

WHO'S WHO IN ANCIENT INDIA?

THE SOLAR AND LUNAR DYNASTIES IN THE HARIVAMŚA

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FOREWORD

This document contains Sanskrit text and annotated English translation of the *Harivaṃśa*'s preliminary genealogical portions: accounts of the solar dynasty of kings (chapters 8–10) and the lunar dynasty of kings (20–29).

The Sanskrit text is taken from the critically reconstituted version prepared by P. L. Vaidya (published in Poona in 1969–71 with apparatus, and in 1976 without), as transliterated by a team of scholars in association with the Dubrovnik International Conference on the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas and made electronically available on the website of the Abteilung für Indologie at the University of Zürich. I am grateful to Peter Schreiner for overseeing the e-text project, and to Peter Bisschop, Christophe Vielle, and Horst Brinkhaus, who entered and proofed the portions that I used as a base in preparing this document.

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INTRODUCTION

The Harivaṃśa

The *Harivaṃśa* is a collective name given to the final three minor books of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*: the *Harivaṃśaparvan*, the *Viṣṇuparvan*, and the *Bhaviṣyatparvan*. These three books are categorised as *khilas* (supplements or complements), and are not included within the *Mahābhārata*'s 18 major books. Nonetheless they are said to be original portions of Vyāsa's *Mahābhārata* composition, and they are included in a table of its contents, amongst the one hundred minor books which preexisted the later division into eighteen major books (*Mahābhārata* 1.2.69–71).

The *Harivaṃśa* contains the oldest surviving biography of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva, who by way of brief visits is a major player in the story of the Pāṇḍavas that has just been concluded in *Mahābhārata* 18. Amongst other things, Kṛṣṇa delivered the *Bhagavadgītā* to his cousin and brother-in-law Arjuna Pāṇḍava, and then drove the latter's chariot through eighteen days of war; and he was the great god Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa himself in person.

The *Harivaṃśa* has been critically edited by Parashuram Vaidya on the basis of an unprecedented survey of manuscripts. Vaidya's edition, published in 1969–71, contains a reconstituted text of 118 chapters – broadly, what all 37 of the manuscripts chosen as representative of the manuscript tradition have in common – supplemented by apparatus giving the additional material found only in some manuscripts (of which in the case of the *Harivaṃśa* there was, comparatively speaking, an awful lot). The assumption is that the reconstituted text would be the oldest knowable version, from which the various manuscript versions descended through the years, in a process of repeated copying and occasional addition. The reconstituted version would thus be an important text, with implications for the study of religions, and for the classics and the humanities more widely. But there exists no

complete translation of the reconstituted *Harivaṃśa* – perhaps because insofar as it is encompassed by the *Mahābhārata* it is not really a text in its own right, and perhaps because, in consonance with its status as a series of *khilas*, it can seem rather 'bitty'.

The chapters translated in this document are from the *Harivaṃśaparvan*, which begins as a continuation of the *Mahābhārata*'s dialogue between Ugrāśravas the *sūta* and Śaunaka his brahmin host, and also, within that dialogue, as a continuation of the relayed dialogue that took place at King Janamejaya's *sarpasatra* ('snake session') between Janamejaya and Vyāsa's student Vaiśampāyana.

śrutvā itihāsaṃ kārtsnyena bharatānāṃ sa bhārataḥ |
janamejayo mahāprājño vaiśampāyanam abravīt || 7 ||
mahābhāratam ākhyānaṃ bahvarthaṃ bahuvistaram |
kathitaṃ bhavatā vipra vistareṇa mayā śrutam || 8 ||
tatra śūrāḥ samākhyātā bahavaḥ puruṣarṣabhāḥ |
nāmabhiḥ karmabhiś caiva vṛṣṇyandhakamahārathāḥ || 9 ||
teṣāṃ karmāvadātāni tvayoktāni dvijottama |
tatra tatra samāsenā vistareṇa eva ca abhibho || 10 ||
na ca me tṛptir astīha kīrtiyamāne purātane |
ekas ca me mato rāśir vṛṣṇayaḥ pāṇḍavās tathā || 11 ||
bhavāṃś ca vaṃśakuśalas teṣāṃ pratyakṣadarśivān |
kathayasva kulaṃ teṣāṃ vistareṇa tapodhana || 12 ||
yasya yasyānvaye ye ye tāṃs tān icchāmi veditum |
teṣāṃ pūrvavisrṣṭim ca vicitrām ā prajāpateḥ || 13 ||

(*Harivaṃśa* 1.7–13)

⁷ Having heard the history of the Bharatas in its entirety, Janamejaya, that very wise descendant of Bharata, said to Vaiśampāyana:

⁸ The great Bhārata tale, of great import and great extent, has been narrated by you in detail, O seer, as I have heard.

⁹ Many great chariot-warrior heroes of the Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas, bulls of men, have been mentioned there by their names, and also by their deeds. ¹⁰ You have told of their blameless deeds, O best of the twice-born, at various points, in brief and also in detail, O master.

¹¹ But although I praise the old tale, I'm not yet satisfied. In my view, the Vṛṣṇis are a single group together with the Pāṇḍavas; ¹² and as a direct witness, you are conversant with their dynasty. O great ascetic, you must describe their family in detail. ¹³ I want to know in each case who was who, and in whose line, and their amazing ancient origins as far back as the Prajāpati.

The Ancestries

By the time Vaiśampāyana gets to the *khilas* he has already told Janamejaya two versions of Janamejaya's patrilineal ancestry: in verse at *Mahābhārata* 1.70/89, and in prose at *Mahābhārata* 1.90. In both of those accounts Janamejaya's own ancestry, as celebrated at his own rite, is traced from the sun – a convention that seems to be recent, since Janamejaya's immediate ancestors, the Pāṇḍavas and their family, saw themselves, as they talked amongst themselves, as descendants of the moon (Brodbeck in press). In the *Harivaṃśaparvan*'s genealogical materials, however, the stress is not so much on the ancestry of Janamejaya as it is on the configuration of royal ancestry in general, and on the ancestry of Kṛṣṇa in particular. The *Harivaṃśaparvan*, which is described as 'old' (*purāṇa*) at *Mahābhārata* 1.2.69, presents Janamejaya as a king in the lunar line.

The *Harivaṃśaparvan*'s first seven chapters describe the creation and constitution of the universe, the deeds of Pṛthu Vainya the paradigmatic first dharmic king, and the chronological divisions of the universe. Vaiśampāyana then narrates the solar dynasty (*Harivaṃśa* 8–10), which is an account of the kings of Ayodhyā descending from Ikṣvāku, son of Manu, son of the sun.

These kings include Rāma Dāśaratha of *Rāmāyaṇa* fame. Intervening after the solar dynasty but before the lunar dynasty is the *Pitṛkalpa* (*Harivaṃśa* 11–19), which has been translated into French by Marcelle Saindon (1998). Amongst other things, it contains recapitulation of materials presented by Bhīṣma in *Mahābhārata* 13 concerning the mechanics of patrilineal maintenance via the feasting ritual of *śrāddha* (see especially *Mahābhārata* 13.23–4 and 13.87–92; compare *Manusmṛti* 3.122–284). The lunar dynasty (*Harivaṃśa* 20–29) follows, but where the solar dynasty was the story of one royal house, the lunar dynasty is the story of many. The line keeps splitting, with different sons establishing kingdoms in different places, and the narrative follows first one branch and then another, taking in Janamejaya's line along the way, and ending with a concentration upon Kṛṣṇa's family. When the account of the dynasties is over, in *Harivaṃśa* 30 Janamejaya asks about Kṛṣṇa's divine identity as Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, a topic which then occupies Vaiśampāyana for the remainder of the *parvan* and on into the next.

Both of the dynastic accounts begin with strong narrative passages dwelling upon their respective eponymous luminary ancestors, most particularly in the matter of their family life and relations with women. Thereafter the accounts of the two dynasties include passages that are made up mostly of interesting names and brief details as the generations pass by; but these frame and punctuate several dozen passages of varying lengths – from a few lines to a few chapters – that tell diverse, precise, and piquant stories about some of the characters mentioned. In the process, one gets a resumé of ancient India's royal and social ideology, a primer of its enduring mythical personalities, and many fine jokes. The longer stories are summarised briefly here.

The Stories in the Solar Dynasty

Samjñā, dissatisfied with the appearance of her husband, the sun (i.e. Vivasvat), secretly leaves him, arranging for a lookalike to take

her place. She goes back to her father, but he tells her to go back to her husband, so she goes out to grass. Vivasvat does not notice the switch of wives until one of his earlier children points out that the mother treats the latest child preferentially. Vivasvat then goes to his father-in-law, who gives him a visual makeover and tells him where his wife is. She receives him favourably, and they are reunited (*Harivaṃśa* 8.6–40).

Manu asks his daughter Idā to follow him. Mitra and Varuṇa send her back to Manu, even though she wants to be loyal to them. On the way, she has a son and a sex-change (*Harivaṃśa* 9.3–15).

King Kakudmin and his daughter visit Brahmā and listen to the song of the *gandharvas*, and when they return to their city what to them is a short while later, decades have passed, and the city has been populated by the Yādavas and renamed Dvāravatī. Kakudmin gives his daughter away, and retires (*Harivaṃśa* 9.24–8).

The brahmin Uttāṅka comes to Ayodhyā, complains to King Bṛhadaśva about a desert-dwelling earthquake monster called Dhundhu that is disturbing him, and requests its slaughter. The king sends his son Kvalāśva, who kills the monster with help from Viṣṇu, and is renamed Dhundhumāra (*Harivaṃśa* 9.47–75).

Prince Satyavrata abducts a nubile betrothed elsewhere, and consequently he is exiled from Ayodhyā by his father, and the prime minister Vasiṣṭha allows it. The king then retires, and there is a drought. Meanwhile, the brahmin Viśvāmitra is away, and his family are starving. Satyavrata, in exile, feeds Viśvāmitra's family by hunting; he even kills Vasiṣṭha's cow, after which Vasiṣṭha calls him Triśaṅku. Viśvāmitra returns, becomes Triśaṅku's guru, makes him king, and the drought ends (*Harivaṃśa* 9.88–10.20).

King Bāhu of Ayodhyā is ganged up against, deposed, and exiled. He dies in exile. His widow, pregnant with Sagara, is saved by the brahmin Aurva, who houses her and then educates and arms Sagara, who returns to Ayodhyā, regains the kingship, and avenges himself upon his father's usurpers (*Harivaṃśa* 10.24–45).

King Sagara performs a horse sacrifice; but the horse goes underground at the sea-shore, and on the excavation mounted to recover it, Sagara's sons – 60,000 of whom were born as pumpkin seeds and incubated in pots of ghee (*Harivaṃśa* 10.55–62) – disturb and are then killed by Viṣṇu in the form of Kapila. But Viṣṇu then arranges for the ocean to return the horse (*Harivaṃśa* 10.46–53).

The Stories in the Lunar Dynasty

At his birth, Soma, the moon, falls from high heaven; but Brahmā gives him a chariot. Thereafter he is praised, and made a king, and does a *rājasūya* ritual. But then he gets complacent, and steals god Bṛhaspati's wife, Tārā, precipitating an escalating war between the gods and the Dānavas. Brahmā intervenes and gives Tārā back to Bṛhaspati. But she is pregnant; and eventually she admits that the son is Soma's (*Harivaṃśa* 20.6–43).

Raji is a warrior, and when the Dānavas and the gods are at war, both sides petition him to assist them. His condition is that if they win, he must become their chief. The Dānavas refuse, but the gods agree, so Raji fights for them, and they win and make him their chief. But Indra, their previous chief, wants his old job back, and Bṛhaspati helps him. Raji's 500 sons become dissolute, and Indra kills them (*Harivaṃśa* 21.12–36).

King Yayāti requests each of his sons to swap their youth for his old age, so that he can enjoy himself better. Yadu, the eldest, refuses, and Yayāti, enraged, disinherits him. The same happens with the next three sons. The youngest son, Pūru, agrees to the deal. So Yayāti takes on Pūru's youth; but he soon wearies of pleasures, and becomes an ascetic (*Harivaṃśa* 22.21–42).

King Arjuna Kārtavīrya performs austerities and wins boons from Atri's son Datta, including the boon of one thousand arms. He then conquers seven continents, hosts grand rituals, and gives the continents to Fire; but Āpava Vasiṣṭha loses his grove, and so curses Arjuna to have his arms cut off and be killed by a brahmin in battle – and he is (*Harivaṃśa* 23.139–55).

The brahmin Gārgya abducts a cowherd girl and fathers on her a prodigious child, Kālayavana, who grows up as the son of childless King Yavana. Kālayavana seeks war, and attacks Mathurā, where the Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas live. They hold council amongst themselves, and then they flee from Mathurā and settle at Dvāravatī (*Harivaṃśa* 25.8–16).

Prince Jyāmagha's brothers banish him. He completes his education in the wilderness, and then he conquers for himself a kingdom on the River Narmadā. He has a maturing wife, and no son; then he wins a young woman in a fight. Apprehensive of his wife's reaction, he introduces the new woman as a daughter-in-law. So his wife has a son to marry her (*Harivaṃśa* 26.12–19).

King Devāvṛdha is determined to have the best possible son, and bathes frequently in the River Parṇāsā. So the river becomes a young woman, propositions him, and bears his son (*Harivaṃśa* 27.6–11).

Prasena comes to possess the Syamantaka jewel, which ensures prosperity for the realm. Kṛṣṇa wants the jewel, but does not take it. Prasena is killed by a lion, and the jewel is taken by a bear; but Kṛṣṇa is suspected of having murdered Prasena, so he clears his name by retrieving the jewel and giving it to Prasena's brother Satrājī. Satrājī is then murdered by Śatadhanvan, and the jewel is secretly acquired by Akrūra. With Balarāma's assistance, Kṛṣṇa pursues and kills Śatadhanvan; but he cannot find the jewel. Meanwhile Akrūra is a great ritual patron. Then Akrūra and his associates leave Dvāravatī, and there is a drought until he is persuaded to return. Kṛṣṇa confronts Akrūra and asks for the jewel; Akrūra gives it to Kṛṣṇa; and Kṛṣṇa gives it back to Akrūra, who now wears it openly (*Harivaṃśa* 28–29).

Solar and Lunar Kingship

Accounts of the solar and lunar dynasties are found in many Sanskrit Purāṇas in versions that bear some relation to the *Harivaṃśa* version. Many passages are similar enough to have

prompted philologists to construct hypothetical ur-texts by minutely comparing different versions in the *Harivaṃśa* and the various Purāṇas (see Pargiter 1913: 889–93; Pargiter 1922: 103, 159, etc.; Kirfel 1927), in much the same way as the critical text of the *Harivaṃśa* was reconstituted by minutely comparing different versions (though in the case of the reconstituted *Harivaṃśa*, only *Harivaṃśa* versions were used).

It would seem that the 'solar and lunar dynasties' format had a generic status, although we cannot say to what extent this was the case prior to the composition of the *Harivaṃśa* as critically reconstituted. The genre would allow for dilation upon any character in either line. In this respect, whether generic or not, Vaiśaṃpāyana's *Harivaṃśaparvan* account of the dynasties would be conditioned by the literary context set by Janamejaya's speech as quoted above, which includes reference to Janamejaya's already having heard what we know as *Mahābhārata* 1.55–18.5, including as it does all manner of stories of great kings, most of which there would presumably be no need to repeat while narrating the dynasties at the end, but which would nonetheless be evoked by Vaiśaṃpāyana's mentioning the names of their protagonists.

There is something special about the sun and the moon. To earthlings, they are the two paradigmatic celestial luminaries. Both look approximately the same size. The sun is massively brighter than the moon, which itself is massively brighter than nothing. The power within us and within our world is radically due to the sun – without it we would be stricken – but the moon stands in when the sun is absent. Both lights come and go, rising above and falling behind the horizon, and traversing the sky in between. One is gold, one is silver. Both tick away time in cycles of differing lengths and types: the sun measures days by rising and setting, the moon measures months by shrinking and then swelling, and the sun measures years by shortening and then lengthening the duration of its stay above the horizon. The months and the years

are said to be the days of, respectively, the ancestors and the gods (*Manusmṛti* 1.66–7).

Natural facts about the sun and the moon provide a metaphorical background for the formatting of the solar and lunar dynasties. Since both dynasties are royal dynasties, the implication would be that royalty is brilliance, that solar kingship is brighter than lunar kingship, and that there is practically no light of royalty at all unless it be through the descendants of the sun and the moon. And the two dynasties are of different types: one is narrated as a straight line, but the other one breaks and branches as the generations pass.

Kings are drawn from the *kṣatriya* class of warrior-aristocrats, whose right and duty it is to use violence in the protection of their subjects. Kingship is a role for men; here, at least, there are no female monarchs. And the light of royalty remains upon the earth by patrilineal transmission. Kingship passes from father to son, so the king's duties include, most especially, the production of a suitable son to continue the good work (and the ancestral line) after he himself is gone. A woman's assistance is required in every generation, but the son's salient ancestors are his father's ancestors. Thus the patterns traced by the two dynasties – the straight line in the case of the solar dynasty, and the branching array in the case of the lunar dynasty – are only evident when (and because) maternal ancestries are systematically elided; when young women are married they are 'given away' by their own families and become conduits for their husbands' lines. The resulting gender dynamic is by no means restricted to royal families – it is visible across the board in many societies in recent times, with wives (and their children) taking the husband's surname – and, because royal families are high-class families by definition, it advertises itself for emulation by all those who would reckon themselves 'high class'. But the pattern seems to fade slightly as the ancestral accounts wear on, especially as regards the Yādavas, whose ancestor Yadu was the product of a

marriage between a *kṣatriya* man and a brahmin woman – a *pratiloma* ('against the grain') marriage where the bride is higher class than the groom – and would thus be a halfbreed *sūta* according to *Manusmṛti* 10.11.

The Text and Translation

The Sanskrit of *Harivaṃśa* 8–10 and 20–29 is presented in this document (in Roman transliteration) as reconstituted by Vaidya, without the apparatus that his critical edition includes. That is to say, my text re-presents chapters from Dandekar 1976 more completely than it re-presents chapters from Vaidya 1969–71. Treating the text in this fashion is not unproblematic, for it assumes that the common denominator of the *Harivaṃśa* manuscripts is something that can, did, and should stand on its own – and it is thus complicit in the grounding philological assumption that the critically reconstituted text would be a close approximation of an ancient (the most ancient accessible) text. It should be borne in mind that although in my view the reconstituted text stands on its own very well indeed (in these chapters at least), where one verse follows another immediately in the version presented here, it is sometimes the case that most *Harivaṃśa* manuscripts do not present those verses successively, but separate them with material that Vaidya has placed in footnotes or appendices.

The Sanskrit text of these chapters – and of the *Harivaṃśa* as a whole – is in a verse-form known as the *śloka*, whereby the text is composed of pairs of eight-syllable feet; each numbered verse consists of two, four, or six feet, presented as one, two, or three lines of sixteen syllables each. The four-footed (two-line) *śloka* – also called an *anuṣṭubh* verse – is the most common.

In translating these chapters into English prose, I have sought to maintain close fidelity to the meaning of the Sanskrit, retaining its vocatives, alternative nomenclatures, and repetitions. One particular problem I have encountered is that although

English makes a distinction between names and descriptions of a person by capitalising the initial letters of the former, Sanskrit has no comparable mechanism apart from the occasional inclusion of the word *nāma* ('by name'); so it is sometimes hard to tell whether or not a particular personal substantive is to be rendered into English by a capitalised name. For example, we understand 'Rufus Wainwright' to be the name of a single person, but since both names are descriptive, without the capital letters it would be unclear whether either word was actually a proper name; and if both words were to occur within an unpunctuated list, it would be hard to say whether there were two separate people here, or one, or perhaps, if both words were describing an adjacent person in the list, none at all. I have tried to negotiate this problem as best I can, but it should be appreciated that the results are interpretive.

Words left untranslated (excluding names) are listed and explained in a separate glossary. Where I have occasionally made additions within the translation in order to improve comprehensibility (particular by making explicit the reference – as I understand it – of pronouns), such additions are presented in square brackets. The text and translation have been separated into paragraphs according to my understanding of the rhythm and cadences of the material; where more than one empty line appears between paragraphs, this is to keep the Sanskrit text and the translation parallel with each other.

The endnotes accompanying the translation are intended to serve several different purposes. Some of the notes explain and justify my translations, or give details of variant readings (for full details of variant readings, see Vaidya 1969–71, vol. 1). On six occasions (in verses 8.37; 20.31; 23.45; 23.123; 24.14; and 28.44) I have emended Vaidya's reconstituted text slightly. On these occasions, the asterisk marking the endnote has been placed on the left-hand page, at the end of the Sanskrit line in which the emendation has been made; and the endnote itself, which justifies the emendation, is marked with a capital 'S'.

Some of the notes give references to other approximately contemporaneous Sanskrit texts. Where I refer to a mentioned character's exploits as narrated concisely somewhere outside the *Harivaṃśaparvan*, my concentration is most heavily upon the *Mahābhārata* as a whole, secondarily upon the *Rāmāyaṇa*, only very vaguely on the Vedas, and not upon the Purāṇas. In this way I have sought to keep the notes manageable both for myself and for the reader, while pretending to some small amount of intertextual sensitivity. I know there are characters mentioned in the reconstituted *Harivaṃśa* accounts who have received good treatment elsewhere in ancient Indian texts, but who are comparatively neglected by these notes. For such neglect I can only beg the reader's pardon, and suggest general usage of existing reference works on the Vedas and Purāṇas (Macdonell and Keith 1912; Pargiter 1922; Mani 1975; etc.), and of the apparatus to Vaidya's *Harivaṃśa* edition.

This document should not be seen as a survey of the kings mentioned in the Sanskrit 'epics'; we have Sørensen 1904–25 for something like that. The question in the document's title is reflective of Janamejaya's question at *Harivaṃśa* 1.13 ('I want to know in each case who was who, and in whose line'). I have gathered from Vaiśampāyana's discourse – and that of Ugrasravas – that all the best completism is selective.

Some of the notes comment in an interpretive fashion upon the material that they accompany. In this regard they also engage with existing scholarly literature. Apart from attempting to explicate difficult or obscure passages, the main purpose of such notes is to show how the various sections of the lunar dynasty may be fitted together and understood in relation to each other. The exposition in *Harivaṃśa* 20–29 proceeds by enumerating descendants in one section of the genealogical array, and then doubling back to take up another section beginning from a character already mentioned; and in some cases it requires some ingenuity to determine exactly where the narration of one section

ends and the narration of another section begins, and/or exactly which previously mentioned character the new section is intended to begin at. In attempting to make precise sense of the array, I have taken advantage of – and sometimes argued with – the work of Horst Brinkhaus in particular. The emerging picture of the two dynasties is tracked within the table of contents, where the various sections are isolated and given by their verse-number ranges. I have also included visual charts of both dynasties.

PRONUNCIATION GUIDE

ā	ah
ī	ee
ū	oo
ṛ	ri
e	ay
o	oh
c	ch
ñ	ny
ś, ṣ	sh
kh, gh, etc.	k-h, g-h (as in 'big-head'), etc.
ḥ	h-plus-half-a-vowel

GLOSSARY

<i>agnihotra</i>	ritual offering to the god Fire
<i>aśvamedha</i>	imperial horse sacrifice preceded by the year-long roaming of the horse and the subjugation of all who would oppose its progress
<i>brahman</i>	potent verbal utterance, esp. within ritual; the sacred power of such utterance
brahmin	member of the priestly, ministerial, and scholarly class
<i>cakravartin</i>	'wheel-turner'; a particularly great and good king
<i>gandharva</i>	a species of atmospheric elf, fond of music and amorous play
<i>gotra</i>	systematised patrilineal descent group, esp. of a brahmin
<i>kṣatriya</i>	member of the warrior-aristocrat class
mahatma	noble, illustrious, eminent person
<i>mantra</i>	verbal formula
<i>nāga</i>	snake, esp. one associated with autochthonous political system
<i>niṣāda</i>	abjected 'tribal' type associated with subsistence hunting economy
<i>rājasūya</i>	a type of rite asserting kingship
<i>soma</i>	deified drink of power
<i>śūdra</i>	member of the service class
<i>vaiśya</i>	member of the artisanal and agricultural class
<i>vajra</i>	Indra's weapon
<i>yojana</i>	'yoking'; a measure of distance, perhaps about 9 miles

SŪRYAVAMŚĀ

vaiśampāyana uvāca |
vivasvān kaśyapāj jajñe dākṣāyanyām arimḍama |
tasya bhāryābhavat saṃjñā tvāṣṭrī devī vivasvataḥ |
sureṇur iti vikhyātā triṣu lokeṣu bhāminī || 8.1 ||
sā vai bhāryā bhagavato mārtaṇḍasya mahātmanaḥ |
bhartṛrūpeṇa nātusyad rūpayauvanaśālinī |
saṃjñā nāma svatapasā dīpteneha samanvitā || 8.2 ||
ādityasya hi tad rūpaṃ mārtaṇḍasya svatejasā |
gātṛeṣu paridaḡdhaṃ vai nātikāntam ivābhavat || 8.3 ||

na khalv ayaṃ mṛto 'ṇḍastha iti snehād abhāṣata |
ajānan kāśyapas tasmān mārtaṇḍa iti cocyate || 8.4 ||
tejas tv abhyadhikaṃ tāta nityam eva vivasvataḥ |
yenātītāpayām āsa trīṃ lokān kaśyapātmajaḥ || 8.5 ||

trīṇy apatyāni kauravya saṃjñāyām tapatām varaḥ |
ādityo janayām āsa kanyām dvau ca prajāpatī || 8.6 ||
manur vaivasvataḥ pūrvaṃ śrāddhadevaḥ prajāpatiḥ |
yamaś ca yamunā caiva yamajau saṃbabhūvatuḥ || 8.7 ||

śyāmavarṇaṃ tu tad rūpaṃ saṃjñā dṛṣṭvā vivasvataḥ |
asahantī tu svām chāyām savarṇām nirmame tataḥ |
māyāmayī tu sā saṃjñā tasyāś chāyā samutthitā || 8.8 ||
prāñjaliḥ praṇatā bhūtvā chāyā saṃjñāṃ nareśvara |
uvāca kiṃ mayā kāryaṃ kathayasva śucismite |
sthitāsmi tava nirdeśe śādhi mām varavarṇini || 8.9 ||

THE SOLAR DYNASTY

8. The Birth of the Gods

¹ Vaiśampāyana said:

Vivasvat was born to Kaśyapa from Dakṣa's daughter [Aditi], O tamer of the foe; and Vivasvat's wife was Tvaṣṭṛ's daughter Saṃjñā, a radiant goddess known in the three worlds as Sureṇu.

² She – namely Saṃjñā – was, indeed, the wife of the venerable and illustrious Mārtaṇḍa. But she was full of youth and beauty, and endowed, through her own efforts, with worldly brilliance, and she became dissatisfied with her husband's appearance. ³ For because of his intrinsic fiery energy, the form of Aditi's son Mārtaṇḍa had had all its limbs burned off, and was perhaps not looking particularly lovely.*

⁴ Because he loved him, [Kaśyapa]* said, 'Surely this one is not dead, but is resting in the egg'; and that's why Kaśyapa's son, without knowing it, was called Mārtaṇḍa ('Dead-egg'). ⁵ But Vivasvat's fiery energy was forever supreme, my boy; that son of Kaśyapa roasted the three worlds with it.

⁶ That best of heaters, the son of Aditi, had three children from Saṃjñā, O descendant of Kuru: a girl, and two Prajāpatis.

⁷ Vivasvat's son Manu, a Prajāpati, was formerly the god of ancestral rites; and Yama and Yamunā were born as twins.

⁸ Saṃjñā noticed that Vivasvat's appearance was dark in colour, and she wouldn't stand for it. So she created Savarṇā, her own shadow.* That Saṃjñā was a sorceress, and her shadow stood up! ⁹ The shadow hollowed her palms, made a respectful bow, O lord of the people, and said to Saṃjñā: 'Tell me, brightsmiler, what is my task? I am at your command. Direct me, O fine-complexioned lady!'

saṃjñovāca |

ahaṃ yāsyāmi bhadraṃ te svam eva bhavanaṃ pituḥ |
tvayeha bhavane mahyaṃ vastavyaṃ nirviśaṅkayā || 8.10 ||
imau ca bālakau mahyaṃ kanyā ceyaṃ sumadhyamā |
saṃbhāvyaś te na cākhyeyam idaṃ bhagavate tvayā || 8.11 ||

savarṇovāca |

ā kacagrahaṇād devi ā śāpān naiva karhicit |
ākhyāsyāmi mataṃ tubhyaṃ gaccha devi yathāsukham || 8.12 ||

samādhāya savarṇaṃ tu tathety uktā tayā ca sā |
tvaṣṭuḥ samīpam āgamad vrīḍiteva manasvinī || 8.13 ||
pituḥ samīpagā sā tu pitrā nirbhartsitā śubhā |
bhartuḥ samīpaṃ gaccheti niyuktā ca punaḥ punaḥ || 8.14 ||
agacchad vaḍavā bhūtvāc chādyā rūpam aninditā |
kurūn athottarān gatvā tṛṇāny eva cacāra sā || 8.15 ||

dvitīyāyāṃ tu saṃjñāyāṃ saṃjñeyam iti cintayan |
ādityo janayāmāsa putram ātmasamaṃ tadā || 8.16 ||
pūrvajasya manos tāta sadṛśo 'yam iti prabhuḥ |
manur evābhavan nāmnā sāvarṇa iti cocyate || 8.17 ||
saṃjñā tu pāṛthivī tāta svasya putrasya vai tadā |
cakārābhyadhikaṃ snehaṃ na tathā pūrvajeṣu vai || 8.18 ||
manus tasyāḥ kṣamat tat tu yamas tasyā na cakṣame |
tāṃ vai roṣāc ca bālyāc ca bhāvino 'rthasya vā balāt |
padā saṃtarjayām āsa saṃjñāṃ vaivasvato yamaḥ || 8.19 ||
taṃ śaśāpa tataḥ krodhāt savarṇā janānī tadā |
caraṇaḥ patatām eṣa taveti bhṛśaduḥkhitā || 8.20 ||

¹⁰⁻¹¹ Saṃjñā said:

'If you please, I will go to my own house, the house of my father; and you must live in this house* for me without anxiety, and look after these two young boys and this shapely girl for me, and keep this a secret from his eminence.'

¹² Savarṇā said:

'O goddess! For your sake I will never reveal [your] scheme, as long as I am not grabbed by the hair or cursed. Go, goddess, and don't worry.'

¹³ Having appointed Savarṇā and obtained her agreement, the clever [Saṃjñā] came into the presence of Tvaṣṭṛ, somewhat ashamed. ¹⁴ But when she had come before her father, that handsome woman was rebuked by him and repeatedly ordered to go back to her husband. ¹⁵ [So] that blameless woman hid her own form; she turned into a mare, and off she went. She went among the Higher Kurus and grazed on grasses.

¹⁶ Then the son of Aditi had, from the second Saṃjñā (whom he took for Saṃjñā herself), a son just like himself. ¹⁷ The master said, 'This one looks like the firstborn Manu', my boy! [So] he was named Manu too; and he is called Sāvarṇa.* ¹⁸ But of course the terrestrial Saṃjñā behaved with inordinate attachment towards her own son, my boy, in a way that she did not towards his elder siblings; ¹⁹ and although Manu forgave her for it, Yama did not. Indeed, because of his fury and his youth, or because of the power of his future importance,* Yama Vaivasvata menaced that Saṃjñā with his foot. ²⁰ And so mother Savarṇā, deeply offended, cursed him in anger: 'May this foot of yours drop off!'

yamas tu tat pituḥ sarvaṃ prāñjaliḥ pratyavedayat |
 bhṛśaṃ śāpabhayodvignaḥ saṃjñāvākyair vivejitaḥ |
 śāpo nivarted iti ca provāca pitaraṃ tadā || 8.21 ||
 mātṛā snehena sarveṣu varitavyaṃ suteṣu vai |
 seyam asmān apāhāya yavīyāṃsaṃ bubhūṣati || 8.22 ||
 tasyā mayodyataḥ pādo na tu dehe nipātitaḥ |
 bālyād vā yadi vā mohāt tad bhavān kṣantum arhati || 8.23 ||
 śapto 'ham asmi lokeśa jananyā tapatāṃ vara |
 tava prasādāc caraṇo na paten mama gopate || 8.24 ||

vivasvān uvāca |
 asaṃśayaṃ putra mahad bhaviṣyaty atra kāraṇam |
 yena tvām āviśat krodho dharmajñaṃ satyavādinam || 8.25 ||
 na śakyam etan mithyā tu kartuṃ mātṛvacas tava |
 kṛmayo māṃsam ādāya yāsyanti tu mahītale || 8.26 ||
 kṛtam evaṃ vacas tathyaṃ mātus tava bhaviṣyati |
 śāpasya parihāreṇa tvam ca trāto bhaviṣyasi || 8.27 ||

ādityaś cābravīt saṃjñāṃ kimarthaṃ tanayeṣu vai |
 tulyeṣv abhyadhikaḥ snehaḥ kriyate 'ti punaḥ punaḥ |
 sā tat pariharantī sma nācacakṣe vivasvataḥ || 8.28 ||
 tāṃ śaptukāmo bhagavān nāśāya kurunandana |
 tataḥ sarvaṃ yathāvṛttam ācacakṣe vivasvataḥ |
 vivasvān atha tac chrutvā krudhas tvaṣṭāram abhyagāt || 8.29 ||
 tvaṣṭā tu taṃ yathānyāyam arcayitvā vibhāvasum |
 nirdagdhukāmaṃ roṣeṇa sāntvayāmāsa vai tadā || 8.30 ||

²¹ Well now. Yama, shaken up by Saṃjñā's words and trembling all over for fear of the curse, hollowed his palms respectfully and reported the whole business to his father. He said to his father, 'The curse must be averted. ²² Surely a mother should treat all her children with love! But she disregards us and favours this younger one. ²³ I raised my foot at her, but it didn't strike her body; [and] if a deed is done out of immaturity or folly, you ought to pardon it. ²⁴ I've been cursed, O lord of the world! By mother, O supreme heater! By your grace, O lord of the cows, may my foot not drop off!'

²⁵ Vivasvat said:
 'My son. You know what's right, and you tell the truth. So there is doubtless a good explanation for anger having taken possession of you in this matter. ²⁶ But this utterance of your mother's cannot be made false. Worms will take meat [from your foot], and burrow into the earth. ²⁷ Thus your mother's words will come true; and when the curse has passed, you'll be fine.'

²⁸ And the son of Aditi said to Saṃjñā, 'Explain yourself! Surely supreme attachment is [to be] shown to [all] the children in equal measure!' And he said it again and again.* Ignoring Vivasvat's speech, she did not confess. ²⁹ But then Lord Vivasvat wanted to curse her to death, O joy of the Kurus – and so she told him everything, just as it had happened. Vivasvat listened to it, and then, furious, he went off to find Tvaṣṭṛ. ³⁰ But though Vibhāvasu wanted to burn [Tvaṣṭṛ] up in his fury, Tvaṣṭṛ received him respectfully and correctly, and managed to conciliate him.*

tvaṣṭovāca |
 tavātitejasāviṣṭam idaṃ rūpaṃ na śobhate |
 asahantī sma tat saṃjñā vane carati śāḍvalam || 8.31 ||
 draṣṭā hi tāṃ bhavān adya svāṃ bhāryāṃ śubhacāriṇīm |
 ślāghyāṃ yogabalopetāṃ yogam āsthāya gopate || 8.32 ||
 anukūlaṃ tu te deva yadi syān mama tan matam |
 rūpaṃ nirvartayāmy adya tava kāntam ariṃdama || 8.33 ||

tato 'bhyupagamāt tvaṣṭā mārtaṇḍasya vivasvataḥ |
 bhramim āropya tat tejaḥ śāṭayām āsa bhārata || 8.34 ||
 tato nirbhāsitaṃ rūpaṃ tejasā saṃhṛtena vai |
 kāntāt kāntataraṃ draṣṭum adhikaṃ śuśubhe tadā || 8.35 ||
 dadarśa yogam āsthāya svāṃ bhāryāṃ vaḍavāṃ tataḥ |
 adhṛṣyāṃ sarvabhūtānāṃ tejasā niyamena ca || 8.36 ||
 so 'śvarūpeṇa bhagavāṃs tāṃ mukhe samabhāvayat |
 maithunāya viceṣṭantīm parapuṃso viśaṅkayā || 8.37 || *
 sā tan niravamac chukraṃ nāsikāyā vivasvataḥ |
 devau tasyām ajāyetām aśvinau bhīṣajāṃ varau || 8.38 ||
 nāsatyāś caiva dasrāś ca smrṭtau dvāv aśvināv iti |
 mārtaṇḍasyātmajāv etāv aṣṭamasya prajāpateḥ || 8.39 ||

tāṃ tu rūpeṇa krāntena darśayām āsa bhāskaraḥ |
 sā tu dṛṣṭvaiva bhartāraṃ tutoṣa janamejaya || 8.40 ||
 yamas tu karmaṇā tena bhṛśaṃ pīḍitamānasaḥ |
 dharmeṇa rañjayām āsa dharmarāja imāḥ prajāḥ || 8.41 ||
 sa lebhe karmaṇā tena śubhena paramadyutiḥ |
 pitṛṇām ādhipatyam ca lokapālatvam eva ca || 8.42 ||

³¹ Tvaṣṭṛ said:

‘This overly fire-filled form of yours doesn’t suit you. Saṃjñā couldn’t bear it, so she’s in the woods, grazing on greener grass.

³² But today you will see that your own wife is virtuous and praiseworthy: she’s been performing yoga, O lord of the cows, and she’s become powerful by means of it. ³³ And if you are agreeable to the plan that I have, O god, I will immediately make you look as she would love you to, O tamer of the foe.’

³⁴ Then, with Mārtaṇḍa Vivasvat’s agreement, Tvaṣṭṛ lifted off that whirling fireyness and dispelled it, O Bhārata. ³⁵ And the form he [i.e. Vivasvat] then manifested, with its focused blaze, was far more fit to be seen; indeed, it was the loveliest of the lovely. ³⁶ And so he saw his own wife, the mare, intent upon her yoga, so disciplined and so brilliant that no creature would dare to insult her. ³⁷ In the form of a stallion the venerable [Vivasvat] put his muzzle up against hers; and she was unhesitatingly keen to copulate with the male other. ³⁸ She spat the semen out of Vivasvat’s nostril; and she gave birth to the horsey divinities, the best of healers. ³⁹ These two, Nāsatyā and Dasrā, known as the Aśvins,* are sons of Mārtaṇḍa, the eighth Prajāpati.

⁴⁰ The light-maker showed her his lovely form, and as soon as she saw her husband she was overjoyed, Janamejaya. ⁴¹ And because of that response, the deeply traumatised Yama behaved himself, and was the king of propriety, charming to the children. ⁴² Through his righteous behaviour, that supremely majestic fellow obtained sovereignty over the ancestors, and even rose to the rank of world guardian.

manuḥ prajāpatī tv āsīt sāvarṇaḥ sa tapodhanaḥ |
bhāvyaḥ so 'nāgate tasmin manuḥ sāvarṇike 'ntare || 8.43 ||
meruprṣṭhe tapo nityam adyāpi sa caraty uta |
bhrātā śanaiścaraś cāsya grahatvaṃ sa tu labdhavān || 8.44 ||

tvaṣṭā tu tejasā tena viṣṇoś cakram akalpayat |
tad apratihataṃ yuddhe dānavāntacikīrṣayā || 8.45 ||
yavīyasī tayor yā tu yamī kanyā yaśasvinī |
abhavat sā saricchreṣṭhā yamunā lokabhāvanī || 8.46 ||

manur ity ucyate loke sāvarṇa itī cocyate |
dvitīyo yaḥ sutas tasya sa vijñeyaḥ śanaiścaraḥ || 8.47 ||

ya idaṃ janma devānāṃ śṛṇuyād dhārayeta vā |
āpadaṃ prāpya mucyeta prāpnuyāc ca mahad yaśaḥ || 8.48 ||

⁴³ And Manu Sāvarṇa, whose wealth was in austerities, was a Prajāpati; he is a future Manu, in the Sāvarṇika period to come.*
⁴⁴ Even now he is still constantly pursuing his austerities on Meru's ridge; [Yama's] brother became a planet, the one that moves slowly [i.e. Saturn].

⁴⁵ And Tvaṣṭṛ, using the fiery energy [he had removed from Vivasvat], supplied Viṣṇu's discus, which is irresistible in battle, because he wanted to put paid to the Dānavas. ⁴⁶ And the famous girl Yamī, who was the younger sister of two brothers, became the weal of the world: Yamunā, the best of rivers.

⁴⁷ Though on earth he is sometimes called Manu and sometimes Sāvarṇa, the one who is his [i.e. Vivasvat's] second-born [Manu] is identifiable as the one who moves slowly!

⁴⁸ And when they find themselves in times of trouble, whoever hears or makes use of this [chapter], the birth of the gods, finds a solution and becomes greatly esteemed.

vaiśampāyana uvāca |
manor vaivasvatasyāsan putrā vai nava tatsamāḥ |
ikṣvākuś caiva nābhāgaś ca dhṛṣṇuḥ śaryātir eva ca || 9.1 ||
nariṣyantas tathā prāṁśur nābhānediṣṭhasaptamaḥ |
karūṣaś ca pṛṣadhraś ca navaite puruṣarṣabha || 9.2 ||
akarot putrakāmas tu manur iṣṭim prajāpatiḥ |
mitrāvaruṇayos tāta pūrvam eva viśāṁ pate |
anutpanneṣu navasu putreṣv eteṣu bhārata || 9.3 ||
tasyāṁ tu vartamānāyāṁ iṣṭyāṁ bharatasattama |
mitrāvaruṇayor aṁśe manur āhutim ājuhot || 9.4 ||
tatra divyāambaradharā divyābharaṇabhūṣitā |
divyasamhananā caiva iḍā jajña iti śrutiḥ || 9.5 ||
tām iḍety eva hovāca manur daṇḍadharas tadā |
anugacchasva māṁ bhadre tam iḍā pratyuvāca ha || 9.6 ||
mitrāvaruṇayor aṁśe jātāsmi vadatāṁ vara |
tayoh sakāśaṁ yāsyāmi na māṁ dharmo hato 'hanat || 9.7 ||

saivam uktvā manuṁ devaṁ mitrāvaruṇayor iḍā |
gatvāntikaṁ varārohā prāñjalir vākyam abravīt |
aṁśe 'smi yuvayor jātā devau kiṁ karavāṇi vām || 9.8 ||
tāṁ tathāvādinīṁ sādhvīm iḍāṁ dharmaparāyaṇām |
mitraś ca varuṇaś cobhāv ūcatur yan nibodha tat || 9.9 ||
anena tava dharmeṇa praśrayeṇa damena ca |
satyena caiva suśroṇi prītau svo varavarṇini || 9.10 ||
āvayos tvam mahābhāge khyātiṁ kanyeti yāsyasi |
manor vaṁśakaraḥ putras tvam eva ca bhaviṣyasi || 9.11 ||
sudyumna iti vikhyātas triṣu lokeṣu śobhane |
jagatpriyo dharmāśilo manor vaṁśavivardhanaḥ || 9.12 ||

9. The Emission of Vivasvat Āditya (Continued)

¹ Vaiśampāyana said:
Well, Manu the son of Vivasvat had nine sons just like himself.
Ikṣvāku, Nābhāga, Dhṛṣṇu, Śaryāti, ² Nariṣyanta, Prāṁśu,
Nābhānediṣṭha the seventh, Karūṣa, and Pṛṣadhra: these were the
nine, O bull among men. ³ But Manu Prajāpati, desirous of children,
performed a ceremony for Mitra and Varuṇa, my boy; and that was
beforehand, O lord of the people, when these nine sons had not yet
been born, O Bhārata. ⁴ When the ceremony was in progress, O best
of the Bharatas, Manu made the invocation in respect of the share
for Mitra and Varuṇa. ⁵ It's heard that Iḍā was born on that
occasion* – the bearer of the celestial sky, the celestial armature
bejewelled with celestial ornaments. ⁶ And the rod-bearing Manu
said to her, 'Iḍā, my dear, you must follow me.' And Iḍā replied to
him, ⁷ 'O best of speakers, I was born in respect of the share for
Mitra and Varuṇa. I will go to be with them; and though propriety
will be killed, it won't kill me.'*

⁸ Mitra and Varuṇa's Iḍā said this to god Manu, and then that
woman with the magnificent hips came into their company, put
her hands together in reverence, and said: 'I was born in respect of
your share. O divine pair, what shall I do for you?' ⁹ And when that
good woman Iḍā, a devotee of propriety, had said this, both Mitra
and Varuṇa said to her: 'Well, listen to that! ¹⁰ O handsome celestial
woman with a superb rump, we are delighted with this propriety,
civility, restraint, and truthfulness of yours. ¹¹ O momentous
woman! You will become famous as our girl, and you will also
become a son, the maker of a line from Manu: ¹² a strengthener of
Manu's line, habitually proper, dear to the people, and celebrated
across the three worlds as Sudyumna, O beautiful lady.'

nivṛttā sā tu tac chrutvā gacchantī pitur antikām |
 budhenāntaram āsādyā maithunāyopavartitā || 9.13 ||
 somaputrād budhād rājaṃ tasyāṃ jajñe purūravāḥ |
 janayitvā tataḥ sā tam idā sudyumnatāṃ gatā || 9.14 ||
 sudyumnasya tu dāyādās trayāḥ paramadhārmikāḥ |
 utkalās ca gayaś caiva vinatāśvaś ca bhārata || 9.15 ||
 utkalasyottarā rājan vinatāśvasya paścimā |
 dik pūrvā bhārataśreṣṭha gayasya tu gayā smṛtā || 9.16 ||

praviṣṭe tu manau tāta divākaram ariṃdama |
 daśadhā tadgataṃ kṣatram akarot pṛthivīm imām || 9.17 ||
 ikṣvākur jyeṣṭhadāyādo madhyadeśam avāptavān |
 kanyābhāvāc ca sudyumno nainaṃ guṇam avāptavān || 9.18 ||
 vasiṣṭhavacanāc cāsīt pratiṣṭhānaṃ mahātmanaḥ |
 pratiṣṭhā dharmarājasya sudyumnasya kurūdvaha || 9.19 ||
 tat purūravase prādād rājyaṃ prāpya mahāyaśāḥ |
 mānaveyo mahārāja strīpūṃsor lakṣaṇair yutaḥ || 9.20 ||

nariṣyantāḥ śakāḥ putrā nābhāgasya tu bhārata |
 ambarīṣo 'bhavat putraḥ pāṛthivarṣabhasattama || 9.21 ||
 dhṛṣṇos tu dhārṣṇikaṃ kṣatram raṇadrṣṭaṃ babhūva ha |

¹³And when she heard this, she turned around and was heading back to where her father was; but along the way she met Budha and paired up with him. ¹⁴O king, she bore Purūravas by Soma's son Budha; and having given birth to him, she then became Sudyumna. ¹⁵And Sudyumna had three supremely virtuous sons, O Bhārata: Utkala, Gaya, and Vinatāśva. ¹⁶The northern region was Utkala's, O king; the western region was Vinatāśva's; and the eastern region was Gaya's, O best of the Bharatas, and was known as Gayā.

¹⁷And when Manu entered the day-maker, my boy, the tenfold *kṣatriya* class that had come from him took possession of this earth, O tamer of the foe. ¹⁸Ikṣvāku, the eldest son, obtained the middle region. Sudyumna did not attain this distinction because he had been a woman; ¹⁹but because of a speech of Vasiṣṭha's the illustrious Sudyumna, that king of propriety, settled in Pratiṣṭhāna, O descendant of Kuru. ²⁰That famous descendant of Manu, who possessed the attributes of both man and woman, obtained a kingdom, O great king, and handed it on to Purūravas.

²¹The Śakas were sons of Nariṣyanta, O Bhārata; and Ambarīṣa was the son of Nābhāga, O best of bull kings. ²²The Dhārṣṇika *kṣatriyas*, wise in battle, were from Dhṛṣṇu.

śaryāter mithunaṃ cāsīd ānarto nāma viśrutaḥ |
 putraḥ kanyā sukanyā ca yā patnī cyavanasya ha || 9.22 ||
 ānartasya tu dāyādo revo nāma mahādyutiḥ |
 ānartaviśayaś cāsīt purī cāsīt kuśasthalī || 9.23 ||
 revasya raivataḥ putraḥ kakudmī nāma dhārmikaḥ |
 jyeṣṭhaḥ putrasāstasyāsīd rājyaṃ prāpya kuśasthalīm || 9.24 ||
 sa kanyāsahitaḥ śrutvā gāndharvaṃ brahmaṇo 'ntike |
 muhūrtabhūtaṃ devasya martyaṃ bahuyugaṃ prabho || 9.25 ||
 ājagāma yuvaivātha svāṃ purīm yādavair vṛtām |
 kṛtām dvāravatīm nāmnā bahudvārāṃ manoramām |
 bhojavṛṣṇyandhakair guptām vāsudevapurogamaiḥ || 9.26 ||

tatas tad raivato jñātvā yathātattvam ariṇdama |
 kanyāṃ tām baladevāya suvratāṃ nāma revatīm || 9.27 ||
 dattvā jagāma śikharaṃ meros tapasi saṃśritaḥ |
 reme rāmo 'pi dharmātmā revatyā sahitaḥ sukhī || 9.28 ||

janamejaya uvāca |
 kathaṃ bahuyuge kāle samatīte dvijaṛṣabha |
 na jarā revatīm prāptā raivataṃ ca kakudminam || 9.29 ||
 meruṃ gatasya vā tasya śaryāteḥ saṃtatiḥ katham |
 sthitā pṛthivyām adyāpi śrotum icchāmi tattvataḥ || 9.30 ||

Śaryāti had a couple of children: the son was famous by the name Ānarta, and the daughter was Sukanyā, who was Cyavana's wife.*
²³ Ānarta had a brilliant son called Reva; and there was Ānarta's kingdom, and the city was Kuśasthalī. ²⁴ Reva's son was the virtuous Kakudmin Raivata; he was the eldest of a hundred sons, and rose to be the ruler of Kuśasthalī. ²⁵ With his daughter, he listened to the [song] of the *gandharvas* in the presence of Brahmā for what was a short while for that god but was many mortal ages, O lord; ²⁶ and then he came back, still young, and his own town was full of Yādavas, and had changed its name to Dvāravatī ('the town with the gates'), and it blew his mind with its many gates, and it was protected by Bhojas, Vṛṣṇis, and Andhakas, in accord with [Kṛṣṇa] Vāsudeva's guidance.

²⁷⁻⁸ And Raivata saw things for what they were, O tamer of the foe; he gave that daughter, called Revatī of firm vows, to Baladeva, and went off to a peak of Meru to immerse himself in privations. And Rāma, the soul of propriety, enjoyed himself all right – he loved getting it on with Revatī.

²⁹ Janamejaya said:
 O bull of the twiceborn, in the many ages of time that had passed by, how come Revatī and Kakudmin Raivata hadn't grown old?
³⁰ And how come the dynasty of that descendant of Śaryāti who went off to Meru is still here on the earth today? I want to hear exactly what happened!

vaiśampāyana uvāca |
na jarā kṣutpipāse vā na mṛtyur bharatarṣabha |
ṛtucakram prabhavati brahmaloke sadānagha || 9.31 ||
kakudminas tu taṃ lokam raivatasya gatasya ha |
hatā puṇyajanaḥ tāta rākṣasaiḥ sā kuśasthalī || 9.32 ||
tasya bhrātṛṣataṃ tv āsīd dhārmikasya mahātmanaḥ |
tad vadhyamānaṃ rakṣobhir diśaḥ prākramad acyuta || 9.33 ||
anvavāyas tu sumahāms tatra tatra viśāṃ pate |
teṣāṃ ye te mahārāja śāryātā iti viśrutāḥ || 9.34 ||
kṣatriyā bharataśreṣṭha dikṣu sarvāsu dhārmikāḥ |
sarvaśaḥ sarvagahanaṃ praviṣṭāḥ kurunandana || 9.35 ||

nābhāgasya tu putrau dvau vaiśyau brāhmaṇatām gatau |
karūṣasya tu kārūṣaḥ kṣatriyā yuddhadurmadāḥ || 9.36 ||
pṛṣadhro hiṃsayitvā tu guror gāṃ janamejaya |
śāpāc chūdratvam āpanno navaite parikīrtitāḥ || 9.37 ||

kṣuvatas tu manos tāta ikṣvākur abhavat sutah |
tasya putraśataṃ tv āsīd ikṣvākor bhūridakṣiṇam || 9.38 ||
teṣāṃ vikukṣir jyeṣṭhas tu vikukṣitvād ayodhatām |
prāptaḥ paramadharmajñāḥ so 'yodhyādhipatiḥ prabhuḥ || 9.39 ||
śakunipramukhās tasya putrāḥ pañcaśataṃ smṛtāḥ |
uttarāpathadeśasya rakṣitāro viśāṃ pate || 9.40 ||
catvāriṃśad athāṣṭau ca dakṣiṇasyāṃ tathā diśi |
vasātipramukhās cānye rakṣitāro viśāṃ pate || 9.41 ||
śrāddhakarmaṇi coddiṣṭe akṛte śrāddhakarmaṇi |
bhakṣayitvā śaśam tāta śaśādo mṛgayāṃ gataḥ || 9.42 ||
ikṣvākunā parityakto vasiṣṭhavacanāt prabhuḥ |
ikṣvākau saṃsthitā tāta śaśādaḥ puram āvasat || 9.43 ||

³¹ Vaiśampāyana said:

O bull of Bharata, faultless king; neither old age, nor hunger and thirst, nor death ever happens in the world of Brahmā as part of the normal run of things! ³² And Kakudmin Raivata went to that place [i.e. Meru] because his [city of] Kuśasthalī had been destroyed by good monsters, my boy. ³³ That virtuous and illustrious man had had a hundred brothers, and when they were overpowered by the monsters they fled in all directions, O unshakeable king; ³⁴ so their great lineage [still exists] here and there, O lord of the people – they're the ones who are known as descendants of Śāryāti, your majesty. ³⁵ O supreme Bharata, O delight of the Kurus, there are virtuous *kṣatriyas* hidden away completely in every direction, in every hiding place.

³⁶ And Nābhāga had two sons, two *vaiśyas* who attained the rank of brahmins. And Karūṣa had the Kārūṣas, *kṣatriyas* crazy for battle.

³⁷ And O Janamejaya, Pṛṣadhra harmed his guru's cow; he was cursed and fell to the rank of a *śūdra*. These are said to be the nine.*

³⁸ And Manu, sneezing, had a son Ikṣvāku, my boy; and Ikṣvāku had a hundred sons,* who were ritually extremely charitable. ³⁹ Of these, Vikukṣi was the eldest. He was no fighter, on account of his protruding belly ('Vikukṣi'); but he was versed in the paramount propriety, and he became the master, the overlord of Ayodhyā.

⁴⁰ He is known to have had five hundred sons, the guardians of the northern lands – Śakuni was the foremost amongst them, O lord of the people – ⁴¹ and also another forty-eight guardians in the southern direction, of whom Vasāti was the foremost, O lord of the people. ⁴² But while the ancestral rites were due but had not yet been done, [Vikukṣi] the hare-eater ate a hare, my boy, and went off hunting. ⁴³ At Vasiṣṭha's suggestion, Ikṣvāku denounced that master; but when Ikṣvāku died, my boy, the hare-eater returned to the city.

ayodhasya tu dāyādaḥ kakutstho nāma vīryavān |
 anenās tu kakutsthasya pṛthur ānenasaḥ smṛtaḥ || 9.44 ||
 viṣṭarāśvaḥ pṛthoḥ putras tasmād ārdraḥ tv ajāyata |
 ārdrasya yuvanāśvas tu śrāvastasya cātmapas || 9.45 ||
 jajñe śrāvastako rājā śrāvastī yena nirmitā |
 śrāvastasya tu dāyādo bṛhadaśvo mahīpatiḥ || 9.46 ||
 kuvalāśvaḥ sutas tasya rājā paramadhārmikaḥ |
 yaḥ sa dhundhuvadhād rājā dhundhumāratvam āgataḥ || 9.47 ||

janamejaya uvāca |
 dhundhor vadham ahaṃ brahmaṇ śrotum icchāmi tattvataḥ |
 yadarthaṃ kuvalāśvaḥ san dhundhumāratvam āgataḥ || 9.48 ||

vaiśampāyana uvāca |
 bṛhadaśvasya putrāṇāṃ śatam uttamadhanvinām |
 babhūvātha pitā rājye kuvalāśvaṃ nyayojayat || 9.49 ||
 putrasaṃkrāmītaśrīḥ tu vanaṃ rājā samāviśat |
 tam uttaṅko 'tha vipraśiḥ prayāntaṃ pratyavārayat || 9.50 ||

uttaṅka uvāca |
 bhavatā rakṣaṇaṃ kāryaṃ tat tāvat kartum arhasi |
 nirudvignas tapaś cartuṃ na hi śaknomi pāṛthiva || 9.51 ||
 mamāśramasamīpe vai sameṣu marudhanvasu |
 samudro vālukāpūrṇa ujjānaka iti smṛtaḥ || 9.52 ||
 devatānām avadhyaś ca mahākāyo mahābalaḥ |
 antarbhūmigatas tatra vālukāntarhito mahān || 9.53 ||
 rākṣasasya madhoḥ putro dhundhur nāma sudāruṇaḥ |
 śete lokavināśāya tapa āsthāya dāruṇam || 9.54 ||

⁴⁴ And Ayodhyā's heir was a hero by the name of Kakutstha,* and Anenas was the son of Kakutstha, and Pṛthu is known as the son of Anenas. ⁴⁵ Viṣṭarāśva was the son of Pṛthu; after him came Ārdra; the son of Ārdra was Yuvanāśva; and his son, Śrāvasta, ⁴⁶ was born – King Śrāvastaka, who built Śrāvastī. And Śrāvasta's heir was Bṛhadaśva, the lord of the realm. ⁴⁷ And his son was the supremely virtuous King Kuvalāśva, the king who, by killing Dhundhu, came to be called Dhundhumāra.

⁴⁸ Janamejaya said:
 Brahmin, I would like to hear, just as it happened, about the killing of Dhundhu,* on account of which the good Kuvalāśva came to be called Dhundhumāra.

⁴⁹ Vaiśampāyana said:
 Bṛhadaśva had a hundred sons; they were supreme bowmen. The father appointed Kuvalāśva to be the king, ⁵⁰ and having succeeded in handing over to his son, the [old] king decided to retire to the woods. But Uttaṅka, an inspired seer, came and stopped him.

⁵¹ Uttaṅka said:
 'It behoves you to do whatever protective deeds your honour is able to do. For I am unable to pursue my austerities without being disturbed, O king! ⁵² Near to my retreat, on the desert plains, there's a sand-filled sea known as Ujjānaka. ⁵³ Unkillable by the gods, a hugely strong giant has gone underground there – a massive one, hidden under the sand; ⁵⁴ namely Dhundhu, the especially merciless son of the monster Madhu. He's in repose, doing merciless mortifications for the destruction of the world.

saṃvatsarasya paryante sa niḥśvāsaṃ vimuñcati |
yadā tadā mahī tāta calati sma sakānanā || 9.55 ||
tasya niḥśvāsavātena raja uddhūyate mahat |
ādityapatham āvṛtya saptāhaṃ bhūmikampanam || 9.56 ||
savisphuliṅgaṃ sāṅgāraṃ sadhūmam atidāruṇam |
tena tāta na śaknomi tasmin sthātuṃ sva āśrame || 9.57 ||

taṃ vāraya mahākāyaṃ lokānāṃ hitakāmyayā |
lokāḥ svasthā bhavantv adya tasmin vinihate tvayā || 9.58 ||
tvam hi tasya vadhāyaikaḥ samarthaḥ pṛthivīpate |
viṣṇunā ca varo datto mahyaṃ pūrvaṃ tato 'nagha |
tejasā svena te viṣṇus teja āpyāyayisyati || 9.59 ||
na hi dhundhur mahātejās tejasālpena śakyate |
nirdagdhuṃ pṛthivīpāla ciraṃ yugaśatair api |
vīryaṃ hi sumahat tasya devair api durāsadam || 9.60 ||

sa evam ukto rājarṣir uttaṅkena mahātmanā |
kuvalāśvaṃ sutam prādāt tasmai dhundhunibarhaṇe || 9.61 ||

bṛhadaśva uvāca |
bhagavan nyastaśastro 'ham ayaṃ tu tanayo mama |
bhaviṣyati dvijaśreṣṭha dhundhumāro na saṃśayaḥ || 9.62 ||

sa taṃ vyādīśya tanayaṃ rājarṣir dhundhunigrahe |
jagāma parvatāyaiva tapase saṃśitavrataḥ || 9.63 ||

⁵⁵ 'At the end of every year, he lets out a snore; and when he does, boyo, the earth shakes, and so do her forests, I'm telling you.
⁵⁶ The blast of his snores throws up a mass of dust – it has obscured the sun. [It's] a seven-day earthquake, ⁵⁷ with fire, brimstone, and smoke – it's utterly terrifying. And that's why I can't stay in that retreat of mine, boyo!

⁵⁸ 'Out of desire for the welfare of the worlds, repress that giant! May the people rest at their ease today, when you've killed him!
⁵⁹ For you, O lord of the earth, are the only man capable of killing him. A boon was given to me of old by Viṣṇu, O faultless man: that Viṣṇu will augment your brilliance with his own brilliance. ⁶⁰ For the hugely brilliant Dhundhu cannot be burned away by any trifling amount of brilliance, O guardian of the earth – not even gradually, over a hundred aeons! His power is immense, unparalleled even by the gods.'

⁶¹ Addressed in this way by the illustrious Uttāṅka, for the destruction of Dhundhu the royal seer offered him his son Kuvalāśva.

⁶² Bṛhadaśva said:
'I have set my weapons aside, my lord; but this son of mine will be Dhundhu's killer, O best of the twiceborn – no doubt about it.'

⁶³ And after he had commanded his son to curb Dhundhu, the royal seer set off for the hills to do his austerities, resolved upon his vow.

kuvalāśvas tu putrāṇām śatena saha pārthivaḥ |
 prāyād uttaṅkasahito dhundhos tasya nibarhaṇe || 9.64 ||
 tam āviśat tadā viṣṇur bhagavāms tejasā prabhuḥ |
 uttaṅkasya niyogād vai lokānām hitakāmyayā || 9.65 ||
 tasmin prayāte durdharṣe divi śabdo mahān abhūt |
 eṣa śrīmān nṛpasuto dhundhumāro bhaviṣyati || 9.66 ||
 divyair mālyaiś ca taṃ devāḥ samantāt samavākiran |
 devadundubhayaś caiva praṇedur bharatarṣabha || 9.67 ||

sa gatvā jayatām śreṣṭhas tanayaiḥ saha vīryavān |
 samudraṃ khānayām āsa vālukārṇavam avyayam || 9.68 ||
 nārāyaṇena kauravya tejasāpyāyitas tadā |
 babhūva sa mahātejā bhūyo balasamanvitaḥ || 9.69 ||
 tasya putraiḥ khanadbhis tu vālukāntarhitas tadā |
 dhundhur āsādito rājan diśam āvṛtya paścimām || 9.70 ||
 mukhajeṅgninā krodhāl lokān udvartayann iva |
 vāri susrāva vegena mahodadhir ivodaye |
 somasya bharataśreṣṭha dhārormikalilo mahān || 9.71 ||
 tasya putraśataṃ dagdhaṃ tribhir ūnaṃ tu rakṣasā || 9.72 ||
 tataḥ sa rājā kauravya rākṣasaṃ taṃ mahābalam |
 āsasāda mahātejā dhundhuṃ dhundhuvināśanaḥ || 9.73 ||

tasya vārimayaṃ vegam āpīya sa narādhipaḥ |
 yogī yogena vahniṃ ca śamayām āsa vāriṇā || 9.74 ||
 nihatya taṃ mahākāyaṃ balenodakarākṣasam |
 uttaṅkaṃ darśayām āsa kṛtakarmā narādhipaḥ || 9.75 ||
 uttaṅkas tu varaṃ prādāt tasmai rājñe mahātmane |
 dadataś cākṣayaṃ vittaṃ śatrubhiś cāparājayam || 9.76 ||
 dharme ratiṃ ca satataṃ svarge vāsaṃ tathākṣayam |
 putrāṇām cākṣayaṃl lokān svarge ye rakṣasā hatāḥ || 9.77 ||

⁶⁴ So King Kuvalāśva, together with his one hundred sons, went off, accompanied by Uttanka, to destroy Dhundhu. ⁶⁵ And sure enough, because of his desire for the peoples' welfare, at Uttanka's command the mighty Lord Viṣṇu transferred his brilliance into that man. ⁶⁶ When that unconquerable man set out, there was a great voice in the sky: 'This glorious son-of-a-king will be Dhundhu's killer!' ⁶⁷ The gods festooned him with celestial garlands on all sides, O bull of Bharata, and celestial kettledrums boomed out.

⁶⁸ Together with his sons, that valiant man, the best of conquerers, excavated the solid ocean, the sea of sand. ⁶⁹ Augmented by Nārāyaṇa's brilliance, O descendant of Kuru, he was filled with strength; he became even more immensely brilliant [than he already was]. ⁷⁰ Dhundhu turned towards the westerly direction, your majesty; but Kuvalāśva's sons, digging away, discovered him hidden underneath the sand. ⁷¹ Almost bursting the worlds with the fire that issued from his mouth, in fury he poured forth a flood of water like the great ocean at the rising of the moon, O best of the Bharatas – a mass of heaving waves. ⁷² The monster burned up [all of] Kuvalāśva's one hundred sons except three, ⁷³ O descendant of Kuru; and so the hugely brilliant king confronted the powerful monster – Dhundhu's killer confronted Dhundhu.

⁷⁴ The overlord of the people, a yogi, drank up his flood of water,* and extinguished the fire by using a water trick. ⁷⁵ The overlord of the people forcibly overwhelmed the enormous monster of the deep; and having performed his task, he showed Uttanka. ⁷⁶ And Uttanka bestowed a boon upon the illustrious king. He gave him* undiminishing wealth, complete inviolability from his enemies, ⁷⁷ a continuous love for propriety, a permanent residence in heaven, and permanent places in heaven for those of his sons who were killed by the monster.

tasya putrās trayāḥ śiṣṭā dṛḍhāśvo jyeṣṭha ucyate |
daṇḍāśvakapilāśvau tu kumārau tu kanīyasau || 9.78 ||
dhaundhumārīr dṛḍhāśvas tu haryaśvas tasya cātmajaḥ |
haryaśvasya nikumbho 'bhūt kṣatradharmarataḥ sadā || 9.79 ||
saṃhatāśvo nikumbhasya suto raṇaviśāradaḥ |
akṛśāśvaḥ kṛśāśvaś ca saṃhatāśvasutau nṛpa || 9.80 ||
tasya haimavatī kanyā satām matā dṛṣadvatī |
vikhyātā triṣu lokeṣu putraś cāpi prasenajit || 9.81 ||

lebhe prasenajid bhāryāṃ gaurīm nāma pativratām |
abhiśaptā tu sā bhartrā nadī sā bāhudā kṛtā || 9.82 ||
tasyāḥ putro mahān āsīd yuvanāśvo narādhipaḥ |
māndhātā yuvanāśvasya trilokavijayī nṛpaḥ || 9.83 ||
tasya caitrarathī bhāryā śaśabindoḥ sutābhavat |
sādhvī bindumatī nāma rūpeṇāsadrśī bhuvī |
pativratā ca jyeṣṭhā ca bhrātṛṇām ayutasya sā || 9.84 ||
tasyām utpādayām āsa māndhātā dvau sutau nṛpa |
purukutsaṃ ca dharmajñāṃ mucukundaṃ ca pārvivam || 9.85 ||
narmadāyām athotpannaḥ saṃbhūtas tasya cātmajaḥ || 9.86 ||

saṃbhūtasya tu dāyādaḥ sudhanvā ripumardanaḥ |
sudhanvanaḥ sutaś cāpi tridhanvā nāma pārvivaḥ || 9.87 ||
rājñas tridhanvanas tv āsīd vidvāṃs trayyāruṇaḥ prabhuḥ |
tasya satyavrato nāma kumāro 'bhūn mahābalaḥ || 9.88 ||
pāṇigrahaṇamantrāṇāṃ vighnaṃ cakre sudurmatīḥ |
yena bhāryā hṛtā pūrvam kṛtodvāhā parasya vai || 9.89 ||
bālyāt kāmāc ca mohāc ca saṃharṣāc cāpalena ca |
jahāra kanyām kāmāt sa kasya cit puravāsinaḥ || 9.90 ||

⁷⁸ Three of his sons remained. It is said that Dṛḍhāśva was the eldest, and there were two young boys, Daṇḍāśva and Kapilāśva.
⁷⁹ Dṛḍhāśva was Dhundhumāra's [heir], and his son was Haryaśva, and Haryaśva's son was Nikumbha, who was continually intent upon the duty of the *kṣatriyas*.⁸⁰ Nikumbha's son was Saṃhatāśva, an expert in war. Saṃhatāśva had two sons, Akṛśāśva and Kṛśāśva, O protector of the people;⁸¹ and his daughter was Haimavatī, who in the three worlds is called Dṛṣadvatī, the mother of the honest. And her son was Prasenajit.*

⁸² Prasenajit obtained a wife by the name of Gaurī, who was devoted to her lord; but she was cursed by her husband and turned into the River Bāhudā.⁸³ She had a son, Yuvanāśva the great, the overlord of the people; and Yuvanāśva's son was King Māndhātṛ, who conquered the three worlds.*⁸⁴ His wife was a descendant of Citraratha; she was Śaśabindu's daughter, a good woman by the name of Bindumatī, and in terms of beauty there was no one like her on earth. Devoted to her lord, she was the elder sister of ten thousand brothers.⁸⁵ Māndhātṛ had two sons by her, O king: Purukutsa, who knew his duty, and Prince Mucukunda.⁸⁶ And Purukutsa's son was Trasaddasyu, the lord of the earth; and his son was Saṃbhūta, who was born from the [River] Narmadā.

⁸⁷ Saṃbhūta's heir was Sudhanvan, the tormenter of his foes; Sudhanvan's son was a prince by the name of Tridhanvan;⁸⁸ King Tridhanvan's son was the learned lord Trayyāruṇa; and his son, Satyavrata by name, was a very powerful youth.⁸⁹ Filled with envy, he impeded the nuptial mantras – that's right, he abducted a woman who had already been led off to another man.⁹⁰ Out of adolescent fervour, confusion, and jealousy, in his agitation he abducted the girl of a certain citizen, because he wanted her.

adharmasānikunā tena rājā trayyāruṇo 'tyajat |
apadhvaṃseti bahuśo vadan krodhasamanvitaḥ || 9.91 ||
pitarāṃ so 'bravīt tyaktaḥ kva gacchāmīti vai muhuḥ |
pitā tv enam athovāca śvapākaiḥ saha vartaya |
nāhaṃ putreṇa putrārthī tvayādya kulapāṃsana || 9.92 ||

ity uktaḥ sa nirākrāman nagarād vacanāt pituḥ |
na ca taṃ vārayām āsa vasiṣṭho bhagavān ṛṣiḥ || 9.93 ||
sa tu satyavratas tāta śvapākāvasathāntike |
pitrā tyakto 'vasad vīraḥ pitāpy asya vanaṃ yayau || 9.94 ||
tatas tasmimṣ tu viṣaye nāvarṣat pākaśāsanāḥ |
samā dvādaśa rājendra tenādharmaṇa vai tadā || 9.95 ||

dārāṃs tu tasya viṣaye viśvāmitro mahātapāḥ |
saṃnyasya sāgarānūpe cacāra vipulaṃ tapaḥ || 9.96 ||
tasya patnī gale baddhvā madhyamaṃ putram aurasam |
śeṣasya bharaṇārthāya vyakrīṇād gośatena vai || 9.97 ||
taṃ tu baddhaṃ gale dṛṣṭvā vikrīyantaṃ nṛpātmajaḥ |
maharṣiputraṃ dharmātmā mokṣayām āsa bhārata || 9.98 ||
satyavrato mahābāhur bharaṇaṃ tasya cākarot |
viśvāmitrasya tuṣṭyartham anukampārtham eva ca || 9.99 ||
so 'bhavad gālavo nāma galabandhān mahātapāḥ |
maharṣiḥ kauśikas tāta tena vīreṇa mokṣitaḥ || 9.100 ||

⁹¹ Because of the spike of his impropriety, King Trayyāruṇa, filled with anger, disowned him, reviling him again and again. ⁹² Disowned, he immediately said to his father, 'Where shall I go?' And the father said to him, 'Live among those who cook dogs! I no longer seek sons-from-the-son from you, you disgrace to the family!'

⁹³ Hearing this, in accord with his father's decree he left the capital, and Lord Vasiṣṭha the seer didn't stop him. ⁹⁴ Disowned by his father, the brave Satyavrata settled near a village of dog-cookers,* my boy; and his father retired to the forest too. ⁹⁵ But then, in the kingdom, for twelve years the Punisher of Pāka failed to rain, O Indra of kings; and surely this was a result of the misdeed.*

⁹⁶ Well, the great ascetic Viśvāmitra left his wife in the kingdom and did protracted austerities on the ocean shore. ⁹⁷ His wife tied a rope around his middle son's neck, and sold him so that she might support the others – she got a hundred cows for him, in fact.* ⁹⁸⁻⁹ Strong-armed Satyavrata, the son of a king, saw him tied by the neck and up for sale, and being the soul of propriety he liberated that great seer's son, O Bhārata, and arranged for his maintenance – in order to gratify Viśvāmitra, or out of sheer compassion. ¹⁰⁰ And the great ascetic Kauśika seer whom that hero had liberated was called Gālava, my boy, because he'd been bound by the neck (*gala*).*

vaiśampāyana uvāca |
 satyavratas tu bhaktyā ca kṛpayā ca pratijñayā |
 viśvāmitrakalatraṃ tad babhāra vinaye sthitaḥ || 10.1 ||
 hatvā mṛgān varāhāś ca mahiṣāś ca vanecarān |
 viśvāmitrāśramābhyāśe māṃsaṃ tad avabandhata || 10.2 ||
 upāṃśuvratam āsthāya dīkṣāṃ dvādaśavārṣikīm |
 pitur niyogād avasat tasmin vanagate nṛpe || 10.3 ||
 ayodhyāṃ caiva rāṣṭraṃ ca tathaivāntaḥpuraṃ muniḥ |
 yājyopādhyāyasamyogād vasiṣṭhaḥ paryarakṣata || 10.4 ||

satyavratas tu bālyād vā bhāvino 'rthasya vā balāt |
 vasiṣṭhe 'bhyadhikaṃ manyuṃ dhārayām āsa nityadā || 10.5 ||
 pitrā tu taṃ tadā rāṣṭrāt parityktaṃ priyaṃ sutam |
 na vārayām āsa munir vasiṣṭhaḥ kāraṇena hi || 10.6 ||
 pāṇigrahaṇamantrāṇāṃ niṣṭhā syāt saptame pade |
 na ca satyavratas tasmād dhṛtavān saptame pade || 10.7 ||
 jānan dharmaṃ vasiṣṭhas tu na mām trātīti bhārata |
 satyavratas tadā roṣaṃ vasiṣṭhe manasākarot || 10.8 ||
 guṇabuddhyā tu bhagavān vasiṣṭhaḥ kṛtavāṃs tadā |
 na ca satyavratas tasya tam upāṃśum abudhyata || 10.9 ||

tasminn aparitoṣo yaḥ pitur āsīn mahātmanaḥ |
 tena dvādaśa varṣāṇi nāvarṣat pākaśāsanaḥ || 10.10 ||
 tena tv idānīm vahatā dīkṣāṃ tāṃ durvahāṃ bhuvi |
 kulasya niṣkṛtis tāta kṛtā sā vai bhaved iti || 10.11 ||
 na taṃ vasiṣṭho bhagavān pitrā tyaktaṃ nyavārayat |
 abhiṣekṣyāmy ahaṃ putram asyety evaṃ matir muneḥ || 10.12 ||

10. The Emission of Vivasvat Āditya (Concluded)

¹ Vaiśampāyana said:

Through his devotion, his compassion, and his pledge, Satyavrata, firm in his discipline, looked after Viśvāmitra's wife. ² He would kill the deer, boar, and buffalo that roamed in the woods, and hang the meat up near Viśvāmitra's retreat. ³ While that king was living in the woods he practised his private vow, his twelve-year initiation, and stayed true to his father's injunction. ⁴ And the sage Vasiṣṭha, because of his connection [to the court] as the teacher of the ritual verses, looked after Ayodhyā, and the kingdom, and the inner apartments too.

⁵ Now then. Satyavrata, either because of his youth or because of the power of his future importance, continually nursed an overweening grudge against Vasiṣṭha; ⁶ and the reason for this was that the sage Vasiṣṭha had not intervened when that dear son had been banished from the realm by his father. ⁷ 'The nuptial mantras should be applied at the seventh step; and that's why Satyavrata would not countenance the seventh step! ⁸ But although Vasiṣṭha knew what was the right thing to do, he didn't stick up for me!' That's how Satyavrata stoked up anger for Vasiṣṭha in his mind, O Bhārata. ⁹ But Lord Vasiṣṭha did what he did because of his quality of judgement; and Satyavrata was not aware of his secret.

¹⁰ In this business, there was a man who had upset his illustrious father, and, because of this, the Punisher of Pāka didn't rain for twelve years. ¹¹ 'Surely the family's expiation must be accomplished immediately, my boy – by someone suffering the heavy initiation upon the earth!' ¹² Lord Vasiṣṭha didn't call him back when his father exiled him; the intention of the sage was: 'I will anoint this man's son.'*

sa tu dvādaśa varṣāṇi dīkṣām tām udvahan balī |
 avidyamāne māmse tu vasiṣṭhasya mahātmanaḥ |
 sarvakāmaduhāṃ dogdhrīm dadarśa sa nṛpātmajaḥ || 10.13 ||
 tāṃ vai krodhāc ca mohāc ca śramāc caiva kṣudhānvitaḥ |
 daśadharmagato rājā jaghāna janamejaya || 10.14 ||
 tac ca māmsaṃ svayaṃ caiva viśvāmitrasya cātmajān |
 bhojayām āsa tac chrutvā vasiṣṭho 'py asya cukrudhe || 10.15 ||

vasiṣṭha uvāca |
 pātayeyam ahaṃ krūra tava śaṅkum ayasmayam |
 yadi te dvāv imau śaṅkū na syātāṃ vai kṛtau punaḥ || 10.16 ||
 pituś cāparitoṣeṇa guror dogdhrīvadhena ca |
 aprokṣitopayogāc ca trividhas te vyatikramaḥ || 10.17 ||

evaṃ trīṇy asya śaṅkūni tāni dṛṣṭvā mahātapāḥ |
 triśaṅkur iti hovāca triśaṅkus tena sa smṛtaḥ || 10.18 ||

viśvāmitras tu dārāṇām āgato bharaṇe kṛte |
 tena tasmai varam prādān muniḥ prītas triśaṅkave |
 chandyamāno vareṇātha guruṃ vavre nṛpātmajaḥ || 10.19 ||
 anāvṛṣṭibhaye tasmin gate dvādaśavārṣike |
 abhiṣicya ca rājye ca yājyām āsa taṃ muniḥ |
 miṣatāṃ devatānāṃ ca vasiṣṭhasya ca kauśikaḥ || 10.20 ||

¹³ When there was no longer any meat to be found, the mighty son-of-a-king, the one who was enduring the twelve-year initiation, spotted the eminent Vasiṣṭha's milking cow, who yields everything one might desire.* ¹⁴ And sure enough, O Janamejaya, the king, who was pained by hunger and had fallen prey to the ten vices,* killed her [the cow] in fury, in error, and out of exhaustion; ¹⁵ and he fed Viśvāmitra's sons with that very meat. Vasiṣṭha himself heard about this, and lost his temper with him.

¹⁶ Vasiṣṭha said:
 'O vicious man! If these two spikes of yours are not to be repeated, then surely I must unleash an iron spike against you! ¹⁷ By upsetting your father, by killing your guru's milking cow, and by using her for something she wasn't intended for, you've overstepped in three ways!'

¹⁸ And so the great ascetic noted those three spikes of his, and said 'Triśaṅku' (Three-Spike); and because of this, that individual is known as Triśaṅku.

¹⁹ But at some point during the time when his wives were being supported, Viśvāmitra made his appearance; and because of that support, the sage [Viśvāmitra] was pleased, and offered a boon to Triśaṅku. And the son-of-a-king, being rewarded with a boon, chose a guru. ²⁰ And at the moment that the terrible twelve-year drought ended, the Kauśika sage [i.e. Viśvāmitra] anointed him [Triśaṅku] to the kingdom of the winking celestials,* and to the kingdom of Vasiṣṭha, and became his officiant.

tasya satyarathā nāma patnī kekayavaṃśajā |
kumāraṃ janayām āsa hariścandram akalmaṣam || 10.21 ||
sa vai rājā hariścandras traīsaṅkava iti smṛtaḥ |
āhartā rājasūyasya sa samrāḍ iti viśrutaḥ || 10.22 ||
hariścandrasya tu suto rohito nāma viśrutaḥ |
rohitasya vṛkaḥ putro vṛkāḍ bāhus tu jajñivān || 10.23 ||
hehayās tālajaṅghās ca nirasyanti sma taṃ nṛpaṃ |
nātyarthaṃ dhārmikaś tāta sa hi dharmayuge 'bhavat || 10.24 ||

sagaras tu suto bāhor jaiṇe saha gareṇa vai |
aurvayāsramam āsādy bhārgaveṇābhīrakṣitaḥ || 10.25 ||
āgneyam astraṃ labdhvā ca bhārgavāt sagaro nṛpaḥ |
jigāya pṛthivīm hatvā tālajaṅghān sahehayān || 10.26 ||
śakānāṃ pahlavānāṃ ca dharmam nirasad acyutaḥ |
kṣatriyāṇāṃ kuruśreṣṭha pārādānāṃ ca dharmavit || 10.27 ||

janamejaya uvāca |
kathaṃ sa sagaro jāto gareṇaiva sahācyutaḥ |
kimarthaṃ ca śakādīnāṃ kṣatriyāṇāṃ mahaujasām || 10.28 ||
dharmam kulocitaṃ kruddho rājā nirasad acyutaḥ |
etan me sarvam ācakṣva vistareṇa tapodhana || 10.29 ||

vaiśaṃpāyana uvāca |
bāhor vyasaninas tāta hṛtaṃ rājyam abhūt kila |
hehayais tālajaṅghais ca śakaiḥ sārdhaṃ viśāṃ pate || 10.30 ||
yavanāḥ pāradaś caiva kāmbojāḥ pahlavās khaśāḥ |
ete hy api gaṇāḥ pañca hehayārthe parākraman || 10.31 ||
hṛtarājyas tadā rājā sa vai bāhur vanaṃ yayau |
patnyā cānugato duḥkhī vane prāṇān avāśṛjat || 10.32 ||

²¹ His wife was born in the line of Kekaya, and was called Satyarathā. She gave birth to a perfect boy, Hariścandra; ²² and that King Hariścandra is known as the son of Triśaṅku. He performed the *rājasūya*,* and is notable for having been a universal sovereign. ²³ Hariścandra's son was famous by the name of Rohita; Vṛka was Rohita's son; and Bāhu was sired by Vṛka. ²⁴ The Hehayas and Tālajaṅghas banished that king, my boy; for it was the age of propriety, and he was none too proper!

²⁵ Well, Bāhu's son was Sagara, who was born together with poison (*sa-gara*). He found himself at Aurva's retreat, and was protected by the Bhārgava. ²⁶ King Sagara obtained the fire weapon from the Bhārgava, and then he conquered the earth, slew the Tālajaṅghas and the Hehayas, ²⁷ and banned the customs of the Śakas, the Pahlavas, and the Pārada *kṣatriyas*. He was an uncompromising fellow who knew what was what, O best of the Kurus!

²⁸⁻⁹ Janamejaya said:

How exactly was that uncompromising Sagara born together with poison? And why did the angry and uncompromising king ban the habitual family customs of those mighty *kṣatriyas*, the Śakas and so on? Tell me all this in detail, O great ascetic!

³⁰ Vaiśaṃpāyana said:

As I said, O lord of the people, the kingdom of the dissolute Bāhu was swiped by the Hehayas and the Tālajaṅghas, my boy, together with the Śakas; ³¹ though actually it was the five peoples – the Yavanas, the Pāradas, the Kāmbojas, the Pahlavas, and the Khaśas – who made the running on behalf of the Hehayas.* ³² King Bāhu lost his kingdom and went off to the forest, didn't he! And in the forest that unhappy man, who had been followed by his wife, breathed his last.

patnī tu yādavī tasya sagarbhā pṛṣṭhato 'nvagāt |
sapatnyā ca garas tasyā dattaḥ pūrvam abhūt kila || 10.33 ||
sā tu bhartuś citāṃ kṛtvā vane tām abhyarohata |
aurvas tām bhārgavas tāta kārūṇyāt samavārayat || 10.34 ||
tasyāśrame ca taṃ garbhaṃ gareṇaiva sahācyutam |
vyajāyata mahābhūṃ sagaraṃ nāma pārthivam || 10.35 ||

aurvas tu jātakarmādi tasya kṛtvā mahātmanaḥ |
adhyaṅgya vedaśāstrāṇi tato 'straṃ pratyapādayat |
āgneyaṃ taṃ mahābhāgāṃ amarair api duḥsaham || 10.36 ||

sa tenāstrabalenājau balena ca samanvitaḥ |
hehayān nijaghānāśu kruddho rudraḥ paśūn iva |
ājahāra ca lokeṣu kīrtiṃ kīrtimatāṃ varaḥ || 10.37 ||
tataḥ śakān sa yavanān kāmbojān pāradāṃs tathā |
pahlavāṃś caiva niḥśeṣān kartuṃ vyavasito nṛpaḥ || 10.38 ||
te vadhyamānā vīreṇa sagareṇa mahātmanā |
vasiṣṭhaṃ śaraṇaṃ gatvā praṇipetur manīṣiṇam || 10.39 ||
vasiṣṭhas tv atha tān dṛṣṭvā samayena mahādyutiḥ |
sagaraṃ vārayām āsa teṣāṃ dattvābhayaṃ tadā || 10.40 ||
sagaraḥ svāṃ pratijñāṃ ca guror vākyaṃ niśamya ca |
dharmaṃ jaghāna teṣāṃ vai veṣānyātvaṃ cakāra ha || 10.41 ||

ardhaṃ śakānāṃ śirasā muṇḍayitvā vyasarjayat |
yavanānāṃ śiraḥ sarvaṃ kāmbojānāṃ tathaiva ca || 10.42 ||
pāradā muktakeśās tu pahlavāḥ śmaśrudhāriṇaḥ |
niḥsvādhyāyavaṣaṭkārāḥ kṛtās tena mahātmanā || 10.43 ||

³³ His pregnant wife, a descendant of Yadu, had followed behind him; and as it happened, the poison inside her had been administered earlier, by her co-wife. ³⁴ She made up her husband's funeral pyre in the woods, and climbed onto it; but out of kindness Aurva Bhārgava stopped her, my boy. ³⁵ And at his retreat she gave birth to the uncompromising child-plus-poison, the mighty son of his father: the king named Sagara.

³⁶ The illustrious Aurva performed his birth ceremony, and so forth; he instructed him in the Vedas and Śāstras; and then he presented him with the momentous fire weapon, which cannot be resisted even by the immortals.

³⁷ Possessed of power because of the power of that weapon in battle, he [Sagara] soon destroyed the Hehayas just as the enraged Rudra destroys the animals, and won acclaim across the worlds, as the best of those who are acclaimed. ³⁸ Then the lord of his people decided to destroy the remaining Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas, and Pahlavas; ³⁹ but as they were being picked off by the illustrious and heroic Sagara, they went to the wise Vasiṣṭha for refuge and fell down before him. ⁴⁰ And when he saw them, the splendid Vasiṣṭha made a deal; he held Sagara in check, and made sure they were safe. ⁴¹ And Sagara heard the guru's words, and kept his own side of the bargain. But he suppressed their customs and made them change their dress.

⁴² He half-shaved the heads of the Śakas, and fully shaved the heads of the Yavanas and the Kāmbojas, and then he let them go.

⁴³ And that illustrious man decreed that the loose-haired Pāradas and the bearded Pahlavas must neither study the Veda nor perform the fire rituals.

śakā yavanakāambojāḥ pāradaś ca viśāṃ pate |
kolisarpā māhiśakā darvās colāḥ sakeralāḥ || 10.44 ||
sarve te kṣatriyās tāta dharmas teṣāṃ nirākṛtaḥ |
vasiṣṭhavadānād rājan sagareṇa mahātmanā || 10.45 ||
sa dharmavijayī rājā vijityemāṃ vasuṃdharām |
aśvaṃ vicārayām āsa vājimedhāya dīkṣitaḥ || 10.46 ||

tasya cārayataḥ so 'śvaḥ samudre pūrvadakṣiṇe |
velāsamīpe 'pahr̥to bhūmiṃ caiva praveśitaḥ |
sa taṃ deśaṃ tadā putraiḥ khānayām āsa pārthivaḥ || 10.47 ||
āsedus te tatas tatra khanyamāne mahārṇave |
tam ādipuruṣaṃ devaṃ hariṃ kṛṣṇaṃ prajāpatiṃ |
viṣṇuṃ kapilarūpeṇa svapantaṃ puruṣaṃ tadā || 10.48 ||
tasya cakṣuḥsamutthana tejasā pratibudhyataḥ |
dagdhāḥ sarve mahārāja catvāras tv avaśeṣitāḥ || 10.49 ||
barhaketuḥ suketuś ca tathā bhāradratho nṛpaḥ |
śūraḥ pañcājanaś caiva tasya vaṃśakarā nṛpā || 10.50 ||
prādāc ca tasmai bhagavān harir nārāyaṇo varam |
akṣayaṃ vaṃśam ikṣvākoḥ kīrtiṃ cāpy anivartinīm |
putraṃ samudraṃ ca vibhuḥ svarge vāsaṃ tathākṣayam || 10.51 ||
samudraś cārghyam ādāya vavande taṃ mahīpatiṃ |
sāgaratvaṃ ca lebhe sa karmaṇā tena tasya ha || 10.52 ||
taṃ cāśvamedhikaṃ so 'śvaṃ samudrād upalabdhavān |
ājahārāśvamedhānāṃ śataṃ sa sumahāyaśāḥ |
putrāṇāṃ ca sahasrāṇi ṣaṣṭis tasyeti naḥ śrutam || 10.53 ||

janamejaya uvāca |
sagarasyātmajā vīrāḥ kathaṃ jātā mahābalāḥ |
vikrāntāḥ ṣaṣṭisāhasrā vidhinā kena vā dvija || 10.54 ||

⁴⁴ The Śakas, Yavanas, Kāambojas, and Pāradas, O lord of the people, and the Kolisarpas, Māhiśakas, Darvas, Colas, and Keralans –
⁴⁵ these, my boy, are all the *kṣatriyas* whose customs were banned, with Vasiṣṭha's permission, by the illustrious Sagara, your majesty.
⁴⁶ That king conquered through customs; and having won this jewel-bearing earth, he was consecrated for the *aśvamedha* and had the horse released to roam.

⁴⁷ His horse roamed at will.* But on the shore of the south-eastern ocean it was carried away and taken underground. So the king had his sons dig up the place. ⁴⁸ And while they were digging up the ocean at that spot, they came across the first person, the Prajāpati – the god Hari Kṛṣṇa Viṣṇu, in the form of Kapila. And that person was sleeping. ⁴⁹ He woke up, your majesty, and they were all burned by the fire that sprang from his eyes. But four remained, ⁵⁰ the kings who continued his [Sagara's] line – Barhaketu, Suketu, King Bhāradratha, and the valiant Pañcājana. ⁵¹ As a boon for him [i.e. Sagara], Hari Nārāyaṇa, the mighty lord, granted that the line of Ikṣvāku would not be destroyed, that its fame would be undiminished, and that [Sagara] would have the ocean as a son, as well as a permanent home in heaven. ⁵² The ocean offered the guest gift to that lord of the earth, and sang his praises; and it was through this deed of his that [the ocean] came to be called the *sāgara*. ⁵³ [Sagara] reclaimed his *aśvamedha* horse from the ocean, and that supremely splendid king went on to perform a hundred *aśvamedhas*. And we've heard that he had sixty thousand sons.

⁵⁴ Janamejaya said:
How and by what ordinance were Sagara's sixty thousand brave, bold, and mighty sons born, O brahmin?

vaiśaṃpāyana uvāca |
 dve bhārye sagarasyāstāṃ tapasā dagdhakilbiṣe |
 aurvas tābhyāṃ varaṃ prādāt tan nibodha narādhipa || 10.55 ||
 ṣaṣṭiṃ putrasahasrāṇi grhṇāt tv ekā tarasvinām |
 ekaṃ vaṃśadharaṃ tv ekā yatheṣṭaṃ varayatv iti || 10.56 ||
 tatraikā jagrhe putrāṃl lubdhā śūrān bahūṃs tathā |
 ekaṃ vaṃśadharaṃ tv ekā tathety āha tato muniḥ || 10.57 ||

rājā pañcajano nāma babhūva sumahābalaḥ |
 itarā suṣuve tumbaṃ bījapūrṇām iti śrutiḥ || 10.58 ||
 tatra ṣaṣṭisahasrāṇi garbhās te tilasaṃmitāḥ |
 saṃbabhūvur yathākālaṃ vavṛdhuḥ ca yathāsukham || 10.59 ||
 ghr̥tapūrṇeṣu kumbheṣu tān garbhān nidadhuḥ tataḥ |
 dhātṛiś caikaikaśaḥ prādāt tāvatīḥ poṣaṇe nṛpa || 10.60 ||
 tato daśasu māseṣu samuttasthur yathākramam |
 kumārās te yathākālaṃ sagaraprītivardhanāḥ || 10.61 ||
 ṣaṣṭiḥ putrasahasrāṇi tasyaivam abhavan nṛpa |
 śukrād alābumadhyād vai jātāni pṛthivīpateḥ || 10.62 ||

teṣāṃ nārāyaṇaṃ tejaḥ praviṣṭānāṃ mahātmanām |
 ekaḥ pañcajano nāma putro rājā babhūva ha || 10.63 ||
 sutaḥ pañcajanasyāsīd aṃśumatā nāma vīryavān |
 dilīpas tasya tanayaḥ khaṭvāṅga iti viśrutaḥ || 10.64 ||
 yena svargād ihāgatya muhūrtaṃ prāpya jīvitam |
 trayo 'bhisaṃdhitā lokā buddhyā satyena cānagha || 10.65 ||
 dilīpasya tu dāyādo mahārājo bhagīrathaḥ |
 yaḥ sa gaṅgāṃ saricchreṣṭhām avātārayata prabhuḥ |
 samudram ānayaḥ caināṃ duhitṛtve tv akalpayat || 10.66 ||

⁵⁵ Vaiśaṃpāyana said:
 Sagara had two wives, both of whom had burned away their imperfections through austerities. Aurva granted them a boon. Hear what it was, O overlord of the people: ⁵⁶ ‘One of you can have sixty thousand bold sons, and the other can have the one son who will carry the line. Choose which of these you want.’ ⁵⁷ So the greedy wife chose the many heroic sons, and the other wife chose the one son who would carry the line. ‘So be it’, said the sage.

⁵⁸ The king named Pañcajana was produced, the massively mighty one; and the word is that the other wife gave birth to a gourd full of seeds. ⁵⁹ The sixty thousand embryos developed out of it, as small as sesame seeds; and in time they grew nicely. ⁶⁰ Then [Sagara]* had the embryos placed in pots filled with ghee, and he appointed as many nurses as it took, one for each of them, to look after them, O protector of the people. ⁶¹ And ten months later, when the time was right, those boys became ready for action, one after another; and Sagara was well pleased. ⁶² So that’s how that lord of the earth’s sixty thousand sons were born from the seed inside the gourd, your majesty.

⁶³ Of those illustrious fellows who entered the fire of Nārāyaṇa, the one called Pañcajana was the son who became king. ⁶⁴ Pañcajana’s valiant son was called Aṃśumat; and his son was Dilīpa. Famous by the name of Khaṭvāṅga,* ⁶⁵ he returned from heaven to this world, coming back to life for a short while – through his prudence and his truthfulness he mastered the three worlds, O faultless king. ⁶⁶ And Dilīpa’s heir was the great King Bhagīratha. He was the lord who made Gaṅgā, the best of rivers, come down; he led her to the ocean and made her his daughter.*

bhagīrathasuto rājā śruta ity abhiviśrutaḥ |
 nābhāgas tu śrutasyāsīt putraḥ paramadhārmikaḥ || 10.67 ||
 ambarīṣas tu nābhāgiḥ sindhudvīpapitābhavat |
 ayutājītu tu dāyādaḥ sindhudvīpasya vīryavān || 10.68 ||
 ayutājītsutas tv āsīd ṛtaparṇo mahāyaśāḥ |
 divyākṣahrdayajño vai rājā nalasakho balī || 10.69 ||
 ṛtaparṇasutas tv āsīd ārtaparṇir mahīpatiḥ |
 khyātaḥ kalmāṣapādo vai nāmnā mitrasaho 'bhavat || 10.70 ||
 kalmāṣapādasya sutaḥ sarvakarmeti viśrutaḥ |
 anaraṇyas tu putro 'bhūd viśrutaḥ sarvakarmaṇaḥ || 10.71 ||
 anaraṇyasuto nighno nighnaputrau babhūvatuḥ |
 anamitro raghuś caiva pārthivarṣabhasattamau || 10.72 ||

anamitras tu dharmātmā vidvān duliduhu 'bhavat |
 dilīpas tasya tanayo rāmasya prapitāmahaḥ |
 dīrghabāhur dilīpasya raghur nāmnābhavat sutaḥ || 10.73 ||
 ajaḥ tu rāghuto jajñe tathā daśaratho 'py ajāt |
 rāmo daśarathāj jajñe dharmārāmo mahāyaśāḥ || 10.74 ||
 rāmasya tanayo jajñe kuśa ity abhiviśrutaḥ |
 atithiḥ tu kuśāj jajñe niśadhas tasya cātmajaḥ || 10.75 ||
 niśadhasya nalaḥ putro nabhaḥ putro nalasya tu |
 nabhasaḥ puṇḍarīkas tu kṣemadhanvā tataḥ smṛtaḥ || 10.76 ||
 kṣemadhanvasutas tv āsīd devānīkaḥ pratāpavān |
 āsīd ahīnagur nāma devānīkātmajaḥ prabhuḥ |
 ahīnagos tu dāyādaḥ sahasvān nāma pārthivaḥ || 10.77 ||

nalau dvāv eva vikhyātau purāṇe bharatarṣabha |
 vīrasenātmajaś caiva yaś cekṣvākukulodvahaḥ || 10.78 ||
 ikṣvākuvaṃśaprabhavāḥ prādhānyeneha kīrtitāḥ |
 ete vivasvato vaṃśe rājāno bhūritejaṣaḥ || 10.79 ||
 paṭhan samyag imāṃ sṛṣṭim ādityasya vivasvataḥ |
 śrāddhadevasya devasya prajānāṃ puṣṭidasya ca |
 prajānāṃ eti sāyujyam ādityasya vivasvataḥ || 10.80 ||

⁶⁷ Bhagīratha's son, King Śruta, was widely celebrated; and Śruta's son was the supremely virtuous Nābhāga. ⁶⁸ Nābhāga's son was Ambarīṣa, the father of Sindhudvīpa; and Sindhudvīpa's valiant heir was Ayutājītu. ⁶⁹ Ayutājītu's son was the glorious Ṛtaparṇa – Nala's friend, the mighty king who knew the divine heart of the dice.* ⁷⁰ Ṛtaparṇa's son was King Ārtaparṇi; he was also called Mītrasaha, and Kalmāṣapāda.* ⁷¹ Kalmāṣapāda's son was known as Sarvakarman; and Sarvakarman's son was known as Anaraṇya. ⁷² Anaraṇya's son was Nighna; and Nighna had two sons, Anamitra and Raghu, the two best of royal bulls.

⁷³ Anamitra, the soul of propriety, was the learned Duliduha; his son was Dilīpa, the ancestor of Rāma. Dilīpa's son was the long-armed one, Raghu by name; ⁷⁴ and then Aja was born to Raghu, and Daśaratha was born to Aja, and to Daśaratha was born Rāma the glorious, the pleasure-garden of propriety.* ⁷⁵ Rāma had a son, the one famous by the name Kuśa; and Kuśa's son was Atithi, and his son was Niśadha. ⁷⁶ Niśadha's son was Nala, Nala's son was Nabha, Nabha's son was Puṇḍarīka, and after him came Kṣemadhanvan, as I recall. ⁷⁷ And Kṣemadhanvan's son was the brilliant Devānīka, and Devānīka's son was the lord named Ahīnagu, and Ahīnagu's heir was the king called Sahasvat.

⁷⁸ Two Nalas are celebrated in the old stories, O bull of Bharata; the one who was Vīrasena's son, and the one who carried the line of Ikṣvāku. ⁷⁹ The men born in the Ikṣvāku line have been listed here summarily; these are the kings of great glory in the line of Vivasvat. ⁸⁰ This is the emission of the god of ancestral rites, Vivasvat Āditya the divine, who nourishes the creatures;* and whoever recites it in its entirety becomes absorbed among Vivasvat Āditya's descendants.

SOMAVAMŚĀ

vaiśampāyana uvāca |
pitā somasya vai rājañ jajñe 'trir bhagavān ṛṣiḥ |
tatrātriḥ sarvalokānāṃ tasthau svavinayair vṛtaḥ |
karmanā manasā vācā śubhāny eva cacāra ha || 20.1 ||
ahimsraḥ sarvabhūteṣu dharmātmā saṃśitavrataḥ |
kāṣṭhakuḍyaśilābhūta ūrdhvaḥ mahādyutiḥ || 20.2 ||
anuttamaṃ nāma tapo yena taptaṃ mahat purā |
trīṇi varṣasahasrāṇi divyānīti hi naḥ śrutam || 20.3 ||

tatordhvaretasas tasya sthitasyāniṣasya hi |
somaṭvaṃ tanur āpede mahābuddhasya bhārata || 20.4 ||
ūrdhvam ācakrame tasya somaṭvaṃ bhāvitātmanaḥ |
netrābhyāṃ vāri susrāva daśadhā dyotayad diśaḥ || 20.5 ||

taṃ garbhaṃ daśadhā dṛṣṭvā daśa devyo dadhus tataḥ |
sametya dhārayām āsur na ca tāḥ tam aśaknuvan || 20.6 ||
sa tābhyaḥ sahasaivātha digbhyo garbhaḥ prabhānvitaḥ |
papāta bhāsayaṃ lokāñ śītāṃsuḥ sarvabhāvanaḥ || 20.7 ||
yadā na dhāraṇe śaktās tasya garbhasya tā diśaḥ |
tatas tābhiḥ sahaivāsu nipatāta [?nipapāta] vasuṃdharām || 20.8 ||

THE LUNAR DYNASTY

20. The Origin of Soma

¹ Vaiśampāyana said:

Well, king, Soma's father, Lord Atri the seer, was born. There stood Atri, who was everyone's darling because of his own personal refinements: he busied himself only with kindnesses, of deed, of thought, and of speech. ² He was peaceable towards all beings, proper in himself, and determined in his discipline. He was like a piece of wood, or a wall, or a crag, his arms raised, his splendour immense; ³ and long ago he stirred up a great heat called the Unsurpassed, for three thousand years of the gods – or that's what we've heard.

⁴ And the body of that steady, unblinking man, that great awakened one, storing up his seed? His body became lunar, O Bhārata. ⁵ That self-cultivated man's lunar character spilled out. As tears ran from his eyes, he lit up the ten directions.*

⁶ Ten goddesses glimpsed a tenfold child, and they conceived it. They came together; they carried it; but they couldn't manage it; ⁷ and the child that had been given its light by those directions suddenly fell, brightening places up with its cool rays, beneficent to all. ⁸ When the directions couldn't retain the child it fell away from them immediately, towards the jewel-bearing earth.

patitaṃ somam ālokya brahmā lokapitāmahaḥ |
ratham āropayām āsa lokānāṃ hitakāmyayā || 20.9 ||
sa hi vedamayasa tāta dharmātmā satyasamgarah |
yukto vājisahasreṇa siteneti hi naḥ śrutam || 20.10 ||

tasmin nipatite devāḥ putre 'treḥ paramātmani |
tuṣṭuvur brahmaṇaḥ putrā mānasāḥ sapta ye śrutāḥ || 20.11 ||
tathavāṅgirasas tatra bhṛgor evātmajaiḥ saha |
ṛghbir yajurbhiḥ sāmabhir atharvāṅgirasair api || 20.12 ||
tasya saṃstūyamānasya tejaḥ somasya bhāsvataḥ |
āpyāyamānaṃ lokāṃs trīn bhāvayām āsa sarvataḥ || 20.13 ||

sa tena rathamukhyena sāgarāntāṃ vasuṃdharām |
triḥsaptakṛtvo 'tīyaśāś cakārābhīpradakṣiṇām || 20.14 ||
tasya yac cyāvitaṃ tejaḥ pṛthivīm anvapadyata |
oṣadhyaś tāḥ samudbhūtāś tejaśā prajvalanty uta || 20.15 ||
tābhīr dhāryo hy ayaṃ lokaḥ prajāś caiva caturvidhāḥ |
poṣṭā hi bhagavān somo jagato jagatīpate || 20.16 ||

sa labdhatejā bhagavān saṃstavaiḥ svaiś ca karmabhiḥ |
tapas tepe mahābhāga padmānāṃ daśatīr daśa || 20.17 ||
hiraṇyavarṇā yā devyo dhārayantyātmanā jagat |
nidhiś tāsām abhūd devaḥ prakhyātaḥ svena karmaṇā || 20.18 ||
tatas tasmai dadau rājyaṃ brahmā brahmavidāṃ varaḥ |
bījausadhīnāṃ viprāṇāṃ apāṃ ca janamejaya || 20.19 ||
so 'bhiśikto mahātejā rājarājyena rājarāt |
trīṃl lokān bhāvayām āsa svabhāśā bhāsvatāṃ varaḥ || 20.20 ||
saptaviṃśatim indos tu dākṣāyaṇyo mahāvratāḥ |
dadau prācetaso dakṣo nakṣatrāṇīti yā viduḥ || 20.21 ||

⁹ Brahmā, the world's grandfather, looked at the dropped Soma, and, wanting what was best for everyone, he had him mount a chariot. ¹⁰ It was the one made of lore, my boy; propriety itself, the clash of truth, yoked to a thousand bridled steeds – or that's what we've heard.

¹¹ When that lofty character, Atri's son, had come down, Brahmā's divine children celebrated – that is, the seven famous ones who were born from his mind, ¹² plus the son of Aṅgiras there together with the sons of Bhṛgu, and the *ṛks*, *yajurs*, and *sāmans*, and the *atharvāṅgirasas* too.* ¹³ And while he was being praised, the brilliance of that shining Soma penetrated to all parts, making the three worlds swell.

¹⁴ That superstar did a lap of honour around the ocean-edged earth on his superb carriage, taking three weeks over it. ¹⁵ The brilliance that he shed fell to the broad earth, and the sprouting plants are kindled by it. ¹⁶ They sustain this realm, and the four kinds of creature; Lord Soma is indeed the world's nourisher, O lord of the world!

¹⁷ That lord, having obtained brilliance from being praised and from his own deeds, generated heat for a hundred trillion years.

¹⁸ Acclaimed for his deed, that god became the treasure of the golden goddesses, who sustain the world by means of him.* ¹⁹ And Brahmā, the best of those who know the *brahman*, gave him sovereignty over seeds, plants, brahmins, and waters, Janamejaya.

²⁰ Consecrated for royal dominion, the glorious king of kings, the best of those that shine, fostered the three worlds with his own splendour. ²¹ And Dakṣa the son of Pracetas gave the Moon twenty-seven of his well-disciplined daughters, who are known as the constellations.

sa tat prāpya mahad rājyaṃ somaḥ somavatāṃ varaḥ |
samājahre rājasūyaṃ sahasraśatadakṣiṇam || 20.22 ||
hotāsya bhagavān atrir adhvaryur bhagavān bhṛguḥ |
hiraṇyagarbhaś codgātā brahmā brahmātvam eyivān || 20.23 ||
sadasyas tatra bhagavān harir nārāyaṇaḥ prabhuḥ |
sanatkumārāpramukhair ādyair brahmarṣibhir vṛtaḥ || 20.24 ||
dakṣiṇām adadāt somas trīṃḥ lokān iti naḥ śrutam |
tebhyo brahmarṣimukhyebhyaḥ sadasyebhyaś ca bhārata || 20.25 ||
sinīvālī kuhūs caiva dyutiḥ puṣṭiḥ prabhā vasuḥ |
kīrtir dhṛtiś ca lakṣmīś ca nava devyaḥ śiṣevire || 20.26 ||
prāpyāvabhṛtham avyagraḥ sarvadevarṣipūjitaḥ |
virarājāti rājendro daśadhā bhāvayan diśaḥ || 20.27 ||

tasya tat prāpya duṣprāpyam aiśvaryaṃ munisatkṛtam |
vibabhrāma matis tāta vinayād anayāhṛtā || 20.28 ||
bṛhaspateḥ sa vai bhāryāṃ tārāṃ nāma yaśasvinīm |
jahāra tarasā sarvān avamatyāṅgiraḥsutān || 20.29 ||
sa yācyamāno devaiś ca tathā devarṣibhiḥ saha |
naiva vyasarjayat tārāṃ tasmā āṅgirase tadā || 20.30 ||

uśanā tasya jagrāha pārṣṇim āṅgirasas tadā | *
sa hi śiṣyo mahātejāḥ pituḥ pūrvam bṛhaspateḥ || 20.31 ||
tena snehena bhagavān rudras tasya bṛhaspateḥ |
pārṣṇigrāho bhavad devaḥ pragṛhyājagavaṃ dhanuḥ || 20.32 ||
tena brahmaśiro nāma paramāstraṃ mahātmanā |
uddiśya devān utsṛṣṭam yenaishāṃ nāśitam yaśaḥ || 20.33 ||

²² Having obtained that great realm, Soma, the best of those who have *soma*, performed a *rājasūya* ritual, with fees in the hundreds and thousands. ²³ Its *hotṛ* was Lord Atri, its *adhvaryu* Lord Bhṛgu, its *udgātṛ* Hiraṇyagarbha, its *brahman* Brahmā,* ²⁴ and its superintendents the Lord and Master Hari Nārāyaṇa surrounded by the best seers of the *brahman* headed by Sanatkumāra. ²⁵ Soma gave the fee – which was the three worlds, or so we’ve heard – to those foremost superintendents and seers of the *brahman*, Bhārata. ²⁶ Nine goddesses – Sinīvālī, Kuhū, Dyuti, Puṣṭi, Prabhā, Vasu, Kīrti, Dhṛti, and Lakṣmī – serviced him, ²⁷ and after taking the final purifying bath the cool king of kings, honoured by all the gods and seers, shone strongly forth,* refreshing the ten directions.

²⁸ After he had obtained that rare sovereignty and the respect of the sages, my boy, his thoughts wandered off, distanced from their former discipline through lack of vigilance. ²⁹ Indeed, he treated all the sons of Aṅgiras with contempt, and he soon stole Bṛhaspati’s wife, a magnificent woman by the name of Tārā, ³⁰ and although he was petitioned by the gods as well as the divine seers, he wouldn’t give her back to Aṅgiras’s son.

³¹⁻² Then Uśanas attacked the son of Aṅgiras from behind. But the Lord Rudra was formerly a prize student of Bṛhaspati’s father, and because of his affection for Bṛhaspati the god grabbed his Ājagava bow and became his rearguard.* ³³ The great weapon known as the Brahmaśiras was fired by that illustrious fellow for the sake of the gods, and hence their glory was not consumed.

tatra tad yuddham abhavat prakhyātaṃ tārakāmayam |
devānāṃ dānavānāṃ ca lokakṣayakaraṃ mahat || 20.34 ||
tatra śiṣṭās tu ye devās tuṣitās caiva ye bhārata |
brahmāṇaṃ śaraṇaṃ jagmur ādidevaṃ pitāmahaṃ || 20.35 ||
tato nivāryōsanasaṃ taṃ vai rudraṃ ca śaṃkaram |
dadāv āṅgirase tārāṃ svayam eva pitāmahaḥ || 20.36 ||

tām antaḥprasavāṃ dṛṣṭvā vipraḥ prāha bṛhaspatiḥ |
madīyāyāṃ na te yonau garbho dhāryaḥ kathaṃ cana || 20.37 ||
ayonāv asṛjattaṃ tu kumāraṃ dasyuhantamam |
iṣṭkāstambam āsādyā jvalantam iva pāvakaṃ || 20.38 ||
jātamaṅtraḥ sa bhagavān devānāṃ ākṣipad vapuḥ |
tataḥ saṃśayam āpannās tārāṃ akathayan surāḥ || 20.39 ||
satyaṃ brūhi sutaḥ kasya somasyātha bṛhaspateḥ |
pṛcchyaṃnā yadā devair nāha sā sādhu asādhu vā |
tadā tāṃ śaptum ārabdhaḥ kumāro dasyuhantamaḥ || 20.40 ||

taṃ nivārya tato brahmā tārāṃ papraccha saṃśayam |
yad atra tathyaṃ tad brūhi tāre kasya suto hy ayam || 20.41 ||
sā prāñjalir uvācedaṃ brahmāṇaṃ varadaṃ prabhūm |
somasyeti mahātmānaṃ kumāraṃ dasyuhantamam || 20.42 ||
taṃ mūrdhny upāghrāya tadā somo dhātā prajāpatiḥ |
budha ity akaron nāma tasya putrasya dhīmataḥ |
pratikūlaṃ ca gagane samabhyuttiṣṭhate budhaḥ || 20.43 ||

utpādayām āsa tadā putraṃ vai rājaputrikā |
tasyāpatyaṃ mahārājo babhūvailaḥ purūravāḥ |
urvaśyāṃ jajñire yasya putrāḥ sapta mahātmanaḥ || 20.44 ||
prasahya dharsitas tatra vivaśo rājayakṣmaṇā |
tato yakṣmābhibhūtas tu somaḥ prakṣīṇamaṇḍaḥ |
jagāma śaraṇāyātha pitaraṃ so 'trim eva ca || 20.45 ||
tasya tat pāpaśamanaṃ cakārātrir mahāyaśāḥ |
sa rājayakṣmaṇā muktaḥ śriyā jajvāla sarvaśaḥ || 20.46 ||

³⁴ So there was that fight, the famous one between gods and Dānavas for love of Tārā; a massive one, that wrecked the place.
³⁵ But during it, Bhārata, the gods – the ones who were wise, and who were also the Tuṣita gods – went for refuge to the first god, the Grandfather Brahmā. ³⁶ So the Grandfather himself restrained Uśanas and Rudra Śaṃkara, and gave Tārā to Aṅgiras's son.

³⁷ Noticing a swelling within her, the brahmin Bṛhaspati said to her: 'By no means is the child in your womb to be maintained in my house!' ³⁸ So once it was out of the womb, she set it down in a bed of reeds and abandoned it – the most rogue-slaying of youngsters, blazing like fire. ³⁹ That newborn lord eclipsed the beauty of the gods, and they became anxious and addressed themselves to Tārā: ⁴⁰ 'Tell the truth: whose child is it? Soma's or Bṛhaspati's?' But when she was quizzed by the gods, she spoke neither truth nor lie; and that most rogue-slaying of youngsters made to curse her.

⁴¹ So Brahmā kept him in check, and asked Tārā about the matter. 'Whatever the truth of it is, you must tell it, Tārā! Well then, whose child is this?' ⁴²⁻³ She cupped her hands and said to Brahmā the boon-granting master: 'Soma's'. So Soma, the placer and Prajāpati, smelled the head of that illustrious, most rogue-slaying of youngsters; and he gave his wise son the name Budha.* And Budha rose, upside-down, in the sky.

⁴⁴ Then a king's putrikā daughter had a son by Budha: the great king Purūravas, son of Ilā, was born. And he had seven illustrious sons by Urvaśī. ⁴⁵ In that business the helpless Soma was forcibly overpowered by royal consumption and defeated, his essence diminished. So he approached his father Atri for refuge; ⁴⁶ and the renowned Atri managed to ease his misfortune. And when he had been freed from royal consumption he shone fully, with glory.*

etat somasya te janma kīrtitaṃ kīrtivardhanam |
vaṃśam asya mahārāja kīrtiyamānam ataḥ śṛṇu || 20.47 ||
dhanyam āyusyaṃ ārogyaṃ puṇyaṃ saṃkalpasādhakam |
somasya janma śrutvaiva sarvapāpaiḥ pramucyate || 20.48 ||

⁴⁷ This is the origin of Soma for you: it is famous, and it increases one's fame. So hear his lineage being recited, great king! ⁴⁸ Merely by hearing the origin of Soma – auspicious, vital, healthy, meritorious, and efficient in its purpose – one is freed from all ills.

vaiśampāyana uvāca |
 budhasya tu mahārāja vidvān putraḥ purūravāḥ |
 tejasvī dānaśīlaś ca yajvā vipuladakṣiṇaḥ || 21.1 ||
 brahmavādī parākrāntaḥ śatrubhir yudhi durjayaḥ |
 āhartā cāgnihotrasya yajñānāṃ ca divo mahīm || 21.2 ||
 satyavādī puṇyamatiḥ kāmyaḥ saṃvṛtamaitunaḥ |
 atīva triṣu lokeṣu yaśasāpratimaḥ sadā || 21.3 ||
 taṃ brahmavādinam kṣāntaṃ dharmajñam satyavādinam |
 urvaśī varayām āsa hitvā mānaṃ yaśasvinī || 21.4 ||

tayā sahāvasad rājā daśa varṣāṇi pañca ca |
 pañca ṣaṭ sapta cāṣṭau ca daśa cāṣṭau ca bhārata || 21.5 ||
 vane caitrarathe rāmye tathā mandākinītaṭe |
 alakāyāṃ viśālāyāṃ nandane ca vanottame || 21.6 ||
 uttarān sa kurūn prāpya manorarathaphaladrumān |
 gandhamādanapādeṣu meruśṛṅge tathottare || 21.7 ||
 eteṣu vanamukhyeṣu surair ācariteṣu ca |
 urvaśyā sahito rājā reme paramayā mudā || 21.8 ||
 deśe puṇyatame caiva maharṣibhir abhiṣṭute |
 rājyaṃ sa kārayām āsa prayāge pṛthivīpatiḥ || 21.9 ||

tasya putrā babhūvus te ṣaḍ indropamatejaśḥ |
 divi jātā mahātmāna āyur dhīmān amāvasuḥ |
 ḍḍhāyus ca vanāyus ca śatāyus corvaśīsutāḥ || 21.10 ||
 āyoḥ putrāś tathā pañca sarve vīrā mahārathāḥ |
 nahuṣaḥ prathamam jajñe vṛddhaśarmā tataḥ param |
 dambho rajir anenāś ca triṣu lokeṣu viśrutāḥ || 21.11 ||

21. Indra's Expulsion

¹ Vaiśampāyana said:

Great king, Purūravas, the knowledgeable son of Budha, was vibrant and habitually generous. He was ceremonially dutiful; he paid huge fees; ² he was bold, a speaker of the *brahman*, and hard to beat when in combat against his enemies; he offered the *agnihotra*, and the sky made ritual offerings to the earth. ³ Truthful in speech, pure in thought, amiable, and discreet in his love affairs, in the three worlds there was never anyone with a reputation to match his. ⁴ The magnificent Urvaśī put her pride aside and chose that man, for he was steady, truthful, versed in propriety, and a speaker of the *brahman*.

⁵ The king lived with her for ten years and five, Bhārata, and five, six, seven, and eight, and ten and eight, ⁶ in Cītraratha's delightful park on the banks of the Gaṅgā, in Alakā, in Viśālā, in Nandana the park of paradise, ⁷ in the foothills of Gandhamādana and on the highest peak of Meru; he visited the Higher Kurus among trees whose fruits transport the mind and breast, ⁸ and in these classy and divinely frequented glades the king disported himself with Urvaśī with utter delight. ⁹ And that lord of the earth also built a kingdom in Prayāga, the most meritorious region, the one that the great seers extol.

¹⁰ He had six children, each with glory to match Indra's; they were born in the sky as mahatmas. Āyus, Dhīmat, Amāvasu, Ḍḍhāyus, Vanāyus, and Śatāyus, the sons of Urvaśī. ¹¹ And there were five sons of Āyus, all heroes and great chariot warriors, famous in the three worlds: Nahuṣa was born first, then great Vṛddhaśarman, Dambha, Raji, and Anenas.

rajih̄ putraśatānīha janayām āsa pañca vai |
rājeyam iti vikhyātam̄ kṣatram indrabhayāvaham || 21.12 ||
yatra devāsura yuddhe samupoḍhe sudāruṇe |
devāś caivāsuraś caiva pitāmaham athābruvan || 21.13 ||
āvayor bhagavan yuddhe vijetā ko bhaviṣyati |
brūhi naḥ sarvabhūteśa śrotum icchāmahe vacaḥ || 21.14 ||

brahmovāca |
yeṣām arthāya saṃgrāme rajir āttāyudhaḥ prabhuḥ |
yotsyate te vijeṣyanti trīṃl lokān nātra saṃśayaḥ || 21.15 ||
yato rajir dhṛtis tatra śrīś ca tatra yato dhṛtiḥ |
yato dhṛtiś ca śrīś caiva dharmas tatra jayas tathā || 21.16 ||

te devadānavāḥ prītā devenoktā rajer jaye |
abhyayur jayam icchanto vṛṇvānā bharatarṣabha || 21.17 ||
sa hi svarbhānudauihtraḥ prabhāyām samapadyata |
rājā paramatejasvī somavaṃśavivardhanaḥ || 21.18 ||
te hr̥ṣṭamanasaḥ sarve rajim̄ daiteyadānavāḥ |
ūcur asmajjayāya tvaṃ gr̥hāṇa varakārmukam || 21.19 ||

rajir uvāca |
yadi devagaṇān sarvāñ jivā śakrapurogamān |
indro bhavāmi dharmeṇa tato yotsyāmi saṃyuge || 21.20 ||

dānavā ūcuḥ |
asmākam indraḥ prahrādo yasyārthe vijayāmahe || 21.21 ||

¹² Raji had five hundred children known as the Rājeyas: a princely order to strike fear into Indra. ¹³ When the terrible battle between the gods and the demons was raging, the gods and the demons said to the Grandfather: ¹⁴ ‘Lord, which of our two sides will win the war? Tell us, O master of all creatures; we want to hear the word on it.’

¹⁵ And Brahmā said:
‘Those for whose sake Lord Raji has taken up arms and fought in battle will win the three worlds, no doubt about it. ¹⁶ Where there’s Raji there’s fortitude, and where there’s fortitude there’s fortune. And where there’s both fortitude and fortune, there’s righteousness and victory.’

¹⁷ When the god had told them of Raji’s victory, the gods and the Dānavas were delighted. Desiring the victory, they went wooing, O bull of Bharata. ¹⁸ Of course he [i.e. Raji], the most glorious king, a prosperer of Soma’s line, was the son of Svarbhānu’s daughter – he was born from Prabhā. ¹⁹ The excited sons of Diti and Danu all said to Raji, ‘You must take up your prize bow for the sake of our victory.’

²⁰ Raji said:
‘If, after defeating all the hosts of the gods led by Śakra, I may become Indra, as would be proper, then I will fight in the battle.’

²¹ The Dānavas said:
‘Prahrāda is our Indra; we fight for his benefit.’

asmim̐s tu samaye rājams tiṣṭhethā devacoditaḥ |
bhaviṣyasindro jitvaiva devair uktas sa pārthivaḥ |
jaghāna dānavān sarvān ye vadhyā vajrapāṇinā || 21.22 ||
sa vipranaṣṭām devānām paramaśrīḥ śriyaṃ vaśi |
nihatya dānavān sarvān ājahāra rajih prabhuḥ || 21.23 ||

tato rajim mahāvīryam devaiḥ saha śatakratuḥ |
rajiputro 'ham ity uktvā punar evābravīd vacaḥ || 21.24 ||
indro 'si tāta bhūtānām sarveṣām nātra saṃśayaḥ |
yasyāham indrah putras te khyātiṃ yāsyāmi karmabhiḥ || 21.25 ||
sa tu śakravacaḥ śrutvā vañcitas tena māyayā |
tathety evābravīd rājā prīyamāṇaḥ śatakratum || 21.26 ||

tasmim̐s tu devaiḥ sadṛśo divam prāpte mahīpatau |
dāyādyam indrād ājhrur ācārāt tanayā rajeh || 21.27 ||
tāni putraśātāny asya tad vai sthānam śatakratoḥ |
samākrāmanta bahudhā svargalokaṃ triviṣṭapam || 21.28 ||
tato bahutithe kāle samatīte mahābalaḥ |
hṛtarājyo 'bravīc chakro hṛtabhāgo bṛhaspatim || 21.29 ||
badarīphalamātram vai puroḍāśam vidhatsva me |
brahmarṣe yena tiṣṭheyam tejasāpyāyitaḥ sadā || 21.30 ||
brahman kṛśo 'ham vimanā hṛtarājyo hṛtāśanaḥ |
hataujā durbalo mūḍho rajiputraih kṛto vibho || 21.31 ||

bṛhaspatir uvāca |
yady evam coditaḥ śakra tvayā syām pūrvam eva hi |
nābhaviṣyat tvatprijārtham akartavyam mayānagha || 21.32 ||
prayatiṣyāmi devendra tvatprijārtham na saṃśayaḥ |
yathā bhāgam ca rājyaṃ ca na cirāt pratilapsyase |
tathā tāta kariṣyāmi mā te bhūd viklavaṃ manaḥ || 21.33 ||

²² And at this opportune moment, O king, the gods incited him: 'Stand up! When you have triumphed, you will be Indra.' And directed by the gods, that king killed as many Dānavas as someone with the *vajra* in his hand can kill. ²³ That Raji, the master and ruler, the highest majesty, killed all the Dānavas and took back the glory that the gods had lost.

²⁴ Then Indra of a hundred rites, accompanied by the gods, said to the great hero Raji, 'I am Raji's son.' And he spoke again: ²⁵ 'You are the Indra of all creatures, sire, no doubt about it; and I, Indra, am your son. I will become famous through my deeds.' ²⁶ And having heard Śakra's speech, the king was led astray by him through trickery, and happily said 'All right' to the god of a hundred rites.

²⁷ When [Raji] the lord of the earth had gone to heaven, Raji's sons, because of their good behaviour, obtained their inheritance from Indra. ²⁸ Those hundreds of sons of his repeatedly stepped up to the Triviṣṭapa heaven, the abode of the god of a hundred rites.

²⁹ And after this had been happening for a long time, Śakra the powerful, having lost his realm and his share, addressed Bṛhaspati.

³⁰ 'O seer of the *brahman*, prepare an offering-cake for me, if only the size of a jujube fruit, by which I might endure! Always [previously] rich in glory, ³¹ O brahmin, having lost my realm and my food I am thin, dejected, sickly, destitute of vigour, and bewildered. I've been done by Raji's sons, my lord!'

³² Bṛhaspati said:

'If you had directed me in this way earlier, blameless Śakra, I would already have accomplished your cherished aim. ³³ Lord of the gods, I will certainly strive for your cherished aim. I will act in such a way that you will soon recover your realm and your share, my boy. Don't be downhearted!'

tataḥ karma cakārāsyā tejaso vardhanaṃ tadā |
teṣāṃ ca buddhisam̐moham akarod ṛṣisattamaḥ || 21.34 ||
te yadā sma susam̐mūḍhā rāgonmattā vidharmaṇaḥ |
brahmadviṣaś ca sam̐vṛttā hataviryaaparākramāḥ || 21.35 ||
tato lebhe suraiśvaryaṃ indraḥ sthānaṃ tathottamaṃ |
hatvā rajisutān sarvān kāmakrodhaparāyaṇān || 21.36 ||

ya idaṃ cyāvanaṃ sthānāt pratiṣṭhāṃ ca śatakraṭoḥ |
śṛṇuyād dhārayed vāpi na sa daurātmyam āpnuyāt || 21.37 ||

³⁴ And then that best of seers performed a rite to increase Indra's glory, and managed to dim the wits of Rāji's sons.* ³⁵ When they were well confused indeed, frantic with passion, heedless of propriety, hostile to brahmins, and swollen, their heroism and their courage was destroyed; ³⁶ and while Rāji's sons were all lost to desire and anger, Indra killed them and thus seized back the highest rank, the lordship of the gods.

³⁷ And whoever hears or even thinks about this – Indra's expulsion from and return to his position – will never fall into depravity.

vaiśampāyana uvāca |
 nahuṣasya tu dāyādāḥ ṣaḍ indropamatejaṣaḥ |
 yatir yayātiḥ saṃyātir āyātir yātir uddhavaḥ |
 yatir jyeṣṭhas tu teṣāṃ vai yayātis tu tataḥ param || 22.1 ||
 kakutsthakanyāṃ gāṃ nāma na lebhe sa yatis tadā |
 tenāsau mokṣaṃ āsthāya brahmabhūto 'bhavan muniḥ || 22.2 ||

teṣāṃ yayātiḥ pañcānāṃ vijitya vasudhāṃ imāṃ |
 devayānīm uśanasāḥ sutāṃ bhāryāṃ avāpa ha |
 śarmiṣṭhāṃ āsurīm caiva tanayāṃ vṛṣaparvaṇaḥ || 22.3 ||
 yaduṃ ca turvasuṃ caiva devayānī vyajāyata |
 druhyuṃ cānuṃ ca pūruṃ ca śarmiṣṭhā vṛṣaparvaṇī || 22.4 ||
 tasya śakro dadau prīto rathaṃ paramabhāsvaram |
 asaṅgaṃ kāñcanaṃ divyaṃ divyaiḥ paramavājibhiḥ |
 yuktaṃ manojavaiḥ śubhraiḥ yena bhāryāṃ samudvahat || 22.5 ||
 sa tena rathamukhyena ṣaḍrātreṇājayan mahīm |
 yayātir yudhi durdharṣas tathā devān savāsavān || 22.6 ||

sa rathaḥ pauraṇāṃ tu sarveṣāṃ abhavat tadā |
 yāvat tava sanāmā vai pauraṃ janamejaya || 22.7 ||
 kuroḥ pautrasya rājye tu rājñāḥ pārīkṣitasya ha |
 jagāma sa ratho nāśaṃ śāpād gargasya dhīmataḥ || 22.8 ||
 gargasya hi sutāṃ bālaṃ sa rājā janamejayaḥ |
 vākrūrāṃ hiṃsayāṃ āsa brahmahatyāṃ avāpa saḥ || 22.9 ||
 sa lohagandhī rājarṣiḥ paridhāvann itas tataḥ |
 pauraṇāpadais tyakto na lebhe śarma karhicit || 22.10 ||
 tataḥ sa duḥkhasaṃtupto nālabhat saṃvidam kva cit |
 indrotaṃ śaunakaṃ rājā śaraṇaṃ pratyapadyata || 22.11 ||
 yājāyāṃ āsa cendrotaḥ śaunako janamejaya |
 aśvamedhena rājānaṃ pāvanārthaṃ dvijottamāḥ |
 sa lohagandho vyanaśat tasyāvabhṛtham etya ha || 22.12 ||

22. The Story of Yayāti

¹ Vaiśampāyana said:

The six sons of Nahuṣa were Indra's match in glory: Yati, Yayāti, Saṃyāti, Āyāti, Yāti, and Uddhava. Yati was the oldest of them, and Yayāti came afterwards. ² But Yati failed to obtain Kakutstha's daughter Gā, so he sought release and became a hermit; he became *brahman*.

³ Of the [remaining] five, Yayāti conquered this jewel-bearing earth. He obtained a wife – Devayānī, the daughter of Uśanas; and also Śarmiṣṭhā, the daughter of Vṛṣaparvan the demon. ⁴ Devayānī bore Yadu and Turvasu, and Vṛṣaparvan's daughter Śarmiṣṭhā bore Druhyu, Anu, and Pūru.* ⁵ Śakra, impressed, donated his supremely splendid chariot – celestial, unimpedable, made of gold, and yoked to supreme celestial white horses as swift as thought. Lifting his wife up onto it, ⁶ with that prize chariot Yayāti was untouchable in battle and conquered the wide earth in six days and nights, as well as the gods and the Vāsavas.

⁷ And that became the chariot of all the Pauravas. The Pauravas, indeed, who have the same name right down to you, Janamejaya.

⁸ The chariot came to ruin in the realm of Kuru's descendant the royal son of Parīkṣit,* because of the curse of the learned Garga.

⁹ That King Janamejaya injured Garga's young son, who yelled mercilessly; and he contracted the shame of having killed a brahmin. ¹⁰ That royal seer, smelling of metal, running around hither and thither, was rejected by the people of both town and country; he could find no refuge whatsoever. ¹¹ Then, scorched by suffering and getting no sympathy anywhere, the king went to Indrota Śaunaka for asylum; ¹² and Indrota Śaunaka, the best of the twiceborn, had the king perform a purificatory *aśvamedha*, Janamejaya. And when he did his final ablutions, the smell of metal disappeared.

sa ca divyo ratho rājan vasoś cedipates tadā |
dattaḥ śakraṇa tuṣṭena lebhe tasmād bṛhadrathaḥ || 22.13 ||
tato hatvā jarāsaṃdhaṃ bhīmas taṃ ratham uttamam |
pradadau vāsudevāya prītyā kauravanandana || 22.14 ||

saptadvīpāṃ yayāti tu jivā pṛthivīm sasāgarām |
vyabhajāt pañcadhā rājyaṃ putrāṇāṃ nāhuṣas tadā || 22.15 ||
diśi dakṣiṇapūrvasyāṃ turvasuṃ matimān nṛpaḥ |
pratīcyāṃ uttarasyāṃ tu druhyuṃ cānumca nāhuṣaḥ || 22.16 ||
diśi pūrvottarasyāṃ tu yaduṃ jyeṣṭhaṃ nyayojayat |
madhye pūruṃ ca rājānam abhyaśiñcat sa nāhuṣaḥ || 22.17 ||
tair iyaṃ pṛthivī sarvā saptadvīpā sapattanā |
yathāpradeśam adyāpi dharmeṇa paripālyate |
prajāś teṣāṃ purastāt tu vaksyāmi nṛpasattama || 22.18 ||

dhanur nyasya pṛṣatkāś ca pañcabhiḥ puruṣarṣabhāiḥ |
paravān abhavad rājā bhāram āveśya bandhuṣu || 22.19 ||
nikṣiptaśastraḥ pṛthivīm nirīkṣya pṛthivīpatiḥ |
prītimān abhavad rājā yayātir aparājitaḥ || 22.20 ||
evaṃ vibhajya pṛthivīm yayātir yadum abravīt |
jarāṃ me pratigrhṇīṣva putra kṛtyāntareṇa vai || 22.21 ||
taruṇas tava rūpeṇa careyaṃ pṛthivīm imām |
jarāṃ tvayi samādhāya taṃ yaduḥ pratyuvāca ha || 22.22 ||
anirdiṣṭā mayā bhikṣā brāhmaṇasya pratiśrutā |
anapākṛtya tāṃ rājan na grahīṣyāmi te jarāṃ || 22.23 ||
jarāyā bahavo doṣāḥ pānabhojanakāritāḥ |
tasmāj jarāṃ na te rājan grahītum aham utsahe || 22.24 ||
santi te bahavaḥ putrā mattaḥ priyatarā nṛpa |
pratigrhītum dharmajña putram anyam vṛṇīṣva vai || 22.25 ||

¹³ But the celestial chariot was then given to Vasu the lord of Cedi, O king, by Śakra, who was pleased [with him];* and Bṛhadratha got it from him. ¹⁴ And then, after he had killed Jarāsaṃdha, Bhīma gave that supreme chariot to [Kṛṣṇa] Vāsudeva out of affection, O joy of the Kauravas.*

¹⁵ After conquering the earth with her seven continents and the ocean, Nahuṣa's son Yayāti divided the realm into five for his descendants. ¹⁶⁻¹⁷ That wise protector of the people, the son of Nahuṣa, appointed Turvasu in the south-eastern quarter, Druhya and Anu in the west and the north, Yadu the eldest in the north-east, and consecrated King Pūru in the centre. ¹⁸ To this day this whole earth, with her seven continents and her cities, is dutifully protected by them in the proper fashion. As we proceed, I will tell of their descendants, O supreme protector of the people.

¹⁹ The king laid down his bow and arrows, settled his burden upon his kin, and became dependent upon those five bulls of men.

²⁰ Having put his weapons aside, King Yayāti the unconquered, the lord of the earth, beheld the earth; and he was satisfied. ²¹ Having divided the earth up in this way, Yayāti said to Yadu, 'Son, take on my old age; and do it out of duty. ²² May I roam this earth as a youth with your beauty, having set old age down upon you.' And Yadu replied to him, ²³ 'Begging is acceptable for a brahmin, but I don't recommend it. I will not pay out on it; I will not take on your old age. ²⁴ The drawbacks of old age are several – needing to be fed and looked after – and so, king, I am unwilling to take on your old age. ²⁵ You have several sons more dear to you than me, protector of the people, so you know what you should do: choose a different son to take it on.'

sa evam ukto yadunā rājā kopasamanvitaḥ |
 uvāca vadatāṃ śreṣṭho yayātir garhayan sutam || 22.26 ||
 ka āśramas tavānyo 'sti ko vā dharmo vidhīyate |
 mām anādṛtya durbuddhe yad ahaṃ tava deśikaḥ || 22.27 ||
 evam uktvā yaduṃ tāta śaśāpainaṃ sa manyumān |
 arājyā te prajā mūḍha bhavitrīti narādhipa || 22.28 ||
 sa turvasuṃ sa druhyuṃ ca anuṃ ca bharatarṣabha |
 evam evābravīd rājā pratyākhyātaś ca tair api || 22.29 ||
 śaśāpa tān api kruddho yayātir aparājitaḥ |
 yathā te kathitaṃ pūrvaṃ mayā rājarṣisattama || 22.30 ||

evam śaptvā sutān sarvāmś caturaḥ pūrupūrvajān |
 tad eva vacanaṃ rājā pūrum apy āha bhārata || 22.31 ||
 taruṇas tava rūpeṇa careyaṃ pṛthivīm imām |
 jarāṃ tvayi samādhāya tvaṃ pūro yadi manyase || 22.32 ||
 sa jarāṃ pratijagrāha pituḥ pūruḥ pratāpavān |
 yayātir api rūpeṇa pūroḥ paryacaran mahīm || 22.33 ||
 sa mārgamāṇaḥ kāmānām antaṃ bharatasattama |
 viśvācyā sahito reme vane caitrarathe prabhuḥ || 22.34 ||
 sa yadā dadṛśo kāmān vardhamānān mahīpatiḥ |
 tataḥ pūroḥ sakāśād vai svāṃ jarāṃ pratyapadyata || 22.35 ||
 tatra gāthā mahārāja śṛṇu gītā yayātinā |
 yābhīḥ pratyāharet kāmān sarvaśo 'ṅgāni kūrmaavat || 22.36 ||

na jātu kāmāḥ kāmānām upabhogena śāmyati |
 haviṣā kṛṣṇavartmeva bhūya evābhivardhate || 22.37 ||
 yat pṛthivyāṃ vrīhiyavaṃ hiranyaṃ paśavaḥ striyaḥ |
 nālam ekasya tat sarvam iti matvā śamaṃ vrajet || 22.38 ||
 yadā bhāvaṃ na kurute sarvabhūteṣu pāpakam |
 karmanā manasā vācā brahma sampadyate tadā || 22.39 ||
 yadānyebhyo na bibheti yadā cāsmān na bibhyati |
 yadā necchati na dveṣṭi brahma sampadyate tadā || 22.40 ||

²⁶ Addressed in this way by Yadu, King Yayāti was filled with fury; and that expert in speech reproached his son. ²⁷ ‘What other career is there for you? What other way of life is appointed for you? You’ve dishonoured me, you malignance – I who am your guide!’ ²⁸ And having said this to Yadu, my boy, he cursed him passionately, O ruler of the people: ‘Imbecile! Your descendants will have no realm.’ ²⁹ And bull of Bharata, the king made the same request of Turvasu, Druhyu, and Anu, and was rejected by them too. ³⁰ Enraged, the unconquered Yayāti cursed them too, in the manner I have already narrated to you, O supreme royal seer.

³¹ Having thus cursed all four of the sons who were born before Pūru, the king made the very same speech to Pūru, O Bhārata: ³² ‘If you deem it fitting, Pūru, may I roam this earth as a youth with your beauty, having set old age down upon you?’ ³³ Majestic Pūru took on his father’s old age, and sure enough Yayāti roamed the world with Pūru’s beauty. ³⁴ Hunting for the furthest limit of pleasures, O best of the Bharatas, that lord frolicked with Viśvācī in Citraratha’s park.* ³⁵ And when the lord of the earth saw his pleasures simply growing – well, he took back his own old age from the person of Pūru. ³⁶ In this connection, great king, listen to the piece sung by Yayāti, by means of which one may retract one’s desires altogether, like a tortoise its limbs:*

³⁷ ‘The desire for pleasures is never satisfied by consumption, just as a blackening fire is not satisfied by oblations: having once come into existence, it grows. ³⁸ Whatever rice and barley, gold, cattle, and women there are on earth, one may attain peace by deeming the whole lot to be a single straw.* ³⁹ When one has no bad impulse towards any creature in deed, thought, or speech, then one unites with *brahman*. ⁴⁰ When one fears no one and is feared by no one, and when one neither desires nor hates, then one unites with *brahman*.’

evam uktvā sa rājarṣiḥ sadāraḥ prāviśad vanam |
kālena mahatā cāpi cacāra vipulaṃ tapaḥ || 22.41 ||
bhrgutuṅge tapasā cīrtvā tapaso 'nte mahāyaśāḥ |
anaśnan deham utsṛjya sadāraḥ svargam āptavān || 22.42 ||
tasya vaṃśe mahārāja pañca rājarṣisattamāḥ |
yair vyāptā pṛthivī sarvā sūryasyeva gabhastibhiḥ || 22.43 ||
yados tu śṛṇu rājarṣe vaṃśaṃ rājarṣisatkṛtam |
yatra nārāyaṇo jajñe harir vṛṣṇikulodvahaḥ || 22.44 ||

svasthaḥ prajāvān āyuṣmān kīrtimāṃś ca bhaven naraḥ |
yayāteś caritaṃ nityam idaṃ śṛṇvan narādhipa || 22.45 ||

⁴¹ Having pronounced in this manner, the royal seer, accompanied by his wife,* devoted himself to the forest. And he performed great austerities for a very long time. ⁴² Having performed austerities on Mount Bhṛgutuṅga, at the furthest limit of austerity that man of great renown cast off his body while fasting, and attained heaven, accompanied by his wife. ⁴³ In his line, O great king, were five supreme royal seers by whom the whole earth was overspread as if by the rays of the sun. ⁴⁴ So listen to the line of Yadu as approved by the royal seers, O royal seer. Hari Nārāyaṇa was born in it, as a son in the Vṛṣṇi family.

⁴⁵ A person who regularly listens to this – the story of Yayāti – becomes self-reliant and long-lived, O ruler of the people, and acquires descendants and a good reputation.

janamejaya uvāca |
pūror vaṃśam ahaṃ brahmañ śrotum icchāmi tattvataḥ |
druhyoścānor yadoś caiva turvasoś ca dvijottama |
vistareṇānupūrvyā ca tad bhavān vaktum arhati || 23.1 ||

vaiśampāyana uvāca |
vṛṣṇivamśaprasaṅgena svaṃ vaṃśaṃ pūrvam eva hi |
śṛṇu pūror mahārāja vaṃśam agre mahātmanaḥ |
vistareṇānupūrvyā ca yatra jāto 'si pārthiva || 23.2 ||
hanta te vartayiṣyāmi pūror vaṃśam anuttamam |
druhyoścānor yadoś caiva turvasoś ca paraṃtapa || 23.3 ||

pūroḥ pravīraḥ putro 'bhūn manasyus tasya cātmajaḥ |
rājā cābhayado nāma manasyor abhavat sutaḥ || 23.4 ||
tathaivābhayadasyāsīt sudhanvā ca mahīpatiḥ |
sudhanvanaḥ subāhus tu raudrāśvas tasya cātmajaḥ || 23.5 ||
raudrāśvasya daśārṇeyuḥ kṛkaṇeyus tathaiva ca |
kakṣeyuḥ sthaṇḍileyuś ca saṃnateyus tathaiva ca || 23.6 ||
ṛceyuś ca jaleyuś ca sthaleyuś ca mahābalaḥ |
vananityo vaneyuś ca putrikāś ca daśa striyaḥ || 23.7 ||
bhadrā śūdrā ca madrā ca maladā malahā tathā |
khalā balā ca rājendra taladā surathāpi ca |
tathā gopabalā ca strī ratnakūṭā ca tā daśa || 23.8 ||

ṛṣir jāto 'trivamśe ca tāsāṃ bhartā prabhākaraḥ |
rudrāyāṃ janayām āsa somaṃ putraṃ yaśasvinam || 23.9 ||
svarbhānūnā hate sūrye patamāne divo mahīm |
tamobhibhūte loke ca prabhā yena pravartitā || 23.10 ||
svasti te 'stv iti cokto vai patamāno divākaraḥ |
vacanāt tasya viprarṣer na papāta divo mahīm || 23.11 ||

23. The Quintuple Emission

¹ Janamejaya said:
Brahmin, I want to hear the line of Pūru, and of Druhyu, Anu, Yadu, and Turvasu, in truth, in full, and in sequence.* That's what you should narrate, best of the twiceborn.

² Vaiśampāyana said:
Well then, the very first line is your own, by dint of its connection to the line of the Vṛṣṇis. To begin, great king, listen, in full and in sequence, to the line of the illustrious Pūru, in which you were born, O lord of the earth. ³ Hark! For your sake, scorcher of rivals, I will set forth the unsurpassed line of Pūru, and of Druhyu, Anu, Yadu, and Turvasu.

⁴ Pravīra was the son of Pūru, and Manasyu was the son of Pravīra, and King Abhayada ('provider of safety') was the son of Manasyu. ⁵ Likewise Abhayada had Sudhanvan, the lord of the earth. Sudhanvan's son was Subāhu, and his son was Raudrāśva. ⁶ Raudrāśva had ten: Arṇeyu, and Kṛkaṇeyu, and Kakṣeyu, Sthaṇḍileyu, and Saṃnateyu; ⁷ Ṛceyu, Jaleyu, and the hugely powerful Sthaleyu, and Vaneyu who was always in the forest,* and ten female sons – ⁸ Bhadrā, Śūdrā, Madrā, Maladā, and Malahā, and Khalā and Balā, O supreme king, and Taladā and Surathā, and then the lady Gopabalā. And those ten were crest-jewels.

⁹ A maker of light, a seer born in Atri's line, was their husband. In the roaring woman ('Rudrā') he [i.e. Atri] set a glorious son.* Soma, ¹⁰ who, when the sun, struck by Svarbhānu, was falling out of the sky towards the earth, and the world was overcome by darkness, gave out light. ¹¹ Indeed, the day-maker, while falling, was told, 'May it go well for you'; and because of the message from that inspired seer, he didn't fall out of the sky onto the earth.

atrisreṣṭhāni gotrāṇi yaś cakāra mahātapāḥ |
 yajñeṣv atridhanaṃ caiva surair yasya pravartitam || 23.12 ||
 sa tāsu janayām āsa putrikāsu sanāmakān |
 daśa putrān mahātmānas tapasy ugre ratān sadā || 23.13 ||
 te tu gotrakarā rājann ṛṣayo vedapāragāḥ |
 svastyātreyā iti khyātāḥ kiṃ tv atridhanavarjitāḥ || 23.14 ||

kakṣeyutanayās tv āsaṃs traya eva mahārathāḥ |
 sabhānaraś cākṣuśaś ca paramekṣus tathaiva ca || 23.15 ||
 sabhānarasya putras tu vidvān kālānalo nṛpaḥ |
 kālānalasya dharmajñāḥ sṛñjayo nāma vai sutaḥ || 23.16 ||
 sṛñjayasyābhavat putro vīro rājā puraṃjayaḥ |
 janamejayo mahārāja puraṃjayasuto 'bhavat || 23.17 ||
 janamejayasya rājarṣer mahāsālo 'bhavat sutaḥ |
 deveṣu sa pariññātaḥ pratiṣṭhitayaśās tathā || 23.18 ||
 mahāmanā nāma suto mahāsālasya dhārmikaḥ |
 jajñe vīraḥ suragaṇaiḥ pūjitaḥ sa mahāmanāḥ || 23.19 ||
 mahāmanās tu putrau dvau janayām āsa bhārata |
 uśīnaraṃ ca dharmajñāṃ titikṣuṃ ca mahābalaṃ || 23.20 ||

uśīnarasya patnyas tu pañca rājarṣivaṃśajāḥ |
 nṛgā kṛmī navā darvā pañcamī ca dṛṣadvatī || 23.21 ||
 uśīnarasya putrās tu pañca tāsu kulodvahāḥ |
 tapasā caiva mahatā jātā vṛddhasya cātmajāḥ || 23.22 ||
 nṛgāyās tu nṛgaḥ putraḥ kṛmyāḥ kṛmir ajāyata |
 navāyās tu navaḥ putro darvāyāḥ suvrato 'bhavat || 23.23 ||
 dṛṣadvatyās tu saṃjajñe śibir auśīnaro nṛpa |
 śibes tu śibayas tāta yaudheyās tu nṛgasya ha || 23.24 ||
 navasya navarāṣṭraṃ tu kṛmes tu kṛmilā purī |
 suvratasya tathāmbaṣṭhā

¹² The greatly austere one – who made the *gotras*, of which Atri's is the best, and at whose rites Atri's wealth was ratified by the gods –
¹³ produced, in those [i.e. Raudrāśva's] daughters, ten illustrious sons with that same name,* sons who were forever intent upon harsh penance. ¹⁴ These *gotra* makers,* seers who went to the far bank of the Veda, are called the Svastyātreyas, your majesty; but nevertheless, they are deprived of Atri's wealth.

¹⁵ And Kakṣeyu had sons: Sabhānara, Cākṣuśa, and Paramekṣu, three great chariot warriors. ¹⁶ Kālānala, a wise king, was the son of Sabhānara; and Kālānala had a son called Sṛñjaya, who knew his job well. ¹⁷ A son was born to Sṛñjaya – the virile king Puraṃjaya ('conquerer of cities'); and Janamejaya was the son of Puraṃjaya, O great king. ¹⁸ The son of the royal seer Janamejaya was Mahāsāla: his reputation is secure, for he was recognised among the gods. ¹⁹ A righteous son of Mahāsāla was born, called Mahāmanas; and the heroic Mahāmanas was honoured by hosts of gods. ²⁰ Mahāmanas had two sons, Bhārata: Uśīnara who knew his job well, and the massively strong Titikṣu.

²¹ Uśīnara had five wives, who were born in the lines of royal seers: Nṛgā, Kṛmī, Navā, Darvā, and the fifth, Dṛṣadvatī. ²² And from them Uśīnara had five sons to further his dynasty; moreover, these sons were born to him in his dotage, on account of his great austerity. ²³ Nṛga was the son of Nṛgā, Kṛmi was born from Kṛmī, Nava was Navā's son, and Darvā's was Suvrata; ²⁴ and Śibi Auśīnara, the leader of the people, was born from Dṛṣadvatī. Well, the Śibi is from Śibi, the Yaudheyas from Nṛga, ²⁵ and the 'new people' (Navarāṣṭra) from Nava; and the city of Kṛmilā is Kṛmi's, and the Ambaṣṭhas are from Suvrata.

titikṣos tu prajāḥ śṛṇu || 23.25 ||
titikṣur abhavad rājā pūrvasyāṃ diśi bhārata |
uṣadratho mahābāhus tasya phenāḥ suto 'bhavat || 23.26 ||
phenāt tu sutapā jajñe jajñe sutapasāḥ sutaḥ |
balir mānuṣayonau tu sa rājā kāñcaneśudhiḥ || 23.27 ||
mahāyogī sa tu balir babhūva nṛpatiḥ purā |
putrān utpādayām āsa pañca vaṃśakarān bhuvi || 23.28 ||
aṅgaḥ prathamato jajñe vaṅgaḥ suhmas tathaiva ca |
puṅdraḥ kaliṅgaś ca tathā bāleyaṃ kṣatram ucyate |
bāleyā brāhmaṇāś caiva tasya vaṃśakarā bhuvi || 23.29 ||

bales tu brahmaṇā datto varaḥ prītena bhārata |
mahāyogitvam āyus ca kalpasya parimāṇataḥ |
caturō niyatān varṇāṃs tvam ca sthāpayiteti ha || 23.30 ||
ity ukto vibhunā rājā baliḥ śāntiṃ parāṃ yayau |
kālena mahatā rājan svaṃ ca sthānam upāgamat || 23.31 ||

teṣāṃ janapadāḥ pañca vaṅgāṅgaḥ suhmakās tathā |
kaliṅgāḥ puṅdrakāś caiva prajāś tv aṅgasya me śṛṇu || 23.32 ||
aṅgaputro mahān āsīd rājendro dadhivāhanaḥ |
dadhivāhanaputras tu rājā divirathas tathā || 23.33 ||
putro divirathasyāśic chakratulyaparākramaḥ |
vidvān dharmaratho nāma tasya citrarathaḥ sutaḥ || 23.34 ||
tena dharmarathenātha tadā viṣṇupade girau |
yajatā saha śakreṇa somaḥ pīto mahātmanā || 23.35 ||

atha citrarathasyāpi putro daśaratho 'bhavat |
lomapāda iti khyāto yasya śāntā sutābhavat || 23.36 ||
tasya dāśarathir vīraś caturaṅgo mahāyaśāḥ |
ṛśyaśṛṅgaprabhāvena jajñe kulavivardhanaḥ || 23.37 ||

Now hear about the descendants of Titikṣu²⁶ (Titikṣu became king in the region to the east, Bhārata). Strong-armed Uṣadratha; and his son was Phena.²⁷⁻⁸ Sutapas was begotten by Phena, and a son was begotten by Sutapas – Bali, born from a human womb.* He, King Bali, had a quiver made of gold, and he was a great yogi. He had been a king before; and he had five sons who headed terrestrial dynasties.²⁹ Aṅga was born first, then Vaṅga, Suhma, Puṅdra, and Kaliṅga; and they are called the Bāleya kṣatriyas. Bāleyas and brahmins further his line on earth.

³⁰ Brahmā, delighted with Bali, granted him a boon, Bhārata: the status of being a great yogi, and a lifespan as long as the world. ‘You are the founder of the four fixed social classes’ –³¹ that’s what King Bali was told by the Lord [Brahmā]. He attained the highest peace, your majesty; and after much time had passed, he went off to a [transcendental] domain of his own.

³² The five peoples of those [sons of Bali] were the Vaṅgas, the Aṅgas, the Suhmakas, the Kaliṅgas, and the Puṅdrakas. So hear from me now about the descendants of Aṅga.³³ Dadhivāhana the great, an Indra among kings, was Aṅga’s son; and King Diviratha was Dadhivāhana’s son.³⁴ Diviratha’s canny son had boldness to match Śakra’s: he was named Dharmaratha, and his son was Citraratha.³⁵ In those days, while he was performing a rite on Mount Viṣṇupada, the illustrious Dharmaratha drank *soma* with Śakra.

³⁶ The son of Citraratha was Daśaratha, who was known as Lomapāda. Śāntā was his daughter;³⁷ and the celebrated hero Caturaṅga Dāśarathi, who furthered the family, was begotten by Ṛśyaśṛṅga on his behalf.*

caturaṅgasya putras tu pṛthulākṣa iti smṛtaḥ |
 pṛthulākṣasuto rājā campo nāma mahāyaśāḥ |
 campasya tu purī campā yā pūrvaṃ mālinī babhau || 23.38 ||
 pūrṇabhadraprasādena haryaṅgo 'sya suto 'bhavat |
 tato vibhāṇḍakas tasya vāraṇaṃ śatruvāraṇam |
 avatārayām āsa mahīm mantrair vāhanam uttamam || 23.39 ||

haryaṅgasya sutaḥ karṇo vikarṇas tasya cātmajaḥ |
 tasya putraśataṃ tv āsīd aṅgānām kulavardhanam || 23.40 ||
 ete 'ṅgavaṃśajāḥ sarve rājānaḥ kīrtitā mayā |
 satyavratā mahātmānaḥ prajāvanto mahārathāḥ || 23.41 ||

ṛceyos tu mahārāja raudrāśvatanayasya vai |
 śṛṇu vaṃśam anuproktaṃ yatra jāto 'si pāṛthiva || 23.42 ||

ṛceyutanayo rājan matināro mahīpatih |
 matinārasutāś cāsaṃs trayāḥ paramadhārmikāḥ || 23.43 ||
 taṃsurogho 'pratirathaḥ subāhuś caiva dhārmikaḥ |
 sarve vedavratasnātā brahmaṇyāḥ satyavādīnaḥ || 23.44 ||

ilā nāma tu yasyāsīt kanyā vai janamejaya |
 brahmavādīny adhistrī ca taṃsus tām adhyagacchata || 23.45 || *
 taṃsoḥ suraugho rājarṣir dharmanetro mahāyaśāḥ |
 brahmavādī parākṛantas tasya bhāryopadānavī || 23.46 ||
 upadānavī sutāṃl lebhe caturas tān suraughataḥ |
 duḥśantaṃ atha suḥśantaṃ pravīram anaghaṃ tathā || 23.47 ||
 duḥśantasya tu dāyādo bharato nāma vīryavān |
 sa sarvadamano nāma nāgāyutabalo mahān || 23.48 ||
 cakravartī suto jajñe duḥśantasya mahāyaśāḥ |
 śakuntalāyāṃ bharato yasya nāmnā stha bhāratāḥ || 23.49 ||

³⁸ The son of Caturaṅga was known as Pṛthulākṣa, and Pṛthulākṣa's son was the famous king called Campa. Campā, which had formerly been Mālinī, was Campa's capital. ³⁹ Haryaṅga was his [Campa's] son through Pūrṇabhadra's grace; and by means of mantras Vibhāṇḍaka brought the elephant, the supreme enemy-resisting vehicle, down to the earth for him.

⁴⁰ The son of Haryaṅga was Karṇa, and his son was Vikarṇa.* Vikarṇa had a hundred sons to prosper the line of the Aṅgas. ⁴¹ All these kings I have mentioned, who were born in Aṅga's line, were avowed to the truth, illustrious, great chariot warriors, and blessed with descendants.

⁴² Now, great king, listen as I narrate the line of Raudrāśva's son Ṛceyu – the line in which you were born, lord of earth.

⁴³ Matināra, the husband of the earth, was Ṛceyu's son, your majesty; and Matināra had three supremely virtuous sons: ⁴⁴ Taṃsu and Rogha, both of whom were unrivalled, and the virtuous Subāhu. All of them were cleansed by the Vedas and by disciplinary regimes; they were religious, and spoke the truth.

⁴⁵ Well, Janamejaya, there was a desirable young lady called Ilā, who was a speaker of the *brahman* and a supreme woman; and Taṃsu obtained her. ⁴⁶ The royal seer Suraugha was Taṃsu's son. He had an eye for propriety, and was a bold and very famous speaker of the *brahman*; and his wife was Upadānavī. ⁴⁷ Upadānavī bore four sons by Suraugha: Duḥśanta, Suḥśanta, Pravīra, and Anagha. ⁴⁸ Duḥśanta's heir was the hero named Bharata. Huge, with the strength of a myriad elephants, he was [also] called Sarvadamana. ⁴⁹ Duḥśanta's son, the renowned *cakravartin* Bharata, was born from Śakuntalā; and the Bhāratas are still named after him.*

bharatasya vinaṣṭeṣu tanayeṣu mahīpateḥ |
 mātrñāṃ tāta kopeṇa yathā te kathitaṃ tadā || 23.50 ||
 bṛhaspater āṅgirasah putro rājan mahāmuniḥ |
 ayājayad bharadvājo mahadbhiḥ kratubhir vibhuḥ || 23.51 ||
 pūrvaṃ tu vitathe tasya kṛte vai putrajanmani |
 tato 'tha vitatho nāma bharadvājāt suto 'bhavat || 23.52 ||
 sa cāpi vitathaḥ putrāñ janayām āsa pañca vai |
 suhotraṃ sutahotāraṃ gayaṃ gargaṃ tathaiva ca || 23.53 ||
 kapilaṃ ca mahātmānaṃ sutahotuḥ sutadvayam |
 kāśikaś ca mahāsattvas tathā gṛtsamatiḥ prabhuḥ || 23.54 ||
 tathā gṛtsamateḥ putrā brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā viśaḥ |

kāśyasya kāśayo rājan putro dīrghatapās tathā || 23.55 ||
 babhūva dīrghatapaso vidvān dhanvaṃtariḥ sutaḥ |
 dhanvaṃtares tu tanayaḥ ketumān iti viśrutaḥ || 23.56 ||
 atha ketumataḥ putro vīro bhīmarathaḥ smṛtaḥ |
 divodāsa iti khyātaḥ sarvarakṣaḥprañāśanaḥ || 23.57 ||

etasminn eva kāle tu puriṃ vārāṇasīṃ nṛpaḥ |
 śūnyāṃ niveśayām āsa kṣemako nāma rākṣasaḥ || 23.58 ||
 śaptā hi sā matimatā nikumbhena mahātmanā |
 śūnyā varṣasahasraṃ vai bhavitrīti nararṣabha || 23.59 ||
 tasyāṃ tu śaptamātrāyāṃ divodāsaḥ prajeśvaraḥ |
 viśayānte puriṃ ramyāṃ gomatyāṃ samnyaveśayat || 23.60 ||
 bhadrāśreṇyasya putrāṇāṃ śatam uttamadhanvinām |
 hatvā niveśayām āsa divodāsaḥ prajeśvaraḥ || 23.61 ||

divodāsasya putras tu vīro rājā pratardanaḥ |
 pratardanasya putrau dvau vatso bhārgava eva ca || 23.62 ||
 alarko rājaputraś ca

⁵⁰ When those who would have carried King Bharata's line were corrupted by the passion of their mothers – as has already been narrated to you,* my boy – ⁵¹ the great sage Lord Bharadvāja, the Āṅgirasa son of Bṛhaspati, performed great rites, your majesty. ⁵² A son was produced, originating from Bharadvāja; and since Bharata's earlier efforts at producing a son had been in vain, the son was named Vitatha ('in vain'). ⁵³ That Vitatha went on to have five sons: Suhotra, Sutahotṛ, Gaya, Garga, ⁵⁴ and the illustrious Kapila. And Sutahotṛ had two sons:* the noble one associated with Kāśi, and the mighty Gṛtsamati. ⁵⁵ And the sons of Gṛtsamati were brahmins, *kṣatriyas*, and commoners.

Dīrghatapās Kāśaya was the son of the one associated with Kāśi, your majesty. ⁵⁶ Wise Dhanvaṃtari was the son of Dīrghatapās, and the son of Dhanvaṃtari was called Ketumat. ⁵⁷ Well, Ketumat's son was the hero known as Bhīmaratha ('the one with the tremendous chariots'), whose name was Divodāsa and who made all dangers disappear.

⁵⁸ During this period a monster chief, Kṣemaka by name, depopulated the city of Vārāṇasī, ⁵⁹ for the city had been cursed by the illustrious and wise Nikumbha, O bull among men: 'You will stand empty for a thousand years.' ⁶⁰ When she was affected by the curse, Divodāsa, the master of his subjects, founded a delightful city on the Gomatī at the edge of the kingdom. ⁶¹ Divodāsa, the master of his subjects, killed a hundred of Bhadrāśreṇya's sons expert in archery, and settled down [there].

⁶² The son of Divodāsa was heroic King Pratardana. The two sons of Pratardana were Vatsa, who was a Bhārgava, ⁶³ and Alarka, who was the crown prince.*

rājā samnatimān bhuvī |
 hehayasya tu dāyādyam hr̥tavān vai mahīpatiḥ || 23.63 ||
 ājahre pitṛdāyādyam divodāsaḥṛtaṃ balāt |
 bhadrāśreṇyasya putreṇa durdamena mahātmanā |
 divodāsenā bālo hi ghr̥ṇayā sa visarjitaḥ || 23.64 ||
 aṣṭāratho nāma nṛpaḥ suto bhīmarathasya vai |
 tena putreṣu bāleṣu prahr̥taṃ tasya bhārata |
 vairasyāntaṃ mahārāja kṣatriyeṇa vidhitsatā || 23.65 ||

alarkaḥ kāśīrājas tu brahmaṇyaḥ satyasamgarah |
 ṣaṣṭiṃ varṣasahasrāṇi ṣaṣṭiṃ varṣasatāni ca || 23.66 ||
 yuvā rūpeṇa sampanna āsīt kāśikulodvahaḥ |
 lopāmudrāprasādena paramāyur avāpa saḥ || 23.67 ||
 vayaso 'nte mahābhūrah hatvā kṣemakarākṣasam |
 ramyaṃ niveśayām āsa puriṃ vārāṇasīṃ nṛpaḥ || 23.68 ||

alarkasya tu dāyādaḥ kṣemo nāma mahāyaśāḥ |
 kṣemasya ketumān putro varṣaketus tato 'bhavat || 23.69 ||
 varṣaketos tu dāyādo vibhur nāma prajeśvaraḥ |
 ānartas tu vibhoḥ putraḥ sukumāras tato 'bhavat || 23.70 ||
 sukumārasya putras tu satyaketur mahārathaḥ |
 suto 'bhavan mahātejā rājā paramadhārmikaḥ |

vatsasya vatsabhūmis tu bhārgabhūmis tu bhārgavāt || 23.71 ||
 ete tv aṅgirasah putrā jātā vaṃśe 'tha bhārgave |
 brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāś ca bhāratarṣabha || 23.72 ||

suhotrasya bṛhat putro bṛhataḥ tanayās trayah |
 ajamīḍho dvimīḍhaś ca purumīḍhaś ca vīryavān || 23.73 ||

The king [Pratardana] was humbled in the matter of land. Indeed, the lord of his realm suffered losses in connection with Hehaya's inheritance. ⁶⁴ The ancestral inheritance that Divodāsa had appropriated was forcefully claimed by the illustrious Durdama, son of Bhadrāśreṇya, who as a boy had been spared by Divodāsa out of compassion. ⁶⁵ The king [Pratardana] was called Aṣṭāratha ('the one with eight chariots'), because he was the son of Bhīmaratha. O great Bhārata king! That *kṣatriya*, at a time when his sons were yet young, fought with him [i.e. Durdama], intending to lay the feud to rest.*

⁶⁶ Well, Alarka, a religious man true to his agreements, was king of the Kāśis for sixty-six thousand years. ⁶⁷ That upholder of the Kāśi family was graced with beauty as a young man, and because of the favour of Lopāmudrā he lived for a long long time.* ⁶⁸ A strong-armed protector of the people, he killed the monster Kṣemaka, whose health was waning, and then he settled in the delightful city of Vārāṇasī.

⁶⁹ And Alarka's glorious heir was called Kṣema. Kṣema's son was Ketumat, and his was Varṣaketu. ⁷⁰ Varṣaketu's heir as lord of the people was named Vibhu; Vibhu's son was Ānarta; and his was Sukumāra. ⁷¹ And Sukumāra's son, the great chariot warrior Satyaketu, turned out to be a brilliant and extremely proper king.

The Vatsa land is Vatsa's, and it is the Bhārga land because [he, i.e. Vatsa, was] a Bhārgava. ⁷² These – brahmins, *kṣatriyas*, *vaiśyas*, and *śūdras* – are Aṅgirasa sons; they're now born in the Bhārgava line, O bull of Bharata.

⁷³ The son of Suhotra was Bṛhat. Bṛhat had three sons: Ajamīḍha, Dvimīḍha, and the valiant Purumīḍha.

ajamīḍhasya patnyas tu tisro vai yaśasānvitāḥ |
nīlī ca keśinī caiva dhūminī ca varāṅganā || 23.74 ||

ajamīḍhasya keśinyāṃ jajñe jahnuḥ pratāpavān |
ya ājahre mahāsattram sarvamedham mahāmakham || 23.75 ||
patilobhena yaṃ gaṅgā vitate 'bhisasāra ha |
necchataḥ plāvayām āsa tasya gaṅgā ca tat sadaḥ || 23.76 ||
tayā ca plāvitaṃ dṛṣṭvā yajñavāṭam samantataḥ |
sauhotrir abravīd gaṅgāṃ kruddho bharatasattama || 23.77 ||
eṣa te triṣu lokeṣu saṃkṣipyāpaḥ pibāmy aham |
asya gaṅge 'valepasya sadyaḥ phalam avāpnuhi || 23.78 ||
tataḥ pītāṃ mahātmāno gaṅgāṃ dṛṣṭvā maharṣayaḥ |
upaninyur mahābhāgāṃ duhitṛtvāya jāhnavīm || 23.79 ||

yuvanāśvasya putrīm tu kāverīm jahnur āvahat |
gaṅgāśāpena dehārdham yasyāḥ paścān nadīkṛtam || 23.80 ||
jahnos tu dayitaḥ putro ajako nāma vīryavān |
ajakasya tu dāyādo balākāśvo mahīpatiḥ || 23.81 ||
babhūva mṛgayāśīlaḥ kuśikas tasya cātmajaḥ |
pahlavaiḥ saha saṃvṛddho rājā vanacaraiḥ sa ha || 23.82 ||

kuśikas tu tapas tepe putram indrasamaṃ prabhuḥ |
labheyam iti taṃ śakras trāsād abhyetya jajñivān || 23.83 ||
sa gādhir abhavad rājā maghavān kauśikaḥ svayam |
viśvāmitras tu gādheyo rājā viśvarathaś ca ha || 23.84 ||
viśvajid viśvakṛc caiva tathā satyavatī nṛpa |
ṛcīkāj jamadagnis tu satyavatyām ajāyata || 23.85 ||

⁷⁴ Well now. Ajamīḍha had three reputable wives: Nīlī, Keśinī, and the lovely Dhūminī.

⁷⁵ From Ajamīḍha's Keśinī was born the brilliant Jahnur, who offered with a great session – a universal rite, a massive festival.
⁷⁶ Out of infatuation, the Gaṅgā spread out and flowed towards him;* and when he didn't want her, she flooded his assembly.
⁷⁷ Seeing the ritual enclosure completely flooded by her, O best of the Bharatas, the descendant of Suhotra was enraged and said to Gaṅgā: ⁷⁸ 'In the three worlds! This is your doing. But when I drink water, it shrinks. Gaṅgā, you'll pay for this irregularity every day!'
⁷⁹ Then the great and illustrious seers saw that the Gaṅgā was being drunk away, and they made her be Jāhnavī, the momentous daughter of Jahnur.*

⁸⁰ As his bride, Jahnur obtained Yuvanāśva's daughter Kāverī,* half of whose body became a river in the west, on account of Gaṅgā's curse. ⁸¹ And Jahnur's beloved son was a hero, Ajaka by name; and Ajaka's heir was Balākāśva, a lord of the realm. ⁸² His son, King Kuśika, was in the habit of hunting, his party augmented by Pahlavas and forest-dwellers.

⁸³ The mighty Kuśika performed penance, thinking 'May I obtain a son to match Indra'; and out of anxiety, Śakra came to him and was born. ⁸⁴ So there was King Gādhi, Maghavat himself as Kuśika's son. Gādhi's children were Viśvāmitra, King Viśvaratha, ⁸⁵ Viśvajit, Viśvakṛt, and also Satyavatī, your majesty; and Jamadagni was born to Ṛcīka from Satyavatī.

viśvāmitrasya tu sutā devarātādayaḥ smṛtāḥ |
 prakhyātās triṣu lokeṣu teṣāṃ nāmāni me śṛṇu || 23.86 ||
 devaśravāḥ katiś caiva yasmāt kātyāyanāḥ smṛtāḥ |
 śālāpatir hiraṇyākṣo reṇur yasyātha reṇukā || 23.87 ||
 sāmkrtyo gālavo rājan maudgalyāś ceti viśrutāḥ |
 teṣāṃ khyātāni gotrāṇi kauśikānāṃ mahātmanām || 23.88 ||
 pāṇino babhravaś caiva dhānaṃjyāyās tathaiva ca |
 pārthivā devarātāś ca sālaṅkāyanasauśravāḥ || 23.89 ||
 lohityā yamadūtāś ca tathā kārīṣayaḥ smṛtāḥ |
 viśrutāḥ kauśikā rājāṃs tathānye saindhavāyanāḥ |
 ṛṣyantaravivāhyāś ca kauśikā bahavaḥ smṛtāḥ || 23.90 ||

pauravasya mahārāja brahmaṛṣeḥ kauśikasya ca |
 saṃbandho hy asya vaṃśe 'smin brahmakṣatrasya viśrutaḥ || 23.91 ||
 viśvāmitrātmajānāṃ tu śunaḥśepo 'grajaḥ smṛtaḥ |
 bhārgavaḥ kauśikatvaṃ hi prāptaḥ sa munisattamaḥ || 23.92 ||
 śabarādayaś ca saptānye viśvāmitrasya vai sutāḥ |
 dṛṣadvatīś ca cāpi viśvāmitrād athāṣṭakaḥ || 23.93 ||
 aṣṭakasya suto lauhiḥ prokto jahnugaṇo mayā |
 ājamīḍho 'paro vaṃśaḥ śrūyatāṃ bhatararṣabha || 23.94 ||

ajamīḍhāt tu nīlyāṃ vai suśāntir udapadyata |
 purujātiḥ suśāntes tu bāhyāśvaḥ purujātitaḥ || 23.95 ||
 bāhyāśvatanayāḥ pañca babhūvur amaropamāḥ |
 mudgalaḥ sṛṅjayaś caiva rājā bṛhadīṣus tathā || 23.96 ||
 yavīnaraś ca vikrāntaḥ kṛmilāśvaś ca pañcamaḥ |
 pañceme rakṣaṇāyālaṃ deśānām iti viśrutāḥ || 23.97 ||
 pañcānāṃ viddhi pāñcālān sphītān puṇyajanāvṛtān |
 alaṃ saṃrakṣaṇe teṣāṃ pāñcālā iti viśrutāḥ || 23.98 ||
 mudgalasya tu dāyādo maudgalyaḥ sumahāyāśāḥ |
 indrasenā yato garbhaṃ vadhryāśvaṃ pratyapadyata || 23.99 ||

⁸⁶ The sons of Viśvāmitra are remembered, beginning with Devarāta; they're celebrated across the three worlds. Listen as I recite their names: ⁸⁷ Devaśravas, Kati the source of the well-known Kātyāyanas, Śālāpati, Hiraṇyākṣa, Reṇu whose daughter was Reṇukā, ⁸⁸ Sāmkrtya, Gālava,* and Maudgalya. They're famous, your majesty! And well-known lineages proceed from those illustrious descendants of Kuśika: ⁸⁹ the Pāṇins and Babhrus, and also the Dhānaṃjyayas, the royal Devarātas, the Sālaṅkāyanas, Sauśravas, ⁹⁰ Lohityas, and Yamadūtas, and the noted Kārīṣis. Kuśika's descendants are famous, your majesty; and there are others besides – the Saindhavāyanas and related son-in-law seers. Kuśika's descendants are known to be plentiful!

⁹¹ In this line, O great king – the line of that seer of the *brahman* who was a descendant of Pūru and a descendant of Kuśika – there is the famous combination of brahmin and *kṣatriya*. ⁹² And of the sons of Viśvāmitra, Śunaḥśepa is remembered as the firstborn. That best of sages, though a descendant of Bhṛgu, attained the status of being a descendant of Kuśika.* ⁹³ And of course there were seven other sons of Viśvāmitra – the wild Śabara, for a start – and then the eighth: Dṛṣadvatī's son by Viśvāmitra. ⁹⁴ And Lauhi was the son of the eighth; I declare him to be in Jahnu's gang. Ajamīḍha's unrivalled line shall be heard, bull of Bharata!

⁹⁵ Now then. Suśānti was born to Ajamīḍha from Nīli. Purujāti was Suśānti's son, and after Purujāti came Bāhyāśva. ⁹⁶ Bāhyāśva had five sons who seemed like immortals: Mudgala and Sṛṅjaya, and King Bṛhadīṣu, ⁹⁷ and bold Yavīnara, and Kṛmilāśva the fifth. These five are famous for having been the sting in the tail for the protection of the territories. ⁹⁸ Know that from these five come the numerous Pāñcālas, who are surrounded by honest folk and are famous for being the sting in the tail when it comes to watching over them. ⁹⁹ Mudgala's heir was the highly celebrated Maudgalya; and Indrasenā had his child, Vadhryāśva.

āsīt pañcavanaḥ putraḥ sṛñjayasya mahātmanaḥ |
 sutaḥ pañcavanasyāpi somadatto mahīpatiḥ || 23.100 ||
 somadattasya dāyādaḥ sahadevo mahāyaśāḥ |
 sahadevasutaś cāpi somako nāma pārthivaḥ || 23.101 ||
 somakasya suto jantur yasya putraśataṃ babhau |
 teṣāṃ yavīyān pṛṣato drupadasya pitā prabhuḥ || 23.102 ||

mahiṣī tv ajamīḍhasya dhūminī putragṛddhinī |
 tṛtīyā tava pūrveṣāṃ janani pṛthivīpate || 23.103 ||
 sā tu putrārthinī devī vratacaryāsamāhitā |
 tapo varṣāśataṃ tepe strībhiḥ paramaduścaram || 23.104 ||
 hutvāgniṃ vidhivat sā tu pavitramitabhojanā |
 agnihotrakuśeṣv eva suṣvāpa janamejaya || 23.105 ||
 dhūminyā sa tayā devyā ajamīḍhaḥ sameyivān |
 ṛkṣaṃ sā janayām āsa dhūmavarṇaṃ sudarśanam || 23.106 ||
 ṛkṣāt saṃvaraṇo jajñe kuruḥ saṃvaraṇāt tathā |
 yaḥ prayāgād apakramya kurukṣetraṃ cakāra ha || 23.107 ||
 puṇyaṃ ca ramaṇīyaṃ ca puṇyakṛdbhir niṣevitam |
 tasyānvavāyaḥ sumahān yasya nāmnā stha kauravāḥ || 23.108 ||

kuroś ca putrāś catvāraḥ sudhanvā sudhanus tathā |
 parīkṣic ca mahābāhuḥ pravaraś cārimejayaḥ || 23.109 ||
 parīkṣitas tu tanayo dhārmiko janamejayaḥ |
 śrutaseno 'grasenau ca bhīmasenaś ca nāmataḥ || 23.110 ||
 janamejayasya putrau tu suratho matimāṃs tathā |
 surathasya tu vikrāntaḥ putro jajñe vidūrathaḥ || 23.111 ||
 vidūrathasya dāyāda ṛkṣa eva mahārathaḥ |
 dvitīyaḥ sa babhau rājā nāmnā tenaiva saṃjñītaḥ || 23.112 ||
 dvāv ṛkṣau tava vaṃśe 'smin dvāv eva ca parīkṣitau |
 bhīmasenās trayo rājan dvāv eva janamejayau || 23.113 ||
 ṛkṣasya tu dvitīyasya bhīmaseno 'bhavat sutaḥ |
 pratīpo bhīmasenasya pratīpasya tu śāmtanuḥ |
 devāpir bāhlikaś caiva traya eva mahārathāḥ || 23.114 ||

¹⁰⁰ The son of illustrious Sṛñjaya was Pañcavana;* and the son of Pañcavana was Somadatta, the lord of the earth. ¹⁰¹ Somadatta's heir was the glorious Sahadeva, and Sahadeva's son was a king by the name of Somaka. ¹⁰² Somaka's son was Jantu,* who had a hundred sons; of these, a younger one was Pṛṣata, the mighty father of Drupada.*

¹⁰³ But Ajamīḍha's chief wife – the third of your ancestral mothers, O lord of the earth – was Dhūminī, who longed to have a son.

¹⁰⁴ And that goddess, devout in her disciplined observances for the sake of a son, performed the most arduous of women's austerities for a hundred years. ¹⁰⁵ She honoured the fire according to the prescriptions, she limited her eating as a means of purification, and she even slept on the sacred grass used for the fire oblation, Janamejaya. ¹⁰⁶ Ajamīḍha united with that goddess Dhūminī, and she gave birth to the beautiful Ṛkṣa, who was the colour of smoke. ¹⁰⁷⁻⁸ Saṃvaraṇa was born from Ṛkṣa,* and Kuru was born from Saṃvaraṇa. Kuru left Prayāga, and through his meritorious deeds he made Kurukṣetra pure, pleasant, and populated.* His lineage is vast, and the Kauravas are still named after him.*

¹⁰⁹ Kuru had four sons: Sudhanvan and Sudhanu, and strong-armed Parīkṣit, and Arimejaya, the best of them.* ¹¹⁰ And Parīkṣit had offspring, namely the virtuous Janamejaya, plus Śrutasena, Ugrasena, and Bhīmasena.* ¹¹¹ And Janamejaya's two sons were Suratha and Matimat. Suratha's son was the mighty Vidūratha, ¹¹² and Vidūratha's heir was a great chariot warrior – Ṛkṣa, no less. He was the second king to be known by that name; ¹¹³ in this line of yours there are two Ṛkṣas, your majesty, and also two Parīkṣits, three Bhīmasenas, and even two Janamejayas. ¹¹⁴ The son of the second Ṛkṣa was Bhīmasena;* Pratīpa was Bhīmasena's son; and Śāmtanu was Pratīpa's. So were Devāpi and Bāhlika – there were three, all of them great chariot warriors.

śāmtanoḥ prasavas tv eṣa yatra jāto 'si pārthiva |
bāhlikasya tu rājyaṃ vai saptabāhlyam viśāṃ pate || 23.115 ||
bāhlikasya sutaś caiva somadatto mahāyaśāḥ |
jajñire somadattāt tu bhūrir bhūriśravāḥ śalaḥ || 23.116 ||

upādhyāyas tu devānāṃ devāpir abhavan muniḥ |
cyavanasya putraḥ kṛtaka iṣṭaś cāsīn mahātmanaḥ || 23.117 ||
śāmtanus tv abhavad rājā kauravāṇāṃ dhuraṃdharāḥ || 23.118 ||
kāli vicitravīryaṃ tu janayām āsa bhārata |
śāmtanor dayitaṃ putraṃ dharmātmānam akalmaṣam || 23.119 ||

kṛṣṇadvaipāyanac caiva kṣetre vaicitravīryake |
dhṛtarāṣṭraṃ ca pāṇḍuṃ ca viduraṃ cāpy ajījanat || 23.120 ||
pāṇḍor dhanamjayaḥ putraḥ saubhadras tasya cātmajaḥ |
abhimanyoḥ parīkṣit tu pitā tava janeśvara || 23.121 ||

eṣa te pauravo vaṃśo yatra jāto 'si pārthiva |
turvasos tu pravakṣyāmi druhyoś cānor yados tathā || 23.122 ||

turvasos tu suto vahnir vahner gobhānur ātmajaḥ |
gobhānos tu suto rājā traiśānur aparājitaḥ || 23.123 || *
karaṃdhamas tu traiśānor maruttas tasya cātmajaḥ |
anyas tv āvikṣito rājā maruttaḥ kathitas tava || 23.124 ||
anapatyo 'bhavad rājā yajvā vipuladakṣiṇaḥ |
duhitā saṃmatā nāma tasyāsīt pṛthivīpateḥ || 23.125 ||
dakṣiṇārthaṃ hi sā dattā saṃvartāya mahātmane |
duḥśantaṃ pauravaṃ cāpi lebhe putraṃ akalmaṣam || 23.126 ||

evaṃ yayāteḥ śāpena jarāsaṃkramaṇe tadā |
pauravaṃ turvasor vaṃśaḥ praviveśa nṛpottama || 23.127 ||

¹¹⁵ This is the posterity of Śāmtanu, in which you were born, O master of the realm. Bāhlika's kingdom was that of the sevenfold Bāhliś,* O lord of the people. ¹¹⁶ Bāhlika's son was the glorious Somadatta, and Bhūri, Bhūriśravas, and Śala were born from Somadatta.

¹¹⁷ Devāpi was a sage, a teacher of the gods. That illustrious man went for Cyavana's son Kṛtaka;* ¹¹⁸ and Śāmtanu became the yoke-bearer,* the king of the Kauravas. ¹¹⁹ O Bhārata! And Kālī gave birth to Śāmtanu's cherished and sinless son Vicitravīrya, the soul of propriety.

¹²⁰ Then Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Pāṇḍu, and Vidura were born in Vicitravīrya's widowed field, courtesy of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana.* ¹²¹ Pāṇḍu's son was Dhanamjaya; his son was Subhadra's son [Abhimanyu]; and Abhimanyu's son was your father Parīkṣit, O lord of the people.*

¹²² This is the line of Pūru's descendants for you – the line in which you were born, O master of the realm. And I will also recite the lines of Turvasu, Druhyu, Anu, and Yadu.

¹²³ Well, Turvasu's son was Vahni, Vahni's son was Gobhānu, and Gobhānu's son was the unconquerable King Traiśānu. ¹²⁴ Traiśānu's son was Karaṃdhama, and his was Marutta. (The King Marutta who has already been mentioned to you was a different one, the son of Avikṣit.)* ¹²⁵ [This] King [Marutta] was sonless, but he performed rites and paid large fees. That lord of the earth had a daughter named Saṃmatā; ¹²⁶ well, she was given to the illustrious Saṃvarta by way of fees, and she had a spotless son Duḥśanta, who was a descendant of Pūru.

¹²⁷ In this way, because of Yayāti's curse in the matter of the transference of his old age, the line of Turvasu was absorbed by that of Pūru,* O best of kings.

duḥśantasya tu dāyādaḥ śarutthāmaḥ prajeśvaraḥ |
 śarutthāmād athākriḍaś catvāras tasya cātmajāḥ || 23.128 ||
 pāṇḍyaś ca keralāś caiva kolaś colaś ca pārthivaḥ |
 teṣāṃ janapadāḥ sphītāḥ pāṇḍyaś colaś ca keralāḥ || 23.129 ||

druhyos tu tanayo rājan babhrusenaś ca pārthivaḥ |
 aṅgāresetuś tatputro marutāṃ patir ucyate || 23.130 ||
 yauvanāśvena samare kṛcchreṇa nihato balī |
 yuddhaṃ sumahad āsīd dhi māsān pari caturdaśa || 23.131 ||
 aṅgārasya tu dāyādo gāndhāro nāma pārthivaḥ |
 khyāyate yasya nāmnā vai gāndhāraviṣayo mahān |
 gāndhāradeśajāś caiva turagā vājināṃ varāḥ || 23.132 ||

anos tu putro dharmo 'bhūd dhṛtas tasyātmaḥ 'bhavat |
 dhṛtāt tu duduho jajñe pracetās tasya cātmajāḥ |
 pracetasāḥ sucetās tu kīrtitā hy anavo mayā || 23.133 ||

babhūvus tu yadoḥ putrāḥ pañca devasutopamāḥ |
 sahasradaḥ payodaś ca kroṣṭā nīlo 'ñjikas tathā || 23.134 ||
 sahasradasya dāyādās trayāḥ paramadhārmikāḥ |
 hehayaś ca hayaś caiva rājan veṇuhayaś tathā || 23.135 ||
 hehayasyābhavat putro dharmanetra itī śrutaḥ |
 dharmanetrasya kāntas tu kāntaputrās tato 'bhavan || 23.136 ||
 kṛtavīryaḥ kṛtaujāś ca kṛtadhanvā tathaiiva ca |
 kṛtāgnīś ca caturtho 'bhūt kṛtavīryāt tathārjunaḥ || 23.137 ||
 yaḥ sa bāhusahasreṇa saptadvīpeśvaro 'bhavat |
 jigāya pṛthivīm eko rathenādityavarcaś || 23.138 ||

sa hi varṣāsatam taptvā tapaḥ paramaduścaram |
 dattam ārādhayām āsa kārtavīryo 'trisambhavam || 23.139 ||
 tasmai datto varān prādāc caturo bhūritejaśaḥ |

¹²⁸ Duḥśanta's heir was Śarutthāma, the lord of his subjects. And Ākriḍa, who came after Śarutthāma, had four sons: ¹²⁹ Pāṇḍya, Kerala, Kola, and King Cola. Their thriving communities are the Pāṇḍyas, the Colas, and the Keralans.

¹³⁰ The son of Druhyu was King Babhrusena, your majesty; and his son, Aṅgāra the causeway,* is said to have been the lord of the Maruts. ¹³¹ That mighty man was slain in battle, with great difficulty, by the son of Yuvanāśva;* it was a massive war indeed, lasting some fourteen months. ¹³² Aṅgāra's heir was a king called Gāndhāra, after whom the great kingdom of Gāndhāra is named; and the best horses are the speedy ones that are born in the region of Gāndhāra.

¹³³ The son of Anu was Dharma, and his son was Dhṛta; Duduḥa was born from Dhṛta; his son was Pracetas; and the son of Pracetas was Sucetas. There now – I've commemorated the Anus.

¹³⁴ Yadu had five sons,* and they were like the sons of gods: Sahasrada, Payoda, Kroṣṭu ('the jackal'),* Nīla, and Añjika.

¹³⁵ Sahasrada had three supremely virtuous sons: Hehaya and Haya, your majesty, and Veṇuhaya too. ¹³⁶ The son of Hehaya was known as Dharmanetra ('the eye of propriety'), and Dharmanetra's son was Kānta. Then there were Kānta's sons: ¹³⁷ Kṛtavīrya and Kṛtaujaś, and Kṛtadhanvan too; and Kṛtāgni was the fourth. And so, after Kṛtavīrya, there was Arjuna, ¹³⁸ the one who ruled over seven continents with his one thousand arms; he conquered the earth all by himself, on a chariot as splendid as the sun.

¹³⁹ That son of Kṛtavīrya performed utterly arduous austerities for a hundred years, and propitiated Atri's son Datta. ¹⁴⁰ Datta granted him four most splendid boons.

pūrvam bāhusahasram tu prārthitam paramam varam || 23.140 ||
 adharme dhīyamānasya sadbhiḥ syān me nibarhaṇam |
 ugrena pṛthivīm jivā dharmeṇaivānurañjanam || 23.141 ||
 saṃgrāmān subahūñ jivā hatvā cārīn sahasraśaḥ |
 saṃgrāme vartamānasya vadham cābhyadhikād raṇe || 23.142 ||
 tasya bāhusahasram tu yudhyataḥ kila bhārata |
 yogād yogeśvarasyāgre prādurbhavati māyayā || 23.143 ||
 teneyam pṛthivī kṛtsnā saptadvīpā sapattanā |
 sasamudrā sanagarā ugrena vidhinā jitā || 23.144 ||

tena saptasu dvīpeṣu sapta yajñāśatāni vai |
 prāptāni vidhinā rājñā śrūyante janamejaya || 23.145 ||
 sarve yajñā mahābāho tasyāsan bhūridakṣiṇāḥ |
 sarve kāñcanayūpās ca sarve kāñcanavedayaḥ || 23.146 ||
 sarve devair mahārāja vimānasthair alaṃkṛtāḥ |
 gandharvair apsarobhiś ca nityam evopaśobhitāḥ || 23.147 ||
 yasya yajñe jagau gātham gandharvo nāradas tathā |
 varīdāsātmaḥ vidvān mahimnā tasya vismitaḥ || 23.148 ||

na nūnam kārtavīryasya gatiṃ yāsyanti pāṛthivāḥ |
 yajñair dānais tapobhir vā vikrameṇa śrutena vā || 23.149 ||
 sa hi saptasu dvīpeṣu khaḍgī carmī śarāsānī |
 rathī dvīpān anucaran yogī saṃdṛśyate nṛbhiḥ || 23.150 ||

sa bhikṣām adadād vīraḥ sapta dvīpān vibhāvasoḥ |
 yatrāpavas tu tam krodhāc chaptavān arjunam vibhuḥ || 23.151 ||
 yasmān na varjitam idaṃ vanaṃ te mama hehaya |
 tasmāt te duṣkaram karma kṛtam anyo hariṣyati |
 arjuno nāma kauravyaḥ pāṇḍavaḥ kuntinandanaḥ || 23.152 ||
 chittvā bāhusahasram te pramathya tarasā balī |
 tapasvī brāhmaṇas ca tvam haniṣyati sa bhārgavaḥ || 23.153 ||

He requested his main boon first of all: the one thousand arms.
¹⁴¹⁻² ‘And may I crush by honest means those who are set upon
 lawlessness; and after winning the earth through ferocity,
 conquering many armies and killing thousands of enemies, may I
 retain a love for virtue; and may I be killed by a superior warrior
 while engaged in combat on the battlefield.’ ¹⁴³ And Bhārata, when
 that master of yoga was fighting he really did appear to have a
 thousand arms, because of the trick deriving from his earlier
 efforts. ¹⁴⁴ And using his fearsome method he conquered this whole
 earth of seven continents, with its settlements, oceans, and rivers.

¹⁴⁵ To be sure, Janamejaya, that king’s seven thousand rites,
 accomplished according to precept, are famous across seven
 continents. ¹⁴⁶ All his rites were generous in their fees, O strong-
 armed king; all featured golden sacrificial posts and golden ritual
 arenas; ¹⁴⁷ and all were invariably crowned by the visiting gods on
 their celestial chariots, your majesty, and by the *gandharvas* and
 heavenly nymphs too. ¹⁴⁸ At his [Arjuna’s] rite Varīdāsa’s son
 Nārada, the learned *gandharva*, was amazed by his show of majesty
 and sang a piece:

¹⁴⁹ ‘No earthly kings match up to Kārtavīrya’s standard in terms of
 their rites, their acts of generosity, their austerities, or their
 famous prowess. ¹⁵⁰ Across seven continents the people beheld that
 yogi ranging the continents on his chariot, with his sword, shield,
 and quiver.’

¹⁵¹ That hero gave away alms; he gave the seven continents to Fire.
 And that was when Lord Āpava [i.e. Vasiṣṭha] cursed Arjuna in
 anger: ¹⁵² ‘By not sparing this grove of mine, O Hehaya, you’ve done
 a wicked deed! So another one called Arjuna will arise – a
 descendant of Kuru: Arjuna Pāṇḍava, Kuntī’s delight.* ¹⁵³ And a
 mighty Bhārgava brahmin ascetic will forcefully assault you, cut
 off your one thousand arms, and kill you!’

anaṣṭadravyatā yasya babhūvāmitrakarśana |
 prabhāveṇa narendrasya prajā dharmeṇa rakṣataḥ || 23.154 ||
 rāmāt tato 'sya mṛtyur vai tasya śāpān mahāmuneḥ |
 varaś caiṣa hi kauravya svayam eva vṛtaḥ purā || 23.155 ||

tasya putraśatasyāsan pañca śeṣā mahātmanaḥ |
 kṛtāstrā balinaḥ śūrā dharmātmāno yaśasvinaḥ || 23.156 ||
 śūrasenaś ca śūraś ca dhṛṣṭoktaḥ kṛṣṇa eva ca |
 jayadhvajāś ca nāmnāsīd āvantyo nṛpatir mahān |
 kārtavīryasya tanayā vīryavanto mahārathāḥ || 23.157 ||
 jayadhvajasya putras tu tālajaṅgho mahābalaḥ |
 tasya putrāḥ śatākhyāś tu tālajaṅghā iti śrutāḥ || 23.158 ||
 teṣāṃ kule mahārāja hehayānāṃ mahātmanām |
 vītihotrāḥ sujātāś ca bhojāś cāvantayas tathā || 23.159 ||
 tauṇḍikerā iti khyātāś tālajaṅghāś tathaiva ca |
 bharatāś ca sujātāś ca bahutvān nānukīrtitāḥ || 23.160 ||

vṛṣaprabhṛtayo rājan yādavāḥ puṇyakarmināḥ |
 vṛṣo vaṃśadharas tatra tasya putro 'bhavan madhuḥ |
 madhoḥ putraśataṃ tv āsīd vṛṣaṇas tasya vaṃśabhāk || 23.161 ||
 vṛṣaṇād vṛṣṇayaḥ sarve madhos tu mādhavāḥ smṛtāḥ |
 yādavā yadunā cāgre nirucyante ca hehayāḥ || 23.162 ||
 na tasya vittanāśaḥ syān naṣṭaṃ pratilabhec ca saḥ |
 kārtavīryasya yo janma kathayed iha nityaśaḥ || 23.163 ||

ete yayātiputrāṇāṃ pañca vaṃśā viśāṃ pate |
 kīrtitā lokavīraṇāṃ ye lokān dhārayanti vai |
 bhūtānīva mahārāja pañca sthāvarajaṅgamam || 23.164 ||

¹⁵⁴ His [i.e. Arjuna Kārtavīrya's] children didn't lose their wealth, O thinner of the foe, because of the dutifulness and might of the leader of the people, who was protecting them; ¹⁵⁵ but sure enough, because he had been cursed by the great sage, his death was at Rāma's hands.* And that old curse was certainly a choice boon for you yourself,* O descendant of Kuru!

¹⁵⁶ Remaining out of his one hundred sons were five illustrious heroes who were powerful, skilled in archery, dutifully minded, and well respected. ¹⁵⁷ Kārtavīrya's offspring were valiant great chariot warriors: there was Śūrasena, and Śūra, and Dhṛṣṭokta, and Kṛṣṇa too, and a great leader of the Avanti people, namely Jayadhvaja. ¹⁵⁸ And Jayadhvaja had a son, the powerful Tālajaṅgha; and his sons, one hundred in all, are known as the Tālajaṅghas. ¹⁵⁹ In their family – the family of the illustrious Hehayas, your majesty – there are noble Vītihotras, and Bhojas, and Avantis, ¹⁶⁰ and those known as Tauṇḍikeras, as well as Bharatas and [other] fine peoples whom I won't mention because there are so many of them.

¹⁶¹ Ever since Vṛṣa ('the bull'), O king, the Yādavas have performed sacred deeds. In that regard, Vṛṣa bore the line. His son was Madhu,* and Madhu had a hundred sons, of whom Vṛṣaṇa took the line. ¹⁶² All the Vṛṣṇis derive from Vṛṣaṇa, and Madhu's people are known as Mādhavas. The Yādavas have Yadu at their head, and the Hehayas have been explained. ¹⁶³ And anyone who always tells the life of Kārtavīrya in this connection never suffers a loss of wealth, and gets back anything that was lost.*

¹⁶⁴ These, O lord of the people, are the five famous lines of Yayāti's sons, the worlds' heroes; and they sustain the worlds, to be sure, just as the five elements sustain whatever's mobile or immobile, your majesty!

śrutvā pañcavisargaṃ tu rājā dharmārthakovidāḥ |
vaśī bhavati pañcānām ātmajānām tatheśvaraḥ || 23.165 ||
labhet pañca varāṃś caiṣa durlabhān iha laukikān |
āyuh kīrtiṃ dhanam putrān aiśvaryaṃ bhūya eva ca |
dhāraṇāc chravaṇāc caiva pañcavargasya bhārata || 23.166 ||

kroṣṭo tu śṛṇu rājendra vaṃśam uttamapūruṣam |
yador vaṃśadharasyeha yajvanāḥ puṇyakarmaṇāḥ || 23.167 ||
kroṣṭor hi vaṃśam śrutvemaṃ sarvapāpaiḥ pramucyate |
yasyānvavāyajo viṣṇur harir vṛṣṇikulaprabhuḥ || 23.168 ||

¹⁶⁵ A king may be versed in propriety and prosperity, but when he hears this quintuple emission he becomes also a lord and master of five offspring, ¹⁶⁶ for he obtains five rare worldly boons here: long life, renown, wealth, progeny, and a net increase in his sovereign stature. That's what comes of hearing and thinking on the set of five, Bhārata!

¹⁶⁷ Now hear, O Indra of kings, the line of Kroṣṭu, which features the highest of persons; the line of Kroṣṭu, a ritual patron who did the right thing and supported Yadu's line here. ¹⁶⁸ Having heard this line of Kroṣṭu, in whose patrimony Viṣṇu Hari was born a lord of the Vṛṣṇi family, one is delivered from all evils.

vaiśampāyana uvāca |
gāndhārī caiva mādri ca kroṣṭor bhārye babhūvatuḥ |
gāndhārī janayām āsa anamitraṃ mahābalaṃ || 24.1 ||
mādri yudhājitaṃ putraṃ tato vai devamīdhuṣaṃ |
teṣāṃ vaṃśas tridhā bhūto vṛṣṇīnāṃ kulavardhanaḥ || 24.2 ||
mādryāḥ putrau tu jajñāte śrutau vṛṣṇyandhakāv ubhau |
jajñāte tanayau vṛṣṇeḥ śvaphalkas citrakas tathā || 24.3 ||

śvaphalkas tu mahārāja dharmātmā yatra vartate |
nāsti vyādhibhayaṃ tatra nāvarṣabhayaṃ apyuta || 24.4 ||
kadā cit kāśirājasya vibhor bhāratasattama |
trīṇi varṣāni viṣaye nāvarṣat pākāśānaḥ || 24.5 ||
sa tatra vāsayām āsa śvaphalkaṃ paramārcitam |
śvaphalkaparivarte ca vavarṣa harivāhanaḥ || 24.6 ||

śvaphalkaḥ kāśirājasya sutām bhāryām avindata |
gāndinīm nāma sā gām tu dadau vipreṣu nityaśaḥ || 24.7 ||
dātā yajvā ca dhīraś ca śrutavān atithipriyaḥ |
akrūraḥ suṣuve tasmāc chvaphalkād bhūridakṣiṇaḥ || 24.8 ||
upamadguṣ tathā madgur mṛdaraś cārimejayaḥ |
arikṣepas tathopekṣaḥ śatrughno 'thārimardanaḥ || 24.9 ||
carmabhṛd yudhivarmā ca ṛdhramojās tathāntakaḥ |
āvāhaprativāhau ca sundarā ca varāṅganā || 24.10 ||
akrūreṇaugrasenyām tu sugātryām kurunandana |
prasenaś copadevaś ca jajñāte devavarcasau || 24.11 ||

citrakasyābhavan putrāḥ pṛthur vipṛthur eva ca |
aśvagrīvo 'śvabāhuś ca supārśvakagaveṣaṇau || 24.12 ||
ariṣṭanemir aśvaś ca sudharmā dharmabhṛt tathā |
subāhur bahubāhuś ca śraviṣṭhāsṛavaṇe striyau || 24.13 ||

24. The Line of Kroṣṭu (The Triple Line of Vṛṣṇi)

¹ Vaiśampāyana said:
Gāndhārī and Mādri were Kroṣṭu's two wives.* Gāndhārī gave birth to the powerful Anamitra; ² and Mādri gave birth to a son, Yudhājiti; and then of course there was Devamīdhuṣa. Their line, which elevated the family of the Vṛṣṇi, is really triple. ³ And the two sons of Mādri produced Vṛṣṇi and Andhaka,* both of them famous; and Vṛṣṇi had two sons, Śvaphalka and Citraka.

⁴ Well, wherever Śvaphalka, the soul of propriety, was to be found, there was no danger of illness, nor any danger of drought – none whatsoever, great king! ⁵ On one occasion, O best of the Bharatas, the punisher of Pāka didn't rain in the kingdom of the mighty king of Kāśi for three years.* ⁶ But he rained where the much-honoured Śvaphalka was; in the days of Śvaphalka, the one with the bay horses rained.

⁷ Śvaphalka found a wife: the daughter of the king of Kāśi, Gāndinī by name. She always gave cows away to the brahmins. ⁸ Akṛūra, a donor and ritual patron who was clever, learned, fond of guests, and paid huge fees, was extracted from that Śvaphalka. ⁹ And so were Upamadgu and Madgu, Mṛdara and Arimejaya, Arikṣepa and Upekṣa, and Śatrughna and Arimardana; ¹⁰ and Carmabhṛt and Yudhivarma, and Ṛdhramojas and Antaka, and Āvāha and Prativāha, and shapely Sundarā. ¹¹ And Prasena and Upadeva were born to Akṛūra by Sugātri Ugraseni, O joy of the Kurus; and they had the vitality of gods.

¹² [Śvaphalka's brother] Citraka had sons: Pṛthu and Vipṛthu, Aśvagrīva and Aśvabāhu, Supārśvaka and Gaveṣaṇa, ¹³ Ariṣṭanemi and Aśva, Sudharman and Dharmabhṛt, Subāhu and Bahubāhu; and two daughters, Śraviṣṭhā and Śravaṇā.

aśmakyāṃ janayāṃ āsa śūraṃ vai devamīdhuṣaḥ | *
 mahiṣyāṃ jajñire śūrād bhojyāyāṃ puruṣā daśa || 24.14 ||
 vasudevo mahābāhuḥ pūrvam ānakadundubhiḥ |
 jajñe yasya prasūtasya dundubhyaḥ prāṇadan divi || 24.15 ||
 ānakānāṃ ca saṃhrādaḥ sumahān abhavad divi |
 papāta puṣpavarṣaṃ ca śūrasya bhavane mahat || 24.16 ||
 manuṣyaloke kṛtsne 'pi rūpe nāsti samo bhuvī |
 yasyāsīt puruṣāgryasya kāntiś candramaso yathā || 24.17 ||
 devabhāgas tato jajñe tato devaśravāḥ punaḥ |
 anādhṛṣṭiḥ kanavako vatsavān atha gr̥ñjimaḥ || 24.18 ||
 śyāmaḥ śamīko gaṇḍūṣaḥ pañca cāsya varāṅganāḥ |
 pṛthukīrtiḥ pṛthā caiva śrutadevā śrutaśravā |
 rājādhidevī ca tathā pañcaitā vīramātarāḥ || 24.19 ||

kuntyasya śrutadevāyāṃ agr̥dhnuḥ suṣuve nṛpaḥ |
 śrutaśravāyāṃ caidyas tu śiśupālo mahābalaḥ || 24.20 ||
 hiraṇyakaśipuḥ yo 'sau daityarājo 'bhavat purā |
 pṛthukīrtiyāṃ tu saṃjajñe tanayo vṛddhaśarmaṇaḥ || 24.21 ||
 karūṣādhipater vīro dantavaktro mahābalaḥ |
 pṛtham̐ duhitaraṃ cakre kauntyas tām pāṇḍur āvahaḥ || 24.22 ||
 yasyāṃ sa dharmavid rājā dharmād jajñe yudhiṣṭhiraḥ |
 bhīmasenas tathā vātād indrāc caiva dhanam̐jayaḥ |
 loke 'pratiratho vīraḥ śakratulyaparākramaḥ || 24.23 ||

anamitrāc chinir jajñe kaniṣṭhād vṛṣṇinandanāt |
 śaineyaḥ satyakas tasmād yuyudhānas tu sātyakiḥ || 24.24 ||

uddhavo devabhāgasya mahābhāgaḥ suto 'bhavat |
 paṇḍitānāṃ paraṃ prāhur devaśravasam uddhavam || 24.25 ||
 aśmaky alabhatāpatyam anādhṛṣṭiṃ yaśasvinam |
 nivṛttaśatruṃ śatrughnam̐ śrutadevā vyajāyata || 24.26 ||
 śrutadevāprajātas tu naiṣādir yaḥ pariśrutaḥ |
 ekalavyo mahārāja niṣādaiḥ parivardhitaḥ || 24.27 ||

¹⁴ Now then. Devamīdhuṣa had Śūra by Aśmakī; and from Śūra ten males were produced by his main queen, a delectable Bhoja woman. ¹⁵ Strong-armed Ānakadundubhi Vasudeva was born first; when he was conceived *dundubhi* drums sounded in the sky, ¹⁶ and there was a terrific sound of *ānaka* drums in the sky, and a great shower of blossoms fell upon Śūra's house. ¹⁷ In the entire human realm on earth, there is no one to match that foremost man in beauty; his loveliness was like that of the moon. ¹⁸ Then Devabhāga was born; and also Devaśravas, Anādhṛṣṭi, Kanavaka, Vatsavat, and Gr̥ñjima; ¹⁹ and Śyāma, and Śamīka, and Gaṇḍūṣa. He also had five daughters with lovely limbs: Pṛthukīrti, Pṛthā, Śrutadevā, Śrutaśravā, and Rājādhidevī – and these five were the mothers of heroes.*

²⁰ King Agr̥dhnu, the son of a Kunti man, was born from Śrutadevā; and from Śrutaśravā was born the mighty Śiśupāla of Cedi.*

²¹⁻² And Hiraṇyakaśipu, the one who had formerly been king of the Daityas,* was born from Pṛthukīrti as the mighty hero Dantavakra, son of Vṛddhaśarmaṇ the overlord of the Karūṣas. A Kunti man made Pṛthā his daughter; and Pāṇḍu brought her home as his bride. ²³ From her the knower of righteousness, King Yudhiṣṭhira, was born, by Dharmā; as were Bhīmasena, by the Wind, and Dhanam̐jaya – a hero unrivalled in the world, whose enterprise matched Śakra's – by Indra himself.*

²⁴ Anamitra, the youngest,* the cheer of the Vṛṣṇis, had a son, Śini; Satyaka was Śini's son; and Yuyudhāna Sātyaki was his.*

²⁵ The illustrious Uddhava was the son of [Śūra's son] Devabhāga; Uddhava is said to have been supreme among the learned and famous among the gods. ²⁶ Aśmakī had a celebrated descendant: Anādhṛṣṭi.* And Śrutadevā gave birth to a repeller of enemies, a killer of enemies: ²⁷ Śrutadevā's son, who was known as Naiṣādi, was Ekalavya, your majesty, and was raised by *niṣādas*.*

vatsāvate tv aputrāya vasudevaḥ pratāpavān |
 adbhir dadau sutam vīraṃ śauriḥ kauśikam aurasam || 24.28 ||
 gaṇḍūṣāya tv aputrāya viṣvakseno dadau sutam |
 cārudeṣṇam sucāruṃ ca pañcālaṃ kṛtalakṣaṇam || 24.29 ||
 asaṃgrāmeṇa yo vīro nāvartata kadā cana |
 raukmiṇeyo mahābāhuḥ kanīyān bharatarṣabha || 24.30 ||
 vāyasānāṃ sahasrāṇi yaṃ yāntaṃ pṛṣṭhato 'nvayuḥ |
 cārūn adyopayokṣyāmaś cārudeṣṇahatān iti || 24.31 ||

tantrijas tantripālaś ca sutau kanavakasya tu |
 vīraś cāśvahanuś caiva vīrau tāv atha gr̥ṇjimau || 24.32 ||
 śyāmaputraḥ sumitras tu śamīko rājyam āvahat |
 ajātaśatruḥ śatrūṇāṃ jajñe tasya vināśanaḥ || 24.33 ||

vasudevasya tu sutān kīrtayiṣyāmy tāñ śṛṇu || 24.34 ||
 vṛṣṇes trividham etaṃ tu bahuśākhāṃ mahaujasam |
 dhārayan vipulaṃ vaṃśaṃ nānarthair iha yujyate || 24.35 ||

²⁸ The glorious Vasudeva Śauri gave his own valiant son Kauśika to the sonless Vatsāvata, to provide his [posthumous] meals;* ²⁹ and Viṣvaksena [i.e. Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva] gave the sonless Gaṇḍūṣa his son – the lovely Cārudeṣṇa, a noted Pañcāla,* ³⁰ the youngest son of Rukmiṇī, O bull of Bharata, a strong-armed hero whom no one could roll over without reinforcements, ³¹ and behind whom hundreds of crows followed as he travelled, [thinking] ‘Today we will enjoy the esteemed men killed by Cārudeṣṇa.’

³² [Śūra’s son] Kanavaka had two sons, Tantrija and Tantripāla; Vīra and Aśvahanu were Gr̥ṇjima’s valiant sons;* ³³ and Śyāma’s son was Sumitra. Śamīka obtained a kingdom; and his son was Ajātaśatru, the destroyer of his foes.

³⁴ Now I will celebrate the sons of Vasudeva. Listen up! ³⁵ Whoever attends to this triple line of Vṛṣṇi, multi-branched, vigorous, and long, meets no disappointments in this world.

vaiśampāyana uvāca |
pauravī rohiṇī nāma bāhlikasyātmajā nṛpa |
jyeṣṭhā patnī mahārāja dayitānakadundubheḥ || 25.1 ||
lebhe jyeṣṭhaṃ sutam rāmaṃ śāraṇaṃ śaṭhaṃ eva ca |
durdamaṃ damanaṃ śvabhraṃ piṇḍārakakuśīnarau || 25.2 ||
citrāṃ nāma kumārīṃ ca rohiṇītanayā nava |
citrā subhadreti punar vikhyātā kurunandana || 25.3 ||
vasudevāc ca devakyāṃ jajñe śaurir mahāyaśāḥ |

rāmāc ca niśaṭho jajñe revatyāṃ dayitaḥ sutaḥ || 25.4 ||
subhadrāyāṃ rathī pārthād abhimanyur ajāyata |
akrūrāt kāśikanyāyāṃ satyaketur ajāyata || 25.5 ||

vasudevasya bhāryāsu mahābhāgāsu saptasu |
ye putrā jajñire śūrā nāmatas tān nibodha me || 25.6 ||
bhojaś ca vijayaś caiva śāntidevāsutāv ubhau |
vṛkadevaḥ sunāmāyāṃ gadaś cāsyāḥ sutāv ubhau |
agāvahaṃ mahātmānaṃ vṛkadevī vyajāyata || 25.7 ||
kanyā trigartarājasya

bhartā vai śīśīrāyaṇaḥ |
jijñāsāṃ pauraṣe cakre na caskande 'tha pauraṣam || 25.8 ||
kṛṣṇāyasasamaprakhyo varṣe dvādaśame tadā |
mithyābhiśapto gārgyas tu manyunābhisamīritaḥ |
ghoṣakanyāṃ upādāya maithunāyopacakrame || 25.9 ||
gopālī tv apsarās tasya gopastrīveśadhāriṇī |
dhārayām āsa gārgyasya garbhaṃ durdharam acyutam || 25.10 ||
mānuṣyāṃ gārgyabhāryāyāṃ niyogāc chūlapāṇinaḥ |
sa kālayavano nāma jajñe rājā mahābalaḥ |

25. The Birth of Kṛṣṇa

¹ Vaiśampāyana said:

O great king, protector of the people. A descendant of Pūru by the name of Rohiṇī, the daughter of Bāhlika,* was Ānakadundubhi's beloved first wife. ² She had Rāma, the eldest son,* plus Śāraṇa, Śaṭha, Durdama, Damana, Śvabhra, Piṇḍāraka, Kuśīnara, ³ and a daughter called Citrā – the nine children of Rohiṇī; and Citrā was also known as Subhadrā, O joy of the Kurus. ⁴ And Śūra's famous descendant was born to Vasudeva by Devakī.

Niśaṭha was Rāma's dear son by Revatī; ⁵ the chariot-warrior Abhimanyu was born to Pṛthā's son by Subhadrā;* and Satyaketu was born to Akrūra by a young woman of Kāśī.

⁶ Listen as I name the valiant sons who were born from Vasudeva's seven illustrious wives.* ^{7-8a} Bhoja and Vijaya were both sons of Śāntidevā; Vṛkadeva was born from Sunāmā, as was Gada – both of these sons were hers; and Vṛkadevī, the daughter of the king of the Trigartas, produced the illustrious Agāvaha.

^{8b-d} Well, the warden Śīśīrāyaṇa* conducted an investigation into manliness, but no semen was spilled. ⁹ Then, shining like black iron,* Gārgya, who had been wrongly cursed for twelve years and was motivated by his outrage, stole a young girl from a camp of cowherders and set about her for sex. ¹⁰ Gopālī, a nymph who had assumed the appearance of a cowherd woman, became pregnant with Gārgya's child – who was hard to carry, and yet wouldn't shift. ¹¹ It was [only] at the injunction of spearhanded Rudra that he, a powerful king called Kālayavana, was born from Gārgya's human wife.

vṛṣapūrvārdhakāyās tam avahan vājino raṇe || 25.11 ||
aputrasya sa rājñas tu vavṛdhe 'ntaḥpure śíśuḥ |
yavanasya mahārāja sa kālayavano 'bhavat || 25.12 ||

sa yuddhakāmo nṛpatiḥ paryapṛcchad dvijottamān |
vṛṣṇyandhakakulaṃ tasya nārado 'kathayad vibhuḥ || 25.13 ||
akṣauhiṇyā tu sainyasya mathurām abhyayāt tadā |
dūtaṃ ca preṣayām āsa vṛṣṇyandhakaniveśane || 25.14 ||
tato vṛṣṇyandhakāḥ kṛṣṇaṃ puraskṛtya mahāmatim |
sametā mantrayām āsur jarāsaṃdhabhayena ca || 25.15 ||
kṛtvā ca niścayaṃ sarve palāyanam arocayan |
vihāya mathurām ramyām mānayantaḥ pinākinam |
kuśasthalim dvāravatim niveśayitum īpsavaḥ || 25.16 ||

iti kṛṣṇasya janmedaṃ yaḥ śucir niyatendriyaḥ |
parvasu śrāvayed vidvān nirṛṇaḥ sa sukhī bhavet || 25.17 ||

In battle he was transported by horses the front half of whose bodies were bulls;¹² and he was Kālayavana because as a boy he grew up in the inner mansions of the childless King Yavana, your majesty.

¹³ That lord of the people [i.e. Kālayavana], wanting a war, interrogated the cream of the twiceborn; and Lord Nārada told him about the family of the Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas. ¹⁴ So he marched on Mathurā with a battalion of soldiers, and had a messenger sent into the home of the Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas. ¹⁵ The assembled Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas, taking their lead from Kṛṣṇa the wise, held consultations about the danger posed by Jarāsaṃdha.* ¹⁶ They all came to a decision; they settled on flight. They abandoned delightful Mathurā. They paid their respects to trident-wielding Rudra, and strove for Kuśasthalī, the gated city.

¹⁷ This was the birth of Kṛṣṇa. And whoever is pure, wise, restrains their senses, and tells it in sections becomes happy, having met their obligations.

vaiśampāyana uvāca |
 kroṣṭor evābhavat putro vṛjinīvān mahāyaśāḥ |
 vārjinīvatam icchanti svāhiṃ svāhākr̥tām varam || 26.1 ||
 svāhiputro 'bhavad rājā ruṣadgur vadatām varaḥ |
 mahākratubhir tje yo vividhair āptadakṣiṇaiḥ || 26.2 ||
 śataprasūtim icchan vai ruṣadguḥ so 'gryam ātmajam |
 citraiś citrarathas tasya putraḥ karmabhir anvitaḥ || 26.3 ||
 āśic caitrarathir vīro yajvā vipuladakṣiṇaḥ |
 śaśabinduḥ paraṃ vṛttam rājarṣiṇām anuṣṭhitaḥ || 26.4 ||

pr̥thuśravāḥ pr̥thuyaśā rājāsic chaśabindujaḥ |
 śamsanti ca purāṇajñāḥ pārthaśravasam antaram || 26.5 ||
 antarasya suyajñas tu suyajñatanayo 'bhavat |
 uśato yajñam akhilaṃ svadharmam uśatām varaḥ || 26.6 ||

śineyur abhavat putra uśataḥ śatrutāpanaḥ |
 maruttas tasya tanayo rājarṣir abhavan nṛpaḥ || 26.7 ||
 marutto 'labhata jyeṣṭham sutam kambalabarhiṣam |
 cacāra paramaṃ dharmam amarṣāt pretyabhāvavit || 26.8 ||
 śataprasūtim icchan vai sutam kambalabarhiṣaḥ |
 babhūva rukmakavacaḥ śatapasavataḥ sutaḥ || 26.9 ||

nihatya rukmakavacaḥ śatam kavacinām raṇe |
 dhanvinām niśitair bāṇair avāpa śriyam uttamām || 26.10 ||
 jajñe ca rukmakavacāt parājit paravīrahā |
 jajñire pañca putrās tu mahāvīryāḥ parājitaḥ |
 rukmeṣuḥ pr̥thurukmaś ca jyāmaghaḥ pālito hariḥ || 26.11 ||

26. The Offspring of Jyāmagha

¹ Vaiśampāyana said:

The same Kroṣṭu had a famous son, Vṛjinīvat ('sinful').* They favoured Vṛjinīvat's son Svāhi,* the best of ritual patrons. ² The son of Svāhi was King Ruṣadgu, an expert speaker, who performed great rites of various kinds, no expenses spared. ³ Ruṣadgu, striving for the ultimate in progeny – a hundred children – acquired his son Citraratha by means of [those] distinguished rites. ⁴ And Citraratha's son Śaśabindu was a hero, a ritual patron who was generous with his purse: he accomplished the paradigmatic conduct of the royal seers.

⁵ The king born from Śaśabindu was the far-famed Pr̥thuśravas. Antara, the son of Pr̥thuśravas,* comes commended by those who know the old stories; ⁶ and Antara's son was Suyajña, and Suyajña's son was Uśata, prime among those who desire (*uśat*), as their proper duty, the rite in its entirety.

⁷ Śineyu was the son of Uśata;* he pained his rivals. And his son was Marutta, a royal seer, a guardian of the people. ⁸ Marutta had, as his oldest son, Kambalabarhiṣa; he realised that there is a post-mortem existence, and by not being indulgent he practised perfect propriety. ⁹ Kambalabarhiṣa wanted a child – one hundred children, really; and from the one hundred pressings there was a son, Rukmakavaca.

¹⁰ Rukmakavaca killed one hundred armoured bowmen in battle with whetted shafts, and reached the height of success. ¹¹ From Rukmakavaca was born Parājit, a smasher of enemy braves, and Parājit had five very manly sons: Rukmeṣu, Pr̥thurukma, Jyāmagha, Pālita, and Hari.

pālitaṃ ca hariṃ caiva videhebhyaḥ pitā dadau |
rukmeṣur abhavad rājā pṛthurukmaś ca saṃśritaḥ |
tābhīyāṃ pravrajīto rājyāj jyāmagho 'vasad āśrame || 26.12 ||
praśāntaḥ sa vanasthas tu brāhmaṇenāvabodhitaḥ |
jagāma ratham āsthāya deśam anyam dhvajī rathī || 26.13 ||
narmadākūlam ekākī narmadāṃ mṛttikāvātīm |
ṛkṣavantaṃ giriṃ jītvā śuktimatīyām uvāsa saḥ || 26.14 ||

jyāmaghasyābhavad bhāryā caitrā pariṇatā satī |
aputro 'pi ca rājā sa nānyāṃ bhāryāṃ avindata || 26.15 ||
tasyāsīd vijayo yuddhe tatra kanyāṃ avāpa saḥ |
bhāryāṃ uvāca saṃtrāsāt snuṣeti sa nareśvaraḥ || 26.16 ||
etac chrutvābravīd enam kasya ceyam snuṣeti vai |
yas te janiṣyate putras tasya bhāryeti jātabhīḥ || 26.17 ||
ugreṇa tapasā tasyāḥ kanyāyāḥ sā vyajāyata |
putryāṃ vidarbhaṃ subhāgā caitrā pariṇatā satī || 26.18 ||
rājaputryāṃ tu vidvāṃsau snuṣyāṃ krathakaisīkau |
paścād vidarbho 'janayac chūrau raṇaviśāradau || 26.19 ||

bhīmo vidarbhasya sutaḥ kuntis tasyātmano 'bhavat |
kunter dhr̥ṣṭaḥ suto jajñe raṇadhṛṣṭaḥ pratāpavān || 26.20 ||
dhr̥ṣṭasya jajñire śūrās trayāḥ paramadhārmikāḥ |
āvantaś ca daśārhaś ca balī viṣṇuharaś ca yaḥ || 26.21 ||
daśārhasya suto vyomā vidvāṃ jīmūta ucyate |
jīmūtaputro vṛkatis tasya bhīmarathaḥ sutaḥ || 26.22 ||
atha bhīmarathasyāsīt putro navarathas tathā |
tasya cāsīd daśarathaḥ śakunis tasya cātmajaḥ || 26.23 ||

¹² Their father made a gift of Pālita and Hari to the Videhas.* Rukmeṣu was the king, and Pṛthurukma was in his service. Jyāmagha was banished by the two of them, and lived in a hermitage. ¹³ While staying quietly in the woods, he was raised to enlightenment by a brahmin;* then he mounted his chariot and went off to another region upon it, flying a banner. ¹⁴ All on his own he conquered the Narmadā and its valley, the city of Mṛttikāvātī, and Mount Ṛkṣavat; and he settled in Śuktimatī.

¹⁵ Jyāmagha had a wife, Caitrā, a good, mature woman; but the king had no son, and he could find no other wife. ¹⁶ But he was victorious in a fight, and from it he obtained a young woman. Because of his trepidation, that lord of the people said to his wife: '[She's a] daughter-in-law.' ¹⁷ Hearing this, her fear rising, she said to him: 'Indeed! And whose daughter-in-law is she? Your son will be born – whose wife she will be!' ¹⁸ By means of the young woman's fearsome austerities, the well-favoured Caitrā, that good, mature woman, made efforts for a son, and produced Vidarbha. ¹⁹ And from the daughter-in-law, who was the daughter of a king, Vidarbha in time produced Kratha and Kaisika, both of them wise, valiant, and skilled in combat.

²⁰ Bhīma was [also] a son of Vidarbha; his son was Kunti; and the majestic Dhr̥ṣṭa, daring in battle, was born the son of Kunti.

²¹ Dhr̥ṣṭa produced three most virtuous heroes: Āvanta, Daśārha, and Viṣṇuhara, who was a powerful man. ²² Vyoman ('sky'), the son of Daśārha, is said to be the learned Jīmūta ('cloud'). Vṛkati was the son of Jīmūta, and his son was Bhīmaratha. ²³ And then there was Bhīmaratha's son Navaratha, and his son was Daśaratha, and his was Śakuni.

tasmāt karambhaḥ kārambhir devarāto 'bhavan nṛpaḥ |
devakṣatro 'bhavat tasya daivakṣatrir mahātmanaḥ || 26.24 ||
devagarbhasamo jajñe devakṣatrasya nandanaḥ |
madhūnāṃ vaṃśakṛd rājā madhur madhuravāg api || 26.25 ||

madhor jajñe tu vaidarbhyāṃ purutvān puruṣottamaḥ |
mātā jajñe 'tha vaidarbhyāṃ bhadravatyāṃ kurūdvaha || 26.26 ||
ekṣvākī cābhavad bhāryā mātus tasyām ajāyata |
sarvasattvaguṇopetaḥ sātvatāṃ kīrtivardhanaḥ || 26.27 ||

imāṃ viṣṣṭim vijñāya jyāmaghasya mahātmanaḥ |
yujyate parayā prītyā prajāvāṃś ca bhavaty uta || 26.28 ||

²⁴⁻⁵ Then came Karambha; Devarāta, the guardian of the people, was Karambha's son; and his son was Devakṣatra. Devakṣatra's son was born, the joy of his illustrious father, and was like the child of a god: King Madhu ('sweet'), sweet indeed in speech, who fixed the line of the Madhus.

²⁶ Purutvat, the ultimate person, was then born to Madhu from a woman of Vidarbha. Yes, the mother was born,* from Bhadravati of Vidarbha, O descendant of Kuru. ²⁷ And there was a wife, a descendant of Ikṣvāku; and from the mother a son endowed with all good qualities was born, who strengthened the good reputation of the Sātvatas.*

²⁸ One who knows this – the offspring of the illustrious Jyāmagha – attains supreme satisfaction and is sure to have descendants.

vaiśampāyana uvāca |
 satvataḥ sattvasampannān kausalyā suśuve sutān |
 bhajinaṃ bhajamānaṃ ca divyaṃ devāvṛdhaṃ nṛpaṃ || 27.1 ||
 andhakaṃ ca mahābāhuṃ vṛṣṇiṃ ca yadunandanam |
 teṣāṃ visargās catvāro vistareṇeha tān śṛṇu || 27.2 ||

bhajamānasya sṛṅjayyau bāhyakā copabāhyakā |
 āstāṃ bhārye tayos tasmāj jajñire bahavaḥ sutāḥ || 27.3 ||
 nimiś ca kramaṇas caiva viṣṇuḥ sūraḥ puramjayay |
 ete bāhyakasṛṅjayāṃ bhajamānād vijajñire || 27.4 ||
 āyutājīṭ sahasrājīc chatājīc cātha dāsakaḥ |
 upabāhyakasṛṅjayāṃ bhajamānād vijajñire || 27.5 ||

yajvā devāvṛdho rājā cacāra vipulaṃ tapaḥ |
 putraḥ sarvaguṇopeto mama syād iti niścitaḥ || 27.6 ||
 saṃyujyātmānam evaṃ sa parṇāsāyā jalaṃ sprśan |
 sadopasprśatas tasya cakāra priyam āpagā || 27.7 ||
 cintayābhiparītā sā jagāmaikaviniścayam |
 kalyāṇatvān narapates tasya sā nimnagottamā || 27.8 ||
 nādhyagacchata tāṃ nārīṃ yasyām evaṃvidhaḥ sutāḥ |
 jāyēt tasmāt svayaṃ hanta bhavāmy asya sahavratā || 27.9 ||
 atha bhūtvā kumārī sā bibhratī paramaṃ vapuḥ |
 varayām āsa nṛpatiṃ tāṃ iyeṣa ca sa prabhuḥ || 27.10 ||

atha sā daśame māsi suśuve saritāṃ varā |
 putraṃ sarvaguṇopetaṃ babhruṃ devāvṛdhān nṛpāt || 27.11 ||
 anuvaṃśe purāṇajñā gāyantīti pariśrutam |
 guṇān devāvṛdhasyātha kīrtayanto mahātmanaḥ || 27.12 ||
 yathavāgre śrutam dūrād apaśyāma tathāntikāt |

27. The Line of the Kukuras

¹ Vaiśampāyana said:
 Kausalyā had Sātвата sons* who were endowed with goodness:
 Bhajamāna who received his share, Devāvṛdha the divine protector
 of the people, ² strong-armed Andhaka, and Vṛṣṇi who was the joy
 of the Yadus. Listen now to their four sets of descendants, in detail.

³ Bhajamāna's two wives were two Sṛṅjayīs, Bāhyakā and
 Upabāhyakā; and they bore him many sons.* ⁴ Nimi, Kramana, and
 brave Viṣṇu, the conquerer of cities, were born to Bhajamāna from
 Bāhyakā Sṛṅjayī; ⁵ and Āyutājīṭ, Sahasrājīṭ, Śatājīṭ, and Dāsaka were
 born to him from Upabāhyakā Sṛṅjayī.

⁶ King Devāvṛdha, a ritual patron, engaged in protracted
 austerities: he was determined to have a son endowed with every
 virtue. ⁷ Thus he kept himself in check, doing his ablutions in the
 water of the Parṇāsā; and since he was always bathing, the river
 did him a favour. ⁸ Full of concern, she, the most elevated of those
 who flow downwards, approached that singleminded king on
 account of his nobility, ⁹ [thinking:] 'He has not [yet] met the
 woman from whom such a son might be born; so how about it? I
 myself am his partner in discipline.' ¹⁰ She became a young woman
 with a superb figure, and she propositioned that lord of the people;
 and the king desired her.

¹¹ So, in the tenth month, that prize river gave birth to a son
 endowed with every virtue: Babhru, the son of King Devāvṛdha.
¹² And now, in connection with the genealogy, those who know the
 old stories famously sing in praise of the illustrious Devāvṛdha's
 virtues: ¹³ 'When he was really some distance away, he was audible
 as if he was right there, and likewise he was visible up close to us.'

babhruḥ śreṣṭho manuṣyaṇām devair devāvṛdhaḥ samaḥ || 27.13 ||
ṣaṣṭiś ca ṣaṭ ca puruṣāḥ sahasrāṇi ca sapta ca |
ete 'mṛtatvaṃ saṃprāptā babhror daivāvṛdhād iti || 27.14 ||
yajvā dānapatir dhīmān brahmaṇyaḥ sudṛḍhāyudhaḥ |
tasyānvavāyaḥ sumahān bhojā ye mārṭikāvataḥ || 27.15 ||

andhakāt kāśyaduhitā caturo 'labhatātmajān |
kukuraṃ bhajamānaṃ ca śamiṃ kambalabarhiṣam || 27.16 ||
kukurasya suto dhṛṣṇur dhṛṣṇos tu tanayaḥ tathā |
kapotaromā tasyātha taittiriḥ tanayo 'bhavat |
jajñe punar vasus tasmād abhijit tu punar vasoḥ || 27.17 ||

tasya vai putramithunaṃ babhūvābhijitāḥ kila |
āhukaś cāhukī caiva khyātau khyātimatāṃ varau || 27.18 ||
imāś codāharanty atra gāthāḥ prati tam āhukam || 27.19 ||

śvetena parivāreṇa kiśorapratimo mahān |
aśṭīcarmaṇā yukto nāhukaḥ prathamam vrajet || 27.20 ||
nāputravān nāśatado nāhasraśatāyudhaḥ |
nāśuddhakarmā nāyajvā yo bhojam abhito vrajet || 27.21 ||

pūrvasyām diśi nāgānām bhojasyety anumodanam |
rūpyakāñcanakakṣyaṇām sahasrāṇi daśāpi ca || 27.22 ||
tāvanty eva sahasrāṇi uttarasyām tathā diśi |
ā bhūmipālān bhojān svān atiṣṭhan kiṃkiṇīkinaḥ || 27.23 ||

āhukīṃ cāpy avantibhyaḥ svasāraṃ dadur andhakāḥ || 27.24 ||

Babhru was the most excellent of men. He pleased the gods;* he was like the gods.¹⁴ Seven thousand and sixty-six people are said to have reached immortality on account of Devāvṛdha's son Babhru.¹⁵ [He was] a ritual patron, a lord of gifts, learned, religious, and equipped with a massive arsenal. His lineage, that of the Bhojas of Mṛttikāvātī,* is a very important one.

¹⁶ The king of Kāśī's daughter had four sons by Andhaka: Kukura, Bhajamāna,* Śami, and Kambalabarhiṣa.¹⁷ The son of Kukura was Dhṛṣṇu; and then there was Dhṛṣṇu's line. His son was Kapotaroman; his was Taittiri; his son was Vasu; and Vasu's was Abhijit.

¹⁸ Well now. Abhijit had twins, Āhuka and Āhukī, both of them famous – the two best of the famous.¹⁹ And here they relate this piece about Āhuka:

²⁰ 'A great man who looks like a colt, possessing a white surround made up of eighty shields; Āhuka mustn't come to the front.*

²¹ A man who has sons, who has given a hundred, who has a hundred thousand weapons, whose every deed is pure, and who is a ritual patron – only he may come into the Bhoja's presence.'

²² In the east, amongst the nāgas, there's applause for the Bhoja; and there are some ten thousand palaces of silver and gold.²³ Just as many thousands, in fact, as there are in the north. Straps decorated with small bells could be heard by* his own realm-protecting Bhojas.

²⁴ And the Andhakas gave his sister Āhukī to the Avantis.

āhukasya tu kāśyāyāṃ dvau putrau saṃbabbhūvatuḥ |
devakaś cograsenaś ca devagarbhasamāv ubhau || 27.25 ||
devakasyābhavan putrāś catvāras tridaśopamāḥ |
devavān upadevaś ca sudevo devarakṣitaḥ |
kumāryaḥ sapta cāpyāsan vasudevāya tā dadau || 27.26 ||
devakī śāntidevā ca sudevā devarakṣitā |
vṛkadevy upadevī ca sunāmnī caiva saptamī || 27.27 ||

navograsenasya sutās teṣāṃ kaṃsas tu pūrvajāḥ |
nyagrodhaś ca sunāmā ca kaṅkuśaṅkusubhūmayaḥ |
rāṣṭrapālo 'tha sutanur anādhṛṣṭiś ca puṣṭimān || 27.28 ||
eṣāṃ svasāraḥ pañcāsan kaṃsā kaṃsavatī tathā |
sutanū rāṣṭrapālī ca kaṅkā caiva varāṅganā || 27.29 ||

ugrasenaḥ sahāpatyo vyākhyātaḥ kukurodbhavaḥ || 27.30 ||
kukurāṅgām imaṃ vaṃśam dhārayann amitaujasām |
ātmano vipulaṃ vaṃśam prajāvān āpnute naraḥ || 27.31 ||

²⁵ Two sons were born to Āhuka from a woman of Kāśī: Devaka and Ugrasena, both of them like children of the gods. ²⁶ Devaka had four sons, who were like the thirty gods: Devavat, Upadeva, Sudeva, and Devarakṣita.* And there were also seven daughters. He gave them to Vasudeva: ²⁷ Devakī, Śāntidevā, Sudevā,* Devarakṣitā, Vṛkadevī, Upadevī, and the seventh, Sunāmnī.

²⁸ Ugrasena had nine sons. Of these, Kaṃsa was born first; then Nyagrodha, Sunāman, Kaṅku, Śaṅku, Subhūmaya, Rāṣṭrapāla, Sutanu, and the thriving Anādhṛṣṭi.* ²⁹ And they had five sisters: Kaṃsā, Kaṃsavatī, Sutanū, Rāṣṭrapālī, and shapely Kaṅkā.

³⁰ Ugrasena and his children originated from Kukura. ³¹ And the person who attends to this line of the immeasurably powerful Kukuras is blessed with descendants and a long line of their own.

vaiśampāyana uvāca |
bhajamānasya putro 'tha rathamukhyo vidūrathaḥ |
rājādhidevaḥ śūras tu vidūrathasuto 'bhavat || 28.1 ||
rājādhidevasya sutā jajñire vīryavattarāḥ |
dattātidattau balinau śoṇāśvaḥ śvetavāhanaḥ || 28.2 ||
śamī ca daṇḍaśarmā ca dattaśatruś ca śatrujit |
śravaṇā ca śraviṣṭhā ca svasārau saṃbabbhūvatuḥ || 28.3 ||

śamīputraḥ pratikṣatraḥ pratikṣatrasya cātmajaḥ |
svayaṃbhojaḥ svayaṃbhojād dhṛdikaḥ saṃbabbhūva ha || 28.4 ||
tasya putrā babbhūvur hi sarve bhīmaparākramāḥ |
kṛtavarmāgrajas teṣāṃ śatadhanvā tu madhyamaḥ || 28.5 ||
devāntaś ca narāntaś ca bhiṣag vaitaraṇaś ca yaḥ |
sudāntaś cādhidāntaś ca kīnāśo dāmadambhakaḥ || 28.6 ||
devāntasyābhavat putro vidvān kambalabarhiṣaḥ |
asamaujās tathā vīro nāsamaujās ca tāv ubhau || 28.7 ||
ajātaputrāya sutān pradadāv asamaujase |
sudamaṣṭraṃ ca sucāruṃ ca kṛṣṇam ity andhakāḥ smṛtāḥ || 28.8 ||

gāndhārī caiva mādrī ca kroṣṭor bhārye babbhūvatuḥ |
gāndhārī janayām āsa sumitraṃ mitranandanam || 28.9 ||
mādrī yudhājitaṃ putraṃ tato vai devamīḍhuṣam |
anamitraṃ amitranāṃ jetāraṃ ca mahābalaḥ || 28.10 ||
anamitrasuto nighno nighnasya dvau babbhūvatuḥ |
prasenaś cātha satrājic chatrusenājitāv ubhau || 28.11 ||

praseno dvāravatyāṃ tu nivīśantyāṃ mahāmaṇim |
divyaṃ syamantakaṃ nāma samudrād upalabdhavān || 28.12 ||
sa maṇiḥ syandate rukmaṃ vṛṣṇyandhakaniveśane |
kālavarṣi ca parjanya na ca vyādhibhayaṃ bhavet || 28.13 ||

28. The False Accusation against Kṛṣṇa

¹ Vaiśampāyana said:
Now then. Bhajamāna* had a son Vidūratha, the chief of chariots;
and Vidūratha's son was the brave Rājādhideva. ² Rājādhideva's
sons were manly in the extreme: the mighty pair Datta and
Atidatta, plus Śoṇāśva, Śvetavāhana, ³ Śamin, Daṇḍaśarman,
Dattaśatru, and Śatrujit; and there were two sisters, Śravaṇā and
Śraviṣṭhā.*

⁴ The son of Śamin was Pratikṣatra, the son of Pratikṣatra was
Svayaṃbhoja, and the son of Svayaṃbhoja was Hṛdika. ⁵ His sons
were all formidably enterprising; Kṛtavarma was the first of
them,* and Śatadhanvan the middle one, ⁶ and there were also
Devānta, Narānta, Vaitaraṇa the healer, Sudānta, Adhidānta,
Kīnāśa, Dāma, and Dambhaka. ⁷ The son of Devānta was the learned
Kambalabarhiṣa, and next there were Asamaujas and the brave
Nāsamaujas, who come as a pair. ⁸ [Nāsamaujas] gave the sonless
Asamaujas [his] sons Sudamaṣṭra, Sucāru, and Kṛṣṇa, who are
declared to be Andhakas.

⁹ Gāndhārī and Mādrī were wives of Kroṣṭu.* Gāndhārī produced
Sumitra, a delight to his friends;* ¹⁰ Mādrī produced son Yudhājit;
and there were Devamīḍhuṣa and the mighty enemy-conquerer
Anamitra.* ¹¹ Anamitra's son was Nighna; and Nighna had two
sons, Prasena and Satrājit,* both of whom were victorious against
hostile armies.

¹² At the time when Dvāravatī was being built, Prasena obtained,
from the sea, a supreme celestial jewel called the Syamantaka.

¹³ That gem spread a golden radiance across the land of the Vṛṣṇis
and Andhakas. Parjanya rained at the proper time, and there was
no fear of disease.

lipsām cakre prasenāt tu maṇiratnaṃ syamantakam |
govindo na ca taṃ lebhe śakto 'pi na jahāra saḥ || 28.14 ||

kadācin mrgayāṃ yātaḥ prasenas tena bhūṣitaḥ |
syamantakakṛte siṃhād vadhaṃ prāpa vanecarāt || 28.15 ||
atha siṃhaṃ pradhāvantaṃ ṛkṣarājo mahābalaḥ |
nihatya maṇiratnaṃ tam ādāya bilam āviśat || 28.16 ||
tato vṛṣṇyandhakāḥ kṛṣṇaṃ prasenavadhakāraṇāt |
prārthanāṃ tām maṇer buddhvā sarva eva śaśānkire || 28.17 ||
sa śaṅkyamāno dharmātmā nakārī tasya karmaṇaḥ |
āhariṣye maṇim iti pratijñāya vanaṃ yayau || 28.18 ||

prasenasya padaṃ grhya puruṣair āptakāribhiḥ |
ṛkṣavantaṃ girivaraṃ vindhyaṃ ca girim uttamam || 28.19 ||
anveṣayan pariśrāntaḥ sa dadarśa mahāmanāḥ |
sāśvaṃ hataṃ prasenaṃ tu nāvindac caiva taṃ maṇim || 28.20 ||
atha siṃhaḥ prasenasya śarīrasyāvidūrataḥ |
ṛkṣena nihato dṛṣṭaḥ pādair ṛkṣasya sūcitaḥ || 28.21 ||
pādais tair anviyāyātha guhām ṛkṣasya mādhabaḥ |
mahaty ṛkṣabile vāṇīm śuśrāva pramaderitām || 28.22 ||

dhātryā kumāram ādāya sutam jāmbavato nṛpa |
kṛīḍāpayantyā maṇinā mā rodīr ity atheritām || 28.23 ||

dhātry uvāca |
siṃhaḥ prasenam avadhīt siṃho jāmbavatā hataḥ |
sukumāraka mā rodīs tava hy eṣa syamantakaḥ || 28.24 ||

¹⁴ Govinda conceived a longing for it, but he didn't take possession of that precious Syamantaka jewel. He could have stolen it, but he didn't.

¹⁵ One time, Prasena, wearing it while exerting himself in the hunt, was killed by a lion that was roaming through the forest, and lost the Syamantaka; ¹⁶ and a mighty king of the bears killed the lion as it was running away, and then got hold of the precious gem, and went into a cave. ¹⁷ This being the case, all the Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas, knowing of Kṛṣṇa's desire for the jewel, suspected him of having had the motive to kill Prasena. ¹⁸ That soul of propriety, under suspicion for something he hadn't done, resolved that he must deliver the jewel; and off he went into the wild.

¹⁹⁻²⁰ Accompanied by trusty companions, he found Prasena's tracks and followed them into the high and rocky Vindhya mountains, where the bears live. That high-minded man was just beginning to feel exhausted when he set eyes upon the slain Prasena and his horse. But he didn't find the jewel. ²¹ Then the lion which the bear had killed was discovered not far from Prasena's body, as indicated by the tracks of the bear. ²² The Mādhava was guided by those tracks* to the bear's lair, and coming from inside the bear's great cave he heard a sound that thrilled him.

²³ It was coming, your majesty, from the nursemaid in charge of Jāmbavat's young son. She was amusing him with the jewel: 'Don't cry ...'

²⁴ The nursemaid said;
'A lion killed Prasena, and the lion was killed by Jāmbavat. Don't cry, darling boy, for this, the Syamantaka, is yours.'

vyaktīkṛtaś ca śabdaḥ sa tūrṇaṃ cāpi yayau bilam |
 śārṅgadhanvā bilasthaṃ tu jāmbavantaṃ dadarśa ha || 28.25 ||
 yuyudhe vāsudevas tu bile jāmbavatā saha |
 bāhubhyām eva govindo divasān ekaviṃsatim || 28.26 ||
 praviṣṭe tu bilaṃ kṛṣṇe vasudevapurahsarāḥ |
 punar dvāratīm etya hatam kṛṣṇaṃ nyavedayan || 28.27 ||
 vāsudevas tu nirjitya jāmbavantaṃ mahābalam |
 lebhe jāmbavatīm kanyām ṛkṣarājasya saṃmatām || 28.28 ||
 maṇim syamantakaṃ caiva jagrāhātmaviśuddhaye |
 anuṅyarkṣarājānaṃ niryayau ca tadā bilāt || 28.29 ||

evaṃ sa maṇim āhṛtya viśodhyātmānam acyutaḥ |
 dadau satrājite taṃ vai sarvasātvatasamśadi || 28.30 ||
 evaṃ mithyābhiśastena kṛṣṇenāmitraghātinā |
 ātmā viśodhitaḥ pāpād vinirjitya syamantakam || 28.31 ||

satrājito daśa tv āsan bhāryās tāsām śataṃ sutāḥ |
 khyātīmantas trayas teṣām bhaṅgakāras tu pūrvajaḥ || 28.32 ||
 vīro vātapatis caiva upasvāvāms tathaiva ca |
 kumāryās cāpi tisro vai dikṣu khyātā narādhipa || 28.33 ||
 satyabhāmottamā strīṇāṃ vratinī ca dṛḍhavrata |
 tathā padmāvatī caiva bhāryāḥ kṛṣṇasya tā dadau || 28.34 ||
 sabhākṣo bhaṅgakārāt tu nāreyaś ca narottamau |
 jajñāte guṇasaṃpannau viśrutau guṇasaṃpadā || 28.35 ||

madhoḥ putrasya jajñe 'tha pṛśniḥ putro yudhājitaḥ |
 jajñāte tanayau pṛśneḥ śvaphalkaś citrakas tathā || 28.36 ||

²⁵ And immediately, as soon as he'd heard those words, he [Kṛṣṇa] entered the cave. Armed with the Śārṅga bow, he saw Jāmbavat standing in the cave. ²⁶⁻⁷ Using only his two arms, Govinda Vāsudeva grappled with Jāmbavat, in the cave. And when Kṛṣṇa had been in the cave for twenty-one days, those who had come out from Vasudeva's city went back to Dvāratī and announced that Kṛṣṇa was dead. ²⁸ But Vāsudeva vanquished the mighty bear king; and he took the maiden Jāmbavatī, Jāmbavat's pride and joy. ²⁹ Then, to clear his name, he grabbed the Syamantaka jewel that had led him to the bear king, and he left the cave.

³⁰ Having reclaimed the name-clearing jewel in this way, Acyuta then gave it to Satrājī at an assembly of all the Sātvatas. ³¹ And that's how Kṛṣṇa, falsely accused but the slayer of unfriendliness, solved the Syamantaka and acquitted himself of the criminal charge.

³² Satrājī had ten wives, and he had a hundred sons from them. Three of those are famous. First born was Bhaṅgakāra, ³³ and then the valiant Vātapati ('lord of the winds'), and then Upasvāvat. And he also had three daughters, who were renowned far and wide, O leader of the people: ³⁴ Satyabhāmā, that pinnacle of womanhood, and strict Dṛḍhavrata, and Padmāvatī too. And he gave them to Kṛṣṇa as wives.* ³⁵ And from Bhaṅgakāra were produced Sabhākṣa and Nāreya, two superb fellows who were endowed with every virtue and famous for it.

³⁶ Now then. Pṛśni was born, the son of Madhu's son Yudhājī.* And Pṛśni had two sons, Śvaphalka and Citraka.

śvaphalkaḥ kāśirājasya sutāṃ bhāryām avindata |
gāṃdīm tasyās tu gāṃdītvaṃ sadā gāḥ pradadau hi sā || 28.37 ||
tasyāṃ jajñe tadā vīraḥ śrutavān iti bhārata |
akrūro 'tha mahābhāgo yajvā vipuladakṣiṇaḥ || 28.38 ||
upāsaṅgas tathā madgur mṛduraś cārimardanaḥ |
girikṣipas tathopekṣaḥ śatruhā cārimejayaḥ || 28.39 ||
carmabhṛc cārivarmā ca ḡḍhramojā naras tathā |
āvāhaprativāhau ca sundarā ca varāṅganā || 28.40 ||
viśrutā sāmbamaḥiṣī kanyā cāsya vasuṃdharā |
rūpayauvanasaṃpannā sarvasattvamanoharā || 28.41 ||

akrūreṇaugrasenyām tu sugātryām kurunandana |
sudevaś copadevaś ca jajñāte devavarcasau || 28.42 ||

citrakasyābhavan putrāḥ pṛthur vipṛthur eva ca |
aśvaseno 'śvabāhuś ca supārśvakagaveṣaṇau || 28.43 ||
|| 28.44 || *

imāṃ mithyābhiśastiṃ yaḥ kṛṣṇasya samudāhṛtām |
veda mithyābhiśāpās taṃ na sprśanti kadācana || 28.45 ||

³⁷ Śvaphalka married Gāṃdī, the daughter of the Kāśī king.* She was called Gāṃdī because she always gave cows away. ³⁸ And she gave birth to a hero called Śrutavat, Bhārata; and to the momentous Akrūra, a ritual patron who paid high fees; ³⁹ and to Upāsaṅga, Madgu, Mṛdura, Arimardana, Girikṣipa, Upekṣa, Śatruhan, Arimejaya, ⁴⁰ Carmabhṛt, Arivarman, ḡḍhramojas, Nara, Āvāha, Prativāha, and Sundarā, a shapely ⁴¹ girl, endowed with youth and beauty, who stole the heart of every living being and famously became the chief wife of Sāmba and the bearer of his jewels.

⁴² And Sudeva and Upadeva, who were as glorious as gods, O delight of the Kurus, were born to Akrūra from Sugātrī Ugrasenī.

⁴³ Citraka had sons: Pṛthu and Vipṛthu, Aśvasena* and Aśvabāhu, Supārśvaka and Gaveṣaṇa.

⁴⁵ This, as narrated, is the false accusation against Kṛṣṇa. And those who accuse falsely can never touch anyone who knows it.

vaiśampāyana uvāca |
yat tat satrājite kṛṣṇo maṇiratnaṃ syamantakam |
adāt tad dhārayad babhrur bhojena śatadhanvanā || 29.1 ||
sadā hi prārthayām āsa satyabhāmām aninditām |
akrūro 'ntaram anvicchan maṇiṃ caiva syamantakam || 29.2 ||
satrājitaṃ tato hatvā śatadhanvā mahābalaḥ |
rātrau taṃ maṇiṃ ādāya tato 'krūrāya dattavān || 29.3 ||
akrūras tu tadā ratnam ādāya bharatarṣabha |
samayaṃ kārayāṃ cakre nāvedyo 'haṃ tvayācyute || 29.4 ||
vayam abhyupapatsyāmaḥ kṛṣṇena tvāṃ pradharṣitam |
mamādyā dvārakā sarvā vaśe tiṣṭhaty asaṃśayam || 29.5 ||

hate pitare duḥkhārtā satyabhāmā yaśasvinī |
prayayau ratham āruhya nagaraṃ vāraṇāvatam || 29.6 ||
satyabhāmā tu tad vṛttaṃ bhojasya śatadhanvanaḥ |
bhartur nivedya duḥkhārtā pārśvasthāsrūṇy avartayat || 29.7 ||

pāṇḍavāṇāṃ tu dagdhānāṃ hariḥ kṛtvodakaṃ tadā |
kulyārthe ca sa bhrātṛṇāṃ nyayojayata sātyakim || 29.8 ||
tatas tvaritam āgamyā dvārakāṃ madhusūdanaḥ |
pūrvajāṃ halinaṃ śrīmān idaṃ vacanam abravīt || 29.9 ||
hataḥ prasenaḥ siṃhena satrājic chatadhanvanā |
syamantakaḥ sa madgāmī tasya prabhur ahaṃ vibho || 29.10 ||
tadāroha rathaṃ śīghraṃ bhojaṃ hatvā mahābalaṃ |
syamantako mahābāho saha nau sa bhaviṣyati || 29.11 ||

29. The Syamantaka Gem (Continued)

¹ Vaiśampāyana said:
Kṛṣṇa had given the precious Syamantaka jewel to Satrājīit; but now Babhru got hold of it,* with the help of Śatadhanvan the Bhoja.* ² As it happened, Akūrā always longed for the irreproachable Satyabhāmā; and he also had an inner desire for the Syamantaka gem. ³ So one night the mighty Śatadhanvan killed Satrājīit, took the jewel, and gave it to Akūrā. ⁴ Akūrā took the gemstone, O bull of Bharata, and made a deal: 'Do not disclose me to Acyuta. ⁵ If Kṛṣṇa attacks you, we will look after you. Today the whole of Dvārakā stands in my power, no doubt about it!'

⁶ Glorious Satyabhāmā, stricken with grief for her murdered father, got on a chariot and went the town of Vāraṇāvata.

⁷ Satyabhāmā, stricken with grief, told her husband what Śatadhanvan the Bhoja had done, and burst into tears in front of him.

⁸ Hari made a water-offering for the Pāṇḍavas, and told Sātyaki to arrange urns for the burned brothers' bones.* ⁹ Then the blessed Madhusūdana returned in all haste to Dvārakā and said to his elder brother the ploughman: ¹⁰ 'Prasena was killed by a lion, and Satrājīit was killed by Śatadhanvan. That Syamantaka is coming to me. I am its master, O mighty one.' ¹¹ [Rāma] got on his chariot immediately: 'When the powerful Bhoja has been killed, that Syamantaka, O strong-armed man, will be for the two of us.*'

tataḥ pravavṛte yuddhaṃ tumulaṃ bhojakṛṣṇayoḥ |
 śatadhanvā tato 'krūram avaiḡṣat sarvatodiśam || 29.12 ||
 anāptaḥ ca vadhārhaḥ ca kṛtvā bhojajanārdanaḥ |
 śakto 'pi śāṭhyād dhārdikyaṃ nākrūro 'bhyupapadyata || 29.13 ||
 apayāne tato buddhiṃ bhojaś cakre bhayārditaḥ |
 yojanānāṃ śataṃ sāgraṃ hayayā pratyapadyata || 29.14 ||

vikhyātā hṛdayā nāma śatayojanagāminī |
 bhojasya vaḍavā rājan yayā kṛṣṇam ayodhayat || 29.15 ||
 kṣiṇām javena hṛdayām adhvanaḥ śatayojane |
 dṛṣṭvā rathasya svām vṛddhiṃ śatadhanvānam ārdayat || 29.16 ||
 tatas tasyā hayāyās tu śramāt khedāc ca bhārata |
 kham utpetur atha prāṇāḥ kṛṣṇo rāmam athābravīt || 29.17 ||
 tiṣṭhasveha mahābāho dṛṣṭadoṣā hayā mayā |
 padbhyām gatvā hariṣyāmi maṇiratnaṃ syamantakam || 29.18 ||

padbhyām eva tato gatvā śatadhanvānam acyutaḥ |
 mithilām abhito rājañ jaghāna paramāstravit || 29.19 ||
 syamantakam ca nāpaśyad dhatvā bhojaṃ mahābalaḥ |

nivṛttaṃ cābravīt kṛṣṇaṃ ratnaṃ dehīti lāṅgalī || 29.20 ||
 nāstīti kṛṣṇaś covāca tato rāmo ruṣānvitaḥ |
 dhikśabdapūrvam asakṛt pratyuvāca janārdanam || 29.21 ||
 bhrātṛtvān marṣayāmy eṣa svasti te 'stu vrajāmy aham |
 kṛtyaṃ na me dvārakayā na tvayā na ca vṛṣṇibhiḥ || 29.22 ||
 praviveśa tato rāmo mithilām arimardanaḥ |
 sarvakāmair upacitair maithilenābhipūjitaḥ || 29.23 ||

¹² And so there was a raucous fight between Kṛṣṇa and the Bhoja. Śatadhanvan looked out in every direction for Akrūra; ¹³ but Akrūra, because he was a scoundrel, behaved towards the Bhoja and Janārdana as if they were both strangers fit to be killed. Although he was perfectly capable of doing so, he did not offer the descendant of Hṛdika any assistance. ¹⁴ Then the Bhoja, fearstruck, made up his mind to flee, and ran a full one hundred *yojanas* away on his mare.

¹⁵ The Bhoja's famous mare, your majesty, Hṛdayā by name, who ran the hundred *yojanas*, was the mare on whom he had fought Kṛṣṇa. ¹⁶ [Kṛṣṇa] noticed after a hundred *yojanas* on the road that Hṛdayā's speed was dropping steadily and that his chariot was gaining on her, and he taunted Śatadhanvan. ¹⁷ And then, Bhārata, in her painful exhaustion, that mare breathed her last. And Kṛṣṇa said to Rāma: ¹⁸ 'Stay here, strong-armed man. I see there is a problem with the mare. I will go on, on foot, and fetch the precious Syamantaka jewel.'

¹⁹ So Acyuta, who was versed in supreme firepower, went off on his own two feet and killed Śatadhanvan somewhere near Mithilā,* your majesty. ²⁰ But having killed the mighty Bhoja, he couldn't find the Syamantaka.

When Kṛṣṇa had returned, the ploughman said to him, 'Hand over the jewel.'²¹ And Kṛṣṇa said, 'It's not there.' This infuriated Rāma, and he said 'Shame!' to Janārdana, and said it again and again. ²² 'I put up with this because I'm your brother. All the best to you – I'm off! I can't be doing with Dvārakā, or with you, or with the Vṛṣṇis.'²³ So Rāma, the ruin of his foes, went off to Mithilā, and was received by the king of Mithilā* with every abundance of delights.

etasminn eva kālē tu babhrur matimatām varaḥ |
 nānārūpān kratūn sarvān ājahāra nirargalān || 29.24 ||
 dīkṣāmayam sa kavacam rakṣārtham praviveśa ha |
 syamantakakṛte prājño gāṃdīputro mahāyaśāḥ || 29.25 ||
 arthān ratnāni cāgryāṇi dravyāṇi vividhāni ca |
 ṣaṣṭim varṣāni dharmātmā yajñeṣu viniyojayat || 29.26 ||
 akrūrayajñā iti te khyātās tasya mahātmanaḥ |
 bahvannadakṣiṇāḥ sarve sarvakāmapradāyinaḥ || 29.27 ||

atha duryodhano rājā gatvā sa mithilām prabhuḥ |
 gadāśikṣām tato divyām balabhadrad avāptavān || 29.28 ||
 prasādyā tu tato rāmo vṛṣṇyandhakamahārathaiḥ |
 ānīto dvārakām eva kṛṣṇena ca mahātmanā || 29.29 ||

akrūras tv andhakaiḥ sārddham apāyād bharatarṣabha |
 hatvā satrājitaṃ yuddhe sahabandhuṃ mahābalī || 29.30 ||
 jñātibhedabhayāt kṛṣṇas tam upekṣitavān atha |
 apayāte tadākrūre nāvarṣat pākaśāsanaḥ || 29.31 ||
 anāvṛṣṭyā tadā rāṣṭram abhavad bahudhā kṛśam |
 tataḥ prasādayām āsur akrūram kukurāndhakāḥ || 29.32 ||
 punar dvāravatīm prāpte tasmin dānapatau tataḥ |
 pravavarṣa sahasrākṣaḥ kacche jalanidhes tadā || 29.33 ||

kanyām ca vāsudevāya svasāram śīlasammatām |
 akrūrah pradadau dhīmān prītyartham kurunandana || 29.34 ||

²⁴ During the same period of time, Babhru [i.e. Akrūra], the best of the wise, was offering every irresistible rite of whatever kind.
²⁵ That famous and cunning son of Gāṃdī hid the Syamantaka and was initiated to be a ritual patron by way of cover, in an attempt to protect himself. ²⁶ At rites over a period of some sixty years, that soul of propriety gave away valuable objects, choice jewels, and various treasured possessions. ²⁷ The rites known to you as ‘Akrūra’s rites’ were the rites of this illustrious man; and all of them featured quantities of food and gifts and supplied everything that might be considered desirable.

²⁸ And the mighty King Duryodhana came to Mithilā, and received wondrous instruction in club-fighting from Balabhadra [i.e. Rāma].* ²⁹ And in time, after having been conciliated by the great chariot warriors among the Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas, Rāma was brought back to Dvārakā by the illustrious Kṛṣṇa.

³⁰ But powerful Akrūra, who had had Satrājī and his associates killed in a fight, took half of the Andhakas with him and left, O bull of Bharata. ³¹ Kṛṣṇa, anxious not to cause divisions amongst his relations, made nothing of it; but when Akrūra had gone away, the punisher of Pāka did not rain, ³² and the kingdom became enfeebled by continuing drought. The Kukuras and Andhakas then petitioned Akrūra; ³³ and when that lord of generosity had come back to Dvāravatī once more, the god of a thousand eyes rained on the ocean’s shore.

³⁴ And, O joy of the Kurus, the thoughtful Akrūra, to curry Vāsudeva’s favour, gave him his own young sister,* who had a reputation for her virtuous ways.

atha vijñāya yogena kṛṣṇo babhruḡataṃ maṇim |
sabhāmadhyagataṃ prāha tam akrūraṃ janārdanaḡ || 29.35 ||
yat tad ratnaṃ maṇivaraṃ tava hastagataṃ vibho |
tat prayacchasva mānārha mayi mānāryakaṃ kṛthāḡ || 29.36 ||
ṣaṣṭivarṣagate kāle yad roṣo 'bhūt tadā mama |
sa saṃrūḡho 'sakṛt prāptas tataḡ kālātyayo mahān || 29.37 ||

tataḡ kṛṣṇasya vacanāt sarvasātvatasamsadi |
pradadau taṃ maṇim babhrur akleśena mahāmatiḡ || 29.38 ||
tatas tam āryavatprāptaṃ babhror hastād ariṃdamaḡ |
dadau hṛṣṭamanāḡ kṛṣṇas taṃ maṇim babhrave punaḡ || 29.39 ||
sa kṛṣṇahastāt saṃprāpya maṇiratnaṃ syamantakaṃ |
ābadhya gāṃdinīputro virarājāṃśumān iva || 29.40 ||

³⁵ Kṛṣṇa Janārdana now worked out, by means of a stratagem, that the gem was in Babhru's possession, and when Akrūra was in the middle of his assembly he said to him: ³⁶ 'My honourable lord. I request the jewel, the choice gem that has come into your hands. Make me a decent, respected man. ³⁷ Sixty years have passed since my passion arose – a huge stretch of time, and so it has been healed time and time again.'

³⁸ And after Kṛṣṇa had said this in the assembly of all the Sātvatas, broadminded Babhru, without a qualm, gave him the jewel. ³⁹ And Kṛṣṇa, the tamer of his foes, touched to the heart, gave back to Babhru the jewel that Babhru had just so nobly handed over. ⁴⁰ And when he had received the precious Syamantaka gem from Kṛṣṇa's hands and fixed it upon his person, the son of Gāṃdinī shone like the sun.

NOTES TO THE SOLAR DYNASTY

8.3 (perhaps not looking particularly lovely). For Vivasvat as Mārtaṇḍa in the Vedas, see Jamison 1991: 116, 204–8. In the Vedic myth, Aditi's eighth son, Mārtaṇḍa (cf. *Harivaṃśa* 8.39, where Mārtaṇḍa is called 'the eighth Prajāpati'), is aborted, in some cases because of the jealousy of his elder brothers; but he is then restored, and becomes Vivasvat. Here in the *Harivaṃśa* the deficiency is apparently repeated, as if it were an eclipse or simply the sun's standard nocturnal or wintertime withdrawal; but it is attributed to the sun himself. For a study of the story of Saṃjñā, see Doniger 1996, discussing the story in a variety of texts (many of which contain features not evident in the *Harivaṃśa* version, which, on the whole, I have tried to treat on its own terms). Doniger sapiently juxtaposes the story with that of Kuntī, the sun, and Karṇa in the *Mahābhārata*. She presents an English version of 'Harivaṃśa 8.1–48', but it is not clear to me what exact text she has translated. On the story of Saṃjñā, see also Feller 2009. For discussion of the story of Saraṇyū (i.e. Saṃjñā) in the Veda, see Bloomfield 1893: 172–88.

8.4 (Because he loved him, Kaśyapa said). I have assumed Kaśyapa (rather than Vivasvat Kāśyapa, or Saṃjñā) as the agent here – as do Bose (n.d.: 29) and Doniger (1996: 158).

8.8 (she created Savarṇā, her own shadow). Doniger says that 'there is real ambiguity now about the person whom the Shadow looks like, Saṃjñā or the Sun', and that in the *Harivaṃśa* the word *chāyā* (shadow) 'refers to the "dark color" of the Sun and the "same color" of the double woman, implying that Saṃjñā rejected the Sun because of his blackness and created an appropriately black mate for him ... someone who, being dark like he, was of-the-same-kind as he' (1996: 160). It is an interesting idea, but in the text I

have used it is hard to see that Savarṇā looks like the sun. The whole point is that she must look like Saṃjñā, and her name would be understood as 'Lookalike'. If we take it into account that Saṃjñā thinks Vivasvat to be particularly dark, then by implication Saṃjñā herself would be lighter, and so Savarṇā would be too.

8.10 (you must live in this house). Several manuscripts read *bhavanam* here instead of *bhavane*, which would make the construction a bit more straightforward.

8.17 (and he is called Sāvarṇa). There is delicious irony here, since the second Manu, because he so resembles his (half-)brother, is inadvertently named after his mother, who is as yet unknown to any other present party. In the version of this story presented at *Brhaddevatā* 6.162–7.6, Vivasvat has so far only had two children (the twins) with his real wife, and so the Manu born from the stand-in wife is the first and only Manu. There are also accounts (e.g. at *Mahābhārata* 1.70.10–11) in which Manu is not Yama's brother but his descendant.

8.19 (or because of the power of his future importance). See *Harivaṃśa* 8.41–2 below: Yama is to become lord of the dead and guardian of the southern direction.

8.28 (And he said it again and again). Instead of 'ti in *pāda* d, many manuscripts read *tu* (K₃, Dn, D₆, T₂, G₁, G₅, M₄) or *ca* (T₄, G₂, M₃). Dandekar 1976 (the edition presenting the reconstituted text on its own, without apparatus) reads 'pi, which is an error.

8.30 (respectfully and correctly, and managed to conciliate him). In Doniger's version, Tvaṣṭṛ 'trimmed him on his lathe, removing his excessive fiery energy' (1996: 159).

S 8.37 (maithunāya viceṣṭantīm parapuṃso viśaṅkayā). Vaidya’s text has *viveṣṭantīm*. I have emended this to *viceṣṭantīm*, following manuscripts K₂, N̄₂₋₃, V, B₂, D₁, T₂, and G₁₋₂ (additionally K₁, K₃₋₄, N̄₁, B₁, B₃, D_n, D_s, D₂₋₆, and G₃₋₅ read *viceṣṭanti*). Doniger’s translation has, ‘she was struggling since she feared it might be another male’, and thus Doniger notes that ‘in the *Bṛhaddevatā* she receives the stallion willingly, while in the *Harivaṃśa* she tries to avoid him’ (1996: 159–60). I disagree, and take *viceṣṭantīm* in the sense of being stirred up, fired up – here ‘keen’.

8.39 (Nāsalya and Dasra, known as the Aśvins). Doniger (1996: 158) notes that the connection between the Aśvins and the nose ‘may also have been inspired by a desire to account for their Vedic epithet of Nāsalyas, which Herman Lommel interprets as “Nose-beings”, in harmony with the traditional Indian interpretation of the name.’ In Doniger’s version of the previous verse, ‘She vomited out that semen of the Sun from her nose’ (1996: 159).

8.43 (in the Sāvāṃika period to comḍ). The duration of the cosmos is divided into different periods (*antarās*) presided over by different Manus. See *Harivaṃśa* 7.

9.5 (Iḍā was born on that occasion). For Iḍā, also known as Ilā, see further *Rāmāyaṇa* 7.78–81 (Ilā is female only temporarily; cf. Doniger 1997); *Harivaṃśa* 20.44–6 (Ilā’s fling with Budha, and the moon suffering from royal consumption); *Mahābhārata* 1.70.13–16 (Ilā as a son of Manu, and as father and mother of Purūravas); 1.90.7 (Ilā links Manu and Purūravas); 3.185 (Manu is saved from a flood and produces offspring); *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.8.1 (Manu is saved from a flood and produces Iḍā).

9.7 (though propriety will be killed, it won’t kill mḍ). Iḍā’s disobeying her father will be a killing of propriety; but since she is already Mitra and Varuṇa’s share, propriety cannot blame her. By

implication, it is Manu himself who has acted improperly by asking Iḍā to follow him when she is already Mitra and Varuṇa’s share.

9.22 (Sukanyā, who was Cyavana’s wife). For the story of Sukanyā and Cyavana Bhārgava (young lady pokes old man in the eye, then falls in love with him), see *Mahābhārata* 3.121–5; Leslie 2003: 126–36; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 4.1.5; *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* 3.120–29.

9.37 (These are said to be the ninḍ). Of Manu’s nine sons listed at *Harivaṃśa* 9.1–2, Prāṃsu and Nābhānediṣṭa have not been described further, and Nābhāga has been described further twice (with son Ambarīṣa, 9.21, and with two *vaiśya* sons who became brahmins, 9.36).

9.38 (Manu, sneezing, had a son Ikṣvāku, my boy and Ikṣvāku had a hundred sons). This etymology depends on the sound that a sneeze and the name both make. For discussion of various other etymologies in the context of the identification of Iṣmaho as the Gāndhārī word for Ikṣvāku, see Salomon and Baums 2007: 208–9, 214–15. Salomon and Baums mention Berger’s explanation of the name as ‘a survival of an Austroasiatic word for “pumpkin” (Kürbis), allegedly functioning as a totemic clan name’ (p. 215), which is interesting given that most of Sagara Aikṣvākava’s sons are sprung from pumpkin seeds (see 10.58–9 below).

The *Harivaṃśa*’s claim that Ikṣvāku had a hundred sons may be hyperbolic-cum-formulaic, but he is a common royal ancestor. Many Aikṣvākavas are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* who are not found in the *Harivaṃśa*’s solar line. The Buddha, as a Śākya, was allegedly an Aikṣvākava, and hence perhaps the attraction of this ancestral appropriation for various Buddhist kings (Salomon and Baums 2007: 216–17; Deeg in press).

See also Vikadru’s account of the origin of the Yādavas at the beginning of *Harivaṃśa* app18 (which is in every *Harivaṃśa* manuscript except one; see Vaidya 1969: xxxi–ii, xl–xli): there,

exceptionally, the Yādavas are descendants of Ikṣvāku, because they are descendants of Haryaśva, a younger son of Ikṣvāku who was turfed out of the kingdom by his elder brother and subsequently made his fortune – or that of his descendants, at least – by accepting land from his father-in-law. Comparable is the story of Rāma’s younger brother Śatrughna and Mathurā: Śatrughna kills the demon Lavaṇa and establishes Mathurā, which his son then inherits (*Harivaṃśa* app18.217–23; *Harivaṃśa* 44; *Rāmāyaṇa* 7.52–62). If one interpretively adds a marriage between Śatrughna and a relative of Lavaṇa, then the story matches that of Haryaśva. Such stories might readily furnish an Aikṣvākava background for ambitious royal houses in any number of cases; and indeed, if to come newly into royal prominence would be to merit inclusion within the royal *somavaṃśa*, then an Aikṣvākava ancestor – even if he were the husband of a *putrikā* – would fit nicely with the fact that the moon’s light is not its own but is rather the reflected light of the sun.

9.44 (Ayodhyā’s heir was ... Kakutsthā). There is no explicit relationship between Vikukṣi, before or after he eats his hare, and Kakutsthā, so this would appear to be a possible hiatus in the *vaṃśa*. Despite his many sons and his return to Ayodhyā, we never hear that Vikukṣi completed the ancestral rites.

9.48 (the killing of Dhundhu). For this story, see also *Mahābhārata* 3.192–5.

9.74 (drank up his flood of water). Compare Agastya, who at *Mahābhārata* 3.101–3 drinks the ocean during a campaign against demons. In my understanding of the showdown between Kuvālāśva and sons and Dhundhu, I follow Magnone 2009: 289n17.

9.76 (He gave him undiminishing wealth). Instead of *dadatāś ca* in *pāda* c, many manuscripts read *dadāu tasya* (K₂, K₄, Ñ, V, B₂₋₃, D₁₋₅, T, G₁₋₂, G₄₋₅) or *adadāc ca* (K₁, K₃, Dn).

9.81 (And her son was Prasenajit). Dṛṣadvatī Haimavatī is the only female link in the solar line. For the idea of a female link, or *putrikā*, see *Mānavadharmasāstra* 3.11; 9.127–40; *Gautama Dharmasūtra* 28.19; Jolly 1885: 147–50; Kane 1968–77, vol. 1 pt 1: 7; vol. 2 pt 1: 435–6; Schmidt 1987: 30–44. In the solar ancestry of Janamejaya as given at *Mahābhārata* 1.70.9, 16 and 1.90.7 there are two female links, Aditi and Ilā (Brodbeck 2009: 89–102). For female links in the lunar line, see 23.36–7 (Śāntā) and 23.125–7 (Saṃmatā) below. The story of Raivata and his daughter (told at *Harivaṃśa* 9.24–32 above) might suggest a custom of not-giving-away in ancient Kuśasthalī, made obsolete by the time of Raivata’s return.

9.83 (Yuvanāśva the great ... and Yuvanāśva’s son ... King Māndhātṛ). For the story of Māndhātṛ’s birth (Yuvanāśva bears and gives birth to him), see *Mahābhārata* 3.126. For Māndhātṛ’s death at the hands of Lavaṇa, see *Rāmāyaṇa* 7.59.

9.94 (settled near a village of dog-cookers). This detail bears upon the story told at *Mahābhārata* 12.139, in which Viśvāmītra, in a time of drought and famine, is driven to eat dog. For an alternative translation of the *Harivaṃśa*’s story of Satyavrata Triśaṅku, with Purāṇic variants translated in the footnotes, see Sathaye 2004: 173–6.

9.95 (and surely this was a result of the misdeed). Pargiter’s analysis (Pargiter 1913) would suggest that the misdeed here would not be Satyavrata’s misdeed (as suggested at 10.10 below), but the misdeed of Vasiṣṭha in having allowed Satyavrata to be banished. According to Satyavrata (see 10.7–8 below), the abduction of the woman occurred before her marriage to another had been

concluded, and thus was not such a great offence as all that; and Vasiṣṭha knew this. There is an interregnum here during which Vasiṣṭha, a brahmin, would be discharging the royal function. Such a situation is inherently adharmic, and the drought would reflect this (see e.g. *Mahābhārata* 12.67–76). Pargiter effectively accuses Vasiṣṭha of repeatedly arranging and perpetuating the king's absence in order to be able to rule in his stead; see also Pargiter 1917, the sequel to Pargiter 1913.

9.97 (she got a hundred cows for him, in fact). Compare the story of Śunaḥśepa. In the version at *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 7.13–18, middle son Śunaḥśepa Ājīgarti is sold, as sacrificial meat, by his poor parents, but engineers his own miraculous survival by poetic means, and is subsequently adopted by Viśvāmitra. In the version at *Rāmāyaṇa* 1.60–61 Śunaḥśepa is the son of Ṛcika, and Viśvāmitra teaches him the *mantras* by which he saves himself.

9.100 (because he'd been bound by the neck). For Gālava, see also *Mahābhārata* 5.104–21 (Gālava's apprenticeship under Viśvāmitra, and his travels with Garuḍa and Mādhavī in his efforts to pay his tuition fees).

10.12 (the seer's intention was: 'I will anoint this man's son'). According to Pargiter the *asya* ('this man') refers to Satyavrata; but in that case one might rather expect *tasya*, so I take the *asya* to refer to a hidden character, namely the incompetent elder brother of Satyavrata. This hidden elder brother, in my view, is also the 'another man' of 9.89 above, from whom Satyavrata snatched the betrothed woman. The latter would then not be a human woman as such, but the personified realm. For 'the king as the husband of the earth', see Hara 1973. For Vasiṣṭha's preference for primogeniture, see his words to Rāma at *Rāmāyaṇa* 2.102.30–31b:

*ikṣvākūṇāṃ hi sarveṣāṃ rājā bhavati pūrvajāḥ |
pūrvajenāvaraḥ putro jyeṣṭho rājye 'bhiṣicyate ||*

*sa rāghavāṇāṃ kuladharmam ātmanaḥ
sanātanaṃ nādyā vihātum arhasi |*

'For among all the Ikṣvākus the first-born has always become the king. When the first-born is living, it is not a younger son but only the eldest who is consecrated for kingship. This is the age-old custom of your own house, the House of the Rāghavas, and you must not abandon it now' (tr. Pollock 1986: 305).

10.13 (Vasiṣṭha's milking cow, who yields everything one might desire). Vasiṣṭha's famous cow comes under attack in other stories too: the Vasus take her (*Mahābhārata* 1.93); and Viśvāmitra fails in his attempt to take her (*Mahābhārata* 1.165; *Rāmāyaṇa* 1.50–55).

10.14 (and had fallen prey to the ten vices). The compound *daśadharmagata* occurs also at *Harivaṃśa* app5.73; *Mahābhārata* 7.122.19; 12.63.13; 12.66.25; 12.69.25. Fitzgerald's interpretation for the *Śāntiparvan* instances ('who is in his tenth decade'; Fitzgerald 2004: 322, 331, 342, 731, the last of these being a note where the interpretation is traced to Olivelle) is rather speculative and would not fit very well here, because of the pre-existing twelve-year frame. At *Harivaṃśa* app5.73 Saindon translates *daśadharmagatī* as 'qui s'était laissée aller à un manque total de contrôle' (Saindon 1998: 275), referring in a footnote to star passage *199 which several manuscripts (Dn, D₆, N₃) insert in connection with 10.14:

*mattaḥ pramatta unmattaḥ śrāntaḥ kruddho bubhikṣitaḥ |
tvaramāṇas ca bhītaś ca lubdhaḥ kāmī ca te daśa ||*

'The ten reasons which goaded him to this act were passion, exhaustion, anger, desire, hunger, immediate need, cowardice, avarice, folly, and drunkenness' (tr. Bose n.d.: 40–41).

10.20 (to the kingdom of the winking celestial). For Viśvāmitra as Triśaṅku's redeemer, ending in Triśaṅku's being installed in the heavens, see also *Rāmāyaṇa* 1.56–9. *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* 1.10 quotes

‘Triśaṅku’s Vedic recitation’ (*triśaṅkor vedānuvacana*), in which he celebrates his own fame and brilliance.

10.22 (He performed the rājasūya). For Hariścandra and the rājasūya, see also *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 7.13–18 (it was at Hariścandra’s rājasūya that Śunaḥṣepa saved himself with *mantras*); *Mahābhārata* 2.11.52–64.

10.31 (the five peoples ... made the running on behalf of the Hehaya). Pargiter (1919: 361) suggests that these peoples included many descendants of Druhyu. For the descendants of Druhyu, see the *somavaṃśa* below, at 23.130–32. Pargiter also suggests (1919: 364) that Vasiṣṭha’s sympathy for these usurpers (at 10.39–40 below) is the origin of the story wherein various peoples are created from the body of his cow (see e.g. *Mahābhārata* 1.165). Pargiter views ‘Vasiṣṭha’ as a surname, rather than as the personal name of an extremely long-lived man.

10.47 (His horse roamed at will). Before being put down, having ceremonial postmortem copulation with the queen, and being dismembered, the *āsvamedha* horse must roam for a year at will, while the king’s forces follow it, overpowering any who would obstruct it. For accounts of Sagara’s *āsvamedha*, see also *Mahābhārata* 3.104–6; *Rāmāyaṇa* 1.37–40 – these two passages including also the birth of the Sāgaras (cf. the birth of the Dhārtarāṣṭras, *Mahābhārata* 1.107–8), which in the *Harivaṃśa* is narrated afterwards (i.e. below). For the roaming of Yudhiṣṭhira Pāṇḍava’s horse, see *Mahābhārata* 14.73–85, and also the *Jaiminīya Āsvamedhikaparvan* (Sen 2008).

10.60 (Sagara had the embryos placed in pot). If *nidadhus* in *pāda b* is to stand, then presumably the actors are the court’s embryological assistants; though then the switch to the singular *prādāt* in *pāda c* is rather odd, especially since no nominative is supplied for either

verb (*ekaikaśaḥ* seems to be an indeclinable). Instead of *nidadhus*, many manuscripts read the singular *nidadhe* (V₃, B₁₋₂, D₆, T₁₋₂, G₁, G₃, M₄, Dn), which would yield the same actor for both verbs; and some of those manuscripts (Dn, G₃) also read *pitā* for *tataḥ*, thus specifying Sagara. My translation attempts to reflect the plurality of *nidadhus* while also linking both verbs to one actor.

10.64 (Famous by the name of Khaṭvāṅga). The name means ‘skull-topped pole’ (*Mahābhārata* 10.7.4, tr. Johnson 1998: 28); such a pole is to be carried by a person doing penance after killing a brahmin (*Mahābhārata* 12.36.2). For Khaṭvāṅga and others, see *Mahābhārata* 1.50.13 (Āstika is praising King Janamejaya, for his *sarpasatra*, in order to stop it):

*khaṭvāṅganābhāgadilīpakalpo
yayātimāndhāṭrsamaprabhāvaḥ |
ādityatejaḥpratimānatejā
bhīṣmo yathā bhrājasi suvratas tvam ||*

‘A Khaṭvāṅga, Nābhāga or Dilīpa, / In might the match of Māndhātṛ, Yayāti, / In splendor the mirror of Sun’s splendor, / Thou shinest like Bhīṣma, keeping thy vows’ (tr. van Buitenen 1973: 118, adapted).

10.66 (and made her his daughter). For Bhagīratha and Gaṅgā, see also *Mahābhārata* 3.107–8; *Rāmāyaṇa* 1.41–3. Bhagīratha arranges Gaṅgā’s descent in order to purify his ancestors, Sagara’s frazzled sons.

10.69 (who knew the divine heart of the dice). For Nala (son of Vīrasena, as at *Harivaṃśa* 10.78 below) and Ṛtupaṅga, see *Mahābhārata* 3.63–76. Nala and Yudhiṣṭhira both stumble badly for want of dicing expertise, but then acquire it (Yudhiṣṭhira from the seer Bṛhadaśva, who might seem to represent a reappearance of Kuvalāśva Dhundhumāra’s father from *Harivaṃśa* 9.46–63 above), and subsequently prevail.

10.70 (also called *Mitrasaha*, and *Kalmāṣapāda*). For the story of Mitrasaha Kalmāṣapāda Saudāsa, the cannibal, which elsewhere is intimately connected to the ongoing story of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra (to which the *Harivaṃśa* has already adverted in the case of Triśaṅku), see *Mahābhārata* 1.166–73 (through Viśvāmitra’s meddling, Kalmāṣapāda becomes a cannibal for 12 years and eats Vasiṣṭha’s sons; and then he has a son called Aśmaka, who is fathered by Vasiṣṭha); *Rāmāyaṇa* 7.57 (where it is Vasiṣṭha himself who curses Kalmāṣapāda to be a cannibal). The story, in various versions, appears also in Buddhist literature and several Purāṇas, and has its roots in the Ṛgvedic ‘Battle of the Ten Kings’; for comparative studies, see Watanabe 1909 and Ensink 1968.

10.74 (*Rāma the glorious, the pleasure-garden of propriety*). The *Harivaṃśa* gives very few details in this section of the line. For Rāma, see *Mahābhārata* 3.258–75, and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Rāma is to establish many dynasties (*rājavaṃśāṃś ca kākutstho bahūn saṃsthāpayisyati*, 7.50.14); Rāma’s eldest son Kuśa settles at Kuśāvātī in the Vindhya (*Rāmāyaṇa* 7.98.4); and when Rāma dies Ayodhyā is left kingless and deserted (*Rāmāyaṇa* 7.98.5). Rāma and his three brothers had two sons each (*Raghuvamśa* 15.35; *Rāmāyaṇa* 7.91.9; 7.92.2–11; 7.98.4–5, 9; *Mahābhārata* 7.app8.79). According to *Raghuvamśa* 15–16, after Ayodhyā is deserted it becomes the kingdom of a *nāga*, and Kuśa, who in the meantime here is also called the king of Mithilā (*Raghuvamśa* 16.42; this would be his maternal inheritance), later moves back and marries the *nāga* princess there (and his story is thus comparable to that of Haryaśva; see note to 9.38 above).

10.80 (the god of ancestral rites, *Vivasvat Āditya*). Here there is potential ambiguity concerning the identity of the god of ancestral rites (*śrāddhadeva*). Manu has been identified as such at 8.7, but at 11.1 Janamejaya understands Vivasvat to be the *śrāddhadeva*. Brinkhaus considers 11.1 to be an interpolation associated with a

particular interpretation (or misinterpretation) of 10.80, which he translates as follows: ‘By reading well this [account of] creation of Vivasvat, the son of Aditi, and of the deity of *śrāddha* (i.e. Manu) who is a god [in the sense of] a giver of prosperity to [his] subjects, a man attains to the same status as the progeny of Vivasvat, the son of Aditi’ (Brinkhaus 2009: 2n4). In my translation here I follow Söhnen-Thieme, who writes that ‘The *ca* in its position at the end of HV 10.80d is likely to connect two preceding attributes (as referring to Vivasvat)’ (2005: 448n30); but the situation is far from clear. In the *Mahābhārata* both Manu and Vivasvat are called *śrāddhadeva* (at 12.122.39 and 12.329.44 respectively).

NOTES TO THE LUNAR DYNASTY

20.5 (he lit up the ten directions) As per the critical edition, the separated imperfect *dyotayad* is unaugmented here. Alternatively, one might wish to read *daśadhādyotayad* (and thus *daśadhā adyotayad*) for the same meaning.

20.12 (the ṛks, yajurs, and sāmans, and the atharvāṅgirasas too) These are the four Vedas, the components of lore: chants, formulas, songs, and spells. The ‘seven famous ones who were born from his mind’ are the seven primal seers, visible (in *ursa major*) as the Plough. When these are named, Atri is usually among them. See Mitchiner 1982.

20.18 (who sustain the world by means of him) I take *dhārayantyātmanā* as double *sandhi* for *dhārayantyaḥ + ātmanā*, in order to keep the goddesses in the plural.

20.23 (its hotṛ ... its adhvaryu ... its udgātṛ ... its brahma) These are the standard four priestly offices in the Vedic ritual system.

20.27 (shone strongly forth) Here I translate *ati* as a floating modifier (‘strongly’) associated with the perfect *virarāja*. Alternatives would be to read *virarājāti* as a typographical error for *virarājati* – in the present tense; or to read not *ati* but *adhi*, and thus *virarāja adhirājendro* (thus manuscripts Ñ₃, V₁, V₃, B, D_s, D₅, T, G₂, G₄, and M₄).

S 20.31 (uśanā tasya jagrāha pārṣṇim āṅgirasas tadā) Here the critical edition has *aṅgirasas*, but I have emended it to *āṅgirasas*: *aṅgirasas* seems to be a typographical error, since the footnote says that ‘some Mss.’ read *aṅgirasas* instead of *āṅgirasas*.

20.31 (Uśanas attacked the son of Aṅgiras from behind) Uśanas, also called Śukra and Kāvya, is famous as the priest of the *asuras*, the gods’ enemies. See *Mahābhārata* 1.71–8. He is also the planet Venus.

20.32 (the god grabbed his Ājagava bow) For Śiva’s Ājagava bow, see also *Harivaṃśa* 5.22 and *Mahābhārata* 3.126.31. There seems to be some astronomical significance here, since *ajagava* means ‘the southern portion of the path of the sun, moon, and planets’ (Monier-Williams p. 9).

20.43 (he gave his wise son the name Budha) Budha is mentioned at *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* 24.18.

20.46 (he shone fully, with glory) No details are given of how Atri eased Soma’s misfortune. But it seems from the word *putrikā* in 20.44 that Soma’s consumption would be the loss or impending loss of Purūravas (and thus Soma’s descendants) to the line of Budha’s father-in-law (who here is unnamed, but in other versions is Manu Vaivasvata). *Mahābhārata* 9.34.36–77 gives an alternative account of Soma’s consumptive disorder. In the *Śalyaparvan* version the compound *rājayakṣman* does not occur; the consumption is effected through a curse cast by Soma’s father-in-law Dakṣa, and is provoked by Soma’s ignoring most of his wives (i.e. the constellations; cf. *Harivaṃśa* 20.21 above) in favour of just one, Rohiṇī. If one has children by just one wife, one has put all one’s significant eggs in one basket, which will spell lineal problems if that wife turns out to be a *putrikā* (as Dakṣa’s daughters famously were; see *Manusmṛti* 9.128). The curse is lifted when Soma bathes at Prabhāsa and agrees to distribute his attentions equally between all of his wives.

21.34 (and managed to dim the wits of Rāji’s son) The details of how this was accomplished are perhaps not quite made explicit within the reconstituted text. The passage *Harivaṃśa* *327, which is

interpolated after 21.34 in most manuscripts, explains that Bṛhaspati produced a treatise of rogue ethics by which they were led astray. See Saindon 2004: 36–40, which discusses the story of Raji in the *Harivaṃśa* and in the Purāṇa versions, and compares Bṛhaspati's trick at *Harivaṃśa* *327 to the trick used by Viṣṇu when he came down in the form of the Buddha *avatāra* – as the story goes – in order to lead the *asuras* astray.

22.4 (Yadu and Turvasu ... Druhyu, Anu, and Pūr). For Vaiśampāyana's earlier account of Yayāti's dealings with his womenfolk and sons, see *Mahābhārata* 1.70–80.

22.8 (the royal son of Parīkṣit). Vaidya notes, without detailing which ones, that 'some manuscripts' read *pārīkṣitasya* rather than *pārikṣitasya* here, which would make the spelling Parīkṣit match that found below. I have preserved Vaidya's *pārīkṣitasya* in the Sanskrit here, but I have put Parīkṣit with long 'i' in the translation, as this is how the name appears (without variants) at *Harivaṃśa* 23.9–10, 113, and 121.

The royal son of Parīkṣit, named immediately as Janamejaya, lived nine generations before the Janamejaya son of Parīkṣit whom Vaiśampāyana is addressing; but Vaiśampāyana presumably expects this story to be particularly relevant to his addressee – and to be seen as such. For Bhīṣma's account of the encounter between the earlier Janamejaya and Indrota Śaunaka, see *Mahābhārata* 12.146–8; Bowles 2007: 306–18 (esp. 316–18). The name Śaunaka obviously chimes through the Śaunaka in the further frame, listening as host to Ugraśravas.

22.13 (the celestial chariot was then given to Vasu). Vaiśampāyana began his tale to Janamejaya with the story of this Vasu, Vasu Uparicara of Cedi – and his friendship with Indra, receipt of the chariot, and paternity of Satyavatī (*Mahābhārata* 1.57.1–55). Vasu is also arbiter in the dispute between the gods and the seers over the

propriety of animal sacrifice (*Mahābhārata* 12.322–4; 13.6.34; 13.116.54–5; 14.94). See Brodbeck 2009: 161–5; Baltutis 2011.

22.14 (after he had killed Jarāsaṃdha). For the killing of Jarāsaṃdha and Kṛṣṇa's appropriation of the chariot, see *Mahābhārata* 2.12–22. Jarāsaṃdha is killed at Kṛṣṇa's instigation, winning the support of the *kṣatriyas* for the Pāṇḍavas in preparation for Yudhiṣṭhira's *rājasūya* rite. For Jarāsaṃdha's previous offensives against the Vṛṣṇis in Mathurā, resulting in their migration to Dvāravatī, see *Mahābhārata* 2.13 and *Harivaṃśa* 80–85. The account in the *somavaṃśa* at *Harivaṃśa* 25 concentrates on Jarāsaṃdha's ally Kālayavana; see notes to 25.8 and 15 below. See also Brockington 2002, 2005; Geen 2009: 72–83.

22.34 (frolicked with Viśvācī in Citraratha's park). Viśvācī is an *apsaras* (see *Mahābhārata* 2.10.11), and Citraratha is a *gandharva* (see *Mahābhārata* 1.158–74).

22.36 (the piece sung by Yayāti). Compare Yayāti's verses at *Mahābhārata* 1.82.6–13, which Yayāti relays to Indra as those he offered to Pūru on the occasion of his regal handover. Of the eight verses 1.82.6–13, five are in long-*pāda* metres.

There are three *gāthā* quotations in the dynastic chapters. The one introduced here, credited to Yayāti, seems clearly to be four *śloka*s long (because of the *evam uktvā* in 22.41a), but although it is introduced as *gāthā* (plural) in the reconstituted text, manuscripts D₄, D₆, G₂, G₅, and M₄ read *gāthām* in the singular. The next such quotation is Nārada's *gāthā* piece in celebration of Arjuna Kārtavīrya, which is introduced in 23.148 below. I translate that one as being two *śloka*s long because of the present-tense *saṃdṛśyate* in 23.150d; but it is introduced as *gāthām* (singular) in all manuscripts. The third *gāthā* piece, which is in celebration of Āhuka the Bhoja and credited to no one in particular, is introduced in the two-*pāda* verse 27.19 as *imās ... gāthāḥ* (plural), but many

manuscripts read *imāṃ ... gāthāṃ* (singular; *imāṃ*, K₂, Ñ₁₋₃, V₁₋₃, B₁₋₃, Dn₁₋₂, D₁₋₂, T₃₋₄, G₁₋₃, G₅, M₁₋₄; *gāthāṃ*, K₂, Ñ₂₋₃, V₁₋₂, B₁₋₃, Dn₁₋₂, D₁₋₂, T₃₋₄, G₃, G₅, M₃). I translate this piece as being two *ślokas* long. There is an argument for three *ślokas*; but four *ślokas* seems unlikely because of the imperfect *atiṣṭhan* in 27.23d, and because 27.23ab with its geographical point looks like it is Vaiśampāyana's addition, despite the fact that he has put a two-*pāda* verse also at 27.24, as if to mirror 27.19 and thus seem to be the first line after the quotation has ended.

Although it would be desirable consistently to translate the distinction between the singular *gāthāṃ* and the plural *gāthāḥ* in the reconstituted introduction lines, it is notable that despite the presence of variants, no manuscript registers the dual *gāthe* in any of the three instances. If we were to take this and the reconstituted text seriously in all three cases, it would mean that both the first and the third *gāthā* pieces would have to be more than twice as long as the second *gāthā* piece, which piece would thus have to consist of 23.149 only, despite the then anomalous present-tense *saṃdṛśyate* in 23.150d (no manuscript reads a past tense here). There would be some merit in such a solution, but nonetheless I have preferred to judge the length of the quotations without reference to the singularity or plurality by which they are introduced (not knowing what it might indicate in either case); and then, without amending the reconstituted text, I have translated *gāthāṃ* and *gāthāḥ* alike by the noncommittal 'piece'.

22.38 (deeming the whole lot to be a single straw). There is an interesting usage of the genitive *ekasya* here (*nālam ekasya tat sarvam iti matvā*). I take it as if it were an accusative in consonance with *nālam*; 'deeming the whole lot to be a straw of the One' would be rather cryptic. The critical apparatus does not help.

22.41 (accompanied by his wife). I have translated 'wife' in the singular here, and also in the next verse. The Sanskrit *sadāraḥ* does

not specify whether it would be wife or wives, but the wife whom Yayāti lifts up onto his chariot is explicitly singular at 22.5 above, and in the story as told in the *Mahābhārata*, Devayānī leaves Yayāti and goes back to her father when she finds out that Yayāti also has sons by Śarmiṣṭhā (which would have been many years before Yayāti retired; *Mahābhārata* 1.78.22–4).

23.1 (in truth, in full, and in sequence). Up to now, Vaiśampāyana has presented the five sons of Yayāti in apparent birth order; but Janamejaya rearranges them so that Śarmiṣṭhā's sons take priority, with Pūru first of all.

23.7 (who was always in the forest). Vananītya could be the tenth son; but it seems unlikely, because *vananītya* does not end with '-eyu'. So the ten daughters stand as a tenth son.

23.9 (In the roaring woman he set a glorious son). 'Rudrā' seems to link back to the difficulties Soma caused for his mothers (see 20.6–8 above). Some manuscripts here have *bhadṛāyāṃ* for *rudrāyāṃ*, which would identify the first of Raudrāśva's aforelisted daughters as the mother of 'Soma'; but I do not think that works. I also do not think it works to read the grammatical subject of this *janayām āsa* as the *ṛṣir jāto trivamśe* of the previous line; rather, Atri himself, extracted from the compound, is the subject. The implication is that that the 'maker of light', the 'seer born in Atri's line' (and also the 'inspired seer' of 23.11 and the 'greatly austere one' of 23.12), is Soma himself.

23.13 (sons with that same name). The sons are simultaneously named after the remark (*svasti te 'stu*) made to the sun at 23.11, and after their grandfather Atri (like their father, they are Ātreyas).

23.14 (These gotra makers). The credit for having made the *gotras* seems to slip from Soma, the father of the Svastyātreyas (23.12), to the Svastyātreyas themselves. In both cases the verb *kṛ* is used.

23.27 (Bali, born from a human womā). This king is a reincarnation of Bali Vairocana (sometimes called Mahābali), the king of the *asuras*. For *asura* Bali, see *Mahābhārata* 12.216–20.

23.37 (begotten by Ṛśyaśṛṅga on his behalf). Śāntā is the first of two female links in the *somavaṃśa* account. For the story of the unicorn brahmin Ṛśyaśṛṅga – who, at Lomapāda’s behest, is tempted out of the forest, by means of his lust, in order to impregnate Śāntā, and thus to produce a male heir for Lomapāda and rescue his drought-stricken regime – see *Mahābhārata* 3.110–13; *Rāmāyaṇa* 1.8–9. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ṛśyaśṛṅga is subsequently brought also to the court of the sonless King Daśaratha, with the result that Daśaratha too obtains male issue. The implication would be that Rāma Dāśaratha is not the natural son of his lineal father. Here in the *Harivaṃśa*, the fact that Lomapāda is also called Daśaratha is presumably intended as a commentary upon the *Rāmāyaṇa* scenario. A similar arrangement may seem to recur in 23.39 below: ‘Haryaṅga was his [Campa’s] son through Pūrṇabhadra’s grace’. Comparable also are the births of Draupadī (*Mahābhārata* 1.155), and Damayantī (*Mahābhārata* 3.50.5–10), and, relatedly, those of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu (*Mahābhārata* 1.98–100), and the Pāṇḍavas (*Mahābhārata* 1.114–15).

23.40 (Karṇa, and his son was Vikarṇa). In the *Mahābhārata* too Karṇa (though there he is the son of Kuntī and the sun) is the king of Aṅga, after he is crowned as such at Duryodhana’s behest (*Mahābhārata* 1.126.34–7). In the *Mahābhārata*, however, Vikarṇa is not Karṇa’s son but one of Duryodhana’s brothers, with whom Karṇa has a public disagreement over Draupadī in the dicing scene (*Mahābhārata* 2.61.11–38).

S 23.45 (brahmavādīny adhistrī ca tamsus tām adhyagacchat).

Vaidya’s critically reconstituted text reads *brahmavādīny adhistrī ca*. I find *adhistrī* unintelligible. I think it is a typographical error, and I have emended the text to read *adhistrī*. Manuscripts Ñ1, B1, B2, Dn2, D5, T1, and G4 read *brahmavādīny adhistrīm ca*, which rather breaks up the natural structure of the four-*pāda* verse, but does nonetheless justify the stem *adhistrī-*. In an obviously risky kind of logical move, the fact that my preferred option is unmentioned as a variant makes me think it is what Vaidya intended.

23.49 (and the Bhāratas are still named after him). *Yasya nāmnā stha bhāratāḥ*. The critical apparatus has several variant readings replacing the *stha* (my ‘still’) with *ca* or *tu*. For the story of Duḥṣanta and Śakuntalā, see *Mahābhārata* 1.62–9, and Kālidāsa’s *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* (Johnson 2001).

23.50 (as has already been narrated to you). This seems to be a reference back to *Mahābhārata* 1.89.17:

bharatas tisṛṣu strīṣu nava putrān ajījanat |
nābhyandanta tān rājā nānurūpā mamety uta ||

‘King Bharata had nine sons from three wives, but he refused them: “They don’t look like me!” In the *Mahābhārata* version, the son given to Bharata by Bharadvāja is Bhumanyu; Bharata then has another (perhaps the first) son of his own, Vitatha; Bhumanyu adopts Vitatha; but then Bhumanyu has sons of his own (Suhotra etc.), and they perform a *rājasūya* and take the line.

23.54 (And Sutahotr had two sons). The following passage about Kāśī (23.54b–72) is discussed, along with the passage about Jahnu at 23.76–94, by Brinkhaus (2005: 365–73). These two passages are duplicated and extended in the critical apparatus to *Harivaṃśa* 21, in app6B and app7 respectively. Brinkhaus compares the different versions, and also corresponding passages in the *Vāyupurāṇa*. He concludes, in both cases, that the version in the *Harivaṃśa*

appendices is based on the critically reconstituted *Harivaṃśa* version, and that the *Vāyupurāṇa* version is based on the version in the appendices: ‘evidently the *Harivaṃśa* evolved a good deal from the CE version in the direction of the Vulgate version before the Purāṇas took up the theme of “universal history” and modelled it after their own fashion. The *Harivaṃśa* ... is to a greater degree “late epic” and less “Purāṇic” than I had thought until recently’ (Brinkhaus 2005: 373). This is an important result.

23.63 (Alarka ... the crown prince). Here I take Vatsa and Bhārgava to be one and the same person, and Alarka to be the other son of Pratardana. In this regard I follow the interpretation of Christophe Vielle (in press). See also 23.71 below. The alternative would be to take Vatsa and Bhārgava as the two sons of Pratardana, and Alarka as a third son, or a grandson (cf. Bakker 1993: 24).

For the production of Pratardana, see also *Mahābhārata* 5.115. For the conflict between this line and that of the Hehayas, see also *Mahābhārata* 13.31.

23.65 (The king was called Aṣṭāratha ... intending to lay the feud to rest). In this verse, where the identity of Aṣṭāratha and of *tasya* are potentially obscure, I again follow Vielle (in press). I differ from Vielle, however, in taking verse 23.63b–d to describe Pratardana, not Alarka. Vielle takes *rājaputraś* at 23.63a and *rājā* at 23.63b to be one and the same person, which is rather awkward.

23.67 (because of the favour of Lopāmudrā he lived for a long long time). Lopāmudrā is the wife of the ṛṣi Agastya (*Mahābhārata* 3.94–7), though the reference here is a bit obscure. Elsewhere in the *Mahābhārata*, Alarka is mentioned on several occasions (at 3.26.12 as the *kāśīkarūṣarājan*); and at 14.30 (in the *Anuṣṭubh*) there is a story wherein he becomes a *yogin*. At *Rāmāyaṇa* 2.12.5 he is said to have given away his own eyes. Alarka seems to be named after a particular kind of fearsome, porcine, eight-legged insect, such as

the one which bites Karṇa’s thigh when Rāma Bhārgava is asleep with his head on Karṇa’s lap (*Mahābhārata* 12.3.5–14).

23.76 (the Gaṅgā spread out and flowed towards him). On the following passage about Jahnu (23.76–94), see the note to 23.54 above.

23.79 (Jāhnavī, the momentous daughter of Jahnu). Gaṅgā is also reckoned as the daughter of Bhagīratha: see 10.66 above (in the *sūryavaṃśa*) and note.

23.80 (Yuvanāśva’s daughter Kāverī). This would presumably be one of the Yuvanāśvas in the *sūryavaṃśa*: see 9.45 and 9.83 above (and note).

23.88 (Gālava). In the *Mahābhārata* Gālava is not Viśvāmitra’s son but his disciple: see *Mahābhārata* 5.104–21.

23.92 (attained the status of being a descendant of Kuśika). Śunaḥśepa Devarāta was adopted by Viśvāmitra after miraculously saving himself from being ritually sacrificed. See *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 7.13–18; *Rāmāyaṇa* 1.60–61.

23.100 (The son of illustrious Sṛṅjaya was Pañcavanḍ). According to the *Mahābhārata*, Sṛṅjaya suffered the death of his young son Svarṇaṣṭhīvin (‘goldshitter’), whereupon Nārada taught him of the inevitability of death (giving a resumé of the careers of sixteen famous – and dead – kings), and then revived the dead boy, who later became king (*Mahābhārata* 7.app8; 11.1.22; 12.29–31).

23.102 (Somaka’s son was Jantu). As related by the *Mahābhārata*, Jantu was an only child, and in order to multiply his children Somaka sacrificed Jantu and had his one hundred wives inhale the smoke: they each gave birth to a son, the eldest of whom was Jantu

reborn (*Mahābhārata* 3.127–8). In the *Harivaṃśa* account it is Jantu who has one hundred sons, not Somaka.

23.102 (*Pr̥ṣata, the mighty father of Drupad*). Drupada is the nominal father of the Pāṇḍavas' famous wife Draupadī; although when the story of Jantu is told to the Pāṇḍavas in the *Mahābhārata* (see previous note), it is not stated that Jantu is Drupada's ancestor.

23.107 (*Samvaraṇa was born from Ṛkṣa*). The story of Saṃvaraṇa, which seems to be correlated with the story of the Ṛgvedic 'Battle of the Ten Kings', is given in the *Mahābhārata* in two versions: at 1.89.31–42 as narrated within Vaiśampāyana's account of Janamejaya's ancestry, and at 1.160–63 as narrated by the *gandharva* Citraratha. At *Mahābhārata* 1.160.12 Citraratha describes Saṃvaraṇa with the epithet *artharkṣaputraḥ* ('son of wealth and son of Ṛkṣa').

23.107–8 (*he made Kurukṣetra pure, pleasant, and populate*). On Kuru's business at Kurukṣetra, see also *Mahābhārata* 9.52 (his winning special boons from Indra for the place).

23.108 (*and the Kauravas are still named after him*). See the note to 23.49 above. The *stha* ('still') is absent in many manuscripts.

23.109 (*and Arimejaya, the best of them*). This translation respects the *cæsura* between the line's two feet of eight syllables (four or occasionally six eight-syllable feet make a verse); but one might wish rather to read *pravara* in connection with Parīkṣit ('the main man') when he carries the line. The positional ambiguity is presumably precise; and *pravara* can also be 'eldest' (Monier-Williams p. 690).

23.110 (*plus Śrutasena, Ugrasena, and Bhīmasen*). For Parīkṣit and these four sons, see *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 13.5.4.1–3; see also

Mahābhārata 1.3.1 (*Janamejayaḥ pārīkṣitaḥ saha bhrātr̥bhiḥ kurukṣetre dīrghasatram upāste | tasya bhrātaraḥ trayāḥ śrutasena ugraseno bhīmasena iti*), which ties the two Janamejayas closely together from the start of the *Mahābhārata* (see earlier note, to 22.8).

23.114 (*The son of the second Ṛkṣa was Bhīmasen*). In one of the two *Mahābhārata* versions Bhīmasena is in the youngest son and the succession passes through his elder brother but then breaks two generations later (after *Mahābhārata* 1.89.51); and in the other version, as here, he is the only named son, and links through to Pratīpa and on (*Mahābhārata* 1.90.44–5).

23.115 (*Bāhlika's kingdom was that of the sevenfold Bahli*). At *Mahābhārata* 5.147.27 Dhṛtarāṣṭra says that

*bāhlika mātulakule tyaktvā rājyaṃ vyavasthitaḥ |
pitṛbhrātṛṇ parityajya prāptavān puram ṛddhimat ||*

'Bāhlika renounced the kingdom and settled in his maternal uncle's family; having left his father and brothers, he gained a prosperous town.'

23.117 (*Devāpi ... went for Cyavana's son Kṛtaka*). *Cyavanasya putraḥ kṛtaka iṣṭaś cāsīn mahātmanaḥ* – 'And Kṛtaka, the son of Cyavana, was the one the mahatma wanted'. This could perhaps be read as a suggestion of homosexuality. Here we have already heard that Devāpi is a great warrior (*mahāratha*, 23.114). For other explanations of Devāpi's non-succession, see *Mahābhārata* 1.89.53 (desiring *dharma*, he left home and went wandering); 1.90.47 (he went to the woods while still a child); 9.38.31–3 (he became a brahmin); 5.147.14–28 (he suffered from a skin disease which prohibited his accession – as per *Bṛhaddevatā* 7.155–8.6, following *Ṛgveda* 10.98).

23.118 (*Śaṃtanu became the yoke-bearer*). For the story of Śaṃtanu and his descendants see the *Mahābhārata* in general, esp. 1.91ff.

tasyāhaṃ kīrtayiṣyāmi śaṃtanor amitān guṇān ||
mahābhāgyaṃ ca nṛpater bhāratasya yaśasvinaḥ |
yasyetiḥāso dyutimān mahābhāratam ucyate ||

‘I shall celebrate the boundless virtue of this Śaṃtanu and the greatness of this great-spirited king who was the scion of Bhārata and whose illustrious history is styled the *Mahābhārata*’ (1.93.45c–46, tr. van Buitenen 1973: 222).

23.120 (courtesy of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana). See *Mahābhārata* 1.99–100. For discussion, see Dhand 2004.

23.121 (Abhimanyu’s son was your father Parīkṣit). The Sanskrit has *parīkṣit* and Vaidya notes no variants, but in *Mahābhārata* 1–18 the name usually has a short ‘i’.

Brinkhaus writes that ‘In my opinion, the kernel of the MBh *khila* under the name “*Harivaṃśa*” ... originally was solely dedicated to the genealogical descent of the main heroes of the Mbh, namely the Pauravas’ (Brinkhaus 2002: 159; cf. Brinkhaus 2005: 363–5). He suggests that the text originally continued, after 23.121, with 114.2 (in the *Bhaviṣyatparvan*, where Janamejaya’s descendants are listed), with the intervening material – principally the ancestry and deeds of Kṛṣṇa – having been added later. Brinkhaus’s position results in his arguing that the title *Harivaṃśa* originally referred to the line of the primordial Hari-Nārāyaṇa, which includes everyone (Brinkhaus 2002: 160n10).

S 23.123 (gobhānos tu suto rājā traiśānur aparājita). Vaidya’s reconstituted text reads *traiśānu* here, not *traiśānu*; but it is marked with a wavy line to indicate the editor’s uncertainty, and I have emended it to *traiśānu* (following manuscripts Ñ₁, Ñ₃, V₃, B₂, B₃, Dn, Ds, and D₁) in order that it match the name that appears in the next line (where if it were a patronym we would expect it to be in the nominative case rather than the genitive, but no manuscripts have it so).

23.124 (a different one, the son of Avikṣit). No Marutta has been mentioned previously in the *Harivaṃśa*; this is presumably a reference back to *Mahābhārata* 14.4–10, in which Yudhiṣṭhira is told the story of Marutta son of Avikṣit. But it is not clear that that Marutta is altogether distinct from this one, since although the *Āśvamedhikaparvan*’s Marutta is presented as a descendant of Ikṣvāku (which this one certainly is not), nonetheless he has Saṃvarta work for him at his ritual (just as this *Harivaṃśa* Marutta does), and his father Avikṣit is the son of Karamdhama. There is also a definitely distinct Marutta (son of Śineyu) mentioned at 26.7–8 below, which might perhaps help to explain the confusion, if there is any. It should be noted that not all manuscripts contain the line 23.124cd (translated here as a parenthetical aside); manuscript K₃ doesn’t include it, so arguably it should not be in the critically reconstituted text.

23.127 (the line of Turvasu was absorbed by that of Pūr). This is perhaps to be understood as a commentary on the fact that Saṃmatā is or would be the second female link in the *somavaṃśa* account – but would fail to be so if her son were practically reckoned by his father’s lineal name. In the *Mahābhārata* story of Marutta (see previous note) Saṃvarta is clearly an Āṅgīrasa, not a Paurava. But the Paurava connection could be supplied by the fact that ‘Duḥṣanta’ is elsewhere a famous Paurava (see e.g. 23.47–9 above).

23.130 (Aṅgāra the causeway). Here I translate the second member of the compound *aṅgāraṣetu* as a personal epithet; but perhaps *Aṅgāraṣetu* is simply a name, and *Aṅgāra* (as used in the next-but-one verse) is its shorter form. *Aṅgāra* means ‘charcoal’.

23.131 (slain in battle, with great difficulty, by the son of Yuvanāśva). That is, by Māndhātṛ, son of Yuvanāśva the great (see 9.83 above,

and note). For the battle between Māndhātṛ and Aṅgāra, see also *Mahābhārata* 12.29.81–2.

yauvanāśvo yadāṅgāraṃ samare samayodhayat |
viśphāirair dhanuṣo devā dyaur abhedīti menire ||

‘When Yuvanāśva’s son fought Aṅgāra in war, the Gods thought the sky had been rent by the sounds of his bow-shots’ (12.29.82, tr. Fitzgerald 2004: 232). The lengthened initial vowel is more clearly evident in the previous verse – *ya āṅgāraṃ hi nṛpatim* – but may be due to a *sandhi* error.

23.134 (Yadu had five sons). Here begins the treatment of Kṛṣṇa’s people, the Yādavas. For other versions of Kṛṣṇa’s ancestry, see *Mahābhārata* 7.119.4–7 (Saṃjaya’s version; Atri → Soma → Budha → Purūravas → Āyus → Nahuṣa → Yayāti m. Devayānī → Yadu → ... → Devamīḍha → Śūra → Vasudeva), and *Mahābhārata* 13.app16.43–62 (a solar and expanded version: Manu₁ → Arṅga → Antardhāman → Havirdhāman → Prācīnabarhis → Pracetas → Dakṣa → Dākṣāyaṇī → Āditya → Manu → Iḍā/Sudyumna m. Budha → Purūravas → Āyus → Nahuṣa → Yayāti → Yadu → Kroṣṭu → Vṛjiniṅvat → Uṣadgu → Citraratha and Śūra → Ānakadundubhi Vasudeva → the four-armed Vāsudeva).

The various *Harivaṃśa* versions of Kṛṣṇa’s ancestry have been seen by many scholars as incompatible with each other. Brinkhaus (2005: 376) comments that ‘On the whole ... Kṛṣṇa’s paternal ancestry ... is seen to be highly uncertain ... [I]t is possible that the ancestry of both Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma was better preserved on the maternal than on the paternal side.’ Brinkhaus is particularly concerned with the fact that Kṛṣṇa’s paternal ancestry, as given in *Harivaṃśa* 24–5, is much shorter than (and thus hard to square with) his maternal ancestry as given in *Harivaṃśa* 26–7. He suggests that ‘Kṛṣṇa’s paternal line of descent from Yadu was at first not known’, but that ‘the obscurity of Kṛṣṇa’s paternal ancestry was a shortcoming, flying as it did in the

face of his fame as a Yādava and Vṛṣṇi’ (2005: 379, 380); thus an editor took material from *Harivaṃśa* 28 (i.e. verses 9–10 and 36–44, which there are not concerned with Kṛṣṇa) and adapted it to form also *Harivaṃśa* 24.1–13, thus filling in (but with far too few generations) what would previously have been a hiatus in Kṛṣṇa’s paternal line.

Brinkhaus might be right – it is difficult to see how one might test his hypothesis – but there is more to be said about the text we have. My instinct is to read it as a whole, and make sense of it synchronically as far as possible. As shown in the notes below, by reading Madhu (at 26.25 and 28.36) as a cipher for Kroṣṭu the maternal line can be seen to double back on itself, and thus effectively countermand its own apparently disturbing length. The maternal and paternal lines, if taken literally, are certainly incompatible; but this would have been just as obvious (if not more so) to the text’s early audiences as it is to us, and such anomalies might be seen as sophisticated literary features. In other words, I would wish for the imagination sometimes shown in devising text-historical hypotheses to be matched by literary imagination with respect to the resulting text.

23.134 (Kroṣṭu ‘the jackal’). In the translation I present this name as ‘Kroṣṭu’ for consistency (he recurs below), even though it is seemingly formed from the stem *kroṣṭr* in some cases (see Monier-Williams p. 322). Several manuscripts iron this out by reading *kroṣṭur* for *kroṣṭā* in this verse.

23.152 (Arjuna Pāṇḍava, Kuntī’s delight). The immediate implication seems to be that Arjuna Kārtavīrya’s glory will be somewhat eclipsed by his sharing his name with another (and especially one of such heroic stature as Arjuna Pāṇḍava). I have translated *kuntinandana* here as ‘Kuntī’s delight’, but elsewhere in the dynastic chapters Kuntī is known only by the name Pṛthā, and the

compound could also be ‘Kunti’s delight’ – Kunti(bhoja) being Prthā’s adoptive father – or ‘delight of the Kuntis’.

23.155 (his death was at Rāma’s hand). That is, the hands of Rāma Jāmadagnya Bhārgava. For the story of Arjuna Kārtavīrya and his feud with the Bhārgavas, see *Mahābhārata* 1.169–71; 3.115–17; 12.48–9 (with Vasiṣṭha’s curse – in a slightly different form – at 12.49.35–7). Here in the *Harivaṃśa* the mention of wealth (in the previous verse) is a reference to the cause of the feud, namely the king’s appropriation of wealth from the Bhārgavas; by way of retaliation Rāma Jāmadagnya kills not just Arjuna Kārtavīrya, but many of his sons too – and this is presupposed in the next verse, which speaks of those who survived the purge.

23.155 (that old curse was certainly a choice boon for you yourself). Presumably because if Arjuna Kārtavīrya had not been cursed in the way that he was, then Arjuna Pāṇḍava, Janamejaya’s great-grandfather, might never have existed.

23.161 (His son was Madhu). This and the next verse present an overview of the Yādavas, but it seems to be rather schematic, and is not easily reconciled with the more detailed information that follows. As I see it, the main point here is the aural gesture from Vṛṣa (Bull) through Vṛṣaṇa to the Vṛṣṇis, and from Madhu to the Mādhas. If pressed on the question of exact identities, we might imagine that Vṛṣa could be Yadu. See below for Yadu’s son Kroṣṭu. For Madhu son of Devakṣatra, see 26.25–6; for Madhu father of Yudhājit father of Prṣṇi, see 28.36. For the demon Madhu, see *Harivaṃśa* 9.54 in the *sūryavaṃśa*; *Harivaṃśa* app18; for Kṛṣṇa as Madhusūdana, see 29.9.

23.163 (and gets back anything that was lost). Here ‘the life of Kārtavīrya’ is marked out as a distinct subsection of the chapter. This and the surrounding chapters tend to be named in their final

verses, within *phalaśrutis* which elaborate the chapter’s effects for the listener, and which thus spotlight, most immediately, Janamejaya and his situation. But the Kārtavīrya subsection is marked at its end by a mention of its effects for the teller, and thus it spotlights Vaiśampāyana and his situation. We might surmise that Vaiśampāyana has lost wealth, and wants to get it back and not lose it again, and that his addressing Janamejaya as he does will help him further these aims. See Brodbeck 2009: 217–66; Brodbeck 2009b.

24.1 (Gāndhārī and Mādri were Kroṣṭu’s two wives). Presumably the audience are intended to profit from the analogy between Kroṣṭu and Dhṛtarāṣṭra-cum-Pāṇḍu. Crucial in this regard is Sutherland’s analysis of Dhṛtarāṣṭra-cum-Pāṇḍu as if as one unit in respect of their wives: ‘The eldest, in this case Gāndhārī, is the one most closely linked to the husband’s mother and negative images of her, while Mādri, the youngest, is the most sexually attractive and eligible. Left in the middle is Kuntī, the good mother. Therefore, it is her son, Yudhiṣṭhira, that is allowed – after many trials and tribulations – to become king’ (Sutherland 1992: 48). In the case of Kroṣṭu, no intermediate wife is specified here.

24.3 (the two sons of Mādri produced Vṛṣṇi and Andhak). Brinkhaus (2005: 377) suggests that the efforts made here (and at 27.2 and 28.36 below) to present Vṛṣṇi (aka Prṣṇi) as an ancestor of the Vṛṣṇis are ‘entirely new, not found in the MBh; for in the latter Kṛṣṇa is often called Vṛṣṇi, but this was meant only as his clan name, with no hint of a direct descent from an ancestor named Vṛṣṇi’. One might compare the name ‘Mādhas’ in respect of possible ancestor Madhu. On Kṛṣṇa’s various names in the *Mahābhārata*, with details of frequency and distribution, see Brockington 2007 (though Brockington’s article does not cover the *Harivaṃśa*).

If Vṛṣṇi is Kṛṣṇa's ancestor, then whose son is Vṛṣṇi? Brinkhaus (2005: 383 and n43) reads 24.3ab (*mādryāḥ putrau tu jajñāte śrutau vṛṣṇyandhakāv ubhau*) to say that Vṛṣṇi is the son of Kroṣṭu (i.e. passive verb; Vṛṣṇi and Andhaka, both famous, were born sons of Mādrī). We know from 24.1 that Kroṣṭu is Mādrī's husband. But I interpret the first dual ending (*putrau*) as referring to Yudhājit and Devamīdhuṣa, the two sons of Mādrī named in the previous verse, and the second dual ending as referring to *their* two sons; and I interpret the verb as active. Thus 'the two sons of Mādrī produced Vṛṣṇi and Andhaka, both of them famous.' In fact, however, there is no suggestion elsewhere that Devamīdhuṣa is the father of Vṛṣṇi or of Andhaka; at 27.2 they are brothers, not cousins.

24.5 (for three years). Perhaps we are to connect this with what happened in Kāśī during the reign of Divodasa (see 23.58–9 above).

S 24.14 (*aśmakyāṃ janayām āsa śūraṃ vai devamīdhuṣaḥ*). Here translated: Devamīdhuṣa had Śūra by Aśmakī. The critically reconstituted text reads *devamīdhuṣam* (accusative) rather than *devamīdhuṣaḥ* (nominative). The consequences of this would be that Śūra and Devamīdhuṣa would be the same person, and the name of his father would be unstated here. Since we have already heard at 24.2 that Devamīdhuṣa is Kroṣṭu's son, we would read in Kroṣṭu as the unstated grammatical subject, and imagine that Aśmakī would be either an alternative name for Kroṣṭu's wife Mādrī, or else another wife of Kroṣṭu's, previously unmentioned.

In the latter case, we might take Aśmakī (following Sutherland; see note to 24.1 above) as the middle wife (just as Pṛthā Kuntī, who is Aśmakī's granddaughter, is the middle wife of Dhṛtarāṣṭra-cum-Pāṇḍu). That could mean that the impression given at 24.2–3, that Devamīdhuṣa is Mādrī's second child, was a joke partly dependent on the audience's knowledge that the more familiar Mādrī, Pāṇḍu's wife, had twins; and the manner of their

production, through sex with both of the Aśvins, would make it then also rather a dirty joke. In fact, if Aśmakī and Mādrī were two different people, then Mādrī's second son (mentioned at 23.3) would be as yet unnamed.

However intriguing all this might be, I have emended *devamīdhuṣam* to *devamīdhuṣaḥ*, thus establishing Śūra (cf. *Mahābhārata* 7.119) as the son of Devamīdhuṣa and the grandson of Kroṣṭu. This emendment follows manuscripts K4, V2, B1, B2, Dn, D1, D3, D4, D5, D6, T2, T3, G2, G3, and G4; and several other manuscripts achieve the same effect by presenting Aśmakī in the nominative case and Devamīdhuṣa in the ablative. Brinkhaus (2005: 379) approves the emending of Devamīdhuṣa from accusative to nominative – though in his opinion, without it the grammatical subject (unstated nominative) of 24.14ab would be Citraka rather than Kroṣṭu.

24.19 (and these five were the mothers of heroes). Of the names of Śūra's children, Śamīka and Śrutaśravā – the latter in masculine form, Śrutaśravas – have both featured in the *Mahābhārata* (several generations later) within the adventures of Parikṣit II and his son Janamejaya (see Brodbeck 2009b). For Śamīka, see further 24.33 below.

24.20 (the mighty Śiśupāla of Ced). Śiśupāla is famously an ally of Jarāsaṃdha and an enemy of Kṛṣṇa, as detailed within the *Mahābhārata* (at 2.33–42) and later on in the *Harivaṃśa* (see for example *Harivaṃśa* 87).

24.21 (Hiraṇyakaśipu ... who had formerly been king of the Daityas). Hiraṇyakaśipu Daitya is the father of Prahlaḍa, the grandfather of Virocana, Kumbha, and Nikumbha (see *Rāmāyaṇa* 6.63–4), the great-grandfather of Bali Vairocana (see 23.27 above, and note), and the great-great-grandfather of Bāṇa (see *Harivaṃśa* 105–13).

Hiraṇyakaśipu's genealogical connections are detailed at *Mahābhārata* 1.59.17–20.

24.23 (by Indra himself). For details of Pṛthā-Kuntī (her adoption; her acquisition of the ability to call gods for sex; her production of Karṇa after trying this ability out on the sun; her abandonment of Karṇa; her marriage to Pāṇḍu; his accident, making him unable to father children; his persuading Kuntī to have children for him by another; her re-use of her special ability and consequent production of Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma, and Arjuna; her loan of the special ability to her co-wife Mādri; and her husband's death), see *Mahābhārata* 1.104.1–105.3; 1.109–16. Thereafter and for much of the *Ādīparvan* she shares the *Mahābhārata* narrative in company with her sons, whom she brings to Hāstinapura (1.117) and then accompanies in their travels to Vāraṇāvata and thence via Ekacakrā to Kāmpilya where, with her verbal help, they all marry Draupadī (1.130–91). See also *Mahābhārata* 3.287–92 for a more detailed account of Kuntī's acquisition and first use of her special ability; and *Mahābhārata* 5.142–4 for her later meeting with Karṇa.

24.24 (Anamitra, the youngest). Gāndhārī and Kroṣṭu's son Anamitra is the only Anamitra yet mentioned (at 24.1). If these two Anamitras are to be identified, it seems rather odd that this verse appears here, surrounded on both sides by details of Śūra's children and their children. The natural alternative would be to read this Anamitra as one of Śūra's sons, even though they have apparently all already been named in 24.15–19 without mention of him (perhaps we would have to hypothesise that this Anamitra was born from a woman other than Śūra's Bhoja queen); but such an alternative would also render rather obscure the description, at 24.1–2, of Anamitra, Yudhājit, and Devamīḍhuṣa as the three men from whom the Vṛṣṇi line receives its chapter-titular tripleness (since Gāndhārī's son Anamitra would then be lacking any described descendants in this chapter).

Though it might seem a little odd if Gāndhārī's son Anamitra is to be described as *kaniṣṭha*, the youngest (since Gāndhārī was the first of Kroṣṭu's wives to be mentioned at 24.1, and thus is presumably his first wife), this would probably be a joke based again on the analogy with the wives of Dhṛtarāṣṭra-cum-Pāṇḍu. Dhṛtarāṣṭra's Gāndhārī is rather slow to produce a son (she was pregnant for two years, according to the account at *Mahābhārata* 1.107), and hence Duryodhana is younger than Yudhiṣṭhira.

By way of oblique further defence of the possibility that this Anamitra is not what the most immediate context might suggest, i.e. a son of Śūra, we may revisit *Mahābhārata* 7.119.8, which, while presenting a shortened account of the Yādavas, says:

dhanuṣy anavaraḥ śūraḥ kārtavīryasamo yudhi |
tadvīryas cāpi tatraiva kule śinir abhūn nṛpaḥ ||

Ganguli (perhaps translating a slightly different version of the verse, i.e. *nṛpa* rather than *nṛpaḥ*) has it that '... In Sura's race and equal unto Sura in energy was born Sini, O king' (Ganguli 1993: 312). This and the quoted Sanskrit do not imply that Śini was the son of Śūra; all that is stated is that they were in the same *kula* (which they would be if Śini is Gāndhārī's grandson), and were of comparable stature in combat.

Curiously, when Kroṣṭu's sons are listed at 28.9–11 below, there are four of them, Sumitra (from Gāndhārī), Yudhājit (from Mādri), Devamīḍhuṣa, and Anamitra; and when details follow of Anamitra's descendants, these are not the same as the descendants listed here at 24.24. If the Anamitra intended here at 24.24 is Gāndhārī's son, then at 28.9 that same son is called Sumitra.

24.24 (Satyaka was Śini's son; and Yuyudhāna Sātyaki was his). In the *Mahābhārata*, Śini's grandson Sātyaki fights brilliantly for the Pāṇḍava side during the Kurukṣetra war. He has a particular rivalry with Bhūriśravas, which is explained at *Mahābhārata* 7.119 as a generational hangover from the fight between Śini and

Somadatta (son of Bāhlika, *Harivaṃśa* 23.116 above) over a woman, Devakī. Śini won that round, and gave Devakī to Vasudeva (see *Harivaṃśa* 25.4 and 27.26–7 below); but Somadatta then obtained Bhūriśravas from Śiva as his son, with the express purpose of getting even with Śini's descendants. The details of the feud as presented at *Mahābhārata* 7.119 are recounted in connection with the events of the previous two chapters, wherein Sātyaki and Bhūriśravas are duelling, Arjuna intervenes and cuts off Bhūriśravas's arm, and then Sātyaki beheads Bhūriśravas. These battlefield events are angrily recalled by Kṛtavarman at *Mahābhārata* 16.4.20, just before all the Vṛṣṇi warriors kill each other.

24.26 (*Aśmakī had a celebrated descendant: Anādhṛṣṭi*). Both of these names have occurred already: Aśmakī at 24.14 (as Śūra's mother according to my interpretation, or alternatively as Devamīdhuṣa's), and Anādhṛṣṭi at 24.18 (as Śūra's son by his Bhoja queen). Are we to conclude that this is a different Aśmakī and a different Anādhṛṣṭi? I would rather not, and so here I translate *apatyam* not as 'son' but as 'descendant' (i.e., in fact, grandson). We could then infer a special relationship between this grandmother and grandson. Several manuscripts read Anādhṛṣṭi in the nominative case and Aśmakī in the locative, thus marking them as a couple whose offspring are here announced; then this would be a different Aśmakī from the one mentioned previously. The multiplication of Aśmakīs would not necessarily be a problem, since we hear in the *Mahābhārata* of Aśmakas in the plural (see *Mahābhārata* 6.10.42; 7.61.39; 8.5.20), who are presumably the descendants of Kalmāṣapāda's son Aśmaka (*Mahābhārata* 1.168.25). As far as the multiplication of Anādhṛṣṭis is concerned, it should be noted that there is one possibly mentioned at 27.28 below – one who would be definitely other.

24.27 (*and was raised by niśāda*). For Ekalavya's attempts to join Droṇa's martial training school, his encounters with the Pāṇḍavas, and his loss of his thumb, see *Mahābhārata* 1.123.10–39. For allusions to Kṛṣṇa's having killed Ekalavya, see *Mahābhārata* 5.47.71; 7.155.29; 16.7.10. The *Mahābhārata* does not mention Ekalavya's having been produced by Śrutadevā.

24.28 (*to provide his posthumous meal*). This refers to the necessity for descendants in order to receive alimentary offerings from them, thus sustaining one's residence in the ancestral heaven after death. There seem to be two spellings of Vatsāvat's name; at 24.18, when he was announced as one of Vasudeva's brothers, it was Vatsavat. Gaṇḍūṣa, mentioned in the next verse, is another of Vasudeva's brothers.

24.29 (*a noted Pañcāla*). Cārudeṣṇa's identity as a Pañcāla is rather mysterious. Ten manuscripts read *pañcāstrakṛtalakṣaṇam* ('who had made his mark with five types of missile'), and two read *pāñcālakulalakṣaṇam* ('whose attributes matched those of the Pañcāla family').

24.32 (*Gr̥ñjima's valiant sons*). *Gr̥ñjima* is seemingly intended to identify these two as Gr̥ñjima's sons, even though read literally it is simply asserting that they are 'two Gr̥ñjimas'. Four manuscripts have an ablative singular instead of this dual form.

25.1 (*the daughter of Bāhlika*). For Bāhlika, see 23.114–16 above.

25.2 (*Rāma, the eldest son*). Kṛṣṇa's brother Rāma (i.e. Baladeva, Balabhadra, Halin); not to be confused with Rāma Dāśaratha and/or Rāma Jāmadagnya.

25.5 (*Abhimanyu was born to Pr̥thā's son by Subhadra*). That is, Pr̥thā's son Arjuna Pāṇḍava. For the marriage of Arjuna and Subhadra, see

Mahābhārata 1.211–13. For Abhimanyu’s demonstration of his warrior prowess and his death, see *Mahābhārata* 7.32–49.

25.6 (Vasudeva’s seven illustrious wives). I count only five in this chapter: Rohiṇī and Devakī (already mentioned), plus Śāntidevā, Sunāmā, and Vṛkadevī. Although all the manuscripts used for the critical edition preserve the line *vasudevasya bhāryāsu mahābhāgāsu saptasu*, as far as this chapter is concerned two of the wives are only mentioned in the critical apparatus: Devarakṣitā in *417 (in manuscript K₁), and Upadevī in *418 (in manuscripts K₁, K₃, and D₄). All seven wives, in a slightly variant form, are listed at 27.27 below: Devakī, Śāntidevā, Sudevā, Devarakṣitā, Vṛkadevī, Upadevī, and Sunāmnī.

25.8 (the warden Śisīrāyana). This new narrative tack – the origin story of Kālayavana, one of Kṛṣṇa’s principal enemies later on, in *Harivaṃśa* 84–5 (the substance of which is given in précis at 25.13–16 below) – breaks in rather suddenly here, half-way through a line, and begins in a slightly cryptic manner. It seems that Gārgya has been rejected as a potential bridegroom – and further, cursed for twelve years – under suspicion of impotence, a charge which he soon belies. Despite this chapter’s ostensible subject (*kṛṣṇasya janma*, according to the *phalaśruti* at its close), Kālayavana rather dominates it; it is as if the *kāla* in his name makes him a *kṛṣṇa*, and the author is playing games with the audience and holding back the story of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva for later.

25.9 (shining like black iron). The connection between black iron (*kṛṣṇāyas*) and an uncompromising attitude is evident at *Mahābhārata* 5.133.1, where a son tells his mother:

*kṛṣṇāyasasyeva ca te samhatya hṛdayaṃ kṛtam |
mama mātās tv akarūṇe vairaprajñe hy amarṣaṇe ||*

‘Your heart is made into an iron ball, merciless, war-mongering, intransigent mother’ (tr. van Buitenen 1978: 435). At *Mahābhārata*

3.212.14 Mārkaṇḍeya relates that *kṛṣṇāyas* was created from Agni’s liver (*yakṛt*) – which is curious given the meaning of the English word ‘liverish’.

25.15 (the danger posed by Jarāsaṃdha). At this stage in the longer version of the story, Jarāsaṃdha has been a threat to Mathurā for some time (see *Harivaṃśa* 80–82). From the Vṛṣṇis’ point of view, Kālayavana is merely Jarāsaṃdha’s latest ally.

26.1 (Kroṣṭu had a famous son, Vṛjīnīvat). Here I take this as a proper name; but it could be a description (‘the sinful one’) of a son-of-Kroṣṭu already named previously (i.e. Anamitra, Yudhājit, or Devamīdhuṣa, at 24.1–2), or of Sumitra, the additional son-of-Kroṣṭu mentioned at 28.9 below. If we were to identify this Vṛjīnīvat as one of those four, then Yudhājit might be a preferred candidate, partly because of the similarity between their names, and partly because there is a similarity between their descendants as related. This will be borne out in the following (see especially the first note to 28.9).

26.1 (They favoured Vṛjīnīvat’s son Svāh). Here ‘they’ would presumably be the subjects, the court’s ministers, and/or the family as a whole.

26.5 (the son of Pṛthuśravas). The patronym here is Pārthaśravasa, rather than Pārthuśravasa as one might expect.

26.7 (Śineyu was the son of Uśata). The name of Śineyu’s father seems to be formed from different stems in different cases (*uśat* – here in the genitive, thus continuing the pun from the previous verse, but *uśata* – in the previous verse in the nominative). I have standardised the name to Uśata in the translation in both cases.

26.12 (to the Videhas). I translate here as if the people of Videha are intended; but since *videha* also means ‘dead’, there is a darker implication lurking here in the pun.

26.13 (raised to enlightenment by a brahmin). The next verse demonstrates the result of this enlightenment: a wholehearted embracing of *kṣatriya dharma*. As demonstrated on several occasions in the *Mahābhārata* (in the *Bhagavadgītā*, for example, and again after the war when Yudhiṣṭhira repeatedly expresses a desire to renounce the kingdom), for a *kṣatriya* in his prime to accept poverty and powerlessness is negligent, and a symptom of ignorance.

26.26 (the mother was born). It is not clear why Madhu’s son Purutvat would be called the *mātā*; though perhaps this is connected somehow with the epithet *puruṣottama* in the previous line. These alerts will bear revisiting in light of 28.36 below, the Madhu of which should probably be identified with this one; it seems to be at this point, after the story of Jyāmagha has been telescopically framed and featured by parallel barrages of fathers and sons, that the Yādava line doubles back on itself to resume.

26.27 (the good reputation of the Sātvata). Here the stem is *sātvat-*, but as the stem *sātvata-* also occurs (see e.g. 28.30 and 29.38 below), I have standardised it as *Sātvata* within the translation. I have done this even when the first vowel appears in short form, as in 27.1 below.

27.1 (Kausalyā had Sātvata sons). Because of the link made by the repetition of the words *Sātvata* (see previous note) and *sattva*, because of the constant location (*Mṛttikāvati*, 26.14 and 27.15), and because of the link between the *Aikṣvākas* and *Kosala*, I take it that this chapter takes up where the previous one left off – that is,

Kausalyā (woman of *Kosala*) is *Purutvat*’s aforementioned wife *Ekṣvākī*.

27.3 (and they bore him many sons). The *tasmāt* – here ‘(from) him’, but also ‘therefore’ – goes hand in hand with the pun provided by *Bhajānā*’s name, which looks like a present participle from the verb *bhaj*, having connotations of sexual enjoyment.

27.13 (He pleased the gods). This description of *Babhru* (*devāvṛdha*) equates him with his father, whose name it is.

27.15 (the Bhojas of Mṛttikāvati). Here I double the *t* in the translation, for consistency (compare 26.14 above).

27.16 (Bhajānā). This *Bhajānā*, son of *Andhaka*, apparently shares his name with his uncle *Bhajānā*, brother of *Andhaka*, son of *Purutvat* and *Kausalyā* (*Harivaṃśa* 26.26–27.5).

27.20 (Āhuka mustn’t travel at the front). Here a good many manuscripts do not include the *na* (reading e.g. *sa nṛpaḥ* instead of *nāhukaḥ*); but I have retained the reconstituted version, since the surrounding statements emphasise that *Āhuka*’s inner circle was exclusive and carefully vetted. Perhaps this is connected with his apparent youth (*kiśorapratimo*); if he was king before he had strong sons of his own, the line might have been particularly vulnerable to political assassination.

27.23 (Straps decorated with small bells could be heard by). I am not sure I have read this line correctly; but I imagine *Āhuka* with bells affixed, so that if he moves, he summons his bodyguards.

27.26 (Devavat, Upadeva, Sudeva, and Devarakṣit). For *Upadeva* and *Sudeva* as brothers, see also 28.42, where they are the only two mentioned sons of *Akrūra*.

27.27 (Sudevā). This name replaces ‘Rohiṇī’ from the enumeration at 25.1–8 above.

27.28 (and the thriving Anādhṛṣṭi). *Anādhṛṣṭiś ca puṣṭimān.* If Puṣṭimat and Anādhṛṣṭi were both proper names, there would be ten sons listed here, not nine as stated. If one translates nine named sons, then one must decide which of the two words *anādhṛṣṭi* and *puṣṭimat* to take as a name, and which as an epithet. There is already an aforementioned Anādhṛṣṭi, the son of Śūra (24.18 above; cf. 24.26); so one might prefer ‘... and the uncheckable Puṣṭimat’. Or perhaps we are to imagine that ten sons are deliberately listed but called nine, whereby Kaṃsa (Kṛṣṇa’s wicked uncle and enemy, as detailed at *Harivaṃśa* 46–76) has been disowned and discounted. Or perhaps ‘nine sons’ including Kaṃsa are mentioned and nine are listed, and the reason it is not ten is because the five daughters (mentioned in the next verse) stand in the place of a tenth son (see note to 23.7 above).

28.1 (Bhajānāna). Presumably this is Andhaka’s son Bhajānāna, left hanging at 27.16 above (not Kausalyā’s son Bhajānāna of 27.1, and not a third and as-yet-unmentioned Bhajānāna).

28.3 (two sisters, Śravaṇā and Śraviṣṭhā). These two sisters, daughters of Rājādhīdeva, seemingly share their names with the two daughters of Citraka (24.13).

28.5 (Kṛtavarman was the first of them). In the *Mahābhārata*, Kṛtavarman son of Hṛdika fights at Kurukṣetra on the side of Duryodhana. He survives the war, and he and Kṛpa act as Aśvatthāman’s henchmen in his attack on the enemy camp at night in the *Sauptikaparvan*. Years later, as a result of his involvement on that occasion, he is involved in the argument that precedes – and then he is killed by Sātyaki to trigger – the massacre of the Vṛṣṇis (*Mahābhārata* 16.4.16–27). Two verses

(16.4.22–3) of the latter passage are particularly interesting in the present connection:

*maṇiḥ syamantakaś caiva yaḥ sa satrājito ’bhavat |
tām kathām smārayām āsa sātyakir madhusūdanam ||
tac chrutvā keśavasyāṅkam agamad rudatī tadā |
satyabhāmā prakupitā kopayanti janārdanam ||*

‘Sātyaki reminded Madhusūdana of the story of the Syamantaka jewel, which belonged to Satrājīti. Satyabhāmā, having heard this, incensed, then went crying to Keśava’s breast, igniting Janārdana’s anger’ (tr. Austin in press, adapted). Compare *Harivaṃśa* 29.6–19 below.

28.9 (Gāndhārī and Mādri were wives of Kroṣṭu). Brinkhaus (2005: 378, 380–82) suggests that after the brothers Bhajānāna, Devāvṛdha, Andhaka, and Vṛṣṇi have been listed at 27.1–2, and after the descendants of the first three brothers have been detailed consecutively (Bhajānāna’s at 27.3–5, Devāvṛdha’s at 27.6–15, and Andhaka’s at 27.16–28.8), one might expect Vṛṣṇi’s descendants to be detailed beginning here at 28.9; and he hypothesises that Kroṣṭu has been interpolated here, as a correction for Vṛṣṇi. Brinkhaus adduces additional evidence from parallel *Purāṇa* passages (which have Vṛṣṇi, not Kroṣṭu; Brinkhaus 2005: 381 and n45), and he mentions that at *Harivaṃśa* 24.24 and 98.25 Anamitra is Vṛṣṇi’s youngest son.

There are no *Harivaṃśa* manuscripts that read Vṛṣṇi here. Moreover, in my view Brinkhaus’s last mentioned point is uncertain. It seems natural – and in line with Brinkhaus’s own observations, 2005: 376–7 – to read *vṛṣṇinandana* at 24.24, as I have done in the translation, as a general reference to Anamitra’s being the cheer of the Vṛṣṇi clan, rather than to his being the son of a man called Vṛṣṇi. If Brinkhaus had not thought that 24.1–13 was an interpolation (see note to 23.134 above), perhaps he would have understood 24.24 as referring to Anamitra as the youngest of the sons of Kroṣṭu listed at 24.1–2 (see again note to 24.24 above).

It is true that after the four brothers have been listed, Janamejaya says ‘Listen now to their four sets of descendants, in detail’ (27.2). But Vṛṣṇi’s descendants *are* detailed, at 28.36–44 (see note to 28.36 below); and because we have already been told to look out for them, their appearance serves as a suggestion of the emergent identities between Madhu and Kroṣṭu, and between Purutvat, Yudhājī, Vṛjīvat, and, in some interpretations, Satvat.

28.9 (Sumitra, a delight to his friend). This son of Kroṣṭu is not mentioned at 24.1–2 above, unless (as I would deduce) he is there called Anamitra.

28.10 (the mighty enemy-conquerer Anamitra). For the previous appearances of ‘Anamitra’, see 24.1 and 24.24 above, and notes. I would suggest – especially now that ‘Sumitra’ has just been mentioned – that this 28.10 Anamitra is not the aforementioned Anamitra. See next note; compare also 10.72 in the *sūryavaṃśa* – ‘Anarāya’s son was Nighna; and Nighna had two sons, Anamitra and Raghu, the two best of royal bulls.’ Brinkhaus (2005: 382; see first note to 28.9 above) takes the Anamitra of 28.10 as originally the son of Vṛṣṇi and Mādri (in contrast to 24.1 where Anamitra is the son of Kroṣṭu, and, in my reading of 24.24, in contrast also to 24.24 where Anamitra is the son of Kroṣṭu). I would rather read the 28.10 Anamitra simply as a hitherto unmentioned son of Kroṣṭu.

28.11 (Nighna had two sons, Prasena and Satrājī). There is some temptation tentatively to link these brothers with the brothers Prasena and Upadeva, sons of Akrūra and Sugātri Ugraseni, who were left hanging at 24.11 above, and who must be identified with Sudeva and Upadeva, sons of Akrūra and Sugātri Ugraseni, mentioned at 28.42 below. If these three pairs of brothers were to be identified, then there would be different accounts of their ancestry; and notably the present one, which is situated to lead into the story of the Syamantaka gem, would be the only one to

present them as sons of someone other than Akrūra, and that would thus describe Akrūra’s arranging the death of Satrājī without this being indirect filicide. But I am happy to keep Prasena and Satrājī (sons of Nighna) separate from Prasena/Sudeva and Upadeva (sons of Akrūra). See also 28.32–5 for the descendants of Satrājī.

28.22 (guided by those tracks). We imagine the bear killing the lion, then returning to Prasena’s corpse where he first saw the lion, then taking the Syamantaka, then going to his cave – and leaving tracks all the while.

28.34 (And he gave them to Kṛṣṇa as wife). For Satyabhāmā’s dialogue with Draupadī, see *Mahābhārata* 3.222–4.

28.36 (Pṛṣni was born, the son of Madhu’s son Yudhājī). *Madhoḥ putrasya jajñe ’tha pṛṣniḥ putro yudhājītaḥ.* At 24.1 and 28.10 Yudhājī is son of Kroṣṭu and Mādri; but no son-of-Yudhājī was mentioned before, which suggests that this could be the same Yudhājī, and that the name Madhu is here applied to Kroṣṭu (see 26.26 above for Madhu and his son Purutvat; see 23.161 for Madhu son-of-the-Bull and his one hundred sons, of whom Vṛṣṇa took the line).

Several manuscripts here read *mādryāḥ* instead of *madhoḥ*, thus making Pṛṣni the son of Yudhājī and the grandson of Mādri, with the two Yudhājīs equated and no mention of Madhu here. The equation of the two Yudhājīs seems required in any case, because the present Yudhājī’s grandsons are the same Śvaphalka and Citraka who were mentioned at 24.2–3 – as grandsons of Yudhājī; the only problem then being that the intervening man, here called Pṛṣni, was there called Vṛṣṇi.

When the name Vṛṣṇi occurs (twice) at 24.3, it does so in every manuscript; but when the name Pṛṣni occurs (twice) here at 28.36, more than a dozen manuscripts instead read the name Vṛṣṇi (twice). I have left the name Pṛṣni, as per the critically

reconstituted version; but this is clearly a man elsewhere known as Vṛṣṇi. This would then also be the Vṛṣṇi of 27.2, who, though not said to be the son of Yudhājit but rather the son of Purutvat (in my view they are implicitly the same man), was left hanging there, as if waiting for this fill-in.

Brinkhaus (2005: 382 and n51) says that Akrūra at 28.36–8 is traced back to Yudhājit (i.e., in Brinkhaus’s view, Vṛṣṇi’s son); but he emends the reconstituted text here, to remove, he says, ‘what I take to be a deviant *madhoḥ*’ and restore ‘the systematically plausible reading *mādryāḥ* or *mādrī*’, whom he then links to ‘Vṛṣṇi ... Mādrī’s spouse’. The replacing of *madhoḥ* with *mādryāḥ* would be fine as far as it goes, but it should be relatively inconsequential. Vṛṣṇi is nowhere Mādrī’s spouse; rather, her spouse is Kroṣṭu, whom I take also as Madhu. Further evidence for this identification might be gleaned from 26.25, where Madhu’s father – i.e., in my view, Yadu, famously the son of Yayāti the *kṣatriya* and Devayānī the brahmin – is called Devakṣatra.

28.37 (*Śvaphalka married Gāṃdī*). Gāṃdī is presumably a short form of Gāndinī (24.7) or Gāṃdinī (29.40).

This passage listing Śvaphalka’s, Akrūra’s, and Citraka’s children is very similar to that presented earlier, at 24.7–13. Here is a concordance, with discrepancies in bold (for Vṛṣṇi and Pṛṣṇi, see note to 28.36 above):

24.7–13	28.37–43
Śvaphalka, m. Gāndinī	Śvaphalka, m. Gāṃdī
Akrūra	Śrutavat
Upamadgu	Akrūra
Madgu	Upāsaṅga
Mṛdara	Madgu
Arimejaya	Mṛdura
	Arimardana

Arikṣepa	Girikṣipa
Upekṣa	Upekṣa
Śatruḥna	Śatruhan
Arimardana	Arimejaya
Carmabhṛt	Carmabhṛt
Yudhivarman	Arivarman
Gṛdhramojas	Gṛdhramojas
Antaka	Nara
Āvāha	Āvāha
Prativāha	Prativāha
Sundarā	Sundarā, m. Sāmba

Akrūra, m. Sugātrī Ugrasenī	Akrūra, m. Sugātrī Ugrasenī
Prasena	Sudeva
Upadeva	Upadeva

Citraka	Citraka
Pṛthu	Pṛthu
Vipṛthu	Vipṛthu
Aśvagrīva	Aśvasena
Aśvabāhu	Aśvabāhu
Supārśvaka	Supārśvaka
Gaveṣaṇa	Gaveṣaṇa
Ariṣṭanemi	
Aśva	
Sudharman	
Dharmabhṛt	
Subāhu	
Bahubāhu	
Śraviṣṭhā	
Śravaṇā	

Several manuscripts make efforts to standardise the presentation of the names in some cases.

28.43 (Aśvasena). Instead of Aśvasena, manuscripts D₂ and Ś₁ read Aśvatthāman; G₄, M₁, M₂, and M₃ read Aśvatthāna.

S 28.44. Here the reconstituted version has this verse:

ariṣṭanemes tu sutā dharmo dharmabhṛd eva ca |

subāhur bahubāhuś ca śraviṣṭhāśravaṇe striyau || 28.44 ||

This would be translated as follows: ‘And Ariṣṭanemi’s children were Dharma and Dharmabhṛt, Subāhu and Bahubāhu, and two females, Śraviṣṭhā and Śravaṇā.’

Ariṣṭanemi was mentioned as one of Citraka’s sons when twelve of these were listed at 24.12–13 above; and at the present juncture, where six of Citraka’s sons have just been listed but Ariṣṭanemi is not among them, Ariṣṭanemi would have to be assumed to be among them nonetheless. However, the matter is not quite so simple, because Ariṣṭanemi’s children, as listed here, seem to be almost identical to those listed at 24.13 as children of Citraka; where 24.13 presents Ariṣṭanemi as one of Citraka’s sons and continues the list, 28.44 presents Ariṣṭanemi in the genitive case such that the following names are those of *his* sons. Overall 24.7–13 closely resembles 28.37–44, but the matter of Ariṣṭanemi’s children is the most consequential discrepancy. This discrepancy is averted by three manuscripts (K₁, K₄, and M₄) which omit 28.44 altogether, by one manuscript (Ś₁, the Śāradā) which omits its first three *pādas*, and by six manuscripts (Dn₁, Dn₂, T₃, T₄, M₁, and M₂) which read *ariṣṭanemir aśvaś ca* as at 24.13 (where no manuscripts present Ariṣṭanemi in the genitive case).

I have emended the text here and omitted verse 28.44, because according to the principles of the edition, ‘the critical text should only include such passage[s] on which all recensions and versions agree’ (Vaidya 1969: xxxvi); Vaidya has, for example, excluded app18, app40, and app42 from the reconstituted text solely on the basis of their not being present in Ś₁.

There is an argument for omitting the whole of the duplicated passage 28.36–44, since this is not found in manuscripts

K₁, K₄, and M₄. I have not done this, however, because apart from its final verse 28.44, the duplicated passage presents no interpretive difficulties.

29.1 (Babhru got hold of it). Babhru, ‘the brown one’, functions here as an alternative name of Akrūra. A Babhru was also the son of Devāvṛdha and the River Parṇāśā (27.11–15 above).

29.1 (Satadhanvan the Bhojā). For Śatadhanvan (Kṛtavarma’s younger brother), see 28.5 above.

29.8 (urns for the burned brothers’ bones). Kṛṣṇa is in Vāraṇāvata to bid farewell to the Pāṇḍavas and Kuntī, who have seemingly perished in the firehouse there; see *Mahābhārata* 1.130–37. Dhṛtarāṣṭra, when he hears the news from Vāraṇāvata, also orders the provision of bone-urns (*kulyāni*, *Mahābhārata* 1.137.13). There seems to be a clear semantic connection between the words *kulya* and *kula*; but interestingly there is no suggestion, either in the *Mahābhārata* or the *Harivaṃśa*, that the bone-urns, once filled, are to be transported to Hāstinapura or Dvāravatī. In any case, it is surely significant that Akrūra’s theft of the Syamantaka happens at almost exactly the same time as the fire in Vāraṇāvata. The fighting over the Syamantaka in Dvāravatī seems to re-present the fighting over the Kaurava throne (or vice versa).

29.11 (for the two of us). Here and in what follows, it is surely possible to see the relationship between Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma as a re-presentation of the relationship between Arjuna and Yudhiṣṭhira (or vice versa). Kṛṣṇa does the fighting; and in due course Balarāma gets frustrated and wants to ditch their ambition.

29.19 (somewhere near Mithilā). Mithilā is the patrilineal provenance of Rāma Dāśaratha’s wife Sītā, which is curious since the killing of

Akrūra is chronologically superimposed upon the Pāṇḍavas' winning of Draupadī in her father's city, Kāmpilya.

29.23 (received by the king of Mithilā). This king is not named, but despite the fact that his son-in-law Rāma Dāśaratha lived some time before these events, we are reminded of Janaka, a famous seeker of *mokṣa*; see *Mahābhārata* 3.2.30–32; 6.25.20 (*Bhagavadgītā* 3.20); 12.297; 12.308; 14.32.

29.28 (instruction in club-fighting from Balabhadra). This would fit Duryodhana's visit to the Pāṇḍavas in exile (*Mahābhārata* 3.226–35), which is followed by his ritual activity in Hāstīnapura (paralleling Akrūra's in Dvāravatī).

29.34 (gave him his own young sister). The only sister mentioned among Akrūra's many siblings is Sundarā (24.10; 28.40), who becomes the wife of Kṛṣṇa's son Sāmba (28.41). So here we are presumably to understand that Kṛṣṇa accepts Sundarā for his son (somewhat in the manner of Arjuna accepting Uttarā for Abhimanyu at *Mahābhārata* 4.66.27–9), or to understand *vāsudevāya* to refer at least partly to Sāmba himself.

Figure 1. Concordance of the Solar Line.

Kings with asterisks are said to have brothers who established lines elsewhere.
Raghuvamśa kings presented in brackets are mentioned out of sequence.
 For comparison with the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* version, see Kale 1997: xxvii–xxix.

<u>HV 8–10</u>	<u>Rām 1.69, 2.102</u>	<u>Raghuvamśa</u>
	Brahmā Marīci	
Kaśyapa	Kaśyapa	
Vivasvat Mārtaṇḍa	Vivasvat	Vivasvat
Manu	Manu	Manu
Ikṣvāku*	Ikṣvāku	(Ikṣvāku)
Vikuksi	Kukṣi (2.102 only)	
Kakutstha*	Vikuksi	(Kakutstha?)
Anenas	Bāṇa	
Pr̥thu	Anaranya	
Viṣṭarāśva	Pr̥thu	
Ārdra	Triśaṅku	
Yuvanaśva		
Śrāvasta		
Bṛhadaśva		
Kuvalāśva Dhundhumāra	Dhundhumāra	
Dr̥ḍhāśva		
Haryaśva		
Nikumbha		
Samhataśva		
HAIMAVATĪ DR̥ṢADVATĪ		
Prasenajit		
Yuvanaśva	Yuvanaśva	
Māndhātṛ	Māndhātṛ	
Purukutsa		
Trasaddasyu		
Sambhūta		
Sudhanvan		
Tridhanvan		
Trayyāruṇa		
Satyavrata Triśaṅku		
Hariścandra		
Rohita	Susaṃdhi	
Vṛka	Dhruvasaṃdhi	
Bāhu	Bharata	
	Asita	
Sagara	Sagara	(Sagara and sons)
Pañcājana	Asamañja	
Amśumat	Amśumat	
Dilīpa Khatvāṅga	Dilīpa	
Bhagīratha	Bhagīratha	
Śruta	Kakutstha	(Kakutstha?)

Nābhāga	Raghu	
Ambarīṣa		
Sindhudvīpa		
Ayutājīti		
Ṛtaparṇa		
Kalmāṣapāda Ārtaparṇi Mitrasaha	Pravṛddha Kalmāṣapāda Saudāsa	
Sarvakarman	Śaṅkhana	
Anaranya	Sudarśana	
Nighna	Agnivarṇa	
Anamitra Duliduha	Śighraga	
Dilīpa	Maru	Dilīpa
	Praśuśruka	
	Ambarīṣa	
	Nahuṣa	
	Yayāti (1.69 only)	
Raghu	Nābhāga	Raghu
Aja	Aja (and brother Svvrata in 2.102 only)	Aja
Daśaratha	Daśaratha	Daśaratha
Rāma	Rāma*	Rāma*
Kuśa	Kuśa	Kuśa
Atithi	Atithi	Atithi
Niṣadha		
Nala		Kuśeśayākṣa
Nabha		Nala
Puṇḍarīka		Nabhas
Kṣemadhanvan		Puṇḍarīka
Devāṅka		Kṣemadhanvan
Ahīnagu		Devāṅka
Sahasvat		Ahīnagu
		Pāriyātra
		Śīla
		Unnābha
		Vajranābha
		Śaṅkhana
		Vyūṣitāśva
		Viśvasaha
		Hiranyanābha
		Kausalya
		Brahmiṣṭha
		Putra
		Puśya
		Dhruvasaṃdhi
		Sudarśana
		Agnivarṇa

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