., and this theory for a time held sway, since no inscription was discovered bearing a date prior to 600 of the Vikrama era. But the discovery of the Mandasor Inscription, which is dated Samvat 529, made this theory untenable, and the traditionary date remained unshaken. Then there is the theory of the *Nine Gems*. Nine eminent men called the 'Nine Gems' adorned the court of king Vikramāditya—

चन्द्रन्तरिक्षपणकामरसिंहकुवेतालभट्टकपर्कालिदासाः ।

ख्यातो वराहमिहिरौ वृषतेः सभायां रत्नानि वै वरहचिन्म विक्रमस्य ॥

Of these अमरसिंह is said to have lived between 414 A. D. and 642 A. D. Varāhamihira is believed to have died in 587 A. D. On the strength of these dates of Kālidāsa's supposed contemporaries, Dr. Kern placed him in the latter half of the sixth century. But in this there are many *a priori* conclusions and speculations as to probabilities. If the tradition proves anything definitely, it proves the connexion of Kālidāsa with King Vikramāditya; but as regards the contemporaneity of the nine authors, the tradition cannot be true. Next there is the theory of Renaissance propounded by Prof. Max Müller. He divided the whole Sanskrit literary period into two parts. The first began with the Vedas and ended which the first century A. D. Then came an *interregnum*, a period during which foreigners invaded India and so literary activity was dormant. The professor placed the RENAISSANCE of Sanskrit learning in the sixth century A. D. with the reign of Vikramāditya. But, as has been shown by Drs. Peterson and Bühler, the period called *interregnum* was really not destitute of literary productivity, and, therefore, if Kālidāsa is to be considered as the first poet of the new school, he must be placed considerably earlier than Prof. Max Müller did.

There are some minor things which have been pushed into the controversy. These are—(1) the alleged covert references to Diṇṇāga and Nichula in the Meghadūta, the former a foe and the latter a friend of Kālidāsa; (2) the identity of Mātṛigupta, a king of Kashmir, and Kālidāsa (for, names in Sanskrit are often titles,

and Mātrigupta, *lit.* 'protected by the mother,' may also be taken as Kāligupta or Kālidāsa); (3) and the supposed astronomical references in the works of Kālidāsa to the astronomical theories of A'ryabhaṭa, who lived in 476 A. D. Prof. R. N. Apte has examined all these at some length, and on the first point he comes to the conclusion that Dinnāga and Nichala were not contemporaries of the great Kālidāsa, but must have been contemporaries of *some other Kālidāsa*. On the second point he observes that Mātrigupta and Kālidāsa were two different persons, since they are differently quoted by Kshemendra and other writers and commentators. The supposed astronomical references have really no astronomical significance at all, and it cannot be said that Kālidāsa was acquainted with the astronomical works of Aryabhaṭa. Mr. K. B. Pathak, the latest exponent of the 6th century theory, repeats the arguments given above, but principally bases his conclusion on his theory about the Hūṇa kings, allusion to whom is made by the poet in the Raghuvamśa. He argues that since there is no mention made of the Hūṇas in the Rāmāyaṇa, the conclusion follows that Kālidāsa unconsciously refers to the Hūṇa kings of his own time who held sway over the Punjab and Kashmir, in the second quarter of the sixth century. But this rests merely on assumption; for there are references to the Hūṇas even in the Mahābhārata. Prof. Apte has also shown that just beyond Bactria or the threshold of ancient India, the Hūṇas had constituted a powerful empire from the middle of the 3rd century B. C. to the end of the 1st or the 2nd century A. D.

Modern European scholars are generally inclined to hold that Kālidāsa must have flourished under one or more of the Gupta kings. The Gupta period (about 300-650 A. D.) was noted in ancient Indian history for a revival of Sanskrit learning and arts. The late Mr. Vincent A. Smith (see his *Early History of India*, p. 304, 3rd ed. 1914) believed that Kālidāsa must have lived in the reigns of the first two, or even in that of the third, of the Gupta Kings:—

Chandragupta II. (c. 357-413)

Kumār Gupta I. (413-455)

Skandagupta (455-480)

Both Chandragupta II. and Skandagupta had adopted the title of *Vikramāditya*. To quote the words of Mr. Smith, "It is not unlikely that the earliest works of Kālidāsa.....may have been

composed before A. D. 413, that is to say, while Chandragupta II. was on the throne; but I am inclined to regard the reign of Kumār Gupta I. (413-455) as the time during which the poet's later works were composed, and it seems possible, that the whole of his literary career fell within the limits of that reign. It is also possible that he may have continued writing after the accession of Skandagupta". Mr. Smith thus makes Kālidāsa's literary career extend over a period of not less than thirty years. Note that, even according to Mr. Smith, there is nothing wrong in the tradition about a Vikramāditya having been our poet's patron; only we must arrive at an understanding as to *which* Vikramāditya is meant, because various kings in the history of ancient India called themselves by that title. We ourselves hold, for reasons given below, that we must accept as our poet's patron that king Vikramāditya whose traditional era commences at 56 B. C. The attempt to place Kālidāsa in the court of the Gupta kings rests merely on the fact that Chandragupta II. was named Vikramāditya. But the existence of prior kings of that title is now a certainty.¹⁷

Vatsabhūti, the author of the Mandasor inscription, copies several ideas from Kālidāsa; the latter must, therefore, have lived prior to 472 A. D. Again, Śvaghosha, the author of a life of the great Buddha in Sanskrit, has numerous passages similar to those occurring in the works of Kālidāsa. Now, Kālidāsa was an original poet borrowing his subjects from Vālmiki and other ancient authors; Śvaghosha was more a philosopher than a poet, and may, with greater probability, be supposed to have borrowed his ideas from Kālidāsa. The date of Śvaghosha is given as 78 A. D.; and if we suppose him to have borrowed from Kālidāsa, the latter will have to be placed earlier than 78 A. D. And, in this view Dr. Peterson also concurs when he says '*Kālidāsa stands near the beginning of the Christian era, if, indeed, he does not overtop it.*'

There is also internal evidence pointing to the same conclusion. We have first the evidence obtained from the state of the law of inheritance and the penalty for theft as they are indicated in passages in the Śākuntala. The passage in the sixth Act of the drama, announcing the death of the merchant Dhanamitra who died

17. The Rājataranginī mentions an earlier Vikramāditya, a contemporary of Pratāpāditya of Kashmir,

heirless, seems to Prof. Apte to refer to a period when the widow of a deceased person could not inherit his estate. Such a period is to be found only before the Christian era, when Manu, Āpastamba and Vasishtha held sway, and Brihaspati, Śaṅkha, Likhita and Yājñavalkya had not yet written their Codes. The penalty for theft, as indicated in the prologus to the sixth Act, seems to have been the extreme one, and there is also a passage of similar import in the Vikramorvaśīya (आत्मनो वधमाहर्ता &c. V, I.). The penalty for theft has been from time to time mitigated with the progress of civilization. Manu and Āpastamba lay down the extreme penalty, the option of fine being introduced later on, as we find it in the Smṛiti of Brihaspati. These two circumstances tend to show that Kālidāsa flourished at a period which is anterior to Brihaspati, the latter being generally placed in the first century A. D.

Prof. Apte further calls attention to the fact that there is no reference to the Nyāya philosophy in the works of Kālidāsa [except perhaps in Ragh. XIII. 1, in which the word शब्दगुण (आकाश) occurs, but which the poet might have borrowed from the Śāṃkhyas], and concludes that he must have lived *before* the development of that philosophy. Then again we have the evidence of style. The artificiality of diction and the fondness for long compounds and double-meaning words which mark the writings of Dandin (who in his Kāvya-darśa says that an abundance of compounds constitutes the quality of *ojas* in poetry), Bāṇa, Bhavabhūti (7th century A. D.) and other mediæval writers, are entirely absent in Kālidāsa's writings—a fact which shows that he must be placed some six or seven centuries before them, a period necessary to cause such a revolution in the art of literary composition, considering the scanty means of the propagation of learning in those times. It thus becomes clear that Kālidāsa lived in the first century B. C. at the latest.¹⁸

18. Prof. S. Ray refers to the discovery in 1909-10 of the Bhita medallion, which pictures a scene which looks exactly like the opening scene of the Śākuntala. The medallion is assigned to the Sunga period (184 B. C.-72 B. C.), and Prof. Ray assumes that Kālidāsa is anterior to the date of the medallion, though the Archaeological Survey authorities, holding to the Vincent Smith date, are inclined to dispute the identification of the scene with the one in the Play.

III. THE POEM.

(1) SUMMARY OF THE STORY.

Before the student proceeds to a detailed study of his actual text, it is advisable that he should make himself familiar with the contents of the poem as a connected whole. We, therefore, give below briefly the story of the *Raghuvamśa* as presented in its nineteen Cantos:—

CANTO I. After saluting Śiva and Pārvatī, the poet eulogizes the virtues of the kings of the race of Raghu, whose history he proposes to describe. The royal line of the Raghus originally sprang from the Sun, whose son, Manu, was the first king in this race. In direct descent from Manu came the supremely eminent King Dilīpa, with whose history the poem properly begins. Dilīpa is an ideal king, being a most efficient, benign and virtuous ruler. He has a queen called Sudakṣiṇā, the very type of courtesy and kindness, and the only thing that mars their happiness is that they have no issue. In course of time Dilīpa decides to consult his family-priest, Vasishtha, as to what holy rites &c. he might perform that would bless him with a son and heir. Leaving the government of his kingdom to his ministers, Dilīpa starts for Vasishtha's hermitage in the company of his wife. In the evening they reach their destination and make known their wishes to the preceptor. Vasishtha explains that a curse, formerly pronounced upon the King by the divine cow Surabhi, but unknown to him, was the bar in the way, and for that purpose he should have to propitiate Surabhi's daughter, Nandini, who was his (Vasishtha's) own cow. If she were pleased, she could grant that wish of his. Vasishtha then explains to the royal pair how to serve the cow; after which they retire for the night.

CANTO II. The next morning Dilīpa begins the daily routine of disciplined service of the cow, Nandini. He regularly accompanies her every morning, after she was worshipped, to the forest and back again to the hermitage in the evening when she returned from the pasturage. Twenty-one days thus pass away. On the 22nd day, the cow, wishing to test the devotion of her follower, enters a cave of the Himālayas, overgrown with grass, for grazing. As the King's eyes are riveted on the mountain scenery, she creates an illusory lion pouncing upon her. The King's attention is suddenly called back by Nandini's cry; and what does he see? The cow in the grip of a formidable lion, imploringly looking at

him. Instantly the King's hand passes to the arrow-case, but just as he seizes an arrow his hand remains fixed there. To add to the wonder of the already bewildered King, the lion speaks in human voice telling him that he was a servant of Siva, posted there to guard the trees, with orders not to leave the place, but to live on whatever came within his reach, and claims the cow as his rightful prey. The King finds himself in a fix; it was his primary duty to save the cow at any cost. What was he to do? He could not shoot an arrow; but he could offer himself up in lieu of the cow, as they had both entered the cave together; for Siva's order to the lion was that he should eat whatever came within his grasp. This the magnanimous King does. After a long conversation with the lion he succeeds in prevailing upon the latter to eat him up and let go the cow. The King thus stands the test; the illusion vanishes and instead of the terrible leap of the lion there falls on the King a shower of flowers from heaven. The well-pleased cow confers on the King the wished-for blessing, and they return home. The king informs the sage and his queen of the cow's favour. Their object being gained Vasishtha sends back the royal couple, and they enter their capital amidst the rejoicings of the citizens. In a short time Sudakshinā shows signs of pregnancy.

CANTO III. A son is then born to Dilipa. He is named Raghu, as one destined to be the most illustrious of the kings of the solar race, the family being named after him. He is brought up and educated with due care. He is then married and installed as heir-apparent (*Yuvarāja*). After this, Dilipa, who had already performed 99 horse-sacrifices, wishes to perform the hundredth to complete the list. Indra, Lord of the gods, in jealousy secretly steals the sacrificial horse to prevent the completion of the rite. To Raghu was entrusted the duty of guarding the horse; and ordinarily he would have been unable to trace the horse. But Nandini, whose protegee he was in a way, appears on the scene and bestows upon him superhuman sight. Raghu then sees Indra carrying away the horse, and fights with him most gallantly. Indra of course triumphs over Raghu in the end; but he is so highly pleased with Raghu's bravery that, although he could not restore the horse, he promises, to bestow upon his father, Dilipa, the whole merit obtainable from the sacrifice, had it been duly completed, as a mark of his appreciation of Raghu's valour. Indra also acquaints Dilipa, at Raghu's request, with what had occurred; highly gratified

at the account, Dilipa accords his son a hearty welcome when he goes back to his court. A short while after he installs Raghu on the throne as King, and himself retires, with his queen, to the forest, as was the wont of the kings of Ikshvāku's race.

CANTO IV. King Raghu now begins to rule, and all are made to feel his equal justice and cautious vigilance. When autumn comes, Raghu decides to start upon an expedition of conquest (*Dig-vijaya*). Proceeding first to the east, he marches right up to the eastern ocean, where he vanquishes the Suhmas and the Vāngas. Crossing the river Kapiśā he goes through Utkala to the Kalinga country. He conquers its ruler and then marches to the south. After subduing the Pāndya kings there, he crosses the Sahya mountain, and subjugates the *Aparānta* districts along the western coast. Then by land he proceeds northwards, where he conquers the Pārasikas. Thence he traverses as far as the Sindhu river, where he defeats the Hūnas and the Kāmbojas. Thence he proceeds across the Himālayas, where he brings the Utsavasanketas under his sway. Descending to the plains he finally conquers Prāgyotisha and Kāmarūpa, and returns to his capital laden with glory and wealth. He then performs the *Viśvajit* sacrifice (indicative of universal conquest), in which he gives away to Brāhmanas (by way of Dakshinā) everything that he possessed.

CANTO V. While Raghu had thus practically beggared himself in the *Viśvajit* sacrifice, an ascetic called Kautsa came to him. He wanted money, as much as fourteen crores, to enable him to pay his *guru*, his tuition fees. Raghu had nothing with him, but he did not like to have it said of him that a supplicant, not gaining his object from Raghu, had to seek it from some other person. In order, therefore, to satisfy Kautsa's demand he planned an expedition against Kubera, the God of wealth, to obtain the money from him. Divining his intention Kubera filled Raghu's treasury with a shower of gold during the night, and Raghu gave all that to Kautsa. The latter, departing, blessed his benefactor that he would soon obtain a valiant son. This son is then born, and is named Aja. When Aja, who is properly educated, reaches the marriageable age, a messenger comes to Raghu from King Bhoja of the Vidarbha country to invite the prince to be present at the Svayamvara ceremony of his sister, Indumati, which was shortly to take place. The invitation is accepted and Aja goes

accordingly. On his way he happens to kill a wild elephant, who turns out to be a Gandharva born in that form owing to a curse. The Gandharva gives to Aja a certain miraculous weapon (*astra*) called Sammohana. On reaching Bhoja's city, Aja rests for the night, and in the next morning goes to the hall where the Svayamvara ceremony was to be held.

CANTO VI. There he takes his seat in the assembly of numerous other kings who had come from far and near for the Svayamvara ceremony. The Princess Indumati enters, accompanied by her clever maid Sunandá, who takes her in turn to each one of the royal suitors and describes him and his qualifications in a few well-chosen words. The Princess passes by them all, including among them the rulers of Magadha, Anga, Avanti, Anápa, Śūrasena, Kalinga and Pāndya. Finally she comes to Aja, whom she chooses as her husband, to the deep chagrin of the other kings who feel envious and humiliated.

CANTO VII. The actual wedding-ceremony of Aja and Indumati then takes place in the royal palace, after which all depart for their respective countries. The slighted kings, however, bear a grudge against Aja, and they, therefore, waylay his party on his way back to Ayodhyá. A very fierce fight ensues. Aja entrusts his bride to the care of his minister, and personally takes an active part in the slaughter of his foes, whom he completely vanquishes by means of the miraculous 'Sammohana' *astra* which the Gandharva had given him before. He then returns to the capital; and his father entrusts the kingdom to his care, wishing to live in retirement.

CANTO VIII. Aja begins to reign and Raghu continues to live near by, in secluded retirement, when after a few years he departs this life. Aja gives him a suitable funeral. In course of time Indumati gives birth to a son who is named Daśaratha. Aja pleases all by his excellent rule. A change comes over his happy life when once, while he and his royal consort were sporting in a pleasure-garden, a wreath of flowers falls from the sky below upon Indumati who instantly drops down dead. The grief of the King at this unexpected stroke of misfortune knows no bounds. After the funeral was over, as Aja still remained plunged in sorrow and took no interest in life, his preceptor Vasishtha sent to him a disciple with a message to cheer him. It was explained to Aja how his wife had formerly been a celestial nymph (*apsaras*) who

had to come down upon the earth owing to a curse, and who left as soon as the curse ceased to operate when the garland fell upon her from heaven. Life being an accident and death the rule, a firm-minded, wise ruler like Aja, should cease to brood over his grief. Thus ran the message, and the King received it dutifully as coming from his *guru*, though it had little visible effect upon him. He spent some eight years more after this, all the while mourning for his lost wife, whom he finally went to join in the next world.

CANTO IX. After his father, Daśaratha rules over Ayodhyá as nobly as his predecessors. His greatness was such that even Indra himself on occasions asked his assistance in his own wars. Once, having enjoyed all the pleasures of the spring season with its attendant festivities, he plans a long hunting trip. He spends several days in that engrossing and delightful sport. One morning he starts after a deer, alone and without followers. In his pursuit he comes to the river Tamasa, where he hears the noise of a pot being filled with water. He mistakes it for the trumpet of a wild elephant, and discharges an arrow in that direction, aiming at the sound only, as he could not see the mark. As a matter of fact a young ascetic-boy was filling his jar there; and the arrow hit him fatally. His parents, who were blind, were at hand. The King, who was horrified at what he had unwillingly done, related to them what had happened. As the boy died, his sorrow-stricken father cursed the King as the author of his bereavement, with the words: "You, too, like me, shall die, in your old age, grieving for your son." The King had no son then; so he received the curse as a sort of qualified blessing, since it meant that at any rate a son was bound to be born to him before he died. The aged couple burned themselves on the funeral pyre of their son, and Daśaratha returned to his city, full of grief not unmixed with a little anticipatory joy at the prospect of a son.

CANTO X. Some ten thousand years pass, but still Daśaratha remains without the expected son. At last, holy sages proceed to perform on his behalf a special kind of sacrifice intended to bring about the birth of a son. Now at about this time it so happens that the gods, who were continually harassed and persecuted by the dreaded and powerful demon Ravana, carry their tale of grievances to their lord Vishnu, who tells them how, by virtue of a boon given by Brahmá, Ravana was immune from death at

the hands of all except human beings, whom he despised and hence had left out of the boon. Vishnu, therefore, promises that he would be born as a *man*, as a son of King Daśaratha of Ayodhya, and that at his hands Rāvaṇa would meet death.—Now, out of the fire of that sacrifice which was being performed for Daśaratha, there arises a being who gives consecrated food (*charu*) to the King, who gives it to his three wives. Into this food Vishnu had entered spiritually, and thus Daśaratha's wives, who conceive afterwards, all bear sons who are partial incarnations (*avatara*s) of Vishnu. Rāma was the eldest of them, born of Kausalya. Of Kaikeyi was born Bharata, and of Sumitrā were born the twins, Lakshmaṇa and Śatrughna.

CANTO XI. The sage Viśvāmitra, who wanted protection from demons in his sacrificial work, now comes to Daśaratha with a request that the King should send Rāma with him for that purpose. Accordingly Rāma, and also Lakshmaṇa, accompany Viśvāmitra to his hermitage; on their way Rāma kills the demoness Tāḍakā. In the hermitage of Viśvāmitra, Rāma routs the demons after having killed their leaders Subāhu and Mārīcha. On the completion of his sacrifice, Viśvāmitra goes to Mithilā at the invitation of king Janaka of that city, taking with him the two princes. On their way Rāma restores to her original form Ahalyā, the wife of Gautama, who had been cursed by him to be reduced to the form of a stone. On reaching Mithilā, Viśvāmitra tells Janaka that Rāma was anxious to see the famous bow in his possession. It had been announced that whoever should succeed in bending that bow, would be given Janaka's daughter, Sitā, in marriage. No king had yet succeeded in bending the bow, and Janaka wondered how a mere boy should dare to make the attempt. Rāma, however, bends the bow, and with such force that it cracks; he thus wins the princess Sitā for his bride. Daśaratha is then invited to Mithilā, when Rāma is married to Sitā; her sister is given to Lakshmaṇa, and Bharata and Śatrughna were married to the two nieces of Janaka. On their way back to Ayodhyā, they are stopped by the Brāhmaṇa Paraśurāma, who had vowed vengeance on all Kshatriyas, and whose anger was stirred into action on hearing of that bow-breaking exploit of Rāma, a Kshatriya. He, therefore, challenges Rāma to bend his (Paraśurāma's) bow, which was stronger than that of Janaka. Rāma bends that too, and humbles the pride of Paraśurāma, who recognizes in his adversary the

supreme lord Vishnu, and makes peace with him. The party then safely arrive in Ayodhyā.

CANTO XII. King Daśaratha, who had grown old and was nearing his end, declares his intention to set Rāma on the throne, when Kaikeyi contrives, by means of two boons which her husband had promised her, to have Rāma exiled for fourteen years and to have her son Bharata installed King. Rāma quite willingly undertakes to go to the forest, and the old King, grieving at being separated from his beloved son, dies heart-broken, thus fulfilling the old man's curse (Canto IX). Bharata declines to accept the sovereignty earned by intrigue, and after vainly trying to persuade Rāma to come back, himself remains a sort of exile at Nandigrāma, and from that place he rules the kingdom as Rāma's representative. In his journey to the forest Rāma is accompanied by Sitā and Lakshmaṇa. He there kills Virāḍha, Dūshana, Khara, and other demons, the news of whose death is carried to Rāvaṇa in Lankā by his sister Śārpanakhā, whom Lakshmaṇa had disfigured. Rāvaṇa comes and carries off Sitā in Rāma's absence. Rāma makes friends with Sugriva, the monkey-Chief, and through his retainer Maruti discovers the whereabouts of Sitā. Building a bridge over the sea, Rāma with Sugriva's army crosses into Lankā, and is engaged in a series of battles with the hosts of Rāvaṇa, whose death he finally accomplishes. Rāma recovers Sitā, gives Rāvaṇa's kingdom to his brother Vibhishana, and starts back for Ayodhyā in the well-known aerial car, Pushpaka, along with Sugriva and Vibhishana and their armies.

CANTO XIII. The journey of Rāma from Lankā to Ayodhyā by air is here described. Rāma points out to Sitā the various objects and places of interest on the way, including, in order, Janasthāna, the mountain Mālyavat, the lake Pampā, the Godāvari, Pañchavati, the dwelling-places of the sages Agastya Śatakarni and Śarabhaṅga, the mountain Chitrakūṭa, the stream Mandākinī, the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā, and lastly the Sarayū. After they had seen the Sarayū they observe Bharata advancing with an army to welcome the home-coming king. Rāma gets down from the Pushpaka, and the meeting of the brothers is touchingly described. Then Rāma again gets into the car and arrives at last in a garden outside Ayodhyā, his capital.

CANTO XIV. There in the garden Rāma and Lakshmaṇa see their mothers who greet them with joy. Rāma is then

formally crowned King of Ayodhyā with due pomp and ceremony. He then gives the armies of Sugrīva and Vibhishana leave to depart, and restores Pushpaka to its original rightful owner, Kubera. In course of time Sītā shows signs of pregnancy. She expresses a desire again to visit the once-familiar regions along the banks of the Ganges. While Rāma promises her that, a scandal reaches his ear about his unquestioning acceptance of Sītā after her residence in a stranger's house for a long time. A strong sense of duty towards his subjects both as the dispenser of law and justice and the up-holder of social order compels him to abandon Sītā as a concession to this scandal, although he knew her to be pure and innocent. He, therefore, orders Lakshmana to take Sītā away and leave her on the banks of the Ganges near the hermitage of Vālmiki who, he thinks, would find her and take due care of her. Lakshmana very reluctantly performs this task; and when Sītā knows why she is abandoned, she cries loud and long, though she would not blame Rāma so much as she blamed herself. Vālmiki takes her to his hermitage where afterwards in due time she gives birth to twins. Rāma continues to discharge his kingly duties as usual, but without marrying again.

CANTO XV. Now, certain sages who were harassed by the demon Lavaṇa apply to Rāma for protection, who sends off Śatrughna on that mission. Śatrughna happens to halt at Vālmiki's hermitage on his way, and it so chances that that very night Sītā gives birth to twins. Śatrughna proceeds against Lavaṇa, whom he kills in battle, and builds for himself a city called Madhurā on the banks of the Yamunā. Sītā's sons were named Kuśa and Lava; they were duly brought up and educated by the venerable Vālmiki, who also teaches them to sing his own poem 'Rāmāyana', celebrating the exploits of their father. After some time Śatrughna returns to Ayodhyā, but says nothing to Rāma about Kuśa and Lava, at the express bidding of Vālmiki, who bided his own time. Rāma's killing of Śambūkā is then related. Śambūkā was a Śūdra practising penance; this was against the rule, and this transgression caused other distresses in the state; it was therefore imperative that Śambūkā should be killed. This done, Rāma performs a horse-sacrifice, to which holy men are invited from everywhere. Among them is Vālmiki, who brings with him his two pupils, the princes Kuśa and Lava.

They sing the Rāmāyana in the presence of Rāma, and charm all by their sweet singing as also by the majesty of their demeanour. Rāma is then told that they are his sons, and Vālmiki then asks him to take back Sītā. Rāma agrees to do it if she would satisfy the public about her purity. Sītā, therefore, calls upon the Earth to receive her in her bosom, if she (Sītā) was really and truly pure. The Earth then appears in corporeal form and takes off Sītā, whom Rāma thus loses for ever, although he gets his two sons. After a time Rāma begins to feel his end approaching. He puts his brothers, nephews and sons in charge of separate, small principalities. Lakshmana dies, and soon Rāma also leaves this world of mortals and ascends to heaven, after having completed his special work here.

CANTO XVI. After the death of Rāma, his son Kuśa, who ruled in the city of Kusāvati, is visited in a dream by the guardian deity (*Adhidevatā*) of the city of Ayodhyā, which being kingless lay now a deserted ruin. She invites him to come back to his father's capital and to re-people it and restore it to its former glory. He consents, and coming back to Ayodhyā re-endows it with its former splendour, and rules there in future. Once, while he is sporting in the river Sarayū, his bracelet drops in its waters and sinks to the bottom. He orders the river to be searched, but the ornament could not be recovered; at the suggestion that it was probably taken by the Nāga Kumuda, who resided in a part of the river, Kuśa takes up a missile (*astra*) to destroy the Nāga, who hurriedly comes up, leading by the hand his sister Kumudvatī. It was she who had taken the bracelet in curiosity. Kumuda requests Kuśa to accept his sister as his wife; Kuśa agrees and the two are then married.

CANTO XVII. Kuśa gets from Kumudvatī a son, called Atithi, who ascends the throne on the death of his father, who was killed in a fight with the demon Durjaya. Atithi is possessed of great political wisdom, and the Canto describes at some length some of the main principles of the science of Polity (*Rāja Niti*) which Atithi sedulously acted upon.

CANTO XVIII. This Canto barely enumerates, without any illuminating details, the various kings, twenty-one in all, that succeeded Atithi. They were Nishadha, Nala, Nabhas, Puṇḍarika, Kshemadhanvan, Devānika, Ahinagu, Pāriyātra, Sila, Unnābha,

Vajranābha, Śaṅkha, Vyūṣhitaśva, Viśvasaha, Hiranyanābha, Kausalya, Brahmishtha, Putra, Pushya, Dhruvasandhi, and Sudarśana. The last of these (Sudarśana) ascends the throne when a young boy of six, his father having been killed by a lion. After he attains youth he is married.

CANTO XIX. Sudarśana gets a son, Agnivarṇa by name, whom he installs king and himself retires into the forest. Agnivarṇa turns out to be a voluptuous, pleasure-seeking sensualist. The Canto describes at length his amorous sports and pastime. Agnivarṇa pays the penalty of having drunk too deep at the fountain of dissipation, and he falls a victim to consumption. At his death his wife was pregnant; she ascended the throne as the Queen-regent, and looked after the affairs of state on behalf of her unborn child. And here the story somewhat abruptly ends.

(2) THE SOURCES OF THE RAGHUVAMŚA.

In ancient Sanskrit literature history in the modern sense of the term is not to be found. It either merges in mythology or becomes for the most part indistinguishable from it; hence, although the Raghuvamśa is based on historical material, the latter is so slender that it can be disposed of in a few lines. Briefly summarized it amounts to this, that in the solar dynasty that ruled at Ayodhyā, there were four great kings, Dilīpa, Raghu, Aja and Daśaratha; after these came Rāma, the greatest of all and the incarnation of divine Viṣṇu; after him came 24 kings, the last being Agnivarṇa, who died without issue, leaving his queen *enceinte*. The account of the solar race must have been a matter of common knowledge in the times of Kālidāsa; but, with certain embellishments, it had been already presented in narrative form by the authors of the various Purāṇas, and in particular by Vālmiki, the author of the celebrated epic, Rāmāyaṇa. It is obvious that Kālidāsa was acquainted with this literature, and derived his details from the same, choosing and discarding matter as suited his purpose. Indeed he prominently mentions with deep reverence the Rāmāyaṇa and its author (cf. *वृत्तं रामस्य वाल्मीकेः कृतिस्तौ किञ्चत्वनौ। किं तथेन मनो हनुमते स्यातां न शृण्वताम् ॥ XV. 64*), and he has utilized it for the Rāma-portion of his work. But the Rāmāyaṇa does not cover the whole ground of the Raghu; and Kālidāsa has referred to certain other accounts of the solar

race, rather vaguely, when he speaks of it as having been described before by "former writers" (पूर्वसूत्रिभिः I. 4). Here the use of the plural is significant, and it obviously includes others besides Vālmiki. By the others we can only understand the compilers of the Purāṇas. The Purāṇas are not all modern works, and many of them have been shown to date from times much anterior to the Christian era. Of these Purāṇas he seems to have used the Viṣṇu-, the Vāyu-, and the Padma- in particular. A word of caution, however, is here necessary. The Purāṇas in their present form bear evidences of having been re-modelled and re-written at various periods, and their current recensions may not be those with which our poet was familiar. Indeed, in some of them (e. g. in the Padma-P.) it appears as though the stories had been revised in the light of the works of Kālidāsa. Hence, any remarks which one would be inclined to pass on the so-called "changes" made by the poet in his sources must be made with due reservations, since we may not have before us the actual version which was accessible to Kālidāsa, but some later redaction of it.¹⁹

With these preliminary remarks, we shall proceed to examine the poem itself. In the first place, the list of kings as given by the poet does not exactly agree with any that are available to us,²⁰ but agrees nearest with the one in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, with a slight difference. The Purāṇa mentions a number of Kings before Dilīpa, but these are omitted by Kālidāsa. The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa (as also the Vāyu-P.) represents Raghu as the son of one Dirghabāhu, grandson of Dilīpa; while Kālidāsa mentions him as the son of Dilīpa himself. Kālidāsa's account stops with Agnivarṇa, while the Viṣṇu-P. enumerates a number of kings after him; but there is no incongruity here, since our poem is probably incomplete, a point which we have discussed elsewhere.

Thus the line of succession in the Raghu practically agrees with that of the Viṣṇu-P. and may be accepted as being historically true. But what about the various incidents specially described in

19. This might be said to some extent of the Rāmāyaṇa also. There are at present three different recensions of the Rāmāyaṇa extant, and "about one-third of the ślokas in each recension occurs in neither of the other two." (Macdonell's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 303).

20. Thus the Rām. (Bala. Sarga 70) gives the genealogy quite differently.

the Ragh. in the life of each king? Are they all historical facts? The poet has not portrayed for us the whole life of each king, but only such episodes as suited his poetic purpose or the requirements of a Mahākāvya. Thus the bare facts he mentions about king Dilipa are his childless state, his service of a cow, the birth of his son Raghu, and his horse-sacrifice. He devotes the first three Cantos to these, and the parallel account will be found in the Uttarakhaṇḍa of the Padma-Purāṇa. We forbear from quoting it here, which the curious student may consult in the original. As regards the incidents in the lives of Raghu and Aja, no references can be found in the accounts that have been published till now. For example, the *dig-vijaya* of Raghu, the Kautsa episode, the battle in Canto VII, or the tragic end of Aja's queen in Canto VIII, have not yet been traced to their sources. Kālidāsa could hardly have invented these, and they must be lying embedded in accounts that have not yet been brought to light.

From Canto IX onwards the poet closely follows the Rāmāyaṇa. Kālidāsa was an admirer and a diligent student of the great epic. Indeed, as has been pointed out by Pandit R. Krishnachariar,²¹ the name "Raghuvamśa" of the poem itself seems to have been directly suggested by, and borrowed from, the Rāmāyaṇa, where it occurs twice (रघुवंशस्य चरितं चकार भगवान्मुनिः I. 3. 9; अहं च रघुवंशश्च लक्ष्मणश्च महाबलः VI. 1. 11.). It is no wonder, therefore, that Vālmiki should have been the model of Kālidāsa. What changes he makes in the Rāmāyaṇa-account are such as are necessary for poetic and dramatic effect. Thus in the Rām. Daśaratha shoots the young ascetic-boy, who dies first, and then the parents are taken to him by the King; while in the Ragh. the poet makes the boy die in the presence of his parents, which enhances the tragic effect of Daśaratha's deed. In Canto X Kālidāsa makes the gods approach Vishṇu directly; while in the Rāmāyaṇa they approach Brahmā first, and then comes Vishṇu to whom they repeat their grievances. In Canto XII the poet goes over the account very hurriedly, disposing of important events in single verses and phrases even,²² as if anxious not to narrate at length what had been so well narrated by Vālmiki. Even here, some of the accounts differ from those of the

21. In his *Raghuvamśa's avimarsa*, Srirangam 1908, p. 130.

22. E. g. The whole story of the purification of Sitā in fire he gives in one single word जातवेदोविद्युदां (verse 104).

Rāmāyaṇa. For example, the crow-story (vv. 21-23) is given differently by Vālmiki; the reason of the burial of Virāḍha (verse 30), again, is not the same as that found in the Rāmāyaṇa. But these are trifling variations. The thirteenth Canto is based on sarga 123 of the Yuddha-Kāṇḍa of the Rām. It provides an excellent contrast between the methods of the two poets. While the narrative of Vālmiki is crude and simple, that of Kālidāsa is brilliant with high-wrought imagery. Thus, to take a single instance where Vālmiki merely wrote असौ सुतश्च शैलेन्द्रश्चित्रकूटः प्रकाशते, Kālidāsa expanded the same into (XIII. 47)—

धारास्वनोद्गारिदरीमुखोऽसौ शृङ्गायलप्राग्मुखप्रपङ्कः ।

बध्नाति मे बन्धुरगात्रि चक्षुर्दत्तः ककुषानिव चित्रकूटः ॥

Cantos XIV and XV strictly follow the Rāmāyaṇa. From Canto XVI onwards, the poet goes beyond the story of the epic, and has recourse to Purāṇas. Here, too, the exact references have not yet been brought to light, and it cannot be said, for instance, whether the episode of Kumudvatī's espousal had any basis or was invented by the poet. The description of राजनीति in Canto XVII is evidently based on that given in ancient treatises like Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra,²³ a work which Kālidāsa appears to have closely studied. The remaining portion of the poem only enumerates the kings in succession, and calls for no special comment.

THE SOLAR DYNASTY

[We give below in parallel columns, for ready reference, the kings of the solar race as enumerated in the Vishṇu-Purāṇa (IV.), in the Rāmāyaṇa (I. 70 and II. 110), and in the Raghuvamśa. The student will observe how closely Kālidāsa has followed the Vishṇu-P. list. Before Raghu, Ikshvāku was the most celebrated king of Ayodhyā and the family was named after him (see I. 72; VI. 71; XV. 44; XIV. 55 &c.). Nimi, a son of Ikshvāku, was the founder of the Nimi dynasty that reigned at Mithilā.]

23. This standard ancient treatise on the science of Politics has been only recently discovered and published at Mysore. It is frequently quoted by Mallinātha and is the original on which the well-known Kāmandakiya Nitisāra is based.

Vishnu-Purāṇa.

ब्रह्मन्
दक्षप्रजापति
अदिति
विवस्वत्
मह
इक्ष्वाकु
विकुक्षि (or शशाद)
परंजय (or ककुत्स्थ)
अनेनस
पुष्य
विश्वगन्ध
आर्द्र
युवनाम्ब
आवस्त
वृहदक्ष
कुवलयाम्ब (or धुधुमार)
हृदाक्ष
हयैश्व
निकुम्भ
संहताम्ब
कृष्णाम्ब
प्रसेनजित्
युवनाम्ब
मांघातृ
पुरुकुत्स
असदस्यु
संभूत
अनरण्य
पुष्यदक्ष
हयैश्व
वसुमनस्
त्रिचन्वन्
त्रैय्यारुण
सत्यवत (or विशङ्कु)
हरिश्चन्द्र
रोहिताम्ब
हरित
चक्षु

Rāmāyana.

ब्रह्मन्
मरीचि
कश्यप
विवस्वत्
मह
इक्ष्वाकु
कुक्षि
विकुक्षि
बाण
अनरण्य
पुष्य
विशङ्कु
धुधुमार
युवनाम्ब
मांघातृ
सप्तसिंधि
ध्रुवसंधि
भरत
असित
सगर
असमञ्ज
अंशुमत्
दिलीप
भगीरथ
ककुत्स्थ
रघु
कल्माषपाद
शङ्खण
सुदर्शन
अग्निवर्ण
शीघ्र
मरु
प्रद्युम्न
अम्बरारिप
नहुष
ययाति
नाभाग
अज
दशरथ
राम

Raghuvamśa

विवस्वत्
मह
...
दिलीप
रघु
अज
दशरथ
राम
कुक्षि
अतिथि
निषध
नल
नभस
पुण्डरीक
क्षेमघन्वन्
देवानीक
अहीनयु
पारियात्र
शिल
उन्नाभ
वज्रणाभ
शङ्खण
व्युषिताम्ब
विश्वसह
हिरण्यनाभ
कौसल्य
ब्रह्मिष्ठ
पुत्र
पुष्य
ध्रुवसंधि
सुदर्शन
अग्निवर्ण

Vishnu-Purāṇa.

विजय
रुक्म
दृक
बाहु
सगर
असमञ्जस
अंशुमत्
दिलीप
भगीरथ
श्रुत
नाभाग
अम्बरारिप
सिन्धुद्वीप
अयुताम्ब
ऋतुपर्ण
सर्वकाम
सदास
मित्रसह (or कल्माषपाद)
अश्मक
मूलक

Vishnu-Purāṇa.

देवानीक
दशरथ
इलविल
विश्वसह
दिलीप
खट्वाङ्ग
दीर्घबाहु
रघु
अज
दशरथ
राम
कुक्षि
अतिथि
निषध
नल
नभस
पुण्डरीक
क्षेमघन्वन्
अहीनयु (or रुक्म)
पारियात्र

Vishnu-Purāṇa.

दल (or शिल)
उक्थ
वज्रणाभ
शङ्खनाभ
व्युषिताम्ब
विश्वसह
हिरण्यनाभ
.....
.....
.....
पुष्य
ध्रुवसंधि
सुदर्शन
अग्निवर्ण
शीघ्र
मरु
प्रद्युम्न
सुगवि
अमर्ष
महस्वत्
विश्रुतवत्
वृहदल

(3) GENERAL AND CRITICAL REMARKS.

The student who has closely followed the preceding summary could not have failed to be immediately struck with the abrupt ending of the poem; this, and the absence of a suitable benedictory stanza which generally marks the close of Sanskrit compositions, have given rise to an important question, viz. whether the present nineteen Cantos are the whole poem, and whether the poet might not have written more Cantos than have descended to us. No decisive answer can be given to this question. The student might compare how the Kumārasambhava, too, similarly ends in an abrupt manner at the end of its 8th Canto; here some later poet has filled the deficiency by composing nine more Cantos. But no such thing has been done in the case of the Raghuvamśa. All the MSS. of the poem yet discovered agree in ending the poem where

it ends at present. All the commentators, again, who belong to different provinces of the land and different periods of time, seem to have believed the poem to be complete, and they all conclude their commentaries formally at the end of the nineteenth Canto; and one of them, Hemādri, incidentally remarks at the beginning of the 16th Canto that the Rāmāyaṇa, the poet's source for the history up to that portion, being exhausted, he now gives four more Cantos from other sources. There is a persistent tradition, however, which says that the complete poem originally contained as many as 25 Cantos; and there is nothing that goes against this tradition. On the contrary many things tend to confirm it. As a general rule Sanskrit poets studiously avoid a tragic result; and even when they cannot avoid it, they are anxious to give it an agreeable finish. And we cannot reasonably suppose Kālidāsa to have gone against a practice of such long standing as led the later writers on poetics to lay down a rule that the death of the hero should never be actually represented (नायिकाखिवं कपि D.-R. III. 40). "Further" remarks Mr. S. P. Pandit, "he (Kālidāsa), who is on all hands praised for the happy choice of his subjects and the thorough execution of his plans, cannot be supposed to have brought down the history of the most celebrated ancient Indian kings to such a sorry end. It is natural to imagine that his object must have been some such as to connect some one of the dynasties of kings existing in his time with the race anciently descended from the sun. The Vishṇu-Purāṇa enumerates no less than 37 princes after Agni-varṇa, of whom it represents 8 as having reigned up to the war of the Mahābhārata and the rest after that event * * *

* * * The line of Kings, therefore, mentioned by our poet, not being complete, the conclusion is inevitable either that the poet did not finish his work, or if he did, it has not descended to us in its entirety." The absence of any trace of additional Cantos having ever existed lends weight to the former conclusion. We think it highly likely that Kālidāsa, though he might have intended to write more Cantos, was somehow prevented from carrying out his intention.

Another feature, that calls for notice on a review of the contents of the poem as a whole, is the evident lack of unity of plot. This, however, is part of the very design of the poem, and can hardly be accounted as a blemish. The poet did not choose a single episode, nor even the life of a single hero; but the lives of a number of famous kings; it is unfair to expect unity of plot

in a work of such character. On the contrary, it amounts to a triumph of skill on the poet's part to have welded together his detached episodes without incongruity in presentation. Moreover, a unity of plot of a certain kind does exist, if we remember that the incidents mentioned in the poem are all to be interpreted as part of the central idea running through the poem, viz. the portraying of the leading characteristics of an ideal king according to the Aryan standard. Viewed in this light, even the slight charge of "a formless plot" vanishes into background, and we see the Raghuvamśa for what it is, being a word-painting, in the most polished phraseology of an accomplished poet, of the ideal of kingship; that is the theme of the Raghuvamśa, and not so much the complete life-history of each King. It is, therefore, inevitable that, as remarked by Dr. Ryder, we must regard the Raghuvamśa as a poem "in which single episodes take a stronger hold upon the reader than does the unfolding of an ingenious plot."

It is in the Raghuvamśa, as in the Śākuntala, that Kālidāsa is seen at his best. The poem has been most popular in India from very early times and has evoked an unending chorus of praise from the learned and beginners alike. Stray lines, detached stanzas, and even whole Cantos of the poem are on the lips of many a cultured Indian to whom Kālidāsa's muse embodies the very essence of the pleasure derivable from poetry: क इह रघुकरे न रमते, says a well-known subhāshita. Almost every Canto of the poem makes a special appeal to the reader by reason of some peculiar grace, whether of mellifluous style, or of life-like description, or of dramatic dialogue. Let the student examine the various Cantos for himself. In the very opening stanzas (5-9) of the first Canto the poet strikes the key-note of the whole poem in a résumé of the accomplishments of the kings of the Raghu line. Then follows the description of Dilipa's good rule as well as that of his journey to Vasishṭha's hermitage, which is of a kind that leaves its impress on the mind long after it is read, bringing usually before us the benign ruler and his simple subjects by such stanzas as दैत्यगवीनमादाय घोषट्टद्वादपस्थितान् । नामधेयानि पृच्छन्तौ वन्यानां मार्गसाखिनाम् ॥ Then in Canto II the meeting of Dilipa with the lion, and in Canto III Raghu's encounter with Indra are classic examples, known to almost every Indian Sanskrit-reading school-boy, of spirited and balanced dialogue and bright narration, apart from the noble ideals of self-sacrifice and personal valour which they vividly place before him. In the fourth Canto we have

a striking description of the main parts of the country; it is impossible to forget the word-pictures which the poet draws in such stanzas as बहैर्युषितास्तस्य विजिगीषोर्मताध्वनः । मारीचोद्भ्रान्तहारीता मलयद्विरेषत्यकाः ॥ or विनीताध्वश्मास्तस्य सिन्धुतीरविषेष्टनैः । दुषुर्वर्जिनः स्कन्धैर्लघुकुङ्कुमेकसरान् ॥ Canto V describes the magnanimity of Raghu, who gave to the sage Kantsa wealth in excess of his demands; it is, as we have said elsewhere, probably the most characteristic kingly trait. This Canto contains also the famous address of the bards (*Vaidīlikas*) to prince Aja at dawn. The passage from तस्याधिकारपुरुषैः (V. 63) to the end of the Canto is one of the best known in the works of Kālidāsa, where the poet has expressed beautiful thoughts in language which is most rhythmical and charming. The expression here is so sweet and so pleasing, the harmony between sound and sense is carried here to such exquisite perfection, that it is not without reason that a tradition has grown up around this passage as to its having been written by the Muse of Poetry, the goddess Sarasvatī herself. The sixth Canto contains rapid pen-portraits of the various kings in the Svayamvara; here Kālidāsa reveals himself as a master of the art of sketching a character with a few telling strokes. The seventh Canto contains a description of a typical Aryan wedding, similar to the one in the seventh Canto of the Kum., and the student can see that the marriage-customs have not much altered materially during twenty centuries. The description of the fight (VII. 35-63), it must be allowed, is rather tame and conventional. The eighth Canto contains the famous अजविदाप or lament of King Aja at the death of his wife Indumati. It is fine poetry, but it suffers by comparison with the corresponding रतिविदाप in Kum. IV. It is more natural in a woman, as being of the weaker sex, to indulge in lamentation; while when a man grieves it is a sign of weakness which does not enlist our sympathy so much: the poet has therefore better succeeded in portraying a lamenting Rati. At the end of this Canto is the beautiful message sent to Aja by his *guru* Vasishtha, concerning the evanescence of this world and the futility of human sorrow for departed relatives. The ninth Canto attracts many owing to the charming यमक introduced. This is the only place in all the works of Kālidāsa where he tries his hand at चित्रकल्प; he has succeeded well without putting an undue strain on the construction of the śloka, as other inferior poets do when they try to employ यमक. The Canto also contains fine descriptions of spring and deer-hunt.

In the tenth Canto we have the passage where the gods praise Vishnu, which has its counterpart in Kum. II.; it does not possess any particular interest. In the eleventh we have a life-like description of the journey of the two boy-princes to Viśvāmītra's hermitage; its chief feature is the encounter of Rāma with Paraśurāma, and the graceful way in which the poet brings the former out of it. The twelfth Canto has become one of the weakest in the whole poem, as the entire story of the Rāmāyaṇa from the death of Daśaratha in Ayodhyā to the killing of Rāvaṇa in Lankā has been very hurriedly gone over. The poet felt the necessity of abridging it in this manner; for otherwise his poem would have grown interminably long. Dr. Ryder observes (pp. 150-151)—"It may well be doubted whether the cantos dealing with Rāma are the most successful. They are too compressed, too briefly allusive. Kālidāsa attempts to tell the story in about one-thirtieth of the space given to it by his great predecessor, Vālmiki. The result is much loss by omission and much loss by compression. Many of the best episodes of the Rāmāyaṇa are quite omitted by Kālidāsa: for example, the story of the jealous humpback who eggs on Queen Kaikeyī to demand her two boons; the beautiful scene in which Sītā insists on following Rāma into the forest; the account of the somnolent giant Pot-ear... Other fine episodes are so briefly alluded to as to lose all their charm: for example, the story of the golden deer that attracts the attention of Rāma while Rāvaṇa is stealing his wife; the journey of the monkey Hanumat to Rāvaṇa's fortress and his interview with Sītā. The Rāma-story, as told by Vālmiki, is one of the great epic stories of the world. It has been for two thousand years and more the story *par excellence* of the Hindus... There is, therefore, real matter for regret in the fact that so great a poet as Kālidāsa should have treated it in a way not quite worthy of it and of himself."

While we recognize the force of this criticism, we cannot quite agree with the learned scholar in his explanation. Dr. Ryder says that Kālidāsa did not care to put himself "into direct competition with Vālmiki," and thus to challenge comparison with him. While Kālidāsa doubtless felt great admiration for Vālmiki and his work, the real explanation of the weakness of the twelfth and the fifteenth cantos is, in our opinion, to be sought elsewhere. It is that the poet felt the need of abridging somewhere, and these

are the parts of the story where he has chosen to do it; whenever our poet has had to relate incidents in a catalogue fashion, as for instance in Cantos XII., XV. and XVIII., he is never at his best. But whenever he gives full play to his fancy, his poetry is as good as, even better than, Vālmiki's. For example, the famous journey back to Ayodhyā from Lañkā (Canto XIII.) is to be found in the original Rāmāyaṇa also; if we compare the two we see that our poet has excelled his predecessor in acuteness of observation, in the elegance of style and in the vividness of expression (vide *supra* p. xxvii). The fourteenth Canto is rather colourless, but the sixteenth makes up the deficiency, containing as it does Kuśa's interview with the guardian-deity of Ayodhyā, and further on, the charming description of summer beginning with अगस्त्य-चिह्नाद्यनात्समीपं &c. (śl. 44). The next Canto (XVII.) gives a detailed description of administrative policy, which would probably read dry to those not interested in the subject. The ending Canto describes amorous sports, much in the manner of the eighth Canto of the Kumārasambhava. We thus see that, barring a few exceptions, every canto of this poem has some attractive feature or other which endears it to the reader on that account; there is no wonder, therefore, if the whole poem has found admirers by the million, and has become, in the words of Sanskrit rhetoricians, मूर्धाभिषिक्त of all the Kāvya's in popularity.

If we were to compare the Ragh. with the two other poems of Kālidāsa, it would be found inferior to them in unity of plot; but, as we have remarked above, this happens because it treats of a number of Kings and not of one definite episode. It might also be said that the Meghadūta excels the Ragh. in perfection of polish, though here too the comparison would be slightly unjust since the Meghadūta is a small piece, while the Ragh. is twelve times larger; in a large work one cannot expect equal finish in every part.

One chief reason of Kālidāsa's superiority over other poets is his brilliantly polished style; there is no other Sanskrit poet who possesses an equal command over language so simple and withal so graceful. In fact, all the works of Kālidāsa are written in what the later rhetoricians have called the *Vaidarbhi* style, the ten chief excellences belonging to which are thus given by Daṇḍin:—
 शेषः प्रसाद समता माधुर्यं सुकुमारता । अर्थव्यक्तिरुदात्तमोजःकान्तिसमाधयः ॥
 (K.—D. I. 41). Kālidāsa abhors the looseness and laxity of the epics

the superfluous piling of epithets found in lesser poets, and the artificiality of diction which is observable even in writers like Bāṇa and Māgha. He studiously avoids all meretricious ornament and the cheap tinsel of verbal tricks. His strength lies in the music of his words and in the swift conveying of precise and beautiful ideas. He employs no figures of speech except the commonest ones, and in particular he delights in *Upamā*, of which he is a recognised master. He is a great lover of nature, and all his similes and illustrations are drawn from his close observation of natural phenomena. We note down a few here, chosen at random:

नक्षत्रताराग्रहसंकुलापि ज्योतिष्मती चन्द्रमसैव रात्रिः । (VI. 22)

दुर्मसादुर्मता किमन्तरं यदि वायौ द्वितयेऽपि ते चलाः । (VIII. 90)

दिवसं शारदमिव प्रारम्भसुखदर्शनम् । (X. 9)

अक्षौरहययुर्विष्णुं पुष्पैर्वायुमिव दुमाः । (X. 49)

मनो जहृर्निदाघान्ते श्यामाभ्रा दिवसा इव । (X. 83)

बाळार्कप्रतिमेवाप्सु वीचिभिन्ना पतिष्यतः ।

राज्ञ रश्मिकायस्य कण्ठच्छेदपरंपरा ॥ XII. 100)

The student can select many more; the whole work richly abounds with them. Over the Raghuvamśa, as Dr. Ryder observes, "is shed the magic charm of Kālidāsa's style;" and it is this magic charm of style, coupled with the discriminating choice of episodes and topics, that constitutes the main element in the universal admiration which the Raghuvamśa has continued to elicit from an appreciating and critical public.

(4) THE PRINCIPAL CHARACTERS.

The poet has devoted the major part of his poem (Cantos I.—XV.) to describing the five chief princes of the Raghu race, whose collective virtues he has briefly summarized for us at the very beginning in these memorable lines:—

... आजन्मशुद्धानामाफलोदयकर्मणाम् ।

आसद्युद्वितीशानामाकरध्वत्सर्मेणाम् ॥

यथाविधिद्वुताग्रिनां यथाकामाचिन्तारिणाम् ।

यथापराधदण्डानां यथाकालप्रबोधिनाम् ॥

त्यागाय संभृतार्थानां सत्याय मितभाषिणाम् ।

यशस्ते विजिगीषूणां प्रजायै गृहमेधिनाम् ॥

शैशवेऽन्यस्तविधानां यौवने विषयैषिणाम् ।

वार्द्धके मुनिवृत्तानां योगेनान्ते तद्व्यजाम् ॥

रघूणां ... (I. 5-9)

This, in brief, is the ancient Hindu ideal of Kingship; and it is here illustrated by a series of brilliant portraits which aim at showing the culture and civilization of ancient India at their best. It is true that a poet's powers of depicting a character are best seen in a play, which is a *दृश्य काव्य*, while in a long poem dealing with a series of kings characters will occupy—comparatively—a secondary place, it being the poet's object to make each canto an attractive piece of poetry by exhibiting his powers of narration and description in melodious and poetical language.²⁴ Nevertheless, there will be sufficient scope for character-painting if the poet takes care to choose just suitable episodes for detailed narration, relegating minor incidents to the back-ground, or even omitting them altogether. Kālidāsa has done this, and he has skilfully selected those incidents in the careers of his heroes which possess an absorbing *dramatic* interest; thus the reader, when he comes to Dillipa's contest with the lion, or to Raghu's with Indra, feels the whole scene being acted before his eyes as though on a real stage. It is such scenes that leave a permanent impression on the reader, without being simply bald statements of facts in metrical language.

The poet begins with King Dillipa. His general virtues are described in ślokas 13-29 of canto I.; it is a description which, it may be remarked in passing, applies in a great or less degree to all good and noble kings. We can hardly understand him that way; if we are to know him better, we must have something more definite than a conventional description. Dillipa had no issue and he decides to consult Vasishtha on that account, which shows his great reverence for his spiritual *guru* and his faith in the efficacy of religious rites in attaining the desired end. Vasishtha enjoins upon him service of the holy cow in his possession; the readiness with which the King accepts the task, and the rigorous exactitude with which he performs it, show how simple and duty-loving his nature was. With him kingly grace was not incompatible with simplicity. But the trait of character which raises him far above the level of ordinary kings is his interview with the lion wherein he offers his own body in exchange for that of the cow, recalling the famous instance of Sibi saving the pigeon in a similar manner. The moral may be given in the

24. If this were not so, where was the necessity of describing in detail a model Government under the obscure King Atithi (Canto XVII), when it could, with better propriety, have been done under Raghu?

poet's own words—*अतात्किञ्च नायत इत्युदयः क्षत्रस्य शब्दो भुवनेषु रुदः । राज्येन किं तद्विपरीतदृष्टेः प्राणैरुपकोशमलीमसेव ॥* "The highest duty of the ruler is to look after the weak and to save them from the aggressive strong." In due time, when his son Raghu is born, he abdicates his throne in his favour, and retires to the forest.

Raghu is the next king. He was the most illustrious of his line, since not only is the poem named "Raghu-vamsa" after him, but even his equally illustrious successor, Rāma, is more often known by such titles as *राघव*, *रघुपति*, *रघुनाथ* and the like. While yet a young man, Raghu was entrusted with the task of guarding his father's sacrificial horse; we know how he had to fight with the redoubtable Indra, the chief of the immortals. His intrepid bravery won him Indra's admiration and his father's blessing. In the poet's own words, the incident brings out Raghu's *वीर्योत्तिष्ठ* (III. 62). Raghu's merits as a ruler will be found in ślokas 8-13 of canto IV., which also describes how Raghu brought the whole of India under his sway. It would appear that he was the first prince of his race who undertook, and brought to a successful termination, this wide, arduous and glorious campaign of universal conquest; and that is perhaps one reason why he came to be regarded as the greatest of his race, since doubtless a king who first brought a whole country under one *chhatra* could not have failed to win universal applause and approbation. It is, however, in a subsequent incident that his crowning achievement lies, which brought him undying²⁵ fame. Having given away all his wealth as gift to Brāhmanas in a sacrifice, Raghu had practically become a beggar, so much so that even the vessels in his household were earthen and not of gold. But when the sage Kautsa comes to him for money he cannot turn him away; he wishes to satisfy his want; and the God of Wealth showers down gold, all of which he makes over to Kautsa. It is more than Kautsa wants, but the king insists on his taking all, as it was obtained for him; as the poet beautifully expresses it—*जनस्य साकेतनिवासिनस्तो द्रवप्यभूतामभिनन्यसत्त्वो । गुरुप्रदेयाधिकनिःस्पृहोऽपि नृपोऽधिकामादधिकप्रदश्च ॥* (V. 31). The incident reveals the highest type of selfless nobility in a king, illustrating the complete harmony between *भोग* (enjoyment) and *त्याग* (renun-

25. That this was also the popular conception is shown by a later reference to Raghu, when in canto VI. he is described as *महाकृतोर्विश्रजितः प्रयोका । चतुर्दिगावर्जितसंभृतां यो मृत्पात्रशेषामकरोद्विश्रुतिम् ॥ आरूढमदीढदधी-निवर्तीणं भुजंगमानां वसतिं प्रविष्टम् । ऊर्ध्वं गतं यस्य न चानुबन्धि यशः परिच्छेदुमियत्-याऽलम् ॥* (76-77).

ciation) and the यथाकामार्चितार्थत्व and त्यागाय संभृतार्थत्व of Raghu; we should not hesitate to name it as probably the most striking episode in the whole book. After seeing his son married, Raghu departed this worldly existence by means of *yoga* (VIII. 24; cf. योगेनान्ते तदुत्पजाम्).

The next King is Aja. He is presented in the three-fold character of the best warrior (VII. 57 ff.), the best ruler, a second copy as it were of Raghu (VIII. 4 ff.), and the most loving husband (VIII. 38 ff.). Thus he is shown to have proved himself a conquering hero, when he routed the hosts of his rival kings on his way back from the Svayamvara. The poet describes in the beginning of canto VIII, how Aja ruled wisely and justly; but what he has elected to describe at length is the death of Aja's queen, Indumati, and his consequent grief. It appears that Kālidāsa had an object in giving prominence to this; probably here he wanted to present a contrast with the character of Rāma, showing that if a King of Raghu's race could cast off his wife under pressure of circumstances (as Rāma will be described in the sequel to have done), there was here one, the intensity of whose love was so great that when he lost his wife he could not survive her but died pining for her. And the poet has done it very skilfully.

The next ruler is Das'aratha, whose general merits are described in the beginning of the 9th Canto. He is as great a warrior and as wise a ruler as his two immediate predecessors and also a great performer of sacrifices. (See IX. 5, 10, 20, 21 &c.) He was neither much given to chase nor addicted to any of the principal vices of men (s'l. 7). But in fulfilment of a decree of fate he once went a-hunting and there inadvertently killed an ascetic youth; and the father of the young ascetic cursed the King that he would die of grief for his son. This son is Rāma, at separation from whom Das'aratha died as foretold. The poet explains away this one instance of breach of duty on the part of Das'aratha with the remark अपथे पदमर्पयन्ति हि श्रुतवन्तोऽपि रजोनिमीलिताः (IX. 74).

Finally we come to Rāma. Here Kālidāsa instinctively felt overshadowed by the genius of his great predecessor Vālmiki, and the vastness of the material before him; and he has, therefore, hurriedly gone over the chief incidents in Rāma's career—how out of filial love and obedience he went out into the forest and killed the demon-king Rāvaṇa in Laṅkā. Rāma's abandonment of Sītā, some think, is a sort of blot on his otherwise immaculate character; the poet, therefore, explains why Sītā was abandoned,

It was not because Rāma thought her guilty, but because he wanted not even a breath of criticism against him among his subjects. As a King he felt it was his duty to lay down an example of rigid moral purity, and to show that all his acts were above suspicion. Rāma's killing of Śambūka is then related, which too was an act done with the intention of regulating the conduct of his subjects as a whole, and not of punishing Śambūka individually; for after all Śambūka *did* go to heaven as he wished (XV. 53). We thus realize how Rāma has been portrayed particularly as a sovereign who is most anxious to rule his people with scrupulous punctiliousness, following in his own person whatever he wanted his people to follow, even when it entailed suffering on himself. 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 *Rāma-Rājya* 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.

(5) THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE POEM.

Besides the Meghadūta the Raghuvamśa is the only work of Kālidāsa which contains a number of references to the geography of India as it was known to him in those days. These are to be found in the 4th, 6th and 13th cantos, but more particularly in the 4th, which describes the *dig-vijaya* of Raghu. The student can easily identify these places on the map²⁶ which is reproduced elsewhere, and the detailed explanations would be found in our Notes. He should especially trace the course of Raghu's tour of conquest. Starting from Ayodhyā, Raghu first marches towards the *East*, where he conquers the Suhmas and the Vāngas. He then crosses the river Kapiśā, which takes him to the *South*. Here he conquers, in order, the Utkalas, the Kalingas, the Pāṇdyas, the Keralas, and the Aparāntas on the western coast. In the *West* and in the north-west he subdues the Pārasikas, the Hūnas and the Kāmbojas; and in the *North* and the north-east, the Utsavasāṅketas, the Prāgjyotiṣas, and the Kāmarūpas, returning thence to his capital. Most of the principal rivers and mountains have been mentioned here; e.g. the Sahya and Himālaya ranges,

26. We are greatly indebted to the Map given in Pandit R. Krishnamachariar's *Raghuvamśa avimarsa* (1908), from which we have borrowed some of these identifications.

and the Ganges, the Kāveri and the Indus rivers. In the 6th Canto, on the occasion of describing the various kings assembled in Kuṇḍina, the capital of the Vidarbhas in Central India, the principal provinces of India have naturally been mentioned; these are Magadha, Aṅga, Avanti, Anūpa, Śūrasena, Kalinga, Pāṇḍya and Uttara-Kosala. As all the chief princes were expected to have come there, it is almost certain, as observed by Mark Collins,²⁷ that "we may see in this list a reflex of the principal kingdoms of India in the times of Kālidāsa." The 13th Canto supplies some additional names of places lying in a straight line between Ceylon and Ayodhyā; e. g. the mountain Mālyavat, the lake Pampā, the river Godāvarī, the mountain Chitrakūṭa and the rivers Yamunā and Sarayū. The description of many of these places is far from being conventional or traditional; it very often reads like such as would be given by an eye-witness, and it is pretty certain that our poet must have travelled widely with an observant eye. No other poet in classical Sanskrit literature has described the country in such a familiar and vivid manner.

(6) MALLINĀTHA.

There exist a large number of commentaries on this poem, but none of them is so well-known or so often studied, as that of Mallinātha, who enjoys a supreme position as the standard authority in the interpretation of Kālidāsa's poems. While writing about Kālidāsa we had to remark above that he says absolutely nothing about himself in his writings, and the same is true of his great scholiast, Mallinātha. Pandit Vāmanāchārya Zalktikar, the editor of the Kāvya-prakāśa, wrote that Mallinātha was a Brāhmaṇa of the Kāśyapa gotra, and that his descendants were still living at Gajendragad in the Satara District. But the learned Pandit was hasty in his identification; for Mr. M. S. Śāstrī (in his "Second Report on the Search of Sanskrit MSS.") has shown that Mallinātha was a native of Tailaṅga (Āndhra), which fact is now accepted as established. He had a son named Kumārasvāmin, who was also an erudite scholar, and wrote a commentary on the Pratāparudriya. In addition to his three commentaries on the three poems of Kālidāsa, Mallinātha is credited to have written (a) commentaries on अमरकोश, एकावली, काव्यादर्श, किराताखुनीय, तन्त्र-वार्तिक, तार्किकरत्ना, नलोदय, नैषधीयचरित, प्रसस्तपादभाष्य, भट्टिकाव्य

27. *The Geographical Data of the Raghuvamśa and Dasakumāra-charita* (1907), p. 17.

लघुसन्देन्दुशेखर, शिष्टपालवच, and सारमञ्जरी; and (b) independently, these works—उद्धारकाव्य, खुवीरचरितकाव्य, वैद्यकल्पतरु, and वैद्यरत्नमाला. It is possible that some of these productions belong to some other Mallinātha than our commentator; for there have been many Mallināthas, just as there have been many Kālidāsas.

The date of Mallinātha can be fixed with tolerable certainty. He has written a com. on the Ekāvalī, a work on alamkāra which frequently refers to King Vira-Narasimha, whose reign extended up to 1314 A. D. Mallināth also often quotes the Pratāparudriya, another work on alamkāra, which mentions King Pratāparudra who reigned from 1295 to 1323 A. D. Sir Dr. Bhandārkar has shown (p. xxi of his Preface to his 2nd ed. of the Māl-Mādh.) that Mallinātha must be placed before the lexicographer Medinikāra, the latest limit for whose date is 1431 A. D. Hence it is clear that the date of Mallinātha approximately falls somewhere between 1325 and 1425 A. D. Most probably he belongs to the latter half of the 14th century.

Mallinātha is a commentator of great merit and literary acumen. He was a profound grammarian, well-versed in the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣhika philosophies, and thoroughly acquainted with Paurāṇic as well as secular literature, as he himself tells us in his introductory śloka to the commentary on the Ragh.; and the extreme popularity of his commentaries shows that this is not an idle boast. His commentaries are pre-eminently adapted to the needs of the advanced general reader. They are sufficiently expressive without being prolix. He never makes an unnecessary display of his knowledge, but strictly follows the principle he himself lays down, viz., नामुक्तं लिख्यते किञ्चित्प्रानपेक्षितमुच्यते. He is perhaps the only commentator on the poems of Kālidāsa who shows a critical appreciation of poetry and endeavours to preserve, as far as possible, the genuine readings of the poet, studiously rejecting the spurious substitutions of single words and phrases, and the occasional interpolations of whole śloka. To his commentaries on the three poems of Kālidāsa he has given the title संजीवनी, meaning thereby that his commentaries *re-inspire with life* the words of Kālidāsa "that lay in a swoon under the effect of the poison of bad commentaries." Every student of Kālidāsa now recognizes that this was no vain presumption; Malli's commentaries have eclipsed all others, and he stands unrivalled as the commentator of Kālidāsa's poetical works.

WORKS EDITED BY M. R. KALE

Texts with English Translation,
Critical and Explanatory Notes,
Introduction, Variants, etc.

Abhijnanasakuntalam of Kalidasa
Dasakumaracarita of Dandin
Hitopadesa of Narayana
Kadambari of Bana (Purvabhaga)
Kiratarjuniya of Bharavi (Cantos I-III)
Kumarasambhava of Kalidasa (Cantos I-VIII Complete)
Malatimadhava of Bhavabhuti
Malavikagnimitram of Kalidasa
Mrichchhakatika of Sudraka
Mudrarakshasa of Visakhadatta
Pancatantra of Visnusarman
Pratimanataka of Bhasa
Priyadarsika of Sriharsa
Raghuvamsa of Kalidasa (Cantos I-V)
Raghuvamsa of Kalidasa (Cantos I-II)
Ratnavali of Sriharsa
Svapnavasavadatta of Bhasa
Uttara-Ramacarita of Bhavabhuti
Venisamhara of Bhatta Narayana
Vikramorvasiyam of Kalidasa
Higher Sanskrit Grammar

WORKS EDITED BY P.V. KANE

(Text, Notes and Commentary)

Harshacarita of Banabhatta
Sahityadarpana of Visvanatha—Chaps. I, II and X
History of Sanskrit Poetics

MOTILAL BANARSIDASS PUBLISHERS PVT. LTD.

ISBN: 81-208-0861-4

Rs. 125