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in Ancient & Medieval India
(Based on Sanskrit and Prakrit Literature)
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Dedicated to my birth-place Kāñcharāpārā, its Sanskritised form being Kāñchana-pallī or golden village, formerly called Narahatta, founded on the delta of Bhāgrathī and the Yamunā and facing Vamśabāti and Trivenī, situated about three miles northwest of the present Railway Station and locomotive workshop (of the E.B. Ry.) named after it, now almost depopulated by malaria and deserted by many of her sons, once celebrated for votaries of Sanskrit and Bengali learning like Iśvarachandra Gupta, (the poet and the editor of the Prabhākara), Vidyanātha Āchāryya (the author of Ajñānā-timiranāsaka, (lit., the dispeller of the darkness of ignorance), Premchānd Kaviratna, (the author of Jñānārṇava, lit., the ocean of wisdom), Nīmachand Śiromaṇi, (the eminent Professor of Nyāya Philosophy at the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta), Harimohan Sen Gupta (the translator of Adbhuta-Rāmāpaṇa and Tulsidāsa’s Rāmāyaṇa) and Śaśibhusaṇa Rāya (the translator into Bengali verse of Śrīmad-bhāgavatam and Yogavāishṇava-Rāmāyaṇam and editor of the Kancharāpārā Patrikā, a monthly magazine), the village being famous in the past also for her Aśurvedic physicians whose diagnostic and therapeutic skill very often snatched patients from death’s door, well-known once for her trade specially in gold and silver to which her name and the scales (nikti) still sold at Barābazār, Calcutta, bear ample testimony, and celebrated for her beautiful temple (built by the Malliks of Calcutta) of Krishna Rāyā, the deity installed by the Vaishnava Sena Sivānanda and provided with a building (later on demolished by the Bhāgrathī) by Kāchu Rāya the uncle of Pratāpāditya (the famous Bengali patriot and hero of Jessore),
In the *Prasūnapanishad* (composed about 1000 B.C.) attached to the *Atharvaveda* we find Pippalāda Rishi’s attempt at elucidating an abstruse idea to his disciples by means of analogy, “As the shadow of a man is caused by him, so life springs from the All-Soul and merges in it on extinction. As an emperor appoints separate governors to separate provinces, so life apportions duties to the various sense-organs . . . . As a heavenly body like the sun reflected on different kinds of liquid appears to be different, so intelligence in perceiving different things appears to be different. As different rivers, when they fall into the ocean, lose their separate identities and names and assume the designation of the ocean, so the sixteen kālas or attributes (life, etc.), when they merge in the All-seeing Soul, lose their identities and names, and are called ‘The Soul’.”

 Eloquence or the art of persuasion by means of a fluent speech implies, as Cicero says in his De Oratore or the Character of an Orator, “the knowledge of a vast number of things . . . . Speech itself is to be formed, not merely by choice, but by a careful construction of words; and all the emotions of the mind, which nature has given to man, must be intimately known; for all the force and art of speaking must be
employed in exciting or allaying the feelings of those who listen. To this must be added a certain portion of grace and wit, learning worthy of a well-bred man and quickness and brevity in replying as well as attacking accompanied with a refined décorum and urbanity. Besides the whole of antiquity and a multitude of examples are to be kept in the memory. . . . And why need I add any remarks on delivery itself which is to be ordered by the action of the body, by gesture, by look and by modulation and variation of the voice? . . . Let us then cease to wonder at what is the cause of the scarcity of good speakers, since eloquence results from all those qualifications in each of which singly it is a great merit to labour successfully.¹

Public speaking or eloquent speeches addressed to the masses or to a fairly large number of men flourish naturally in democracies.² Mr. Schleiniger (translated by Mr. Skellon) says, “We encounter it (eloquence) in all its glory among two ancient peoples, the Greeks and the Romans . . . . Among the Greek States Athens was specially famous for her eloquence. The democratic nature of her republican constitution

¹. Translation by J. Watson (Bohn.)
². See also Conclusion.
and the freedom of debate allowed on all matters of public interest made the gift of words a mighty weapon in the hands of the demagogue. . . . The very conflict of eminent speakers always tended to raise the art to higher perfection . . . . After the loss of her freedom Attic eloquence declined . . . At Rome oratory had great obstacles to overcome. Not only could it gain but a partial hearing amid the clash of arms, but the stern sense of the Romans thought it necessary to issue edicts against the opening of Schools of Rhetoric . . . . But when the Romans became better acquainted with the dialectic nimbleness of the Greeks and the power conferred by a study of Rhetoric, the passion for training flamed up all around, and it had its complete justification in Cicero (106—43 B.C.) the worthy rival of the greatest of the Greek orators . . . . Under the Caesars, as with the Greeks in their decadence, eloquence lost all its essential moral characteristics, and with them its loftiness, its warmth and its naturalness. A certain excess of poetical expressions, a delusive brilliance in thoughts and words, a pointing of epigram, alliteration and antithesis, above all affectation and striving after effect—those were the features that marked the decline of the once mighty eloquence of Rome . . . .
Among natives of more modern times, eloquence could only develop naturally where after the formation of a cultured language, the state-policy was favourable and sanctioned some degree of free speech. Such was the case in England, France, America and much later in Germany and in other countries, where trials were held in public and the parliamentary system became part of the constitution."

Cicero, the greatest of the Roman orators, says that fluent speaking cannot be mastered in schools, but is to be acquired in public assemblies. This fact explains the lack of good public speakers in ancient and medieval India, though long arguments composed in an ornate style and accompanied with cogent reasoning are frequent in the various departments of Sankrit Literature. Cicero adds "When Demosthenes was to speak in public, all Greece flocked in crowds to hear him. But when our 'Attic' orators venture to speak they are presently deserted . . . . If to speak in a dry and lifeless manner is the true criterion of 'Atticism', they are heartily welcome to enjoy the credit of it; but if they wish to put their abilities to the trial, let them attend the Comitia or a judicial process of real importance. The open forum
demands a fuller and a more elevated tone; and he is the orator for me, who is so universally admired, that when he is to plead an interesting cause, all the benches are filled beforehand,......and the whole audience is hushed into a profound silence, which is soon interrupted by their repeated plaudits and acclamations or by those successive bursts of laughter or violent transports of passion, which he knows how to excite at his pleasure......Whoever has the happiness to be thus followed and applauded is beyond dispute an 'Attic' speaker; for such was Pericles, such were Hyperides and Aeschines, and such in the most eminent degree was the great Demosthenes. 1

Though forensic oratory and eloquent appeal to the masses are rare in the literature of ancient and medieval India 2 it may be stated that carefully prepared speeches addressed to select audiences are to be found specially in the Epics, where good speaking is highly lauded and where Rāma, for example, is described as expert in speaking, Bhaṛata as the greatest of orators (बद्वता बर), Hanumān as skilful in speech and Kṛishṇa as the greatest of speakers and most skilful in elocution.

1. 'Brutus' translated by J. Watson. 2. See also Conclusion.
In extracting passages from the Rāmāyāṇa (composed about 900 B.C.) we may state that though there is a considerable quantity of fiction in this great Epic, yet there is in it a substratum of history as is attested by tradition and geographical names like Kauśāmbī, Kāṇyakubja, Ayodhya, Rājagṛihā or Girivraja (in Kekaya or Jalalpur), Chitrakūṭa, Pañchavatī or Nāsik, Rāmesvaram, Dhanushkōti &c. in India and Sitā-Eliya and Nuwara-Eliya in Ceylon. This is also the opinion of scholars like Mr. F. E. Pargiter, who says, "The story of Rāma brings South India into view definitely for the first time. As related in the Epics it appears largely as fable, yet the fabric must have grown out of some basis."

Daśaratha intending to instal his eldest son Rāma as Yuvrajā or heir-apparent addresses the following to the assembled princes, ministers and citizens:

 multitad sumamamanaḥ vasuvaśipti: |
 hitamudrakang chaivamūcaḥ pratītān vac: ||

1. Pātaliputra and Srāvasti which were founded later on are naturally omitted. 'Yavana', though it occurs in the Rāmāyāṇa, is an interpolation as Jacobi has stated.

2. 'Earliest Indian Traditional History' (J. R. A. S., 1914). See also my Kālidāsa and Vikramāditya, p. 4.
दुन्दुभिस्वरकल्पने गम्भीरेकत्रातुनादिनाहौ।
खरेष्ठ महत राजा जीमूत इव नादयनौ॥
राजजयाज्ञवल्कन कान्तिनानुपमेन च।
उवाच रसयुक्ते खरेष्ठ नृपतिनुष्टापानौ॥
विदितं भवतामेतद् यथा मे राज्ययुतमम।
पुरुषकुमारेण राजेन्द्र: सुतवत परिपालितम।
सोहितक्षेत्रकुमिः सर्वेणंरेण्य: प्रतिपालितम॥
श्रेयसाः शोकमिच्छामि सुखाहंसकिलं जगत॥
मयापार्तिरं पूर्णेः पन्थानमनुग्रहणता॥
प्रजा नित्यमनिद्रेष्य यथाशक्याभिमर्यिताः॥
इदं सरीरं कृत्सन्ध्य लोकस्य चरता हितम।
पाण्डुरंस्यात्पत्तस्य भ्रायायं जरितं मया॥
प्राय: वर्णसहस्राणि वहन्यायूष्णि जीवितः॥
जीविष्यास्य शरीरस्य विद्यानितमभिमोचने॥
राजप्रभावज्ञानश्रुत्वेनपितमिनित्रेयः॥
परिश्रान्तोत्सिम लोकस्य गुर्वी धर्मं पुरारं वहनू॥
सोहितं विद्यामभिम शुष्कं कल्वा प्रजाहिते॥
संिकादर्फ्यामनानुस सर्वार्थतत्वाय द्विजधर्मान।
अनुजातो हि मा सवंगायेः श्रेष्ठो ममालभजः॥
पुरुषदसमो वीर्ये राम: परपुरुषः॥
तं चन्द्रमिरुप्येश युक्तं धम्मं भूष्टावं वरम॥
शैवाराज्ञे नियोक्तासिः प्रात: पुरमपुष्टवः॥
Then the king of the whole world inviting all the members of the Assembly in a loud sonorous voice like that of the drum or of the cloud, but at the same time with pleasant and kinglike accents, addressed to them the following excellent, delightful and celebrated words—"Ye are aware that my royal predecessors ruled this good kingdom, as a father brings up his children. I also following the track of my ancestors have vigilantly protected my subjects to the best of my power. For the good of this extensive kingdom rendered happy by the rule of the Ikṣvāku family I want to tell you—I have rendered my body infirm in exercising the rights of sovereignty (lit., by living under the shade of the white umbrella, which is an emblem of royalty) for the wellbeing of my
numerous subjects. Having lived a very long life (lit., a thousand years) I want rest for my decrepit body. I have become fatigued by the performance of duties too heavy for men lacking self-control, though with the aid of royal privileges. Therefore I long for rest after appointing my son as vicegerent for the good of my subjects, with the permission of all these honourable twice-born gentlemen who are present. Rāma, the conqueror of foreign kingdoms, who is valiant like Indra (the King of the Gods), is endowed with all my virtues. So I want to instal to-morrow morning as my Vicegerent the most pious and best of men who is capable of doing good like the Moon when it is joined by Pushya (the constellation Hercules). Rāma, the graceful eldest brother of Laksmana, is not only fit to be your ruler but also to be that of the whole world. By making over presently the duties of ruling this kingdom to this the best of men, I shall become free from trouble. If this my proposal, which is to my liking and which appears to me to be good and which has been arrived at after prolonged deliberation, is accepted by you, kindly tell me how I am to carry it out. If there is any suggestion better than this (which I like), think of it, because the judgment of neutrals who take into consideration
circumstances for and against, is likely to be very valuable."

In the following passage the high-minded and truthful Rāma says with fatherly affection to the inhabitants of Ayodhyā, who have been following him during his exile and trying to dissuade him from leaving the city—

अनुरस्तः महात्मानं रामं सत्यपराक्षकम्।
अनुजग्मः प्रयान्तं तं बनवासयो मानवः।

* * * * *

अवेद्यमायः सस्तेहं चादुषा प्रीविन्नवः।
उवाच रामं दस्तेहं ता: प्रजा: स्वा: प्रजातव॥

dhāvāyaḥ सत्यमभूतम मयं यथोययमिनासिनम॥
महत्त्वार्थक विशेषेऽयथे भरते सा विशीयताम॥

स हि कर्त्ताष्चारितः भैरवेयानन्दस्वभः॥
करिष्ठति यथावद: प्रियाणि च हितानि च॥
भानवद्वारे बयोवालो मूदुवीर्यगृहनिविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविवি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵िविवি঵ি঵िविविविवি঵िविविवি঵िविवি঵िवি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵िवি঵ি঵िवি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵िविवি঵िविविविवি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵िविवি঵िविवি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵िवি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵िविविवি঵िवি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵िवি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵िविवি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵िवি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵िवি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵िविविवি঵िवি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵िविवি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵िवি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵िवি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵िवি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵िवি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵िवি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵ি঵িব
"Residents of Ayodhya! accord for my delight to Bharata the same affection and respect as you have so long done to me. The son of my stepmother Kaikeyi, Bharata, whose character and conduct are unexceptionable, will try to do everything which is properly dear to you and conducive to your well-being. Though he is not old, yet he is wise; though strong and spirited, yet he is very gentle. Hence there is every likelihood of his becoming your fit ruler, who will rescue you from all fears. As Bharata is endowed with all virtues necessary for his reigning over you, he has been selected as Viceregent (by the King.) So being guided by me you should carry out the orders of the King. As you seek my welfare, you should act in such a way during my exile as may not aggravate my father's grief."

Here is another extract from the same book of Rāmāyana:—

तत्त्वथ सावनुमयन्ति नागराबिविच्या जना: ||
भरतस्य वचः कुलवा रामं प्रसवनुवाचतः ||
तभेवं दु:खितं प्रेक्ष्यं विश्वपन्तं यश्वननम् ||
राम: कुतात्मा भरतं समाधासस्यादासवान् ||
नामन: कामकारी हि पुराणोऽस्मानिष्य: ||
इत्येतरतथैव न कुर्तान्त: परिकर्षति ||
सर्वे वायुन्त निन्द्यः पतनान्तः समुच्छयः ।
संयोगः विप्रयोगारस्त नसंपान्तः जीवितसः ॥
थथा फलान्त पञ्कान्त नान्यत्र पतनादृशयम् ॥
एवं नरस्य जातस्य नान्यत्र मरणाद्रयम् ॥
थथागारं हस्तसूरवं जीवं भूलबोसीदति ।
तथावसीदति नरा जयामुखवं गतः ॥
अवेयति रजनी या तु सा न प्रतिविरोदः ॥
यालेव युमनां दूष्टां समुद्रमुदकार्षयम् ॥
अहोरात्रगुणं गच्छन्ति सर्वं प्राणिनामिह ।
अत्रुपं चपतन्याशु भ्रष्टे जलमिवारः ॥
आत्मानमनुष्टो तं किमन्यनुशोचसि ।
आयुर्वतु हृदये यथं धिन्तस्य च गतस्य च ॥

थथा काछश्र काछश्र समेषतां महासेषवः ।
समेव तु व्यषेवां कालमासाय ज्ञान ॥
परं भायाक्ष पुत्राक्ष ज्ञातयश्च वसूनि च ।
समेव व्यवाच्यं धृष्टोपाल्यं विनामः ॥
नात्र कक्षिद्यथाभावं प्राणी समभवतर्भः ।
तेन तस्मिनसामर्थं प्रेतस्यायनुशोचतः ॥

भर्मायता सुशुभे: कुमसे: कतुभिषाषादमिषिणे:।
स न श्रेष्ठः पिता तात्! सहते: सत्तकत: सतामु ॥
स स्वभव भव मा शोको याला चावस तं पुरी ।
थथा पिता निधुर्कोलक्षि बरसिः वद्यतां वर ॥
When on the death of his father (Dāsāratha), the sorrowful and weeping Bhrātara with the cordial approval of the inhabitants of Ayodhyā, tries to persuade his elder brother, Rāma, to return to the capital and assume the reins of government, Rāma, who is endowed with great wisdom and patience, asks him thus (in the presence of his subjects) not to lament for the demise of their father and advises him to return to the metropolis and to reign as his representative, “A man cannot act of his own free-will like God. The all-devouring Time or Yama regulates his movements in this world and the next.
Where is accumulation, there is depletion; where is rise, there is fall; where is union, there is separation; where is life, there is death. As a fruit, when it ripens, cannot but fall to the ground, so birth and growth are bound to be followed by death. Even the most strongly-built house supported by pillars is reduced to ruins in course of time. Similarly disease and infirmity bring about a man’s decline. The night, which is past, does not return. The Yamuna, which flows with its large volume of water to meet the ocean, does not come back. As during the hot season the rays of the sun cause water to evaporate, so the regular succession of days and nights robs every living creature of its life. So rather mourn for yourself, (thinking) ‘Death is inevitable; what shall I do?’ Why do you mourn for another? Whether a man moves or remains motionless, his life gradually ebbs away . . . As drifting timbers (ships) meet one another on the high seas and then separate after a while, so a man becomes united with his wife, children, relatives and wealth for sometime and then becomes sundered from them: thus all these things are bound to be dissociated from one another. Life and Death is the law of this universe; none can transgress it . . . . Our father, who
was a pious man and performed many sacrifices with proper gifts, has gone to heaven. So we should not mourn for him. As he has gone to heaven, give up your grief, go to the metropolis and reside there . . . . . Our father, who was devoted to truth, asked you who are noted for your eloquence to reside in Ayodhya. I will do as my pious father has bidden me; I cannot transgress his just commands, O Conqueror of foes. You should also obey him who was not only our father, but our (true) friend. I will carry out his pious orders by means of my exile, O Descendant of Raghu. A kind-hearted and dutiful man, who seeks the welfare of his soul in the next world, should obey his superiors; O the most valiant of men. O the best of men, being guided by your good character and meditating on the good deeds of our father, do what conduces to (the welfare of) your self,"

We may juxtapose for the sake of comparison an extract from Cicero's speech against Verres (the rapacious Roman Governor of Sicily) and a passage from a speech of Śīśupāla, king of Chedi (Bundelkhand) who was irritated by Bhīṣma's (the Patriarch of the Kuru) and Yudhishṭhīra's conferring the highest honours on Kṛiṣṇa, regarded as an incar-
nation of Vishnu in the Mahabharata (composed about 800 B.C.) on the occasion of the Rajasuya sacrifice of the Pandavas.

Cicero—"What, the worthlessness and audacity of that man (Verres) should have a more easy access to your own friendship, O Hortensius (Verres's Counsel) and to that of other great and noble men than the virtue and integrity of one of us! . . . . You are fond of Verres: I suppose so. If you are not gratified with his virtue and his innocence and his industry and his modesty and his chastity, at least you are transported at his conversation, his accomplishments and his good breeding. He has no such gifts; but on the contrary all his qualities are stained with the most extreme disgrace and infamy, with the most extraordinary stupidity and boorishness . . . . What do you think, this can be endurable to any one—that we should live on slender incomes in such a way as not even to wish to acquire anything more, that we should be content with maintaining our dignity and the good-will of the Roman people, not by wealth but by virtue; but that that man having robbed every one on all sides and having escaped with impunity should live in prosperity and abundance?"

शिशुपाल उवाच—

नायम्मोहि बाष्पोऽयसित्रिषगतस्विधमहातमसु।
महीपतिः प्रियकाम्मय। राजवतु पाधिवाहिः॥ 1

(Canto 37)

ताह्रोधम्भैसुतोहि कुन्यर्गिः प्रियकाम्मय।
भवलम्यंकं, भीम। लोकेष्वरसमः सताम॥ 4

अथवा मन्यसे कृष्णं स्विटं कुरुपुष्चव।
बसुदेवे स्थिते तद्रे कथम्मोहि तत्ततुः॥ 6
अथवा वासुदेवोऽपि प्रियकामोऽनुतत्ववान्।
हुपदे तिष्ठति कथं माधवोऽहि तृणवम्॥ 7
आकार्थयंम्यसे युध्यमसं वा कुरुनंदन।
हुसे तिष्ठति याभें वकमादर्भिवत्ववासिः॥ 8
क्षत्रिजं मन्यसे कृष्णमथं वा कुरुनंदन।
हृद्यान्ते स्थिते तद्रे कथं कृष्णोऽर्जुनतस्य॥ 9

नैव क्षत्रिजं न च चाचायस्यन राजा मधुसूदन।
आचितवण, कुरुशे छिमन्तु प्रियकाम्मय॥ 17
अथवान्यथ्यं नयोऽयं युध्मां मधुसूदन:।
कि राजभिरहिष्णौति रा्क्षसानां भारत॥ 18
वयन्तु न भयादश्र्व कौन्तेयस्य महाभावः।
प्रयण्ड्रामः करानू सवेन न लोभाव च सान्तसायात्। ॥ १९॥
अस्य धर्म्मगृहुलस्य परिवर्त्तं चिकित्वत्।
करानस्रेष्ठ प्रयण्ड्रामः सोंन्यमस्माचन्तः ॥ २०॥
क्रिष्णस्यदुरवानादि यदेनं राजसंसाति।
ोप्रातोत्तरं कुष्णस्यचर्चित्वानाशि। ॥ २१॥
अक्षान्तमार्गस्यधर्मज्ञास्यहस्तमिनि यशों गतमः।
को हि धर्मशृणुते प्रजामेव श्रुतां नियोजयेत्। ॥ २२॥
वद्वेक्ष्वं दृश्येकुसः जातो राजानं हतवानं पुरा।
जरासनध महाभावामन्ययेन दुरात्मकान्। ॥ २३॥

* * * *

नावि नौचित संवह्ना यथान्धो वान्धमन्वियाति।
तथा भूता हि कौरव्या वेषां भीष्म। लब्धप्राप्ति। ॥ ३॥

(Canto 41)
Sīśupāla—"O Bhīma! Kṛiṣṇa does not deserve the highest honours conferred by you in the presence of so many worthier princes. O Bhīma! when a virtuous man like you acts thus for flattering a person, he becomes the butt of the Society's ridicule. O Chief of the Kurus! if you have worshipped Kṛiṣṇa for his age and experience, then how does Vāsudeva's son (Kṛiṣṇa) deserve reverence, while the old Vāsudeva is alive? If you have honoured Kṛiṣṇa for his being your well-wisher and follower, then how can he claim your worship in the presence of Drūpāda? If you have paid your respects to him, O the Descendant of the Kurus, for his being a preceptor, then how can he be worshipped in Drūṇa's presence? If you have worshipped him, O Kaurava, for his being a priest, then why have you worshipped him though the old Sage Vyāsa is alive? Kṛiṣṇa is neither a priest, nor a preceptor.
nor a king. Is not therefore your worship of Kṛiṣṇa sheer flattery, O Chief of the Kurus? If you were determined on worshipping Kṛiṣṇa, then why did you insult us by your invitation? We have been paying tribute to this great son (Yudhisthira) of Kuntī not out of fear, nor out of greed, nor for propitiating him, but only because we want that the empire should go to the virtuous; but he has insulted us. Is your worshipping Kṛiṣṇa, who is devoid of royal attributes, with due ceremonials, in this assembly of Princes, anything but insulting us? The reputation of Yudhisthira, who has been without any cogent reason named 'the son of Piety', has vanished for his honouring this impious and wicked descendant of Vṛiṣṇi, who has killed the high-minded king Jarasandha by foul means. . . . The Pāṇḍavas are following your lead, O Bṛīshma, just as a boat does, when it is tied to another, or when a blind man is led by another. . . .

O Base Descendant of the Kurus, O Bṛīshma, wicked as you are, (it appears that) you have not heard in the least from good men moral precepts which I shall communicate to you. (It is enjoined that) none should hurl weapons at women, kine and Brāhmans
nor at a person who has provided one with food and shelter. The good and virtuous always inculcate such lessons on honest men, all of which (it appears) have become fruitless in you. You have praised Krīṣhṇa with the epithets 'experienced, old and great' as if I were ignorant (of his real nature) . . . . . . . You have lauded Krīṣhṇa by saying 'He is the wisest of the wise, the Lord of the Universe'; so he is under the erroneous impression that he really deserves your hyperbolical adulation.'

When Durvēṣodhane, the son of Dhṛitaraś曙光ra (the king of Hastināpura—modern Māwāna near Meerut) and the prince of Sophists, was requested in the assembly-hall of the Kurus by Krīṣhṇa and others to make over one-half of his kingdom to Yudhīṣṭhira (the eldest son of Pāṇdu, Dhṛitaraś曙光ra's brother), which was his due, he said:

प्रसमृद्धि भवानेतदुरुभारेति केसाय।
मामेव हि विशेष हिब्राह्म परिगम्ये। || 2

(Canto 127)

भक्तिवादेन पार्थीनामस्माकम्मधुसूदन।
भवानूग्रहः गर्हयं नित्यं कि समीद्य बलाबलम्। || 3
भवानू द्रुताच राजा बाय्याचाय्यों वा पितामहः
मामेव परिग्रहेत् नान्यं कशन्म पार्थिवम्
न चाहं लच्ये कस्मिद्रमिवभिचारिमहामनः
अथ सन्ये भवन्तोमां विद्विषपति सराजाकः

प्रियम्युपगते बूते पायवता मधुसूदनः
जितं शकुमिता राज्यं तत्र कि मम दुश्यतम्
यथू पुनर्द्रविगं केषित्रत्राजयन्ति पायवतः
तेभ्यं एवामुसङ्गां तत्तदा मधुसूदनः
अपराधों न चास्माकं यते हाद्यपराजितः
अजेया, जयतां क्रृष्टं, पार्थोः प्रवजिता वनम्
केन वाययपवादेन विहुर्यन्त्यारिम्भि: सह
अर्याकः: पायवता: क्रृष्टं प्रहिर्य: प्रयामित्रिवत्

न चापि वयमुग्रेण कर्मिण्या वचने वा
प्राप्यते: प्रयामावहे भयादमि शतकतुमः
न च तं, क्रृष्टं! पर्याभि त्वथार्ममिवन्हितम्
उत्सहेत युधा जेतुम यो न:, शत्रुनिवह्यः
न हि भन्मकप्रदवे: सकण्डे, मधुसूदन
देवैरिपि युधा जेतुम शक्या: किमुत पायवतः

(28)
"O Kṛishṇā! You should have given your advice after due deliberation. Being influenced by the flattery of the Pāṇḍavas you have found fault specially with me without rhyme or reason. Do you always calumniate me after taking into consideration the strength and weakness of parties? Some of my relatives,—Vidūra, the King (my Father), my Preceptor and Grandfather—do likewise; but they do not
blame other princes; but I myself cannot find any fault of mine even after deep thinking; nevertheless you and several other princes are inimically disposed towards me. The Pāṇḍavas have lost their share of the kingdom to Śakuni as a result of the dice-play of which they are inordinately fond. Am I to blame for this? On the contrary I ordered the restitution of some wealth won from them on the occasion. The banishment of the invincible Pāṇḍavas was the result of their second reverse in the dice-game, O the Chief of Conquerors. This is not our fault. Being unable to cope with us single-handed, they have joined our enemy at least for no accusation which has been brought against us. . . . . . Even the king of the gods will not be able to terrify us, who are unflinching, into submission by violent acts and speeches. O Destroyer of foes! I do not find any one who can conquer us by honourable (lit., according to Kṣatriya custom) fighting: even gods cannot overpower our warriors like Bhīma, Droṇa, Kṛiṣṇa and Karna, not to speak of the Pāṇḍavas. If we, who are Kṣatriyas, die in the course of a virtuous fight, we shall attain heaven in due time. The greatest duty of us, Kṣatriyas, is lying on a bed of arrows on the field of battle. . . . . . None
born in a Kṣatrya family and observing Kṣatrya laws bows to any one in this world out of fear only for the sake of his life. Wise Kṣatryas seeking their true well-being always act in accordance with the precept of the sage Mātanga, viz., 'Be always adventurous. Never submit to anyone. A spirit of enterprise is true manliness. You may break at times, but should never bend.' . . . (So long as I am alive) the Pāṇḍavas shall not get back their share of the kingdom—not even the earth that sticks to the end of the finest needle.'

It is difficult to extract oratorical speeches from the Purāṇas which are records of actions and incidents (mainly imaginary but partly real, the nucleus of which was composed about 700 B.C.) narrated by sages to their inquisitive disciples. In the Vāyu Purāṇam in which the God of Winds is supposed to be the speaker at least in some chapters, there is the story of the deception of the Daityas (the foes of gods) by Bṛhaspati, the preceptor of gods. Bṛhaspati makes the Daityas believe that he is Śukra, their pre-

1. See Pargiter's Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, Page 51.
ceceptor, and, thus induces them to reject the advances of Śukra, the real preceptor of the Daityas, who becomes indignant. Later on the Daityas discover their mistake and propitiate their preceptor. Śukra, the knower of right, being entreated relented and said to them with kindness:

एवं शुक्रोजुनीत: सतत: कौं प्रयद्भुत।
उवाचेदं न भेतव्यं न गंततव्यं रसाततम्।। 48
अवस्यम्भवी हार्धोंर्यं प्रातो वो मयि जापित।
न शक्यमन्याभक्ष्मूमहं बलवततम्।। 49
संज्ञा प्रनिध्या या दौर्य काम्य ता प्रतिलिप्य।
प्रात: पश्चिमकालो व इति श्रहाम्यभाषत।। 50
मध्रपाद्राच शुभमायुज्यकं तैलोक्कर्मणिनितम्।
युगाऽया दश सम्पूर्णा देवानाक्षम्य मुद्रिषि।। 51

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सावर्षिके पुनर्लुम्यं राज्यं किल भविष्यति।
लोकानामेशं भावो पीतोत्तव पुनर्विभिः।। 52
एवं किलमहं प्रोत्तं पीतोत्तव श्रष्णा स्वयम्।

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तस्मात्रिक्ष्मक्षतवं वै पर्यायं सह नाकुल।। 56

(Chapter 98.)
[Do not fear. It is not necessary for you to proceed to the lower regions (rasātalam). Even if I be on the alert (and try my best) I cannot override fate. The curse (that ye shall lose your wisdom) which I have pronounced on you, cannot be rescinded. The Creator also has ordained that ye shall lose your understanding in course of time. With my aid ye have become victorious over the gods and reigned in heaven for ten cycles (yugas) . . . . O Prahlāda (the leader of the Daityas), you will reign for ten cycles in the Sāvarṇika age, when your grandson Bali will be the emperor. The Creator has said this to me . . . . Therefore ye should not despair and become broken-hearted. Endure patiently what time brings on.”]

The following is taken from Matsya purāṇam (composed about 700 B.C.) Chapter 148, where Taraka, the enemy of the Gods addresses his ministers thus:—

राज्येन कारणं किं मे लक्षणाक्मयं निर्विषयं।
अनियोप्त सुरेशरं का शास्तिंद्रेयं मम || 32

लक्ष्यं जन्म न य: कब्रिष्ठचित्रयेत् पौरुषं नरः।
जन्म तत् तस्य द्वात्राभूतमजन्मं तु विशिष्यते || 35
मातापित्म्यां न करोति कामान्,
बनधूणशोकान् न करोति यो वा।
कौरं वि वा नाजीयते हिमाभां,
पुमान् स जलोधपि यूतो मंते मे॥ ३६
तस्माजयायामरुपुंगवानां
प्रतिक्षयत्रद्विमहिरण्याय शीत्राम्।
संयोज्यतां मे रथमर्हचक्रं,
बल्भ मे दुर्जय दैवयचक्रम्।
ध्वजाम मे काशनपतनं
लंग्रज मे मौतिकजालबद्धम्॥ ३७
हृदेऽवाचः
तावधानन मे वाच श्रुताभं नाकबासिनः।
वनौ यज्ञोत्कारस्तुद्भामासः अतिसालिकाः॥ ७४
खे महिम्ने स्थिता निःं जगतः परिपालकाः।
भवन्त्यानिमितेन वाधनते दानवैधरा॥ ७५
तेयं सामादि नैवास्ति, द्राक्ष एवं बिधीयताम्।
किंततं समर्थोऽयं: सैन्यं संयुत्यताम् मम॥ ७६
आर्यायन्ताश्च रक्षासः पूर्णायामहस्तेवताः।
वाहनानि च यानानि योहन्त्वु सहामरा॥ ७७
यमं सेनापति कुला शीर्मेवं दिवाकसः॥ ७८

"O Counsellors, if I do not invade the abode of
the Gods, my kingship becomes meaningless. If I cannot persecute my enemy, I cannot enjoy peace. (Our foes are enjoying the manifold pleasures of heaven; we are bereft of them). A man is born in vain, if he cannot evince manliness. He, who does not satisfy his parents, remove the grief of his friends and earn spotless glory, is more dead than alive. Therefore make ready my eight-wheeled war-chariot adorned with golden streamers and with my umbrella begemmed with pearls. Let the formidable Dāitya soldiers follow me." Then Indra, the king of the Gods, addressed them (Gods) thus—

"O Denizens of Heaven, attend carefully to my words. Ye taste the sacrifices offered by men, are easily satisfied and are endowed with purity and self-control. Ye have been administering the affairs of the world with your might and glory. The chiefs of the Dāityas are persecuting you without rhyme or reason. A policy of conciliation is bound to fail. The only means of bringing them to their senses is punishment. Therefore prepare yourselves for war, muster my forces, wield your weapons, propitiate the gods of weapons, make your chariots ready, and encounter the enemy with Yama (the King of Death) as your general, O Gods."
The following is taken from "Vishṇupuraṇa, the nucleus of which was composed as early as 700 B.C. ¹ When the Daitya (the enemy of gods) Hiranyakasipu failed by means of threats and punishments to dissuade his son Prahlāda from worshipping Vishṇu and entrusted his teaching to a body of priests, Prahlāda addressed his class-fellows thus—

श्रूयतां परमार्थाः मे दैत्यां दितिजालमजः।
न सन्यथःतन्त्वं नात्र लोकादिकारणम्॥ ५५
जन्म बाल्यं ततः सन्यों जन्तु: प्राप्तोति यावनम्।
अग्निहतं भवति ततोरुद्विसं जया॥
तत्त्वं मृत्युमभतेति जन्तुदैवेधरासमजः:
प्रवचनं द्यर्ते चैतदस्माकं भवता तथा॥
मृतस्य च पुनर्जनम् भवलेत्तनास्यथा॥

* * *

जन्मन्यत्र महद्वर्षं श्रीमान्यस्य चापि ततुः।
यातनासु यस्योऽस्म गन्न्यसंक्षमध्रुवं च॥

* * *

तदेवमन्तिः:खानामाप्रदेशम् भवार्येव।
भवतां कथ्यते सत्यं विष्णुरेक: परायणम्॥

¹. See Pargiter’s Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p.p. 51 and 55.
मा जानीत वयं बाला देही देहेषु राष्ट्रः
जरायमनजन्मात्रा धर्माः देहेषु नामनः
बालोऽह तावदित्वातो यत्तिवे श्रेयसे युवा
युवाहं वामेके प्राते करिष्यामामनोहितम्
ब्रह्मोऽह मम कर्माणि समस्तानि न गोचरेः
कि करिष्यामि मन्दाल्मा समर्थेन न यत् कुलम्
एवं दुरायावित्तमानसः पुरुषः सदा
श्रेयसोदिभिं याति न कदाचित् पिपासितः
बाले यूँ इनकाःका ओवने विषयोः मुखः
ब्रह्मा नयन्यशक्या च वामेकं समुपस्थितम्
तस्माद् बाले विशेषकाः यतेत श्रेयसे सदा
बाल्यप्रवेषनवद्यादेही भवेषसयुतः
तदेहतः कोभ्रापद्यार्थ यदि जानीत नात्रतम्
तदस्माप्नर्विनाये बिष्णुः समर्थस् बन्धुमुक्तिदः
आयासः समर्षै कोशुस्य भस्तु यथान्ति शोभानम्
पापपर्यथ भवति समर्थं तमहर्निश्चम्
सर्वभूतश्चिते तस्मान् मतिंत्री दिवानिश्चम्
भवतं जाप्तामेवं सर्व्वकोशानु प्रहास्यथ
तापत्रयेनाभेरसंहत्यं देवमुद्यितं जगत् ।
तदा श्रोच्छेष्टू मूलेष्टु देवें प्रातः करोति कः ॥
अथ भद्रार्थं भूतानि हृदसन्निकिर्ततः परम् ।
सुदं तथापि कुर्वीत हानिर्हेषात्फलं यतः ॥
बद्विरार्थं भूतानि देवें कुर्वीति चेतु ततः ।
श्रोच्छ्यायूथो तिमोहेन व्यात्तानीति मनोयिष्या ॥

* * * * *

विस्तरः सर्वभूतस्य विष्णोदिशामिदं जगत्
द्रष्टव्यमात्मवत् तस्माद्येदेन बिच्छहारः ॥

* * * * *

आसारसंसारविच्छेदनेष्टू
मा यात तोऽथ प्रसवमं श्रवीमि ।
सर्वत्र दैवतः समसात्मचयतः
समसात्मवर्धचनांयत्वस्य ॥
तस्मन् प्रसवे क्रिमिहास्यस्य ॥
घर्म्मोर्कामौरतमाल्पकस्य ॥
समाश्रिताद्गः सर्वश्राय ॥
नि:संशयं प्रास्यथ वै महत् फलम् ॥ ९१

Vishnupurāṇam, Part I, Chap. 17; 55 to 58, 68, 70 to 82, 84, 99, 9.
"O the Offspring of the Dāityas (who are the sons of Diti), hear the supreme truth. Do not think that my speech is actuated by self-interest (lit. greed). All creatures obtain birth, childhood, and youth; then senile decay inevitably overtakes them. Then all of us see that they die. . . . When we are born we suffer pain; when we die we have to endure intense pain; so long as we are in the womb we also suffer. . . . . In this world which is an ocean of misery, the great God Viṣṇu is our sole Refuge, I assure you. We being boys do not know that the soul is eternal and that old age, youth, birth and other similar attributes pertain to the body and not to the soul. We in our boyhood think that we should strive to attain our true well-being in our youth. When we become young men, we are of opinion that we should seek the welfare of the soul in our old age. When we grow old, we are under the idea that as we did not try to attain our souls' well-being while we were able, it is not possible for us—unfortunate men—to do anything now, when our organs have become weak. Thus men thirsting for worldly enjoyment and being always impelled by wicked desires never proceed towards the goal of good. Being occupied with toys in childhood and
with worldly ends in youth, ignorant men spend their old age, with enfeebled powers of the body and mind. Therefore a conscientious man thinking that the soul (being eternal) has no intrinsic connexion with childhood, youth and old age, should aim at the highest good from his boyhood. If you think that what I have told you is not false, you should for my satisfaction remember **Vīśṇu**, the giver of salvation. It is easy to remember Him and the remembrance of Him (always) confers good. Those, who think of Him day and night, get rid of their sin.

May you devote your thought always to **Him** and your love to all creatures who live, move and have their being in Him and thus may you be free from all misery! When all the creatures of the world are stricken with three kinds of evil (bodily, mental and accidental), no wise man can entertain any spite against these wretched beings. If others prosper and we suffer misery, even then we should be satisfied with our lot, as envy is productive of evil. If men being confirmed in their enmity do evil to others, the latter, if they are wise, should pity them thinking that they have been overwhelmed by passion and ignorance. . . . . . . . As the whole of this infinite universe is pervaded by **Vīśṇu**, wise men
look upon others like themselves without distinction.

Do not remain contented with this unsubstantial world full of vicissitudes. I ask you boldly to accord equal treatment to all creatures, for the true worship of Vishnu consists in treating others like yourselves. What is not to be gained if Vishnu is pleased—not to speak of piety, wealth and desire—these being trifling things? If you place yourselves under the shadow of the Tree of the Supreme Soul, you will certainly obtain the noblest fruit thereof.

Hiranyakasipu, Prahlada's father, thought of punishing his son through his priests, who told Prahlada that as he was the son of a great king and was born in a distinguished family, he should rely solely on his father who was the refuge of all, and should have nothing to do with the Ananta (the Infinite) whom his father Hiranyakasipu regarded as an enemy. Prahlada said thus to the assembly of priests:—

एवमेतमहाभागा: क्षाध्येतमहाकुलम्।
मरीचे: सकलं प्रसिद्धं त्रैलोक्यं को दिशं वदेत॥
पिता च मम सर्वसिद्धं जगत्युक्त्वचिद्धित॥
एतद्दयवगच्चामि सत्यमचापि नामतं॥
गुरुःकामि सर्वेषां पिता परमको गुरुः।
यदुःश्रुं भान्तिरन्त्रापि खल्पापि हि न विचाते॥
पिता गुरुः सन्देहः पूजनीयः प्रयत्नः।
तत्रापि नापराध्यामविवें मनसि में स्थितम्।
यदेतत् किममन्तेनेत्युत्तरं शुभ्यामिरहिद्यम।
को ब्रह्मीति यथायुक्तं किन्तु नैतद वचोन्न्यथ।॥
इत्युक्तः सोःभवनः मौनी तेषां गौरवविन्दः।
प्रहस्य च पुनः प्राह किममन्तेन साधितः॥
साधु मोः किमन्तेन साधु मो गुरवो मम
अयतां यदन्तेन यदी खेदे न यास्यथ॥
धर्मार्थ्यकाममोक्षायां: पुरुषार्थी उदाहरता:
चतुर्दयामिदं यस्मात् तस्मात् कि किमि द्रवतः।
मरीचिभिंविदेश्ये तथेवायेरन्ततः।
धर्मः:प्रात्स्थन्यवायेर्थः: कामस्थाः परे॥
तत् तस्थवर्द्धिनो भूतवा ज्ञानध्यानसाधारितः।
आवापुर्वकिर्म्परे पुरुषा ध्वस्तस्तन्वनः॥
सम्प्रदेश्यमाहात्म्य-ज्ञानसाधारितिकर्मिणाम्।
विमुक्तःक्षेत्रश्च न्यूनं मूलमाराठनं हरेः॥
“O highly fortunate Beings, (I know that) this great dynasty is worthy of praise. None can gainsay that it is the best of Marīchī’s dynasties in this world. I also know that it is true that my father’s achievements are the most famous in this world. There is not the least error in the statement that my father is the best of all my superiors. There is not the least doubt that my father is to be revered and to be sedulously worshipped. Still I think I have not offended (him). You (in your warning to me) have said that there is no need (for me) to resort to Ananta or the Infinite. Who says that this has been properly spoken? It does not appear that this statement is full of sense.” Having said this, out of respect for them, Prahlāda remained silent (for some time). Then smiling he added “Thanks for your question ‘What is the necessity for the Infinite?’ O my Preceptors, you have done well
in raising this question. If you have no objection, I will tell you what may result from dependence on the Infinite. Is the Infinite negligible when the four human ends—piety, wealth, other things desired, and salvation—depend solely on the Infinite? Revered Marichi and Dakshā have obtained piety from Him, some have gained wealth, others their other desires, and others again becoming free from worldly ties by their true wisdom, religious contemplation and trance and thus becoming cognisant of the highest truths, have attained salvation (through His grace). The root of prosperity, fame, greatness, wisdom, children and activity is such worship of Hari as may lead ultimately to the union of the individual soul with the Divine Soul. O Brahmanas, when such (valuable) blessings proceed from the Infinite, will you still assert that nothing will result from His worship? It is needless to tell you more, as you are my Preceptors. Whether you are telling the right thing or not, I cannot say, as my wisdom is little."

The following sermon of the Buddha to his disciples on the Ancient Path is taken from Mrs. Rhys Davids translation of Saṃyutta Nikāya (composed about 400 B.C.) in Mr. E. H.
Brewsters' Life of the Buddha:—"Just as if Brethren, a man faring through the forest, through the great wood, should see an ancient path, an ancient road traversed by men of former days. And he were to go along it, and going along it he should see an ancient city, an ancient prince's domain, wherein dwelt men of former days, having gardens, groves, pools, foundations of walls, a goodly spot. And that man, Brethren, should bring word to the Prince or to the Prince's minister, 'Pardon, Lord, know this. I have seen as I fared through the forest, through the great wood, an ancient path, an ancient road traversed by men of former days, having gardens, groves, pools, foundations of walls, a goodly spot. Lord, restore that City.'

And Brethren, the prince or his minister should restore that city. That city should thereafter become prosperous and flourishing, populous, teeming with folk, grown and thriven. Even so have I, Brethren, seen an ancient path, an ancient road traversed by the rightly enlightened ones of former times.

And what, Brethren, is that ancient path, that ancient road traversed by the rightly enlightened ones of former times? Just this Aryan, eightfold path, to wit, right views, right aims, right speech,
right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, right concentration. This, Brethren, is that ancient path, that ancient road, traversed by the rightly enlightened ones of former times. Along that I have gone and going along it I have fully come to know decay-and-death. . . . . I have fully come to know the way going to the ceasing of decay-and-death. . . . . This that I have come to know I have declared to the brethren, to the sisters, to laymen to laywomen, even this divine life, Brethren, that is prosperous and flourishing and widespread and to be known by many . . . ."

(From Mr. G. H. Brewster's Life of Gotama, the Buddha).

"Then the Exalted One (Buddha) addressed his Pāṭaligāma disciples and said, 'Five-fold, O House-holders, is the loss of the wrongdoer through his moral failure. In the first place the wrongdoer failing in morals falls into great poverty through carelessness; in the next place his evil report gets noised abroad; thirdly whatever society he enters, whether of nobles, Brāhmaṇs, heads of houses, men of a religious order, he enters with diffidence and (becomes) confused; fourthly he is confused in mind when he dies; and lastly on the dissolution of the
body after death he is reborn into some unhappy state of suffering or woe. This, O Householders, is the fivefold loss of the evil-doer.

Fivefold, O Householders, is the gain of the well-doer through his moral development. In the first place the well-doer morally developed acquires great wealth through his industry; in the next place good reports of him are spread abroad; thirdly whatever society he enters whether of nobles, Brāhmaṇs, heads of houses or members of a religious order, he enters confident and self-possessed; fourthly he dies not confused in mind, and lastly on the dissolution of the body after death he is reborn into some happy state in heaven. This, O Householders, is the fivefold gain of the well-doer."

Though the rock and stonewall edicts of Aśoka, the greatest of the Buddhist Emperors (255 to 232 B.C.) cannot be strictly regarded as public speeches, they are allied to them as they are addressed to a large number of men. Even some of Cicero's speeches (e.g. Against Verres) were never delivered.

(From Mr. V. Smith's, Life of Aśoka—Edict XI on True Charity).
There is no such Charity as the charitable gift of Law of Piety, no such friendship as friendship in piety, no such distribution as the distribution of piety, no such kinship as kinship in piety.

The Law of Piety consists in these things, to wit, kind treatment of slaves and servants, obedience to father and mother, charity to ascetics (Buddhist), and respect for the sanctity of life.

Therefore a father, son, brother, master, friend or comrade, nay even a neighbour, ought to say: This is meritorious, this ought to be done. He who acts thus both gains this world and begets infinite merit in the next world by means of this very charity of the Law of Piety.”

From Mr. V. Smith’s Life of Ašoka—Kalinga Rock-Edict No. II, on the duties of officials to the Border Tribes.

“... I desire my views to be practically acted upon and carried into effect by suitable means; and in my opinion the principal means for accomplishing this object are my instructions to you.

All men are children and just as for my children I desire that they should enjoy all happiness and prosperity both in this world and the next, so for all men I desire the like happiness and prosperity.
If you ask what is the King's will concerning the border-tribes, I reply that my will is this concerning the Borderers—that they should be convinced that the King desires them to be free from disquietude. I desire them to trust me and to be assured that they will receive from me happiness, not sorrow, and to be convinced that the King bears them good will. and I desire that... they should practise the Law of Piety and so gain both this world and the next.

* * * * * * *

Understanding this, do your duty and inspire these folk with trust, so that they may be convinced that the King is unto them even as a father and that as he cares for himself, so he cares for them, who are the King's children.

Having given you my instructions and notified to you my orders—my resolutions and promises being immutable—I expect to be well served by you in this business, because you are in a position enabling you to inspire these folk with trust and to secure their happiness and prosperity both in this world and the next; and by so acting you will gain heaven and discharge your debt to me...
Though public speeches in the strict sense of the term cannot be found in Sanskrit Dramas, still we shall append below passages which approximate them.

The Dūtavākyam and Dūtaghāṭotkačham of Bhāsa (flourished about 300 A.D.) furnish a few instances. In the Dūtavākyam we find Kṛishṇa proceeding to the court of Dhṛitārāṣṭra and Durṛyodhana to persuade the latter to restore to the Pāṇḍavas the share of the kingdom which is their due. But Durṛyodhana is inexorable. Vasudeva (Kṛishṇa) addresses Durṛyodhana in the assembly-hall of the Kūrus and states that Yudhisṭhira has greeted Durṛyodhana and said to him—

अनुसूत महद्द्रः संपूर्ण: समयः स च ।
अस्माकमपि धम्मचे यद्दायाय तद्व विभूत्यताम् ॥

* * *
एवं परस्परविरोधविवर्धनेन
शीत्रं भवेतु कुरुकुलं न्यू । नामश्रेष्ठम् ।
तत् कत्जीमहति भवानयंक्रुष्य रोङ्ग
यत् ज्ञां युष्मिर्म सुखाः प्रविद्याद्वृत्तिन्त ॥
(We have suffered great misery and the promised time of exile has ended. Please give us the portion of the kingdom to which we are morally and legally entitled. ................. If there be no amicable settlement, the estrangement between Yudhishtira and Duryodhana will become more and more acute and shall eventuate, O King, in the destruction of the Kuru. It is, therefore, desirable that you should give up your anger and comply with the affectionate request of Yudhishtira and his brothers.)

Duryodhana said in reply:—

भो दूत! न जानावति भवानू राज्यथवर्धरः,
राज्यं नाम ग्रामसते: सहद्वोजित्वा रिपुं सुभेते,
तत्तौरे न तु याख्ये न तु पुनर्दीनाय वा दैयेते।
कांच्छा चेटुपलिभवमातुमचिरातू कुर्वेतु ते सहसं,
स्वें वा प्रविशन्तु शान्तमतिंभिजुइं शमायास्रमम॥

* * * *

स्वालं तव गुरोभूं संसं प्रति न ते दया।
कथमसामकं स्वात तेषु निमापकारिषु॥

* * * *

अवधां प्रमदा हुवा हमं गोपानं च।
महानयं नुमित्सलो वयुभिन्नस्ति साहुभि:॥
(47)

(O Ambassador! you do not know the laws which govern kingdoms. Princes after defeating their enemy with their own exertion and valour enjoy their kingdoms and do not beg them from others nor confer them on the suppliant. If you desire to obtain royalty, presently show your prowess, or if you are not so inclined, enter a hermitage, where the peaceful and pious reside for quietude.

* * * * *

You could not show your kindness to Kamsa, the brother-in-law of your revered father. Then why do you ask us to be generous to those who have always injured us?

* * * *

Is it not ridiculous that you, who have shamefully killed a woman, a horse, a bull and two wrestlers, should bandy words with honest men?)

Ghāotkacha, the son of Bhīma by Hidimba, a Rakshasī, sent by Kṛishṇa to the Court of Dhrītarāshṭra, to convey to Durūyodhana the atrocity of his bringing about the death of Abhimanyu, Arjuna's son and Kṛishṇa's nephew, in an unrighteous fight, is flouted by his brother Duḥśaṇa thus:—
[If thou long-handed, slightest us, usest rude words, and goest beyond the bounds of propriety and art most heedless in your speech (lit., dost not take into account anything while speaking) and if thou pridest thyself on the fierceness thou hast inherited from thy mother, (thou shouldst remember that) we are also capable of being as angry and as ferocious as thou.]

Ghapotkacha—Shaantam Shaantam Paapam | Rabhasamyojapi Bhavantam Eva Krutilam: ||

Kut:—God forbid! Ye are much more cruel than demons! as—

Na tu Jataugrey Sutavam Bharatam Dhanatii Nishachara:
Siraapi Na Tatha Bharatam Sutrastii Nishachara: ||
Na ch Mutaqvarth Sutavye Krtam Sarvanii Nishachara: ||
Vishvatpurushyaaprachara, Durga Na tu Varjita: ||

[Night-walkers (demons) do not burn their sleeping brethren after confining them in a lac-house; they do not touch the hair of their brother's wife; they}
cannot remember any instance (lit., conduct) of their having killed their son in a fight. Though they are hideous to look at and though their conduct is rude, yet they are not devoid of (all) pity.]

In the Fifth Act of Kālidāsa's Abhijñāna-Sākuntalam (composed about 455 A.D.) where King Dushmanata in his open court repudiates, on account of forgetfulness brought on by Durvasa's curse, his lawfully-married wife Sākuntala, who begins to cry after covering her face with her veil, Sārīgara (her father's disciple who has accompanied her to the palace) says to the assembly—

इत्ययानि तत्र चापल्यं दहति—

अन्तः परिह्वय विशेषपात् संजूतं रहः।

अज्ञातहि दयेयेष्वेवं वैरीभवति सौंहद्यम्।

राजा—विष्णु भों किमागवताप्रत्ययत्र् क्रिक्रियानसम्मृतदोषोरजि-

विपश्च भवतः।

शांग्रीव (सामुयम्) श्रुतं भवधिरघरोचचरम्।

आजनमन: शायमशिशिष्ठो यस्तत्स्प्रामायं वचनं जनस्य।

परमितन्यासमपियते तैविथयति ते सन्तु कित्रावः।

[Unrestrained lightness (which led to the thoughtless marriage between Dushmanata and Sākuntala]
tālā), has now been burning out the marriage-bond. Therefore when marriage is contracted in secret, it should be done after due deliberation. When two hearts become attached without thoroughly knowing each other, such hasty love changes into enmity.

The King—O Sages, why are you reprimanding me who are innocent by accepting S'akuntalā's words as true?

S'āṅgaraṁa (indignantly to the Assembly)—Gentlemen, you have heard this base insinuation: those who have not learnt deceit even from their childhood are to be disbelieved, and those, who have made the deception of others their study, are to be regarded as most trustworthy.

In canto XV by Bhaṛavi's epic Kīrātarjunīyam (composed about 600 A.D.) wherein is described the fight between the S'āivā soldiers under Skanda or Kārtikeya and Arjuna, in which the former are worsted and compelled to retreat, Skanda, 'whose glory has not hitherto suffered any diminution', being a little aggrieved for the retreat of his soldiers, says to them:
वा विहासिष्ट समरं समरन्तव्यसंपत्: 

हतं भुवासुररागैरसर्गैरिव किं यंश: 

cिवस्वंदुलिंक्ष्यंनिष्ठिगुणीकुलतेजस्: 

भग्नर हो मोघसुदर्पुरा हसन्तिव महासयः 

cनेवने वनसद्व भग्नर मार्गमुरार्यवाम् 

वास्तविक्षेपण: समासंकस्य श्रवणक्षेमा केन शाम्यति 

पालितोदिनंमाहायत्वैः: संहतायतकौशिमिभि: 

गुर्वी भागमारं हतुं कृतमार्गतिसाहसम् 

ना सु रोकेऽन वा नागो घरसतंयो न राजस: 

ना सुकोड़यं ननबोइयो धरशिस्यो हि राजस: 

मन्दमस्प्रतिपुलं धृष्यया मुनिरेव व: 

प्रणुदयागतावः जगनेवु प्रसुनिव 

•••••

वरं कृतवर्वत्मष्णादत्यन्तमुगुरः पुमान् 

श्रुत्या भाषयिः: श्रेयस्य नालक्रकारीष्युतोपल: 

स्यन्दना नों चतुरंगा सुरेभा वाकपित्य: 

स्यन्दना नों च दुरगं: सुरेभा विपक्त्य: 

भवन्द्रिरणस्यारतिपरिहास्यपौरुषे 

इदैरिखालकिष्पिती: प्रात: पक्षकौदुहर: 

598887
(52)

अर्थ: श्रीयमापनः श्रद्धायनारतिना

इस्मृतीसंग्रहोऽचारार्यान् दारानिव निगोपितुः

ि कि लक्षापास्तदे तवमानुष्यकपरिश्रीः

ि मलितान्युरुपौर्णी स्थिता तेजसि मानिता

ि निशेषांसिरतोभीको न्येजतेकमरा रुचा

ि मार्गान् न विरोधी न: क्षभासोऽवरागुत

ि तनुवारभसोभासावनरीरोऽविनतिसा

ि चार्यान्ते रमते जन्ये कोड्रीतो रसिताशिनि

ि बिभिन्नपतिताश्रीयनिरस्त्रस्वयम्भाने

ि हतद्विपनगण्यथातुर्धराम्यु नदानुले

ि प्रदृङ्ग्रविग्वमुर्गाग्विहतसार्थी

ि मार्गापूर्णेत्तौर्मितकद्वस्तादिनि

ि सत्यविद्यविचारसिर्तिवो सदासर्यानाशिनि

ि त्वराधिबकसन् नादे रसकल्यम्भर्मिति

ि आलुरे लोकविनासविधायिनि सहाय्ये

ि युक्ताभिविनाल बीतं निरस्तसमह पौर्णम्

(Canto XV, 8—13, 15 to 17, 19, 21—24, 26—28.)
[O soldiers, ye, to whom play and war are of equal value, should not give up fighting. Why have ye, who have worsted the Asuras in the fight, destroyed your glory like Agannah (those who are not worthy of being the followers of S’iva)?

These, your swords, raised aloft in vain, the brilliance of which has been doubled by the rays of the sun, seem to be laughing (at you).

I fear nothing will allay the pain inflicted by the whizzing arrows of the (pursuing) enemy, while ye betake yourselves to the deer-track in the forest (in your flight).

I am at a loss to determine the serious peril for averting which ye have resorted to your rash retreat, lowered your eminence and contracted your spacious fame.

Your foe is no demon, no serpent, no gigantic monster, but (simply) a human denizen of the earth, infused with new enthusiasm and spirit and capable of being easily overcome by you.

(It is a matter of great regret that) this ascetic has been out of pity and contempt gently throwing his creeper-like missiles and smiting your hips and thighs, as if ye were hunted animals. . . .
As it is better to have a naturally gemless ornament than to have one from which precious minerals have been taken away, so it is better to be naturally devoid of valour than to have it and (then) to be dispossessed of it (by the foe).

Your enemy has no fast chariots, no speedy war-horses, no heavenly elephants with pleasant cries, and no reliable foot-soldiers, (and hence there is nothing to frighten you).

As there is nothing but unfordable slush in a lake, the transparent water of which has been dried up (lit., drunk) by the sun, so there is nothing but arrant insamy in you who have been robbed of your valour by your enemy.

As a husband desires to hide the shame of his faithless wife, so, your master (S'īva) wants to conceal you who have lost your prowess and whose backs have been seen by the foe.

* * * * *

Why have ye, having given up your godliness and having assumed human attributes and having displayed qualities antagonistic to your nature, abandoned your eminent courage and glory?

O Immortals! our opponent who brandishes his sharp sword, is fearless, shines with his great glory
and is self-reliant, does not quake with fear for your prowess.

Who is he (our enemy) who bright in his resplendent armour, with his fine breast erect, has been impatiently roaming without any fear in the field of battle which kills men even with its hideous din?

Ye have flung away in this fight the continually increasing prowess acquired by you in your frightful great war with the Asuras, in which the routes of chariots were blocked by dead war-horses, in which the battle-field was flooded with the blood of big elephants killed in the fray............ in which charioteers were hurled by steeds terrified by dancing corpses, in which horse-soldiers were dragged and killed by arrow-cases filled with the wind, in which the valiant were inspired and the timid were robbed of their anger, and the speedily increasing din of which fascinated (those engaged in the fight.)]

The following passage is taken from Bhaṭṭi Kāvyam composed about 610 A.D. by Bhaṭṭi under the patronage of king Śrīdharaśena of Valabhi (Vata) in Kathiawar to illustrate the rules of Grammar and Rhetoric. The author here
describes Rāma, Lakṣmana and Sītā's leaving Ayodhyā for the forest and their being followed by the sorrowful citizens:—

गतीवनं शोभितेति रामः।
शोकेन देहे जनतातिमार्यम्॥
धीरास्तु तत्र च्युतमन्य्वोक्ये।।
दशु: कुमाराजुनमे मनासि॥
प्रस्थात्यमानातृपस्तेदुपस्ताः
शोषुष्मानानिदमृच्चतुलान्।
'किं शोचतेहास्यद्यं वतास्मान्
नियोगङ्गांमेन पितुः कतार्यान्॥
आसुरं यो, यक्षं भयेष्वरविद्वा,
यं: सर्वदास्मानपुष्टो खपोष्यम्॥
महोपकारस्य किमस्ति तस्य
तुच्छेन यानेन वनस्य मोहः॥
विदुरज्जःप्रभारं स वरं प्रभारोऽ
यदोर्ज्जः-शोषं तुष्वद्यो विजुष्कः॥
अवर्यं दुरापे किमुत प्रवासे
न शास्तेवास्तिय यो युक्षाम॥
The citizens of Ayodhya realising that Rāma would proceed to the forest the next day burnt sorely with grief. Those who were patient giving up their lamentation, made up their minds to follow Rāma.

Rāma and Laksmana who were on the point of leaving for the forest said to the citizens who had approached them and had been grieving sorely for their departure—"We wonder why you are sorrowing for us in the time of our prosperity due to the good fortune of our being entrusted with our father's commands."
He is our progenitor, he has protected us from fears, he has brought us up like himself. Is this trivial going to the forest a fit recompense for the great good he has done to us?

He who shirks really difficult duties (not to speak of exile) imposed on him by his parents should rather be short-lived like a lightning-flash or like a blade of grass whose upper extremity has become dry." Rāma added, "O Citizens, return (to the metropolis), try to relieve our father's sorrow. Do not look upon Bhaṭṭa as different from me". So saying he said to his charioteer "Stop my chariot".

Rāma knowing by signs that the citizens were bent upon following him, spent one night with them and protected them from fears incident to a wilderness and on the next morning left them on the pretext (of performing his morning ablution.)

The following passage taken from the same poem relates to Sītā's fire-purification for her prolonged residence at Rāvana's palace. Sītā says to her royal husband (Rāma) in the assembly of Rākṣasas, monkeys and gods.

तत: प्रगदिता वाक्यं मैथिलाभिजना नृपम्—
"स्त्रीसामान्येन सम्भूता शब्दा मथि विमुच्यताम॥"
(59)

देवाद् विभीषि काकुत्स्थः
जिह्यः तथा जनात्॥
मिध्या मामभिसंकुल्यः
जन्यं श्रावणं हृदाम्॥

चेतसस्म त्वयं इतिचिं, शरीरं रक्षसा हृतम्।
विदंकुञ्जर्नु समय्यो देवा: सत्यमिंदं बचः॥

तथा पुनिहि पुनिहीति पुननं वायो। जगत्तदवम्॥

चरन् देहेऽच भूतानं बिंद्रि मे बुद्धि-विस्रवम॥
खमट, चामटाकोटीमितियन्योक्ति-पावना:।
युयमापो। विजानीत मनोदुःिति शुभम् मम॥

जगति वधत् धत्तेिति दधति तथं वसुन्घरे।
श्रवेहि मम चारित्रे नक्ते-दिवमचिस्लुताम्।

रसां संहर, दीपाल, ध्यानं जहि, नमोभम्।
इतीहमानसू तिमांशो। वृंतं झातुं घटस्त्व मे॥

खण्डे वियस्क, मुन्याल, मुजमा-निलिये मव।
एवं वसनं ममाकाश। संबुध्यस्य हृताङ्गम्॥

चित्ता कुरु च सौमित्रे। व्यसनस्यस्य मेषबम्॥
रामस्तुम्युं मे वाष, पापाव लुभ्यादुि वानल:॥
"Give up the fear which has arisen in your mind from your regarding me as a common woman.

O Descendant of Kākutstha, be afraid of what the gods may ordain for you (i.e., your wrong suspicion); feel shame for what this assembly may think of you; you have falsely accused me who was kidnapped by the enemy against my will.

All the activities of my mind were in you; (only) my body was taken away by the Rākṣasa. I tell the Gods, who are omnipresent, for their information that these my words are true.

O God of Winds, who continuously purifies the three worlds and pervades all creatures, thou knowest if my mind ever became corrupt.
Ye Waters who pervade the sky, the heavens and earth and who are very pure, know that my thoughts and feelings have been good.

Thou Earth, who bearest all things, knowest that my character has not deviated from the path of right day and night.

Thou Hot-rayed Sun, who evaporatest water, shinest brightly, dispellest darkness and travellest in the sky, exerting thyself, mayst try to know my conduct.

Thou Space, who existest in the heavens, in the earth and in the lower regions, art cognisant of what I have done or have left undone.

O Lakṣmāṇa, prepare my funeral-pyre which is the only remedy for this false accusation; either I will satisfy Rāma today or Fire will purify my sinful body by burning it”.

Then seeing that Lakṣmāṇa has prepared the funeral-pyre with the consent of Rāma, Sītā while moving round it, addressed the following words to the assembly—

"Let all of you (including Vanaras), who are present here, hear and know that for Rāma’s suspicion I throw my body into the fire."
O God of fire, if I be unchaste, save me by burning my body; if spotless, preserve it as a friend. I like the rows of clarified-butter-streaks poured on the wall in memory of Vāsu, the Chedi King, on the occasion of sacrifices, have come formally to thee who art decked with a wreath of shooting flames".

The following is taken from Bāna's Harshacharita (composed about 640 A.D.) or the Life and Character of Harshavarādhana or Śrī-Harsha of Thāneśvara and Kanauj, one of the greatest Hindu kings, who ruled Northern India as its paramount sovereign from 606 to 647 A.D. On hearing from Kunta la, a cavalry-officer, that his elder brother Rajyavardhana had been treacherously assassinated by the King of Gauḍa (Sasāṅka or Narendra Gupta), Harsha became very angry and said to the assembled princes and ministers.—

गौड़चिपादमपहाय कस्ताद्रयं महापुक्षं तत्त्ववर्षः \nनिल्लाजुजवीर्यनिर्जितसमस्तराजं मुक्तरस्रं कवय-योनि-\nमिव ऋष्यवर्ष्यप्रसूतिरीर्द्धेन सम्बन्धीर्जोकविगमितं \nमुख्यना \nराममेदार्येषु। अनावर्ष च तं मुक्तवा भागीरथ्येलपत्त-\nपाप्तुरा: केवल मनः सरः सरः राजहंसा इव परस्यमपराकरं—
स्त्रित्वतो न कुम्भराय्यशैर्य्यगुणः पञ्चपातम् । कथभिवात्
श्रमस्याय्यशैर्य्यजित्वितहसः निदाघरवेरिव कन्मलाकरसलिङ्गशोषण
पेशक्षित्त्रीतयः प्रसुता: करा: । .... .... नामापि गृहलोकस्य
पापकारिः पापमलेन लियत इत्र में जिहा । कि वाङ्गी-
कृत्यकार्यमाय्यस्तेन चुदेष्ठानुप्रजनय विगतद्रव्येन थुषे नौ
सकलभुवनाव्यादनचुद्वेशनदन्तम्भ: चयसुपनितः । नूं न
नानेन मूस्तेन मधुरसलालसुब्येन मथिवाय्यजीतिमाय्यसिद्धता
भवनीष्ठः कद्यश्रीलमुखसप्ताहोपः । निजग्रहदृशयं जाल-
भागिण्यप्रदीप्तेन कक्ष्यलभिवाततिमितलिनं केवलक्षणः
सख्तितं गोडावर्येन । । । । । । ॥ विनयविभायिनिं नास्रेपिं चाँगकुरो विश्वत-
पुरुषावर्यया विनयाय सकलमन्त्रात्मकं कुम्भसप्ताहोप-शिरोभागमित्वः
खतरः केशरिंलं । तायः नवे कक्ष्यकेर्चित्का
इत्र तेजस्वितविनाशकः कस्त्य न वस्याः । केदारासे यात्रिति
दुष्टुद्धिः । .... .... कि पुनर्इति हुर्जिते जाते जातामयंविनिमेरे
च मनसि नाश्यवालकः शोककर्याकर्षणः । अपिध इत्य-
विषमार्गः मुसल्ये जीवति जालमे जगाद्रिगहिते गौड़ार्थपाकम-
चय्याले जिहेंमि शुष्कांस्थपुटः । .... .... प्रतिकारशून्यमु शुचा
सुतुक्षुमः । अक्षफुरुबवलवायलक्ष्यं चतुरोकऽकु र्दिनः । कुऽ
कलं करुणाय जलाण्णसिद्धाम् । अक्षफुरुवार्थमचिताध्युम-
"Who except the Gauḍa king would by such a murder abhorred by all heroes and resembling that of Droṇa by Dhṛishṭadyumna put an end to such a great soul (Rājakvārdhāna) just at the moment when he without resorting to any artifice by means of his sheer valour had subdued all princes and made them surrender their weapons? Excepting that vile wretch (the Gauḍa king) on whose mind would not the valour and other virtues of my noble brother, which were spotless like the white foam of the Bhāgīrathī and the swans of the Mānasā lake and which remind me of the prowess of Paras'urāma, make a favourable impression? How could he (the Gauḍa king) being fierce and cruel like the summer-sun, whose hot rays dry up the water of the bed of (and thus kill) lotuses, extend his hands, slighting his friendship (with Rājakvārdhāna), to rob my lord of his life? The very name of
this miscreant seems to have besmirched my tongue with the taint of sin. With what design (lit., for undertaking what work) did this mean-minded pitiless fellow bring about the death of the noble soul, just as a worm enters (insidiously) into and then destroys a beautiful sandalwood pillar capable of delighting the whole world? As a simpleton eager to taste honey does not take into account the stings of bees, which may afflict him, so the fool did not certainly consider the calamity of the shower of the sharp points of arrows, when he deprived this noble prince of his life. As a lamp placed in a lattice-window disfigures the whole room with soot, so this base Gauda king has by his treachery earned only foul shame to the defiling of his family........Even when the goad, which teaches an unruly elephant obedience, is broken, there exist for his discipline the still sharper claws of the lion capable of cleaving the motionless thick heads of all mad elephants. Who should not kill those who destroy the best of spirited men and are like bad jewellers who break brilliant gems? Where will the fool now go (for protection)?.......My mind has become so full of indignation on account of this calamity that it has no room for
complying with the observances of mourning. Nay, so long as this vile outcast of a Gauḍa King, who is like a painful thorn in my heart, who is condemned by the whole world for his wickedness and who deserves to be pounded in a mortar, is alive, I am ashamed to utter with dry lips helpless cries in my grief.....So long as I have not been able to make the tremulous eyes of the ladies of the enemy shed tears on the day of defeat, how can my hands offer the oblation of water (to the spirit of my deceased brother)? Unless my eyes see (and come in contact:) with the smoke issuing from the funeral-pyre of the vile Gauḍa King, there is little tear to be shed (by me). Listen to my vow: I swear by touching the dust of my late honoured brother's feet that if I be unable in a few (lit., counted or limited) days to remove the Gauḍa King from the earth and to put resounding fetters on the feet of all princes, who have become insolent on account of their quick archery, then I will hurl my sinful self into the butter-fed fire like a moth."

The drama 'Mṛīchchhākāṭikam' or clay-cart, though ascribed to Sūdraka (an imaginary and ideal Prince), was probably composed
about 650 A.D., (there being a reference to Subandu—Act VIII: S'akāra’s statement, l.450—author of Vāsavadattā which was composed before Harsha-charitam. Harsha-charitam, though mentioning many authors, omits Sūdra and his work) by one who adapted Bhāsa’s drama Chārudatta for the express purpose of demonstrating the excellence of the amour (and the subsequent marriage between the pious Brahmaṇ merchant, Chārudatta (the hero whose devoted wife was alive) of Avanti and the beautiful and accomplished courtesan Vasanta-sena and also the desirability of overthrowing a tyrant like Pālaka and substituting for him even a good and spirited cowherd like Ārya-kaśaka¹ and also for exposing the stratagems of designing and wicked men like the S'akāra (Pālaka’s depraved and wicked brother-in-law) and the defects of the administration of justice of the time—

¹ Similarly about 780 A. D. Gopāla, the first Pāla King of Bengal, though a plebeian, was elected sovereign (vide M. M. H. P. S'āstri, A. S. B. Memoirs, Vol. III, p. 3). See also J. R. A. S., 1928, p. 604, where Dr. Charpentier remarks, “An episode (that of Ārtyaka) inside a drama could scarcely be more loosely connected with the main action.” This indicates its introduction for a special purpose.
The simplicity of the style of Bhasa has been retained in order to make the reader believe in its ancient origin and in order that the author might air his pet theories with impunity. The society depicted is decidedly more complex and degraded than that of Bhasa or Kalidasa. This drama is one of the richest in its variety of Prakrit dialects. This also proves the lateness of its composition.

After Charudatta has been acquitted of the false charge of murdering Vasantasena, and after the tyrant Palaka has been dethroned by the cowherd Aryyaka and after Charudatta has magnanimously pardoned the wicked S'akara, the hero (Charudatta) addresses S'arvilaka, his benefactor, in the presence of the people, who have assembled, thus—

लग्ना चारित्रपुड्झिन्द्रशरणनिपतित: श्रद्धुर्येष्ठ गूळ:,
प्रोत्कातारातिमूल: प्रियसुहद्दलामार्थ्यक: शास्ति राजा,
प्रात: भूय: प्रियेयं, प्रियसुहद्दि भवान: संगतोमि वयस्य:।
लम्यं किं चातिरितं यदपरस्थुना प्रार्थयेकहं भक्तं॥
Since Āryyaka enjoys the sovereign sway
And holds me as his friend;—since all foes
Are now destroyed, save one poor wretch released
To learn repentance for his former faults;
Since my fair fame again is clear and this
Dear girl, my wife and all I cherish most,
Are mine once more, I have no further suit
That asks for your indulgence, and no wish
That is not gratified. Fate views the world
A scene of mutual and perpetual struggle,
And sports with life as if it were the wheel
That draws the limpid waters from the well;

1. To be added—"and you, S’arvilaka, have become my friend."
For some are raised to affluence, some depressed
In want, and some are borne a while aloft,
And some hurled down to wretchedness and woe.
Then let us all thus limit our desires.
Full-udder'd be the kine; the soil be fertile;
May copious showers descend, and balmy gales
Breathe health and happiness on all mankind;
From pain be every living creature free;
And reverence on the pious Brähman wait;
And may all monarchs, prosperous and just
Humble their foes and guard the world in peace.

—Wilson.

The following passages are extracted from Act III
of Bhavabhuti's Mahāvīracharitam (composed about
700 A.D.). When Parasurāma, the life-long enemy of the
Kshatriyas, wants to punish Rāma for breaking the
Sāiva bow at the palace of Jānaka, the king of
Videha, the result of which has been Rāma's
marriage with Sītā, the daughter of Jānaka,
S'atānanda, the priest of Jānaka, becomes irrit-
ated by Parasurāma's conceit and insolence and
is on the point of cursing him—

शतानन्द—ससंसरमं शानोदकं गृहीला। भो भो
समासद। परवन्तु भवन्त।
संकोचः प्रसभमहं परामित्वातः
दुःस्यु मुदत्तरमात्तारिनं वः।
उत्पात्तुधितमशद्विच्छिद्मानो
वञ्चाम्निदुमिष्ठं भस्मसात् करोमि॥

नेपथ्ये—प्रसीद भगवन्। ग्रहानुपगते प्रशाम्यतु दुरा—
संदे तपस्तेजः।

श्रायो गुप्तदीर्घवर्ष निजक्ष बच्छु—
स्लामिन् ग्रहानुपगते सदां किमेतद्।
बिद्वानापि प्रचलित्स्व यदेष मार्गात्
कुश्चं हि तत्र विजयाय शमं भज लम्भ॥

वसिष्ठः (शापोदकमप्यरन्) वत्स शतानन्द। यथाह
सम्बन्धी महाराजः दशरथः। अन्यथाः—

यतु कल्याणं किमपि मनसा तद्यं वर्त्याम्—
सबं जावालिप्रमृत्तसहितः शान्तिभद्यथि कुश्चोः।
जेतुं जैत्राचारं खलु जपन् सूक्तसामान्यादा—
नस्सिद्धायः सह स भगवान् वामदेवो गृहातु।

जामदन्यः—परस्त वटोः चुत्रियावश्चत्स्य गर्जितानि।
तत्त्र किमेने? भो: भो:। कोशलेश्वराविदेहप्रसादाद्विनायक नामांक्षणः। सत्तुकपवर्तितदीपगोचराश्रय सर्वबृहत्त्रियः। वदाम—
तपो वा शस्त्रात वा व्यपदिर्गतिः यः कश्चिदिक्षवः। स दर्पण्ड्रामद्रिश्मसहमनः कलयुः। अरामं निः सीरवचनशधर्मीक्यो जगती—
मदवरस्ततुद्रह्यानापि परशुराम: शमयति।
नेपथ्ये—भार्गव! भार्गव! अर्धति हि नामावलिप्यसे।
जामदन्यः—असूरति नामायमस्तद्वेल्पय जनकः संरथ्वः।

प्रविष्टवय जनकः।

श्रुतुस्तत्रसत् परिशाविष्ठशदुगुहतन्त्रप्रधाने।
नैरत्यधात्र च परमश्रयस्ततलोपल्लभात्।
छात्रं तेजो विजयं सहजं यद्यस्तसीतिदं तत्तुः
प्रयद्भूती व्रताति पुनः कम्भेण कामुकं नः।

जाम! भो जनक!

लं वहिः किंल परिपुंशासिः धम्मेण युक्ताः
स्वां बदान्तेष्वचरम अभिः सूर्यशिर्ष्यः शशास।
इत्याचरार्द्विः यदि मया प्रयवेशोपजुष्टाँ
लतूं किं रोषादन्तितमः कर्क्षान्ति श्रवीः।
MUGOVRISHA JATASTARPASI CH KILAYAM STHRITIITI
DHIYAYUGMAMABHISHIRAMH TITITIBHAV HI KURTA I
YADA BHUROSHUROSYA SADARVADADUNOYANIMURU-
SLADA VIHIYASMIN NAMTU DUNARVYASITA N GATI: I

Satyananda—(angrily taking the water for
cursing JAMADAGNYA) O you gentlemen who are
assembled here, behold—My indignation being roused
by the insolent remarks of my enemy shall immediately
destroy thee who art my foe, just as the fire of
lightning due to a violent atmospheric disturbance
burns away a tree.

(From behind the scenes Dasarath)—Yield
to compassion, My Lord, let the unendurable
fire of your asceticism be quenched, as he is your
guest! He is one of the best of Brahmans on ac-
count of his virtues. He is also your friend. As
he has now come to your house, is it proper to treat
him thus? As he, though learned, has deviated from
his proper course, there are Kshatryas to punish
(lit. conquer) him; compose yourself.

Vasishtha (taking away the water for curs-
ing from Satyananda)—Dear Satyananda, do
just as Daśaratha, who has become related to you (by the marriage of his son with Sītā, the daughter of your Vājamanā Janaka), says Moreover—

I will do (lit. cause to exist) by my spiritual meditation everything which is conducive to the well-being (of the two royal families). You, S'atannanda, along with Jāvali and the other sages should conjure peace in the presence of the sacrificial fire. Let Vāmadeva (the second priest of Daśaratha, Vāsishṭha being the first) with our disciples chant the Śamavedic hymns of victory for conquering (the enemy).

Jāmadagnya—Hear (lit. see), all of you, the thundering of this Brähmana (S'atannanda) dependent on the Kshatriyas! What does it matter? O the Brähmana almssmen of the Kings of Kośala and Videha (Daśaratha and Janaka), O all the Kshatriyas residing in the whole of the world (literally, the seven Kula mountains and seven islands), I tell you—If there be here any one among you, who pretends to practise asceticism or to wield weapons, let him babbles with his conceit, unrestrained hostility and impatience. Paraśurāma (referring to
herself) still thirsting for vengeance will appease his revered parents by removing from the world Janaka, Daśaratha and Rāma.

(Janaka from behind the scenes)—Son of Bhṛigu! Son of Bhṛigu! certainly you are bragging too much.

Jāmadagnya—This is Janaka, who being excited and angry, has doubtlessly been challenging me for accusing me.

Janaka (entering)—My natural Kṣatriya spirit, which led me to victory (in the past) and which declined with the destruction of my foes, and also on account of my old age, and for my making the observance of Vedic rules governing household duties my chief aim, and for my constant effort to understand the nature of the Supreme Soul, having revived, has been prompting me to wield my bow for action.

Jāmadagnya—O Janaka, (I admit) you are devoted to the Supreme Soul, old and experienced, and endowed with piety. The adult sage Vājñavalkya, who was a disciple of the God of the Sun (or who practised austerities to gain the favour of the Sun-god) taught you monotheistic Philosophy (Vedānta—see Brīhat Āraṇyaka of Saṭapatha Brā
hmana). For this your noble character and conduct
I have treated you with humility (or politeness); why do you being angry and fearless use rude words
towards me?

Janaka—Humility indeed! though using heart-
rendering words (lit., words calculated to tear the
bowels) ! Hear, O Assembled Gentlemen; he has been
born in the family of the Bhrgus, and has
practised asceticism; though our enemy, we have
always forgiven him, but as he being insolent has
been off and on shaking us like straws (i.e., insulting
or rebuking us), there is no other alternative than to
bend our bows against (and hurl our arrows at)
this Brahmaṇḍa'

The following is taken from Magha's Sišupalabhadham, composed about 700 A.D. When
being advised by Bhishma Yudhisthirā con-
erred the highest honours on Krishna in the
Rājasūya sacrifice after his world-conquest,
Sišupala became very angry and said to
Yudhisthirā in the assembly of the
Princes—

यदृश्युजस्ववमि पार्थ! मुरजितमुपूजितं सताम्।
प्रेम विलसति महत्तदहो दयितं जनः खलु गुणीति मन्यते॥
यदराखि राजवंदिषार्थमवपदिकमिदं सुगवद्रिपि
ग्रामयमुङ्ग इव हतितदयं भजनेज्वलक्सान महाशब्धिसु
अनुतां गिरं न गदसीति जगति पठहृवावधुपसे
निन्यमथ च हृतिचरितंतत्र कर्मिणीषिक विकाशस्वसता
तत्र वर्मेलाल श्रीम नाम कथामिदमपूय पठयाते
शोभादिनमिठिवलाक्ष्यमुष्मप्रस्तत्मापि मंगलं जनाः
यदे वार्षाणीपतम् एव किमपि मन्त्रान प्रथासुताः
शौरिततिपतिभिमिनिषिवेजनाधामामिहं कि निम्निति
अथवा न वर्मममुब्रोधमसम्यमवात वालिशं
कामयमिह कृथापलितो सूतुविद्रिप्रपिलित: सरस्वतः

* * * *

अनुसर्थवया न्याथें कोडिकं मधुरिति कथं प्रतीत्वते
द्राक्षीदिलितंसरः प्रथसे मधुसूदनस्वस्वमिति सूत्वमन्न मधु

* * * *

लघुपञ्चनं जगति जालम कुलभिदमपाहुते युघः
हासकरमघटते नितरां शिरस्वीव कथकिमपैलपूद्वेः
मृगविद्यामिश्रित: यदित्यमजनि मित्यां पृथावासुतं
श्र्वः वमयुने इत्यापिचितं: परिभाषा एवं मन्त्रां भुवास्विपि
(O Yudhishṭhira, son of Prithā, thy worshipping Kṛishṇa in the presence of the assembled Princes, though he is not worthy of being worshipped by good men, shows merely thy partiality for him who is thy relative. Thou knowest he is not a king. As only a king deserves this high honour, Kṛishṇa has been hesitating to accept thy worship, as a pariah dog cannot approach the gṛhitā (clarified butter) of the sacrifice. Thou hast proclaimed as it were by the beat of a drum that thou never tellest a lie; but by worshipping the wicked Kṛishṇa thou hast acted a lie. O Yudhishṭhīra I wonder why people have given thee the title of Dharmarāja or the Prince of Piety. Probably this appellation is similar to that of Tuesday which though very inauspicious is euphemistically designated 'Maṅgalavāra or auspicious day.
Ye sons of Kuntī, if ye wanted to worship Kṛishṇa on any account, why have ye insulted so many valiant princes by your invitation? Ye seem to be too foolish to understand the true nature of piety. But I am surprised at the thoughtlessness of Bhīshma (the son of Bhāgirathī) whose old age, it seems, has not brought him wisdom. . . People praise Kṛishṇa for his slaying a powerful demon Madhu; but the fact is that he collected honey (madhu) by killing bees (honey-flies) with a stick, . . . O thoughtless Kṛishṇa, thou art devoid of all virtues: thy worshipper has always become the butt of the world's ridicule and has made his labour as vain as when one combs a hairless head.

O Princes, ye, who are lions, have been insulted by the sons of Kuntī who like jackals have worshipped Kṛishṇa. . . . This hard-hearted Kṛishṇa killed Pūtana, who was not only a woman but virtually his mother whose breasts he sucked . . . . Moreover, this Kṛishṇa, a beast in human shape, who tended the cattle of Kamsa (the son of Ugrasena) killed his master treacherously and thus committed the most unusual and unmanly crime."

The following is taken from Rājatarāṅgini
or History of the Kings of Kashmir, composed about 1149 A.D. by Kalhana, the court-poet of King Jayasimha who ruled Kashmir from 1129 to 1151 A.D. Matrignpta famous for his learning, piety and magnanimity was made king of Kashmir (418 to 423 A.D.), Kalhana says, by his patron Harsha Vikramaditya of Ujjaini. Matrignpta himself became the patron of Mātrīmentha, author of the epic Hayagrīva-badha. Matrignpta, has been identified without any cogent reason with Kālidāsa and Harsha Vikramaditya with Chandragupta II, son of Samudragupta. Matrignpta's kingdom was wrested from him by Pravarasena II (King of Kashmir, 423-83 A.D.) who addressed his ministers thus—

ततो विदितंत्तातो मातृगुप्ताभिषेकनात्।
निषिद्ध सत्विधायता नमायानवविद्धच: ||
विक्रमादित्यमुतिकालां प्रकृति यतते मन: ।
मातृगुप्तप्रति न नो रोषयाहनं अति मन: ॥

1. Kalhana relies on mere tradition in his description of the Kings who were remote from his own time. Secondly he does not mention the name of Kālidāsa. (See also my 'Kālidāsa and Vikramaditya', p. 83)
When the ministers came into his (Pravara-sena's) presence after his story had become known, he restrained them from hostility against Mātrigupta addressing them thus: "My mind is bent on destroying the arrogant Vikramādiṭya; my mind is not irritated by anger against Mātrigupta. What would be gained by crushing enemies (like Mātrigupta) who are unable to bear up with distress? If befits (me) to aspire to victory over those (like Vikramādiṭya) who are able to uproot the former (Mātrigupta). Who else is slighted by lotus-flowers but the Moon whose rise they hate? What sense is then in his breaking the teeth of those elephant-princes which uproot those lotus-flowers? But forsooth the great, eager to manifest their strength, abandon
the contest with those who are not their equals and let loose their accumulated anger against those (like Vikramāditya) who have power over the former (Mātrigupta)."

Bhikshāchāra, a grandson of Harsha (King of Kashmir from 1090 to 1102) rebelled against and ousted for about a year (1120—21 A.D.) Sussala who ruled Kashmir from 1112 to 1128 A.D.—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ततः प्रभृमूद्गोषा पुरः पश्चाच सर्वदा। ॥}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{रत्नोदभूतस्य अवस्थवेणं परम्परान्तं दुर्घटः। पुनः}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{केवले प्रसां घात्वेणां व्यक्तस्य व्यपाहितम्। अनाधिकृते, इष्टे भयः विश्रं व्यापदनमक्षे।}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{नाना निम्न कल्यनात्मकः नूनं स्थूलः दृश्यः।}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{इति मन्त्र सोढ़कहीकृतं सुदृढ़निशयः।}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{दूष्मानोक्षमिदशायदुःखदायी दिने दिने। ॥}
\end{align*}
\]

1. Rājatarāṅgini translated by M. A. Stein.
"From that time onwards Bhikshu (Bhikshāchara), the great soldier, was in battle ever the protector in the front and in the rear like the Viśve Devah at the Śrāddha. Showing on all occasions boldness and unshaken fortitude, he did not forget to justify his course by thus addressing his adherents—

"My endeavour is not for the throne, but my purpose is to remove the great disgrace which has attached itself to the work of my forefathers. These protectors of the people, being at the time of their death left as it were without a protector, were surely envying those who had a protector, thinking (then) that their family was extinguished. In this thought I struggle on with firm resolve bearing my hardships; tormented myself I cause pain to my rival kinsman (Sussala) day after day. How can he who feels ambition, shrink back from a bold act, when he knows that no body dies

(Rājaratnāraṇī, Book VIII. 1021 to '27)
until his time has arrived? What would be the use of crooked designs for promoting our object if they were revealed? Or again why should we not reveal them since we have vowed to take our stand on the (straight) road indicated by the Rishis?"

Jayasimha, king of Kashmir (1128-49 A.D.) addressed the following to his ministers (Dhanya and others), when they were hesitating in 1144 to besiege the castle of Siraśīla in which the king's kinsman Bhoja, the Dāmarā or feudal Chief Alamkara-čakra and other rebels had taken shelter, and were advising the king to conclude peace with them (the rebels)—

दुर्दर्ढमथाशब्दव्य समयं तेन व्यज्ञिन्धन्।
$\text{वन्यादपहि तेः समिधविषेय इति} \text{मूपति}$।

तैस्तैनिमित्ते: सन्वा०नविषेयं विद्वन्नप:।

तानाधिसेच कर्त्तन्यं कोष्टाधालकवेशनं।

सन्दिसेँच च दायादा वन्योऽसर्वं स्यातिमागता:।

निजास्पदे तां जहति द्रोकैचेथ डामरे।

भूत्वा कठोरोऽध्यायमणिश्चानि:सौंपववा स्वयं।

क्रियातिपत्यपालमभैरोऽस्यमोऽसंश्वयं विरिषं।

1. Rājatarangini translated by M. A. Stein.
नायनाधि देवधेत सताहान्युधम् ततः।
द्रुग्माराहं प्राप्यन्त स श्रुतेवस्योऽधिपि तथ्यते॥
प्रातन्यं प्रातिवान् सत्योऽनि:ः ठेले: शुभाशुमे:।
क्रियातिपतेलोऽऽन्न न तैलोऽऽन्न तु सुभेराधिः॥
पादेशु पल्लेशु च सत्यु नोऽवी: न न्योध्वी वा पन्नुपिपीलकन्यः।
पर्वतवचनं गतु गमेन तिं कुस्मिता स्मृतिरये गतीः।
सहसपाद्ये गते निमित्ततमनूह्मंमवेक्युः: प्रजातः।
तस्यामविभ्यादि पादवर्गं ततो उपितं ततु कित्वाकारियत॥
उपेश्य साहित्यां तस्मात् कृत्स्नं कोई विवेपप्पत।
प्राप्तु तदवास्मार्क तेषां च पुस्तायुः॥
अविष्क्र्ष्टो वातोदहन इव सो:। जनयति प्रसादकः
सात्यादिलयति कुलादिनमिर्ने जलः॥
प्रसूते कृत्स्नं व्यवसितिरनिर्वृक्षमुद्राः पु:वर्तिः
लोके प्रतिकलस्ममान्यविविभवः॥

(राजतरांगिनी, Book VIII, 2544-51).

"The Damara on receiving bribes (from them) would let my rival kinsman go and they would get off to their own place, having acquired renown. If we even in this critical state (of affairs) show no persistent effort and vigour, then we surely
shall come to regret it owing to the people reproaching us with lost opportunities. Another prince too feels mortified when he hears it said "If king Harsha (of Kashmir—1090 to 1102 A.D.) had but held out for seven days, he might have got the stream of milk (or could have saved his throne)." Everybody attains what is destined for him by his acts (be they good or bad). But a lost opportunity (kriyatipatti) is held by the people equal to three worlds. The winged ant, though it has feet as well as wings, cannot move about on the ground or in the air, but only in a hole, as if it were lame and blind. What is the use of attainments when the course is laid down by necessity? Aruna, though he has no thighs, guides the course of the Sun (Sahasrapada). Could he have accomplished more, perhaps, if he had had two feet? Therefore cease to remain (mere) on-lookers and lay siege to the whole castle. Let our life-time pass, as well as theirs, in this enterprise. The wind here does not cease to occupy itself with the fire and it continually shakes the high mountains and the water. A firm devotion to tasks, even if it does not lead to their fulfilment, produces at every
turn in this world results of unexpected importance”

The castle was then besieged by Dhanya and other ministers of the king and was compelled to surrender.

The following passage is extracted from Bilhāṇa’s Vikramāṅkadeva-charitam or the Life of the Author's Patron, Vikramāṅkadeva Tribhuvanamalla, the Chālukya king, who ruled at Kalyāṇa (near Bidar in the Nizam's dominions) from 1075 to 1126 A.D. It is the speech of king Āhavamalla (1042 to 1068 A.D.), the father of Vikramāṅkadeva, to his ministers, when he being stricken with an incurable malignant fever, decided to drown himself in the Tūṅgabhadra, the Gāṅga of the south—

'Abantuñderāhīmivālokaṇṭh prīyaṁ kāśīṁ viśerinātām. ||
Dārśeyandraṃnāvāśāṅkṣāṅkṣāṃ selvāṃ ṛṣīya: ||
Kṛṣṇā muṇḍābhadrāśāṅkṣāṅkṣāṃ mahīṣaśāyām. ||
Tēkanēv pratāpan niyāmāśāṅkṣāṅkṣāṃ ||
Dīṃbhām: kṛṣṇāśāṅkṣāṅkṣāṃ parparā: ||
Śīyā[Y]ārajaḥसस्य pārayita: paṇḍarāśrayam. ||

1. Rājatarāṅgini translated by M. A. Stein
2. 1127 according to Dr. Venkatasubbiah, Indian Antiquary, 1919.
अदयाव्रदीतः सूर्यमिर्विमुद्रिभिकर्मृति: ।
नीता कुलचब्रुसार्यं साधूनां वेषरमसु श्रीयः ॥
प्राप्त: कोदय्यपोपित्यजातवपीवक्तमागमः ।
काकुत्स्यानिविविक्षम् सूर्यमिर्विकालावभन: ॥
तेनेव युवहारं समारोह्य यशविना ।
एव साराज्यवभारस्य बोधा सोमेश्वरः कृतः ॥
इति मे कुतकपस्य माहेश्वरशिरोमयेऽः ।
गरिरिजानाथनगरे समारोहस्मुत्सः ॥
आललानमुन्मद्वा स्मरलहस्तितसेवका: ।
ब्रह्मयमपि दैवतः विदन्ति हतपाधिवा: ॥
मम शुद्दे कुले जन्म चालुक्यवसुधामूताम ।
कियन्योरि गता: श्रोतमैत्री शाखार्थविपुषः ॥
जानामि करिक्षणान्तवचम् हतजीवितम् ।
मम नान्यत्र विश्रावः पार्वतीजीवितेरथरातः ॥
उत्सवे तुंगमद्रायासदेश शिवचिन्तया ।
वाज्ञायामह नराकार्त्ति देवभ्रविविपम्बनाम् ॥
यात्रयमुपकराय कायः श्रीकपोष्येवया ।
हृताहरमेतस्य यत्र तत्र विरजनम् ॥
'He (King Āhavamalla) being afflicted with the heat of his internal organs on account of his malignant fever, as painful as the loss of his dear fame, spoke thus to his ministers with his beautiful teeth shining brightly like a moonlight night, 'I have engraved as it were on the gem-adorned turbans of (conquered) princes by means of my power, which is like a diamond-needle, the letters of my commands. I have converted, as it were, into a cage for the residence of my swan-like glory all the countries in the four directions in which my arrows have caused a series of perforations. Without impoverishing my kingdom and without limiting its prosperity I have led wealth into the houses of honest men, as if she were a devoted wife. I have obtained as my son Vikramaṅka (or Vikrama-lāṅchhana, i.e., one whose chief sign is valour) who has the strength and determination of the Kakusthas (or the renowned solar royal family of Ayodhya) and to whom there has been an accession of prosperity
( territories ) for his skill in wielding the bow. It is the glorious Vikramanka who has (really) conferred the vicegerency on his elder brother, Someśvara, and has made him the bearer of the burden of the empire. Thus I being one of the best worshippers of Śiva have celebrated the festivity of his investiture in the town consecrated to the God Śiva (lit., the husband of the daughter of the Mountain-God). The worsted princes whose followers have been insulted (lit., seized by the neck) by my insolent door-keepers know that Fortune has been fighting shy of them. On account of my being born in the stainless family of Chālukya Kings, some particles of sacred love have entered into (lit., made friends with) my ears. Knowing that this trivial life is fickle (lit., tremulous) like the extremities of the ears of an elephant, I have reposed all my trust in none other than Śiva (lit., the husband of Pārvatī). Therefore I desire presently to destroy this illusory body in the waters (lit., lap) of the Tūṅgabhadra, while meditating on Śiva. As this body (of mine) has (so long) been employed in worshipping Śiva for the good (of men), it will be an ungrateful act, if I part with it at an unseemly place (lit., at all
places).” The ministers assented to the words of the King, saying “Let this be done”; for whose minds are not keen on encouraging right conduct?"

Bilhāṇa who left his native land, Kashmir, about 1062 A.D. and composed his Vikramāditya-vana-charitam about 1087 A.D. addresses Princes thus at the end of the eighteenth canto—

(106—108)
Princes of the earth! prosperity, the wilfully unstable lightning of the cloud of fate cannot be enchained. Incessantly sounds the drum that announces the departure of the breath of life. Worship then those true poets who work the salvation of your bodies of glory through the nectar of their verse, and renouncing pride make them your spiritual guides.

O Ye Kings! abstain from opposing the attachment of true poets. In sooth pure flame comes to you through their favour. Pleased they composed that grave beautiful life of Rāma; angered they made ten-headed Rāvana, the conqueror of the world, an object of derision.

May the God who is the first creator of the revealed texts, the dear husband of Parvati, give you intelligence to understand the sayings of true poets—he who imitating the ways of the S'avaras frightened the moon-sickle placed on his crest, so that she concealed her deer in some distant hiding place.

—Bühler.

From the passages cited above, it will appear that analogy plays an important part in these addresses. Metaphor and simile, antithesis, interrogation, sarcasm and other figures of speech and rigid
argumentation are common and even sophistry is not rare.

It may also have been noticed that the simple style of the epics gradually degenerated into the turgid rhetoric of Harshacharitam, and Kiratarjunīyam, the almost meaningless passages of which, full of puns and jingles, we have purposely omitted.

It may be stated that as the instances adduced are culled mostly from literature and not from life, they are artificial. This they to some extent are. But we must remember that literature "receives its chief value from the stamp and esteem of ages through which it has passed."

The paucity of eloquent public speeches in Ancient India is thus accounted for by Dr. Keith in his History of Sanskrit Literature (pp. 144-5), "We may remember that India produced no oratory despite the distinct power often displayed both in the epics and classical kāvyās of rhetorical presentment of a case by opposing disputants. Oratory doubtless, as history proves, has flourished best where there has been political freedom. Athens was celebrated for oratory as Sparta was deficient in it, and Rome produced its best orators
when there still was a republic in which certain classes at least had effective political rights. It may be that India failed to produce historians because the great political events which affected her during the period up to 1200 A. D. did not call forth popular action in the sense in which the repulse of the Persian attacks on Greece evoked the history Herodotos. The national feeling which is at least a powerful aid to the writing of history was not evoked in India in the same manner as it was when democratic states found the most serious element of resistance to the Persian attack at a time when more oligarchic governments were apparently far less deeply moved by any sentiment of nationalism."

We agree with Dr. Keith that oratory and history flourish best there where exists political freedom or where in other words all classes of a community are allowed to express their thoughts and feelings freely. Though democracies like the Greek States did not exist in ancient India, yet the governments were not generally autocratic (See my Kalidasa Vikramaditya, pp. 412–15); and the Brāhmans at least could not usually be restrained even by the sovereign from giving vent to their ideas and feel-
ings and composing brilliant dialogues as in the Epics and Dramas and writing learned treatises on Philosophy, Law, Mathematics, Astronomy and Medicine, and the majority of the authors belonged to this sacerdotal caste. They could furnish us with genealogies as in the Purāṇas, they could compose biographies like Harshacharitam and Vikramāṅkadevacharitam and histories like Rājabhūtārangini. It is to the Brāhmaṇs, as Dr. Keith has said, that all Indian thought 'owes its life and strength.'

Epigraphic records or inscriptions on stonemasons, caves, copper-plates, stone-slabs and statues, many of which have been destroyed or disfigured beyond recognition by the fanatical zeal of Mḥammadan conquerors, bear ample testimony to the fact that the ancient Hindus understood the value of sober history. Kālhana the author of Rājabhūtārangini, seems to be a pioneer in the field of modern his-

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1. "In this connexion two expressions—इत्यादि and शंग्नि seem to indicate that genealogies were not accepted blindly, but were scrutinised in order to ascertain the true or most trustworthy version.” —Pargiter’s Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, page 28.

torical research. He describes thus the materials on which he has based his famous history—

I have consulted eleven histories of kings composed by my learned predecessors and also studied the theory of Nīlamūni. By looking into the permanent documents (e.g. copper-plates) relating to the consecration of gods and grant of property by former kings and by looking into laudatory inscriptions and authoritative books I have overcome the worry of endless errors.

The Aśoka pillars, the pillar of Saumudra-gupta, Yasodharman and others furnish much accurate information of the times in which they were erected. Not only were historical achievements, religious precepts and secular and religious gifts thus recorded, but also poems and dramas of no mean order were preserved in this manner. The Lalita-vigrahāraja, Naṭaka and Harakeli Naṭaka, for example, were inscribed on stone-slabs

1. First Taranga, verses 14 and 15.
in the Sanskrit College (now called Ádhai-dinkā-jhopā) which had been founded at Ajmer by Viśaladeva, the first Chohau Emperor of India in 1153 A.D., and which was later on partly destroyed and converted into a mosque by Shahabuddin Ghori who attacked Ajmer in 1192 A.D.¹

National sentiment was stirred and imagination stimulated by victories like that won over the Greeks under Menander or Demetrios² by Pushyamitra about 154 B.C. and described in Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitram or by those of Chandragupta II (Vikramāditya) over the Śakas of Surāshṭra, Malwa and Mathurā about 400 A.D. which led to the composition of Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśam, or by that of Harsha of Kanauj and Thanesvar over the Gauḍa King about 610 A.D. which evoked Bāṇa's Harshacharitam or by those of Lalitāditya of Kashmir over Yaśovarman of Kanauj and others about 740 A.D. narrated with so much ardour by Kalhīna in his Rājatāraṅgini or by that of Yaśovarman of Kanauj over the

¹. See Chapter VII, H. B. Sarda's 'Ajmer'.
². See Jayaswal's. Hathigumpha inscription (J. B. O. R. S, 1927) and H. Ray Chaudhuri's Political History of Ancient India, p. 249.
³. See my Kālidāsa and Vikamāditya, pages 33 and 328.
Gauḍa king (about 730 A.D.) which stimulated the composition of the Prākrit Epic Gauḍa-vahā by Vākpatirāj or by those of Vikramāṅkadeva of Kalyāna (about 1080 A.D.) recorded with so much enthusiasm by Bilhaṇa in his Vikramāṅka-devacharitam or by that at Tirauri in 1191 A.D. won over Sultan Shahabuddin Ghorī who had been defeated six times and twice taken prisoner, but magnanimously pardoned by Prithvirāja of Ajmir (1179–92) the last Hindu Emperor of India, the flower of Rajput chivalry, "whose whole life was one unbroken chain of chivalrous deeds and glorious exploits" 1 described in the Prithvirāja-Vijaya and whose untimely end at Thanesvar in 1192 bears ample testimony to the treachery of his countrymen and the ingratitude of his enemy. But the fondness of ancient Sanskrit authors for idealisation and exaggeration has made it extremely difficult for modern seekers after truth to separate the grain from the chaff. This fondness has led the former to regard Hyperbole (अतिशयोक्ति) as the best of the figures of speech (See Daṇḍi’s Kavyadars’a).

Dr. Bühler in his introduction to Bihīna's Vikramaṅkadevacharitam says, "The reason for the scarcity of such works (biographies) is I believe, the fact that the Paṇḍits have a greater liking for the wonderful legends of the heroic age and for the no less marvellous stories of those kings whom for one reason or other they have lifted out of the sphere of matter of fact history and transferred to the region of fiction. For the Paṇḍit, Rāma, Arjuna and Nāla are as much historical persons as Śivāji or Bāji Rāo Peshwa; only they appear so much more interesting to him, because their deeds are more marvellous and they are surrounded by the halo of sanctity that encircles the happier yugas in which they are supposed to have lived........... The reason why the Sanskritist longs in vain for works that could serve as foundations for his historical researches lies not, therein, that the rulers of India found no contemporaries willing to chronicle their deeds, but therein that nobody cared to preserve historical works from destruction or to make them easily accessible by copying and recopying the original manuscripts."

To account for this love of idealisation and exaggeration ingrained in the minds of ancient Indians,
which prevented them from writing sober history and recording accurately important events and transactions including public speeches and from preserving the few chronicles which were written, is equivalent to tracing the history of Brāhmanic Psychology from the earliest time, a task beyond the competency of the present writer.

To make the belief of the Indians in the Law of Karma responsible for many of their faults of omission and commission including their lack of historical sense, as Dr. Keith has done, is we think, beside the mark, for notwithstanding their belief in the far-reaching effects of deeds, they have been frequently advised not to remain contented with their lot but to strive and profit by the examples of others. To warn King Harsha Varman against carelessness and too much 'confidingness', Skanda Gupta, his minister and commandant of his war-elephants cited more than twenty instances, both legendary and historical, of Nāgasena of Padmāvatī (Padampawaya in Malwa), Sūratavarman of Śrāvastī, the king of Vatsa, Sumitra (son of Agnimitra) Bṛihadratha (the last of the

1. History of Sanskrit Literature, page 146. See also my Kālidāsa and Vikramāditya pages 531-24.
Mauryyas) the son of S'iśunāga, Bhadrasena of Kalinga, the last of the Śunāgas, Kumārasena, Gaṇapati (son of the king of Videha) etc.¹

Dr. Keith has said elsewhere.² “The whole of Indian Philosophy suffers from the fundamental error of ignoring the will...... The conception (the doctrine of Karman) is one rather of logical sequence than of moral value; logically there is no possibility of evading the Karman and so a man's action is irrevocably determined; illogically enough this can be represented as urging him to good deeds in this life, but the truth is clearly that the good deeds will result from Karman itself and all attempts in Indian thought to modify this fatalism are illogical”...... We do not know Dr. Keith's attitude towards the Biblical doctrine of 'original sin' which may be compared to some extent with the law of Karman and which is believed to co-exist with the capacity for following Biblical precepts nor towards the Greek doctrine of Necessity as is implied in the belief of the Greeks in Fates and Furies. But modern science has demonstrated the

¹. Harshacharitam, Chapter VI.
truth of the law of heredity according to which physical and mental tendencies which are transmitted from generation to generation through the inherited nervous nucleus are capable of being modified by physical and social environments, and also by the power of the human will. Similarly the Hindus believe that the Law of Karma may be counteracted to some extent by Purushakara (Power of the Will); otherwise Sushtric moral and religious precepts would be meaningless. In nature there are many instances of the concurrent operation of contrary laws. The path of the projectile should be a parabola under the law of the gravitation, but the law of the resistance of air stands in the way. Again in the deflection of the ray of light from a distant star, the law of gravitation interferes with that of rectilinear propagation. The belief of the Hindus in the capacity of the Will for modifying the effects of one’s past deeds has been thus expressed in the Matsya-Purāṇam.—

देवे पुरुषकारे च कि ज्यायत्तम् ब्रवीवि मे।
च्यत्र मे संघयो देव ध्रुतमहीस्येषत: ||
मत्य उचाचः

समे व कर्म दैवायं विद्वः देहान्तरार्जितम्।
तस्मात् पौरुषमेवेह श्रेष्ठमाधुर्मनीयपि:॥
प्रतिकौलं तथा दैव पौरुषेण विहन्यते।
मक्कलाचार्युकानां नित्यमुत्यानन्दशिलिनाम्॥

* * * *

पौरुषेनापि रजनू प्रार्थितवं फलं नरेः।
दैवेषध विजानन्ति नरा: पौरुषवर्जिता:॥

* * * *

तस्मात् सदैव कर्षणं सधर्मेपौरुषं नरेः।
विपुचावपि यथेव परलोके धुवं फलं॥
नालसा: प्राप्तुवन्यर्थान: न च दैवपरायणः।
तस्मात् संवृप्रयोगेन आचरेदमर्ममुत्तमम्॥

Manu said to Matsya (the Fish-incarnation of God)—O Lord! be pleased to remove completely my doubt regarding the comparative strength of Fate and the human Will.

The Fish replied, "Daiva (Fate or Destiny) is the influence exerted on a man by the deeds of his past lives. Learned men have regarded Will-power as superior. An adverse fate can be overcome by the force of the will of righteous and industrious men.

O King! men can attain their desired ends by the strength of their will. Men devoid of a strong will confide in destiny.

Therefore men should always exert their will in a righteous cause; even if they fail in this life they are bound to attain their ends in the life to come. Indolent men relying on Fate can never meet with success. Therefore one should exert oneself most in doing what is good and right."

In this connexion the following cutting from the Calcutta 'Statesman' of the 2nd April, 1930 will be of interest:—

'Re-incarnation was suggested as a solution to many of life's problems by Mrs. N. Hoare in the course of an interesting address on Evolution to the Calcutta Rotary Club, at Peliti's yesterday.

"Without re-incarnation," she said, "we have no proof of a divine justice that can satisfy the human
intellect, that can quench its thirst for a divine ideal or give it a positive faith and the just working-out of the laws of right and wrong.

First of all there is the physical inequality at birth; one person is born beautiful, another ugly, deformed or diseased. But even more important is the seeming inequality of mental, artistic or moral qualities at birth. Why is one born with a singing voice, the painter's hand or the poet's soul; another born dull, inarticulate, uncouth? How well can we explain the phenomena of born natural ability, of child-prodigies, of genius itself, except by saying that the person so born has worked hard along those particular lines in past lives and comes into re-incarnation bringing with him the fruit of his past labours?"

"When we once realize," added the speaker, "that a man begins each new life exactly where he left off in the past life to reap exactly what he himself has sown, then the whole panorama of life becomes harmonious and all seeming inconsistencies disappear."
To say¹ that "the acceptance by the Indian mind of the miraculous in the shape of divine intervention, magic and witchcraft and the rarity in India of the scientific attitude of mind which seeks to find natural causes for events of nature" account for this want of historical insight, is an insufficient explanation, firstly because even the most advanced countries of Europe are not free from this imputation, and secondly because elaborate treatises on Philosophy, Medicine, Mathematics, Astronomy etc. were composed in India in ancient times. Again the statement², that the doctrine of the Brāhmaṇs that all action and existence are a positive evil has made them feel but little inclination to chronicle historical events, is supported neither by the presence even in Greece (which produced famous histories) of Cynics like Diogenes, nor by the divine philosophy of the Bhāgavatītā which condemns unequivocally such a life of inaction.

Whether this defect (fondness for idealisation and exaggeration) of the Hindus was due to their

1. Dr. Keith's History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 146.
2. Dr. Macdonell's History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 11.
laying greater stress on the spiritual and unseen world than on the material and visible universe, or to the desire of the priestly caste to perpetuate their authority over the masses by the wonderful tales of heroes and gods who could be approached only through them or of kings whose chief ministers they were or to their desire for securing favours from their royal patrons or to their conviction that the ideal is a more impressive and potent educator than the actual or to their comparative isolation from foreigners on account of their religious and social prejudices and economic self-sufficiency, which prevented them from correcting their erroneous notions by the knowledge of the progress of events and of science, art and literature in the other parts of the world, it will be for learned researchers to determine.
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