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I

THE MAHABHARATA IN MEDIAEVAL JAVANESE

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AMONG the languages of the Austronesian stock, formerly called the Malayo-Polynesian family, several are entitled to the name of literary languages, languages with a literature of their own in refined prose and poetry.

In only one of them, however—the Old Javanese¹—has a mediaeval literature been preserved, a fact of great importance from a philological standpoint, because it furnishes us with philological data of no mean value as regards the development of the Austronesian languages in general.

This literature has been guarded—and so preserved to the world—by the piety of the Śaivas and Saugatas, or Śivaïtes and Buddhists, who came as refugees from Java after the Mohammedan conquest and settled in the smaller island of Bali. Generation after generation kept up there the old traditions, recopying the old palm-leaf manuscripts, right down to the present day. In Java

¹ The Old Javanese language is often denoted by the Sanskrit term *Kavi*, though the literary output by no means consists exclusively of poetry.

itself the tradition nearly died out; only fragments of the old tongue survived the rise of a new literature in a language differing as much from the Old Javanese, or Kavi, as the English of to-day does from the older Saxon. So much was this the case that Sir T. S. Raffles, in his well-known History of Java, written under the guidance of the most learned Javanese and Madurese of the beginning of the nineteenth century, could only venture on some quite unsatisfactory renderings of inscriptions, etc., preserved in the Old Javanese. Since then much work has been done, for the greater part by Dutch scholars, who published in their own tongue the results of their studies. This was quite natural; but it meant that most of their work remains for the time being a closed book to the general European philological world. Amongst those few but untiring Dutch workers we may name the late Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk, who, during a long stay in the island of Bali, living as a Balinese amongst the Balinese, made a most valuable collection of the sacred and partly secret old manuscripts. Two elaborate catalogues of these collections are appearing, founded on different principles, one prepared by the late Dr. J. Brandes,¹ the other by Dr. H. H. Juynboll, who is editing a descriptive catalogue of the Manuscripts of the Leyden University Library, to which institution van der Tuuk's collections were bequeathed. During his stay in Bali Dr. van der Tuuk prepared a voluminous *Kawi-Balinesesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, which has appeared at the Government Press (Landsdrukkerij), Batavia, under the superintendence of Drs. Brandes and G. A. J. Hazeu, with the collaboration of Dr. A. Rinkes and the present writer, in four volumes, each containing some 800–900 big quarto folios.

¹ The premature death of this keen and assiduous scholar was the reason why only two (out of three) parts have as yet appeared. The work bears the title: *Beschrijving der Javaansche, Balinesische, en Sasaksche Handschriften*, etc. Batavia, Landsdrukkerij, 1903.

A grammar of the Old Javanese language has not yet been written ; but interesting contributions to it appeared ¹ from the pen of the late Leyden Professor, Dr. H. Kern, who has rightly been called *facile princeps* as regards these matters. Among the larger publications we may mention a metrical *Rāmāyaṇam* edited (in modern Javanese characters) by the same, and a glossary (in Roman characters) to this work by Dr. Juynboll. A metrical *Bhāratayuddha*, containing the war episode of the *Mahābhārata*, was published (in modern Javanese characters) by Dr. J. G. H. Gunning. Dr. E. C. G. Jonker edited a *Mānavadharmasāstra* (in Roman characters, with translation), a work based on the *Manusmṛti* and still used in Bali as a law-book.

Buddhistic writings are fewer in number. They offer, however, remarkable contributions to the study of the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism, the essential unity of which with Śaiva teachings is nowhere so unmistakably proclaimed as in Java. There both these forms of Āryan thought must have existed side by side on friendly terms, as they still continue to do in Bali, where, however, the Buddhists form a small minority. Of the edited Buddhist works we may here mention the *Kuñjarakarna* (in modern Javanese characters and with translation) by Professor Kern and the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* (with translation) by J. Kats.

The influence of the Āryan civilization has been so deep and lasting in Java that even now, though Islām has held undisputed sway during four centuries, yet the old Āryan teachings, though clad in Mohammedan garb, are as vivid as ever, and the heroes of the *Mahābhārata-khyāna* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, upheld by the fathers as examples of social and religious virtue, are quite familiar to, and revered and beloved by, the village children. In the remnants of the older literature this Āryan influence

¹ In the *Bijdragen*, published by the Royal Institute, The Hague.

plays, indeed, a large part, but the literary activity of the Javanese was by no means restricted to it. Side by side with it goes a national literature of legends and chronicles loosely connected with the former by localizing the events of *Bhāratavarṣa* in their own homes and by tracing the ancestors of the Javanese dynasties to the heroes of yore.

Old accounts of Java's history in the famous days of Daha, Singhasari and the Majapahit Empire were edited by Dr. Brandes: a prose work called the *Pararaton* (in Roman characters, with translation and most valuable notes) and a poem styled the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (in Balinese characters). A translation of the last by Professor Kern has since appeared in the *Bijdragen*.

Returning to the *Mahābhārataśākhya*, as preserved in the Old Javanese language, we can state that only eight out of the eighteen parvas were found in Bali, to wit: the *Ādi*, *Udyoga*, *Bhīṣma*, *Virāṭa*, *Āśramavāsa*, *Mausala*, *Prāsthānika*, and *Svargārohaṇa* parvas. The four concluding parvas, with the exception of the *Svargārohaṇa*,¹ were the subject of a dissertation by Dr. Juynboll (Leyden, 1893). The texts were edited in Roman characters and translated into Dutch. In 1906 the same scholar published the complete *Ādiparva* text, with the different readings in Roman characters, in order, as his preface runs, to make the work more easily accessible for general study. With a view to promoting this aim, I propose to give here some extracts from it in English, in order to show how the *Mahābhārata* appeared to Java in the eleventh century A.D.

As yet, of the Old Javanese *Ādiparva*, only a few episodes have been translated, namely, the *Parvasaṅgraha* (enumeration of contents, with number of *ślokas*, etc.) and

¹ Only lately, after the recent subjection of Bali by the Dutch forces, another copy of this was obtained, which is now in the collections of the Batavian Society for Arts and Sciences.

the *Pauṣyacarita* by Professor Kern,¹ the *Amṛtamanthana* (churning of the ocean) by Dr. Juynboll,² Parikṣit's death by Dr. Hazeu,³ and the *Garuḍa-samudbhava* by the present writer.⁴ For the text we may rely upon Dr. Juynboll's very accurate edition, based upon eight MSS., most of which belong to the v. d. Tuuk collections. I have occasionally compared the text with the MSS. in possession of the Batavian Society, which showed but slight differences. Throughout the text are spread Sanskrit quotations, which only served as landmarks for writer and hearers or readers, and will be retained in the original in the translation wherever they occur, as they may throw some light on the actual wording of the *Mahābhārata* of the eleventh century in India. Some of these are preserved literally in the published Calcutta, Bombay, and Kumbhakonam Sanskrit texts, but some are now missing.

The character used in the Old Javanese original, styled the Balinese character, is one of more than a dozen varieties (and all varying very much indeed) of the Āryan script adopted in the Archipelago. The alphabet must have contained originally all the fifty-one *akṣaras* required for the transcription of Sanskrit. The sound-system of the Old Javanese being much simpler than that of Sanskrit, there must soon have been a tendency to drop the *akṣaras* not distinguished in pronunciation.

Apart from these orthographic peculiarities our text shows some differences in the proper names, which prove that the tradition preserved in the published Sanskrit

¹ The first in *Bijdragen*, ser. III, vol. vi, pp. 92-5, the last in the *Verhandelingen* of the Royal Academy, 1877.

² In *Bijdragen*, ser. VI, vol. i, p. 79 seq.

³ In *Bijdragen*, ser. VI, vol. v, p. 187 seq. From the same hand appeared a scholarly paper in *Tijdschrift* of the Batavian Society, vol. LXIV, which goes far to prove a great similarity between the Old Javanese *Adiparva* and Kṣemendra's *Bhāratamañjarī*.

⁴ In *Tijdschrift* of the Batavian Society for Arts and Sciences, 1908.

texts does not wholly coincide with the eleventh century text which came to Java.

The frequency of the differences may be seen at a glance by comparing, e.g., the genealogy of the Pūru dynasty given on pp. 89–91 with that in the extant Sanskrit versions.

(In the list marriage will be denoted by × ; offspring by + ; d. means “ daughter of ” or “ princess from ”. The names peculiar to the Javanese text are printed in italics.)

1. Pūru × *Kośalyā*.
2. + Janamejaya × Anantā (*Magadha's* d.).
3. + *Pracinvan* × *Aśvatī*.
4. + *Sampāyanī* × *Parudhvanī* (*Varāṅgī*).
5. + *Gārhaspati* × Bhānumatī (*Kārtavīrya's* d.).
6. + *Sarvabhauma* × *Sarvajñānī* (*Prasenajit's* d.).
7. + Ayutanāyī × *Campā*.
8. + *Hṛdhva* × *Dhvānā* (*Aṅga's* d.).
9. + Rkṣa × Jvālā (*Takṣaka's* d.).
10. + *Matināra* × Sarasvatī-nadī.
11. + *Trasnu* × *Kaliṅgī*.
12. + *Īlīna* × *Upadānavī*.
13. + *Duśvanta* × Śakuntalā.
14. + Bharata × *Vatsā*.
15. + Suhotra × *Savarṇā* (*Ikṣvākukula's* d.).
16. + Hastī × Yaçodharī (*Trigarta's* d.).
17. + Vikunṭhana × Sudevi (*Darśanā's* d.).
18. + Ajamīdha × (a) *Ailā*.
× (b) *Dhūrmīṇī*.
× (c) *Keśinī*.
19. + (b) *Dhūmrākṣa* × *Vimalā*.
20. + Saṃvaraṇa × Tapatī (*Āditya's* d.).
21. + Kuru × *Yamadhi*.
22. + Parikṣit × *Udayinī*.
23. + *Suyasā* × *Suyasīnī*.
24. + Bhīmasena × Kumārī.

by the editor “very, very old”, its age being nearly 194 years.¹

If we now compare the Old Javanese list with the account in the Bombay edition, 95th adhyāya, we find these differences:—

1. × Kauśalyā; 2. (Mādhava’s d., but K. has Magadha’s d.); 3. Pracinvat ² × Aśmakī (Yādava d.); 4. Samyāti × Drṣadvata; 5. Ahamyāti; 6. Our Sarvabhauma × Sarvajñānī (Prasenajit’s d.) is extended in the Sanskrit editions to five successive rulers, to wit: *Sarvabhauma* × Sunandā (Kaśyapa’s d.) + Jayatsena × Suśravā (Vidarbha’s d.) + Avacina × Maryādā (Vidarbha d.) + Ariha × Āngī + *Mahābhauma* × Suyajñā (Prasenajit’s d.); 7. × Kāma (Prthuśravas’s d.); 8. Instead of Hṛdhva × Dhvānā (Āṅga’s d.) the S. ed. have three rulers, to wit: Akrodhana × Karambhā (Kaliṅga’s d.), Devātithi × Maryādā (Videha’s d.), Ariha [K. has Rca] × Sudevā (Āṅga’s d.). 10. The Mātinara of our edition corresponds closely to the Bombay text Matināra; cf. the different readings of this name given in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* ³; 11. Bombay text and *Viṣṇupurāṇa* have Tamsu instead of our ‘Trasnu’; still, that this is no clerical error of the Javanese MSS., but the (or a) genuine name, is proved by the South Indian *Mahābhārata* editions both in Nāgarī and Grantha characters, which also read Trasnu.⁴ At least one of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* MSS. compared by Fitzedward Hall has Trasnu ⁵; 12. Rathantari is given as Īlīna’s wife (K. reads Ilila) instead of Upadānavī, which name we meet with in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, iv, p. 132, note 1. 13. The name Duśvanta is written in different ways, the Bombay

¹ See the list of manuscripts in the prospectus of the work.

² The correction of “Prācinvat” to “Pracinvat” by the editor of Wilson’s *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (iv, p. 127, note) is corroborated by the Old Javanese MSS.

³ Loc. cit., iv, ch. xix.

⁴ K. 63. 27; Gr. 78. 15; K. has in 88. 14, again Tamsu!

⁵ *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, loc. cit., iv, p. 129, n. 2; this is the Arrah MS. : see p. 130, n. 2.

edition has Duṣyanta, besides which Duṣmanta and Duṣvanta are met elsewhere.¹ All these seem to be variations of an original Duḥ-ṣanta. 14. As Bharata's wife, whose child continues the dynasty, the B. and K. texts give Sunandā (Sarvasena's d. from Kāçī). They add as Bharata's son Bhūmanyu × Vijayā (Daçārha's d.²) and give 15. Suhotra as Bharata's grandson. 18. To Ajamiḍha are given four wives named (a) Kāikeyī, (b) Gāndhārī, (c) Viśālā, (d) Rkṣā, and, omitting our No. 19, we proceed with 20. Saṃvaraṇa as Ajamiḍha's son. 21. Kuru's wife is named Subhāṅgī (Daçārha's d.) and between Kuru and 22. Parikṣit are added two generations, to wit, Vidūra (K. Vidūratha) × Sampriyā (Mādhava's d.) and Anaśva × Amṛtā (Magadha's d.). As Parikṣit's wife the Bombay edition gives Suyaśā (Bahuda's d.),³ who is Parikṣit's son in the Old Javanese text, making Bhīmasena Parikṣit's grandson. Between him and 25. Pratīpa the Bombay edition puts Pratiśravas⁴ × ?, and so both texts agree in making 26. Śantanu Parikṣit's descendant in the fourth degree.

Śantanu's wife (b) is called in the Bombay edition Satyavatī or Gandhakālī, which denote the same person as our descriptive "Sayojanagandhā", but though the birth of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu is stated in both texts in a similar fashion, there is some difference as regards No. 27, both Ambikā and Ambālikā being given as Vicitravīrya's wives.

For the sake of completeness I add here the genealogy of the Pūru descendants as given in *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, iv, ch. xix, which runs: Pūru—Janamejaya—Pracinvan—Pravīra—Manasyu—Abhayada—Sudyumna—Bahugava—Samyāti—Ahamyāti—Raudrāśva—Rṭeyu—Rantināra—Taṃsu

¹ The uncertainty between *y* and *w* is well known; see for the derivation Colebrooke, *Misc. Essays*, vol. i, p. 42.

² K. has Pratiśravas, but identifies him with Pratīpa.

³ K. has Suyaśā (Magadha's d.).

⁴ K. has Pratiśravas, but identifies him with Pratīpa.

(Trasnu)—Anila — Duṣyanta — Bharata — Bharadvāja — Vitatha — 14 — Bhavanmanyu — Nara — Brhatkṣattra — Hasti — Ajamidha — Rkṣa — Samvaraṇa — Kuru — Parikṣit ¹ — Janamejaya — ? — Pratīpa — Śantanu.

Now turning from these genealogies to the text, in order to show the wording of the Old Javanese version, I will choose the Śakuntalā episode (Dr. H. H. Juynboll, *Ādiparwa*, pp. 65–72), a legend which Kālidāsa has made famous. A comparison of his play with the story as preserved in the *Mahābhārata* shows clearly that this prince of old Indian poets has dealt quite freely with the subject-matter in hand. Though his famous work preceded by centuries ² the Old Javanese translation as well as the (much younger) Sanskrit *Bhārata* MSS., still neither of these seems to be influenced by his way of putting the story, which fact again may prove that it was not permitted to individual genius to alter the ancient lore, faithfully and reverentially handed down from generation to generation.

To sum up the principal differences between Kālidāsa's play and our Old Javanese text, we may mention the introduction of Śakuntalā's handmaids and the king's fool, the story of the wedding-ring as a token of recognition, the transfer of the child's birth and youth to a heavenly hermitage after Śakuntalā's disappearance, etc.

Kālidāsa's play may be divided into seven *Ankas* (to pass by the *Viṣkambhakas*) as follows:—

1. King Duṣyanta arrives in the hermitage and meets the girls watering the flowers.

2. Talk with the Vidūṣaka, the king's fool.

3. The king and Śakuntalā in the *latāmaṇḍapa* (bower of creepers).

4. Kaṇva and Śakuntalā.

¹ Vol. iv, p. 148, n. 2.

² Kālidāsa's date (fifth century A.D.) is discussed in JRAS. 1909, p. 731 seq. A Dutch translation of his *Abhijñāna-Śakuntalam*, by Dr. H. Kern, appeared in 1862. Haarlem.

5. Śakuntalā goes to the king's palace, is rejected, and vanishes into the heaven-world.

6. The king painting Śakuntalā's image.

7. King Duśyanta ascends to heaven and finds in the hermitage of Hemakūṭa his wife and child.

In our Old Javanese text we may distinguish these different scenes (*praveśas*)—

1. The king meets Śakuntalā inside the hermit's house.

2. The king hears the tale from the Brāhmaṇa guest.

3. The Gandharva marriage consummated.

4. Śakuntalā and Kaṇva.

5. Birth and youth of Sarvadamaṇa.

6. Śakuntalā and her son go and meet the king.

7. The voice of heaven justifies Śakuntalā.

These events are related in a short and graphic way which I shall try to follow as closely as the English idiom permits.

Śakuntalā or Bharata's History

At King Janamejaya's request to relate to him Bharata's history, the wise Vaiśampāyana spoke as follows:—

(Once) there was a king, Mahārāja Duśyanta by name पृथिव्याः सागरान्तायाः ॥ (a).¹ He ruled over an empire stretching unto the four oceans. Nobody committed evil during his reign, everywhere righteousness and duty prevailed, because of the example of righteousness given by the king at all times. (Once) he went hunting in a forest at the foot of the Himavān, many beasts he hunted, going ever farther and farther. He discovered a hermitage, most lovely with all its flowers, with fruit of every season, adorned by a holy and stainless stream of limpid water. Here all kinds of animals of the forest had gathered. Even lions and tigers seemed to dwell together in love and sympathy with one another, calmed by the anger-quelling force of the holy hermit's thoughts, which turned all fierceness to friendliness. The birds were singing

¹ These letters refer to the end of this article.

पुष्पखाध्यायसंघुष्टां वानरर्क्षनिषेवितां ॥ (b). The mingling cries of monkeys and bears were heard as if they were reciting the Vaidic mantras; so their voices rang. The king's heart was quite astonished when he heard the voices of the birds. He entered the *āśrama*, wishing to see the *tapa*.¹ He ordered all his companions to stay behind, so as not to disturb the *āśrama*. Having entered the house he did not find the *tapa*, the *āśrama* being empty. He seated himself and looked inside the house. There he saw a damsel of perfect beauty, like a nymph (*vidyādhari*) descended on earth, who came to bid him welcome, and who offered the king water to wash his feet and rinse his mouth पादार्घ्याचामनीय ॥ (c), and who performed all the duties of hospitality that hermits, whether man or woman, usually show to a guest. The king said: "May I ask you, O recluse! whose hermitage is this, and where has the owner gone, that I find it empty?" The hermit-maiden answered: "At your orders, O Prince! I ask Your Highness' pardon,² the owner of this *āśrama* is called *bhagavān* Kaṇva. He went in search of fuel (for the holy fire), but he will be back in a minute मुहूर्त ॥ (d). Be so kind as to wait here, O Pāduka Śrī Mahārāja." As the maiden thus spoke, love filled the Mahārāja's heart, as though it was wounded; he felt Kāma's arrow कामशर ॥ (e) at the sight of this hermit-maiden's beauty; and again he said: "Excuse me, my fair mother,³ I have heard about *bhagavān* Kaṇva, who is,

¹ *Tapa* (from तपः) is the most common term in Java to denote: (1) any kind of mental exercise, *yoga*, etc.; (2) every hermit, *yogi*, etc.

² Superfluity of polite expressions is still common among the Javanese, who may indeed be styled one of the most polite and well-mannered peoples in the world.

³ It is the custom among the Javanese to accost one another, even strangers, with an appropriate designation of relationship: "younger brother," "older brother," "father," "uncle," "grandfather," etc. "Mother" (*ibu*) is used here even to a young maiden as a token of respect to her ascetic garb. "Fair one" (*yu* or *ayu*) has become a common word to address any housewife or elderly lady not belonging to the Javanese nobility.

they say, a *brahmacārī*, who might not mix with woman-kind. If you stay here with him, in what relation do you stand to him? Be so kind to tell me the truth about this!" Thus spoke the king. The hermit-maiden answered: "At your orders, O Prince! He is my father, and as to the way in which he became so, there is here a Brāhmaṇa guest; please ask him about my birth." King Duśvanta went and questioned the Brāhmaṇa guest. He answered: "Once there was a king, Mahārāja Viśvāmitra by name. He renounced his kingly state, wishing to obtain the greatness of soul¹ of *bhagavān* Vasiṣṭha. Therefore he went for *tapa* to a place not far east from here. He performed *nirāhāra*, neither drinking nor eating anything, until his body became powerful. For a long time he thus continued his *tapa*. Indra himself became afraid that he might wrestle his kingdom from him. Now there was a nymph named Menakā, a jewel among the Apsarases. To her Indra spoke: 'O Menakā! my child, I have a request to make of you. There is a holy man² doing *tapa*, his name is Viśvāmitra. Go and tempt him, in order that his *tapa* may bear no fruit.' The *vidyādhari* answered: 'At your orders, my lord! But remember his tremendous power (*kamāhātmyan*) कोपनश्च ॥ (f). How much force क्रोध ॥ (g) he has developed! Supernatural powers, indeed सिद्धिमन्त्र ॥ (h). He would be able to burn up the three worlds. I am afraid of being touched by his curse. If there should be, however, a device to tempt him, tell me in what way to act, my lord! that my undertaking may prove successful!' Bhaṭāra Indra answered: 'Have no fear, O Menakā! God Vāyu will be your companion and blow the perfume of your cloth to

¹ With a Javanese prefix and suffix used to form abstract nouns: *kamahātmyan*.

² *Viku!* This word, used indiscriminately with *tapa*, *yogī*, *vipra*, etc., is a Prakṛtic transformation of *bhikṣu*, and may be a Buddhistic reminiscence. The original sense of living on begged food has wholly disappeared, and only the connotation of holiness and wisdom is left.

Viśvāmitra's seat. God Kāma will direct his arrow and pierce the *tapa's* heart, and love for you will rise in it. In this way his *tapa* may be broken by you.' Thus spoke Lord Indra, and Menakā went. Arrived at the *āśrama* she pretended to be sporting there, gathering the young leaves of the *nāgapuṣpa* trees.¹ A soft breeze came **मन्दमार्त** (i) and lifted her cloth, which Viśvāmitra happened to see and love rose in his heart, being shot by God Kāma's arrow. His love arrow **मदनास्त्र** ॥ (j) struck, and Viśvāmitra longed for union with the Apsari, and in the end they were united. There by **कामरस** ॥ (k) Menakā became pregnant. She thought herself to have reached her aim and fulfilled Bhaṭāra Indra's order to break Viśvāmitra's *tapa*. She might now return to heaven, so she thought. Now there was a river called Mālinī, sprung from the Himavān foot. She followed it upwards, and on its bank she bore a child—a girl—which she left to the care of the river bank. Away went Menakā, returning to her heavenly home. Mercilessly the child was left alone in a most pitiful state, attended only by the birds. As regards *bhagavān* Viśvāmitra, he had already left the hermitage. Now it happened that *bhagavān* Kaṇva went to gather flowers (for *pūjā*) along the Mālinī's banks. He found there a child attended to by (strong) birds **शकुनि** ॥ (l). The *bhujaṅga*² took the child in his arms and performed the necessary sacraments,³ naming it Śakuntalā in remembrance of her being attended upon by *çakunis*. And so the *bhujaṅga*, O Prince! obtained this child." Thus spoke the Brāhmaṇa guest to the Prince: "This Śakuntalā is the young hermit-maiden who

¹ *Acacia farnesia*. In modern Javanese generally called *nagasari*, the young leaves of which resemble locks of hair.

² *Bhujaṅga* = serpent, is still in use in Java to denote accomplished doctors.

³ With Javanese infix *sinangaskāra* to denote a passive mood of *saṃskāra*, which may mean here performing the birth-rite (*janma-karma*), cleansing the child, etc.

welcomed Your Majesty." Having thus been told the whole story by the Brāhmaṇa guest, love arose in King Duśvanta. "An excellent birth is yours, O hermit-girl," he thought, "being the child of a nymph from heaven and a holy sage with supernatural powers, worthy to be my queen." Thus thinking, he proposed to Śakuntalā to become his bride. But Śakuntalā refused, wishing to wait for her father. On the king's insisting upon his proposal, Śakuntalā spoke to him: "At the orders of Your Majesty, but under the condition—and do not break your promise—that my child will be your successor on the lion-seat **सिंहासन** ॥ (m) and will have your kingdom." The king replied: "Have no fear about the fulfilment of my word; your child will succeed to my kingdom." Thus the king spoke, confirming his words by consummating the marriage according to the Gandharva rite. Then he took leave and returned home. Afterwards he would send for Śakuntalā, said the king. Soon after his departure *bhagavān* Kaṇva returned home from the forest, carrying fuel and flowers. Śakuntalā, however, did not come to meet him, being ashamed at what she had done. Because of his omniscience *bhagavān* Kaṇva knew all her doings. He spoke: "Śakuntalā, my child! do not vex thyself, thou wilt bear an emperor **चक्रवर्ती** ॥ (n). I know that you did not forget your filial duty towards me, and only gave in to King Duśvanta's insisting on your love, and that this was your object in permitting him to take you as his wife according to the Gandharva rite. You have done well, my child!" Thus spoke *bhagavān* Kaṇva. Śakuntalā made *namaskāra*, and washed the Rṣi's feet. After a long pregnancy, she bore a child, a boy of perfect beauty. Immediately the holy man performed the sacraments according to the Kṣatriya rites. Afterwards the boy attended the hermit at his meditations (*samādhi*), and so he became at last very powerful, subduing all the wild animals, to begin with

the lions, the tigers, and the elephants—all these were under his sway स सत्त्वानि वशयन् ॥ (o).¹ All the animals were in his power, and he was given the name of All-subduer (*Sarvadamana*). Having reached the age of 6 years, the beauty of his form shone forth still more. The palms of his hands were marked by a *cakra*, foretelling his future imperial dignity (*kacakra-vartyan*) (p). Meanwhile no summons came from the Mahārāja Duśvanta. Sorrow filled Śakuntalā's heart, bewailing her son's fate. *Bhagavān* Kaṇva knew the emotions which filled Śakuntalā's heart. He ordered some pupils to accompany Śakuntalā to Mahārāja Duśvanta, in order to take his son to him. They went, and arriving in Hastinapura they came before Mahārāja Duśvanta, who was just giving audience to his people. Śakuntalā spoke: "At your orders, O King! some time ago we agreed that, if I should bear you a child, he should be the successor to your throne. To this Your Majesty consented,² pledging yourself to fulfil this condition. Having this in view, I submitted to Your Highness. Here is what was deposited by Your Majesty in my womb. His name is Sarvadamana भोः यौवराज्ये ऽभिषिच्यतां ॥ (q). It will be beseeming now to anoint him यौवराज्येन³ सुपुत्रकः ॥ (r), after having proclaimed him as heir apparent." Thus Śakuntalā spoke. Mahārāja Duśvanta answered कस्य त्वं दुष्टतापसि ॥ (s): "Who married thee, O wicked recluse! claiming me as thy husband, me who know not thy form, forsooth. Could an emperor ever have married a low-born hermit-girl? Is this *kraton* (royal town and palace) bereft of choicest damsels? Away, thou *mūr*!⁴ away from here! Do not hope to be made an emperor's wife!" Thus spoke Mahārāja Duśvanta. Śakuntalā wept with

¹ So I propose to read instead of Dr. Juynboll's वाशयन्.

² The verb *umom* means "by uttering *om*" = yes.

³ Dr. Juynboll has यौवराजन.

⁴ An exclamation to drive away a blackmailer.

shame. Still she spoke: "O Mahārāja! how great your pride! But listen to my words: acting thus is worthy of a man of low birth, but not of one like you, O King. As regards your thought, O King, एकोऽहमस्मीति ॥ (t) you think: 'I was alone, nobody saw my actions when I married Śakuntalā. Who was there to observe me?' Such was your device, O King. But let not Your Highness persist in this course. Remember the divine *Ātman*, who lives in your heart साक्षात्पश्यति कर्माणि ॥ (u). He sees all your actions, good or bad. This God is not to be deceived.

आदित्यचन्द्रावनिलानलौ च द्यौर्भूमिरापो हृदयं यमश्च ।

अहश्च रात्रिश्च उभे च संध्ये धर्मश्च जानाति नरस्य वृत्तं ॥ (v)

Āditya the divine Sun, and *Candra*, the divine Moon, *Anila-Anala*, the divine Wind and Fire, next the divine *Ākāśa* (Sky), *Pr̥thivī* (Earth) and *Toya* (the Waters), besides the divine *Ātman* (the Self) and the divine *Yama*, these, indeed, are present everywhere. Besides the Day and the Night and the two Twilights, together with God Dharma, numbering thirteen in all. These are the witnesses of human actions all the world over, they cannot be blindfolded, and they know all that goes on in the world. Is it possible to think that indeed you doubt me to be your wife as a consequence of my bad *karma*? हीनपुत्र ॥ (w). And here is your son, so perfect after his *tapa*; but no father to make him happy!¹

प्रतिपद्यदा सूनुर्धरणीरेणुगुण्डितः ।

पितुरास्त्रिष्यते ऽङ्गानि किमिहास्त्यधिकं सुखं ॥ (x)

As stated in the *Āgama* प्रतिपद्यदा सूनुः ॥ the boy just beginning to walk; रेणु dust; गुण्डितः ॥ his body covered with dust, enjoying himself, sporting on the ground, when he sees his father पितुरास्त्रिष्यते ऽङ्गानि । he rushes to him,

¹ I offer this translation tentatively, some words in the text being not quite certain. The Old Javanese sentence runs: *nāhan tanaakta jūga prasiddha sariba niñ tapa tan hana mañde suka*.

putting his arms round his legs, and, from love for his child, the father embraces him and carries him round in his arms **किमिहास्यधिकं सुखं ।** There is no joy surpassing this. However great the pleasure¹ of one's embracing a beloved wife, when you are longing for the pleasure of holding a child in your arms, to kiss the child is a still greater enjoyment. Does Your Highness feel no love seeing this Sarvadamana, your own flesh **साक्षादौरसपुत्रं ॥ (y).** He is not lacking in lucky marks, and takes after Your Majesty in all respects. Ah ! Your Majesty's heart (*manah*) is too wicked indeed." "Ah ! Śakuntalā, who would not agree with your words, that a son gives joy, and supposing this Sarvadamana really were my son, would not I be glad to embrace him ? Could it possibly be otherwise ? **अतिकायश्च पुत्रस्ते (z).** But see his form ; is not he too big indeed (for his years) **बालोऽतिबलवानयं ॥ (aa).** He seems gifted with most extraordinary powers. If I had a son, could he be like this ? **कथयन्ती न लज्जसे (bb).** In short, are you not ashamed of pretending him to be my son ? **यथेष्टं गम्यतां त्वया (cc).** Go wherever you like, and don't pretend that I am your husband." As Śrī Mahārāja Duśvanta thus spoke, a voice came from heaven, audible to the King and all his officers. This voice spoke **परिष्वजस्व पुत्रं दुश्चन्त ॥ (dd) :** "Ho ! Mahārāja Duśvanta, embrace your child without any doubt ; indeed, it is your son **सत्यमाह शकुन्तला ॥ (ee).** Śakuntalā has spoken the truth ; it is you who begot her child " (*ff*). As the voice from heaven thus spoke, Mahārāja Duśvanta came down from his lion-seat (throne) and embraced Sarvadamana. Then he said in tears to Śakuntalā : "Mother Śakuntalā ! I was indeed glad at your arrival. Still, my kingly state prevented me from acknowledging it, since much gossip would have arisen

¹ Read in the Javanese text *suka ri* for *sakari*. The following *ng we* is probably a clerical error.

by the supposition that, you not being my wife, I was going to foist your son as my heir upon the people. Since the voice from heaven has asserted Sarvadamana to be really my son, and such in the presence of all the world, I feel very happy, and I will have him to sit on my lion-seat, that he may become my successor as protector of the world. Let him no longer be named Sarvadamana, 'Bharata' henceforth will be his name, since the Divine voice spoke **भरख पुत्रं दुश्चन्त ॥** (O Duśvanta, rear your child!).” Thus spoke King Duśvanta, and he asked Śakuntalā to forgive him for having abused her before all his *mantrins* (ministers).

On a favourable day Bharata was anointed and succeeded as protector of the world. He made war upon the neighbouring kings, who submitted to him from fear of his great power. As an emperor, he tried to promote the welfare of the world. He ordered a sacrifice to be performed at which the holy Kanva acted as priest **येनेदं भारतं कुलं (gg)**. Bharata's greatness was the reason that there is now a Bhārata-kula.

Here our Śakuntalā episode ends. Striking a balance between this version in Old Javanese and the extant Sanskrit editions, we find our present version much shorter, approximately only one-third of the B. and C. editions, which in seven chapters number more than 300 *çlokas*. The K. and Gr. editions are longer still, in twelve chapters numbering more than 600 *çlokas*. Nevertheless, our tale is complete in itself, and seems decidedly the better for being more concise. The detailed descriptions which make the extant S. versions more bulky are to a large extent quite superfluous to the general trend of the story and partly out of place as well—mere accretions due to the wish of later copyists to work out more completely some of the original scenes, or to add some more “wise sayings” or *logia* in *anuṣṭubh* metre for the benefit

of the reader. In this way the one Brāhmaṇa host and the few pupils of Kaṇva of our narrative have not only increased to a large colony of saints, whose doings fill a whole *adhyāya*, where all kinds of knowledge about the different parts of the holy scriptures is displayed, but, after the king has heard them reciting all the Vedas simultaneously, they are disposed of quite easily and nothing is heard about them. The half-śloka in the Javanese text, *Puṇyasvādhyāyasaṅghuṣṭaṃ vānararākṣa-niṣevitam*, is in this respect significant. The same words occur in the S. editions (B. 70. 25, 26; K. 91. 27); but the pādas follow in reversed order and are divided over two ślokas. Taking our Javanese version, the holy sounds are produced by monkeys and bears, and we can easily see how an orthodox copyist might take exception to these animals even imitating the recital of the holy Vedas and might go so far as to work out the theme into such a complete teaching-body of holy hermits as might do honour to an indigenous university. We miss, however, in the published S. version the finer feeling which makes the young maiden cause her tale to be told by a Brāhmaṇa guest. In the S. versions she herself bluntly tells the whole intimate story of her mother. Kālidāsa had the good sense to introduce some of Śakuntalā's playmates in order to save her the shame of telling the story herself. The hunt is worked out with much detail in the B. text, a whole army taking part in it, which army again is described at length. In the Javanese the whole thing is dealt with in a few words, which are quite sufficient for the purpose, and the impression which our narrative leaves is much simpler and much more natural.

Most of the Sanskrit quotations of the Javanese text are found both in the B. and the K. editions, as the following enumeration will show. They go to support the supposition of an older version, represented by the

Javanese text, which served as a common basis for the extant S. editions.

- a. C. 2801 ; B. 68. 3 ; K. 89. 2 पृथिव्यास्तुरन्तायाः ॥.
- b. C. 2868 ; B. 70. 25, 26 ; K. 91. 27, 28 (in reversed order).
- c. B. 72. 5 ; K. 92. 7 पावेनार्घ्येण चैव हि । पप्रच्छानामयं राजन् ॥.
- d. B. 72. 9 ; K. 92. 13.¹
- e. Wanting.
- f. C. 2926 ; B. 71. 27 ; K. 92. 39.
- g. Wanting.
- h. Wanting.
- i. Wanting.
- j. Wanting.
- k. Wanting.
- l. B. 72. 12 ; K. 93. 19 शकुना.
- m. Wanting.
- n. B. 73. 30 ; K. 94. 64.
- o. Wanting.
- p. C. 2991 ; B. 74. 4 ; K. 75. 19 चक्राङ्कितकरः ॥.
- q. B. 74. 17 ; K. 97. 28 तस्मात्सुत्रस्त्वया राजन्यौवराज्ये ऽभिषिच्यताम्.
- r. B. 74. 126 यौवराज्ये ऽभ्यषेचयत् ॥.
- s. C. 3006 ; B. 74. 19.
- t. C. 3015 ; B. 74. 28 ; K. 98. 8.
- u. C. 3018.
- v. C. 3017 ; B. 74. 30 ; K. 98. 11 (in K. the first pada : आदित्यचन्द्रावनिलो ऽनलस्य ॥).
- w. Wanting.
- x. C. 3040 (last pada : किमस्त्यभ्यधिकं सुखं ॥) ; B. 74. 53 ;

¹ The Javanese text says here that Kaṇva has gone out in search for fuel (*samidāharaṇāya*). Now in the S. *Mahābh.* the ṛṣi is said to have gone out in search for "fruits". In Kālidāsa's *Śākuntalam* the expression *Samidāharaṇāyapraṣṭhitā vāyam* = "we went out to fetch fuel", occurs (ed. Böhtlingk, p. 7) ; but Kaṇva himself is said to have gone to Somatīrtha to neutralize a bad fate threatening his daughter.

K. 98. 45 (K. reads: परिमृत्त्य यथा सूनुर्धरणीरेणुकुण्डितः । पितुरालिङ्गने ऽङ्गानि किमस्त्यभ्यधिकं ततः ।).

y. Wanting.

z and aa together. B. 74. 79; K. 98. 86.

bb and cc. I. 3064; B. 74. 77; K. 98. 97 (यद्येष्टं गम्यतामितः ॥).

dd and ee. C. 3102, 3103; B. 74. 111, 112; K. takes them together, 100. 2 भरस्व पुत्रं दौष्यन्ति सत्यमाह शकुन्तला ॥.

ff. K. 100. 9 तस्माद्भरस्व दुष्यन्त पुत्रं शाकुन्तलं नृप.

gg. C. 3112; B. 74. 131; K. 100. 12.

From our few analytical remarks it will be seen that more material must be brought forward before anything can be done towards finding a conclusive answer to the interesting question: From which part of India, the north or the south, was the eleventh century *Bhāratam* brought to Java? ¹ This much, however, seems certain, that this Old Javanese text may prove useful in the verification of several details which embarrass the students of the *Bhāratam*.

If their interest in the text published by Dr. H. H. Juynboll is aroused, the chief aim of the present contribution will have been attained.

¹ After due consideration of argument I cannot quite agree with my learned friend Dr. Hazeu, who tries to prove in his paper on "The Old Javanese *Ādiparva* and its Sanskrit Original" (Tydschrift Batav. Soc., vol. xlv, cited above) that the Old Javanese version must have come from Kashmir, or at least from North-West India, because a certain number of similarities are proved to exist between the Old Javanese *Ādiparva* and the *Bhāratamāñjarī* of the quasi-coeval Kashmirian poet Kṣemendra, since we have no proof whatever that about the eleventh century in other parts of India the *M.Bh.* text differed in these points from the Kashmir traditions.