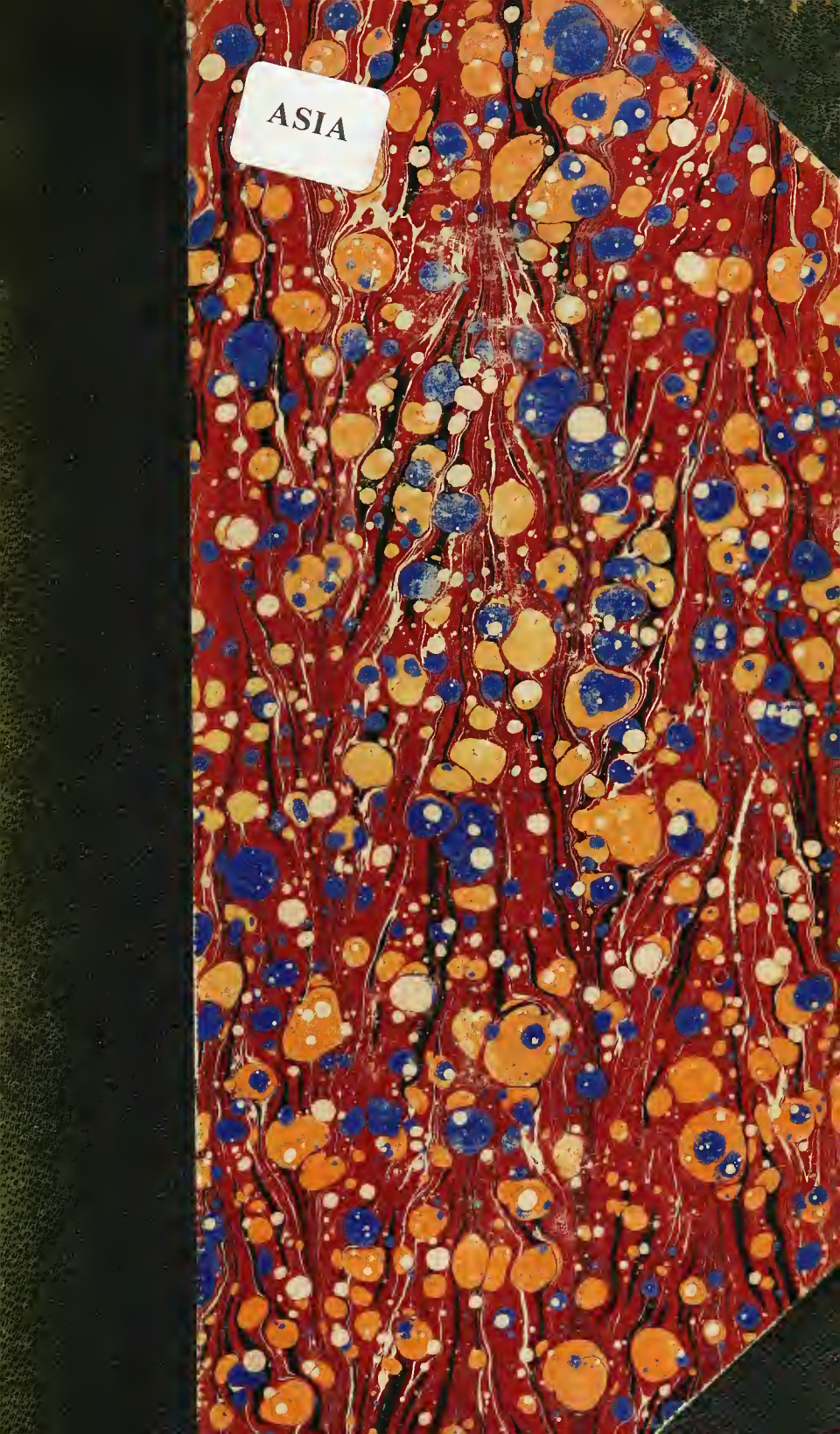


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THE MAHABHARATA

OF

KRISHNA-DWAIPAYANA VYĀSA

TRANSLATED

INTO

ENGLISH PROSE.



Published and distributed, *chiefly gratis*,

BY

PROTĀP CHANDRA ROY.

BHISHMA PARVA.



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1887.

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NOTICE.

Having completed the *Udyoga Parva* I enter the *Bhishma*. The preparations being completed, the battle must begin. But how dangerous is the prospect ahead? How many of those that were counted on the eve of the terrible conflict lived to see the overthrow of the great Kuru captain? To a *Kshatriya* warrior, however, the fiercest incidents of battle, instead of being appalling, served only as tests of bravery that opened Heaven's gates to him. It was this belief that supported the most insignificant of combatants fighting on foot when they rushed against Bhishma, presenting their breasts to the celestial weapons shot by him, like insects rushing on a blazing fire. I am not a *Kshatriya*. The prospect of battle, therefore, cannot be unappalling or welcome to me. On the other hand, I frankly own that it *is* appalling. If I receive support, that support may encourage me. I am no Garuda that I would spurn the strength of numbers when battling against difficulties. I am no Arjuna conscious of superhuman energy and aided by Kecava himself so that I may encounter any odds. To me, therefore, the support of my fellow men is a *sini qua non*. Without it, it is impossible for me to proceed a single step. Without it I cannot hope to cross the sea of battle. For that support, therefore, of my countrymen, and, as literature is a cosmopolitan concern, to all who have an interest in seeing me proceed, I humbly and respectfully appeal.

Figure apart, further pecuniary support is necessary to continue the work to completion. With the 32nd fasciculus of the translation, acting upon a suggestion of the *Pioneer* newspaper I circulated a statement of my receipts and disbursements. The press of both India and foreign countries has spoken on that statement. I have nothing further to add on that head.

Regarding the literary management of the translation I would point out that in deference to a suggestion received from many quarters, particularly America and Germany, I have caused the number of each *Sloka* to be indicated in the English version. This is not so easy as at first sight it may appear. No two printed editions of the original agree in

numbering the *sloka* equally. This is due to one edition including *sloka* that are left out in another. Then again the rule is not followed by the Editors of these texts of uniformly including two lines in a *sloka*. Sometimes a *sloka*, instead of being a couplet, is numbered as a triplet. No definite rule, however, is observed in respect of this expansion of a *sloka*. Sometimes, if the sense is not complete in less than three lines, the *sloka* is regarded as a triplet. But the practice is not uniform, for in every printed edition *slokas* have been numbered whose lines nevertheless run into one another. In numbering the *slokas* in the translation no particular edition has been followed. Notwithstanding all this, it is hoped that the numbers, as given, will help students of Sanskrit in comparing the translation with the original with greater facility.

{ No. 1; *Calcutta,*
Rājā Gooroo Dass'
Street. }

PROTAP CHANDRA ROY.

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THE MAHABHARATA

BHISHMA PARVA.

SECTION I.

(*Jamvu-khanda nirmāna Parva.*)

Om ! Having bowed down to Nārāyana, and Nara the most exalted of male beings, and also the goddess Saraswati, then must the word Jaya be uttered.

Janamejaya said.—“How did those heroes, the Kurus, the Pāndavas, and the Somakas, and the high-souled kings assembled together from various countries, fight?”¹

Vaiçampāyana said.—“Listen thou, O lord of the earth, how those heroes,—the Kurus, the Pāndavas, and the Somakas,—fought on the sacred plain* of Kurukshetra!² Entering Kurukshetra, the Pāndavas endued with great might, along with the Somakas, advanced, desirous of victory, against the Kauravas.³ Accomplished in the study of the *Vedas*, all (of them) took great delight in battle. Expectant of success in battle, with their troops (they) faced the fight.⁴ Approaching the army of Dhritarāshtra’s son, those (warriors) invincible in battle,† stationed themselves with their troops on the western part (of the plain), their faces turned towards the east.⁵ Yudhishtira the son of Kunti caused tents by thousands to be set up according to rule, beyond the region called Samantapanchaka.⁶ The whole earth seemed then to be empty, divested of horses and men, destitute of cars and elephants,

* *Tapas-kshetre* because Kuru the common ancestor of the rival houses performed his ascetic austerities there. Since Kuru’s time, many ascetics took up their abode there.—T.

† Some texts have *Duddharshām* for *Duddharshās*.—T.

and with only the children and the old left (at home).⁷ From the whole area of *Jamvudwipa* over which the sun sheds his rays,* was collected that force, O best of kings!⁸ Men of all races,† assembled together, occupied an area extending for many *Yojanas* over districts, rivers, hills, and woods.⁹ That bull among men, king Yudhishtira, ordered excellent food and other articles of enjoyment for all of them along with their animals.¹⁰ And Yudhishtira fixed diverse watch-words for them so that this one saying this should be known as belonging to the Pāndavas.¹¹ And that descendant of Kuru's race also settled names and badges for all of them for recognition during time of battle.¹²

“Beholding the standard-top of Prithā's son, the high-souled son of Dhritarāshtra, with a white umbrella held over his head, in the midst of a thousand elephants, and surrounded by his century of brothers, began with all the kings (on his side) to array his troops against the son of Pāndu.^{13, 14} Seeing Duryodhana, the Pānchālas who took delight in battle, were filled with joy and blew their loud-sounding conchs and cymbals of sweet sounds.¹⁵ Beholding those troops so delighted, Pāndu's sons and Vāsudeva of great energy had their hearts filled with joy.¹⁶ And those tigers among men, Vāsudeva and Dhananjaya, seated on one car, having felt great joy, both blew their celestial conchs.¹⁷ And hearing the blare of *Gigantea* and the loud blast of *Theodotes* belonging unto the two, the combatants ejected urine and excreta.‡¹⁸ As other animals are filled with fear on hearing the voice of the roaring lion, even so became that force upon hearing those blasts.¹⁹ A frightful dust arose and nothing could be seen, for the sun himself, suddenly enveloped by it, seemed to have set.§²⁰ A black cloud poured a shower of flesh and blood over

* Literally, “gives heat.”—T.

† *Varnas* used here in the sense of *races* and not *castes*.—T.

‡ Both 17 and 18 are read differently by the Burdwan Pundits.—T.

§ This *sloka* is variously read. For *bhaumam* in the first line some texts read *bhimam* which I have adopted. For *sahasā* in the second line some texts have *rajasā*, and then *āditye* (locative) for *ādityas*.—T.

the troops all around. All this seemed extraordinary.²¹ A wind rose there, bearing along the earth myriads of stony nodules, and afflicting therewith the combatants by hundreds and thousands.²² (For all that), O monarch, both armies, filled with joy, stood adrest for battle, on Kurukshetra, like two agitated oceans.²³ Indeed, that encounter of the two armies was highly wonderful, like that of two oceans when the end of the *Yuga* is arrived.²⁴ The whole earth was empty, having only the children and the old left (at home), in consequence of that large army mustered by the Kauravas.²⁵ Then the Kurus, the Pāndavas, and the Somakas made certain covenants, and settled the rules, O bull of Bharata's race, regarding the different kinds of combat.²⁶ Persons equally circumstanced must encounter each other, fighting fairly. And if having fought fairly the combatants withdraw (without fear of molestation), even that would be gratifying to us.²⁷ Those who engaged in contests of words should be fought against with words. Those that left the ranks should never be slain.²⁸ A car-warrior should have a car-warrior for his antagonist; he on the neck of an elephant should have a similar combatant for his foe; a horse should be met by a horse, and a foot-soldier, O Bhārata, should be met by a foot-soldier.²⁹ Guided by considerations of fitness, willingness, daring, and might, one should strike another, giving notice. No one should strike another that is unprepared, † or panic-struck.³⁰ One engaged with another, one seeking quarter, one retreating, one whose weapon is rendered unfit, one uncased in mail, should never be struck.³¹ Car-drivers, animals (yoked to cars or carrying weapons), men engaged in the transport of weapons, § players on drums and blowers of conchs should never be

* The Bombay text is evidently faulty here; it repeats the second half of the 7th *śloka*, making the second half of the 25th the first half of the 24th.—T.

† I. e. stragglers should not be slain.—T.

‡ Literally, "confiding."—T.

§ The Bombay text has *Castropānāyishu*; the Bengal texts have *Castropojibishu*.—T.

struck.³² Having made these covenants, the Kurus, and the Pāndavas, and the Somakas wondered much, gazing at each other.³³ And having stationed (their forces thus), those bulls among men, those high-souled ones, with their troops, became glad at heart, their joy being reflected on their countenances.*³⁴

SECTION II.

Vaiçampāyana said.—“Seeing then the two armies (standing) on the east and the west for the fierce battle that was impending, the holy *Rishi* Vyāsa the son of Satyavati, that foremost of all persons acquainted with the *Vedas*, that grand-sire of the Bharatas, conversant with the past, the present, and the future, and beholding everything as if it were present before his eyes, said these words in private unto the royal son of Vichitravirya who was then distressed and giving way to sorrow, reflecting on the evil policy of his sons.⁽¹⁻⁸⁾

“Vyāsa said,—‘O king, thy sons and the other monarchs have their hour arrived.† Mustered in battle they will kill one another.⁴ O Bhārata, their hour having come, they will all perish. Bearing in mind the changes brought on by Time, do not yield thy heart to grief.⁵ O king, if thou wish to see them (fighting) in battle, I will, O son, grant thee vision! Behold the battle!’⁶

“Dhritarāshtra said,—‘O best of regenerate *Rishis*, I like not to behold the slaughter of kinsmen! I shall, however, through thy potency, hear of this battle minutely!’”⁷

Vaiçampāyana continued.—“Upon his not wishing to see the battle but wishing to hear of it, Vyāsa, that lord of boons, gave a boon to Sanjaya.⁸ (And addressing Dhritarāshtra he said,)—‘This Sanjaya, O king, will describe the battle to thee! Nothing in the whole battle will be beyond this one’s

* It is impossible to notice all the variations of reading occurring in this section without considerably swelling the notes. I have accordingly left a good many unnoticed.—T.

† Rather, “have their periods run out.”—T.

eyes.⁹ Endued, O king, with celestial vision, Sanjaya will narrate the battle to thee. He will have knowledge of everything.*¹⁰ Manifest or concealed, (happening) by day or by night, even that which is thought of in the mind, Sanjaya shall know everything.¹¹ Weapons will not cut him, and exertion will not fatigue him. This son of Gavaigani will come out of the battle with life.¹² As regards myself, O bull of Bharata's race, the fame of these Kurus, as also of all the Pāndavas, I will spread! Do not grieve.¹³ This is destiny, O tiger among men! It behoveth thee not to give way to grief. It is not capable of being prevented. As regards victory, it is there where righteousness is!'¹⁴

Vaiçampāyana continued.—“That highly-blessed and holy grandsire of the Kurus, having said so, once more addressed Dhritarāshtra and said,¹⁵—‘Great will the slaughter be O monarch, in this battle. I see here also (numerous) omens indicative of terror.¹⁶ Hawks and vultures and crows, and herons, together with cranes, are alighting on the tops of trees and gathering in flocks.¹⁷ These birds, delighted at the prospect of battle, are looking down (on the field) before them. Carnivorous beasts will feed on the flesh of elephants and steeds.¹⁸ Fierce herons, foreboding terror, and uttering merciless cries, are wheeling across the centre towards the southern region.¹⁹ In both the twilights, prior and posterior, I daily behold, O Bhārata, the sun during his rising and setting to be covered by headless trunks.²⁰ Tri-colored clouds with their extremities white and red and necks black, charged with lightning, and resembling maces (in figure) envelop the sun in both twilights.²¹ I have seen the sun, the moon, and the stars to be all blazing. No difference in their aspect is to be noted in the evening. I have seen this all day and all night. All this forbodes fear.²² On even the fifteenth night of the lighted fortnight in (the month of) *Kārtika*, the moon, divested of splendour, became invisible, or of the hue of fire, the firmament being of the hue

* The second half of the 9th, and the whole of the 10th *sloka*, are omitted in the Bengal texts.—T.

of the lotus.²³ Many heroic lords of earth,—kings and princes,—endued with great bravery and possessed of arms resembling maces, will be slain and sleep, lying down on the earth.²⁴ Daily I notice in the sky during night time the fierce cries of battling boars and cats.²⁵ The images of gods and goddesses sometimes laugh, sometimes tremble, and sometimes again these vomit blood through their mouths, and sometimes they sweat and sometimes fall down.²⁶ O monarch, drums, without being beat, give sounds, and the great cars of Kshatriyas move without (being drawn by) animals yoked to them.²⁷ *Kokilas*, wood-peckers, jays, water-cocks, parrots, crows, and peacocks, utter terrible cries.²⁸ Here and there, cavalry soldiers, cased in mail, and armed with weapons, send forth fierce shouts. At sun-rise flights of insects, by hundreds, are seen.²⁹ In both twilights, the cardinal quarters seem to be ablaze, and the clouds, O Bhārata, shower dust and flesh.³⁰ She, O king, who is celebrated over the three worlds and is applauded by the righteous, even that (constellation) *Arundhati* keepeth (her lord) *Vaṣishtha* on her back.³¹ The planet *Çani* also, O king, appeareth, afflicting (the constellation) *Rohini*. The sign of the deer in the moon hath deviated from its usual position. A great terror is indicated.³² Even though the sky is cloudless, a terrible roar is heard there. The animals are all weeping, and their tears are falling fast.’³³

SECTION III.

“Vyāsa said,—‘Asses are taking births in kine. Sons are having sexual pleasure with mothers. The trees in the forests are exhibiting unseasonable flowers and fruits.¹ Women quick with child, and even those that are not so, are giving birth to monsters. Carnivorous beasts, mingling with (carnivorous) birds, are feeding together.² Ill-omened beasts, some having three horns, some with four eyes, some with five legs, some with two sexual organs, some with two heads, some with two tails, some having fierce teeth,³ are being

* The Bombay text reads *pralakshaye* for *prajākshaye*. I have adopted the former.—T.

born, and with mouths wide open are uttering unholy cries. Horses with three legs, furnished with crests, having four teeth, and endued with horns, are also being born.⁴ O king, in thy city is also seen that the wives of many utterers of *Brahma* are bringing forth *Garudas* and peacocks.⁵ The mare is bringing forth the cow-calf, and the bitch is bringing forth, O king, jackals and cocks and antelopes and parrots, all uttering inauspicious cries.*⁶ Certain women are bringing forth four or five daughters (at a time), and these, as soon as they are born, dance and sing and laugh.⁷ The members of the lowest orders are laughing and dancing and singing, and thus indicating direful consequences.⁸ Infants, as if urged by death, are drawing armed images, and are running against one another, armed with clubs,⁹ and desirous of battle, are also breaking down the towns (they erect in sport). Lotuses of different kinds and lilies are growing on trees.¹⁰ Strong winds are blowing fiercely, and the dust ceaseth not. The earth is frequently trembling, and *Rāhu* approacheth towards the sun.¹¹ The white planet (*Ketu*) stayeth, having passed beyond the constellation *Chitrā*. All this particularity bodeeth the destruction of the Kurus.¹² A fierce comet riseth, afflicting the constellation *Pusya*. This great planet will cause frightful mischief to both the armies.¹³ Mars wheeleth towards *Maghā*, and *Vrihaspati* (Jupiter) towards *Ḡravanā*. The Sun's offspring (*Ḡani*), approaching towards the constellation *Bhaga*, afflicteth it.¹⁴ The planet *Ḡukra*, ascending towards *Purva-Bhādra*, shineth brilliantly, and wheeling towards the *Uttara-Bhādra*, looketh towards it, having effected a junction (with a smaller planet).¹⁵ The white planet (*Ketu*), blazing up like fire mixed with smoke, stayeth, having attacked the bright constellation *Jeshthā* that is sacred to Indra.¹⁶ The constellation *Dhruva*, blazing fiercely, wheeleth towards the right. Both the moon and the sun are afflicting *Rohini*. The fierce planet (*Rāhu*) hath taken

* Both the Bengal and the Bombay editions have *Kukkurān* for *Kukkutān* as the Burdwan Pundits correct it. A bitch producing dogs and bitches would be no anomaly.—T.

up its position between the constellations *Chitrā* and *Swāti*.^{*17} The Redbodied (Mars), possessed of the effulgence of fire, wheeling circuitously, stayeth in a line with the constellation *Ḡravanā* over-ridden by *Vrihaspati*.¹⁸ The earth that produceth particular crops at particular seasons is now covered with the crops of every season.† Every barley stalk is graced with five ears, and every paddy stalk with a hundred.¹⁹ They that are the best of creatures in all the worlds and upon whom depends the universe, *viz*, kine, when milked after the calves have their suck, yield only blood.²⁰ Radiant rays of light emanate from bows, and swords blaze forth brilliantly. It is evident that the weapons behold (before them) the battle as if it were already arrived.²¹ The hue of weapons and the water, as also of coats of mail and standards, is like that of fire. A great slaughter will take place.²² In this battle,‡ O Bhārata, of the Kurus with the Pāndavas, the earth, O monarch, will be a river of blood with the standards (of warriors) as its rafts!²³ Animals and birds on all sides, with mouths blazing like fire, uttering fierce cries, and displaying these evil omens, are foreboding terrible consequences.²⁴ A (fierce) bird with but one wing, one eye, and one leg, hovering over the sky in the night, screameth frightfully in wrath, as if for making the hearers vomit blood.§²⁵

* Unlike the Bengal editions, the Bombay edition correctly includes this *sloka*, or rather half-*sloka*, within the 17th, making the 17th a triplet instead of a couplet. For the well-known word *Dhishthitas*, however, the Bombay text has *Vishthitus*.—T.

† The Bombay text reads *Paricchannā* for *paricchinnā*. The former is better.—T.

‡ *Vaiḡase* is explained by Nilakantha as *Virodhe*. *Conitāvartā*—a river having bloody eddies.—T.

§ *Conitam cchardayanniva*. I have adopted Nilakantha's explanation. The Burdwan Pundits take it as referring to "weapons" instead of "hearers." The passage, however, may mean that the bird screams so frightfully as if it vomits blood. The only thing that militates against this interpretation is that *cchardayan* is a causal verb. In the Mahābhārata, however, causal forms are frequently used without causal meanings.—T.

It seemeth, O great king, that all weapons are now blazing with radiance. The effulgence of the constellation known by the name of the seven high-souled *Rishis*, hath been dimmed.²⁶ Those two blazing planets, *viz*, *Vrihaspati* and *Ṣani*, having approached the constellation called *Viṣākhā*, have become stationary there for a whole year.²⁷ Three lunations twice meeting together in course of the same lunar fortnight, the duration of the latter is shortened by two days. On the thirteenth day, therefore, from the first lunation, according as it is the day of the full moon or the new moon, the moon and the sun are afflicted by *Rāhu*. Such strange eclipses, both lunar and solar, forebode a great slaughter.*²⁸ All the quarters of the earth, being overwhelmed by showers of dust, look inauspicious. Fierce clouds, portentous of danger, drop bloody showers during the night.²⁹ *Rāhu* of fierce deeds is also, O monarch, afflicting the constellation *Kirtikā*. Rough winds, portending fierce danger, are constantly blowing.³⁰ All these beget a war characterised by many sad incidents.† The constellations are divided into three classes. Upon one or another of each class, a planet of evil omen has shed its influence, foreboding terrible dangers.‡³¹ A lunar fortnight

* This *śloka* is omitted in many editions, though it is certainly genuine. I have rendered it very freely, as otherwise it would be unintelligible. The fact is, three lunations twice meeting together in course of the same lunar fortnight is very rare. The lunar fortnight (*Paksha*) being then reduced by two days, the day of full moon or that of new moon, instead of being (as usual) the fifteenth day from the first lunation becomes the thirteenth day. Lunar eclipses always occur on days of the full moon, while solar eclipses on those of the new moon. Such eclipses, therefore, occurring on days removed from the days of the first lunation by thirteen instead of (as usual) fifteen days, are very extraordinary occurrences.—T.

† *Vishamam* is battle or war, and *ākṛanda* is weeping or productive of grief. The latter word may also mean a fierce battle. If understood in this sense, *Vishamam* may be taken as indicating hostility, or absence of peace.—T.

‡ Nilakantha explains this in a long note the substance of which is appended below. Kings are divided into three classes, *viz*, owners of elephants (*Gujapati*), owners of horses (*Aṣṣvapti*), and owners of men (*Narapati*). If an evil-omened planet (*pāpa-graha*) sheds its influence

had hitherto consisted of fourteen days, or fifteen days (as usual), or sixteen days. This, however, I never knew that the day of new moon would be on the *thirteenth* day from the first lunation, or the day of full moon on the thirteenth day from the same. And yet in course of the same month both the moon and the sun have undergone eclipses on the thirteenth days from the day of the first lunation.*³² The sun and the moon, therefore, by undergoing eclipses on unusual days,† will cause a great slaughter of the creatures of the earth. Indeed, *Rākshasas*, though drinking blood by mouthfuls, will yet not be satiated.³³ The great rivers are flowing in opposite directions. The waters of rivers have become bloody. The wells, foaming up, are bellowing like bulls.‡³⁴ Meteors, effulgent like Indra's thunder-bolt, fall with loud hisses.§ When this night passeth away, evil consequences will overtake you.³⁵ People, for meeting together, coming out of their houses with lighted brands, have still to

upon any of the nine constellations beginning with *Açwini*, it forebodes danger to *Açwapatis*; if on any of the nine beginning with *Maghâ*, it forebodes danger to *Gajapatis*; and if on any of the nine beginning with *Mulâ*, it forebodes danger to *Narapatis*. What Vyasa says here, therefore, is that one or another *pâpagraha* has shed its influence upon one or another of each of the three classes of constellations, thus foreboding danger to *all* classes of kings.—T.

* *Vide note ante*.—T.

† *Aparvani*, *i. e.*, not on *Parva* days or days of full moon and new moon as ordinarily coming. The Bombay edition, after *aparvani*, reads *grahenau tau*. A better reading unquestionably is *grastâvetau*, as many Bengal texts have.—T.

‡ *Pratiçrotas*; strict grammar would require *pratiçrotasas*; the meaning is that those that flowed east to west now flow west to east, &c. For *kurddanti* some texts have *narddanti* which is certainly better. *Kurddanti* means play or sport; wells playing like bulls would be unmeaning, unless the sport were accompanied by bellowing.—T.

§ The Burdwan Pundits read *çuskâçani* for *çakrâçani*. The latter, however, is the true reading.—T.

encounter a thick gloom all around.* Great *Rishis* have said that in view of such circumstances³⁶ the earth drinks the blood of thousands of kings. From the mountains of Kailāsa and Mandara and Himavat³⁷ thousands of explosions are heard and thousands of summits are tumbling down, In consequence of the Earth's trembling, each of the four oceans,³⁸ having swelled greatly, seems ready to transgress its continents for afflicting the Earth.† Fierce winds charged with pointed pebbles are blowing, crushing mighty trees.³⁹ In villages and towns trees, ordinary and sacred, are falling down, crushed by mighty winds and struck by lightning.⁴⁰ The (sacrificial) fire, when Brāhmanas pour libations on it, becomes blue, or red, or yellow. Its flame bends towards the left, yielding a bad scent, accompanied by loud reports.⁴¹ Touch, smell, and taste have, O monarch, become what they were not. The standards (of warriors), repeatedly trembling, are emitting smoke.⁴² Drums and cymbals are throwing off showers of coal-dust. And from the tops of tall trees all around,⁴³ crows, wheeling in circles from the left, are uttering fierce cries. All of them again are uttering frightful cries of *paklā, paklā*,⁴⁴ and are perching upon the tops of standards for the destruction of the kings. Vicious elephants, trembling all over, are running hither and thither, urinating and ejecting excreta.⁴⁵ The horses are all melancholy, while the elephants are resorting to the water. Hearing all this, let that be done which is suitable, so that, O Bhārata, the world may not be depopulated !”⁴⁶

Vaiçampāyana continued.—“Hearing these words of his father, Dhritarāshtra said,—I think all this hath been ordained of old. A great slaughter of human beings will take place.⁴⁷ If the kings die in battle observing the duties of the Kshatriya order, they will then, attaining to the regions reserved for heroes, obtain only happiness.⁴⁸ These tigers

* The original is very obscure. *Ukā* is explained by Nilakantha as a brand (used for want of lamps). The line, however, is elliptical. The Burdwan Pundits introduce an entirely new line.—T.

† *Mahābhutā* is swelling greatly.—T.

among men, casting away their lives in great battle, will win fame in this and great bliss for ever in the next world.⁴⁹"

Vaiçampāyana continued.—"O best of kings, thus addressed by his son Dhritarāshtra, that prince of poets, the *Muni* (Vyāsa), concentrated his mind in supreme *Yoga*.⁵⁰ Having contemplated for only a short space of time, Vyāsa once more said,—'Without doubt, O king of kings, it is Time that destroyeth the universe.⁵¹ It is Time also that createth the worlds. There is nothing here that is eternal. Show the path of righteousness to the Kurūs, to thy kinsmen, relatives, and friends! Thou art competent to restrain them. The slaughter of kinsmen hath been said to be sinful. Do not do that which is disagreeable to me.⁵²⁻⁵³ O king, Death himself hath been born in the shape of thy son! Slaughter is never applauded in the *Vedas*. It can never be beneficial.⁵⁴ The usages of one's race are as one's own body. Those usages slay him that destroyeth them. For the destruction of this race and of those kings of the earth, it is Time that maketh thee deviate into the wrong path like one in distress although thou art competent (to walk along the path of righteousness)! O king, in the shape of (thy) kingdom hath calamity come to thee!⁵⁵⁻⁵⁶ Thy virtue is sustaining a very great diminution.* Show what righteousness is unto thy sons! O thou that art invincible, of what value is that kingdom to thee which bringeth sin to thee?⁵⁷ Take care of thy good name, thy virtue, and thy fame! Thou wilt then win heaven. Let the Pāndavas have their kingdom, and let the Kauravas have peace!⁵⁸

"While that best of Brāhmanas was saying these words in a sorrowful tone, Dhritarāshtra the son of Amvikā, accomplished in speech, once more addressed him, saying,⁵⁹—'My knowledge of life and death is similar to thine. The truth is known to me as regards these. Man, however, in what concerns his own interests, is deprived of judgment. O sire, know me to be one who is an ordinary person!⁶⁰ Of immeasurable power thou art! I pray thee to extend thy

* *Parena* is explained by Nilakantha as *atiçayena*.—T.

towards us! Of soul under complete control, thou art our refuge and instructor! My sons are not obedient to me, O great *Rishi*! My understanding too is not inclined to commit sin!^{*61} Thou art the cause of the fame, the achievements, and the inclination for virtue, of the Bharatas! Thou art the reverend grandsire of both the Kurus and the Pāndavas!^{†62}

“Vyāsa said,—‘O royal son of Vichitraviryya, tell me freely what is in thy mind. I will remove thy doubts!’^{‡63}

“Dhritarāshtra said,—‘O holy one, I desire to hear from thee of all those indications that happen unto those that become victorious in battle!’^{§64}

“Vyāsa said,—‘The (sacred) fire assumes a cheerful radiance. Its light ascends upwards. Its flame bends towards the right. It blazes up without being smoky. The libations poured on it yield a fragrant scent. It is said that these are the indications of future success.^{¶65} The conchs and cymbals yield sounds that are deep and loud. The Sun, as well as the Moon, gives pure rays. It is said that these are the indications of future success.^{¶66} Crows, whether stationary or on their wings, utter cries that are agreeable. They again that are behind, urge the warriors to advance; while they that are ahead, forbid all advance.^{†67} Where vultures, swans, parrots, cranes, and wood-peckers, utter delightful cries, and wheel towards the right, the Brāhmanas say that their victory in battle is certain.^{¶68} They whose divisions, in consequence of

* Some of the Bengal texts read *anugraham* (making the initial a silent) after *maharshe* (in the vocative case). There can be no doubt, however, that this is incorrect. The true reading is *nādharmam* which I have adopted. The Bombay text reads *nachādharmam*. The introduction of the particle *cha* needlessly makes the line incorrect as to metre.—T.

† The second line of the 67th *sloka* is very obscure. I have followed Nilakantha in translating it thus. The sense seems to be, that when crows hover behind an army, that is an auspicious sign; while it is an inauspicious sign if they are seen ahead. I am not sure that Nilakantha is right in taking the pronoun *ye* as referring to even crows.—T.

ornaments, coats of mail, and standards, or the melodious neigh of their steeds, become resplendant and incapable of being gazed at, always conquer their foes.⁶⁹ They who utter cheerful shouts, those warriors, O Bhārata, whose energies are not damped and whose garlands do not fade, always cross the ocean of battle.⁷⁰ They who utter cheerful shouts having penetrated into the divisions of the foe, who utter even kind words* to the enemy, and who, before striking, forewarn the foe, win victory.⁷¹ The objects of hearing, vision, taste, touch, and smell, without undergoing any change for the worse, become auspicious. This also is another indication of a victorious army, *viz*, there is joy among the combatants at all times.⁷² This also is another indication of success, *viz*, the winds that blow, the clouds, and the birds, all become favorable; while the clouds (so favorable) and the rain-bows drop beneficial showers.⁷³ These, O king, are the indications of armies to be crowned with victory, while, O monarch, all these become otherwise in the case of those that are about to be destroyed.⁷⁴ Whether the army be small or large, cheerfulness, as an attribute of the combatants, is said to be a certain indication of victory.⁷⁵ One soldier, struck with panic, can cause even a large army to take fright and fly. And when an army, struck with panic, takes to flight, it causes even heroic warriors to take fright.⁷⁶ If a large army is once broken and put to rout, it cannot like a herd of deer disordered in fright or a mighty current of water be easily checked.⁷⁷ If a large army is once routed, it is incapable of being rallied; on the other hand, beholding it broken, even those well-skilled in battles, O Bhārata, become heartless.⁷⁸ Beholding soldiers struck with fear and flying, the panic spreads in other directions, and soon, O king, the whole army is broken and flies in all directions.⁷⁹ And when an army is routed, even brave leaders, O king, at the head of large divisions consisting of the four kinds of forces, are incapable of rallying them.⁸⁰ An intelligent man, always exerting himself with activity, should strive (to win success)

* Such as "don't fight for you will be dead men soon," &c.—T

by the aid of means.* It is said that that success which is won by negotiation and other means is the very best. That which is achieved by producing disunion (among the foe) is indifferent.⁸¹ While that success, O king, which is won by battle, is the worst. In battle are many evils, the initial one, as it is said, being slaughter.⁸² Even fifty brave men who know one another, who are undepressed, who are free from family ties, and who are firmly resolved, can crush a large army.⁸³ Even five, six, or, seven men, who are unretreating, win victory. Vinatā's son Garuda, O Bhārata, beholding even a large concourse of birds, asketh not the aid of many followers (to vanquish them).⁸⁴ The strength in number, therefore, of an army is not always the cause of victory. Victory is uncertain. It depends on chance. Even they that become victorious have to sustain loss.'"⁸⁵

SECTION IV.

Vaiçampāyana said.—“Having said these words unto Dhritarāshtra, Vyāsa took his departure. And Dhritarāshtra also, having heard those words, began to reflect in silence.¹ And having reflected for only a short space of time, he began to sigh repeatedly. And soon, O bull of Bharata's race, the king asked Sanjaya of soul worthy of praise,² saying,—O Sanjaya, these kings, these lords of earth, so brave and taking delight in battle, are for smiting one another with weapons of diverse kinds, being prepared to lay down their very lives for the sake of earth! Incapable of being restrained, they are, indeed, smiting one another for increasing the population of Yama's domain.³⁻⁴ Desirous of prosperity connected with the possession of earth, they are incapable of bearing one another. I, therefore, think that earth must be possessed of many attributes. Tell me all these, O Sanjaya!⁵ Many thousands, many millions, many tens of millions, many hundreds of millions, of heroic men have come together at Kurujāngala.⁶

* This line is omitted in many of the Bengal texts except the Burdwan one.—T.

I desire to hear, O Sanjaya, with accurate details, about the situation and dimensions of those countries and cities from which they have come.⁷ Through the potency of that regenerate *Rishi*, Vyāsa of immeasurable energy, thou art endowed with the lamp of celestial perception and the eye of knowledge!⁸

“Sanjaya said,—‘O thou of great wisdom, I will recount to thee the merits of earth according to my knowledge. Behold them with thy eye of wisdom! I bow to thee, O bull of Bharata’s race!’⁹ Creatures in this world are of two kinds, mobile and immobile. Mobile creatures are of three kinds according to their birth, *viz*, oviparous, viviparous, and those engendered by heat and damp.¹⁰ Of mobile creatures, O king, the foremost are certainly those called viviparous. Of viviparous creatures the foremost are men and animals.¹¹ Animals, O king, of diverse forms, are of fourteen species. Seven have their abodes in the woods, and seven of these are domestic.¹² Lions, tigers, boars, buffalos, and elephants, as also bears, and apes, are, O king, regarded as wild.¹³ Kine, goats, sheep, men, horses, mules, and asses,—these seven amongst animals are reckoned as domestic by the learned.¹⁴ These fourteen, O king, complete the tale of domestic and wild animals, mentioned, O lord of earth, in the *Vedas*, and on which the sacrifices rest.¹⁵ Of creatures that are domestic, men are foremost, while lions are the foremost of those that have their abode in the woods. All creatures support life by living upon one another.¹⁶ Vegetables are said to be immobile, and they are of four species, *viz*, trees, shrubs, creepers, creeping plants existing for only a year, and all stemless plants of the grass species.*¹⁷ Of mobile and

* Nilakantha explains these five species thus:—trees, such as the peepul; *gulma* (shrubs), as *kuṣa*, *kāṣa*, &c., growing from a clump underneath; creepers, such as all plants growing upon the soil but requiring some support to twine round, *Valli*, those that creep on the earth and live for a year only, such as the gourd, the pumpkin, &c.; and lastly, *trina*, such as grass and all plants that are stemless, having only their barks or leaves.—T.

immobile creatures, there are thus one less twenty; and as regards their universal constituents, these are five. Twenty-four in all, these are described as *Gāyatri* (*Brahma*) as is well-known to all.*¹⁸ He who knows these truly to be the sacred *Gāyatri* possessed of every virtue, is not liable, O best of the Bharatas, to destruction in this world.¹⁹ Everything springeth from the Earth and everything, when destroyed, mergeth into the Earth. The Earth is the stay and refuge of all creatures, and the Earth is eternal.²⁰ He that hath the Earth, hath the entire universe with its mobile and immobile population. It is for this that longing for (the possession of the) Earth, kings slay one another."[†]²¹

SECTION V.

"Dhritarāshtra said,—'The names of rivers and mountains, O Sanjaya, as also of provinces, and all other things resting on the earth,' and the dimensions, O thou that are acquainted with the measures of things, of the earth in its entirety, and the forests, O Sanjaya, recount to me in detail!'"²

"Sanjaya said,—'O great king, all things in the universe, in consequence of the presence (in them) of the five elements, have been said to be equal by the wise.³ These elements, are space, air, fire, water, and earth. Their (respective) attributes are sound, touch, vision, taste, and scent. Every one of these elements possesses (in addition to what is especially its own) the attribute or attributes of that or those coming before it. The earth, therefore, is the foremost of them

* When *Gāyatri*, or *Brahma*, or the *Universe*, is mentioned, these twenty four are indicated, five of which exist independently, the remaining nineteen being the result of those five in various proportions.—T.

† This section in the Bombay text consists also of 21 *slokas* in all. Many of the *slokas*, however, after the 10th, are given in a most incorrect order. Before completing the tale of the mobile creatures and their two divisions, domestic and wild, the Bombay text introduces the *slokas* about the vegetable creation distinctly included within the head "immobile." The fact is, where the arrangement of the *slokas* is concerned, the Bengal texts are generally superior to the Bombay one.—T.

all, possessing as it does the attributes of all the other four besides what is especially its own, as said by *Rishis* acquainted with truth.*⁴⁻⁵ There are four attributes, O king, in water. Scent does not exist in it. Fire has three attributes, *viz*, sound, touch, and vision.⁶ Sound and touch, belong to air, while space has sound alone. These five attributes, O king, exist (in this way) in the five principal elements⁷ depending on which all creatures in the universe exist. They exist separately and independently when there is homogeneity in the universe.†⁸ When, however, these do not exist in their natural state but with one another, then creatures spring into life, furnished with bodies. This is never otherwise.⁹ The elements are destroyed, in the order of the one succeeding merging into the one that precedes; and they spring also into existence, one arising from the one before it.‡ All of these are immeasurable, their forms being *Brahma* itself.¹⁰ In the universe are seen creatures consisting of the five elements. Men endeavour to ascertain their proportions by exercising their reason.¹¹ Those matters, however, that are inconceivable, should never be sought to be solved by reason. That which is above (human) nature is an indication of the inconceivable.¹²

“O son of Kuru’s race, I will, however, describe to thee the island called *Sudarçana*. This island, O king, is circular and of the form of a wheel.¹³ It is covered with rivers and other pieces of water and with mountains looking like masses

* I have rendered 4 and 5 a little too freely. The language of the original is very terse.—T.

† *Sāmyam* is homogeneity. The allusion is to the state of the universe before creation, when there exists nothing but a homogeneous mass or *Brahma* alone. The first compound of the 2nd line is read differently. The Burdwan Pundits and the Bombay edition read *anyonyam* (in the accusative); many of the Bengal texts read *anyonyena* (in the instrumental). The meaning is scarcely affected by this difference of reading.—T.

‡ The order of destruction is that earth merges into water, water into fire, fire into air, and air into space. And so the order of birth is that from space arises air, from air arises fire, from fire arises water, and from water arises earth.—T.

of clouds, and with cities and many delightful provinces.¹⁴ It is also full of trees furnished with flowers and fruits, and with crops of diverse kinds and other wealth. And it is surrounded on all sides with the salt ocean.¹⁵ As a person can see his own face in a mirror, even so is the island called Sudarçana seen in the lunar disc.¹⁶ Two of its parts seem to be a peepal tree, while two others look like a large hare. It is surrounded on all sides with an assemblage of every kind of deciduous plants.¹⁷ Besides these portions, the rest is all water. What remains I will describe to thee shortly. The rest I will speak of afterwards. Listen now to this that I describe in brief.' '*¹⁸

SECTION VI.

“Dhritarāshtra said,—‘Thou art intelligent, O Sanjaya, and acquainted with the truth (about everything). Thou hast duly given a description of the island in brief. Tell us now of the island in detail.¹ Tell us now of the dimensions of the expanse of land that lies in the portion looking like a hare. Thou mayst then speak of the portion resembling a *peppala* tree.’ ”²

Vaiçampāyana said,—“Thus addressed by the king, Sanjaya began to say.

“Sanjaya said,—‘Stretching from east to west, are these six mountains that are equal† and that extend from the eastern to the western ocean.³ They are Himavat, Hemakuta, that best of mountains called Nishadha, Nila abounding with stones of *lapis lazuli*, Cweta white as the moon,⁴ and the mountains called Cringavat composed of all kinds of metals.‡ These are the six mountains, O king, which are always the resort of *Siddhas* and *Chāranas*.⁵ The space lying between

* Nilakantha explains the last six *ślokas* as having an esoteric meaning. By *Sudarcana* he understands the mind. The rest is explained consistently. Interpretations, however, are not rare among commentators seeking to put sense in nonsense.—T.

† The Bombay text reads *Varsha parvatās for parvatās samās*.—T.

‡ For *Pināddha* occurring in the Bengal texts, the Bombay edition reads *Vichitra*.—T.

each of these measures a thousand *Yojanas*, and thereon are many delightful kingdoms. And these divisions are called *Varshas*, O Bhārata.⁶ In all those kingdoms reside creatures of diverse species. This (the land where we are) is the *Varsha* that is called after Bharata. Next to it (northwards) is the *Varsha* called after Himavat.⁷ The land that is beyond Hemkuta is called *Harivarsha*. South of the Nila range and on the north of the Nishadha⁸ is a mountain, O king, called *Mālyavat* that stretches from east to west. Beyond *Mālyavat* (northwards) is the mountain called *Gandhamādana*.⁹ Between these two (*viz*, *Mālayavat* and *Gandhamādana*) is a globular mountain called *Meru* made of gold. Effulgent as the morning sun, it is like fire without smoke.[†]¹⁰ It is eighty-four thousand *Yojanas* high, and, O king, its depth also is eightyfour *Yojanas*.¹¹ It standeth bearing the worlds above, below and transversely. Beside *Meru* are situate, O lord, these four islands,¹² *viz*, *Bhadraçwa*, and *Ketumāla*, and *Jamvudwipa* otherwise calld *Bhārata*, and *Uttara-Kuru* which is the abode of persons who have achieved the merit of righteousness.¹³ The bird *Sumukha* the son of *Suparna*, beholding that all the birds on *Meru* were of golden plumage, reflected¹⁴ that he should leave that mountain inasmuch as there was no difference there between the good, middling, and bad birds.¹⁵ That foremost of luminaries, the sun, always circumambulates *Meru*, as also the moon with (his) attendant constellations, and the Wind-god too.¹⁶ That mountain, O king, is endued with celestial fruits and flowers, and it is covered all over with mansions made of burnished gold.¹⁷ There, on that mountain, O king, the celestials, the *Gandharvas*, the *Asuras*, and the *Rākshasas*, accompanied by the tribes of *Apsaras*, always sport.¹⁸ There *Brahman*, and *Rudra*, and also *Cakra* the chief of the celestials, assembled together, performed diverse kinds of sacrifices with plentiful gifts.¹⁹ *Tumvuru*, and *Nār-*

* The Bengal texts add a line here which is properly omitted in the Bombay edition.—T.

† After the 10th occurs a line in the Bengal texts which is evidently vicious.—T.

rada, and Viṣvāvasu. and the Hāhās, and the Hūhus, repairing thither, adored the foremost of the celestials with diverse hymns.²⁰ The high-souled seven *Rishis*, and Kayçapa the lord of creatures, repair thither, blessed be thou, on every *parva* day.*²¹ Upon the summit of that mountain, Uçanas, otherwise called the Poet, (sporteth) with the *Daityas* (his disciples).† The jewels and gems (that we see) and all the mountains abounding in precious stones are of Meru.²² Therefrom a fourth part is enjoyed by the holy Kuvera. Only a sixteenth part of that wealth he giveth unto men.²³ On the northern side of Meru is a delightful and excellent forest of *Karnikāras*, covered with the flowers of every season,‡ and occupying a range of hills.²⁴ There the illustrious *Paçupati* himself, the Creator of all things, surrounded by his celestial attendants and accompanied by Umā, sporteth,²⁵ bearing a chain of *Karnikāra* flowers (on his neck) reaching down to his feet, and blazing with radiance with his three eyes resembling three risen suns.²⁶ Him *Siddhas* truthful in speech, of excellent vows and austere ascetic penances, can behold. Indeed, Maheçwara is incapable of being seen by persons of wicked conduct.²⁷ From the summit of that mountain, like a stream of milk, O ruler of men, the sacred and auspicious Gangā, otherwise called Bhāgirathi, adored by the most righteous, of universal form and immeasurable and issuing out with terrific noise, falleth with impetuous force in the delightful lake of *Chandramas*.§²⁸⁻²⁹ Indeed, that sacred lake like an ocean, hath been formed by *Gangā* herself. (While leaping from

* Day of the full moon and that of the new moon.—T.

† The Bengal texts, except the Burdwan one, have *divi* for *Daityais*. Of course, the latter reading is correct.

‡ The Bombay text has *Sarvartus* (which is better) for *Sarvatas* in the Bengal texts.—T.

§ In the first line of 28, the Bengal texts read *Cirasas* (ablative) for *Cikhrāt* of the Bombay edition. In the last line of 29 also, the Bombay text has *plavantiva-pravegena* for the Bengal reading *patatyajasra-vegana*. No material difference of meaning arises if one or the other is accepted.—T.

the mountains), Gangā, incapable of being supported by even the mountains, was held³⁰ for a hundred thousand years by the bearer of *Pināka* on his head.* On the western side of Meru, O king, is *Ketumāla*.†³¹ And there also is *Jamvukhanda*. Both are great seats of humanity, O king.‡ There, O Bhārata, the measure of human life is ten thousand years.³² The men are all of a golden complexion, and the women are like *Apsarās*. And all the residents are without sickness, without sorrow, and always cheerful.³³ The men born there are of the effulgence of melted gold. On the summits of Gandhamādana, Kuvera the lord of the *Guhyakas*, with many *Rākshasas*³⁴ and accompanied by tribes of *Apsaras*, passeth his time in joy. Beside Gandhamādana there are many smaller mountains and hills.³⁵ The measure of human life there is eleven thousand years. There, O king, the men are cheerful, and endued with great energy and great strength, and the women are all of the complexion of the lotus and highly beautiful.³⁶ Beyond *Nila* is (the *Varsha* called) *Çweta*, beyond *Çweta* is (the *Varsha* called) *Hairanyaka*. Beyond *Hairanyaka* is (the *Varsha* called) *Airāvata* covered with provinces.³⁷ The last *Varsha* in the (extreme) north and Bharata's *Varsha* in the (extreme) south are both, O king, of the form of a bow. These five *Varshas* (*viz* *Çweta*, *Hairanyaka*, *Elāvrita*, *Harivarsha*, and *Haimavat-varsha*) are in the middle, of which *Elāvrita* exists in the very middle of all.³⁸ Amongst these seven *Varshas* (the five already mentioned and *Airāvata* and *Bhārata*) that which is further north excels the one to its immediate south in respect of these attributes, *viz*, the period of life, stature, health, righteousness, pleasure, and profit.³⁹ In these *Varshas*, O Bhārata, creatures (though of diverse species yet)

* Alluding to the tradition of Civa's holding Gangā on his head and for which the great god is sometimes called *Gangādhara*.

† This word occurs in various forms, *Ketumāla* and *Ketumāli* being two others.

‡ The Bombay edition reads *tu* for *cha* after *Jamvukhandu*. The meaning becomes changed.—T.

live together. Thus, O king, is the Earth covered with mountains.⁴⁰ The huge mountains of Hemakuta are otherwise called Kailāsa. There, O king, Vaiçravana passeth his time in joy with his *Guhyakas*.⁴¹ Immediately to the north of Kailāsa and near the mountains of Maināka there is a huge and beautiful mountain called *Manimaya* endued with golden summits.⁴² Beside this mountain is a large, beautiful, crystal and delightful lake called *Vindusaras* with golden sands (on its beach). There king Bhagiratha,⁴³ beholding Gangā (since), called after his own name, resided for many years. There may be seen innumerable sacrificial stakes made of gems, and *Chaitya* trees made of gold.⁴⁴ It was there that he of a thousand eyes and great fame won (ascetic) success by performing sacrifices. There the Lord of all creatures, the eternal Creator of all the worlds,⁴⁵ endued with supreme energy and surrounded by his ghostly attendants, is adored. There Nara and Nārāyana, and Brahman, and Manu, and Sthānu as the fifth, are (ever present).⁴⁶ And there the celestial stream Gangā having three currents,* issuing out of the region of Brahman, first showed herself, and then dividing herself into seven streams,⁴⁷ became Vaswokaśārā, Nalini, the sin-cleansing Saraswati, Jamvunadi, Sitā, Gangā, and Sindhu as the seventh.⁴⁸ The supreme Lord hath (himself) made the arrangement with reference to that inconceivable and celestial stream. It is there that sacrifices† have been performed (by gods and *Rishis*) on a thousand occasions after the end of the *Yuga* (when creation begins).⁴⁹ As regards the Saraswati, in some parts (of her course) she becometh visible and in some parts not so. This celestial seven-fold Gangā is widely known over the three worlds.⁵⁰ *Rākshasas* reside on Himavat, *Guhyakas* on Hemakuta, and serpents and *Nāgas* on Nishātha, and ascetics or *Gokarna*.⁵¹ The *Cweta* mountains are said to be the abode of the celestials and the *Asuras*. The *Gan-*

* The sacred stream Gangā is believed to have three currents. In heaven the current is called *Mandakini*; on earth, it is called *Gangā*; and in the sub-terraneous world it is called *Bhogaṇvati*.—T.

† The Bengal texts, excepting the Burdwan one, incorrectly read *Cakram for Satram*.—T.

dharvas always reside on Nishadha, and the regenerate *Rishis* on Nila. The mountains of Cringavat also are regarded as the resort of the celestials.⁵²

“These then, O great king, are the seven *Varshas* of the world as they are divided. Diverse creatures, mobile* and immobile, are placed in them all.⁵³ Diverse kinds of prosperity, both providential and human, are noticeable in them.⁵⁴ They are incapable of being counted. Those desirous, however, of their own good believe (all this).⁵⁵ I have now told thee of that delightful region (of land) of the form of a hare about which thou hadst asked me. At the extremities of that region are the two *Vārshas*, viz, one on the north and the other on the south. Those two also have now been told to thee.⁵⁶ Then again the two islands *Nāga-dwipa* and *Kaṣyapa-dwipa* are the two ears of this region of the form of a hare. The beautiful mountains of Malaya, O king, having rocks like plates of copper, form another (prominent) part of Jamvudwipa that making its shape resemble a hare.’⁵⁷

SECTION VII.

“Dhritarāshtra said,—‘Tell me, O Sanjaya, O thou of great intelligence, of the regions to the north and the east side of Meru, as also of the mountains of Mālyavat, in detail.†¹

“Sanjaya said,—‘On the south of the Nila mountain and the northern side of Meru are the sacred *Northern Kurus*, O king, which are the residence of the *Siddhas*.² The trees there bear sweet fruits, and are always covered with fruits and flowers. All the flowers (there) are fragrant, and the fruits, of excellent taste.³ Some of the trees, again, O king, yield fruits according to (the) will (of the plucker). There are again some other trees, O king, that are called *milk-yielding*.⁴ These always yield milk and the six different kinds of

* The correct reading is *Gātimanti*. Many of the Bengal texts incorrectly read *matimanti*, which is unmeaning.—T.

† Many of the Bengal texts incorrectly read *Merorapyantaram* for *Merorathottaram*.—T.

food of the taste of *Amrita* itself. Those trees also yield cloths and in their fruits are ornaments (for the use of man).⁵ The entire land abounds with fine golden sands. A portion of the region there, extremely delightful, is seen to be possessed of the radiance of the ruby or diamond, or of the *lapis lazuli* or other jewels and gems.* All the seasons there are agreeable and nowhere does the land become miry, O king.⁶⁻⁷ The tanks are charming, delicious, and full of crystal water.† The men born there have dropped from the world of the celestials.‡⁸ All are of pure birth and all are extremely handsome in appearance. There twins (of opposite sexes) are born and the women resemble *Apsarās* in beauty.⁹ They drink the milk, sweet as *Amrita*, of those milk-yielding trees (already mentioned). And the twins born there (of opposite sexes) grow up equally.¹⁰ Both possessed of equal beauty, both endued with similar virtues, and both equally dressed, both grow up in love like, O monarch; a couple of *chakravākas*.¹¹ The people of that country are free from illness and are always cheerful. Ten thousand and ten hundred years¹² they live, O king, and never abandon one another. A class of birds called *Bhārundā*, furnished with sharp beaks and possessed of great strength,¹³ take them up when dead and throw them into mountain caves. I have now described to thee, O king, the Northern Kurus briefly.¹⁴

“I will now describe to thee the eastern side of Meru dūly. Of all the regions there, the foremost, O king, is called *Bhadrācwa*,¹⁵ where is a large forest of *Bhadra-çālas*, as also a huge tree called *Kālāmra*. This *Kālāmra*, O king, is always graced with fruits and flowers.§¹⁶ That tree again is

* This *sloka* beginning with *mani* and ending with *prabhām* is omitted in the Bombay text I don't think rightly. If anything that seems to be a repetition is to be omitted, half the *Mahābhārata* as it now exists, would then have to be pronounced not genuine.—T.

† This line is omitted, without any reason, in the Burdwan text.—T.

‡ I. e. “have fallen away from a celestial state.”—T.

§ In *sloka* 13, the Bengal texts read *Bhayānakās* for *mahāvalas*, In 15, *murdhād̄bbhishekas* for *Purvābbhishekas* is substituted in the Bombay text. In 16 again the Bombay text reads *Cubhas* for *drūmas*. There are some minor discrepancies from 13 to 16 which need not be noticed.—T.

a *Yojana* in height and is adored by the *Siddhas* and the *Chāranas*. The men there are all of a white complexion, endued with great energy, and possessed of great strength.¹⁷ The women are of the complexion of lilies, very beautiful, and agreeable to sight. Possessed of the radiance of the moon,* and white as the moon, their faces are as the full moon.¹⁸ Their bodies again are as cool as the rays of the moon, and they are all accomplished in singing and dancing. The period of human life there, O bull of Bharata's race, is ten thousand years.¹⁹ Drinking the juice of the *Kālāmra* they continue youthful for ever. On the south of Nila and the north of Nishadha,²⁰ there is a huge *Jamvu* tree that is eternal. Adored by the *Siddhas* and the *Chāranas*, that sacred tree granteth every wish.²¹ After the name of that tree this division hath ever been called *Jamvudwipa*. O bull of Bharata's race, a thousand and a hundred *Yojanas*²² is the height of that prince of trees, which touches the very heavens, O king of men! Two thousand and five hundred cubits²³ measure the circumference of a fruit of that tree which bursts when ripe; In falling upon the earth these fruits make a loud noise,²⁴ and then pour out, O king, a silvery juice on the ground. That juice of the *Jamvu*, becoming, O king, a river,²⁵ and passing circuitously round Meru, cometh to the (region of the) Northern Kurus. If the juice of that fruit is quaffed, it conduces to peace of mind. No thirst is felt ever after, O king! Decrepitude never weakens them. And there a species of gold called *Jāmvunada* and used for celestial ornaments,²⁶⁻²⁷ very brilliant and like the complexion of *Indragopaka* insects, is produced. The men born there are of the complexion of the morning sun.²⁸

“On the summit of *Mālyavat* is always seen, O bull of Bharata's race, the fire called *Samvartaka* which blazeth forth at the end of the *Yuga* for the destruction of the universe.²⁹ On *Mālyavat*'s summit towards the east are many small mountains, and *Mālyavat*, O king, measures eleven thou-

* The Bengal texts have *Chandrābhāsa* for *chandraprabhā*. The difference is not material.—T.

sand* *Yojanas*.³⁰ The men born there are of the complexion of gold. And they are all fallen from the region of *Brahman* and are utterers of *Brahma*.³¹ They undergo the severest of ascetic austerities, and their vital seed is drawn up. For the protection of creatures they all enter the sun.³² Numbering sixtysix thousand, they proceed in advance of *Aruna*, surrounding the sun.³³ Heated with the sun's rays for sixtysix thousand years they then enter the lunar disc.'"³⁴

SECTION VIII.

"Dhritarāshtra said,—'Tell me truly, O Sanjaya, the names of all the *Varshas*, and of all the mountains, and also of all those that dwell on those mountains.'

"Sanjaya said,—'On the south of *Cweta* and the north of *Nishadha*, is the *Varsha* called *Romanaka*. The men that are born there³ are all of white complexions, of good parentage, and handsome features. And the men born there are also all without enemies.³ And they live, O king, for eleven thousand and five hundred years, being ever of cheerful hearts.⁴ On the south of *Nishadha* is the *Varsha* called *Hiranmaya* where is the river called *Hiranwati*.⁵ There, O king, liveth that foremost of birds named *Garuda*. And the people there, O monarch, are all followers of the *Yakshas*, wealthy, and of handsome features.⁶ And, O king, the men there are endued with great strength and have cheerful hearts. And they live for twelve thousand and five hundred years, O king, which is the measure of their lives. The mountains of *Cringavat*, O ruler of men, have three beautiful summits.⁷⁻⁸ One of these is made of jewels and gems; another is very wonderful, being made of all kinds of gems and adorned with palatial mansions.⁹ There the self-luminous lady named *Cāndili* always liveth. On the north of *Cringavat* and up to the margin of the sea, O king,¹⁰ is the *Varsha* called *Airāvat*.

* Both the Burdwan and the Bombay editions read *Pānchashat* (five and six). The Bengal texts generally have *panchāṣat* (fifty).—T.

And because this jewelled mountain is there, therefore is this *Varsha* superior to all.* The sun giveth no heat there and the men are not subject to decay.¹¹ And the moon there, with the stars, becoming the only source of light, covereth (the firmament). Possessing the radiance and complexion of the lotus, and endued with eyes that resemble lotus-petals,¹² the men born there have the fragrance of the lotus. With winkless eyes, and agreeable scent (emanating from their bodies), they go without food and have their senses under control.¹³ They are all fallen from the region of the celestials, and are all, O king, without sin of any kind. And they live, O monarch, for thirteen thousand years, that being, O best of the Bharatas, the measure of their lives. And so on the north of the milky ocean, the Lord¹⁴⁻¹⁵ Hari of unlimited puissance dwelleth on his car made of gold. That vehicle is endued with eight wheels, with numerous supernatural creatures stationed on it, and having the speed of the mind.¹⁶ And its complexion is that of fire, and it is endued with mighty energy and adorned with *Jāmvunada* gold. He is the Lord of all creatures, and is possessed, O bull of Bharata's race, of every kind of prosperity.¹⁷ In him the universe merges (when dissolution comes), and from him it again emanates (when the creative desire seizes him). He is the actor, and it is He that makes all others act. He, O monarch, is earth, water, space, air, and fire. He is Sacrifice's self unto all creatures, and fire is His mouth !"¹⁸

Vaiçampāyana continued.—“The high-souled king Dhritarāshtra, thus addressed by Sanjaya, became, O monarch, absorbed in meditation about his sons.¹⁹ Endued with great energy, he then, having reflected, said these words :—‘Without doubt, O *Suta's* son, it is Time that destroyeth the universe.²⁰ And it is Time that again createth everything. Nothing here is eternal. It is Nara and Nārāyana, endued with omniscience,

* The Bombay edition reads *Tāsmāt-ṅringamatās param*. The Bengal texts read *Yāsmāt-ṅringamatas param*. The Bengal reading is better. The Asiatic Society's edition contains a misprint. The meaning is, “Because *Crinca* (jewelled mountain of that name) therefore superior.” I have rendered it somewhat freely.—T.

that destroyeth all creatures.* The gods speak of him as *Varikuntha* (of immeasurable puissance), while men call Him *Kishnu* (one that pervadeth the Universe)!"²¹

SECTION IX.

"Dhritarāshtra said,—'Tell me truly (O Sanjaya) of this *Varsha* that is called after Bharata, where this senseless force hath been collected, in respect of which this my son Duryodhana hath been so very covetous, which the sons of Pāndu also are desirous of obtaining, and in which my mind too sinketh! O, tell me this, for thou art, in my judgment, endued with intelligence.'¹⁻²

"Sanjaya said,—'Listen to me, O king! The sons of Pāndu are *not* covetous about this country. On the other hand, it is Duryodhana that is covetous, and Cakuni the son of Suvala,³ as also many other Kshatriyas who are rulers of provinces, and who being covetous of this country are not able to bear one another.⁴ I will now tell thee, O thou of Bharata's race, of the tract of land known by Bharata's name. This land is the beloved one of Indra, and, O thou of Bharata's race, this land, O monarch, that is called after Bharata, is also the beloved land of Manu the son of Vivaswat, of Prithu, of Vainya, of the high-souled Ikshāku, of Yayāti, of Amvarisha, of Māndhātri, of Nahusha, of Muchukunda, of Civi the son of Uçinara, of Rishabha, of Ila, of king Nriga, of Kuçika, O invincible one, of the high-souled Gādhi, of Somaka, O irrepressible one, and of Dwilipa, and also, O monarch, of many other mighty Kshatriyas! I will now, O chastiser of foes, describe to thee that country as I have heard of it.⁵⁻⁹ Listen to me, O king, as I speak of what thou hast asked me. Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Cuktimat, Rikshavat,¹⁰ Vindhya, and Pāripatra, —these seven are (the) *Kula*-mountains† (of *Bhārata-varsha*). Besides these, O king, there are thousands of mountains¹¹ that are unknown, of hard make, huge, and having excellent

* They are but portions of the same Supreme Being.—T.

† I. e. mountains forming boundaries of divisions.—T.

valleys. Besides these there are many other smaller mountains inhabited by barbarous tribes.¹² Aryans and *Mlecchas*, O Kauravya, and many races, O lord, mixed of the two elements, drink the waters of the following rivers, *viz*, magnificent Gangā, Sindhu, and Saraswati;¹³ of Godāvāri, and Narmadā, and that large river called Vāhudā; of Catadru, and Chandrabhāgā, and the large river called Yamunā;¹⁴ of Drishadwati, and Vipācā, and Vipāpā, and Sthulavālukā; of the river Vetravati, and that other one called Krishna-vennā.¹⁵ of Irāvati, and Vitastā, and Payoshni, and Devikā; of Vedas-mritā, and Vedavati, and Tridivā, and Ikshumālavi;^{*16} of Karishini, and Chitravahā, and the river called Chitrasenā; of Gomati, and Dhutapāpā, and the large river called Gandaki;†¹⁷ of Kauçiki, and Nischitā, and Kirtyā, and Nichitā, and Lohatārini;‡ of Rahasi, and Catakumbhā, and also Sarayu;¹⁸ of Charmanwati, and Vetravati, and Hastisomā, and Diça.§ of the river called Carāvati, and Vennā, and Bhimarathi;¹⁹ of Kāveri, and Chulnkā, and Vinā, and Catavalā; of Nivārā, and Mahilā, and Suprayogā, O king;²⁰ of Pavitrā, and Kundalā, and Rājani, and Puramālini; of Purvābhirāmā, and Virā, and Bhimā, and Oghavati;²¹ of Palāçini, and Pāpaharā, and Mahendrā, and Pātalāvati; of Karishini, and Asikni, and the large river Kuçachirā;²² of Makari, and Pravarā, and Menā, and Hemā, and Dhritavati; of Purāvati, and Anushnā, and Saivyā, and Kāpi, O Bhārata;²³ of Sadānirā, and Adbrishyā, and the mighty, stream Kuçadhārā; of Sadākāntā, and Cīvā, and Viravati;²⁴ of Vāstu, and Suvāstu, and Kampanā with Hiranwati; of Varā, and the mighty river Panchami;²⁵ of

* The Bombay text reads "Ikshulā and Krimi" for "Ikshumālavi" occurring in the Bengal texts.—T.

† The Bengal texts have *Gindakincha mahānadim*. The Bombay text reads *Vandanāncha mahānadim* with a *cha* immediately before. The Burdwan Pundits read *Chandanāncha mahānadim*.—T.

‡ The Bombay text reads *Tridivā* for *Nischitā*; this is incorrect, for *Tridivā* occurs in the Bombay text itself a little before. The name *Lohatārini* occurs in various forms.—T.

§ For *Vetravati* the Bengal texts read *Chandrabhāgā*. Both *Chandrabhāgā* and *Vetravati*, however, occur before.—T.

Rathachitrā, and Jyotirathā, and Viṣvāmitrā, and Kapinjalā; of Upendrā, and Vahulā, and Kuchirā, and Madhuvāhini;²⁶ of Vinadi; and Pinjalā, and Venā, and the great river Tungavenā; of Vidiṣā, and Krishna-venā, and Tāmrā, and Kapilā;²⁷ of Calu, and Suvāmā, and Vedaṣvā, and the mighty river Hariṣrāvā; of Cighrā, and Picchalā, and the river Bhāradwāji;²⁸ of the river Kauṣiki, and Conā, and Chandramā; of Durgāmantraṣilā, and Brahma-voddyā, and Vrihadvati;²⁹ of Yavakshā, and Robi, and Yāmvunadi; of Sunasā, and Tamasā, and Dāsi, and Vasā, and Varunā, and Asi;³⁰ of Nilā, and Dhritimati, and the mighty river Parnāṣā; of Tāmasi, and Vrishabhā, and Brahma-meddhyā, and Vrihaddhani.³¹ These and many other large rivers, O king, such as Sadānirāmayā, and Krishnā, and Mandagā, and Mandavāhini;³² and Brahmāni, and Mahāgouri, and Durgā, O Bhārata; and Chitropalā, and Chitrarathā, and Manjulā, and Vāhini;³³ and Mandākini, and Vaitarani, and Koṣā, and Mahānadi; and Cuktimati, and Anangā, and Pushpaveni, and Utpalāvati;³⁴ and Lohityā, and Karatoyā, and Vrishasāhbhayā; and Kumāri, and Rishikullyā, and Mārishā, and Saraswati;³⁵ and Mandākini, and Supunyā, and Sarvasangā, O Bhārata, are all mothers of the universe; and productive of great merit!³⁶ Besides these, there are rivers, by hundreds and thousands, that are not known (by names). I have now recounted to thee, O king, all the rivers as far as I remember!³⁷

“After this, listen to the names of the provinces as I mention them.† They are the Kuru-Pāñchālas, the Cālwas,

* It is impossible in the above list to notice, without largely swelling the notes, all the discrepancies of reading that occur in the various texts. Many of the names given in one edition would not agree with those given in another. Considering, again, that most of these names are not capable of identification, the selection of the right reading is exceedingly difficult.—T.

† In Sanskrit, the provinces are called after the people or tribe inhabiting them; thus *Magadha* is frequently mentioned as “the country of the *Magadhas*.” So also, it is not the king of *Magadha* but the king of the *Magadhas*. The names below, therefore, are all names of tribes and not places.—T.

the Mādreyas, the Jāngalas,³⁸ the Curasenas, the Kalingas, the Vodhas, the Mālas, the Matsyas, the Sakutyas, the Savualyas, the Kuntalas, the Kāçi-koçalas,³⁹ the Chedis, the Karushas, the Bhojas, the Sindhus, the Pulindakas, the Uttamas, the Daçārnas, the Mekalas, the Utkalas;⁴⁰ the Pāñchālas, the Kauçijas, the Naikaprishtas, the Dhurandharas; the Sodhas, the Madrabhujingas, the Kāçis, and the further-Kāçis;⁴¹ the Jatharas, the Kukuras, the Daçārnas, O Bhārata; the Kuntis, the Avantis, and the further Kuntis;⁴² the Gomantas, the Mandakas, the Shandas, the Vidarbhas, the Rupavāhikas; the Açwakas, the Pāñçurāshtrās, the Goparāshtrās, and Karityas;⁴³ the Adhirjays, the Kulādyas, the Mallarāshtrās, the Keralas, the Vāratrāçyas, the Apavāhas, the Chakras, the Vakratapas, the Cakas;⁴⁴ the Videhas, the Māgadhas, the Swakshas, the Malayas, the Vijayas; the Angas, the Vangas, the Kalingas, the Yakrillomans;⁴⁵ the Mallas, the Sudellas, the Prahrādas, the Māhikas, the Cāçikas; the Vālbikas, the Vātadhānas, the Abhiras, the Kālaçoshakas;⁴⁶ the Aparāntas, the Parāntas, the Pahnabhas, the Charmamandalas; the Ataviçikharas, the Merubhutas, O sire;⁴⁷ the Upāvirttas, the Anupāvrittas, the Surāshatras, Kekayas; the Kuttas, the Māheyas, the Kakshas, the Sāmudranishkutas;⁴⁸ the Andhras, and, O king, many hilly tribes, and many tribes residing on lands lying at the foot of the hills, and the Angamalajas, and the Mānavanjakas;⁴⁹ the Mahyuttas, the Prāvisheyas, and the Bhārgavas, O king; the Pundras, the Bhārgas, the Kirātas, the Sudeshnas, and the Yāmunas;⁵⁰ the Cakas, the Nishadas, the Nishadhas, the Anartas, the Nairitas, the Durgalas, the Pratimāsyas, the Kuntalas, and the Kuçalas;⁵¹ the Tiragrahas, the Ijakas, the Kanyakāgunas, the Tilabhāras, the Samiras, the Madhumattas, the Sukandakas;⁵² the Kaçmīras, the Sindhu-sauviras, the Gāndhārvas, and the Darçakas; the Abhisāras, the Utulas; the Caivālas, and the Vālhikas;⁵³ the Darvis, the Vānavādarvas, the Vātagas, the Āmarathas, and the Uragas; the Vāhuvādhvas, the Kauravyas, the Sudāmanas, the Sumāllikas;⁵⁴ the Vadhras, the Karishakas, the Kalindas, and the Upatyakas; the Vātāyanas, the Romanas, and the Kuçavindas;⁵⁵ the Kacchas, the Gopālakacchas, the Kuruvārnakas; the Kirātas,

the Varvaras, the Siddhas, the Vaidehas, and the Tāmra-
liptas;⁵⁶ the Aundras, the Paundras, the Saisikatas, and the
Pārvaṭīyas, O sire!

“There are other kingdoms, O bull of Bharata’s race, in
the south.⁵⁷ They are the Drāvidas, the Keralas, the Prā-
chyas, the Mushikas, and the Vanavāshikas; the Kārnātakas,
the Māhishakas, the Vikalpas, and also the Mushakas;⁵⁸
the Jhillikas, the Kuntalas, the Saubridas, and the Nalakān-
anas; the Kankutakas, the Cholas, and the Mālavānakas;⁵⁹
the Samangas, the Kanakas, the Kukkuras, and the Angāra-
mārishas; the Samangas, the Karakas, the Kukuras, the
Angāras, the Mārishas; the Dhvajinis, the Utsavas, the San-
ketas, the Trigartas, and the Cālwasenis;⁶⁰ the Vakas, the
Kokarakas, the Pashtis, and the Samavegavaças; the Vin-
dhyachulakas, the Pulindas, and the Valkalas;⁶¹ the Mālavas,
the Vallavas, the futher-Vallavas, the Kulindas, the Kāla-
vas, the Kuntakas, and the Karatas;⁶² the Mrishakas, the
Tanavālas, the Saniyas; the Alindas, the Pāçivātas, the
Tanayas, and the Sulānayas;⁶³ the Rishikas the Vidarbhas,
the Kākas, the Tanganas, and the further-Tanganas. Among
the tribes of the north are the Mlecchas, and the Kruras,
O best of the Bharatas;⁶⁴ the Yavanas, the Chinas, the Kām-
vojas, the Dārunas, and many Mleccha tribes; the Sukrit-
vahas, the Kulatthas, the Hunas, and the Pārasikas;⁶⁵ the
Rananas, the Chinas, and the Daçamālikās. These coun-
tries are, besides, the abodes of many Kshatriya, Vaiçya, and
Cudra tribes.⁶⁶ Then again there are the Cudra-ābhiras, the
Daradas, the Kāçmiras, and the Pattis; the Khaçiras, the
Antachāras, the Phalhavas, and the Giri-gahbharas;⁶⁷ the
Ātreyas, the Bharadwājas, the Stanaposhikas, the Poshakas,
the Kalingas, and diverse tribes of Kirātas;⁶⁸ the Tomaras,
the Hansamārgas, and the Karamanjakas. These and other
kingdoms are on the east and the north. O lord, alluding to
them briefly I have told thee all!⁶⁹ Earth, if its resources are
properly developed according to its qualities and prowess, is
like an ever-yielding* cow, from which the three-fold fruits

* *Kāmaḍhuk* is that species of kine which always yield milk.—T.

of virtue, profit, and pleasure, may be milked.⁷⁰ Brave kings conversant with virtue and profit have become covetous of Earth. Endued with activity, they would even cast away their lives in battle, from hunger of wealth.⁷¹ Earth is certainly the refuge of creatures endued with celestial bodies as also of creatures endued with human bodies.* Desirous of enjoying Earth, the kings, O chief of the Bharatas, have become like dogs that snatch meat from one another. Their ambition is unbounded, knowing no gratification.^{†72-73} It is for this that the Kurus and the Pāndavas are striving for possession of Earth, by negotiation, disunion, gift, and battle, O Bhārata!⁷⁴ If Earth be well looked to, it becometh the father, mother, children, firmament, and heaven, of all creatures, O bull among men!⁷⁵

SECTION X.

“Dhritarāshtra said,—“Tell me, O Sanjaya, of the period of life, the strength, the good and bad things, the future, past, and present, of the residents, O *Suta*, of this *Varsha* of Bharata, and of the Haimavat-varsha, as also of Hari-varsha, in detail!¹⁻²

“Sanjaya said,—“O bull of Bharata’s race, four *Yugas* set in Bharata’s *Varsha*, viz, *Krita*, *Tretā*, *Dwāpara*, and *Kali*.³ The *Yuga* that sets in first is *Tretā*, O lord! After expiry of *Tretā* comes *Dwāpara*; and after that, last of all, sets in *Kali*.⁴ Four thousand years, O best of the Kurus, are

* Nilakantha explains this in this way. The gods depend on sacrifices performed by human beings; and as regards human beings, their food is supplied by the Earth. The superior and inferior creatures, therefore, are all supported by the Earth; the Earth then is their refuge. The word Earth in these *ślokas* is sometimes used to signify the world and sometimes the element of that name.—T.

† I render the last line a little too freely. If the saying is intended to be general, the translation should run thus!—“Up to this day there has been no man whose desires can be sated.”—T.

reckoned as the measure of life, O best of kings, in the *Krita* epoch.⁵ Three-thousand years is the period in *Tretā*, O ruler of men. At present, in *Dwāpara*, persons live on Earth for two thousand years.⁶ In *Kali*, however, O bull of Bharata's race, there is no fixed limit of life's measure, in so much that men die while in the womb as also soon after birth.⁷ In the *Krita* age, O king, men are born and beget children, by hundreds and thousands, that are of great strength and great power, endued with the attribute of great wisdom, and possessed of wealth and handsome features. In that age are born and begotten *Munis* endued with wealth of asceticism, capable of great exertion, possessed of high souls, and virtuous, and truthful in speech. The Kshatriyas also, born in that age, are of agreeable features, able-bodied, possessed of great energy, accomplished in the use of the bow, highly skilled in battle, and exceedingly brave. In the *Tretā* age, O king, all the Kshatriya kings were emperors ruling from sea to sea.⁸⁻¹¹ In *Tretā* are begotten brave Kshatriyas not subject to any one, endued with long lives, possessed of heroism, and wielding the bow in battle with great skill.*¹² When *Dwāpara* sets in, O king, all the (four) orders born become capable of great exertion, endued with great energy, and desirous of conquering one another.¹³ The men born in *Kali*, O king, are endued with little energy, highly wrathful, covetous, and untruthful.¹⁴ Jealousy, pride, anger, deception, malice, and covetousness, O Bhārata, are the attributes of creatures in the *Kali* age.¹⁵ The portion that remains, O king, of this the *Dwāpara* age, is small, O ruler of men. The *Varsha* known as Haimavata is superior to Bhārata-varsha, while Harivarsha is superior to Haimavatvarsha, in respect of all qualities.'"¹⁶

* This *śloka* is omitted in the Bombay text, without reason.—T.

SECTION XI.

Bhumi Parva.

“Dhritarāshtra said,—‘Thou hast, O Sanjaya, duly described Jamvu-khanda to me. Tell me now its dimensions and extent truly!¹ Tell me also, O Sanjaya, of the extent of the ocean, of Cākadwipa, and Kuçadwipa,² of Cālmalidwipa and Kraunchadwipa, truly and without leaving anything, and tell me also, O son of Gavalgani, of *Rāhu* and *Shoma*, and *Surya*!³

“Sanjaya said,—‘There are, O king, many islands, with which the Earth is expanded. I will describe to thee, however, only seven islands, and the moon and the sun, and the planet (*Rāhu*), also.⁴ The *Jamvu* mountain, O king, extends for full eighteen thousand and six hundred *Yojanas*.⁵ The extent of the salt ocean is said to be twice this. That ocean is covered with many kingdoms, and is adorned with gems and corals.⁶ It is, besides, decked with many mountains that are variegated with metals of diverse kinds. Thickly peopled by *Siddas* and *Chāranas*, the ocean is circular in form.⁷

“‘I will now tell thee truly of Cākadwipa, O Bhārata! Listen to me, O son of Kuru’s race, as I describe it to thee duly!⁸ That island, O ruler of men, is of twice the extent of Jamvudwipa. And the ocean also, O great king, is of twice the extent of that island.⁹ Indeed, O best of the Bharatas, Cākadwipa is surrounded on all sides by the ocean. The kingdoms there are full of righteousness, and the men there never die.¹⁰ How can famine take place there? The people are all endued with forgiveness and great energy. I have now, O bull of Bharata’s race, given thee duly a brief description of Cākadwipa. What else, O king, dost thou wish to hear?’*¹¹

“Dhritarāshtra said,—‘Thou hast given me, O Sanjaya, a description of Cākadwipa in brief. O thou that art possessed of great wisdom, tell me now everything in detail truly!’¹²

* The Bombay text reads *Kimanyat Kutayāmi te*. The Bengal reading is *Kimanyat çrotumicchasi*.—T.

“Sanjaya said,—In that island, O king, there are seven mountains that are decked with jewels and that are mines of gems and precious stones. There are many rivers also in that island. Listen to me as I recount their names.¹³ Everything there, O king, is excellent and delightful. The first of these mountains is called Meru. It is the abode of the gods, *Rishis*, and *Gandharvas*.¹⁴ The next mountain, O king, is called Malaya stretching towards the east. It is there that the clouds are generated and it is thence that they disperse on all sides.¹⁵ The next, O thou of Kuru's race, is the large mountain called Jaladhāra.* Thence Indra daily taketh water of the best quality.¹⁶ It is from that water that we get showers in the season of rains, O ruler of men! Next cometh the high mountain called Raivataka, over which, in the firmament, hath been permanently placed the constellation called *Revati*. This arrangement hath been made by the Grandsire himself. On the north of this, O great king, is the large mountain called Cyāma.¹⁷⁻¹⁸ It hath the splendour of newly-risen clouds, is very high, beautiful and of bright body. And since the hue of those mountains is dark, the people residing there are all dark in complexion, O king!¹⁹

“Dhritarāshtra said,—‘A great doubt ariseth in my mind, O Sanjaya, from what thou hast said. Why, O *Suta's* son, would the people there be of dark complexions?’²⁰

“Sanjaya said,—‘O great king, in all islands, O son of Kuru's race, men may be found that are fair, and those that are dark, and those also that are produced by a union of the fair and the dark races.²¹ But because the people there are all dark, therefore is that mountain called the Dark Mountain.† After this, O chief of the Kurus, is the large mountain called Durgāçaila.²² And then cometh the mountain called Keçari. The breezes that blow from that mountain are all charged with

* The Bombay text reads *Tatas parena*; the Bengal reading is *Tatas purvena*. I adopt the former.—T.

† The last line of the 21st *sloka* and the first line of the 22nd are read otherwise in the Bengal texts. I have adopted the Bombay reading.—T.

(orderiferous) effluvia. The measure of each of these mountains is double that of the one mentioned immediately before.²³ O thou of Kuru's race, it hath been said by the wise that there are seven *Varshas* in that island. The *Varsha* of Meru is called Mahākāca; that of the water-giving (Malaya) is called Kumudottara.²⁴ The *Varsha* of Jaladhāra is called Sukumāra; while that of Raivataka is called Kaumāra; and of Cyāma, Manikāchana.²⁵ The *Varsha* of Keçara is called Mandaki, and that called after the next mountain is called Mahāpumān. In the midst of that island is a large tree called *Çāka*. In height and breadth the measure of that tree is equal to that of the *Jamvu* tree in Jamvudwipa. And the people there always adore that tree.²⁶⁻²⁷ There in that island are many delightful provinces where Civa is worshipped, and thither repair the *Siddhas*, the *Chāranas*, and the celestials.²⁸ The people there, O king, are virtuous, and all the four orders, O Bhārata, are devoted to their respective occupations. No instance of theft can be seen there.²⁹ Freed from decrepitude and death, and gifted with long life, the people there, O king, grow like rivers during the season of rains.³⁰ The rivers there are full of sacred water, and Gangā herself, distributed as she hath been into various currents, is there. Sukumāri, and Kumāri, and Setā, and Kāverakā,³¹ and Mahānadi, O Kauravya, and the river Manijalā, and Chakshuḥ, and the river Vardhanika, O thou best of the Bharatas,³²—these and many other rivers by thousands and hundreds, all full of sacred water, are there, O perpetuator of Kuru's race, from which Vāsava draweth water for showering it as rain.³³ It is impossible to recount the names and lengths of those rivers. All of them are foremost of rivers and sin-cleansing.³⁴ As heard by all men, there, in that island of Cāka, are four sacred provinces. They are the Mrigas, the Maçakas, the Mānasas, and the Mandagas.³⁵ The Mrigas for the most part are Brāhamanas devoted to the occupations of their order. Amongst the Maçakas are virtuous Kshatriyas granting (unto Brāhmanas) every wish (entertained by them).³⁶ The Mānasas, O king, live by following the duties of the Vaiçya order. Having every wish of theirs gratified, they are also brave and

firmly devoted to virtue and profit.³⁷ The Māndagas are all brave Cudras of virtuous behaviour. In these provinces, O monarch, there is no king, no punishment, no person that deserves to be punished.³⁸ Conversant with the dictates of duty, they are all engaged in the practice of their respective duties and protect one another. This much is capable of being said of the island called Cāka. This much also should be listened to about that island endued with great energy.’ ”*³⁹

SECTION XII.

“Sanjaya said,—‘O Kauravya, that which is heard about the islands in the north, I will recount to thee, O great king! Listen to me now!¹ (Thither in the north) is the ocean whose water’s are clarified butter. Then is the ocean whose waters are curds. Next cometh the ocean whose waters are wine, and then is another ocean of water.² The islands, O king, are double in area of one another as they proceed further and further towards the north. And they are surrounded, O king, by these oceans.†³ In the island that is in the middle, there is a large mountain called Goura made of red arsenic; while on the western island, O king, is the mountain called Krishna that is the favourite (abode) of Nārāyana.⁴ There Keçava guardeth celestial gems (in profusion), and thence, inclined to grace, he bestoweth happiness on creatures.⁵ Along with the kingdoms there, O king, the (celestial) clump of *Kuça* grass in Kuçadwipa, and the *Çālmali* tree in the island of Cālmalika, are adored.⁶ In the Krauncha island also, the mountain called Mahā-krauncha, that is a mine of all kinds of

* Probably this mythical account of *Cākadwipa* embodies some vague tradition current in ancient India of some *republic* in Eastern Asia or Oceanic Asia (further east in the Pacific). Accustomed as the Hindus were to kingly form of government, a government without a king would strike them exactly in the way described in the last two *slokas*.—T.

† The second line of the 3rd *sloka* is read variously. The Bombay edition incorrectly reads *Parvatāçcha* &c., &c.; the Bengal reading is *Evāmevā* &c., &c. The Bengal reading is better, although the true reading, I apprehend, is *Evametais* &c., &c.—T.

gems, is, O king, always adored by all the four orders of men.⁷ (There), O monarch, is the mountain called Gomanta that is huge and consists of all kinds of metals, and whereon always resideth, mingling with those that have been emancipated, the puissant Nārāyana, otherwise called Hari, graced with prosperity and possessed of eyes like lotus leaves. In Kuçadwipa, O king of kings, there is another mountain variegated with corals⁸⁻⁹ and called after the name of that island itself. This mountain is inaccessible and made of gold. Possessed of great splendour, O Kauravya, there is a third mountain there that is called Kumida.¹⁰ The fourth mountain is named Pushpavati, and the fifth is Kuççaya. The sixth is called Harigiri. These are the six principal mountains.¹¹ The intervening spaces between one another of these six mountains increaseth in the ratio of one to two as they proceed further and further towards the north. The first *Varsha* is called Audbhida; the second is Venumandala;¹² the third is called Suratha; the fourth is known by the name of Kamvala. The fifth *Varsha* is called Dhritimat; and the sixth is named Prabhākara.¹³ The seventh *Varsha* is called Kapila. These are the seven successive *Varshas*. In these, gods and *Gandharvas*, and other creatures of the universe,¹⁴ sport and take delight. In these *Varshas* the inhabitants never die. There, O king, are no robbers, nor any tribes of *Mlecchas*.¹⁵ All the residents are almost white in complexion, and are very delicate, O king!

“As regards the rest of the islands, O ruler of men, I will recount¹⁶ all that hath been heard (by me). Listen, O monarch, with an attentive mind! In the Krauncha island, O great king, there is a large mountain called Krauncha.¹⁷ Next to Krauncha is Vāmanaka; and next to Vāmana is Andhakāraka. And next to Andhakāra,* O king, is that excellent of mountains called Maināka.¹⁸ After Maināka, O monarch, is that best of mountains called Govinda; and after Govinda, O king, is the mountain called Nivida.¹⁹ O multi-

* Vāmanaka and Vāmana are the same words, the final *ka* being a suffix causing no difference of meaning. So Andhakāraka and Andhakāra are the same.—T.

plier of thy race, the intervening spaces between one another of these mountains increaseth in the ratio of one to two. I will now tell thee the countries that lie there. Listen to me as I speak of them!²⁰ The region near Krauncha is called Kuçala; that near Vāmana is Manonuga. The region next to Manonuga, O perpetuator of Kuru's race, is called Ushna.²¹ After Ushna is Prāvaraka; and after Prāvāra is Andhakāraka. The country after Andhakāraka is named Munideça.²² After Munideça the region is called Dundubhiswana teeming with *Siddhas* and *Chāranas*. The people are almost white in complexion, O king.²³ All these countries, O monarch, are the habitations of gods and *Gandharvas*. In (the island of) Pushkara is a mountain called Pushkara that abounds with jewels and gems.²⁴ There always dwelleth the divine *Prajāpati* himself. Him all the gods and great *Rishis* always adore²⁵ with gratifying words and worship reverently, O king! Diverse gems from Jamvudwipa are used there.²⁶ In all these islands, O king, the *Brahmacharyya*, truth, and self-control of the dwellers, as also their health and periods of life, are in the ratio of one to two as the islands are more and more remote (northwards). O king, the land in all those islands, O Bhārata, comprises but one country,²⁷⁻²⁸ for that is said to be one country in which one religion is met with. The Supreme *Prajāpati* himself, upraising the rod of chastisement,²⁹ always dwelleth there, protecting those islands. He, O monarch, is the king, He is their source of bliss, He is the father, and He is the grand-father!³⁰ He it is, O best of men, that protecteth all creatures there, mobile or immobile. Cooked food, O Kauravya, cometh there of itself, and the creatures eat it daily, O mighty-armed one! After these regions is seen a habitation of the name of Samā.³¹⁻³² It is of a starry shape, having four corners, and it hath, O king, thirtythree *mandalas*. There dwell, O Kauravya, four princely* elephants adored by all. They are, O best of the Bharatas, Vāmana, and Airāvata, and another, and also Supratika, O king, with

* *Diḡ-gaḡa*, i. e., an elephant supporting the globe. There are four such in Hindu mythology or ten according to some accounts.—T.

rent cheeks and mouth.*³³⁻³⁴ I do not venture to calculate the proportions of these four elephants. Their length, breadth, and thickness have for ever remained unascertained.†³⁵ There in those regions, O king, winds blow irregularly‡ from all directions. These are seized by those elephants³⁶ with the tips of their trunks which are of the complexion of the lotus and endued with great splendour and capable of drawing up everything in their way. And soon enough after seizing them they then always let them out.³⁷ The winds, O king, thus let out by those respiring elephants, come over the Earth and in consequence thereof creatures draw breath and live.³⁸

“Dhritarāshtra said,—‘Thou hast, O Sanjaya, told me everything about the first subject very elaborately. Thou hast also indicated the positions of the islands. Tell now, O Sanjaya, about what remains!’³⁹

“Sanjaya said,—‘Indeed, O great king, the islands have all been described to thee. Listen now to what I truly say about the heavenly bodies and about Swarbhānu, O chief of the Kauravas, as regards its dimensions.⁴⁰ It is heard, O king, that the planet Swarbhānu is globular. Its diameter is twelve thousand *Yojanas*,⁴¹ and its circumference, because it is very large, is fortytwo thousand *Yojanas*, O sinless one.§ as said by the learned of olden times.⁴² The diameter of the

* *I. e.*, with the juice trickling down from their cheeks and mouth. In the season of rut, a peculiar kind of juice issues from several parts of an elephant's body. It is believed to be the *temporal* juice. The stronger and fiercer the elephant, the greater the quantity of the juice that issues out its body.—T.

† *Tasya* (singular of *Tad*) and *sa* (masculine singular of *Tad*) both refer to the four elephants. *Gaja-chatushtaya* is singular.—T.

‡ *Asamvaddha* lit. “Unbound” or “unrestrained,” *i. e.* freely or irregularly.—T.

§ It is a remarkable fact that the ratio between the diameter and the circumference of a circle was roughly known to the ancient Hindus. The circumference is nearly, as stated here, three times and a half of the diameter. The exact ratio, of course, is slightly less, being three and one-seventh.—T.

moon, O king, is stated to be eleven thousand *Yojanas*. Its circumference, O chief of the Kurus, is stated to be thirty eight thousand nine hundred *Yojanas* of this illustrious planet of cool rays.⁴³ It hath been heard that the diameter of the beneficent, fast-going, and light-giving Sun, O thou of Kuru's race, is ten thousand *Yojanas*, and his circumference, O king, is thirtyfive thousand eight hundred miles, in consequence of his largeness, O sinless one! These are the dimensions reckoned here, O Bhārata, of Arka.⁴⁴⁻⁴⁶ The planet Rāhu, in consequence of his greater bulk, envelops both the Sun and the Moon in due times. I tell thee this in brief.⁴⁷ With the eye of science, O great king, I have now told thee all that thou hadst asked. Let peace be thine!⁴⁸ I have now told thee about the construction of the universe as indicated in the *Çāstras*. Therefore, O Kauravya, pacify thy son Duryodhana!⁴⁹

„Having listened to this charming *Bhumi Parva*, O chief of the Bharatas, a Kshatriya becometh endued with prosperity, obtaineth the fruition of all his desires, and winneth the approbation of the righteous.⁵⁰† The king who listeneth to this on days of the full moon or the new moon, carefully observing vows the while, hath the period of his life, his fame, and energy, all enhanced.⁵¹ His (deceased) sires and grandsires become gratified. Thou hast now heard of all the merits that flow from this *Varsha* of Bharata where we now are!”⁵²

* The first word of this *sloka* is variously read. *Yathādishtam* is the Bengal reading, while the Bombay reading is *Yathoddishtam*. If the latter reading were adopted, the meaning would be “as indicated (in the *Cāstras*).” The second line, literally rendered, is “pacify thy son Duryodhana.” But how Dhritarāshtra is to pacify his son having listened to this geographical digression, it is not easy to see.—T.

† For *Sādhusattamas* of the Bengal texts; the Bombay edition reads *Sādhusanmatas*. I adopt the last.—T.

SECTION XIII.

Bhagavat-Gītā Parva.

Vaiçampayana said,—“Possessing a knowledge of the past, the present, and the future, and seeing all things as if present before his eyes, the learned son of Gavalgana, O Bhārata, coming quickly from the field of battle, and rushing with grief (into the court), represented unto Dhritarāshtra who was plunged in thought that Bhismha the grandsire of the Bharatas had been slain.¹⁻²

“Sanjaya said,—I am Sanjaya, O great king! I bow to thee, O bull of Bharata’s race! Bhishma the son of Cāntanu and the grandsire of the Bharatas hath been slain!³ That foremost of all warriors, that grandsire of the Bharatas, hath been slain!⁴ That foremost of all warriors, that embodied energy of all bowmen, that grandsire of the Kurus, lieth to day on a bed of arrows!⁵ That Bhishma, O king, relying on whose energy thy son had engaged in that match at dice, now lieth on the field of battle, slain by Cikhandin!⁶ That mighty car-warrior who on a single car had vanquished in terrific combat at the city of Kāçi all the kings of the Earth mustered together,⁷ he who had fearlessly fought in battle with Rāma the son of Jamadagni, he whom Jamadagni’s son could not slay, oh, even hath he been today slain by Cikhandin!⁸ Resembling the great Indra himself in bravery, and Himavat in firmness, like unto the ocean itself in gravity, and the Earth herself in patience,⁹ that invincible warrior having arrows for his teeth, the bow for his mouth, and the sword for his tongue, that lion among men, hath today been slain by the prince of Pāñchāla!¹⁰ That slayer of heroes, beholding whom when address for battle the mighty army of the Pāndavas, unmanned by fear, used to tremble like a herd of kine when beholding a lion, alas, having protected that army (of thine) for ten nights and having achieved feats exceedingly difficult of accomplishment, hath set like

the Sun !*¹⁰⁻¹¹ He who like Cakra himself, scattering arrows in thousands with the utmost composure, daily slew ten thousand warriors for ten days,¹² even he, slain (by the enemy), lieth, though he deserveth it not, on the bare ground, like a (mighty) tree broken by the wind, in consequence, O king, of thy evil counsels, O Bhārata !"¹³

SECTION XIV.

“Dhritarāshtra said,—‘How hath Bhishma, that bull among the Kurus, been slain by Cikhahdin ?¹ How did my father, who resembled Vāsava himself, fall down from his car ? What became of my sons, O Sanjaya, when they were deprived of the mighty Bhishma who was like unto a celestial, and who led a life of *Brahmacharyya* for the sake of his father ?†² Upon the fall of that tiger among men who was endued with great wisdom, great capacity for exertion, great might, and great energy, how did our warriors feel ?‡³ Hearing that that bull amongst the Kurus, that foremost of men, that unwavering hero is slain, great is the grief that pierceth my heart.⁴ While advancing (against the foe), who followed him and who proceeded ahead ? Who stayed by his side ? Who proceeded with him ?⁵ What brave combatants followed behind (protecting his rear) that tiger among car-warriors, that wonderful archer, that bull among Kshatriyas, while he penetrated into the divisions of the foe ?⁶ While seizing the hostile ranks, what warriors opposed that slayer of foes resem-

* The last word in the first line of the 11th *śloka*, in the Bengal texts, is *Pravrihā*. In the Bombay edition it is *Anikahā*. The difference in meaning is immaterial. So also for *Gogandās* is read *Goganas*.

† The first half of the first line, in the Bengal texts, is read as *Kathamāsamçcha me putrā*, the Bomby text reads *Kathamāchaksha me Yodhā*. If the latter reading be adopted, the meaning would be—“Tell me how my warriors were, &c., &c.”—T.

‡ In the second line of *śloka* 3, for *kim na āsinmanastadā* (what was the state of mind of our men). The Bombay text reads *Kimu āsinmanastava* (what was the state of your mind) ? There can be no question that the Bengal reading is better.—T.

bling the luminary of thousand rays, who spreading terror among the foe destroyed their ranks like the Sun destroying darkness, and who achieved in battle amongst the ranks of Pāndu's sons feats exceedingly difficult of accomplishment ?*7-8 How, indeed, O Sanjaya, did the Pāndavas oppose in battle the son of Cāntanu, that accomplished and invincible warrior when he approached them smiting ?⁹ Slaughtering the (hostile) ranks, having arrows for his teeth, and full of energy, with the bow for his wide-open mouth, and with the terrible sword for his tongue, and invincible,¹⁰ a very tiger among men, endued with modesty, and never before vanquished, alas, how did Kunti's son overthrow in battle that unconquered one, undeserving as he was of such a fate,¹¹—that fierce Bowman shooting fierce shafts, stationed on his excellent car, and plucking off the heads of foes (from their bodies)¹²—that warrior, irresistible as the *Yuga*-fire, beholding whom address for battle the great army of the Pāndavas always used to waver ?¹³ Mangling the hostile troops for ten nights, alas, that slayer of ranks hath set like the Sun, having achieved feats difficult of achievement.¹⁴ He who, scattering like Cakra himself an inexhaustible shower of arrows, slew in battle a hundred millions of warriors in ten days,¹⁵ that scion of Bharata's race, now lieth, although he deserveth it not, on the bare ground, in the field of battle, deprived of life, like a mighty tree uprooted by the winds, as a result of my evil counsels !¹⁶ Beholding Cāntanu's son Bhishma of terrible prowess, how, indeed, could the army of the Pāndavas† succeed in smiting him there ?¹⁷ How did the sons of Pāndu battle with Bhishma ? How is it, O Sanjaya, that Bhishma could not conquer when Drona liveth ?¹⁸ When Kripa, again, was near him, and

* The plural pronoun *ye* in the second line of the 8th *sloka* (changed into *ya* by rule of *Sandhi* because coming before *enam*) is read *ke* (or *ka*) by the Burdwan Pundits. I think the correction a happy one. Nilakantha would take 7 and 8 and the first half of 9 as a complete sentence reading *Asya twam antike* (thou wert near him) for *Asyantam antike* (smiting or shooting arrows near).—T.

† Some of the Bengal texts have *Pāñchālanām* for *Pāndavānām*.—T.

Drona's son (Açwtthāman) also, how could Bhishma, that foremost of smiters, be slain?¹⁹ How could Bhishma who was reckoned as an *Atiratha* and who could not be resisted by the very gods, be slain in battle by Cikhandin the prince of Pānchāla?²⁰ He who always regarded himself as the equal of the mighty son of Jamadagni in battle, he whom Jamadagni's son himself could not vanquish, he who resembled Indra himself in prowess,—alas, O Sanjaya, tell me how that hero, Bhishma, born in the race of *Mahārathas*, was slain in battle, for without knowing all the particulars I cannot regain my equanimity!²¹⁻²² What great bowmen of my army, O Sanjaya, did not desert that hero of unfading glory? What heroic warriors, again, at Duryodhana's command, stood arround that hero (for protecting him)?²³ When all the Pāndavas placing Cikshandin in their van advanced against Bhishma, did not all the Kurus, O Sanjaya, stay by the side of that hero of unfading prowess?²⁴ Hard as my heart is, surely it must be made of adamant, for it breaketh not on hearing the death of that tiger among men, *viz*, Bhishma!²⁵ In that irresistible bull of Bharata's race, were truth, and intelligence, and policy, to an immeasurable extent. Alas, how was he slain in battle?²⁶ Like unto a mighty cloud of high altitude having the twang of his bowstring for its roar, his arrows for its drops, and the sound of his bow for its thunder,²⁷ that hero, showering his shafts on Kunti's sons with the Pānchālas and the Srinjayas on their side, smote hostile car warriors like the slayer of Vala smiting the *Dānavas*!²⁸ Who were the heroes that resisted, like the bank resisting the surging sea, that chastiser of foes, who was a terrible ocean of arrows and weapons, an ocean in which shafts were the irresistible crocodiles and bows were the waves, an ocean that was inexhaustible, without an island, agitated and without a raft to cross it, in which maces and swords were like sharks, and steeds and elephants like eddies, and foot-sol-

* The form of the 2nd line is a negative interrogative, implying—
“I hope the Kurus did *not* abandon him.”—T.

† The Burdwan Pundits omit this and the following *śloka* without any reason.—T.

diers like fishes in abundance, and the sound of conchs and drums like its roar, an ocean that swallowed horses and elephants and foot-soldiers quickly, an ocean that devoured hostile heroes and that seethed with wrath and energy which constituted its *Vadavā*-fire ?*²⁹⁻³² When for Duryodhana's good, that slayer of foes, Bhishma, achieved (terrible) feats in battle, who were then in his van ?³³ Who were they that protected the right wheel of that warrior of immeasurable energy ? Who were they that, mustering patience and energy, resisted hostile heroes from his rear ?³⁴ Who stationed themselves in his near front for protecting him ? Who were those heroes that protected the fore-wheel of that brave warrior while he battled (with the foe) ?³⁵ Who were they that stationing themselves by his left wheel smote the Srinjayas ? Who were they that protected the irresistible advanced ranks of his van ?³⁶ Who protected the wings of that warrior who hath made the last painful journey ? † And who, O Sanjaya, fought with hostile heroes in the general engagement ?³⁷ If he was protected by (our) heroes, and if they were protected by him, why could he not then speedily vanquish in battle the army of the Pāndavas, invincible though it be ?³⁸ Indeed, O Sanjaya, how could the Pāndavas succeed even in striking Bhishma who was like *Parameshti* himself, that Lord and Creator of all creatures ?³⁹ Thou tellest me, O Sanjaya, of the disappearance of that Bhishma, that tiger among men, who was our refuge and relying upon whom the Kurus were fighting with their foes !⁴⁰ That warrior of mighty strength relying on whose energy my son had never reckoned the Pāndavas, alas, how hath he been slain by the enemy ? †⁴¹ In days of yore,

* This comparison, lengthy as it is, is not sustained throughout with the usual felicity of Vyasa. In several parts it is undoubtedly faulty. Slight variations of reading also occur here and there, without affecting the sense materially.—T.

† *Gachchhato durgām gatim*. The Bombay edition reads *Gachchhanto &c. &c.* The meaning then would be—"who protected the wings, themselves making the last painful journey ?"—T.

‡ The Burdwan Pundits make *Mahāvalas* an adjective of *Putras*. A better construction would be to take it as referring to *Bhishma*.—T.

all the gods, while engaged in slaying the *Dānavas*, sought the aid of that invincible warrior, *viz*, my father of high vows.⁴² That foremost of sons endued with great energy, on whose birth the world-renowned Cāntanu abandoned all grief, melancholy, and sorrow,⁴³ how canst thou tell me, O Sanjaya, that that celebrated hero, that great refuge of all, that wise and holy personage who was devoted to the duties of his order and conversant with the truths of the *Vedas* and their branches, hath been slain?⁴⁴ Accomplished in every weapon and endued with humility, gentle and with passions under full control, and possessed of great energy as he was, alas, hearing that son of Cāntanu slain I regard the rest of my army as already slain!⁴⁵ In my judgment, unrighteousness hath now become stronger than righteousness, for the sons of Pāndu desire sovereignty even by killing their venerable superior!⁴⁶ In days of yore, Jamadagni's son Rāma, who was acquainted with every weapon and whom none excelled, when addrest for battle on behalf of Amvā, was vanquished by Bhishma in combat.⁴⁷ Thou tellest me that that Bhishma who was the foremost of all warriors and who resembled Indra himself in the feats he achieved, hath been slain! What can be a greater grief to me than this?⁴⁸ Endued with great intelligence, he that was not slain even by that slayer of hostile heroes, that Rāma the son of Jamadagni who defeated in battle crowds of Kshatriyas repeatedly, hath now been slain by Cikhandin! Without doubt, Drupada's son Cikhandin, therefore, who hath slain in battle that bull of Bharata's race, that hero acquainted with the highest weapons, that brave and accomplished warrior conversant with every weapon, is superior in energy, prowess, and might to the invincible Bhārgava endued with the highest energy! In that encounter of arms who were the heroes that followed that slayer of foes?⁴⁹⁻⁵² Tell me how the battle was fought between that Bhishma and the Pāndavas! The army of my son, O Sanjaya, reft of its hero, is like an unprotected woman!⁵³ Indeed, that army of mine is like a panic-struck herd of kine reft of its herdsman! He in whom resided prowess superior to that of every one, when he was laid low on

the field of battle, what was the state of mind of my army? What power is there, O Sanjaya, in our life,⁵⁴⁻⁵⁵ when we have caused our father of mighty energy, that foremost of righteous men in the world, to be slain? Like a person desirous of crossing when he beholds the boat sunk in fathomless waters,⁵⁶ alas, my sons, I ween, are bitterly weeping from grief on Bhishma's death! My heart, O Sanjaya, is surely made of adamant,⁵⁷ for it rendeth not even after hearing the death of Bhishma that tiger among men! That bull among men in whom were weapons, intelligence, and policy⁵⁸ to an immeasurable extent, how, alas, hath that invincible warrior been slain in battle? Neither in consequence of weapons, nor of courage, nor of ascetic merit, nor of intelligence,⁵⁹ nor of firmness, nor of gift, can a man free himself from death. Indeed, Time, endued with great energy, is incapable of being transgressed by anything in the world,⁶⁰ when thou tellest me, O Sanjaya, that Cāntanu's son Bhishma is dead! Burning with grief on account of my sons, in fact, overwhelmed with great sorrow,⁶¹ I had hoped for relief from Bhishma the son of Cāntanu! When he beheld Cāntanu's son, O Sanjaya, lying on the earth like the sun (dropped from the firmament),⁶² what else was made by Duryodhana as his refuge? O Sanjaya, reflecting with the aid of my understanding, I do not see what the end will be of the kings belonging to my side and that of the enemy and now mustered in the opposing ranks of battle! Alas, cruel are the duties of the Kshatriya order as laid down by the *Rishis*,⁶³⁻⁶⁴ since the Pāndavas are desirous of sovereignty by even compassing the death of Cāntanu's son, and we also are desirous of sovereignty by offering up that hero of high vows as a sacrifice.*⁶⁵ The sons of Prithā, as also my sons, are all in the observance of Kshatriya duties. They, therefore, incur no sin (by doing this). Even a righteous person should do this, O Sanjaya, when direful calamities come.⁶⁶ The display of prowess and the exhibition of the utmost might have been laid down among the duties of the Kshatriyas.

* *Ghatayitvā* is, literally, causing to be slain.—T.

“ ‘How, indeed, did the sons of Pāndu oppose my father Bhishma the son of Cāntanu, that unvanquished hero endued with modesty, while he was engaged in destroying the hostile ranks? How were the troops arrayed, and how did he battle with high-souled foes?⁶⁷⁻⁶⁸ How, O Sanjaya, was my father Bhishma slain by the enemy? Duryodhana and Karna and the deceitful Cakuni the son of Suvala,⁶⁹ and Dusçāsana also,—what did they say when Bhishma was slain? Thither where the dice-board is constituted by the bodies of men, elephants, and steeds,⁷⁰ and where arrows and javelins and large swords and bearded darts form the dice, entering that frightful mansion of destructive battle’s play, who were those wretched gamblers,⁷¹—those bulls among men,—that gambled, making their very lives the frightful stakes? Who won, who were vanquished, who cast the dice successfully, and who have been slain,⁷² besides Bhishma the son of Cāntanu? Tell me all, O Sanjaya, for peace cannot be mine, hearing that Devavrata hath been slain,⁷³—that father of mine, of terrible deeds, that ornament of battle, *viz*, Bhishma! Keen anguish had penetrated my heart, born of the thought that all my children would die.⁷⁴ Thou makest that grief of mine blaze forth, O Sanjaya, like fire by (pouring) clarified butter (on it)! My sons, I ween, are even now grieving, beholding Bhishma slain,—Bhishma celebrated in all the worlds and who had taken upon himself a heavy burden! I will listen to all those sorrows arising from Duryodhana’s acts.⁷⁵⁻⁷⁶ Therefore, tell me O Sanjaya, everything that happened there,—everything that happened in the battle, born of the folly of my wicked son!⁷⁷ Ill-ordered or well-ordered, tell me everything, O Sanjaya! Whatever was achieved with the aid of energy in the battle by Bhishma desirous of victory,—by that warrior accomplished in arms,—tell me all fully and in detail! How, in fact, the battle took place between the armies of the Kurus and the Pāndavas, the order in which the events occurred, and the manner in which each happened.’ ”⁷⁸⁻⁸⁰

SECTION XV.

“Sanjaya said,—‘Deserving as thou art, this question is, indeed, worthy of thee, O great king! It behoveth thee not, however, to impute this fault to Duryodhana.¹ The man who incurreth evil as the consequence of his own misconduct, should not attribute that misconduct to others.² O great king, the man that doth every kind of injury to other men, deserveth to be slain by all men in consequence of those censurable deeds of his.³ The Pāndavas unacquainted with the ways of wickedness had, for a long time, with their friends and counsellors, looking up to thy face, borne the injuries (done to them) and forgiven them, dwelling in the woods!⁴

“‘Of steeds and elephants and kings of immeasurable energy that which hath been seen by the aid of *Yoga*-power,⁵ hear, O lord of Earth, and do not set thy heart on sorrow! All this was predestined from before, O king!⁶ Having bowed down to thy father, that [wise and high-souled*] son of Parāçara, through whose grace, [through whose boon bestowed on me,] I have obtained excellent and celestial apprehension,⁷ sight beyond the range of the visual sense, and hearing, O king, from great distance, knowledge of other people’s hearts and also of the past and the future,⁸ a knowledge also of the origin of all persons transgressing the ordinances,† the delightful power of coursing through the skies, and untouchableness by weapons in battles,⁹ listen to me in detail as I recite the romantic and highly wonderful battle that happened between the Bharatas, a battle that makes one’s hair stand on end!¹⁰

“‘When the combatants were arrayed according to rule and when they were addrest for battle, Duryodhana, O king, said these words to Duççāsana,¹¹—O Duççāsana, let cars be speedily directed for the protection of Bhishma, and do

* The words “high-souled” and also “through whose boon bestowed on me” occur in the 9th *śloka* following. In paraphrasing, their place is here.—T.

† *Vyutthiotpatti vijñānam*, *Vyutthita* is a very doubtful word. It has been explained by Nilakantha thus.—T.

thou speedily urge all our divisions (to advance)!¹² That hath now come to me of which I had been thinking for a series of years, viz, the meeting of the Pāndavas and the Kurus at the head of their respective troops.¹³ I do not think that there is any act more important (for us) in this battle than the protecting of Bhishma. If protected, he will slay the Pāndavas, the Somakas, and the Srinjayas.¹⁴ That warrior of pure soul said,—*I will not slay Cikhandin. It is heard that he was a female before. For this reason he should be renounced by me in battle!*¹⁵—For this, Bhishma should be particularly protected. Let all my warriors take up their positions, resolved to slay Cikhandin.¹⁶ Let also all the troops from the east, the west, the south, and the north, accomplished in every kind of weapon, protect the grandsire.¹⁷ Even the lion of mighty strength, if left unprotected, may be slain by the wolf. Let us not, therefore, cause Bhishma to be slain by Cikhandin like the lion slain by the jackal.¹⁸ Yudhāmanyu protects the left wheel, and Uttamaujas protects the right wheel of Phālguna. Protected by those two, Phālguna himself protects Cikhandin.¹⁹ O Duṣṣāsana, act in such a way that Cikhandin who is protected by Phālguna and whom Bhishma will renounce, may not slay Gangā's son!—"²⁰

SECTION XVI.

“Sanjaya said,—‘When the night passed away, loud became the noise made by the kings, all exclaiming,—*Array!*—*Array!*’—With the blare of conchs and the sound of drums that resembled leonine roars, O Bhārata, with the neigh of steeds, and the clatter of car wheels,² with the noise of obstreperous elephants and the shouts, clapping of arm-pits, and cries of roaring combatants, the din caused everywhere was very great.³ The large armies of the Kurus and the Pāndavas, O king, rising at sunrise, completed all their arrangements.⁴ Then when the sun rose, the fierce weapons of attack and defence and the coats of mail of both thy sons and the Pāndavas, and the large and splendid armies of both sides, became fully visible,⁵⁻⁶ There elephants and cars, adorned

with gold, looked resplendent like clouds mingled with lightning.⁷ The ranks of cars, standing in profusion, looked like cities. And thy father, stationed there, shone brilliantly, like the full moon.⁸ And the warriors armed with bows and swords and scimitars and maces, javelins and lances and bright weapons of diverse kinds, took up their positions in their (respective) ranks.⁹ And elephants and foot-soldiers and car-warriors and steeds, O king, by hundreds and thousands, stood there like nets (for entangling the foe).¹⁰ And resplendent standards were seen, set up by thousands, of diverse forms, belonging to both ourselves and the foe.¹¹ And made of gold and decked with gems and blazing like fire, those banners in thousands, endued with great effulgence, looked beautiful¹² like the bright banners of Indra in the celestial city.* And the heroic combatants cased in mail gazed (at those standards), longing for battle.¹³ And many foremost of men, with eyes large as those of bulls, endued with quivers, and with hands cased in (leathern) fences, stood at the heads of their divisions,¹⁴ with their bright weapons upraised. And Suvala's son Cakuni, and Calya, and Jayadratha, and the two princes of Avanti named Vinda and Anuvinda, and the Kekaya brothers, and Sudakshina the ruler of the Kāmvojas¹⁵ and Crutāyudha the ruler of the Kalingas, and king Jayatsena, and Vrihadvala the ruler of the Koçalas, and Kritavarman of Sātвата's race,¹⁶—these ten tigers among men, endued with great bravery and possessing arms that looked like maces,—these performers of sacrifices with plentiful gifts (to Brāhmanas), stood each at the head of an *Avakshauhini* of troops.¹⁷ These and many other kings and princes, mighty car-warriors conversant with policy, obedient to the commands of Duryodhana,¹⁸ all cased in mail, were seen stationed in their respective divisions. All of them, cased in black deer-skins, endued with great strength, accomplished in battle,¹⁹ and cheerfully prepared, for Duryodhana's sake, to ascend to the region of *Brahma*,† stood there

* Literally, "in Indra's abodes," *i. e.* *Amarāvati*.—T

† A Kshatriya falling bravely in fight at once goes to the highest regions of bliss.—T.

commanding ten efficient *Akshauhīnis*.²⁰ The eleventh great division of the Kauravas, consisting of the Dhārtarāshtra troops, stood in advance of the whole army. There in the van of that division was Cāntanu's son.²¹ With his white head-gear, white umbrella, and white mail, O monarch, we beheld Bhishma of unfailing prowess look like the risen moon.²² His standard bearing the device of a palmyra of gold, himself stationed on a car made of silver, both the Kurus and the Pāndavas beheld that hero looking like the moon encircled by white clouds.²³ The great bowmen amongst the Srinjayas headed by Dhrishtadyumna, (beholding Bhishma), looked like little animals when they behold a mighty yawning lion.²⁴ Indeed, all the combatants headed by Dhrishtadyumna repeatedly trembled in fear. These, O king, were the eleven splendid divisions of thy army!²⁵ So also the seven divisions belonging to the Pāndavas were protected by foremost of men. Indeed, the two armies facing each other looked like two oceans at the end of the *Yuga* agitated by fierce *Makaras*, and abounding with huge crocodiles! Never before, O king, did we see or hear of two such armies encountering each other like these of the Kauravas! ”*26-27

SECTION XVII.

“Sanjaya said,—‘Just as the holy Krishna-Dwaipāyana Vyasa had said, in that very manner the kings of the Earth, mustered together, came to the encounter.’ On that day on which the battle commenced, *Soma* approached the region of *Pitris*.† The seven large planets, as they appeared in the

* Either the 26th or the 27th should be regarded as a triplet.—T.

† Nilakantha in a long note explains that *Maghā Vishayagas Somas* cannot mean that *Shoma* or the Moon entered the constellation called *Maghā*. He quotes numerous *ślokas* scattered throughout the *Mahā-bhārata* that throw light, directly or indirectly, on the question of the opening day of the battle, and shows that all these lead to a different conclusion. What is meant by the Moon approaching the region of *Pitris* is that those who fall in battle immediately ascend to heaven; of course, they have first to go to the region of *Pitris*. Thence they have

firmament, all looked blazing like fire.*² The Sun, when he rose, seemed to be divided in twain. Besides, that luminary, as it appeared in the firmament, seemed to blaze forth in flames.†³ Carnivorous jackals and crows, expecting (dead) bodies (to feast upon), began to utter fierce cries from all directions that seemed to be ablaze.⁴ Every day the old grand-sire of the Kurus, and the son of Bharadwāja, rising (from bed) in the morning, with concentrated mind,⁵ said,—*Victory to the sons of Pāndu!*—while those chastisers of foes used (at the same time) yet to fight for thy sake according to the pledge they had given.⁶ Thy father Devavrata, fully conversant with every duty, summoning all the kings, said these words (unto them).⁷ —Ye Kshatriyas, this broad door is open to you for (entering) heaven! Go ye through it to the region of Cakra and *Brahman!*⁸ The *Rishis* of olden times have showed you this eternal path.‡ Honor ye yourselves by engaging in battle with attentive minds!⁹ Nābhāga, and Yayāti, and Māndhātri, and Nahusa, and Nriga, were crowned with success and obtained the highest region of bliss by feats like these!¹⁰ To die of disease at home is sin for a Kshatriya. The death that he meets

to go to the lunar region for obtaining celestial bodies. All this implies a little delay. Here, however, in the case of those that would fall on the field of Kurukshetra, they would not have to incur even such little delay. *Chandramas* or *Soma* approached the region of *Pitris* so that the fallen warriors might have celestial bodies very soon, without, in fact, any necessity, on their part, to incur the delay of a journey to the lunar region prior to their ascension to heaven with resplendent bodies.—T.

* There are nine planets in all in Pauranic astronomy. Of these *Rāhu* and *Ketu* are regarded as *Upagrahas*, and hence, of *grahas*, there are only seven. Thus Nilakantha: the Burdwan Pundits have made a mess of this line. The genesis of the blunders they have committed is distinctly traceable to their non-apprehension of Nilakantha's very simple note.—T.

† The Bengal texts read *Bhānumānudito divi*. The Bombay reading is *Bhānumānudito Ravis*. If the latter be adopted, *Bhānumān* would be an adjective of *Ravis*.—T.

‡ *Purvais Purvatarais* is literally—"They of old and still older times;" for *Canātanas* some editions read *Crutijas* (qualifying *panthās*). *Crutiya* means arising from the *Crutis* or as laid down in the *Crutis*.—T.

with in battle is his eternal duty !¹¹—Thus addressed, O bull of Bharata's race, by Bhishma, the kings, looking beautiful in their excellent cars, proceeded to the heads of their respective divisions.¹² Only Vikartana's son Karna, with his friends and relatives, O bull of Bharata's race, laid aside his weapons in battle for the sake of Bhishma.¹³ Whithout Karna then, thy sons and all the kings on thy side proceeded, making the ten points of the horizon resound with their leonine roars.¹⁴ And their divisions shone brightly, O king, with white umbrellas, banners, standards, elephants, steeds, cars, and foot-soldiers.¹⁵ And the Earth was agitated with the sounds of drums and tabors and cymbals, and the clatter of car-wheels.¹⁶ And the mighty car-warriors, decked with their bracelets and armlets of gold and with their bows (vareigated with gold), looked resplendent like hills of fire.¹⁷ And with his large palmyra-standard decked with five stars, Bhishma, the generalissimo of the Kuru army,* looked like the resplendent Sun himself.¹⁸ Those mighty bowmen of royal birth, O bull of Bharata's race, that were on thy side, all took up their positions, O king, as Cāntanu's son ordered.¹⁹ (King) Caivya of the country of the Govāsanas, accompanied by all the monarchs, went out on a princely elephant worthy of royal use and graced with a banner on its back.²⁰ And Aṣwatthāman, of the complexion of the lotus, went out, ready for every emergency, stationing himself at the very head of all the divisions, with his standard bearing the device of the lion's tail.²¹ And Crutāyudha and Chitrasena and Purumitra and Vivinçati, and Calya and Bhuriçravas, and that mighty car-warrior Vikarna,²²—these seven mighty bowmen on their cars and cased in excellent mail, followed Drona's son behind but in advance of Bhishma.²³ The tall standards of these warriors, made of gold, beautifully set up for adorning their excellent cars, looked highly resplendent.²⁴ The standard of Drona, that foremost of preceptors, bore the device of a golden

* *Chamupatis* is the Bengal reading. The Bombay text reads *Chamupari*. If the latter reading be adopted, the meaning would be, "at the head of the (Kuru) army."—T.

altar decked with a water-pot and the figure of a bow.²⁶ The standard of Duryodhana guiding many hundreds and thousands of divisions bore the device of an elephant worked in gems.²⁶ Paurava and the ruler of the Kālingas, and Sudakshina the ruler of the Kāmvojas, and Kshemadhanwan, and Calya, these *Rathas* took up their position in Duryodhana's van.²⁷ On a costly car with his standard bearing the device of a bull, and guiding the very van (of his division), the ruler of the Magadhas marched against the foe.^{28*} That large force of the Easterners looking like the fleecy clouds of autumn† was (besides) protected by the chief of the Angas (Karna's son Vrishaketu) and Kripa endued with great energy.²⁹ Stationing himself in the van of his division with his beautiful standard of silver bearing the device of the boar, the famous Jayadratha looked highly resplendent.³⁰ A hundred thousand cars, eight thousand elephants, and sixty thousand cavalry were under his command.³¹‡ Commanded by the royal chief of the Sindhus, that large division occupying the very van (of the army) and abounding with untold cars, elephants, and steeds, looked magnificent.³² With sixty thousand cars and ten thousand elephants, the ruler of the Kalingas, accompanied by Ketumat, went out.³³ His huge elephants, looking like hills, and adorned with *Yantras*,§ lances, quivers, and standards, looked exceedingly beautiful.³⁴ And the ruler of the Kalingas, with his tall standard effulgent as fire, with his white umbrella, and golden curass, and *Chāmaras* (wherewith he was fanned), shone brilliantly.³⁵ And Ketumat also, riding

* The Bengal editions read *Māgadhascha ripum yayau*. The Bombay text reads *Māgadhasya Kripo-yayau*. If the latter reading be adopted, the meaning would be "and guiding the very van of the *Magadha* troops Kripa went."—T.

† The Bengal reading is *Cārādābhrahana-prakshyam*. The Bombay reading is *Cārādamvudhara-prakshyam*.—T.

‡ *Vaṣavartinas* is nominative masculine plural, referring to cars, &c.; the Burdwan Pundits take it as a genitive singular qualifying *ṭasya*, and they render it, therefore, as "of that subordinate of Duryodhana." This is evidently incorrect.—T.

§ Machines, perhaps catapults.—T.

on an elephant with a highly excellent and beautiful hook, was stationed in battle, O king, like the Sun in the midst of (black) clouds.³⁵ And king Bhagadatta, blazing with energy and riding on that elephant of his, went out like the wielder of the thunder.³⁷ And the two princes of Avanti named Vinda and Anuvinda, who were regarded as equal to Bhagadatta, followed Ketumat, riding on the necks of their elephants.³⁸ And, O king, arrayed by Drona and the royal son of Cāntanu, and Drona's son, and Vālhika, and Kripa, the (Kaurava) *Vyuha** consisting of many divisions of cars was such that the elephants formed its body; the kings, its head; and the steeds its wings. With face towards all sides, that fierce *Vyuha* seemed to smile and ready to spring (upon the foe).³⁹⁻⁴⁰

SECTION XVIII.

“Sanjaya said,—‘Soon after, O king, a loud uproar, causing the heart to tremble, was heard, made by the combatants ready for the fight.¹ Indeed, with the sounds of conchs and drums, the grunts of elephants, and the clatter of car-wheels, the Earth seemed to rend in twain.² And soon the welkin and the whole Earth was filled with the neigh of chargers and the shouts of combatants.³ O irresistible one, the troops of thy sons and of the Pāndavas both trembled when they encountered each other.⁴ There (on the field of battle) elephants and cars, decked in gold, looked beautiful like clouds decked with lightning.⁵ And standards of diverse forms, O king, belonging to the combatants on thy side, and adorned with golden rings, looked resplendent like fire.⁶ And those standards of thy side and theirs, resembled, O Bhārata, the banners of Indra in his celestial mansions.⁷ And the heroic warriors all accoutred and cased in golden coats of mail endued with the effulgence of the blazing Sun, themselves looked like blazing fire or the Sun.⁸ All the foremost

* *Vyuha* is an array of troops in a certain form. Many such will be spoken of in this and the other *parvas* devoted to the battle.—T.

warriors amongst the Kurus, O king, with excellent bows, and weapons upraised (for striking), with leathern fences on their hands, and with standards,⁹—those mighty bowmen, of eyes large as those of bulls, all placed themselves at the heads of their (respective) divisions. And these amongst thy sons, O king, protected Bhishma from behind,¹⁰ viz, Dusçāsana, and Durvishaha, and Durmukha, and Dussaha, and Vivinçati, and Chitrasena, and that mighty car-warrior Vikarna.¹¹ And amongst them were Satyavrata, and Purumitra, and Jaya, and Bhuriçravas, and Cala. And twenty thousand car-warriors followed them.¹² The Abhishāhas, the Curasenas, the Civis, and the Vasātis, the Cwālyas, the Matsyas, the Amvashtas, the Traigartas, and the Kekayas,¹³ the Sauviras, the Kitavas, and the dwellers of the Eastern, the Western, and the Northern countries,—these twelve brave races were resolved to fight reckless of the lives.¹⁴ And these protected the grandsire with a multitudinous array of cars. And with a division that consisted of ten thousand active elephants,¹⁵ the king of Magadha followed that large car division.* They that protected the wheels of the cars and they that protected the elephants,¹⁶ numbered full six million. And the foot-soldiers that marched in advance (of the army), armed with bows, swords, and shields,¹⁷ numbered many hundreds of thousands. And they fought also using their nails and bearded darts. And the ten and one *Akshauhinis* of thy son, O Bhārata, looked, O mighty king, like Gangā separated from Yamunā.”†¹⁸

SECTION XIX.

“Dhritarāshtra said,—‘Beholding (our) ten and one *Akshauhinis* arrayed in order of battle, how did Yudhishtira the son of Pāndu make his counter array with his forces smaller in number?† How did Kunti’s son, O Sanjaya, form his

* The Bengal texts read this line in a very faulty way. I have adopted the Bombay reading.—T.

† The Bombay edition reads *Yamunāntarā* for *Yamunāntare* of the Bengal texts. The difference in meaning is not very material.—T.

counter-array against that Bhishma who was acquainted with all kinds of arrays, *viz*, human, celestial, *Gāndharva*, and *Asura* ?²

“Sanjaya said,—‘Seeing the Dhārtarāshtra divisions arrayed in order of battle, Pāndu’s son of virtuous soul, king Yudhishtira the just, addressed Dhananjaya, saying,³—(Men) are informed from the words of that great *Rishi* Vrihaspati that the few must be made to fight by condensing them, while the many may be extended according to pleasure.⁴ In encounters of the few with the many, the array to be formed should be the *Needle-mouthed* one. Our troops compared with the enemy are few.⁵ Keeping in view this precept of the great *Rishi*, array our troops, O son of Pāndu !—Hearing this, that son of Pāndu answered king Yudhishtira the just, saying,⁶—That immovable array known by the name of *Vajra*, which was designed by the wielder of the thunder-bolt, that invincible array is the one that I will make for thee, O best of kings !⁷ He who is like the bursting tempest, he who is incapable of being borne in battle by the foe, that Bhima the foremost of smiters, will fight at our head.⁸ That foremost of men, conversant with all the appliances of battle, becoming our leader, will fight in the van, crushing the energy of the troops of the foe.⁹ That foremost of all smiters, *viz*, Bhima, beholding whom all (the hostile warriors) headed by Duryodhana will retreat in panic like smaller animals beholding the lion, all of us, our fears dispelled, will seek *his* shelter as if he were a wall, like the celestials seeking the shelter of Indra !¹⁰⁻¹¹ The man breathes not in the world who would bear to cast his eyes upon that bull among men, Vrikodara of fierce deeds, when he is angry !¹²—Having said this, Dhananjaya of mighty arms did as he said. And Phālguna, quickly disposing his troops in battle-array, proceeded (against the foe).¹³ And the mighty army of the Pāndavas, beholding the Kuru army move, looked like the full, immovable, and quickly rolling*

* The Bengal texts read *Syandamānā* ; the Bombay reading is *Spandamānā*. Both imply “moving,” only the motion in the latter case is slower, perhaps, than in the former.—T.

current of Gangā.¹⁴ And Bhimasena, and Dhrishtadyumna endued with great energy, and Nakula, and Sahadeva, and king Dhrishtaketu, became the leaders of that force.¹⁵ And king Virāta, surrounded by an *Akshauhini* of troops, and accompanied by his brothers and sons, marched in their rear, protecting them from behind.¹⁶ The two sons of Mādri, both endued with great effulgence, became the protectors of Bhima's wheels; while the (five) sons of Draupadi and the son of Subhadrā, all endued with great activity, protected (Bhima) from behind.¹⁷ And that mighty car-warrior, Dhrishtadyumna the prince of Pānchāla, with those bravest of combatants and the foremost of car-warriors, viz, the Prabhadrakas, protected those princes from behind.¹⁸ And behind him was Cikhandin who (in his turn) was protected by Arjuna, and who, O bull of Bhārata's race, advanced with concentrated attention for the destruction of Bhishma.¹⁹ Behind Arjuna was Yuyudhāna of mighty strength; and the two princes of Pānchāla, viz; Yudhāmanyu and Uttamaejas, became protectors of Arjuna's wheels,²⁰ along with the Kekaya brothers, and Dhrishtaketu, and Chekitāna of great valour.—This Bhimasena, wielding his mace made of the hardest metal,²¹ and moving (on the field of battle) with fierce speed, can dry up the very ocean! And there also stay, with their counsellors and looking on him, O king,²² the children* of Dhritarāshtra!—Even this, O monarch, was what Vibhatsu said, pointing out the mighty Bhimsena (to Yudhishtira).†²³ And while Pārtha was saying so, all the troops, O Bhārata, worshipped him on the field of battle with gratulatory words.²⁴ King Yuddhishtira the son of Kunti took up his position in the centre of his army, surrounded by huge and furious elephants resembling moving hills.²⁵ The high-souled Yajnasena the king of the Pānchālas, endued with great prowess, stationed himself behind Virāta with an *Akshauhini* of troops for the sake of the Pāndavas.²⁶ And on the cars of those kings, O monarch,

* The word used is *Dāyādās*, lit., takers of (one's) wealth.—T.

† The Bombay text is here faulty. *Darçayswamahāvalam* is scarcely correct. The Bengal reading is *Darçayan sumahāvalam*.—T.

were tall standards bearing diverse devices, decked with excellent ornaments of gold, and endued with the effulgence of the sun and the moon.²⁷ Causing those kings to move and make space for him, that mighty car-warrior Dhrishtadyumna, accompanied by his brothers and sons, protected Yudhishtira from behind.²⁸ Transcending the huge standards on all the cars on thy side and that of the enemy, was the one gigantic ape on Arjuna's car.²⁹ Foot-soldiers, by many hundreds of thousands, and armed with swords, spears, and scimitars, proceeded ahead for protecting Bhimasena.³⁰ And ten thousand elephants with (temporal) juice trickling down their cheeks and mouth, and resembling (on that account) showering clouds,* endued with great courage, blazing with golden armour, huge as hills, costly, and emitting the fragrance of lotuses, followed the king behind like moving mountains.³¹⁻³²† And the high-souled and invincible Bhimasena, whirling his fierce mace that resembled a *parigha*,‡ seemed to crush the large army (of thy son).³³ Incapable of being looked at like the Sun himself, and scorching, as it were, the hostile army (like fire), none of the combatants could bear to even look at him from any near point.³⁴ And this array, fearless and having its face turned towards all sides, called *Vajra*, having bows for its lightning sign,§ and extremely fierce, was protected by the wielder of *Gāndiva*.³⁵ Disposing their troops in this

* Literally, "with rent cheeks and mouth."—T.

† The Bombay reading is certainly faulty here. For *Chalanta iva parvatās* it reads *Jimutā iva vārshikās*, although it makes the previous line begin with *Ksharanta iva Jimutā*.—T.

‡ A *parigha* is a thick club mounted with iron. The comparison is very feeble, for Bhima's mace, in the popular estimation, is very much heavier and stouter than any *parigha* manufactured for human combatants. *Prachakarsha* is, lit., dragged. I think, however, the root *krish* must be taken here in the sense of crush. By the bye, is not *krish* the same word as *crush*?—T.

§ The name *Vajra* implies either a hard needle for boring diamonds and gems, or the thunder-bolt. In this *śloka* the word *Vajra* is used as associated with the thunder and, therefore, as thunder is accompanied by lightning, so the bows of the warriors are the lightning-marks of this particular *Vajra*.—T.

counter array against thy army, the Pāndavas waited for battle, And protected by the Pāndavas, that array became invincible in the world of men.³⁶

“And as (both) the armies stood at dawn of day waiting for sunrise, a wind began to blow with drops of water (falling), and although there were no clouds, the roll of thunder was heard.³⁷ And dry winds began to blow all around, bearing a shower of pointed pebbles along the ground. And a thick dust arose, covering the world with darkness.³⁸ And large meteors began to fall eastwards, O bull of Bharata's race, and striking against the rising Sun, broke in fragments with loud noise.³⁹ When the troops stood arrayed, O bull of Bharata's race, the Sun rose divested of splendour, and the Earth trembled with a loud sound,⁴⁰ and cracked in many places, O chief of the Bharatas, with loud noise. And the roll of thunder, O king, was heard frequently on all sides.⁴¹ So thick was the dust that arose that nothing could be seen. And the tall standards (of the combatants), furnished with strings of bells, decked with golden ornaments, garlands of flowers, and rich drapery, graced with banners and resembling the Sun in splendour, being suddenly shaken by the wind, gave a loud jingling noise like that of a forest of palmyra trees (when moved by the wind). It was thus that those tigers among men, the sons of Pāndu, ever taking delight in battle,⁴²⁻⁴⁴ stood, having disposed their troops in counter array against the army of thy son, and sucking, as it were the marrow, O bull of Bharata's race, of our warriors, and casting their eyes on Bhimasena stationed at their head, mace in land !”⁴⁵

SECTION XX.

“Dhritarāshtra said,—‘When the sun rose, O Sanjaya, of my army led by Bhishma and the Pāndava army led by Bhima, which first cheerfully approached the other, desirous of fight ?¹ To which side were the Sun, the Moon, and the wind hostile, and against whom did the beasts of prey utter inauspicious sounds ? Who were those young men, the complexions of whose faces were cheerful ? Tell me all this truly and duly !”²

“Sanjaya said,—‘Both’ armies, when arrayed, were equally joyful, O king! Both armies looked equally beautiful, assuming the aspect of blossoming woods, and both armies were full of elephants, cars, and horses.³ Both armies were vast and terrible in aspect; and so also, O Bhārata, none of them could bear the other. Both of them were arrayed for conquering the very heavens, and both of them consisted of excellent persons.⁴ The Kauravas belonging to the Dhritarāshtra party stood facing the west, while the Pārthas stood facing the east, addrest for fight. The troops of the Kauravas looked like the army of the chief of the *Dānavas*, while that of the Pāndavas looked like the army of the celestials.⁵ The wind began to blow from behind the Pāndavas (against the faces of the Dhārtarāshtras), and the beasts of prey began to yell against the Dhārtarāshtras. The elephants belonging to thy sons could not bear the strong odour of the temporal juice emitted by the huge elephants (of the Pāndavas).⁶ And Duryodhana rode on an elephant of the complexion of the lotus, with rent temples, graced with a golden *Kaksha* (on its back), and cased in an armour of steel net-work. And he was in the very centre of the Kurus and was adored by eulogists and bards.⁷ And a white umbrella of lunar effulgence was held over his head graced with a golden chain. Him Cakuni the ruler of the Gāndhāras followed with mountaineers of Gāndhāra placed all around.⁸ And the venerable Bhishma was at the head of all the troops, with a white umbrella held over his head, armed with a white bow and sword, with a white head-gear, with a white banner (on his car), and with white steeds (yoked thereto), and altogether looking like a white mountain.⁹ In Bhishma’s division were all the sons of Dhritarāshtra, and also Cala who was a countryman of the Vālhikas, and also all those Kshatriyas called Amvastas, and those called Sindhus, and those also that are called Sauviras, and the heroic dwellers of the country of the five rivers.¹⁰ And on a golden car unto which were yoked red steeds, the high-souled Drona, bow in hand and with never-failing heart, the preceptor of almost all the kings, remained behind all the troops, protecting them like Indra.¹¹ And in

the midst of all the forces were Vārdhakshatri, and Bhuriçra-vas, and Purumitra, and Jaya, and the Cālwas, the Matsyas, and all the Kekaya brothers fighting with their elephant divisions.¹² And Caradawt's son, that fighter in the van,* that high-souled and mighty bowman, called also Gautama, conversant with all modes of warfare, accompanied by the Cakas, the Kirātas, the Yavanas, and the Palhavas, took up his position at the northern point of the army.¹³ That large force which was well protected by mighty ear-warriors of the Vrishni and the Bhojā rāces, as also by the warriors of Surāshtra well-armed and well-acquainted with the use of weapons, and which was led by Kritavarman, proceeded towards the south of thy army.†¹⁴ Ten thousand cars of the *Samçaptakas*, who were created for either the death or the fame of Arjuna, and who, accomplished in arms, intend to follow Arjuna at his heels,‡ all went out as also the brave Trigartas.¹⁵ In thy army, O Bhārata, were a hundred thousand elephants of the foremost fighting powers. Unto each elephant was assigned a century of cars; unto each car, a hundred horsemen;¹⁶ unto each horse, ten bowmen; and unto each bowman ten combatants armed with (sword and) shield. Thus, O Bhārata, were thy divisions arrayed by Bhishma.¹⁷ Thy generalissimo Bhishma the son of Cāntanu, as each day dawned, sometimes disposed thy troops in the human array, sometimes in the celestial, sometimes in the *Gāndharvā*, and sometimes in the *Asura*.¹⁸ Thronged with a large number of *Mahārathas*, and roaring like the very ocean, the Dhārtarāshtra army, arrayed by Bhishma, stood facing the west for battle.¹⁹ Illimitable as thy army was, O ruler of men, it looked terrible; but the army of the Pāndavas, although it was not such (in number), yet seemed to me to be very large and invincible since Keçava and Arjuna were its leaders!"²⁰

* The word is *Uttaradhvas* which seems to be very doubtful.—T.

† This *sloka* is omitted in the Bengal texts.—T.

‡ *Yenārjunastena*. *Yena* is *Yatra*, and *tena* is *tatra*, as Nilakantha rightly explains. The meaning is—"who would be there where Arjuna would be."—T.

SECTION XXI.

“Sanjaya said,—‘Beholding the vast Dhārtarāstra army ready for battle, king Yudhishtira the son of Kunti gave way to grief.¹ Seeing that impenetrable array formed by Bhishma and regarding it as really impenetrable, the king became pale and addressed Arjuna, saying,²—O mighty-armed Dhananjaya, how shall we be able to fight in battle with the Dhārtarāshtras who have the grandsire for their (chief) combatant?³ Immovable and impenetrable is this array that hath been designed, according to the rules laid down in the scriptures, by that grinder of foes, Bhishma of transcendent glory!⁴ With our troops we have become doubtful (of success), O grinder of foes! How, indeed, will victory be ours, in the face of this mighty array?⁵—(Thus addressed), that slayer of foes Arjuna answered Yudhishtira the son of Prithā, who had been plunged into grief at sight, O king, of thy army, in these words,⁶—Hear, O king, how soldiers that are few in number may vanquish the many that are possessed of every quality!⁷ Thou art without malice; I shall, therefore, tell thee the means, O king! The *Rishi* Nārada knows it, as also both Bhishma and Drona.⁸ Referring to this means, the Grandsire himself, in days of old, on the occasion of the battle between the gods and the *Asuras*, said unto Indra and the other celestials.⁹—*They that are desirous of victory do not conquer by might and energy so much as by truth, compassion, righteousness, and energy.*^{*10} *Discriminating then between righteousness and unrighteousness, and understanding what is meant by covetousness, and having recourse to exertion, fight without arrogance, for victory is there where righteousness is!*¹¹—For this, know O king, that to us victory is certain in (this) battle! Indeed, as Nārada said,—

* The Bengal texts read *Dharmenaikena chānagha* which is evidently faulty, remembering that the words are Brahman's to Indra and the celestials. The Bombay reading is *Dharmenaivodyamena cha* which I have adopted.—T.

*There is victory where Krishna is.*¹²—Victory is inherent to Krishna. Indeed, it followeth Mādhava. And as victory is one of his attributes, so is humility another attribute of his.¹³ Govinda is possessed of energy that is infinite. Even in the midst of innumerable foes he is without pain. He is the most eternal of male beings. And there victory is where Krishna is.¹⁴ Even he, indestructible and of weapons incapable of being baffled, appearing as Hari in olden days, said in a loud voice unto the gods and the *Asuras*,—*Who amongst you would be victorious?*¹⁵—Even they conquered who said,—*With Krishna in the front we will conquer!**—And it was through Hari's grace that the three worlds were obtained by the gods headed by Cakra.¹⁶ I do not, therefore, behold the slightest cause of sorrow in thee, thee that hast the Sovereign of the Universe and the Lord himself of the celestials for wishing victory to thy self!—' ”¹⁷

SECTION XXII.

“Sanjaya said,—Then, O bull of Bharata's race, king Yudhishtira, disposing his own troops in counter array against the divisions of Bhishma, urged them on,¹ saying,—*The Pāndavas have now disposed their forces in counter array agreeably to what is laid down (in the scriptures)! Ye sinless ones, fight fairly, desirous of (entering) the highest heaven!*²—In the centre (of the Pāndava army) was Cikhandin and his troops, protected by Arjuna. And Dhrishta-

* The sense is that they, viz, the gods, who accepted Krishna's lead, or selected him for their leader, became victorious. The Bengal reading is evidently superior, viz, *Anu Krishna*, literally “behind Krishna,” i. e., “with Krishna in the front,” or “with Krishna as leader.” The Bombay reading is *Katham Krishna*. If this were adopted, the meaning would be, “How, O Krishna, shall we conquer?” I do not understand how victory should be theirs who answered in this way. Of course, the answer implies modesty. But modesty is not the sole requisite of victory, nor is modesty inculcated here as the chief means of victory.—T.

dyumna moved in the van, protected by Bhima.*³ The southern division (of the Pāndava army) was protected, O king, by that mighty bowman, the handsome Yuyudhāna, that foremost combatant of the Sātвата race, resembling Indra himself.⁴ Yudhishtira was stationed on a car that was worthy of bearing Mahendra himself, adorned with an excellent standard, variegated with gold and gems, and furnished with golden traces (for the steeds), in the midst of his elephant divisions.†⁵ His pure white umbrella with ivory handle, raised over his head, looked exceedingly beautiful; and many great *Rishis* walked around the king,‡ uttering words in his praise.⁶ And many priests, and regenerate *Rishis* and *Siddhas*, uttering hymns in his praise,§ wished him, as they walked around, the destruction of his enemies, by the aid of *Yapas*, and *Mantras*, and efficacious drugs, and diverse propitiatory ceremonies.⁷ That high-souled chief of the Kurus, then giving away unto the Brāhmanas kine and fruits and flowers and golden coins along with cloths,§ proceeded like Cakra the chief of the celestials.⁸ The car of Arjuna, furnished with a hundred bells, decked with *Jāmvunada* gold of the best kind, endued with excellent wheels, possessed of the effulgence of fire, and

* It will strike even the most cursory reader that Sanjaya, in each new section, assigns new positions to almost every one of the noted combatants of both sides,—a fact that furnishes the strongest argument for supposing that all these sections abound with interpolations. It is difficult, almost impossible, to ascertain what the genuine text is.—T.

† The Bengal texts read *Kanchana-bhānda-yuktam*. The Bombay reading is much better, being *Kānchanabhānda-yoktram*. For again *Nāgakulasya* the Bombay edition reads *Nāgapurasya*. Nilakantha notices the latter reading, but it is a wretched conceit.—T.

‡ The Bengal reading is *Mahindram* (king of earth, or king); the Bombay reading is *Mahendram* (the great Indra). Without *iva* or any word to that effect, *Mahendram* would be ungrammatical.—T.

§ The Bengal texts read, and as I think, correctly, *Stutavanta enam*. The Bombay reading is *Crutavanta enam*. In the case of regenerate *Rishis* and *Siddhas* it is scarcely necessary to say that they are conversant with the *Crutis*.—T.

§ The Bengal reading *Sahasrāni* for *Savastrāni* is incorrect. I adopt the latter.—T.

unto which were yoked white steeds, looked exceedingly brilliant like a thousand suns.*⁹ And on that car the reins of which were held by Keçava, stood the ape-bannered (Arjuna) with *Gāndīva* and arrows in hand,—a bowman whose peer exists not on earth nor ever will.¹⁰ For crushing thy sons and troops he who assumeth the most awful form,—he who, divested of weapons, with only his bare hands, poundeth to dust men, horses, and elephants,¹¹—that strong-armed Bhimāsena, otherwise called Vrikodara, accompanied by the twins, became the protector of the heroic car-warriors (of the Pāndava army). Like unto a furious prince† of lions of sportive gait, or like the great Indra himself with (earthly) body on the Earth,¹² beholding that invincible Vrikodara, like unto a proud leader of an elephantine herd, stationed in the van (of the army), the warriors on thy side, their strength weakened by fear, began to tremble like elephants sunk in mire.¹³

“Unto that invincible prince Gudākeça staying in the midst of his troops, Janārdhana, O chief of Bharata’s race, said,¹⁴—He who, scorching us with his wrath, stayeth in the midst of his forces, he who will attack our troops like a lion, he who performed three hundred horse-sacrifices,—that banner of Kuru’s race, that Bhishma,—stayeth yonder!¹⁵ Yon ranks shroud him on all sides like the clouds shrouding the bright luminary. O foremost of men, slaying yon troops, seek battle with yonder bull of Bharata’s race!”¹⁶

SECTION XXIII.

“Sanjaya said,—Beholding the Dhārtarāshtra army approach for fight, Krishna said these words for Arjuna’s benefit.¹

“The holy one said,—Cleansing thyself, O mighty-armed

* This is how I understand this verse, and I am supported by the Burdwan Pundits. Nilakantha, it seems, thinks that the car had a thousand wheels resembling a thousand suns. This seems to be extravagant.—T.

† Verse 15 is read variously. As the last word of the first line, I read *Achakarsha* for *varaksha*, and accordingly I take *nas* as a genitive and not an ablative particle.—T.

one, utter on the eve of battle the hymn to Durga for (compassing) the defeat of the foe !²—'

"Sanjaya continued,—'Thus addressed on the eve of battle by Vāsudeva endued with great intelligence, Prithā's son Arjuna, alighting from his car, said the (following) hymn with joined hands.³

"Arjuna said,—I bow to thee, O leader of *Yogins*, O thou that art identical with *Brahman*, O thou that dwellest in the forests of Mandara! O thou that art freed from decrepitude and decay, O *Kāli*, O wife of *Kapāla*, O thou that art of a black and tawny hue !⁴ I bow to thee, O bringer of benefits to thy devotees, I bow to thee, O *Mahākāli* ! O wife of the universal destroyer, I bow to thee, O proud one, O thou that rescuest from dangers, O thou that art endued with every auspicious attribute !⁵ O thou that art sprung from the *Kata* race, O thou that deservest the most regardful worship, O fierce one, O giver of victory, O victory's self ! O thou that bearest a banner of peacock plumes, O thou that art decked with every ornament !⁶ O thou that bearest an awful spear, O thou that holdest a sword and shield ! O thou that art the younger sister of the chief of cowherds, O eldest one, O thou that wert born in the race of the cowherd Nanda !⁷ O thou that art always fond of buffalo's blood, O thou that wert born in the race of *Kuçika*, O thou that art dressed in yellow robes, O thou that hadst devoured *Asuras* assuming the face of a wolf, I bow to thee that art fond of battle !⁸ O *Umā*,† O *Çākambhari*, O thou that art white in hue, O thou that art black in hue, O thou that hadst slain the *Asura* Kaitabha, O thou that art yellow-eyed, O thou that art diverse-eyed, O thou of eyes that have the color of smoke, I bow to thee !⁹ O thou that art the *Vedas*, the *Çrutis*, and

* I follow Nilakantha in rendering many of the names occurring in this and the succeeding *slokas*. I retain, however, those names that are of doubtful etymology, as also those that are very common.—T.

† Every scholar knows the derivation of this word as given in the *sloka* of Kālidāsa (in his *Kumāra Sambhavam*) *Umeti mātṛā tapasonihiddhā paçhādumākhyam Sumukhi Jagāma*.—T.

the highest virtue! O thou that art propitious to Brāhmanas engaged in sacrifices, O thou that hast a knowledge of the past, O thou that art ever present in the sacred abodes erected to thee in the cities of Jamvudwipa!¹⁰ Thou art the science of *Brahma* among sciences, and thou art that sleep of creatures from which there is no waking! O mother of Skanda, O thou that possessest the six (highest) attributes, O Durgā, O thou that dwellest in inaccessible regions!¹¹ Thou art described as *Swāhā*, as *Sadhā*,* as *Kalā*, as *Kāshṭā*, and as *Saraswati*, as *Sāvitrī* the mother of the *Vedas*, and as the science of *Vedānta*.¹² With inner soul cleansed, I praise thee, O great goddess! Let victory always attend me through thy grace on the field of battle!¹³ In inaccessible regions, where there is fear, in places of difficulty, in the abodes of thy worshippers, and in the nether regions (*Pātāla*), thou always dwellest! Thou always defeatest the *Dānavas*!¹⁴ Thou art the unconsciousness, thou the sleep, thou the illusion, thou the modesty, thou the beauty (of all creatures)! Thou art the twilight, thou art the day, thou art *Sāvitrī*, and thou art the mother!¹⁵ Thou art contentment, thou art growth, thou art light! It is thou that supportest the Sun and the Moon and makest them shine! Thou art the prosperity of those that are prosperous. The *Siddhas* and the *Chāranas* behold thee in contemplation!†¹⁶—'

“Sanjaya continued,—‘Understanding (the measure of) Pārtha’s devotion, Durgā who is always graciously inclined towards mankind, appeared in the firmament and in the presence of Govinda, said these words.¹⁷

“The goddess said,—Within a short time thou shalt conquer thy foes, O Pāndava! O invincible one, thou hast Nārāyana (again) for aiding thee!¹⁸ Thou art incapable of being defeated by foes, even by the wielder of the thunderbolt himself!—’

* Both *Swāhā* and *Sadhā* are *mantras* of high efficacy. *Kalā* and *Kāshṭā* are divisions of time. *Saraswati* implies speech.—T.

† *Sanḥyē* is explained by Nilakantha to be *Samyak Khyānam Prūkāṣanam Yasmin*; hence *Atmanātmāvivekarupa Samādhi*.—T.

“Having said this, the boon-giving goddess disappeared soon.¹⁹ The son of Kuntī, however, obtaining that boon, regarded himself as successful, and the son of Prithā then mounted his own excellent car.²⁰ And then Krishna and Arjuna, seated on the same car, blew their celestial conchs. The man that recites this hymn rising at dawn,²¹ hath no fear any time from *Yakshas*, *Rakshas*, and *Piçāchas*. He can have no enemies; and snakes and all animals that have fangs and teeth, from them²² he hath no fear, as also from kings. He is sure to be victorious in all disputes, and if bound, he is freed from his bonds.²³ He is sure to get over all difficulties, is freed from thieves, is ever victorious in battle, and wineth the goddess of prosperity for ever.²⁴ With health and strength, he liveth for a hundred years.

“I have known all this through the grace of Vyasa endowed with great wisdom.²⁵ Thy wicked sons, however, all entangled in the meshes of death, do not, from ignorance know these to be Nara and Nārāyana.²⁶ Nor do they, entangled in the meshes of death, know that the hour of this kingdom hath arrived. Dwaipāyana and Nārada, and Kanwa, and the sinless Rāma,²⁷ had all prevented thy son. But he did not accept their words. There where righteousness is, there are glory and beauty. There where modesty is, there are prosperity and intelligence. There where righteousness is, there is Krishna; and there where Krishna is, there is victory.”²⁸

SECTION XXIV.

“Dhritarāshtra said,—‘There (on the field of battle), O Sanjaya, the warriors of which side first advanced to battle cheerfully? Whose hearts were filled with confidence, and who were spiritless from melancholy? In that battle which maketh the hearts of men tremble with fear,* who were they that struck the first blow, mine or they belonging to the Pāndavas? Tell me all this, O Sanjaya! Among whose

* *Hridayakampane* is the correct reading, and not *Hridayakampanam*.—T.

troops did the flowery garlands and unguents emit fragrant odors? And whose troops, roaring fiercely, uttered merciful words?"³

"Sanjaya said,—'The combatants of both armies were cheerful then, and the flowery garlands and perfumes of both troops emitted equal fragrance.⁴ And, O bull of Bharata's race, fierce was the collision that took place when the serried ranks arrayed for battle encountered each other.⁵ And the sound of musical instruments, mingled with the blare of conchs and the noise of drums, and the shouts of brave warriors roaring fiercely at one another, became very loud.⁶ O bull of Bharata's race, dreadful was the collision caused by the encounter of the combatants of both armies, filled with joy and staring at one another, and the elephants uttering obstreperous grunts.'"⁷

SECTION XXV.

"Dhritarāshtra said,—'Assembled together on the sacred plain of Kurukshetra from desire of fighting, what did my sons and the Pāndavas do, O Sanjaya!"¹

"Sanjaya said,—'Beholding the army of the Pāndavas arrayed, king Duryodhana, approaching the preceptor (Drona) said these words:²—Behold, O preceptor, this vast army of the sons of Pāndu, arrayed by Drupada's son (Dhrishtadyumna) thy intelligent disciple:³ There (in that army) are many brave and mighty bowmen,* who in battle are equal to Bhima and Arjuna. (They are) Yuyudhāna, and Virāta, and that mighty car-warrior† Drupada,⁴ and Dhrishtaketu, and Chekitāna, and the ruler of the Kāçis endued with great energy; and Purujit, and Kuntibhoja, and Caivya that bull among men;⁵ and Yudhāmanyu of great prowess, and Utamaujas of great energy; and Subhadrā's son, and the sons of Draupadi, all of whom are mighty car-warriors.⁶ Hear, however, O best of regenerate ones, who are the distinguished ones

* Literally, "bearers of large bows."—T.

† Lit.—"owner of a large car," or, as explained before, "a warrior competent to fight single-handed against a thousand archers."—T.

among us, the leaders of my army! I will name them to thee for (thy) information.⁷ (They are) thyself, and Bhishma, and Karna, and Kripa who is ever victorious; and Açwatthāman, and Vikarna, and Saumadatti, and Jayadratha.*⁸ Besides these are many heroic warriors, prepared to lay down their lives for my sake, armed with diverse kinds of weapons, and all accomplished in battle.⁹ Our army, therefore, protected by Bhishma, is insufficient. This force, however, of these (the Pāndavas), protected by Bhima, is sufficient.†¹⁰ Stationing yourselves then in the entrances of the divisions that have been assigned to you, all of you protect Bhishma alone!¹¹—(Just at this time) the valiant and venerable grandsire of the Kurus, affording great joy to him [Duryodhana] by loudly uttering a leonine roar, blew (his) conch.¹² Then conchs, and drums, and cymbals, and horns, were sounded at once, and the noise (made) became a loud uproar.¹³ Then Mādhava and Pāndu's son (Arjuna), both stationed on a great car unto which were yoked white steeds, blew their celestial conchs.¹⁴ And Hrishikeṣa blew (the conch called) *Pāñchajanya*, and Dhananjaya (that called) *Devadatta*; and Vrikodara of terrible deeds blew the huge conch (called) *Paundra*.¹⁵ And Kunti's son king Yudhishtira blew (the conch called) *Anantavijaya*; while Nakula and Sahadeva, (those conchs called respectively) *Sughosa* and *Manipushpaka*.‡¹⁶ And that splendid bowman, the ruler of the Kāçis, and that mighty car-warrior, Cikhandin, and Dhrishtadyumna, and

* The text of the *Gīta* has come down to us without, it may be ventured to be stated, any interpolation. The differences of reading are few and far between. For *Jayadratha* some texts read *tathavivacha*.—T.

† The words *Aparyāptam* and *paryāptam* have exercised all commentators. If *paryāptam* is sufficient (as it certainly is), *aparyāptam* may mean either *more* or *less* than sufficient. The context, however, would seem to show that Duryodhana addressed his preceptor in alarm and not with confidence of success. I, therefore, take *aparyāptam* to be less than sufficient.—T.

‡ It has been observed before that Schlegel renders the names of these conchs as *Gigantea*, *Theodotes*, *Arundinea*, *Triumphatrix*, *Dulcisona*, and *Gemmiflora*, and that Professor Wilson approves of them.—T.

Virāta, and the unvanquished Sātyaki,¹⁷ and Drupada, and the sons of Draupadi, and the mighty-armed son of Subhadrā,—all these, O lord of Earth, severally blew their conchs.¹⁸ And that blare, loudly reverberating through the welkin and Earth, rent the hearts of the Dhārtarāshtras.¹⁹ Then beholding the Dhārtarāshtra troops drawn up, the ape-bannered* son of Pāndu, raising his bow, when the throwing of missiles had just commenced,²⁰ said these words, O lord of Earth, to Hrishikeṣa.†

“Arjuna said,—O thou that knoweth no deterioration, place my car (once) between the two armies,²¹ so that I may observe these that stand here desirous of battle, and with whom I shall have to contend in the labors of this struggle.‡²² I will observe those who are assembled here and who are prepared to fight for doing what is agreeable in battle to the evil-minded son of Dhritarāshtra !—”²³

“Sanjaya continued,—Thus addressed by Gudākeṣa, O Bhārata, Hrishikeṣa, placing that excellent car between the two armies,²⁴ in view of Bhishma and Drona and all the kings of the Earth, said,—Behold, O Pārtha, these assembled Kurus!²⁵—And there the son of Prithā beheld, standing, (his) sires and grandsires, and preceptors, and maternal uncles, and brothers, and sons, and grandsons, and friends,²⁶ and fathers-in-law, and well-wishers, in both the armies. Beholding all those kinsmen standing (there), the son of Kūnti,²⁷ possessed by excessive pity, despondingly said (these words).

“Arjuna said,—Beholding these kinsmen, O Krishna, assembled together and eager for the fight,²⁸ my limbs become languid, and my mouth becomes dry! My body trembles, and my hair stands on end.²⁹ *Gāndiva* slips from my hand, and my

* I have elsewhere (see *ante*) shown why compounds such as this are necessary in translating from the Sanskrit.—T.

† It seems a fashion to doubt the etymology of this word, as if commentators of the learning of Sreedhara and Sankara, Anandagiri and Nilakantha, even upon a question of derivation and grammar, can really be set aside in favor of anything that may occur in the Petersburg lexicon. *Hrishikeṣa* means the lord of the senses.—T.

‡ *Ranasamudyame* may also mean “at the outset of battle.”—T.

skin burns. I am unable to stand (any longer); my mind seems to wander!³⁰ I behold adverse omens, too, O Keçava! I do not desire victory, O Krishna, nor sovereignty, nor pleasures!³¹ Of what use would sovereignty be to us, O Govinda, or enjoyments, or even life,³² since they for whose sake sovereignty, enjoyments, and pleasures are desired by us, are here arrayed for battle, ready to give up life and wealth,³³ viz, preceptors, sires, sons, and grandsires, maternal uncles, fathers-in-law, grandsons, brothers-in-law, and kinsmen!³⁴ I wish not to slay these though they slay me, O slayer of Madhu, even for the sake of the sovereignty of the three worlds, what then for the sake of (this) earth?*³⁵ What gratification can be ours, O Janārdhana, by slaying the Dhārtarāshtras? Even if they be regarded as foes,† sin will overtake us if we slay them.³⁶ Therefore, it behoveth us not to slay the sons of Dhritarāshtra who are our own kinsmen.‡ How, O Mādhava, can we be happy by killing our own kinsmen?³⁷ Even if these, with judgments perverted by avarice, do not see the evil that ariseth from the extermination of a race, and the sin of internecine quarrels,³⁸ why should not we, O Janārdhana, who see the evils of the extermination of a race, learn to abstain from that sin?³⁹ A race being destroyed, the eternal customs of that race are lost; and upon those customs being lost, sin overpowers the whole race.⁴⁰ From the predominance of sin, O Krishna, the women of that race, become corrupt. And the women becoming corrupt, an intermingling of castes happeneth, O descendant of Vrishni.⁴¹ This intermingling of castes leadeth to hell both the destroyer of the race and the race itself. The ancestors of those fall (from heaven), their rites of *Pinda*

* The meaning is that even for the sake of such a rich reward in prospect I would not kill persons so dear and near to me. I would much rather suffer them to strike me, myself not returning their blows.—T.

† The word is *ātatūyinas*. For explanation *vide* note *ante* page 502, *UDYOGA*.—T.

‡ Most editions read *savāndhavān* "with (their) kinsmen or friends." I think, however, that *sva* (own) for *sa* (with) is the correct reading. K. T. Telang adopts it in his translation published in Vol. VIII of the *Sacred Books of the East*.—T.

and water ceasing.⁴² By these sins of destroyers of races, causing intermixture of castes, the rules of caste and the eternal rites of families, become extinct.⁴³ We have heard, O Janārddana, that men whose family rites become extinct, ever dwell in hell.⁴⁴ Alas, we have resolved to perpetrate a great sin, for we are ready to slay our own kinsmen from lust of the sweets of sovereignty.⁴⁵ Better would it be for me if the sons of Dhritarāshtra, weapon in hand, should in battle slay me, (myself) unavenging and unarmed!⁴⁶—'

"Sanjaya continued,—'Having spoken thus on the field of battle, Arjuna, his mind troubled with grief, casting aside his bow and arrows, sat down on his car.'"⁴⁷

[Here ends the first lesson entitled "Survey of Forces"* in the dialogue between Krishna and Arjuna of the Bhagavadgītā, the essence of religion, the knowledge of *Brahma*, and the system of *Yoga*, comprised within the *Bhishma Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* of Vyasa containing one hundred thousand verses.]

SECTION XXVI.

"Sanjaya said,—'Unto him thus possessed with pity, his eyes filled and oppressed with tears, and desponding, the slayer of Madhu said these words.'¹

"'The holy one said,—'Whence, O Arjuna, hath come upon thee, at such a crisis, this despondency that is unbecoming a person of noble birth, that shuts one out from heaven, and that is productive of infamy?'² Let no effminacy be thine, O son of Kunti! This suits thee not! Shaking off this vile weakness of heart, arise, O chastiser of foes!—'³

"'Arjuna said,—'How, O slayer of Madhu, can I with arrows contend in battle against Bhishma and Drona, deserving as they are, O slayer of foes, of worship?†⁴ Without

* In some editions this lesson is stated to be "Arjuna's grief." The description of the lesson again is given in fewer words.—T.

† The commentators betray their ingenuity by emphasizing the word *ishubhis* (with arrows), explaining "how can I encounter them with arrows whom I cannot encounter with even *harshwords*?"—T.

slaying (one's) preceptors of great glory, it is well (for one), to live on even alms in this world. But slaying preceptors, even if they are avaricious of wealth, I should only enjoy pleasures that are blood-stained :*⁵ We know not which of the two is of greater moment to us, *viz*, whether we should conquer them or they should conquer us. Those slaying whom we would not like to live, even they, the sons of Dhritarāshtra, stand before (us) !⁶ My nature affected by the taint of compassion, my mind unsettled about (my) duty, I ask thee ! Tell me what is assuredly good (for me) ! I am thy disciple ! O, instruct me, I seek thy aid !†⁷ I do not see (that) which would dispel that grief of mine blasting my very senses, even if I obtain a prosperous kingdom on earth without a foe or the very sovereignty of the gods !‡⁸

“Sanjaya said,—‘Having said this unto Hrishikeṣa, that chastiser of foes—Gudākeṣa—(once more) addressed Govinda, saying,—I will not fight,—and then remained silent. §⁹ Unto him overcome by despondency, Hrishikeṣa, in the midst of the two armies, said.¹⁰

“‘The holy one said,—Thou mournest those that deserve not to be mourned. Thou speakest also the words of the (so-called) wise. Those, however, that are (really) wise grieve neither for the dead nor for the living.¹¹ It is not that I or

* *Arthakāmaṇ* is an adjective qualifying *Gurun*. Some commentators, particularly Sreedhara, suggest that it may, instead, qualify *bhogān*. The meaning, however, in that case would be far-fetched.—T.

† Sreedhara explains that *Kārpanya* is compassion (for kinsmen), and *dosha* is the fear of sin (for destroying a race). The first compound, therefore, according to him, means,—“My nature affected by *both* compassion and fear of sin &c.” It is better, however, to take *Karpanya* itself as a *dosha* (taint or fault). K. T. Telang understands it in this way. *Upahata*, however, is *affected* and not *contaminated*.—T.

‡ What Arjuna says here is that “Even if I obtain such a kingdom on Earth, even if I obtain the very kingship of the gods, I do not yet see what will dispel that grief which will overtake me if I slay my preceptor and kinsmen” Telang’s version is slightly ambiguous.—T.

§ the Bengal texts have *Parantapa* with a *Visarga*, thus implying that it refers to *Gadākeṣa*. The Bombay edition prints it without the *Visarga*, implying that it is in the vocative case, referring to Dhritarāshtra the listener.—T.

you or those rulers of men never were, or that all of us shall not hereafter be.¹² Of an embodied being, as childhood, youth, and decrepitude are in this body, so (also) is the acquisition of another body. The man that is wise is never deluded in this.*¹³ The contacts of the senses with their (respective) objects producing (sensations of) heat and cold, pleasure and pain, are not permanent, having (as they do) a beginning and an end. Do thou, O Bhārata, endure them!¹⁴ For the man whom these afflict not, O bull among men, who is the same in pain and pleasure and who is firm in mind, is fit for emancipation.†¹⁵ There is no (objective) existence of anything that is distinct from the soul; nor non-existence of anything possessing the virtues of the soul. This conclusion in respect of both these hath been arrived at by those that know the truths (of things).‡¹⁶ Know that [the soul] to be immortal by which all this [universe] is pervaded. No one can compass the destruction of that which is imperishable.¹⁷ It hath been said that those bodies of the embodied (soul) which is eternal, indestructible and infinite, have an end; Do thou, therefore, fight, O Bhārata!¹⁸ He who thinks it [the soul] to be the slayer and he who thinks it to be the slain, both of them know nothing; for it neither slays nor is slain.¹⁹

* One of the most useful rules in translating from one language into another is to use identical words for identical expressions in the original. In translating, however, from a language like Sanskrit which abounds with synonyms, this is not always practicable without ambiguity. As an example, the word used in 13 is *Dhira*; that used in 11 is *Pandita*. There can be little doubt, however, that *Pandita* and *Dhira* have exactly the same meaning.—T.

† *Amritatva* is really emancipation or non-liability to repeated death or repeated rebirth. To render it as "immortality" is, perhaps, a little slovenly, for every soul is immortal, and this particular section inculcates it.—T.

‡ *Sat*, and *asat* are the two words which must be distinctly understood as they occur often in Hindu philosophy. *Sat* is explained as the real, *i. e.* the soul, or anything as real and permanent as the soul. *Asat* is the reverse of this, *i. e.* the unreal or the Not-soul. What is said here by Krishna is that the unreal have no existence; the real, again, can have no non-existence. Is not this a sort of cosmthetic idealism?—T.

It is never born, nor doth it ever die; nor, having existed, will it exist no more. Unborn, unchangeable, eternal, and ancient, it is not slain upon the body being slain.²⁰ That man who knoweth it to be indestructible, unchangeable, without decay,—how and whom can *he* slay or cause to be slain?²¹ As a man, casting off robes that are worn out, putteth on others that are new, so the Embodied [soul], casting off bodies that are worn out, entereth other bodies that are new.²² Weapons cleave it not, fire consumeth it not; the waters do not drench it, nor doth the wind waste it.²³ It is incapable of being cut, burnt, drenched, or dried up. It is unchangeable, all-pervading, stable, firm, and eternal.²⁴ It is said to be imperceivable, inconceivable, and unchangeable. Therefore, knowing it to be such, it behoveth thee not to mourn (for it).²⁵ Then again even if thou regardest it as constantly born and constantly dead, it behoveth thee not yet, O mighty-armed one, to mourn (for it) thus!²⁶ For, of one that is born, death is certain; and of one that is dead, birth is certain. Therefore, it behoveth thee not to mourn in a matter that is unavoidable.²⁷ All beings (before birth) were unmanifest. Only during an interval (between birth and death), O Bhārata, are they manifest; and then again, when death comes, they become (once more) unmanifest! What grief then is there in this?²⁸ One looks upon it as a marvel; another speaks of it as a marvel. Yet even after having heard of it, no one apprehends, it truly.²⁹ The Embodied [soul], O Bhārata, is ever indestructible in every one's body. Therefore, it behoveth thee not to grieve for all (those) creatures!³⁰ Casting thy eyes on the (prescribed) duties of thy order, it behoveth thee not to waver, for there is nothing else that is better for a Kshatriya than a battle fought fairly.³¹ Arrived of itself and (like unto) an open gate of heaven, happy are those Kshatriyas, O Pārtha, that obtain such a fight!³² But if thou dost not fight such a just battle, thou shalt then incur sin by abandoning the duties of thy order and thy fame!³³ People will then proclaim thy eternal infamy, and to one that is held in respect, infamy is greater (as an evil) than death itself.³⁴ All great car-warriors will regard thee as abstaining from battle from fear, and

thou wilt be thought lightly by those that had (hitherto) esteemed thee highly.³⁵ Thy enemies, decrying thy prowess, will say many words which should not be said. What can be more painful than that?³⁶ Slain, thou wilt attain to heaven; or victorious, thou wilt enjoy the Earth. Therefore, arise, O son of Kunti, resolved for battle!³⁷ Regarding pleasure and pain, gain and loss, victory and defeat, as equal, do battle for battle's sake and sin will not be thine!³⁸ This knowledge that hath been communicated to thee is (taught) in the *Sāṅkhya* (system). Listen now to that (inculcated) in the *Yoga* (system)! Possessed of that knowledge, thou, O Pārtha, wilt cast off the bonds of action!³⁹ In this [the *Yoga* system] there is no waste of even the first attempt. There are no impediments. Even a little of this (form of) piety delivers from great fear!⁴⁰ Here [in this path] O son of Kuru, there is only one state of mind, consisting in firm devotion (to one object, viz, securing emancipation). The minds of those, however, that are not firmly devoted (to this), are many-branched (unsettled) and attached to endless pursuits.⁴¹ That flowery talk which they that are ignorant, they that delight in the words of the *Vedas*, they, O Pārtha, that say that there is nothing else, they whose minds are attached to worldly pleasures, they that regard (a) heaven (of pleasures and enjoyments) as the highest object of acquisition, utter,—(that flowery talk) which promises birth as the fruit of action and which concerns itself with multifarious rites of specific characters for the attainment of pleasures and power,—their hearts being deluded by *that* (flowery talk), the minds of those men who are attached to pleasure and power cannot be directed to contemplation (of the divine being) regarding it as the sole means of eman-

* Most texts read *Yudhāya Yujyasva*. A manuscript belonging to a friend of mine has the correction in red-ink, *Yudhāya Yudhasva*. It accords so well with the spirit of the lesson sought to be inculcated here that I make no scruple to adopt it.—T.

† A life in this world that is subject to decay and death. So all the commentators.—T.

cipation !*⁴²⁻⁴⁴ The *Vedas* are concerned with three qualities, (*viz*, religion, profit, and pleasure). Be thou, O Arjuna, free from them, unaffected by pairs of contraries (such as pleasure and pain, heat and cold, &c.), ever adhering to patience, without anxiety for new acquisitions or protection of those already acquired, and self-possessed.⁴⁵ Whatever objects are served by a tank or well, may all be served by a vast sheet of water extending all around; so whatever objects may be served by all the *Vedas*, may all be had by a Brāhmana having knowledge (of self or *Brahma*).†⁴⁶ Thy concern is with Work only, but not with the fruit (of work). Let not the fruit be thy motive for work; nor let thy inclination be for inaction.⁴⁷ Staying in devotion, apply thyself to work, casting off attachment (to it), O Dhananjaya, and being the same in success or unsuccess. This equanimity is called *Yoga* (devotion).⁴⁸ Work (with desire of fruit) is far inferior to devotion, O Dhananjaya! Seek thou the protection of devotion! They that work for the sake of fruit are miserable.⁴⁹ He who hath devotion throws off, even in this world, both good actions and bad

* What Krishna seeks to inculcate here is the simple truth that persons who believe in the *Vedas* and their ordinances laying down specific acts for the attainment of a heaven of pleasure and power, cannot have that *devotion* without which there cannot be final emancipation which only is the highest bliss. The performance of Vedic rites may lead to a heaven of pleasure and power, but what is that heaven worth? True emancipation is something else which must be obtained by devotion, by pure contemplation. In rendering *Janma-Karma-phalaprādām* I have followed Cankara. Creedhara and other commentators explain it differently.—T.

† This *śloka* has been variously rendered by various translators. It is the same that occurs in the *Sanat-Sujāta Parva* of the *Udyoga*. (*Vide Udyoga*, Section—XLV. Page.—164). Both Creedhara and Cankara (and I may mention Anandagiri also) explain it in this way. Shortly stated, the meaning is that to an instructed Brāhmana (Brahma-knowing person and not a Brāhmana by birth), his knowledge (of self or *Brahma*) teaches him that which is obtainable from all the *Vedas*, just as a man wanting to bathe or drink may find a tank or well as useful to him as a large reservoir of water occupying an extensive area. Nilakantha explains it in a different way. I have noticed it in page 164 of *Udyoga*, *ante*.—T.

actions. Therefore, apply thyself to devotion. Devotion is only cleverness in action!⁵⁰ The wise, possessed of devotion, cast off the fruit born of action, and freed from the obligation of (repeated) birth, attain to that region where there is no unhappiness.⁵¹ When thy mind shall have crossed the maze of delusion then shalt thou attain to an indifference as regards the hearable and the heard.⁵² When thy mind, distracted (now) by what thou hast heard (about the means of acquiring the diverse objects of life), will be firmly and immovably fixed on contemplation, then wilt thou attain to devotion!⁵³—

“Arjuna said,—What, O Keçava, are the indications of one whose mind is fixed on contemplation? How should one of steady mind speak, how sit, how move?⁵⁴—

“The holy one said,—When one casts off all the desires of his heart and is pleased within (his) self with self, then is one said to be of steady mind.⁵⁵ He whose mind is not agitated amid calamities, whose craving for pleasure is gone, who is freed from attachment (to worldly objects), fear, and wrath, is said to be a *Muni* of steady mind.⁵⁶ His is steadiness of mind who is without affection everywhere, and who feelth no exultation and no aversion on obtaining diverse objects that are agreeable and disagreeable.⁵⁷ When one withdraws his senses from the objects of (those) senses as the tortoise its limbs from all sides, even his is steadiness of mind.⁵⁸ Objects of sense fall back from an abstinent person, but not so the passion (for those objects). Even the passion recedes from one who has beheld the Supreme (Being).^{†59} The agit-

* *Crotavyasya Crutasyacha* is literally “of the hearable and the heard,” i. e. “what you may or will hear, and what you have heard.” European translators of the *Gītā* view in these words a rejection of the *Vedas* by the author. It is amusing to see how confidently they dogmatise upon this point, rejecting the authority of Cankara, Creedhara, Anandagiri, and the whole host of Indian commentators. As K. T. Telang, however, has answered the point elaborately, nothing more need be said here.—T.

† One may abstain, either from choice or inability to procure them, from the objects of enjoyment. Until, however, the very desire to enjoy is suppressed, one cannot be said to have attained to steadiness of mind. Of. Aristotle's saying that he is a voluptuary who pines at his own

ing senses, O son of Kunti, forcibly draw away the mind of even a wise man striving hard to keep himself aloof from them.⁶⁰ Restraining them all, one should stay in contemplation, making me his sole refuge ! For his is steadiness of mind whose senses are under control.⁶¹ Thinking of the objects of sense, a person's attachment is begotten towards them. From attachment springeth wrath.⁶² From wrath ariseth want of discrimination ; from want of discrimination, loss of memory ; from loss of memory, loss of understanding ; and from loss of understanding (he) is utterly ruined.⁶³ But the self-restrained man, enjoying objects (of sense) with senses freed from attachment and aversion and under his own control, attaineth to peace (of mind).⁶⁴ On peace (of mind) being attained, the annihilation of all his miseries taketh place, since the mind of him whose heart is peaceful soon becometh steady.*⁶⁵ He who is not self-restrained hath no knowledge (of self). He who is not self-restrained hath no contemplation (of self). He who hath no contemplation hath no peace (of mind). Whence can there be happiness for him who hath no peace (of mind) ?†⁶⁶ For the heart that follows in the wake of the senses moving (among their objects) destroys his understanding like the wind a boat in the waters.‡⁶⁷ Therefore, O thou of mighty arms,

abstinence, and the Christian doctrine of sin being in the wish, mere abstinence from the act constitutes no merit.—T.

* The particle *hi* in the second line is explained by both Cankara and Anandagiri as equivalent to *Yasmāt*. The meaning becomes certainly clearer by taking the word in this sense. The *hi*, however, may also be taken as implying the sense of "indeed."—T.

† *Buddhi* in the first line is explained by Creedhara as *Atmavishayā bhuddhi*. *Bhāvanā*, Creedhara explains, is *Dhyānam* ; and Cankara, as *Atmajñānābhīniveśas*. K. T. Telang renders *Bhāvanā* as perseverance. I do not think this is correct.—T.

‡ Cankara, Anandagiri, and Nilakantha explain this *sloka* thus. Creedhara explains it otherwiss. The latter supposes the pronouns *ya* and *ta* to mean a particular sense among the *Charatām indriyānām*. If Creedhara's interpretation be correct, the meaning would be—"That (one sense) amongst the senses moving (among their objects) which the mind follows, (that one sense) tosseth the mind's (or the man's) understanding about like the wind tossing a (drunken boatman's) boat on the waters." The parenthetical words are introduced by Creedhara himself.

his is steadiness of mind whose senses are restrained on all sides from the objects of sense.⁶⁸ The restrained man is awake when it is night for all creatures ; and when other creatures are awake that is night to a discerning *Muni*.^{*69} He into whom all objects of desire enter, even as the waters enter the ocean which (though) constantly replenished still maintains its water-mark unchanged,—(he) obtains peace (of mind) and not one that longeth for objects of desire.⁷⁰ That man who moveth about, giving up all objects of desire, who is free from craving (for enjoyments), and who hath no affection and no pride, attaineth to peace (of mind).⁷¹ This, O Pārtha, is the divine state. Attaining to it, one is never deluded. Abiding in it one obtains, on death, absorption into the Supreme Self!—’⁷²

SECTION XXVII.

“ ‘Arjuna said,—If devotion, O Janārddana, is regarded by thee as superior to work, why then, O Keçava, dost thou engage me in such dreadful work ?’ By equivocal words thou seemest to confound my understanding. Therefore, tell (me) one thing definitely by which I may attain to what is good !’—

“ ‘The holy one said,—It hath already been said by me, O sinless one, that there are, in this world, two kinds of devotion ; that of the Sāṅkhyas through Knowledge and that of the *Yogins* through Work.’ A man doth not acquire freedom from work from (only) the non-performance of work. Nor doth he acquire final emancipation from only renunciation (of work).⁴ No one can abide even for a moment without doing work, for all persons, constrained by the tendencies of (their) disposition, perform work.†⁵ That man of deluded soul who,

It may not be out of place to mention here that so far as Bengal, Mithilā, and Beneras are concerned, the authority of Creedhara is regarded as supreme.—T.

* The vulgar, being spiritually dark, are engaged in worldly pursuits. The sage in spiritual light is dead to the latter.—T.

† *Prakritijais Gunais* is explained by Creedhara as qualities born of one’s nature such as *Rāgadveshādi*. Cankara thinks that they are the qualities or attributes of primal matter (which enters into the composition of every self) such as *Satwa*, *Rajas*, and *tamas*.—T.

curbing the organs of sense, liveth mentally cherishing the objects of sense, is said to be a dissembler.⁶ He, however, O Arjuna, who restraining (his) senses by his mind, engageth in devotion (in the form) of work with the organs of work, and is free from attachment, is distinguished (above all).⁷ (Therefore), do thou always apply to work, for action is better than inaction. Even the support of thy body cannot be accomplished without work.⁸ This world is fettered by all work other than that which is (performed) for Sacrifice. (Therefore), O son of Kunti, perform work for the sake of *that*, freed from attachment.⁹ In olden times, the Lord of creation, creating men and Sacrifice together, said,—Multiply by means of this [Sacrifice]! Let this [Sacrifice] be to you (all) the dispenser of all objects cherished by you!¹⁰ Rear the gods with this, and let the gods (in return) rear you! Rearing each other, you will obtain that which is beneficial (to you)!¹¹ Reared by sacrifices the gods will bestow on you the pleasures you desire. He who enjoyeth (himself) without giving them what they have given, is assuredly a thief.¹² The good who eat the remnants of sacrifices are freed from all sins. Those unrighteous ones incur sin who dress food for their own sakes.¹³—From food are all creatures; from rain is the production of food; rain is produced from sacrifice; and sacrifice is the outcome of work.¹⁴ Know that work proceeds from the *Vedas*; the *Vedas* have proceeded from Him

* "Apply to work," i. e., to work as prescribed in the scriptures. Thus Cankara. "To morning and evening prayers &c.," says Sreedhara.—T.

† Sacrifice is Vishnu's self as declared by the *Crutis*; work for sacrifice, therefore, is work for Vishnu's sake or gratification. *For the sake of that*, i. e., for sacrifice's or Vishnu's sake. So all the commentators.—T.

‡ *Bhāvaya* is explained by both Cankara and Creedhara as "*Vardhaya*" or "make grow." Perhaps, "rear" is the nearest approach to it in English. K. T. Telang renders it "please." The idea is eminently Indian. The gods are fed by sacrifices, and in return they feed men by sending rain. The *Asuras* again who warred with the gods warred with sacrifices.—T.

§ *Parjanya* is explained by both Cankara and Creedhara as rain. It means also the clouds or the origin of rain.—T

who hath no decay. Therefore, the all-pervading Supreme Being is installed in sacrifice.*¹⁵ He who conformeth not to the wheel that is thus revolving, that man of sinful life delighting in (the indulgence of) his senses, liveth in vain, O Pārtha †¹⁶ The man, however, that is attached to self only, that is contented with self, and that is pleased in his self,—he hath no work (to do).¹⁷ He hath no concern whatever with action nor with any omission here. Nor, amongst all creatures, is there any upon whom his interest dependeth. ‡¹⁸ Therefore, always do work that should be done, without attachment. The man who performeth work without attachment attaineth to the Supreme.¹⁹ By work alone, Janaka and others, attained the accomplishment of their objects. Having regard also to the observance by men of their duties, it behoveth thee to work.²⁰ Whatever one that is great doth, even that Vulgar people do. Whatever he maketh an authority, ordinary men follow that. §²¹ There is nothing whatever for me, O Pārtha, to do in the three worlds, (since I have) nothing to acquire which hath not been acquired; still I engage in action. ¶²² For if at any time I should not, without sloth, engage in action, men would

* The word in the original that is rendered *Vedas* is *Brahma*. It may mean the Supreme Soul. Of course, in Brāhmanic literature, the *Vedas* are *Brahma* and *Brahma* is the *Vedas*, but still in the second line of 15 there is no necessity of taking *Brahma* as equivalent to the *Vedas*. I do not think Telang is accurate in his rendering of this line.—T.

† The wheel referred to is what has been said before, *viz*, from the *Vedas* are work, from work is rain, from rain is food, from food are creatures, from creatures again work, and so back to the *Vedas*.—T.

‡ The sense seems to be, as explained by the commentators, that such a man earns no merit by action, nor sin by inaction or omission. Nor is there anybody, from the Supreme Being to the lowest creature on whom he depends for anything.—T.

§ The example set by the great is always catching. *Itaras* here is. "Vulgar" and not "other." *Kurute* which I have rendered as "maketh" is used in the senses of "regardeth." *Pramānam*, however, may not necessarily mean something else that is set up as authority. It may refer to the actions themselves of the great man set up by him as a standard.—T.

¶ Creedhara would connect "in the three worlds" with what follows. I follow Cankara and the natural order of the words.—T.

follow my path, O Pārtha, on all sides!²³ Then worlds would perish if I did not perform work, and I should cause intermixture of castes and ruin these people.²⁴ As they that are ignorant work, O Bhārata, being attached to work, so should a wise man work without being attached, desiring to make men observant of their duties.²⁵ A wise man should not cause confusion of understanding among ignorant persons who are attached to work; (on the other hand) he should, (himself) acting with devotion, engage them to all (kinds of) work.²⁶ All work is, in every way, done by the qualities of nature. He, however, whose mind is deluded by egoism, regards himself as the actor.²⁷ But he, O mighty-armed one, who knoweth the distinction (of self) from qualities and work, is not attached to work, considering that it is his senses alone (and not his self) that engage in their objects.²⁸ They that are deluded by the qualities of nature, become attached to the works done by the qualities. A person of perfect knowledge should not bewilder those men of imperfect knowledge.²⁹ Resigning all work to me, with (thy) mind directed to self, engage in battle, without desire, without affection, and with thy (heart's) fever dispelled!³⁰ Those men that always follow this opinion of mine with faith and without cavil, attain to final emancipation even by work.³¹ But they who cavil at and do not follow this opinion of mine, know, that, bereft of all knowledge and without discrimination, are

* The word rendered "nature" is *prakṛiti*. It really implies "primal matter."—T.

† The second line, literally rendered, is "deeming that qualities engage in qualities." The first "qualities" imply the senses, and the second, the objects of the senses. The purport is that one knowing the distinction referred to, never thinks that his soul is the actor, for that which is work is only the result of the senses being applied to their objects.—T.

‡ *Guna-karmashu* is explained by Cankara as works of the qualities, or works done by them. Sreedhara explains the compound as "qualities and (their) works."—T.

§ *Resigning all work to me, i. e.* in the belief that all you do is for me or my sake.—T.

ruined.³² Even a wise man acts according to his own nature. All living beings follow (their own) nature. What then would restraint avail?³³ The senses have, as regards the objects of the senses, either affection or aversion fixed. One should not submit to these, for they are obstacles in one's way.³⁴ One's own duty, even if imperfectly performed, is better than another's duty even if well performed. Death in (performance of) one's own duty is preferable, (The adoption of) the duty of another carries fear (with it).³⁵—

“Arjuna said,—Impelled by whom, O son of the Vrishni race, doth a man commit sin, even though unwilling and as if constrained by force?³⁶—

“The holy one said,—It is desire, it is wrath, born of the attribute of passion; it is all devouring, it is very sinful. Know this to be the foe in this world!†³⁷ As fire is enveloped by smoke, a mirror by dust, the foetus by the womb, so is *this*‡ enveloped by desire.³⁸ Knowledge, O son of Kunti, is enveloped by this constant foe of the wise in the form of desire which is insatiable and like a fire.³⁹ The senses, the mind, and the understanding, are said to be its abode. With these it deludeth the embodied self, enveloping (his) Knowledge.⁴⁰ Therefore, restraining (thy) senses first, O bull of Bharata's race, cast off this wicked thing, for it destroyeth knowledge derived from both instruction and meditation.§⁴¹ It hath been said that the senses are superior (to the body which is inert). Superior to the senses is the mind. Superior to the mind is the understanding. But that which is superior to the understanding is *He*¶⁴² Thus knowing that which is

* The senses, as regards their diverse objects in the world, are either drawn towards them or repelled by them. These likes and dislikes (in the case of men who, of course, only act according to their natures) stand in the way of their emancipation if men submit to them.—T.

† Desire, if not gratified, results in wrath. Thus the commentators.—T.

‡ Vide next *stoka*.—T.

§ *Prajahi* is explained by both Cankara and Sreedhara as *parityajasi* (cast off).—T.

¶ *He* is the Supreme Soul or Being.—T.

superior to the understanding, and restraining (thy) self by self, slay, O mighty-armed one, the enemy in the shape of desire which is difficult to conquer !”⁴⁸—

SECTION XXVIII.

“The holy one said,—This imperishable (system of) Devotion I declared to Vivaswat; Vivaswat declared it to Manu; and Manu communicated it to Ikshāku.¹ Descending thus from generation to generation, the royal sages came to know it. But, O chastiser of foes, by (lapse of a) long time that devotion became lost to the world.² Even the same (system of) devotion hath today been declared by me to thee, for thou art my devotee and friend, (and) this is a great mystery.³—

“Arjuna said,—Thy birth is posterior; Vivaswat’s birth is prior, How shall I understand then that thou hadst first declared (it)?⁴—

“The holy one said,—Many births of mine have passed away, O Arjuna, as also of thine! These all I know, but thou dost not, O chastiser of foes!⁵ Though (I am) unborn and of essence that knoweth no deterioration, though (I am) the lord of all creatures, still, relying on my own (material) nature I take birth by my own (powers) of illusion.⁶ Whensoever, O Bhārata, loss of piety occurreth, and the rise of impiety, on those occasions do I create myself.⁷ For the protection of the righteous, for also the destruction of evil-doers, for the sake of establishing piety, I am born age after age.⁸ He that truly knoweth my divine birth and work to be such, casting off (his body) is not born again; (on the other hand) he cometh to me, O Arjuna!⁹ Many who have been freed from attachment, fear, and wrath, who were full of me, and who relied on me, have, cleansed by knowledge and asceticism, attained to my essence.¹⁰ In whatsoever manner men come to me, in the selfsame manner do I accept them. It is my way, O Pārtha, that men follow on all sides.¹¹ They in this

* There can be little doubt that what Krishna says here is that no

world that are desirous of the success of actions worship the gods, for in this world of men the success resulting from action is soon attained.¹² The quadruple division of castes was created by me according to the distinction of qualities and duties. Though I am the author thereof (yet) know me to be not the author and undecaying.*¹³ Actions do not touch me. I have no longing for the fruits of actions. He that knoweth me thus is not impeded by actions.¹⁴ Knowing this, even men of old that were desirous of emancipation performed work. Therefore, do thou also perform work as was done by them of old of olden times.¹⁵ What is action and what inaction,—even the learned are perplexed at this. Therefore, I will tell thee about action (so that) knowing it thou mayst be freed from evil.¹⁶ One should have knowledge of action, and one should have knowledge of forbidden actions; one should also know of inaction. The course of action is incomprehensible.¹⁷ He that sees inaction in action and action in inaction, is wise among men; he is possessed of devotion; and he is a doer of all actions.¹⁸ The learned call him wise whose efforts are all free from desire (of fruit) and (consequent) will, and whose actions have all been consumed by the fire of knowledge†.¹⁹ Whoever, resigning all attachment to the fruit of action, is ever contented and is dependent on none, doeth nought, indeed, although engaged in action.²⁰ He who, without desire, with mind and the senses under control, and casting off all concerns, performeth action

form of worship is unacceptable to him. Whatever the manner of the worship, it is I that am worshipped. After K. T. Telang's exhaustive and effective reply to Dr. Lorinser's strange hypothesis of the *Gītā* having been composed under Christian influences, it is scarcely necessary to add that such toleration would ill-accord with the theory of the Christian authorship of the poem.—T.

* *I. e.* both inactive and undecaying. Work implies exertion and, therefore, loss of energy. In me there is no action, no loss of energy and, therefore, no decay.—T.

† *Kāma-sankalpa vivarjītās, i. e.*, freed from *kāma* (desire of fruit) and *sankalpa* (the consequent will or determination to do). Thus both Sreedhara and Cankara.—T.

only for the preservation of the body, incurreth no sin.*²¹ He who is contented with what is earned without exertion, who hath risen superior to the pairs of opposites, who is without jealousy, who is equable in success and failure, is not fettered (by action) even though he works.²² All his actions perish who acts for the sake of Sacrifice, who is without affections, who is free (from attachments), and whose mind is fixed upon knowledge.†²³ *Brahma* is the vessel (with which the libation is poured); *Brahma* is the libation (that is offered); *Brahma* is the fire on which by *Brahma* is poured (the libation); *Brahma* is the goal to which he proceedeth by fixing his mind on *Brahma* itself which is the action.‡²⁴ Some devotees perform sacrifice to the gods. Others, by means of sacrifice, offer up sacrifice to the fire of *Brahma*.§²⁵ Others offer up (as sacrificial libation) the senses of which hearing is the first to the fire of restraint. Others (again) offer up (as libations) the objects of sense of which sound is the first to the fire of the senses.¶²⁶ Others (again) offer up all the functions of the senses and the functions of the vital winds to the fire of devotion by self-restraint kindled by knowledge.‡²⁷ Others again perform the sacrifice of wealth, the sacrifice of ascetic austerities, the sacrifice of meditation, the sacrifice of (*Vedic*) study, the sacrifice of knowledge, and others are ascetics of rigid vows.||²⁸ Some offer up the upward vital wind (*Prāna*)

* *Chitta* is mind, and *ātmā* in this connection is the senses. Thus both Sreedhara and Cankara.—T.

† Sacrifice means here the Supreme Soul. What is done for the sake of sacrifice is done for procuring emancipation.—T.

‡ What is meant by this is that in the case of such a person complete identification with *Brahma* takes place, and when such an identification has taken place, action is destroyed.—T.

§ *I. e.*, offering up sacrifice itself as a sacrifice to the *Brahma* fire, they cast off all action.—T.

¶ Offering up the senses to the fire of restraint means restraining the senses for the practice of *Yoga*. Offering up the objects of the senses means non-attachment to those objects.—T.

‡ Suspending the functions of life for contemplation or *Yoga*.—T.

|| In these cases the sacrifices consist in the giving away of wealth, in the ascetic austerities themselves, in meditation, in study, &c. Sree-

to the downward vital wind (*apāna*); and others, the downward vital wind to the upward vital wind; some, arresting the course of (both) the upward and the downward vital winds, are devoted to the restraint of the vital winds. Others of restricted rations, offer the vital winds to the vital winds.³² Even all these who are conversant with sacrifice, whose sins have been consumed by sacrifice, and who eat the remnants of sacrifice which are *amrita*, attain to the eternal *Brahma*.³³ (Even) this world is not for him who doth not perform sacrifice. Whence then the other, O best of Kuru's race?³⁴ Thus diverse are the sacrifices occurring in the *Vedas*. Know that all of them result from action, and knowing this thou wilt be emancipated.³⁵ The sacrifice of knowledge, O chastiser of foes, is superior to every sacrifice involving (the attainment of) fruits of action, for all action, O Pārtha, is wholly comprehended in knowledge.³⁶ Learn *that* [Knowledge] by prostration, enquiry, and service. They that are possessed of knowledge and can see the truth will teach thee that knowledge,³⁷ knowing which, O son of Pāndu, thou wilt not again come by such delusion, and by which thou wilt see the endless creatures (of the universe) in thyself (first) and then in me!³⁸ Even if thou beest the greatest sinner among all that are sinful, thou shalt yet cross over all transgressions by the raft of knowledge.³⁹ As a blazing fire, O Arjuna, reduceth fuel to ashes, so doth the fire of knowledge reduce all acitons to ashes.⁴⁰ For there is nothing here that is so cleansing as knowledge. One that hath attained to success by devotion finds it without effort within his own self in time.⁴¹ He obtaineth knowledge who hath faith and is intent on it and who hath his senses under control; obtaining knowledge, one

dhara explains the first compound of the second line differently. According to him, it means, not study *and* knowledge, but the knowledge *derived from* study.—T.

* This *śloka* consists of 3 lines. All these are different kinds of *Yoga*, or the different stages of *Yoga* practice.—T.

† *I. e.*, knowledge being attained, the fruits of action are attained by, at least, their end being compassed.—T.

findeth the highest tranquillity in no length of time.³⁹ One who hath no knowledge and no faith, and whose mind is full of doubt, is lost. Neither this world, nor the next, nor happiness, is for him whose mind is full of doubt.⁴⁰ Actions do not fetter him, O Dhananjaya, who hath cast off action by devotion, whose doubts have been dispelled by knowledge, and who is self-restrained.⁴¹ Therefore, destroying, by the sword of knowledge, this doubt of thine that is born of ignorance and that dwelleth in thy mind, betake to devotion, (and) arise, O son of Bharata ! ”⁴²

SECTION XXIX.

“Arjuna said,—Thou applaudest, O Krishna, the abandonment of actions, and again the application (to them)! Tell me definitely which one of these two is superior !”—

“The holy one said,—Both abandonment of actions and application to actions lead to emancipation. But of these application to action is superior to abandonment.³ He should always be known to be an ascetic who hath no aversion nor desire. For, being free from pairs of opposites, O thou of mighty arms, he is easily released from the bonds (of action).³ Fools say, but not those that are wise, that *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga* are distinct. One who stayeth in even one (of the two) reapeth the fruit of both.⁴⁴ Whatever seat is attained by those that profess the *Sāṅkhya* system, that too is reached by those that profess the *Yoga*. He seeth truly who seeth *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga* as one.†⁵ But renunciation, O mighty armed one, without devotion (to action), is difficult to attain. The ascetic who is engaged in devotion (by action) reacheth the Supreme Being without delay.⁶ He who is engaged in devotion (by action) and is of pure soul, who hath conquered his body and subdued his senses, and who identifieth himself

* *Sāṅkhya* is renunciation of action, while *Yoga* is devotion through action.—T.

† The grammatical form of the word *Yoga* as here employed is exceptional.—T.

with all creatures, is not fettered though performing (actions).*⁸ The man of devotion, who knoweth the truth, thinketh—*I am doing nothing*—when seeing, hearing, touching, smelling, eating, moving, sleeping, breathing, talking, excreting, taking, opening the eyelids or closing them; he regardeth that it is the senses that are engaged in the objects of sense.†⁹⁻⁹ He who, renouncing attachment, engageth in actions, resigning them to *Brahma*, is not touched by sin as the lotus leaf (is not touched) by water.‡¹⁰ They that are devotees, casting off attachment, perform actions for (attaining) purity of self, with the body, the mind, the understanding, and even the senses (free from desire).¹¹ He that is possessed of devotion, renouncing the fruit of action, attaineth to the highest tranquillity. He that is not possessed of devotion and is attached to the fruit of action, is fettered by action performed from desire.¹² The self-restrained embodied (self), renouncing all actions by the mind, remains at ease within the house of nine gates, neither acting himself nor causing (anything) to act.§¹³ The lord is not the cause of the capacity for action, or of the actions of men, or of the connection of actions and (their) fruit, It is nature that engages (in action).¹⁴ The Lord receiveth no one's sin, nor also merit. By Ignorance Knowledge is shrouded. It is for this that creatures are deluded.¹⁵ But of whomsoever that Ignorance hath been destroyed by knowledge of self, that knowledge (which is) like the Sun discloseth the Supreme Being.¹⁶ Those whose mind is on Him, whose very soul is He, who abide in Him, and who have Him for their goal, depart never more to return, their sins being all destroyed by know-

* The first *ātman* is explained as the soul, the second as the body, by all the commentators.—T.

† *Taking* means taking any thing with the hands.—T.

‡ Water when thrown over a lotus leaf escapes without soaking or drenching the leaf at all.—T.

§ Telang renders *Pura* as city. Of course, the body having two eyes, two ears, two nostrils, one mouth, and two openings for excretions, is meant.—T.

ledge.*¹⁷ They that are wise cast an equal eye on a Brāhmana endued with learning and modesty, on a cow, an elephant, a dog, and a *Chandāla*.†¹⁸ Even here has birth been conquered by them whose minds rest on equality; and since *Brahma* is faultless and equable, therefore, they (are said to) abide in *Brahma*.‡¹⁹ He whose mind is steady, who is not deluded, who knows *Brahma*, and who rests in *Brahma*, doth not exult on obtaining anything that is agreeable nor doth he grieve on obtaining anything that is disagreeable.²⁰ He whose mind is not attached to external objects of sense, obtaineth that happiness which is in self; and by concentrating his mind on the contemplation of *Brahma*, he enjoyeth a happiness that is imperishable.²¹ The enjoyments born of the contact (of the senses with their objects) are productive of sorrow. He that is wise, O son of Kunti, never taketh pleasure in these that have a beginning and an end.²² That man who even here, before the dissolution of the body, is able to endure the agitations resulting from desire and wrath, is fixed on contemplation, and is happy.²³ He who findeth happiness within himself, (and) who sporteth within himself, he whose light (of knowledge) is derived from within himself, is a devotee, and becoming one with *Brahma* attaineth to absorption into *Brahma*.²⁴ Those saintly personages whose sins have been destroyed, whose doubts have been dispelled, who are self-restrained, and who are engaged in the good of all creatures, obtain absorption into *Brahma*.²⁵ For those devotees who have been freed from desire and wrath, whose minds are under control, and who have knowledge of self, absorption into *Brahma* exists both here and hereafter.‡²⁶ Excluding (from his mind) all external objects of sense, directing the

* Such men are exempted from the obligation of re-birth. Leaving this body they merge into the Supreme Soul.—T.

† The word is *Swapāka* meaning a member of the lowest caste.—T.

‡ “Brahma is faultless and equable:” so Creedhara, others,—“since faultless equality is Brahma.”—T.

§ The sense is that they are at one with *Brahma* both here and hereafter.—T.

visual glance between the brows, mingling (into one) the upward and the downward life-breaths and making them pass through the nostrils, the devotee, who has restrained the senses, the mind, and the understanding, being intent on emancipation, and who is freed from desire, fear, and wrath, is emancipated, indeed!²⁷⁻²⁸ Knowing me to be the enjoyer of all sacrifices and ascetic austerities, the great Lord of all the worlds, and the friend of all creatures, such a one obtaineth tranquillity!—²⁹

SECTION XXX.

“The holy one said,—Regardless of fruit of action, he that performs the actions which should be performed, is a Renouncer and Devotee, and not one who discards the (sacrificial) fire, nor one that abstains from action.*¹ That which has been called Renunciation, know that, O son of Pāndu, to be Devotion, since nobody can be a Devotee who has not renounced (all) resolves.†² To the sage desirous of rising to Devotion, action is said to be the means; and when he has risen to devotion, cessation of action is said to be the means.³ When one is no longer attached to the objects of the senses, nor to actions, and when one renounces all resolves, then is one said to have risen to Devotion.⁴ One should raise (his) self by self; one should not degrade (his) self; for one’s own self is one’s friend, and one’s own self is one’s enemy.‡⁵ To him (only) who has subjugated his self by his self is self a friend. But to him who has not subjugated his self, his self behaves inimically like an enemy.⁶ The soul of one who has subjugated his self and who is in the enjoyment of tranquillity, is steadily fixed (on itself) amid cold and heat, pleasure and pain, and also honor and dishonor.⁷ That ascetic is said to be devoted whose mind is satisfied with knowledge and experience, who hath no

* Renouncer and devotee, *Sannyāsin* and *Yogin*.—T.

† Which spring from *desire*.—T.

‡ *Self* in this *śloka* is explained by the commentators as *mind*. The mind, unless controlled, cannot lead to devotion.—T.

affection, who hath subjugated his senses, and to whom a sod, a stone, and gold are alike.⁸ He who views equally well-wishers, friends, foes, strangers that are indifferent to him, those that take part with both sides, those that are objects of aversion, those that are related (to him), those that are good, and those that are wicked, is distinguished (above all others).⁹ A devotee should always fix his mind on contemplation, remaining in a secluded place, alone, restraining both mind and body, without expectations (of any kind), and without concern (with anything).^{*10} Erecting his seat immovably on a clean spot, not too high, nor too low, and spreading over it a piece of cloth, a deer-skin, or blades of *Kuça* grass, and there seated on that seat, with mind fixed on one object, and restraining the functions of the heart and the senses, one should practice contemplation for the purification of self.¹¹⁻¹² Holding body, head, and neck even, unmoved, and steady, and casting his glance on the tip of his nose, and without looking about in any of the different directions,¹³ with mind in tranquillity, freed from fear, observant of the practices of *Brahmachārins*, restraining the mind, with heart fixed on me, the devotee should sit down, regarding me as the object of his attainment.¹⁴ Thus applying his soul constantly, the devotee whose heart is restrained, attains to that tranquillity which culminates in final absorption and assimilation with me.¹⁵ Devotion is not one's, O Arjuna, who eateth much; nor one's who doth not eat at all; nor one's who is addicted to too much sleep; nor one's who is always awake.¹⁶ Devotion that is destructive of misery is his who is temperate in food and amusements, who duly exerts himself temperately in all his works, and who is temperate in sleep and vigils.¹⁷ When one's heart, properly restrained, is fixed on one's own self, then, indifferent to all objects of desire, is one called a devotee.^{†18} As a lamp in a windless spot doth not flicker, even

* *Chitta* and *ātma* are explained by the commentators as "mind and body."—T.

† *Fixed on one's own self*, i. e., withdrawn from all objects of sense. Thus Cankara.—T.

that is the resemblance declared of a devotee whose heart hath been restrained and who applieth his self to abstraction.¹⁹ That (condition) in which the mind, restrained by practice of abstraction, taketh rest, in which beholding self by self one is gratified within self;²⁰ in which one experienceth that highest felicity which is beyond the (sphere of the) senses and which the understanding (only) can grasp, and fixed on which one never swerveth from the truth;²¹ acquiring which one regards no other acquisition greater than it, and abiding in which one is never moved by even the heaviest sorrow;²² that (condition) should be known to be what is called Devotion in which there is a severance of connection with pain. That Devotion should be practised with perseverance, and with an undespending heart.*²³ Renouncing all desires without exception that are born of resolves, restraining the entire group of the senses on all sides by mind alone,²⁴ one should, by slow degrees, become quiescent, (aided) by (his) understanding controlled by patience, and then directing his mind to self should think of nothing.†²⁵ Wheresoever the mind, which is (by nature) restless and unsteady, may run, restraining it from those, one should direct it to self alone.²⁶ Indeed, unto such a devotee whose mind is in tranquillity, whose passions have been suppressed, who hath become one with *Brahma* and who is free from sin, the highest felicity cometh (of its own accord).²⁷ Thus applying his soul constantly (to abstraction), the devotee, freed from sin, easily obtaineth that highest happiness, viz, contact with *Brahma*.²⁸ He that hath devoted (his) self to abstraction, casting an equal eye everywhere, beholdeth his self in all creatures and all creatures in his self.²⁹ Unto him that beholdeth me in everything and beholdeth everything in me, I am never lost and he also is never

* *Niçhayena* is explained by Cankara as equivalent to "with perseverance" or steadily. Creedhara explains it as equal to "with the certitude of knowledge acquired by instruction.—T.

† *Dhriti-grahitayā Vuddhyā* is, as explained by Cankara and others, "with understanding controlled by patience." K. T. Telang renders it "with firm resolve coupled with courage."—T.

lost to me.*³⁰ He that worshippeth me as abiding in all creatures, holding (yet) that all is one, is a devotee, and whatever mode of life he may lead, he liveth in me.³¹ That devotee; O Arjuna, who casteth an equal eye everywhere, regarding all things as his own self and the happiness and misery of others as his own, is deemed to be the best.³²—

“Arjuna said,—This devotion by (means of) equanimity which thou hast declared, O slayer of Madhu,—(alas) from restlessness I do not see its stable presence!†³³ O Krishna, the mind is restless, boisterous, perverse, and obstinate. Its restraint I regard to be as difficult of accomplishment as (the restraint) of the wind!³⁴—

“The holy one said,—Without doubt, O thou of mighty arms, the mind is difficult of subjugation and (is) restless. With practice, however, O son of Kunti, and with the abandonment of desire, it is controlled.³⁵ It is my belief that by him whose mind is not restrained, Devotion is difficult of acquisition. But by one whose mind is restrained and who is assiduous, it is capable of acquisition with (the aid of) means.³⁶—

“Arjuna said,—Without assiduity, (though) endued with faith, (and) with mind shaken off from devotion, what is the end of him, O Krishna, who hath not earned success in devotion?³⁷ Fallen off from both, is he lost like a separated cloud or not, being (as he is) without refuge, O thou of mighty-arms, and deluded on the path (leading to *Brahma*)?‡³⁸ This my doubt, O Krishna, it behoveth thee to remove without leaving anything. Besides thee, no dispeller of this doubt is to be had!§³⁹—

“The holy one said,—O son of Prithā, neither here, nor hereafter, doth ruin exist for him, since none, O sire, who

* *I. e.*, I am always visible to him, and he too is always within my sight and I am always kind to him.—T.

† *I. e.*, how its stable existence may be secured, the mind being by nature ever restless.—T.

‡ *Fallen off from both, i. e.*, from heaven (through work) and absorption into *Brahma* (through devotion).—T.

§ *Without leaving anything, i. e.*, entirely.—T.

performs good (acts) comes by an evil end.⁴⁰ Attaining to the regions (reserved) for those that perform meritorious acts, and living there for many many years, he that hath fallen off from devotion taketh birth in the abode of those that are pious and endued with prosperity.⁴¹ Or, he is born even in the family of devotees endued with intelligence. Indeed, a birth such as this is more difficult of acquisition in this world.⁴² There [in those births] he obtaineth contact with that [*Brahmic*] knowledge which was his in his former life; and from that point he striveth again, O descendant of Kuru, towards perfection.⁴³ And although unwilling, he still worketh on in consequence of that same former practice of his. Even one that enquireth of devotion riseth above (the fruits of) the Divine Word.*⁴⁴ Striving with great efforts, the devotee, cleansed of all his sins, attaineth to perfection after many births, and then reacheth the supreme goal.⁴⁵ The devotee is superior to ascetics engaged in austerities; he is esteemed to be superior to even the man of knowledge. The devotee is superior to those that are engaged in action. Therefore, become a devotee, O Arjuna!⁴⁶ Even amongst all the devotees, he who, full of faith and with inner self resting on me, worshippeth me, is regarded by me to be the most devout!—’⁴⁷

SECTION XXXI.

“The holy one said,—Listen, O son of Prithā, how, without doubt, thou mayst know me fully, fixing thy mind on me, practising devotion, and taking refuge in me! I will now, without leaving anything, speak to thee about knowledge and experience, knowing which there would be left nothing in this world (for thee) to know.² One among thousands of men striveth for perfection. Of those even that are assiduous and have attained to perfection, only some one knoweth me

* The Divine Word, i. e., the *Vedas*. So great is the efficacy of Devotion that one merely enquiring of it transcends him who conforms to the rites of the *Vedas*.—T.

truly.* Earth, water, fire, air, space, mind, also understanding, and consciousness,—thus hath my nature been divided eightfold.⁴ This is a lower (form of my) nature. Different from this, know there is a higher (form of my) nature which is animate, O thou of mighty arms, and by which this universe is held.⁵ Know that all creatures have these for their source. I am the productive cause of the entire universe, and also its destroyer.⁶ There is nothing else, O Dhananjaya, that is higher than myself. Upon me is all this woven like a row of pearls on a string.⁷ Taste I am in the waters, O of son Kunti, (and) I am the splendour of both the moon and the sun. I am the *Om* in all the *Vedas*, the sound in space, and the manliness in men.⁸ I am the fragrant odor in earth, the splendour in fire, the life in all (living) creatures, and penance in ascetics.⁹ Know me, O son of Prithā, to be the eternal seed of all beings. I am the intelligence of all creatures endued with intelligence, and the glory of all glorious objects.¹⁰ I am also the strength of all that are endued with strength, (myself) freed from desire and thirst, and, O bull of Bharata's race, I am the desire, consistent with duty, in all creatures.¹¹ And all existences which are of the quality of goodness, and which are of the quality of passion and quality of darkness, know that they are, indeed, from me. I am, however, not in them, but they are in me.¹² This entire universe, deluded by these three entities consisting of (these) three qualities, knoweth not me that am beyond them and undecaying;¹³ since this illusion of mine, depending on the (three) qualities, is exceedingly marvellous and

* Only some one, i. e., very few. For perfection, i. e., for knowledge of self. Thus all the commentators.—T.

† The last word of the first line of this *sloka* is *parām* (higher) and not *aparām* with the initial *a* silent owing to the rules of *Sandhi*. Many of the Bengal texts have *aparām*, not excepting the latest one printed at Calcutta.—T.

‡ *Kāma* which I have rendered desire is explained by Creedhara as the wish for an unattained object; and *rāga* as the longing on thirst for more. The second *Kāma* is explained as desires of the class of love or lust.—T.

highly difficult of being transcended. They that resort to me alone cross this illusion.*¹⁴ Doers of evil, ignorant men, the worst of their species, robbed of their knowledge by (my) illusion and wedded to the state of demons, do not resort to me.¹⁵ Four classes of doers of good deeds worship me, O Arjuna, *viz*, he that is distressed, he that is an enquirer (after me), he that is desirous of wealth, and he, O bull of Bharata's race, who is possessed of knowledge.¹⁶ Of them, he that is possessed of knowledge, being always devoted and having his faith in only One, is superior to the rest, for unto the man of knowledge I am dear above everything, and he also is dear to me.¹⁷ All these are noble. But the man of knowledge is regarded (by me) to be my very self, since he, with soul fixed on abstraction, taketh refuge in me as the highest goal.¹⁸ At the end of many lives, the man possessed of knowledge attaineth to me, (thinking) that *Vāsudeva is all this*. Such a high-souled person, however, is exceedingly rare.¹⁹ They who have been robbed of knowledge by desire, resort to other godheads, observant of diverse regulations and controlled by their own nature.†²⁰ Whatever form (of godhead or myself) any worshipper desireth to worship with faith, that faith of his unto that (form) I render steady.²¹ Endued with that faith, he payeth his adorations to that (form), and obtaineth from *that* all his desires, since all those are ordained by me.‡²² The fruits, however, of those persons endued with little intelligence are perishable. They that worship the divinities go to the divinities, (while) they that worship me come even to me.§²³ They that have no discern-

* *Daivi* is explained by Cankara as divine; by Creedhara as marvellous.—T.

† The diverse desires are about sons, fame, victory over enemies, &c; regulations, such as fasts &c; their own nature, *i. e.* disposition as dependent on the acts of their past lives. Thus all the commentators.—T.

‡ The worshipper obtains his desires, thinking he gets them from the godhead he worships. It is, however, I that give him those.—T.

§ The divinities being perishable, myself imperishable. What these obtain is perishable. What my worshippers obtain is imperishable.—T.

ment regard me who am (really) unmanifest to have become manifest, because they do not know my transcendent and undecaying state than which there is nothing higher.*²⁴ Shrouded by the illusion of my inconceivable power, I am not manifest to all. This deluded world knoweth not me that am unborn and undecaying.²⁵ I know, O Arjuna, all things that have been past, and all things that are present, and all things that are to be. But there is nobody that knoweth me.²⁶ All creatures, O chastiser of foes, are deluded at the time of their birth by the delusion, O Bhārata, of pairs of opposities arising from desire and aversion.²⁷ But those persons of meritorious deeds whose sins have attained their end, being freed from the delusion of pairs of opposites, worship me, firm in their vow (of that worship).²⁸ Those who, taking refuge on me, strive for release from decay and death, know *Brahman*, the entire *Adhyātma*, and action.†²⁹ And they who know me with the *Adhibhuta*, the *Adhidaiva*, and the *Adhiyajna*, having minds fixed on abstraction, know me at the time of their departure (from this world).‡³⁰—

SECTION XXXII.

“Arjuna said,—What is that *Brahman*, what is *Adhyātma*, what is action, O best of male beings? What also has been said to be *Adhibhuta*, and what is called *Adhidaiva*?¹ Who is here *Adhiyajna*, and how, in this body, O slayer of Madhu? And how in the time of departure art thou to be known by those that have restrained their selves?²—

“The holy one said,—*Brahman* is the Supreme and indestructible. *Adhyātma* is said to be its own manifestation.

* The ignorant, without knowledge of my transcendent essence take me to be no higher than what is indicated in my human and other incarnate manifestations. Thus Creedhara.—T.

† *Adhyātman* is explained as all that by which *Brahman* is to be attained. *All actions* means the whole course of duties and practices leading to the knowledge of *Brahman*.—T.

‡ The three words occurring in this *sloka* are explained in the next Section, forming as they do the subject of a question by Arjuna.—T.

The offering (to any godhead in a sacrifice) which causeth the production and development of all this is called action.*³ Adhibhuta is all perishable things. The Adhidaivata is the (primal) male Being. Adhiyajna is I myself in this body, O best of all embodied creatures!⁴ Remembering me alone in (his) last moments, he that, casting off (his) body, departeth (hence), cometh into my essence. There is no doubt in this.⁵ Whichever form (of godhead) one remembereth when one casteth off, at the end, (his) body, unto that one goeth, O son of Kunti, having habitually meditated on it always.⁶ Therefore, think of me at all times, and engage in battle. Fixing thy mind and understanding on me, thou wilt, without doubt, come even to me.⁷ Thinking (of the Supreme) with a mind not running to other objects and endued with abstraction in the form of uninterrupted application, one goeth O son of Prithā, unto the Divine and Supreme male Being.⁸ He who at the time of his departure, with a steady mind, endued with reverence, with power of abstraction, and directing the life-breath called *Prāna* between the eye-brows, thinketh of that ancient Seer, who is the ruler (of all), who is minuter than the minutest atom, who is the ordainer of all, who is inconceivable in form, and who is beyond all darkness, cometh unto that Divine and Supreme male Being.⁹⁻¹⁰ I will tell thee in brief about that seat which persons conversant with the *Vedas* declare to be indestructible, which is entered by ascetics freed from all longings, and in expectation of which (people) practise the vows of *Brahmacharins*.¹¹ Casting off (this) body, he who departeth, stopping up all the doors, confining the mind within the heart, placing his own life-breath called *Prāna* between the eye-brows, resting on continued meditation, uttering this one syllable *Om* which is *Brahman*, and thinking of me, attaineth to the highest goal.¹²⁻¹³ He

* *Bhāva* is production, and *Udbhava* is growth or development. Thus Creedhara.—T.

† All the doors, *i. e.*, the senses. Confining the mind within the heart, *i. e.*, withdrawing the mind from all external objects. *Murdhni* is explained by Creedhara to mean here "between the eyebrows."—T.

who always thinketh of me with mind ever withdrawn from all other objects, unto that devotee always engaged on meditation, I am, O Pārtha, easy of access.¹⁴ High-souled persons who have achieved the highest perfection, attaining to me, do not incur re-birth which is the abode of sorrow and which is transient.¹⁵ All the worlds, O Arjuna, from the abode of *Brahman* downwards, have to go through a round of births. On attaining to me, however, O son of Kunti, there is no re-birth.¹⁶ They who know a day of Brahman to end after a thousand *Yugas*, and a night (of his) to terminate after a thousand *Yugas*, are persons that know day and night.†¹⁷ On the advent of (Brahman's) day everything that is manifest springeth from the unmanifest; and when (his) night cometh, into that same which is called unmanifest all things disappear.¹⁸ That same assemblage of creatures, springing forth again and again, dissolveth on the advent of night, and springeth forth (again), O son of Prithā, when day cometh, constrained (by the force of action, &c.).‡¹⁹ There is, however, another entity, unmanifest and eternal, which is beyond that unmanifest, and which is not destroyed when all the entities are destroyed.²⁰ It is said to be unmanifest and indestructible. They call it the highest goal, attaining which no one hath to come back. That is my Supreme seat.²¹ That Supreme Being, O son of Prithā, He within whom are all entities, and by whom all this is permeated, is to be attained to by reverence undirected to any other object.²² I will tell thee the times, O bull of Bharata's race, in which devotees departing (from this life) go, never to return, or to return.²³ The fire, the light, the day, the lighted fortnight, the six months of the northern solstice, departing during these, persons knowing *Brahma* go

* All these regions being destructible and liable to rebirth, those that live there are equally liable to death and rebirth.—T.

† The meaning, as explained by Creedhara, is that such persons are said to know all, and not those whose knowledge is bounded by the course of the sun and the moon.—T.

‡ In this round of births and deaths, the creatures themselves are not free agents, being all the while subject to the influence of *Karma*, as explained by the commentators.—T.

to *Brahma*.^{*24} Smoke, night, also the dark fortnight, (and) the six months of the southern solstice, (departing) in these, the devotee, attaining to the lunar light, returneth.²⁵ The bright and the dark, these two paths, are regarded to be the eternal (two paths) of the universe. By the one, (one) goeth never to return; by the other, one (going) cometh back.²⁶ Knowing these two paths, O son of Prithā, no devotee is deluded. Therefore, at all times, be endued with devotion, O Arjuna!²⁷ The meritorious fruit that is prescribed for the (study of the) *Vedas*, for sacrifices, for ascetic austerities, and for gifts, a devotee knowing all this (that hath been said here), attaineth to it all, and (also) attaineth the Supreme and Primeval seat.²⁸—

SECTION XXXIII.

“The holy one said,—Now I will tell thee that art without envy that most mysterious knowledge along with experience, knowing which thou wilt be freed from evil!¹ This is a royal science, a royal mystery, highly cleansing, directly apprehensible, consistent with the sacred laws, easy to practise, (and) imperishable.² Those persons, O chastiser of foes, who have no faith in this sacred doctrine, not attaining to me, return to the path of this world that is subject to destruction.³ This entire universe is pervaded by me in my unmanifest form. All entities are in me, but I do not reside in them.* Nor yet are all entities in me. Behold my divine power. Supporting all entities and producing all entities, myself doth not (yet) reside in (those) entities.⁵ As the great and ubiquitous atmosphere always occupieth space, understand that all entities reside in me in the same way.^{†5} All entities, O son of Kuntī, attain to my nature at the close of a *kalpa*. I create them again at the beginning of a *kalpa*.^{†7} Regulating my own

* The commentators explain the words fire, the light, day, &c., as several godheads presiding over particular times.—T.

† The atmosphere occupies space without affecting it or its nature. So all things are in the Supreme Being without affecting him.—T.

‡ My nature, *i. e.*, the unmanifest principle or primal essence.—T.

(independent) nature I create again again this whole assemblage of entities which is plastic in consequence of its subjection to nature.*^s Those acts, however, O Dhananjaya, do not fetter me who sitteth as one unconcerned, being unattached to those acts (of creation).⁹ Through me, the overlooker, primal nature produceth the (universe of) mobiles and imobiles. For this reason, O son of Kuntī, the universe passeth through its rounds (of birth and destruction).†¹⁰ Not knowing my Supreme nature of the great lord of all entities, ignorant people of vain hopes, vain acts, vain knowledge, confounded minds, wedded to the delusive nature of *Asuras* and *Rākshasas*, disregard me (as one) that hath assumed a human body.¹¹⁻¹² But high-souled ones, O son of Prithā, possessed of divine nature, and with minds directed to nothing else, worship me, knowing (me) to be the origin of all entities and indestructible.¹³ Always glorifying me, (or) striving with firm vows, (or) bowing down to me, with reverence and ever devoted, (they) worship me.‡¹⁴ Others again, performing the sacrifice of knowledge, worship me, (some) as one, (some) as distinct, (some) as pervading the universe, in many forms.§¹⁵ I am the *Vedic* sacrifice, I am the sacrifice enjoined in the *Smritis*, I am *Swadhā*, I am the medicament produced from herbs; I am the *mantra*, I am the sacrificial libation, I am the fire, and I am the (sacrificial) offering.¶¹⁶ I am the father of this universe, the mother, the creator, the grandsire; (I am) the thing to be known, the means by which everything is cleansed, the syllable *Om*; the *Rik*, the *Sāman*, and the

* *Prakriti* which I render "nature" is explained by the commentators as *Karma*, the influence of *Karma* or action being universal in settling the form of a particular entity at the time of its creation.—T.

† This reason, *i. e.*, my supervision.—T.

‡ Creedhara says that these are different modes of worship; "with reverence and ever devoted" grammatically refers to each of the three classes of worshippers indicated.—T.

§ Performing the sacrifice of knowledge, *i. e.*, believing *Vāsudeva* to be everything. In many forms, *i. e.* as *Brahman*, *Rudra*, &c.—T.

¶ *Mantra* is the sacred verse or verses used for invoking godheads, and for other purposes.—T.

Yajus; ¹⁷ (I am) the goal, the supporter, the lord, the on-looker, the abode, the refuge, the friend, the source, the destruction, the support, the receptacle, and the indestructible seed.¹⁸ I give heat, I produce and suspend rain; I am immortality, and also death; and I am the existent and the non-existent, O Arjuna!¹⁹ They who know the three branches of knowledge, also drink the *Soma* juice, and whose sins have been cleansed, worshipping me by sacrifices, seek admission into heaven; and these, attaining to the sacred region of the chief of the gods, enjoy in heaven the celestial pleasures of the gods.²⁰ Having enjoyed that celestial world of vast extent, upon exhaustion of (their) merit they (re-)enter the mortal world. It is thus that they who accept the doctrines of the three (*Vedas*) and wish for objects of desire, obtain going and coming.²¹ Those persons who, thinking (of me) without directing their minds to anything else, worship me, of those that are (thus) always devoted (to me) I make them gifts and preserve what they have.²² Even those devotees who, endued with faith, worship other godheads, even they O son of Kunti, worship me alone, (though) irregularly.*²³ I am the enjoyer, as also the lord, of all sacrifice. They, however, do not know me truly; hence they fall off (from heaven).²⁴ They whose vows are directed to the *Pitris* attain to the *Pitris*; who direct (their) worship to the inferior spirits called *Bhuts* attain to *Bhuts*; they who worship me, attain even to myself.²⁵ They who offer me with reverence leaf, flower, fruit, water, that, offered with reverence, I accept from him whose self is pure.†²⁶ Whatever thou doest, whatever eatest, whatever drinkest, whatever givest, whatever austerities thou performest, manage it in such a way, O son of Kunti, that it may be an offering to me.²⁷ Thus mayst thou be freed from the fetters of action having good and evil fruits. With self endued with renunciation and devotion, thou wilt be released and wilt come to me.²⁸ I am alike to all creatures; there is none hateful to me, none dear. They,

* Hence they have to come back, explains Creedhara.—T.

† *Prayātātmanas* is explained as *Cuddhachittasya*.—T.

however, that worship me with reverence are in me and I also am in them.²⁹ If even a person of exceedingly wicked conduct worshippeth me, without worshipping any one else, he should certainly be regarded as good, for his efforts are well-directed.³⁰ (Such a person) soon becometh of virtuous soul, and attaineth to eternal tranquillity. Know, O son of Kūnti, that none devoted to me is ever lost.³¹ For, O son of Prithā, even they who may be of sinful birth, women, Vaiçyas, and also Cudras, even they, resorting to me, attain to the Supreme goal.³² What then (shall I say) of holy Brāhmanas and royal saints that are my devotees? Having come to this transient and miserable world, be engaged in my worship!³³ Fix thy mind on me; be my devotee, my worshipper; bow to me; and thus making me thy refuge and applying thy self to abstraction, thou wilt certainly come to me!³⁴—

SECTION XXXIV.

“The holy one said,—Once more still, O mighty-armed one, listen to my supernal words which, from desire of (thy) good, I say unto thee that wouldst be pleased (therewith).†¹ The hosts of gods know not my origin, nor the great *Rishis*, since I am, in every way, the source of the gods and the great *Rishis*.‡² He that knoweth me as the Supreme Lord of the worlds, without birth and beginning, (he), undeluded among mortals, is free from all sins.³ Intelligence, knowledge, the absence of delusion, forgiveness, truth, self-restraint, and tranquillity; pleasure, pain, birth, death, fear, and also security,⁴ abstention from harm, evenness of mind, contentment, ascetic austerities, gift, fame, infamy, these several attributes of creatures arise from me.⁵ The seven great *Rishis*, the four before (them), and the Manus, partaking of

* *Imān lokān* (this mortal world), Creedhara says, may mean “this form of a royal saint that thou hast.” This is far-fetched.—T

† Telang renders *Paramam* ‘excellent;’ Mr. John Davies, ‘all-important.’ The meaning is, ‘referring to the Supreme Soul’.—T.

‡ Both Cankara and Creedhara explain *Sarvaças* as “in every way,” i. e., as creator, as guide, &c.—T.

my nature, were born from my mind ; of whom in this world are these offspring.*⁶ He that knoweth truly this pre-eminence and mystic power of mine, becometh possessed of unswerving devotion. Of this (there is) no doubt.⁷ I am the origin of all things ; from me all things proceed. Thinking thus, the wise, endued with my nature, worship me.†⁸ Their hearts on me, their lives devoted to me, instructing one another, and glorifying me, they are ever contented and happy.‡⁹ Unto them, always devoted, and worshipping (me) with love, I give that devotion in the form of knowledge by which they come to me.§¹⁰ Of them, for compassion's sake, I destroy the darkness born of ignorance, by the brilliant lamp of knowledge, (myself) dwelling in their souls.¹¹—

“Arjuna said,—Thou art the Supreme *Brahma*, the Supreme abode, the holiest of the holy, the Eternal male Being; Divine, the First of gods, Unborn, the Lord.¹² All the *Rishis* proclaim thee thus, and also the celestial *Rishi* Nārada ; and Asita, Devala, (and) Vyasa ; thyself also tellest me (so).¹³ All this that thou tellest me, O Keçava, I regard as true, since, O holy one, neither the gods nor the Dānavas understand thy manifestations.¹⁴ Thou only knowest thyself by thyself, O best of male Beings ! O Creator of all things, O Lord of all things, O God of gods, O Lord of the Universe!¹⁵ It behoveth thee to declare without any reservation, those divine perfections of thine by which perfections pervading these worlds thou abidest.¹⁶ How shall I, ever meditating, know thee, O thou of mystic powers ! In what particular states mayst thou,

* *Prajās*, offspring, including, as Cankara says, both mobile and immobile, and therefore, *not* mankind alone.—T.

† *Bhāva-samanvitas* is explained by Creedhara as “full of love,” which K. T. Telang accepts. Cankara explains it as “endued with penetration into the knowledge of the Supreme object.”—T.

‡ *Nityam*, ever, is connected with what follows and not what precedes. Thus Creedhara. Mr. Davies connects it with *Kathayantas*.—T.

§ K. T. Telang renders *buddhi-yogam* as knowledge ; Mr. Davies, as mental devotion. Creedhara explains it as *Buddhirupam Yogam* ; and Cankara, as “devotion by especial insight.”—T.

O holy one, be meditated upon by me ?*¹⁷ Do thou again, O Janārdhana, copiously declare thy mystic powers and (thy) perfections, for I am never sated with hearing (thy) nectar (-like words) :¹⁸—

“The holy one said,—Well, unto thee I will declare my divine perfections, by means of the principal ones (among them), O chief of the Kurus, (for) there is no end to the extent of my (perfections).†¹⁹ I am the soul, O thou of curly hair, seated in the heart of every being. I am the beginning, and the middle, and the end also of all beings.²⁰ I am Vishnu among the Ādityas, the resplendent Sun among all luminous bodies; I am Marichi among the Maruts, and the Moon among the constellations.‡²¹ I am the *Sāma-Veda* among the *Vedas*; I am Vāsava among the gods; I am the mind among the senses, I am the intellect in (living) beings.²² I am Cankara among the Rudras, the lord of treasures among the *Yakshas* and the *Rakshas*; I am Pāvaka among the Vasus, and Meru among the peaked (mountains).§²³ Know me, O son of Prithā, to be Vrihaspati the chief of household priests. I am Skanda among commanders of forces. I am Ocean among receptacles of water.²⁴ I am Bhrigu among the great *Rishis*, I am the One, indestructible (syllable *Om*) among words. Of sacrifices I am the *Japa*-sacrifice. Of immobiles I am the

* To know thee fully is impossible. In what particular forms or manifestations, therefore, shall I think of thee? The word *Bhāva* in the second line is rendered “entities” by K. T. Telang, and “form of being” by Mr. Davies.—T.

† *Vistarasya* evidently refers (as explained by all the commentators) to *Vibhutinām*. It is a question of grammar and not of doctrine that there can be any difference of opinion. Mr. Davies, however, renders it “of (my) greatness.” This is inaccurate.—T.

‡ The *Adityas* are the solar deities, twelve in number, corresponding to the twelve months of the year. The *Maruts* are the wind-gods, whose chief is *Marichi*.—T.

§ The *Rudras* are a class of destructive gods, eleven in number. The *Vasus* are an inferior class of deities, eight in number. The lord of treasures is *Kuvera*.—T.

Himavat.*²⁵ I am the fig-tree among all trees, I am Nārada among the celestial *Rishis*. I am Chitraratha among the *Gandharvas*, and the ascetic Kapila among ascetics crowned with *Yoga* success.²⁶ Know me to be Uchchaiṣravas among horses, brought forth by (the churning for) nectar, and Airāvata among princely elephants, and the king among men.²⁷ Among weapons I am the thunderbolt, among cows I am (she called) Kāmadhuk. I am Kandarpa the cause of reproduction, I am Vāsuki among serpents.†²⁸ I am Ananta among Nāgas, I am Varuna among aquatic beings. I am Aryaman among the Pitris, and Yama among those that judge and punish.‡²⁹ I am Prahlāda among the *Daityas*, and Time among things that count. I am the lion among the beasts, and Vinatā's son among winged creatures.³⁰ Of purifiers I am the wind. I am Rāma among wielders of weapons. I am the *Makara* among fishes, and I am Jāhnavi (Gangā) among streams.§³¹ Of created things I am the beginning and the end and also the middle, O Arjuna! I am the knowledge of the Supreme Spirit among all kinds of knowledge, and the disputation among disputants.³²¶ Among letters I am the letter A, and (the compound called) *Dwanda* among all compounds. I am also Time Eternal, and I am the Ordainer with face turned on

* The *Japa*-sacrifice is the sacrifice by meditation which is superior to all sacrifices.—T.

† *Kāmadhuk*, the wish-giving cow called *Surabhi*. The cause of reproduction, *i. e.*, I am not the mere carnal passion, but that passion which procreates or is crowned with fruit.—T.

‡ In 28, Vāsuki is called the chief of the *Sarpas* (serpents); in 29, Ananta is spoken of as the chief of the *Nāgas*. The latter are *Sarpas* as well. Creedhara says that the distinction lies in the fact of the *Nāgas* being without poison. This is hardly correct.—T.

§ *Pavatām* may also mean "of those that have motion." Rāma is Daṣaratha's son, the hero of Vālmiki's poem. Gangā is called *Jāhnavi* because she was, after having been drunk up, let out by the ascetic Jahnu through his knee.—T.

¶ Mr. Davies renders *Vādas Pravadatām* as "the speech of those that speak." K. T. Telang renders it "the argument of controversialists."—T.

every side.*³³ I am Death that seizeth all, and the source of all that is to be. Among females, I am Fame, Fortune, Speech, Memory, Intelligence, Constancy, Forgiveness.³⁴ Of the *Sāma* hymns, I am the *Vrihat-sāma*, (and) *Gāyatri* among metres. Of the months, I am *Mārgaṣirṣha*, of the seasons (I am) that which is productive of flowers.†³⁵ I am the game of dice of them that cheat, and the splendour of those that are splendid. I am Victory, I am Exertion, I am the goodness of the good.³⁶ I am Vāsudeva among the Vrishnis, I am Dhananjaya among the sons of Pāndu. I am even Vyāsa among the ascetics, and Uçanas among seers.³⁷ I am the Rod of those that chastise, I am the Policy of those that seek victory. I am Silence among things that are secret; I am the Knowledge of those that are possessed of Knowledge.³⁸ That which is the Seed of all things, I am that, O Arjuna! There is nothing, mobile or immobile, which can exist without me.³⁹ There is no end, O chastiser of foes, of my divine perfections. This recital of the extent of (those) perfections hath been uttered by me by way (only) of instancing them.⁴⁰ Whatever of exalted things (there is), or glorious, or strong, understand thou that everything is born of a portion of my energy.⁴¹ Or rather, what hast thou to do, by knowing all this in detail, O Arjuna? Supporting this entire universe with only a portion (of myself), I stand !†' "⁴²—

* A, or rather the sound of A as in fall, is the initial letter of the Sanskrit alphabet. Of compounds, the *Dwanda*, or the copulative compound, is enumerated first. In other respects again, the *Dwanda* is the best kind of compound for the words forming it are co-ordinate, without one being dependent on the other or others.—T.

† The *Vrihat-sāman* is said to be the best, because leading to emancipation at once. Thus Cankara. The *Mārgaṣirṣha* is the month from the middle of November to the middle of December. Productive of flowers, *i. e.*, the Spring.—T.

‡ Mr. Davies renders the last line of this verse as "I have established in continuance all this universe by one part of myself." This is both obscure and inaccurate.—T.

SECTION XXXV.

“Arjuna said,—This discourse about the supreme mystery, called Adhyātman, which thou hast uttered for my welfare, hath dispelled this my delusion.*¹ For I have heard from thee at large of the creation and dissolution of beings, O thou of eyes like lotus petals, and also of thy greatness that knoweth no deterioration!² What thou hast said about thyself, O great Lord, is even so. O best of male Beings, I desire to behold thy sovereign form!³ If, O Lord, thou thinkest that I am competent to behold that (form), then, O Lord of mystic power, show me thy eternal Self!†⁴—

“The holy one said,—Behold, O son of Prithā, my forms, by hundreds and thousands, various, divine, diverse in hue and shape!⁵ Behold the Āditayas, the Vasus, the Rudras, the Aṅwins, and the Maruts! Behold, O Bhārata, innumerable marvels unseen before (by thee)!⁶ Behold, O thou of curly hair, the entire universe of mobiles and immobiles, collectd together in this body of mine, and whatever else thou mayst wish to see!‡⁷ Thou art, however, not competent to behold me with this eye of thine. I give thee celestial sight. Behold my sovereign mystic nature!⁸—

“Sanjaya continued,—‘Having said this, O monarch, Hari, the mighty Lord of mystic power, then revealed to the son of Prithā his Supreme sovereign form,⁹ with many mouths and eyes, many wondrous aspects, many celestial ornaments, many celestial weapons uplifted,¹⁰ wearing celestial garlands and robes, (and) with unguents of celestial fragrance, full of every wonder, resplendent, infinite, with faces turned on all

* Adhyātman, *i. e.*, the relation between the Supreme and the individual soul. This my delusion, *i. e.*, about my being the slayer.—T.

† *Ayayam* is that which has no decay. Ordinarily, it may be rendered “eternal.” Telang renders it “inexhaustible.” Else where I have rendered it “undeteriorating.”—T.

‡ *Ekaśtam*, lit., “all in one,” *i. e.*, collected together.—T.

sides.*¹¹ If the splendour of a thousand suns were to burst forth at once in the sky, (then) that would be like the splendour of that Mighty one.¹² The son of Pāndu then beheld there in the body of that God of gods the entire universe divided and subdivided into many parts, all collected together.†¹³ Then Dhananjaya, filled with amazement, (and) with hair standing on end, bowing with (his) head, with joined hands addressed the God.¹⁴

“ ‘Arjuna said,—I behold all the gods, O God, as also all the varied hosts of creatures, (and) Brahman seated on (his) lotus seat, and all the *Rishis* and the celestial snakes.¹⁵ I behold thee with innumerable arms, stomachs, mouths, (and) eyes, on every side, O thou of infinite forms! Neither end, nor middle, nor also beginning of thine do I behold, O Lord of the universe, O thou of universal form!¹⁶ Bearing (thy) diadem, mace, and discus, a mass of energy, glowing on all sides, do I behold thee that art hard to look at, endued on all sides with the effulgence of the blazing fire or the Sun, (and) immeasurable!¹⁷ Thou art indestructible, (and) the Supreme object of this universe. Thou art without decay, the guardian of eternal virtue! I regard thee to be the eternal (male) Being!¹⁸ I behold thee to be without beginning, mean, end, to be of infinite prowess, of innumerable arms, having the Sun and the Moon for thy eyes, the blazing fire for thy mouth, and heating this universe with energy thy own!¹⁹ For the space betwixt Heaven and Earth is pervaded by thee alone, as also all the points of the horizon! At sight of this marvellous and fierce form of thine, O Supreme Soul, the tripple world trembleth!²⁰ For these hosts of gods are entering thee! Some, afraid, are praying with joined hands. Saying *Hail to thee*—the hosts of great *Rishis* and *Siddhas*

* *Devam* is explained by Creedhara as *Dyotanātmakam*, i. e., endued with splendour. Mr. Davies renders it resplendent; but Telang renders it “deity.”—T.

† *Pra-vibhaktam-anskadhā* (divided diversely) is an adjective of *Jagat*. See Creedhara. Both Mr. Davies and Telang seem to take it as a predicate in contra-distinction to *Ekastham*. This is scarcely correct.—T.

praise thee with copious hymns of praise.*²¹ The Rudras, the Ādityas, the Vasus, they that are (called) the Sāddhyas, the Viçwas, the Açiwins, the Maruts, also the Ushmapas, the Gandharvas, the Yakshas, the Asuras, the hosts of Siddhyas, behold thee and are all amazed.²² Beholding thy mighty form with many mouths and eyes, O mighty-armed one, with innumerable arms, thighs, and feet, many stomachs, (and) terrible in consequence of many tusks, all creatures are affrighted and I also.²³ Indeed, touching the very skies, of blazing radiance, many-hued, mouth wide open, with eyes that are blazing and large, beholding thee, O Vishnu, with (my) inner soul trembling (in fright), I can no longer command courage and peace of mind!²⁴ Beholding thy mouths that are terrible in consequence of (their) tusks, and that are fierce (as the all-destroying fire at the end of the *Yuga*), I cannot recognise the points of the horizon nor can I command peace of mind. Be gracious, O God of gods, O thou that art the refuge of the Universe!²⁵ And all these sons of Dhritarāshtra, together with the hosts of kings, and Bhishma, and Drona, and also this *Suta's* son (Karna), accompanied by even the principal warriors of our side,²⁶ are quickly entering thy terrible mouths rendered fierce by thy tusks! Some, with their heads crushed, are seen striking at the interstices of (thy) teeth.²⁷ As many currents of water flowing through different channels roll rapidly towards the ocean, so these heroes of the world of men enter thy mouths that flame all around.²⁸ As moths with increasing speed rush for (their own) destruction to the blazing fire, so also do (these) people, with unceasing speed, enter thy mouths for (their) destruction.²⁹ Swallowing all these men from every side, thou lickest them with thy flaming mouths! Filling the whole universe with (thy) energy, thy fierce splendours, O Vishnu, are heating (everything).³⁰ Tell me who thou art of (such) fierce form! I bow to thee, O chief of the gods, be gracious

* Verse 21 is read differently. For *Twām Surasanghā*, some texts read *twā-Asurasanghas*. Then again for *Stuvanti* in the second line some read *Vikshate*.—T.

to me! I desire to know thee that art the Primeval one, for I do not understand thy actions! *³¹—

“The holy one said,—I am Death, the destroyer of the worlds, fully developed! I am now engaged in slaying the race of men. Without thee, all these warriors standing in the different divisions shall cease to be.†³² Wherefore, arise, gain glory, (and) vanquishing the foe, enjoy (this) swelling kingdom. By me have all these been already slain! Be only (my) instrument, O thou that canst draw the bow with (even) the left hand.³³ Drona and Bhishma, and Jayadratha, and Karna, and also other heroic warriors, (already) slain by me, do thou slay. Be not dismayed, fight; thou shalt conquer in battle (thy) foes! ”³⁴—

“Sanjaya continued,—‘Hearing these words of Keçava, the diadem-decked (Arjuna), trembling, (and) with joined hands, bowed (unto him); and once more said unto Krishna, with voice choked up and overwhelmed with fear, and making his salutations (to him).’³⁵

“‘Arjuna said,—It is meet, O Hrishikeça, that the universe is delighted and charmed in uttering thy praise, and the *Rākshasas* flee in fear in all directions, and the hosts of the *Siddhas* bow down (to thee):’³⁶ And why should they not bow down to thee, O Supreme Soul, that art greater than even Brahman (himself), and the primal Cause? O thou that art Infinite, O God of the gods, O thou that art the refuge of the universe, thou art indestructible, thou art that which *is*, and that which *is not*, and that which is beyond (both).’³⁷

* *Pravṛitti* is explained by both Cankara and Creedhara as *Chestā*, *i. e.*, movements, or acts. Mr. Davies is, I think, not correct in taking it to mean “evolved or developed form.”—T.

† *Kāla* here is death. Mr. Davies renders it *Time*, following some other translators. *Pravṛiddha* is not (as Mr. Davies renders it) “old” or “very old,” but swelling or fully developed. Then again. Mr. Davies commits a ludicrous blunder in rendering *Rite tvām* as “Except thee.” This is one of those idioms at which a foreigner is sure to stumble who has only the lexicons for his guide. What Krishna says is not that all would perish save Arjuna, but that without Arjuna (*i. e.* even if he did not fight) all would perish.—T.

Thou art the First God, the ancient (male) Being, thou art the Supreme refuge of this universe. Thou art the Knower, thou art the Object to be known, thou the highest abode. By thee is pervaded this universe, O thou of infinite form!³⁸ Thou art Vāyu, Yama, Agni, Varuna, Moon, Prajāpati, and Grandsire! Obeisance be to thee a thousand times, and again and yet again obeisance to thee!³⁹ Obeisance to thee in front, and also from behind! Let obeisance be to thee from every side, O thou that art all! Thou art all, of energy that is infinite, and prowess that is immeasurable! Thou embracest the All!⁴⁰ Regarding (thee) a friend whatever hath been said by me carelessly, such as—O Krishna, O Yādava, O friend,—not knowing this thy greatness, from want of judgment or from love either,⁴¹ whatever disrespect hath been shown thee for purpose of mirth, on occasions of play, lying, sitting, (or) at meals, while alone or in the presence of others, O undeteriorating one, I beg thy pardon for it, O thou that art immeasurable!⁴² Thou art the father of this universe of mobiles and immobiles! Thou art the great master deserving of worship! There is none equal to thee, how can there be one greater, O thou whose power is unparalleled in even the three worlds?⁴³ Therefore, bowing (to thee) prostrating (my) body, I ask thy grace, O Lord, O adorable one! It behoveth thee, O God, to bear (my faults) as a father (his) son's, a friend (his) friend's, a lover (his) loved one's!⁴⁴ Beholding (thy form) unseen before, I have been rejoiced, (yet) my mind hath been troubled, with fear! Show me that (other ordinary) form, O god! Be gracious, O Lord of the gods, O thou that art the refuge of the universe!⁴⁵ (Decked) in diadem, and (armed) with mace, discus in hand, as before, I desire to behold thee! Be of that same four-armed form, O thou of a thousand arms, O thou of universal form!⁴⁶—

“The holy one said,—Pleased with thee, O Arjuna, I

* *Nidhānam* is either refuge or support or abode or receptacle. Mr. Davies incorrectly renders it “treasure-house.”—T.

† Cankara accepts the reading *Gururgariyān*. Creedhara takes it as *Gurorgariyān*. In either case the difference in meaning is not material.—T.

have, by my (own) mystic power, shown thee this Supreme form, full of glory, Universal, Infinite, Primeval, which hath been seen before by none else save thee!⁴⁷ Except by thee alone, O hero of Kuru's race, I cannot be seen in this form in the world of men by any one else, (aided) even by the study of the *Vedas* and of sacrifices, by gifts, by actions, (or) by the severest austerities.*⁴⁸ Let no fear be thine, nor perplexity of mind, at seeing this awful form of mine. Freed from fear, with a joyful heart, behold thou again that other form!—⁴⁹

“Sanjaya continued,—‘Vāsudeva, having said all this to Arjuna, once more showed (him) his own (ordinary) form, and that high-souled one, assuming once more (his) gentle form, comforted him who had been afflicted.⁵⁰

“‘Arjuna said,—Beholding this gentle human form of thine, O Janārdhana, I have now become of right mind and have come to my normal state.⁵¹—

“‘The holy one said,—This form of mine which thou hast seen is difficult of being seen. Even the gods are always desirous of becoming spectators of this (my) form.⁵² Not by the *Vedas*, nor by austerities, nor by gifts, nor by sacrifices, can I be seen in this form of mine which thou hast seen.⁵³ By reverence, however, that is exclusive (in its object), O Arjuna, I can in this form be known, seen truly, and attained to, O chastiser of foes!⁵⁴ He who doth everything for me, who hath me for his supreme object, who is freed from attachment, who is without enmity towards all beings, even he, O Arjuna, cometh to me!⁵⁵—’ ”

SECTION XXXVI.

“‘Arjuna said,—Of those worshippers who, constantly devoted, adore thee, and those who (meditate) on thee as the Indestructible and Unmanifest, who are best acquainted with devotion ?!—

“‘The holy one said,—Fixing (their) mind on me, they that

* Cankara connects *Adhyayana* with *Veda* and *Yajna*. This seems to be the right explanation.—T.

constantly adore me, being endued (besides) with the highest faith, are deemed by me to be the most devoted.² They, however, who worship the Indestructible, the Indescribable, the Unmanifest, the All-pervading, the Inconceivable, the Indifferent, the Immutable, the Eternal,³ who, restraining the entire group of the senses, are equal-minded in respect of all around and are engaged in the good of all creatures, (also) attain to me.⁴ The trouble is the greater for those whose minds are fixed on the Unmanifest; for the path to the Unmanifest is hard to find by those that are embodied.⁵ They (again) who, reposing all action on me (and) regarding me as their highest object (of attainment), worship me, meditating on me with devotion undirected to anything else, of them whose minds are (thus) fixed on me, I, without delay, become the deliverer from the ocean of (this) mortal world.⁶⁻⁷ Fix thy heart on me alone, place thy understanding on me. Hereafter then shalt thou dwell in me. (There is) no doubt (in this).⁸ If, however, thou art unable to steadily fix thy heart on me, then, O Dhananjaya, strive to obtain me by devotion (arising) from continuous application.⁹ If thou beest unequal to even (this) continuous application, then let actions performed for me be thy highest aim. Even performing all thy acts for my sake, thou wilt obtain perfection.¹⁰ If even this thou art unable to do, then resorting to devotion in me, (and) subduing thy soul, abandon the fruit of all action.¹¹ Knowledge is superior to application (in devotion); meditation is better than knowledge; the abandonment of the fruit of action (is better) than meditation; and tranquillity (results) immediately from abandonment.¹² He who hath no hatred for any creature, who is friendly and compassionate also, who is free from egoism, who hath no vanity, who is alike in pleasure and pain, who is forgiving, contented, always devoted, of subdued soul, firm of purpose, with heart and understanding fixed on me, even he is dear to me.¹³⁻¹⁴ He through whom the world is not troubled, (and) who is not troubled by the world, who

* *Ata urddham* is 'after this,' or 'hereafter,' and not "hereafter on high" as Mr. Davies renders it.—T.

is free from joy, wrath, fear, and anxieties, even he is dear to me.¹⁵ That devotee of mine who is unconcerned, pure, diligent, unconnected (with worldly objects), and free from distress (of mind), and who renounceth every action (for fruit), even he is dear to me.*¹⁶ He who hath no joy, no aversion, who neither grieveth nor desireth, who renounceth both good and evil, (and) who is full of faith in me, even he is dear to me.¹⁷ He who is alike to friend and foe, as also in honor and dishonor, who is alike in cold and heat, (and) pleasure and pain, who is free from attachment,¹⁸ to whom censure and praise are equal, who is taciturn, who is contented with anything that cometh (to him), who is homeless, of steady mind and full of faith, even that man is dear to me.¹⁹ They who resort to this righteousness (leading to) immortality which hath been (already) declared,—those devotees full of faith and regarding me as the highest object (of their acquisition),—are the most dear to me.²⁰—”

SECTION XXXVII.

“The holy one said,—This body, O son of Kuntī, is called *Kshetra*. Him who knoweth it, the learned call *Kshetrajna*.†¹ Know me, O Bhārata to be *Kshetrajna* in all *Kshetras*. The knowledge of *Kshetra* and *Kshetrajna* I regard to be (true) knowledge.² What that *Kshetra* (is), and what (it is) like, and what changes it undergoes, and whence (it comes), what is he (*viz*, *Kshetrajna*), and what his powers, hear from me in brief.³ All this hath in many ways been sung separately, by *Rishis* in various verses, in well-settled texts fraught with reason and giving indications of *Brahman*.⁴ The great elements, egoism, intellect, the unmanifest (*viz*,

* Although the limitation “for fruit” does not occur in the text yet, it is evident, it should be understood. Krishna does not recommend the total abandonment of actions, but their abandonment for fruit. Mr. Davies renders *ārambha* as “enterprise.”—T.

† The learned, *i. e.*, they that are themselves acquainted with what is *Kshetra* and what not. As explained by Krishna himself below, *Kshetra* is Matter, and *Kshetrajna* is Soul.—T.

Prakriti), also the ten senses, the one (*manas*), the five objects of sense,⁵ desire, aversion, pleasure, pain, body, consciousness, courage,—all this in brief hath been declared to be *Kshetra* in its modified form.⁶ Absence of vanity, absence of ostentation, abstention from injury, forgiveness, uprightness, devotion to preceptor, purity, constancy, self-restraint,⁷ indifference to objects of sense, absence of egoism, perception of the misery and evil of birth, death, decrepitude, and disease,⁸ freedom from attachment, absence of sympathy for son, wife, home, and the rest, and constant equanimity of heart on attainment of good and evil,⁹ unswerving devotion to me without meditation on anything else, frequenting of lonely places, distaste for concourse of men,[†]¹⁰ constancy in the knowledge of the relation of the individual self to the Supreme, perception of the object of the knowledge of truth,—all this is called Knowledge; all that which is contrary to this is Ignorance.[‡]¹¹ That which is the object of knowledge I will (now) declare (to thee), knowing which one obtaineth immortality. [It is] the Supreme *Brahma* having no beginning, who is said to be neither existent nor non-existent;¹² whose hands and feet are on all sides, whose eyes, heads, and faces are on all sides, who hears on all sides, who dwells pervading everything in the world,¹³ who is possessed of all the qualities of the senses (though) devoid of the senses, without attachment (yet) sustaining all things, without attributes (yet) enjoying (all) attributes,[§]¹⁴ without and within all creatures, immobile and mobile, not knowable because of (his) subtlety, remote yet near,¹⁵ undistributed in all beings, (yet) remaining as if distributed, who is the sustainer of (all) beings, the absor-

* *Duskha-doshā* is explained by both Cankara and Creedhara as a *Dwanda* compound.—T.

† *Vivikta* is explained by the commentators as *Cuddha* or *Chittaprasādhakara*. There can be no doubt, however, that it is in opposition to *Jānasamsadī* following. Hence I render it "lonely."—T.

‡ The object of the knowledge of truth is the despoiling of ignorance and the acquisition of happiness.—T.

§ Not having eyes &c, yet seeing &c.; without attributes, yet having or enjoying all that the attributes give.—T.

ber, and the creator (of all);¹⁶ who is the light of all luminous bodies, who is said to be beyond all darkness; who is Knowledge, the Object of knowledge, the End of knowledge; and seated in the hearts of all.¹⁷ Thus *Kshetra*, and Knowledge, and the Object of knowledge, have been declared (to thee) in brief. My devotee, knowing (all) this, attaineth to assimilation with me.¹⁸ Know that Nature and Spirit are both without beginning; (and) know (also) that all modifications and all qualities spring from Nature.*¹⁹ Nature is said to be the source of the workings of causes and effects; Spirit is said to be the source of the capacity of enjoying pleasures and pains.†²⁰ For Spirit, dwelling in nature, enjoyeth the qualities born of nature. The cause of its births in good or evil wombs is (its) connection with the qualities.‡²¹ The Supreme *Purusha* in this body is said to be surveyor, approver, supporter, enjoyer, the mighty lord, and also the Supreme Soul.§²² He who thus knows Spirit, and Nature, with the qualities, in whatever state he may be, is never born again.²³ Some by meditation behold the Self in the Self by the self; others, by devotion according to the *Sāṅkhya* system; and others (again), by devotion through works.²⁴ Others yet, not knowing this, worship, hearing of it from others. Even

* All modifications, *i. e.* of material forms; all qualities, *i. e.* pleasure, pain, &c.. The word rendered "nature" is *Prakṛiti* (primal matter), and that rendered "spirit" is *Purusha* (the active principle). *Vikāraṇ* and *Gunān* include all material forms and attributes of the soul.—T.

† *Kārya-kāraṇa-kartritva* is explained by both Cankara and Creeḍhara to mean "the capacity of working (residing) in the body and the senses." K. T. Telang adopts this. Mr. Davies in his text has "in the activity of the organs of action." In course of his philological notes, however, he gives the correct rendering. "Is said to be" is explained by Creeḍhara as referring to Kapila and others.—T.

‡ It is the embodied spirit only that can enjoy the qualities of Nature. Then again, the kind of connection it has with those qualities settles its birth in good or evil wombs.—T.

§ M. Davies misunderstands the grammatical connection of the words in the second line of this verse. K. T. Telang, following Creeḍhara, renders *anumantri* as "adviser." It seems to me that if Creeḍhara be followed, the word should be rendered "approver."—T.

these, devoted to what is heard, cross over death.*²⁵ What-
 ever entity, immobile or mobile, cometh into existence, know
 that, O bull of Bharata's race, to be from the connection of
Kshetra and *Kshetrajna* (matter and spirit).²⁶ He seeth
 (truly) who seeth the Supreme Lord dwelling alike in all
 beings, the Imperishable in the Perishable.²⁷ For seeing the
 Lord dwelling alike everywhere, one doth not destroy himself
 by himself, and then reacheth the highest goal.†²⁸ He seeth
 (truly) who seeth all actions to be wrought by Nature alone in
 every way and the Self likewise to be not the doer.²⁹ When
 one seeth the diversity of entities as existing in One, and the
 issue (of everything) from that (One), then is one said to
 attain to *Brahma*.³⁰ This inexhaustible Supreme Self, O son
 of Kunti, being without beginning and without attributes,
 doth not act, nor is stained even when stationed in the body.³¹
 As space, which is ubiquitous, is never, in consequence of its
 subtlety, tainted, so the soul, stationed in every body, is never
 tainted.‡³² As the single Sun lights up this entire world, so
 the Spirit, O Bhārata, lights up the entire (sphere of) mat-
 ter.³³ They that, by the eye of knowledge, know the distinc-
 tion between matter and spirit, and the deliverance from the
 nature of all entities, attain to the Supreme.³⁴§—'

SECTION XXXVIII.

"The holy one said,—I will again declare (to thee) that
 supernal (science) of sciences, that excellent science, knowing

* What is heard, *i. e.*, the *Crutis* or the sacred doctrines.—T.

† Destroying self by self is to be deprived of true knowledge.—T.

‡ *Sarvatra* in the second line is explained by Creedhara as "in every
 body, superior and inferior." Grammatically it may mean also, "in
 every part of the body." Such a theory, however, of the seat of the
 soul would be contrary to all Hindu ideas.—T.

§ *Bhuta-prakriti-moksha* is explained by both Cankara and Cree-
 dhara as *moksha* or deliverance from the *prakriti* (nature) of *bhutas* or
 entities. It is true knowledge that effects such deliverance. Mr. Da-
 vies renders it "deliverance of beings from nature." This is evidently
 incorrect. "Beings" is not synonymous with self or soul.—T.

which all the the *munis* have attained to the highest perfection from (the fetters of) this (body).^{*1} Resorting to this science, and attaining to my nature, they are not reborn even on (the occasion of) a (new) creation and are not disturbed at the universal dissolution.² The mighty *Brahma* is a womb for me. Therein I place the (living) germ. Thence, O Bhārata, the birth of all beings taketh place.³ Whatever (bodily) forms, O son of Kunti, are born in all wombs, of them *Brahma* is the mighty womb, (and) I (am) the seed-impacting Sire.†⁴ Goodness, Passion, Darkness, these qualities, born of Nature, bind down, O thou of mighty arms, the eternal Embodied [Soul] in the body.⁵ Amongst these, Goodness, from its unsullied nature, being enlightening and free from misery, bindeth (the soul), O sinless one, with the attachment of happiness and of knowledge.‡⁶ Know that Passion, having desire for its essence, is born of thirst and attachment. That, O son of Kunti, bindeth the Embodied [Soul] by the attachment of work.⁷ Darkness, however, know, is born of Ignorance, (and) bewilders all Embodied [Souls]. That bindeth, O Bhārata, by error, indolence, and sleep.⁸ Goodness uniteth (the soul) with pleasure; Passion, O Bhārata, with work; but Darkness, veiling knowledge, uniteth with error.⁹ Passion and Darkness, being repressed, Goodness remaineth, O Bhārata! Passion and Goodness (being repressed), Darkness (remaineth); (and) Darkness and Goodness (being repressed), Passion (remaineth).¹⁰ When in this body, in all its gates, the light of knowledge is produced, then should one know that Goodness hath been developed there.¹¹ Avarice, activity, performance of works, want of tranquillity, desire,—these, O bull of Bharata's race, are born when Passion is developed.¹² Gloom, inactivity, error, and delusion also,—these, O son of Kuru's

* *Itas* is explained by Creedhara as "from the fetters of this body."—T.

† Creedhara makes *mahat* an adjective of *yoni*; Cankara makes it an adjective of *Brahma*. K. T. Telang follows Cankara.—T.

‡ Happiness and Knowledge are attributes of the mind, not of the Soul. Hence, when attached to the Soul, they are as fetters from which the Soul should be freed. Thus the commentators.—T.

race, are born when Darkness is developed.¹³ When the holder of a body goeth to dissolution while Goodness is developed, then he attaineth to the spotless regions of those that know the Supreme.¹⁴ Going to dissolution when Passion prevails, one is born among those that are attached to work. Likewise, dissolved during Darkness, one is born in wombs that beget the ignorant.¹⁵ The fruit of good action is said to be good and untainted. The fruit, however, of Passion, is misery; (and) the fruit of Darkness is ignorance.¹⁶ From Goodness is produced Knowledge; from Passion, avarice; (and) from Darkness are error and delusion, and also ignorance.¹⁷ They that dwell in Goodness go on high; they that are addicted to Passion dwell in the middle; (while) they that are of Darkness, being addicted to the lowest quality, go down.¹⁸ When an observer recognises none else to be an agent save the qualities, and knows That which is beyond (the qualities), he attains to my nature.¹⁹ The Emdodied [Soul], by transcending these three qualities which constitute the source of all bodies, enjoyeth immortality, being freed from birth, death, decrepitude, and misery.*²⁰—

“Arjuna said,—What are the indications, O Lord, of one who hath transcended these three qualities? What is his conduct? How also doth one transcend these three qualities?²¹—

“The holy one said,—He who hath no aversion for light, activity, and even delusion, O son of Pāndu, when they are present, nor desireth them when they are absent,†²² who, seated as one unconcerned, is not shaken by those qualities; who sitteth and moveth not, thinking that it is the qualities (and *not* he) that are engaged (in their respective functions);²³ to whom pain and pleasure are alike; who is self-contained, and to whom a sod of earth, a stone, and gold are alike; to whom the agreeable and the disagreeable are

* *Deha samudbhava* is explained by the commentators as “having their *samudbhava* or *parināma* in *deha*.” It is an instance of the *Vahuvrihi* compound.—T.

† Light, activity, and delusion are the three qualities as indicated by their effects.—T.

the same ; who hath discernment ; to whom censure and praise are the same ;²⁴ to whom honor and dishonor are the same ; who regardeth friend and foe alike ; who hath renounced all exertion ; is said to have transcended the qualities.²⁵ He also who worshippeth Me with exclusive devotion, he, transcending those qualities, becometh fit for admssion into the nature of *Brahma*.²⁶ For I am the stay of *Brahma*, of immortality, of indestructibility, of eternal piety, and of unbroken felicity !—’ ”²⁷

SECTION XXXIX.

“ The holy one said,—They say that the *Açwattha*, having its roots above and branches below, is eternal. Its leaves are the *Chhandas*. He who knoweth it, knoweth the *Vedas* !† Downwards and upwards are stretched its branches which are enlarged by the qualities ; its sprouts are the objects of sense. Downwards its roots, leading to action, are extended to this world of men.‡ Its form cannot here (below) be thus known, nor (its) end, nor (its) beginning, nor (its) support. Cutting, with the hard weapon of unconcern, this *Açwattha* of roots firmly fixed,³ then should one seek for that place repairing

* *Pratishthā* is explained by Cankara as “something on which another (here *Brahma*) stays or rests.” Creedhara explains it as *Pratimā*. Telang, following Creedhara, renders it “embodiment ;” Mr. Davies, as “seat.” *Amritasya*, and *Avyayasya* are taken separately by the commentators.—T.

† The *Açwattha* is the sacred Indian fig tree, here emblematical of the course of worldly life. Its roots are above ; those roots are the Supreme Being. Its branches are below, these being the inferior deities. Its leaves are the sacred hymns of the *Vedas*, *i. e.*, as leaves keep the trees alive and even conduce to its fruits, so the *Vedas* support this tree and lead to salvation.—T.

‡ Upwards and downwards, *i. e.*, from the highest to the lowest of created things. Enlarged by the qualities, *i. e.*, the qualities appearing as the body, the senses, &c. The sprouts are the objects of sense, being attached to the senses themselves as sprouts to branches. The roots extending downwards are the desires for diverse enjoyments. Thus Telang, following the commentators.—T.

whither one returneth not again, (thinking)—I will seek the protection of that primeval Sire from whom the ancient course of (worldly) life hath flowed.⁴—Those that are free from pride and delusion, that have subdued the evil of attachment, that are steady in the contemplation of the relation of the Supreme to the individual Self, from whom desire hath departed, freed from the pairs of opposites known by the names of pleasure and pain (and the like), repair, undeluded, to that eternal seat.⁵ The Sun lighteth not That [Seat], nor the Moon, nor Fire. Whither going none returneth, That is my Supreme Seat.⁶ An eternal portion of Me it is which, becoming an individual soul in the world of life, draweth to itself the (five) senses with the mind as the sixth which all depend on Nature.⁷ When the sovereign (of this bodily frame) assumeth or quitteth (a) body, it departeth taking away these, like the wind (taking away) perfumes from their seats.⁸ Presiding over the ear, the eye, (the organs of) touch, taste, and smell, and also over the mind, he enjoyeth all objects of sense.⁹ They that are deluded do not see (him) when quitting or abiding in (the body), when enjoying or joined to the qualities. They (however) see that have the eye of knowledge.*¹⁰ Devotees exerting (towards that end) behold him dwelling in themselves. They (however) that are senseless and whose minds are not restrained, behold him not, even while exerting (themselves).†¹¹ That splendour dwelling in the Sun which illumines the vast universe, that (which is) in the Moon, and that (which is) in the Fire, know that splendour to be of Me.¹² Entering into the Earth I uphold creatures by My force; and becoming the

* Joined to the qualities, *i. e.*, perceiving objects of sense or experiencing pleasure and pain.—T.

† “Atmani” in the first line is “in the body” as explained by Creehdhara and others: “in the understanding” as explained by Cankara. It seems, however, to be used in the general sense of “themselves,” without particular reference to either body or understanding. An *Akṛitātman* is one whose soul is not made or formed; generally, “a person of unsubdued passions.”—T.

juicy moon I nourish all herbs.*¹³ Myself becoming the vital heat (*Vaiṣvānara*) residing in the bodies of creatures that breathe, (and) uniting with the upward and the downward life-breaths, I digest the four kinds of food.†¹⁴ I am seated in the hearts of all. From Me are Memory and Knowledge and the loss of both. I am the Object of knowledge to be known by (the aid of) all the *Vedas*. I am the author of the *Vedāntas*, and I alone am the knower of the *Vedas*.‡¹⁵ There are these two entities in the world, *viz*, the Perishable and the Imperishable. The Perishable is all (these) creatures. The unchangeable one is called the Imperishable.§¹⁶ But there is another, the Supreme Being, called *Paramātman*, who as the Eternal Lord, pervading the three worlds, sustaineth (them).¹⁷ (And) since I transcend the Perishable, and am higher than even the Imperishable, for this I am celebrated in the world (among men) and in the *Veda* as *Puruṣhottama* (the Highest Being).¹⁸ He who, without being deluded, knoweth Me as this Highest Being,—he, knowing all, O Bhārata, worshippeth Me in every way.¶¹⁹ Thus, O sin-

* There can be no question that *Soma* here means the moon and not the *Soma* juice quaffed in sacrifices, or ssp. It is the moon that supports and nourishes all herbs. Numerous passages may be quoted from Hindu sacred literature to show this. Mr. Davies, therefore, clearly errs in rendering *Soma* as “the savoury juice.”—T.

† The four kinds of food are that which is masticated, that which is sucked, that which is licked, and that which is drunk.—T.

‡ *Apoḥanam* is loss or removal. It is a well-known word and its application here is very natural. I am memory and knowledge (to those that use them for virtuous acts). I am the loss of these faculties (to those that engage in unrighteous acts). Mr. Davies erroneously renders it “the power of reason.”—T.

§ *Kutastha* is rendered by K. T. Telang as “the unconcerned one;” by Mr. Davies as “the lord on high.” I incline to those scholiasts who explain it as “the uniform or the unchangeable one.”—T.

¶ *Sarvabhāvena* is explained by Cankara as *Sarvātma-chintayā* (thinking Me to be the soul of everything). Creedhara explains it as *Sarva-prakārena*. Why may it not mean “with the whole soul” or “with excess of love?”—T.

less one, hath this knowledge, forming the greatest of mysteries, hath been declared by Me (to thee)! Knowing this, O Bhārata, one will become gifted with intelligence, and will have done all he need do!—' "20

SECTION XL.

“The holy one said,—Fearlessness, purity of heart, perseverance in (the pursuit of) knowledge and *Yoga* meditation, gifts, self-restraint, sacrifice, study of the *Vedas*, ascetic penances, uprightness,*¹ abstention from injury, truth, freedom from anger, renunciation, tranquillity, freedom from reporting other's faults, compassion for all creatures, absence of covetousness, gentleness, modesty, absence of restlessness,² vigor, forgiveness, firmness, cleanliness, absence of quarrelsomeness, freedom from vanity,—these become his, O Bhārata, who is born to godlike possessions.³ Hypocrisy, pride, conceit, wrath, rudeness, and ignorance, are, O son of Prithā, his who is born to demoniac possessions.⁴ Godlike possessions are deemed to be for deliverance; the demoniac for bondage. Grieve not, O son of Pāndu, for thou art born to godlike possessions.⁵ (There are) two kinds of created beings in this world, *viz*, the godlike and the demoniac. The godlike have been described at length. Hear now from me, O son of Prithā, about the demoniac.⁶ Persons of demoniac natures know not inclination or disinclination. Neither purity, nor good conduct, nor truth, exists in them.†⁷ They say that the universe is void of truth, of guiding principle, (and) of ruler; produced by the union of one another (male and

* I adopt Cankara's explanation of the last compound of the first line of this *sloka*. Creedhara explains it differently.—T.

† *Pravritti* I render “inclination,” and *Nivritti* as “disinclination.” The inclination is, as all the commentators explain, towards righteous actions, and the disinclination, consequently, is about all unrighteous actions. K. T. Telang renders these words as “action” and “inaction.” Mr. Davies, following the French version of Burnouf, takes them to mean “the creation and its end.”—T.

female) from lust, and nothing else.* Depending on this view, these men of lost self, little intelligence, and fierce deeds, these enemies (of the world), are born for the destruction of the universe.*⁹ Cherishing desires that are insatiable, and endued with hypocrisy, conceit, and folly, they adopt false notions through delusion and engage in unholy practices.¹⁰ Cherishing boundless thoughts limited by death (alone), and regarding the enjoyment of (their) desires as the highest end, they are persuaded that *that* is *all*.¹¹ Fettered by the hundred nooses of hope, addicted to lust and wrath, they covet to obtain unfairly hoards of wealth for the gratification of their desires.¹²—This hath been obtained by me today,—This wish I will obtain,—This wealth I have,—This (wealth) will be mine in addition,¹³—This foe hath been slain by me,—I will slay even others,—I am lord,—I am the enjoyer,—I am successful, powerful, happy,¹⁴—I am rich and of noble birth,—Who else is there that is like me?—I will sacrifice,—I will make gifts,—I will be merry,—thus deluded by ignorance,¹⁵ tossed about by numerous thoughts, enveloped in the meshes of delusion, attached to the enjoyment of objects of desire, they sink into foul hell.¹⁶ Self-conceited, stubborn, filled with the pride and intoxication of wealth, they perform sacrifices that are nominally so, with hypocrisy and against the (prescribed) ordinance.¹⁷ Wedded to vanity, power, pride, lust, and wrath, these revilers hate Me in their own bodies and those of others.¹⁸ These haters (of Me), cruel, the vilest among men, and unholy, I hurl continually down into demoniac wombs.¹⁹ Coming into demoniac wombs, deluded birth after birth, they, O son of Kunti, without attaining to Me, go down to the vilest state.²⁰ Threefold is the way to hell, ruinous to the self, *viz.* lust, wrath, likewise avarice. Therefore, these three one should renounce.²¹ Freed from these three gates of darkness, a man, O son of Kunti, works out his own welfare, and then repairs to the highest goal.²² He who, abandoning the ordinances of the

* Cankara seems to connect the genitive *Jagatas* with *ahitas*. Cree-
dhara connects it (which is natural) with *Kshayāya*, which I accept.—T.

scripture, acts only under the impulses of desire, never attains to perfection, nor happiness, nor the highest goal.²³ Therefore, the scriptures should be thy authority in determining what should be done and what should not be done. It behoveth thee to do work here, having ascertained what hath been declared by the ordinances of the scriptures.¹ ²⁴

SECTION XLI.

“Arjuna said,—What is the state, O Krishna, of those who, abandoning the ordinances of the scriptures, perform sacrifices endued with faith? Is it one of Goodness, or Passion, or Darkness?—¹

“The holy one said,—The faith of embodied (creatures) is of three kinds. It is (also) born of their (individual) natures. It is Good, Passionate, and Dark. Hear now these.² The faith of one, O Bhārata, is conformable to his own nature. A being here is full of faith; and whatever is one's faith, one is even that.³ They that are of the quality of Goodness worship the gods; they that are of the quality of Passion, (worship) the *Yakshas* and the *Rakshas*; other people that are of the quality of Darkness worship departed spirits and hosts of *Bhutas*.⁴ Those people who practise severe ascetic austerities not ordained by the scriptures, given up to hypocrisy and pride, and endued with desire, attachment, and violence,⁵—those persons possessed of no discernment, torturing the groups of organs in (their) bodies and Me also seated within (those) bodies,—should be known to be of demoniac resolves!⁶ Food which is dear to all is of three kinds. Sacrifice, penance, and gifts are likewise (of three kinds). Listen to their distinctions as follows.⁷ Those kinds of food that increase life's period, energy, strength, health, well-being, and joy, which are savoury, oleaginous, nutritive, and agreeable, are liked by the Good.⁸ Those kinds of food which are bitter, sour, salted, over-hot, pungent, dry, and burning, and which produce pain, grief and disease, are desired by the Passionate.⁹ The food which is cold, without savour, stinking, and cor-

rupt, and which is even refuse, and filthy, is dear to men of Darkness.¹⁰ That sacrifice is good which, being prescribed by the ordinance, is performed by persons without any longing for the fruit (thereof) and the mind being determined (to it under the belief) that its performance is a duty.¹¹ But that which is performed in expectation of fruit and even for the sake of ostentation, know that sacrifice, O chief of the sons of Bharata, to be of the quality of Passion!¹² That sacrifice which is against the ordinance, in which no food is dealt-out, which is devoid of *mantras* (sacred verse), in which no fees are paid to the Brāhmanas assisting at it, and which is void of faith, is said to be of the quality of Darkness.¹³ Reverence to the gods, regenerate ones, preceptors, and men of knowledge, purity, uprightness, the practices of a *Brahmachārin*, and abstention from injury, are said to constitute the penance of the body.¹⁴ The speech which causeth no agitation, which is true, which is agreeable and beneficial, and the diligent study of the *Vedas*, are said to be the penance of speech.¹⁵ Serenity of the mind, gentleness, taciturnity, self-restraint, and purity of the disposition,—these are said to be the penance of the mind.¹⁶ This three-fold penance performed with perfect faith, by men without desire of fruit, and with devotion, is said to be of the quality of Goodness.¹⁷ That penance which is performed for the sake of (gaining) respect, honor, and reverence, with hypocrisy, (and) which is unstable and transient, is said to be of the quality of Passion.¹⁸ That penance which is performed under a deluded conviction, with torture of one's self, and for the destruction of another, is said to be of the quality of Darkness.¹⁹ That gift which is given because it ought to be given, to one who cannot return any service for it, in a proper place, at a proper time, and to a proper person, is said to be of the quality of Goodness.²⁰ That, however, which is given reluctantly, for return of services (past or expected), or even with an eye to fruit,—that gift is said to be of the quality of Passion.²¹ In an unfit place and at an unfit time, the gift that is made to an unworthy object, without respect, and with contempt, is said to be of the quality of Darkness.²² *OM, TAT, SAT*, this is said to be

the threefold designation of *Brahma*. By That [*Brahma*], the Brahmanas, and the *Vedas*; and the Sacrifices, were ordained of old.²³ Therefore, uttering the syllable *OM*, the sacrifices, gifts, and penances, prescribed by the ordinance, of all utterers of *Brahma* begin.²⁴ Uttering *TAT*, the various rites of sacrifice, penance, and gifts, without expectation of fruit, are performed by those that are desirous of deliverance.²⁵ *SAT* is employed to denote existence and goodness. Likewise, O son of Prithā, the word *SAT* is used in any auspicious act.²⁶ Constancy in sacrifices, in penances, and in gifts, is also called *SAT*; and an act, too, for the sake of *That* is called *SAT*.²⁷ Whatever oblation is offered (to the fire), whatever is given away, whatever penance is performed, whatever is done, without faith, is, O son of Prithā, said to be the opposite of *Sat*; and that is nought both here and hereafter.—’†²⁸

SECTION XLII.

“Arjuna said,—Of Renunciation, O thou of mighty arms, I desire to know the true nature, and also of Abandonment, O lord of the senses, distinctly, O slayer of Keçi!—†¹

“The holy one said,—The rejection of works with desire is known by the learned as Renunciation. The abandonment of the fruit of all work, the discerning call Abandonment.² Some wise men say that work (itself) should be abandoned as evil; others (say) that the works of sacrifice, gifts, and

* *That* evidently refers to sacrifice, penance, and gift, in the clause before. The commentators, however, suggest that it may, besides, refer to *Brahma*. I am myself not sure that it does *not* refer to *Brahma*.—T.

† What the author wishes to lay down in these verses is that the words *OM*, *TAT*, and *SAT*, have each their respective uses. When used as directed here, such use cures the defects of the respective actions to which they are applied, it being understood that all three denote *Brahma*.—T.

‡ *Sanyāsa* I render Renunciation. K. T. Telang does the same. Mr. Davies renders it “abstention.” So *Tyāga* I render “Abandonment.” Mr. Davies renders it “renunciation.” What the two words, however, mean is explained fully in the verses that follow.—T.

penance, should not be abandoned.³ As to that abandonment, listen to my decision, O best of the sons of Bharata, for Abandonment, O tiger among men, hath been declared to be of three kinds.⁴ The works of sacrifice, gifts, and penance, should not be abandoned. They should, indeed, be done. Sacrifice, gift, and penance, are the purifications of the wise.⁵ But even those works should be done, abandoning attachment and fruit. This, O son of Prithā, is my excellent and decided opinion.⁶ The renunciation of an act prescribed (in the scriptures) is not proper. Its abandonment (is) from delusion, (and) is (therefore) declared to be of the quality of Darkness.*⁷ (Regarding it) as (a source of) sorrow, when work is abandoned from (fear of) bodily pain, one making such an abandonment which is of the quality of Passion, never obtaineth the fruit of Abandonment.⁸ (Regarding it) as one that should be done, when † work that is prescribed (in the scriptures) is done, O Arjuna, abandoning attachment and fruit also, that abandonment is deemed to be of the quality of Goodness.⁹ Possessed of intelligence and with doubts dispelled, an abandoner that is endowed with the quality of Goodness hath no aversion for an unpleasant action and no attachment to pleasant (ones). ‡¹⁰ Since actions cannot be absolutely abandoned by an embodied person, (therefore), he who abandons the fruit of actions is truly said to be an Abandoner.¹¹ Evil, good, and mixed,—action hath (this) threefold fruit hereafter for those that do not abandon. But there is none whatever for the Renouncer.§¹² Listen from me, O thou of

* Both Cankara and Creedhara explain the second line as consisting of two propositions, the connecting verb *bhavati* or *bhavet* being understood.—T.

† I have used "when" for "whatever" to make the sentence grammatical.—T.

‡ Mr. Davies, giving the sense correctly, does not follow the true order of the subject and the predicate. Following Lassen, he renders *kūçala* and *akuçala* as "prosperous" and "unprosperous;" for *medhāvi* K. T. Telang has "talented" which has not the sanction of good usage.—T.

§ That is, as Creedhara explains, one who hath renounced the fruit of actions.—T.

mighty arms, to these five causes for the completion of all actions, declared in the *Sāṅkhya* treating of the annihilation of actions.*¹³ (They are) substratum, agent, the diverse kinds of organs, the diverse efforts severally, and with them the deities as the fifth.†¹⁴ With body, speech, or mind, whatever work, just or the reverse, a man undertakes, these five are its causes.¹⁵ That being so, he that, owing to an unrefined understanding, beholdeth his own self as solely the agent, he, dull in mind, beholdeth not.¹⁶ He that hath no feeling of egoism, whose mind is not sullied, he, even killing all these people, killeth not, nor is fettered (by action).‡¹⁷ Knowledge, the object of Knowledge, and the Knower, form the threefold impulse of action. Instrument, action, and the agent, form the threefold complements of action.§¹⁸ Knowledge, action, and agent, are declared in the enumeration of qualities to be threefold, according to the difference of qualities. Listen to these also duly.¶¹⁹ That by which One Eternal Essence is viewed in all things, undivided in the divided, know *that* to be knowledge having the quality of Goodness.²⁰ That knowledge which discerneth in all things diverse essences of different kinds, in consequence of their separateness, know that that knowledge hath the quality of Passion.²¹ But that which is

* *Kritānte*; Cankara takes it as an adjective of *Sāṅkhya*, and thinks that the reference is to the *Vedānta*. Creedhara also seems to be of the same opinion.—T.

† The substratum is the body. The agent is the person that thinks himself to be the actor. The organs are those of perception, &c.. The efforts are the actions of the vital winds *Prāna* &c.. The deities are those that preside over the eye and the other senses. The deities have no place in Kapila's system. Hence, if it is not the *Vedānta*, some system materially based upon Kapila's and recognising the interference of the deities, seems to be indicated. *Atra* is explained by Creedhara as equivalent to "among or with these." I think, however, it means, "are here," i. e., "are enumerated here, or, in this connection."—T.

‡ Hath no feeling of egoism, i. e., doth not regard himself as the doer. Sullied, i. e., by the taint of desire of fruit.—T.

§ Mr. Davies, I think, is right in rendering *Samgrahas* as "complement." K. T. Telang renders it as equivalent to "in brief."—T.

¶ In the enunciation of qualities, i. e., in the *Sāṅkhya* system.—T.

attached to (each) single object as if it were the whole, which is without reason, without truth, and mean, that (knowledge) hath been said to be of the quality of Darkness.²² The action which is prescribed (by the scriptures), (done) without attachment, performed without desire and aversion, by one who longeth not for (its) fruit, is said to be of the quality of Goodness.²³ But that action which is done by one seeking objects of desire, or by one filled with egoism, and which is attended with great trouble, is said to be of the quality of Passion.²⁴ That action which is undertaken from delusion, without regard to consequences, loss, injury (to others), and (one's own) power also, is said to be of the quality of Passion.²⁵ The agent who is free from attachment, who never speaketh of himself, who is endued with constancy and energy, and is unmoved by success and defeat, is said to be of the quality of Goodness.²⁶ The agent who is full of affections, who wisheth for the fruit of actions, who is covetous, endued with cruelty, and impure, and who feeleth joy and sorrow, is declared to be of the quality of Passion.*²⁷ The agent who is void of application, without discernment, obstinate, deceitful, malicious, slothful, desponding, and procrastinating, is said to be of the quality of Darkness.†²⁸ Hear now, O Dhananjaya, the three-fold division of Intellect and of Constancy, according to their qualities, which I am about to declare exhaustively and distinctly.²⁹ The intellect which knoweth action and inaction, what ought to be done and what ought not to be done, fear and fearlessness, bondage and deliverance, is, O son of Prithā, of the quality of Goodness.³⁰ The intellect by which one imperfectly discerneth right and wrong, that which ought to be done and that which ought not to be done, is, O son of Prithā, of the quality of Passion.³¹ That intellect which, shrouded by darkness, regardeth wrong to be right, and all things as reversed, is, O son of Prithā, of the quality of Darkness.³²

* Full of affections, *i. e.*, for children, &c., as Creedhara.—T.

† *Prākṛita* which I have rendered "without discernment" following Creedhara, may be, as Mr. Davies renders it, "vulgar." *Naishkrūtika* is not "negligent" as Mr. Davies renders it, but "malicious."—T

That unswerving Constancy by which one controls the functions of the mind, the life-breaths, and the senses, through devotion, that Constancy is, O son of Prithā, of the quality of Goodness.^{33*} But that Constancy, O Arjuna, by which one holds to religion, desire, and profit, through attachment, desiring fruit, that Constancy, O son of Prithā, is of the quality of Passion.³⁴ That through which an undiscerning person abandons not sleep, fear, sorrow, despondency, and folly, that Constancy is deemed to be of the quality of Darkness.³⁵ Hear now from me, O bull of Bharata's race, of the three kinds of happiness. That in which one findeth pleasure from repetition (of enjoyment), which bringeth an end to pain,³⁶ which is like poison first but resembleth nectar in the end, that happiness born of the serenity produced by a knowledge of self, is said to be of the quality of Goodness.^{†37} That which is from the contact of the senses with their objects, which resembleth nectar first but is like poison in the end, that happiness is held to be of the quality of Passion.³⁸ That happiness which in the beginning and in its consequences deludeth the soul, and springeth from sleep, indolence, and stupidity, that is described to be of the quality of Darkness.³⁹ There is not, either on earth or in heaven among the gods, the entity that is free from these three qualities born of nature.⁴⁰ The duties of Brāhmanas, Kshatriyas, and Vaiçyas, and of Cudras also, O chastiser of foes, are distinguished by (these three) qualities born of nature.⁴¹ Tranquillity, self-restraint, ascetic austerities, purity, forgiveness, rectitude, knowledge, experience, and belief (in an existence hereafter),—these are the duties of Brāhmanas, born of (their proper) nature.⁴² Bravery, energy, firmness, skill, not flying.

* Mr. Davies makes "unswerving" an adjective of "devotion." This is wrong, for *Ayabhichārinīyā* (unswerving) is a feminine instrumental, and must qualify *Dhṛitīyā*.—T.

† *Atma-budhi-prasādam*. K. T. Telang, following an alternative explanation offered by Cankara, renders it "clear knowledge of the self." Mr. Davies renders it "the serenity of one's own mind." I follow Cree-dhara.—T.

away from battle, liberality, the bearing of a ruler,—these are the duties of Kshatriyas, born of (their proper) nature.⁴³ Agriculture, tending of cattle, and trade, are the natural duties of Vaiçyas. Of Cudras also, the natural duty consists in servitude.⁴⁴ Every man, engaged in his own duties, attains to perfection. Hear now how one obtains perfection by application to his duties.⁴⁵ Him from Whom are the movements of all beings, Him by Whom this All is pervaded, worshipping him by (the performance of) one's own duty, one obtaineth perfection.⁴⁶ Better is one's own duty though performed faultily than another's duty well-performed. Performing the duty prescribed by (one's own) nature, one incurreth no sin.⁴⁷ One must not abandon, O son of Kunti, one's natural duty though tainted with evil, for all actions are enveloped by evil like fire by smoke.⁴⁸ He whose mind is unattached everywhere, who hath subdued his self, and whose desires have departed, obtaineth, through Renunciation, the supreme perfection of freedom from work.⁴⁹ Learn from me, only in brief, O son of Kunti, how one, having obtained (this kind of) perfection, attaineth to *Brahma* which is the supreme end of knowledge.⁵⁰ Endued with a pure mind, and restraining his self by constancy, renouncing sound and other objects of sense, and casting off affection and aversion,⁵¹ he who resideth in a lonely place, eateth little, and restraineth speech, body, and mind, who is ever intent on meditation and abstraction, who hath recourse to indifference,⁵² who, abandoning egoism, violence, pride, lust, wrath, and (all) surroundings, hath been freed from selfishness and is tranquil (in mind), becometh fit for assimilation with *Brahma*.⁵³ Becoming one with *Brahma*, tranquil in spirit, (such a) one grieveth not, desireth not; alike to all beings, he obtaineth the highest devotion to Me.⁵⁴ By (that) devotion he truly understandeth Me, What I am, and Who I am; then, understanding Me truly, he entereth into Me forthwith.⁵⁵ Even performing all actions at all times, having refuge in Me, he obtaineth, through my favor, the seat that is eternal and imperishable.⁵⁶ Dedicating in thy heart all actions to Me, being devoted to Me, resorting to mental abstraction, fix thy thoughts constantly on Me.⁵⁷ Fixing thy thoughts on Me,

thou wilt surmount all difficulties through my grace. But if from self-conceit thou wilt not listen, thou wilt (then) utterly perish.⁶⁶ If, having recourse to self-conceit, thou thinkest—*I will not fight*,—that resolution of thine would be vain, (for) Nature will constrain thee.⁶⁷ That which, from delusion, thou dost not wish to do, thou wilt do involuntarily, bound by thy own duty springing from (thy own) nature.⁶⁸ The Lord, O Arjuna, dwelleth in the region of the heart of all beings, turning all beings as if mounted on a machine, by his illusive power.⁶⁹ Seek shelter with Him in every way, O Bhārata. Through His grace thou wilt obtain supreme tranquillity, the eternal seat.⁷⁰ Thus hath been declared to thee by Me the knowledge that is more mysterious than any (other) mystery. Reflecting on it fully, act as thou likest.⁷¹ Once more, listen to my supernal words, the most mysterious of all. Exceedingly dear art thou to Me, therefore I will declare what is for thy benefit.⁷² Set thy heart on Me, become My devotee, sacrifice to Me, bow down to Me. Then shalt thou come to Me. I declare to thee truly, (for) thou art dear to Me.⁷³ Forsaking all (religious) duties, come to Me as thy sole refuge. I will deliver thee from all sins. Do not grieve.⁷⁴ This is not to be ever declared by thee to one who practiseth no austerities, to one who is not a devotee, to one who never waiteth on a preceptor, nor yet to one who calumniateth Me.⁷⁵ He who shall inculcate this supreme mystery to those that are devoted to Me, offering Me the highest devotion; will come to Me, freed from (all his) doubts.*⁷⁶ Amongst men there is none who can do Me a dearer service than he, nor shall any other on earth be dearer to Me than he.⁷⁷ And he who will study this holy converse between us, by him will have been offered to Me the sacrifice of Knowledge. Such is My opinion.⁷⁸ Even the man who, with faith and without cavil, will hear it (read), even he, freed (from rebirth) will obtain the blessed regions of those that perform pious acts.⁷⁹ Hath this, O son

* *Asamçayas* is the reading that occurs in every text, and not *Asamçayam*. Mr. Davies, therefore, is incorrect in rendering it "doubtless" and making it an adverb qualifying "come to me."—T.

of Prithā, been heard by thee with mind undirected to any other object? Hath thy delusion, (caused) by ignorance, been destroyed, O Dhananjaya?—⁷²

“Arjuna said,—My delusion hath been destroyed, and the recollection (of what I am) hath been gained by me, O Undeteriorating one, through thy favor! I am now firm. My doubts have been dispelled. I will do thy bidding!—⁷³

“Sanjaya continued,—Thus I heard this converse between Vāsudeva and the high-souled son of Prithā, (that is) wonderful and causeth the hair to stand on end.⁷⁴ Through Vyāsa’s favor heard I this supreme mystery, this (doctrine of) *Yoga*, from Krishna himself, the Lord of *Yoga*, who declared it in person.⁷⁵ O king, recollecting and (again) recollecting this wonderful (and) holy converse of Keçava and Arjuna, I rejoice over and over again!⁷⁶ Recollecting again and again that wonderful form also of Hari, great is my amazement, O king, and I rejoice ever more!⁷⁷ Thither where Krishna the Lord of *Yoga* (is), thither where the (great) bowman Pārtha (is), thither, in my opinion, are prosperity, and victory, and greatness, and eternal justice!’”⁷⁸

SECTION XLIII.

Bhishma-vadha Parva.

“Sanjaya said,—Beholding Dhananjaya then to take up once again (his) arrows and *Gāndiva*, the mighty car-warriors (of the Pāndava party) uttered a tremendous shout.¹ And those heroes, *viz.* the Pāndavas, and the Somakas, and those who followed them, filled with joy, blew their sea-born conchs.² And drums, and *Peçis*, and *Krakachas*, and cow-horns, were beat and blown together, and the uproar made was very loud.³ And then, O ruler of men, there came the gods, with the *Gandharvas*, and the *Pitris*, and the hosts of *Siddhas* and *Chāranas*, from desire of witnessing (the sight).⁴ And *Rishis* highly blessed came there in a body with him of

* *Bhuti* is explained by Creedhara as gradual *abhiriddhi*, i. e., growth or greatness. *Niti* is explained as *Nāya* or justice.—T.

a hundred sacrifices at their head, for beholding that great slaughter.⁵ Then, O king, beholding the two armies, that looked like two oceans, ready for the encounter and continuously moving, the heroic king Yudhishtira the just, putting off his coat of mail and casting aside his excellent weapon, and quickly descending from his car, with joined hands, proceeded on foot, eyeing the grandsire, with restrained speech, facing the east, towards the direction where the hostile host was (standing).^{* 6-8} And seeing him proceed (thus), Dhananjaya the son of Kunti, speedily alighting from his car, followed him, accompanied by his (other) brothers.⁹ And the lord Vāsudeva also followed him behind. And the principal kings too (of his army), filled with anxiety, followed in the same path.¹⁰

“Arjuna said,—What is this act of thine, O king, that abandoning us thou proceedest on foot, face eastwards, to the hostile host?¹¹—

“Bhimasena said,—Where wilt thou go, O king of kings; having cast off thy coat of mail and weapons, towards the warriors of the foe cased in mail, and leaving thy brothers; O ruler of Earth?¹²—

“Nakula said,—Thou art my eldest brother, O Bhārata! (Beholding) thee proceeding in this way, fear troubleth my bosom. Tell (us), whither wilt thou go?¹³—

“Sahadeva said,—When these hostile divisions, terrible and numerous, are here with whom we are to fight, whither dost thou go, O king, in the direction of our foes?¹⁴—

“Sanjaya continued,—Though thus addressed by his brothers, O son of Kuru's race, Yudhishtira of restrained speech said nothing but continued to proceed.¹⁵ Unto them (then), the high-souled Vāsudeva of great wisdom smilingly said,—His object is known to me!¹⁶ Having paid his respects to all his superiors (such as) Bhishma, and Drona, and Kripa; and Calya also, he will fight the foe.¹⁷ It is heard in histories of olden times that he who, having paid his respects according.

* *Varāyudham* is, according to Nilakantha, the excellent bow. *Yena* in verse 8 is equivalent to *Yatra*.—T.

to the ordinance unto his preceptors reverend in years and his kinsmen, fighteth with those that are his superiors,¹⁸ is sure to obtain victory in battle. Even that is my opinion.—When Krishna was saying this, among the ranks of Dhritarāshtra's son,¹⁹ a loud uproar of *Alas*, and *Oh* arose, but the other (army) remained perfectly still. Beholding Yudhishtira, the heroic warriors of Dhritarāshtra's son²⁰ conversed with one another, saying,—This one is an infamous wretch of his race. It is plain that this king is coming in terror towards Bhishma's side.²¹ Yudhishtira with his brothers hath become a seeker after (Bhishma's) shelter. When Dhananjaya, however, is (his) protector, and Pāndu's sons Vrikodara,²² and Nakula, and Sahadēva also, why doth the (eldest) son of Pāndu come (hither) in fear? Though celebrated in the world, this one, however, could never have been born in the *Kshatriya* order,²³ since he is weak and his bosom is filled with fear (at the prospect) of battle!—Then those warriors all praised the Kauravas.²⁴ And all of them, becoming rejoiced, with cheerful hearts waved their garments. And, O monarch, all the warriors there (then) censured²⁵ Yudhishtira with all his brothers and along with Keçava too. Then the Kaurava army, having said *Fie* to Yudhishtira,²⁶ soon again, O monarch, became perfectly still!—What will this king say? What will Bhishma say in reply?²⁷ What will Bhima, boastful of his prowess in battle, (say), and what Krishna and Arjuna? What, indeed, hath (Yudhishtira) to say?—great was the curiosity²⁸ then, O king, of both the armies in respect of Yudhishtira. The king (meanwhile), penetrating the hostile army bristling with arrows and darts,²⁹ proceeded quickly towards Bhishma, surrounded by his brothers. Seizing his feet with his two hands, the royal son of Pāndu then said unto Cāntanu's son Bhishma who was there ready for battle, (these words).³⁰

“Yudhishtira said,—I salute thee, O invincible one! With thee we will do battle! Grant (us) thy permission in that matter! Give (us) also (thy) blessing!—³¹

“Bhishma said,—If, O lord of the earth, thou hadst not, in this battle, come to me thus, I would have, O great king,

cursed thee, O Bhārata, for bringing about thy defeat!³² I am gratified (with thee), O son! Do battle, and obtain victory, O son of Pāndu! What else may be desired by thee, obtain thou in battle!³³ Solicit also the boon, O son of Prithā, which thou desirest to have from us! If it happens so, O great king, then defeat will not be thine!³⁴ A man is the slave of wealth, but wealth is no one's slave. This is very true, O king! I have been bound by the Kauravas with (their) wealth.³⁵ It is for this, O son of Kuru's race, that like a eunuch I am uttering these words, *viz.,—Bound am I by the Kauravas with wealth. Battle excepted, what dost thou desire?—*³⁶

“Yudhishtira said,—O thou of great wisdom, do thou, desirous of my welfare, from day to day, consult my interests! Do battle, however, for the sake of the Kauravas! Even this is always my prayer (to thee)!—³⁷

“Bhishma said,—O king, O son of Kuru's race, what aid can I render thee in this? I shall, of course, fight for (thy) foes! Tell me what thou hast to say!—³⁸

“Yudhishtira said,—Therefore, O sire, I ask thee, I bow to thee, O grandsire, how shall we in battle vanquish thee that art invincible? Tell me this that is for my benefit, if, indeed, thou seest any good in it!—³⁹

“Bhishma said,—I do not, O son of Kunti, see the person who, even if he were the chief of the celestials himself, can defeat me in battle when I fight!—⁴⁰

“Yudhishtira said,—My salutations to thee, O grandsire! Therefore, do I ask thee (this)! Tell us how thy own death may be compassed by foes in battle!—⁴¹

“Bhishma said,—I do not see the person, O sire, who can vanquish me in battle! The time also of my death is not yet come! Come to me once again!—⁴²

* What Bhishma says is this : I am bound by the Kauravas and, therefore, I am not a free agent. Obligated I am to battle against you. Yet I am saying “What do you ask of me?” as if I could really give you what you might ask. My words, therefore, are without meaning, or vain, like those of a eunuch. *Klivavat* is explained by Nilakantha as *Kātaravat*. Even in that case, the sense would be the same.—T.

“Sanjaya continued,—‘Then, O son of Kuru’s race, Yudhishtira, once more saluting him, accepted Bhishma’s words with a bend of his head.’⁴³ And that mighty-armed one then proceeded towards the car of the preceptor (Drona) through the midst of all the soldiers who were eyeing him, accompanied by his brothers.’⁴⁴ Then saluting Drona and walking round him, the king spoke to that invincible warrior words that were for his own benefit.’⁴⁵

“Yudhishtira said,—I ask thee, O invincible one, how I may fight without incurring sin, and how, with thy permission, O regenerate one, I may vanquish all my foes?—†⁴⁶

“Drona said,—If, having resolved to fight, thou hadst not come to me (thus), I would have cursed thee, O king, for thy complete overthrow!⁴⁷ I am, however, gratified, O Yudhishtira, and honored by thee, O sinless one! I permit thee, fight and obtain victory!⁴⁸ I will also fulfil thy wish. Say what thou hast to say. Under these circumstances, battle excepted, what dost thou wish?⁴⁹ A man is the slave of wealth, but wealth is no one’s slave. This is quite true, O king! Bound I have been with (their) wealth by the Kauravas!⁵⁰ It is for this that like a eunuch I am uttering these words—*Battle excepted, what dost thou wish?* I shall fight for the sake of the Kauravas, but will pray for thy victory!—‡⁵¹

“Yudhishtira said,—Pray for my victory, O regenerate one, and counsel what is for my good. Fight, however, for the Kauravas. This is the boon solicited by me!—⁵²

“Drona said,—Victory, O king, is certain for thee that hast Hari for thy counsellor! I (also) grant thee that thou wilt vanquish thy foes in battle!⁵³ Thither where righteous-

* The Bengal reading is evidently incorrect. The Bombay text reads *Rājā* for *Vachā*.—T.

† Nilakantha thinks that *Vigatakalmasas* refers to Drona; the meaning he suggests is “Tell me with a pure heart &c. &c.” I think Nilakantha is not right.—T.

‡ The sense of the first line is that because I am bound by the Kauravas with their wealth, therefore, I am obliged to make this reservation in the matter of granting thee thy wishes. That reservation really nullifies my promise. See P. 146.—T.

ness is, thither is Krishna; and thither where Krishna is, thither is victory. Go, fight, O son of Kunti! Ask me, what shall I say unto thee?—⁵⁴

“Yudhishtira said,—I ask thee, O foremost of regenerate ones, listen to what I have to say! How shall we in battle vanquish thee that art invincible?—⁵⁵

“Drona said,—As long as I will fight, so long victory can never be thine! (Therefore), O king, seek, with thy brothers, for my speedy slaughter!—⁵⁶

“Yudhishtira said,—Alas, for this, O thou of mighty arms, tell (us) the means of thy death! O preceptor, prostrating myself I ask thee this! (My) salutations to thee!—⁵⁷

“Drona said,—The foe, O sire, I see not who may slay me while standing in battle I am engaged in fight, with wrath excited, and scattering (my) arrowy showers continually.⁵⁸ Except when address for death, O king, having abandoned my arms and withdrawn (in *Yoga* meditation) from surrounding sights, none will be able to slay me! This that I tell thee is true!⁵⁹ I also tell thee truly that I will cast off my arms in battle, having heard something very disagreeable from some one of credible speech!—⁶⁰

“Sanjaya continued,—Hearing these words, O king, of the wise son of Bharadwaja, and honoring the preceptor, (Yudhishtira then) proceeded towards the son of Caradwat.⁶¹ And saluting Kripa and walking round him, O king, Yudhishtira, accomplished in speech, said these words unto that warrior of great valour.⁶²

“Yudhishtira said,—Obtaining thy permission, O preceptor, I will fight without incurring sin, and permitted by thee, O sinless one, I will vanquish all (my) foes!—⁶³

“Kripa said,—If, having resolved on fight, thou hadst not come to me (thus), I would have cursed thee, O king, for thy complete overthrow!⁶⁴ A man is the slave of wealth, but wealth is no one's slave. This is very true, O king, and

* This *sloka* is very elliptical. There is a slight difference of reading between the Bengal and the Bombay texts, without affecting the sense. I render the verse somewhat freely.—T.

bound I have been with wealth by the Kauravas!⁶⁵ I must, O king, fight for their sake. This is my opinion. I, therefore, speak like a eunuch in asking thee,—*Battle excepted, what dost thou desire ?*—⁶⁶

“Yudhishtira said,—Alas, I ask thee, therefore, O preceptor, listen to my words!—Saying this, the king, greatly agitated and deprived of his senses, stood silent.”⁶⁷

“Sanjaya continued,—Understanding, however, what he intended to say, Gautama (Kripa) replied to him, saying,—I am incapable of being slain, O king! Fight, and obtain victory!⁶⁸ I am gratified with thy coming. Rising every day (from bed) I will pray for thy victory, O monarch! I say this to thee truly!—⁶⁹ Hearing, O king, these words of Gautama, and paying him due honors, the king proceeded thither where the ruler of the Madras was.⁷⁰ Saluting Calya and walking round him, the king said unto that invincible warrior those words that were for his own benefit.⁷¹

“Yudhishtira said,—Obtaining thy permission, O invincible one, I will fight without incurring sin, and permitted by thee, O king, I will vanquish (my) valorous foes!—*⁷²

“Calya said,—If, having resolved on fight, thou hadst not come to me (thus), I would have, O king, cursed thee for thy overthrow in battle!⁷³ I am gratified (with thee) and honored (by thee)! Let it be as thou wishest! I grant thee permission, fight and obtain victory!⁷⁴ Speak, O hero! For what hast thou any need? What shall I give thee? Under these circumstances, O king, battle excepted, what dost thou desire?⁷⁵ A man is the slave of wealth, but wealth is no one's slave. This is true, O king! Bound I have been with wealth by the Kauravas!⁷⁶ O nephew, it is for this that I am speaking to thee like a eunuch,—*I will accomplish the desire thou mayst cherish! Battle excepted, what dost thou wish ?*—⁷⁷

“Yudhishtira said,—Think, O king, daily of what is for my great good. Fight, according to thy pleasure, for the sake of the foe! This is the boon that I solicit—⁷⁸

“Calya said,—Under these circumstances, say, O best

* *Parān* is explained by Nilakantha as “superior,” qualifying *Ripun*.

of kings, what aid shall I render thee? I shall, of course, fight for the sake of (thy) enemy, for I have been made one of their party by the Kauravas with their wealth!—*79

“Yudhishtira said,—Even that is my boon, O Calya, which was solicited by me during the preparations (for the fight). The energy of the *Suta's* son (Karna) should be weakened by thee in battle!—80

“Calya said,—This thy wish, O Yudhishtira, shall be accomplished, O son of Kunti! Go, fight according to thy pleasure. I shall look after thy victory!—81

“Sanjaya continued,—Having obtained the permission of his maternal uncle the ruler of the Madras, the son of Kuntī, surrounded by his brothers, came out of that vast army.⁸² Yāsudeva then went to Rād̄hā's son on the field of battle, and the elder brother of Gada, for the sake of the Pāndavas, then said to Karna,⁸³—It hath been heard by me, O Karna, that from hatred of Bhishma thou wilt not fight. Come to our side, O son of Rād̄hā, and (stay with us) as long as Bhishma is not slain.⁸⁴ After Bhishma is slain, O son of Rād̄hā, thou mayst then again engage in battle on Duryodhana's side, if thou hast no preference for any of the parties!—85

“Karna said,—I will not do anything that is disagreeable to Dhritarāshtra's son, O Keçava! Devoted to Duryodhana's good, know that I have cast off my life (for him)!⁸⁶—Hearing these words (of Karna), Krishna ceased, O Bhārata, and reunited himself with the sons of Pāndu headed by Yudhishtira.⁸⁷ Then amid all the warriors, the eldest son of Pāndu, loudly exclaimed,—He who will choose us, him we shall choose for our ally!⁸⁸—Casting his eyes then upon them, Yuyutsu said these words, with a cheerful heart, unto Kuntī's son king Yudhishtira the just,⁸⁹—I will fight under thee in battle,

* *Vritosmi* is the reading of the Bengal texts, better than *Vaddhosmi* of the Bombay edition, and *bhritosmi* of the Burdwan text. Calya was not bound to the Kauravas like Bhishma or Drona or Kripa by pensions, but, gratified by the reception granted to him by Duryodhana in secret, he generously agreed to aid the latter even against his own sister's sons and their step-brothers.—T.

for the sake of you all, with the sons of Dhritarāshtra, if, O king, thou wilt accept me, O sinless one!⁹⁰—

“Yudhishtira said,—Come, come, all of us will fight with thy foolish brothers! O Yuyutsu, both Vāsudeva and we all say to thee⁹¹—*I accept thee, O thou of mighty arms, fight for my cause!* On thee rests, it seems, the thread of Dhritarāshtra’s line as also his funeral cake!⁹² O prince, O thou of great splendour, accept us that accept thee! The wrathful Duryodhana of wicked understanding will cease to live!⁹³—”

“Sanjaya continued,—Yuyutsu then, abandoning the Kurus thy sons, went over to the army of the Pāndavas, with beat of drums and cymbals.⁹⁴ Then king Yudhishtira of mighty arms, filled with joy, again put on his shining coat of mail of golden effulgence.⁹⁵ And those bulls among men then mounted their respective cars. And they counter-arrayed their troops in battle-array as before.⁹⁶ And they caused drums and cymbals in many hundreds to be sounded. And those bulls among men also set up diverse leonine roars.*⁹⁷ And beholding those tigers among men, viz, the sons of Pāndu, on their cars, the kings (on their side) with Dhrishtadyumna and others, once more set up shouts of joy.⁹⁸ And beholding the nobility of the sons of Pāndu who had paid due honor to those that were deserving of honor, all the kings there present applauded them highly.⁹⁹ And the monarchs talked with one another about the friendship, the compassion, and the kindness to kinsmen, displayed at the proper season by those high-souled personages.¹⁰⁰ *Excellent,—Excellent,*—were the delightful words everywhere bruited about, coupled with eulogistic hymns about those famous men. And in consequence of this, the minds and hearts of every one there were attracted towards them.¹⁰¹ And the *Mlecchas* and the *Aryas* there who witnessed or heard of that behaviour of the sons of Pāndu, all wept with choked voices.¹⁰² And those warriors then, endued with great energy, caused large drums and *Pushkaras* by hundreds upon hun-

* For *Puskalān* the Bombay text reads *Pushkarān*, which means a kind of drum.—T.

dreds to be sounded and also blew their conchs all white as the milk of cows.' "103

SECTION XLIV.

"Dhritarāshtra said,—'When the divisions of both my side and the foe were thus arrayed, who struck first, the Kurus or the Pāndavas?'¹

"Sanjaya said,—'Hearing those words of his (elder) brother, thy son Duṣṣāsana advanced with his troops, with Bhishma at their head.² And the Pāndavas also advanced with cheerful hearts, desiring battle with Bhishma, having Bhimasena at their head.³ Then leonine shouts, and clamorous uproars, and the noise of *Krakachas*, the blare of cow-horns, and the sound of drums and cymbals and tabors,⁴ arose in both armies. And the warriors of the foe rushed against us, and we also (rushed) against them with loud shouts. And the uproar (caused by this rush) was deafening.*⁵ The vast hosts of the Pāndavas and the Dhārtarāshtras, in that awfully murderous encounter, shook in consequence of that uproar of conchs and cymbals, like forests shaken by the wind.†⁶ And the din made by those hosts teeming with kings, elephants, and steeds, rushing against one another in that evil hour, was as loud as that of oceans agitated by the tempest.⁷ And when that din, loud and causing the hair to stand on end, arose, the mighty-armed Bhimasena began to roar like a bull.⁸ And those roars of Bhimasena rose above the clamour of conchs and drums, the grunts of elephants, and the leonine shouts of the combatants.⁹ Indeed, the shouts of Bhimasena transcended the noise made by the thousands of chargers neighing in (both) the armies.¹⁰ And hearing those shouts of Bhimasena who was roaring like the clouds, shouts that resembled the report of Cakra's thunder, thy warriors were filled with fear.¹¹ And at those roars of the hero, the steeds and elephants all ejected urine and excreta like other animals at the roar of the lion.¹²

* For *rājan* in the Bengal texts, in the first line of the 5th verse, the Bombay text reads *hyāsan* which I adopt.—T.

† *Mahā samucchraye* is explained by Nilakantha as *Mahāsamprahāre*.

And roaring like a deep mass of clouds, and assuming an awful form, that hero frightened thy sons and fell upon them.*¹⁵ Thereupon the brothers, viz, thy sons Duryodhana, and Durmukha, and Dussaha, and that mighty car-warrior Dusçāsana, and Durmarshana, O king, and Vivingçati, and Chitrasena, and the great car-warrior Vikarna, and also Purumitra, and Jaya, and Bhoja, and the valorous son of Somadatta, shaking their splendid bows like masses of clouds exhibiting the lightning's flashes, and taking out (of their quivers) long arrows resembling snakes that have just cast off their sloughs, surrounded that mighty Bowman rushing (towards themselves), covering him with flights of arrows like the clouds shrouding the sun.¹⁴⁻¹⁷ And the (five) sons of Draupadi, and the mighty car-warrior Saubhadra,† and Nakula, and Sahadeva, and Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata's race,¹⁸ rushed against (those) Dhārtarāshtras, tearing them with whetted shafts like summits of mountains with the impetuous bolts of heaven.¹⁹ And in that first encounter characterised by the awful twang of bowstrings and their flapping against the leathern fences (of the warriors),‡ no combatant, either on thy side or that of the foe, turned back.²⁰ And, O bull of Bharata's race, I beheld the lightness of hand of the disciples of Drona (in particular), who, shooting innumerable arrows, O king, always succeeded in hitting the mark.§²¹ And the twang of sounding bowstrings ceased not for a moment, and the blazing arrows shot through (the air) like meteors (falling) from the firmament.²² And all the other kings, O Bhārata, stood like (silent) spectators witnessing that interesting and awful encounter of kinsmen.¶²³ And then those mighty car-warriors, with wrath excited and remembering the injuries sustained at one another's hands, strove in battle, O king, challenging one

* Literally, "showing himself in an awful form."—T.

† Subhadra's son Abhimanyu.—T.

‡ These fences were made of iguana skins and cased the hands of the bowmen up to a few inches of the elbow-joint.—T.

§ *Nimitta* is explained by Nilakantha as the mark or object aimed at. Drona was the preceptor in arms of almost all the Bharata princes.—T

¶ *Interesting*, literally, sightly.—T.

another.²⁴ And the two armies of the Kurus and the Pāndavas, teeming with elephants, steeds, and cars, looked exceedingly beautiful on the field of battle like painted figures on a canvas.²⁵ And then the (other) kings all took up their bows. And the Sun himself was shrouded by the dust raised by the combatants.*²⁶ And they fell upon one another, at the heads of their (respective) troops, at the command of thy son. And the loud uproar made by the elephants and the chargers of those kings rushing to the combat,²⁷ mingled with the leonine shouts of the combatants and the din made by the blare of conchs and the sound of drums. And the uproar of that ocean having arrows for its crocodiles, bows for its snakes, swords for its tortoises,²⁸ and the forward leaps of the warriors for its tempest, resembled the din made by the (actual) ocean when agitated. And kings in thousands, commanded by Yudhishthira,²⁹ with their (respective) troops fell upon the ranks of thy son. And the encounter between the combatants of the two hosts was fierce in the extreme.³⁰ And no difference could be perceived between the combatants of our side or that of the foe, while battling, or retreating in broken array, or rallying again to the fight.³¹ In that terrific and awful battle, thy father (Bhishma) shone, transcending that countless host.†"³²

SECTION XLV.

"Sanjaya said,—On the forenoon of that awful day, O king, the terrible battle that mangled the bodies of (so many) kings commenced.¹ And the loud shouts, resembling leonine roars, of the Kurus and the Srinjayas, both desirous of victory in battle, made both the welkin and the earth resound therewith.² And a tumultuous uproar was heard mingled with the flaps of leathern fences and the blare of conchs. And many were the leonine roars that arose there of men shouting

* The second line of the 26th verse is, in the Bombay edition, made the second line of the 28th verse following.—T.

† The latter half of the 27th, the 28th, and the first half of the 29th verses are wanting in the Bombay text.—T.

against one another.³ And, O bull of Bharata's race, the sound of bowstrings stretched by (hands cased in) fences, the heavy tread of infantry, the furious neigh of chargers,⁴ the falling of sticks and iron hooks (on the heads of elephants), the clash of weapons, the jingle of bells of elephants rushing against one another,⁵ and the clatter of cars resembling the roar of clouds, mingled together, produced a loud uproar making one's hair stand on end.⁶ And all the Kuru warriors, reckless of their very lives and with cruel intentions, rushed, with standards upraised, against the Pāndavas.⁷ And Cāntanu's son himself, taking up a terrible bow that resembled the rod of Death, rushed, O king, on the field of battle, against Dhananjaya.⁸ And Arjuna also, endued with great energy, taking up the bow *Gāndiva* celebrated over all the world, rushed, on the field of battle, against Gangā's son.⁹ And both those tigers among the Kurus became desirous of slaying each other. The mighty son of Gangā, however, piercing in battle the son of Prithā, could not make him waver.¹⁰ And so, O king, the son of Pāndu also could not make Bhishma waver in battle. And the mighty bowman Sātyaki rushed against Kritavarman.¹¹ And the battle between these two was fierce in the extreme and made the hair (of onlookers) stand on end. And Sātyaki afflicted Kritavarman, and Kritavarman afflicted Sātyaki, with loud shouts, and each weakened the other. And pierced all over with arrows those mighty warriors shone ¹²⁻¹³ like two blossoming *Kinçukas* in spring adorned with flowers. And the mighty bowman Abhimanyu battled with Vrihadvala.¹⁴ Soon, however, in that encounter, O king, the ruler of Koçala cut off the standard and overthrew the charioteer of Subhadrā's son.¹⁵ The son of Subhadrā then, upon the overthrow of his charioteer, was filled with wrath, and pierced Vrihadvala, O king, with nine shafts.¹⁶ And with a couple of sharp arrows, that grinder of foes also cut off (Vrihadvala's) standard, and with one (more) cut off one of the protectors of his car-wheels and with the other his charioteer.^{*17} And those chastisers of foes continued to

* With two *Bhallas* Abhimanyu cut off his adversary's standard;

weaken each other with sharp arrows. And Bhimasena struggled in battle with thy son Duryodhana, that mighty car-warrior, proud and inflated, who had injured (the sons of Pāndu). Both of those foremost (princes) among the Kurus, are tigers among men and mighty car-warriors.¹⁸⁻¹⁹ And they covered each other, on the field of battle, with their arrowy showers. And beholding those high-souled and accomplished warriors conversant with all modes of warfare,²⁰ all creatures were filled with amazement, O Bhārata. And Dusçāsana, rushing against that mighty car-warrior Nakula,²¹ pierced him with many sharp arrows capable of penetrating into the very vitals. The son of Mādri then, laughing the while, cut off, with sharp arrows (of his), his adversary's standard and bow. And then he struck him with five and twenty small-headed arrows.²²⁻²³ Thy son, however, then, who can with difficulty be vanquished, slew in that fierce encounter the steeds of Nakula and cut off his standard.²⁴ And Durmukha rushing against the mighty Sahadeva battling in that terrific encounter, pierced him with a shower of arrows.²⁵ The heroic Sahadeva then, in that fearful battle, overthrew Durmukha's charioteer with an arrow of great sharpness.²⁶ Both of them, irrepressible in fight, approaching each other in combat, and each attacking the other and desirous of warding off the other's attack, began to strike terror into each other with terrible shafts.²⁷ And king Yudhishtira himself encountered the ruler of the Madras. The chief of the Madras then, in his very sight, cut off in twain Yudhishtira's bow.²⁸ Thereupon the son of Kuntī, throwing aside that broken bow, took up another that was stronger and capable of imparting a greater velocity.²⁹ The king then, with straight arrows, covered the ruler of the Madras, and in great wrath said,—*Wait, Wait.*³⁰ And Dhrishtadyumna, O Bhārata, rushed against Drona. And Drona, then, in great wrath, cut off in that encounter the hard bow of the high-souled prince of Pāñchāla that was

with one, one of the protectors of his car-wheels; and with another, his charioteer. Thus Nilakantha. A *Pārshni* is altogether a different person from a *Sārathi*. Hence Nilakantha is assuredly right. The Burdwan Pundits have misunderstood the verse.—T.

capable of always taking the lives of foes. And at the same time he shot in that conflict a terrible arrow that was like a second rod of Death. And the arrow shot penetrated the body of the prince. Taking up then another bow and fourteen arrows,³¹⁻³³ the son of Drupada pierced Drona in that encounter. And enraged with each other, they battled on fiercely.³⁴ And the impetuous Cankha encountered Somadatta's son who was equally impetuous in battle and addressed him, O king, saying,—*Wait, Wait.*³⁵ And that hero then pierced his (adversary's) right arm in that combat. And thereupon the son of Somadatta struck Cankha on the shoulders.³⁶ And the battle that ensued between those two proud heroes, O king, soon became as terrible as a combat between the gods and the *Dānavas*.³⁷ And that mighty car-warrior Dhrishtaketu of immeasurable soul, with wrath excited, rushed in battle, O king, against Vālhika the very embodiment of wrath.³⁸ Vālhika then, O king, setting up a leonine roar, weakened the wrathful Dhrishtāketu with innumerable arrows.³⁹ The king of the Chedis, however, exceedingly provoked, quickly pierced Vālhika in that encounter with nine arrows. Like an infuriate elephant against an infuriate elephant,⁴⁰ in that combat they roared against each other repeatedly, both exceedingly enraged. And they encountered each other with great wrath and looked like the planets *Angāraka* and *Vudha*.⁴¹ And Ghatotkacha of cruel deeds encountered the *Rākshasa* Alamvusha of cruel deeds like Cakra (encountering) Vala in battle.⁴² And Ghatotkacha, O Bhārata, pierced that infuriate and powerful *Rākshasa* with ninety keen-edged shafts.⁴³ And Alamvusha also in that combat pierced the mighty son of Bhimasena in many places with straight arrows (of his).⁴⁴ And mangled with arrows they shone in that encounter like the mighty Cakra and the powerful Vala in the combat (of old) between the celestials and the *Asuras*.†⁴⁵ The powerful Cikhandin, O king, rushed against Drona's son. Aṣwatthāman, however, deeply piercing the angry Cikhandin stationed

* *Angāraka* is the planet Mars, and *Vudha* is Venus.—T.

† The second line of the 45th verse is not in the Bengal texts.—T.

(before him) with a keen-edged shaft, caused him to tremble.*⁴⁶ Cikhandin also, O king, smote Drona's son with a sharp whetted shaft of excellent temper.⁴⁷ And they continued in that encounter to strike each other with various kinds of arrows. And against the heroic Bhagadatta in battle, Virāta the commander of a large division,⁴⁸ rushed impetuously, O king, and then commenced (their) combat. Virāta, exceedingly provoked, poured on Bhagadatta an arrow shower like, O Bhārata, the clouds showering rain on the mountain breast. But Bhagadatta, that lord of the earth, speedily enveloped Virāta in that encounter (with arrows) like the clouds enveloping the risen sun. Kripa the son of Caradwat rushed against Vrihadkshatra the ruler of the Kaikeyas.⁴⁹⁻⁵¹ And Kripa, O Bhārata, enveloped him with a shower of arrows. Vrihadkshatra also shrouded the infuriate son of Gautama with an arrow downpour.⁵² And those warriors then, having slain each other's steeds and cut off each other's bows, were both deprived of their cars. And exceedingly enraged, they then approached each other for fighting with their swords.⁵³ And the combat which then took place between them was terrible in aspect and unparalleled. That chastiser of foes, king Drupada then, in great wrath, rushed against Jayadratha the ruler of the Sindhus, cheerfully waiting (for battle). The ruler of the Sindhus pierced Drupada in that combat with three shafts, and Drupada pierced him in return. And the battle that took place between them was terrible and fierce,⁵⁴⁻⁵⁶ and productive of satisfaction in the hearts of all the spectators, and resembling a conflict between the planets *Çukra* and *Angāraka*. And Vikarna, son to thee, with fleet steeds, rushed against the mighty Sutasoma, and the combat between them commenced. Vikarna, however, although he pierced Sutasoma with many arrows, failed to make him waver.⁵⁷⁻⁵⁸ Neither could Sutasoma make Vikarna waver. And that appeared wonderful (to all). And against

* I take the 46th as consisting of three lines in order to make the succeeding numbers of the verses correspond with those of the Bengal texts.—T.

Suçarman, that mighty car-warrior and tiger among men, *viz.*, Chekitāna⁵⁹ of great prowess, rushed in exceeding wrath for the sake of the Pāndavas. And Suçarman also, O great king, in that encounter checked the advance of that mighty car-warrior Chekitāna with a plentiful shower of arrows. And Chekitāna also, greatly provoked, showered on Suçarman, in that terrible conflict, a shower of arrows like a mighty mass of clouds showering rain on the mountain breast.⁶⁰⁻⁶¹ And Cakuni, endued with great prowess, rushed, O king, against Prativindhya of great prowess, like a lion against an infuriated elephant.⁶² Thereupon the son of Yudhishtira, in exceeding wrath, mangled Suvala's son in that combat, with sharp arrows, like Maghavat (mangling) a *Dānava*.^{*63} And Cakuni also, in that fierce conflict, pierced Prativindhya in return and mangled that warrior of great intelligence with straight arrows.⁶⁴ And Crutakarman rushed in battle, O great king, against that mighty car-warrior Sudakshina of great prowess, the ruler of the Kāmvojas.⁶⁵ Sudakshina, however, O great king, piercing that mighty car-warrior, *viz.*, the son of Saha-deva, failed to make him waver, (for he stood) like the Maināka mountain (against the assaults of Indra).⁶⁶ Thereupon Crutakarman, exceedingly provoked, weakened that mighty car-warrior of the Kāmvojas with innumerable arrows and mangled him in every part of his body.⁶⁷ And Irāvān that chastiser of foes, in great wrath and exerting carefully, rushed in battle against the wrathful Crutāyush.⁶⁸ The powerful son of Arjuna, that mighty car-warrior, then slaying the steeds of his adversary, set up a loud roar, and thereupon, O king, all the warriors (who saw the feat) praised him greatly.⁶⁹ And Crutāyush also, exceedingly provoked, slew in that conflict the steeds of Fālgūna's son with a powerful mace, and the battle between them continued.⁷⁰ And Vinda and Anuvinda the two princes of Avanti approached in battle that mighty car-warrior the heroic Kuntibhoja at the head of his troops accompanied by his son.⁷¹ And wonderful was the

* *Prativindhya* was Yudhishtira's son by Draupadi. Maghavat is Indra the chief of the celestials.—T.

prowess we beheld of those two princes on that occasion, for they fought on very coolly though battling with a large body of troops.⁷² And Anuvinda hurled a mace at Kuntibhoja, but Kuntibhoja quickly covered him with a shower of arrows.⁷³ And the son of Kuntibhoja pierced Vinda with many arrows, and the latter also pierced him in return. And the combat (between them) looked very wonderful.⁷⁴ And the Kekaya brothers, O sire, at the head of their troops, encountered in battle the five Gāndhāra princes with their troops.⁷⁵ And thy son Viravāhu battled with that best of car-warriors Uttara the son of Virāta and pierced him with nine arrows.⁷⁶ And Uttara also pierced that hero with sharp-edged arrows. And the ruler of the Chedis, O king, rushed in battle against Uluka.⁷⁷ And he pierced Uluka with a shower of arrows, and Uluka also pierced him with sharp arrows furnished with excellent wings.⁷⁸ And the combat that took place between them, O king, was fierce in the extreme, for unable to vanquish each other, they mangled each other terribly.⁷⁹ And thus in that general engagement thousands of single combats took place between cars, elephants, horsemen, and foot-soldiers, of their side and thine.⁸⁰ For a short while only that engagement offered a beautiful sight. Soon, however, O king, it became furious and nothing could be discovered.⁸¹ In the battle (that ensued), elephants rushed against elephants, car-warriors against car-warriors, steed against steed, and foot-soldier against foot-soldier.⁸² The conflict then became confused and fierce in the extreme, of heroes rushing against each other in the melee.⁸³ And the celestial *Rishis*, and *Siddhas*, and *Chāranas*, that were present there, beheld that terrific battle to resemble the combat of the gods and the *Asuras*.⁸⁴ And elephants in thousands, and cars also in thousands, and vast bodies of horse, and vast bodies of infantry, O sire, seemed to alter their character.⁸⁵ And, O tiger among men, it was seen

* The word used in the original is *Viparitam*, lit. contrary. The sense seems to be that car-men fought on foot, cavalry soldiers on elephants, warriors on elephants, from horse-back, &c. The very character of the forces was altered.—T.

that cars and elephants and steeds and infantry fought with each other repeatedly on the same places.' ”*⁸

SECTION XLVI.

“Sanjaya said,—‘O king, I will now describe to thee the combats of hundreds and thousands of foot-soldiers, O Bhārata, in utter forgetfulness of all considerations due to others.¹ There the son recognised not the sire, the sire (recognised not) the son of his loins; the brother (recognised not) the brother, the sister’s son (recognised not) the maternal uncle.² The maternal uncle (recognised not) the sister’s son, the friend not the friend. The Pāndavas and the Kurus fought as if they were possessed by demons.³ Some tigers among men, falling, with cars, upon divisions of cars, crushed, O bull of Bharata’s race, the yokes of cars into pieces.⁴ And the shafts of cars broke clashing against shafts, and the spikes of car-yokes against spikes of car-yokes. And some (warriors) united together encountered others that were united together, all desirous of taking one another’s life.⁵ And some cars, obstructed by cars, were unable to move. And huge-bodied elephants with rent temples, falling upon huge elephants,⁶ angrily tore one another in many places with their tusks. Others, O king, encountering impetuous and huge ones of their species with arched edifices and standards (on their backs) and trained to the fight, struck with their tusks, shrieked in great agony.†⁷⁻⁸ Disciplined by training, and urged on by pikes and hooks, elephants not in rut rushed straight against those that were in rut.†⁹ And

* *I. e.*, though repulsed, these frequently rallied, and occupied the same ground as before.—T.

† The last half of the 7th, with the 8th, forms one sentence. It is certainly pleonastic. *Ranavāranais* of the Bengal texts is preferable to the Bombay reading *Varavāranais*. *Toranas* are the wooden edifices placed on the backs of elephants for the protection and comfort of the riders. These are called in India *Hāwadās*.—T.

‡ Many of the Bengal texts read *Avinitās*. The correct reading, as in the Bombay text, is *Abhinitās*. *Aprabhinna* is, literally, “unrent,” *i. e.*, with the temporal juice *not* trickling down. This juice emanates

some huge elephants, encountering compeers in rut, ran, uttering cries like those of cranes, in all directions.¹⁰ And many huge elephants, well-trained, and with juice trickling down from rent temples and mouth, mangled with swords, lances, and arrows,¹¹ and pierced in their vital parts, shrieked aloud and falling down expired. And some, uttering frightful cries, ran in all directions.¹² The foot-soldiers that protected the elephants, endued with broad chests, and capable of smiting effectually, with wrath excited, and armed with pikes, and bows, and bright battle-axes, and with maces, and clubs, and short arrows, and lances, and with shafts, and stout bludgeons mounted with iron spikes, and swords, well grasped, of the brightest polish, ran hither and thither, O king, and seemed resolved to take one another's life.¹³⁻¹⁵ And the sabres of brave combatants rushing against one another, steeped in human blood, seemed to shine brightly.¹⁶ And the whiz of swords whirled and made to descend by heroic arms and falling upon the vital parts (of the bodies) of foes, became very loud.¹⁷ And the heart-rending wails of combatants in multitudinous hosts, crushed with maces and clubs, and cut off with well-tempered swords, and pierced with the tusks of elephants, and grinded by tuskers, calling upon one another, were heard, O Bhārata, to resemble the wails of those that are doomed to hell.¹⁸⁻¹⁹ And horsemen, on chargers of exceeding speed and furnished with outstretched tails resembling (the plumes of) swans, rushed against one another.²⁰ And hurled by them, long bearded darts adorned with pure gold, fleet, and polished, and sharp-pointed, fell like snakes.²¹ And some heroic horsemen, on coursers of great speed, leaping high, cut off the heads of car-warriors from their cars.^{†22} And (here and there) a car-warrior, getting bodies of cavalry

from several parts of the elephant's body when the season of rut comes. To avoid a cumbrous periphrasis, which again would be unintelligible to the European reader, I have given the sense only.—T.

* For the Benglal reading *Mahāprājña* the Bombay text reads *Mahāprāsās*.—T.

† *Rathāt* and not *Rathān* is the reading that I adopt.—T.

within shooting distance, slew many with straight shafts furnished with broad heads.²³ And many infuriate elephants, adorned with trappings of gold, and looking like newly-risen clouds, throwing down steeds, crushed them with their own legs.²⁴ And some elephants, struck on their frontal globes and flanks, and mangled by means of lances, shrieked aloud in great agony.²⁵ And many huge elephants, in the bewildering confusion of the melee, crushing steeds with their riders, threw them down.²⁶ And some elephants, over-throwing with the points of their tusks steeds with their riders, wandered, crushing cars with their standards.²⁷ And some huge male elephants, from excess of energy and with the temporal juice gushing down in large quantities, slew steeds along with their riders by means of their trunks and legs.²⁸ Fleet arrows, polished, and sharp-pointed, and resembling snakes, fell upon the heads, the temples, the flanks, and the limbs of elephants.†²⁹ And polished javelins of terrible mien, and looking like large meteoric flashes, hurled by heroic arms, fell hither and thither, O king, piercing through the bodies of men and horses, and cutting through coats of mail.‡³⁰ And many taking out their polished sabres from sheaths made of the skins of leopards and tigers, slew the combatants opposed to them in battle.³¹ And many warriors, though themselves attacked and had the flanks of their bodies cut open, yet angrily fell upon (their foes) with swords and shields and battle-axes.³² And some elephants dragging down and over-throwing cars with their steeds by means of their trunks, began to wander in all directions, guided by the cries of those behind them.³³ And hither and thither, some pierced by javelins, and some cut asunder by battle-axes, and some

* Many of the Bengal texts read *Sudārūnās* as the last word of the first line of the 25th verse. It is evidently unmeaning. The Bombay reading is *cha Vāranās*.—T.

† *Vāranān*: the acusative form is used, says Nilakantha, for the genitive; *āçugās*, lit., quickly going, is used here as a substantive, meaning arrows.—T.

‡ I take the 30th verse as consisting of three lines.—T.

crushed by elephants, and others trod down by horses,³⁴ and some cut by car-wheels, and some by axes, loudly called upon their kinsmen, O king³⁵ And some called upon their sons, and some upon their sires, and some upon brothers and kinsmen. And some called upon their maternal uncles, and some upon their sisters' sons. And some called upon others, on the field of battle.³⁶ And a very large number of combatants, O Bhārata, lost their weapons, or had their thighs broken. And others with arms torn off, or sides pierced or cut open, were seen to wail aloud, from desire of life.³⁷ And some, endued with little strength, tortured by thirst, O king, and lying on the field of battle on the bare ground, asked for water.³⁸ And some, weltering in pools of blood and excessively weakened, O Bhārata, greatly censured themselves and their sons assembled together (for battle).³⁹ And others there were, brave Kshatriyas, who having injured one another, did not abandon their weapons or set up any wails, O sire!⁴⁰ On the other hand, lying in those places where they lay, they roared with joyful hearts, and biting from wrath with their teeth their own lips,⁴¹ looked at one another with faces rendered fierce in consequence of the contraction of their eyebrows. And others endued with great strength and tenacity in great pain, afflicted by arrows and smarting under their wounds,⁴² remained perfectly silent. And other heroic car-warriors, deprived, in the encounter, of their own cars and thrown down and wounded by huge elephants, asked to be taken up on the cars of others. And many, O king, looked beautiful (in their wounds) like blossoming *Kinçukas*.⁴³⁻⁴⁴ And in all the divisions were heard terrific cries, countless in number. And in that awful combat destructive of heroes,⁴⁵ the sire slew the son, the son slew the sire, the sister's son slew the maternal uncle, the maternal uncle slew the sister's son,⁴⁶ friend slew friend, and relatives slew kinsmen. Even thus the slaughter took place in that encounter of the Kurus with the Pāndavas.⁴⁷ And in that frightful and terrible battle in which no consideration was shown (by anybody for any body), the divisions of the Pāndavas, approaching Bhishma, began to waver.⁴⁸ And, O bull of Bharata's race, the mighty-armed

Bhishma, O king, with his standard which was made of silver and graced with (the device of) the palmyra with five stars, set up on his great car, shone like the lunar orb under the peak of Meru.'⁴⁹

SECTION XLVII.

"Sanjaya said,—'After the great part of the forenoon of that awful day had worn out, in that terrific engagement, O king, that was (so) destructive of foremost of men,*¹ Durmukha, and Kritavarman, and Kripa, and Calya, and Vivinçati, urged by thy son, approached Bhishma and began to protect him.² And protected by those five mighty car-warriors, O bull of Bharata's race, that great car-warrior penetrated the Pānda-dava host.³ And the palmyra standard of Bhishma was seen to glide continually, O Bhārata, through the Chedis, the Kāçis, the Karushas, and the Pāñchālas.⁴ And that hero, with broad-headed shafts of great swiftness which were again perfectly straight, cut off the heads (of foes) and their cars with yokes and standards.⁵ And, O bull of Bharata's race, Bhishma seemed to dance on his car as it coursed along its track. And some elephants, struck (by him) in their vital parts, shrieked in agony.⁶ Then Abhimanyu in great wrath, stationed on his car unto which were yoked excellent steeds of a tawny hue, rushed towards Bhishma's car.⁷ And with his standard adorned with pure gold and resembling a *Karnikāra* tree, he approached Bhishma and those (five) foremost of car-warriors.⁸ And striking with a keen-edged shaft the standard of the palmyra-bannered (warrior), that hero engaged in battle with Bhishma and those other car-warriors that protected him.⁹ Piercing Kritavarman with one arrow, and Calya with five, he weakened his great-grandsire with nine arrows.¹⁰ And with one arrow well shot from his bow drawn to its fullest

* The Bengal reading *narvarakshaye* seems to be better than *mahāvīrakshaye* of the Bombay text.—T.

† *Tālaketu* is lit. palmyra-bannered. Without using such compounds, the brevity of the sentences cannot be maintained.—T.

stretch, he cut off (his adversary's) standard adorned with pure gold.¹¹ And with one broad-headed shaft capable of penetrating every cover, which was perfectly straight, he cut off from his body the head of Durmukha's charioteer.¹² And with another keen-edged arrow he cut in twain the gold-decked bow of Kripa. And them also, with many sharp pointed shafts,¹³ that mighty car-warrior smote in great wrath, seeming to dance (the while). And beholding his lightness of hand, the very gods were gratified.¹⁴ And in consequence of Abhimanyu's sureness of aim, all the car-warriors headed by Bhishma regarded him to be possessed of the capacity of Dhananjaya himself.*¹⁵ And his bow, emitting a twang like that of *Gāndiva*, while stretched and re-stretched, seemed to revolve like a circle of fire.†¹⁶ Bhishma then, that slayer of hostile heroes, rushing on him impetuously, speedily pierced the son of Arjuna in that combat with nine arrows.¹⁷ And he also, with three broad-headed shafts, cut off the standard of that warrior of great energy. Of rigid vows, Bhishma also struck his (adversary's) charioteer.¹⁸ And Kritavarman, and Kripa, and Calya also, O sire, piercing Arjuna's son, all failed to make him waver, for he stood firm like the Maināka mountain.¹⁹ And the heroic son of Arjuna, though surrounded by those mighty car-warriors of the Dhārtarāshtra army, still showered on those five car-warriors arrowy down-pours.²⁰ And baffling their mighty weapons by his arrowy showers, and pouring on Bhishma his shafts, the powerful son of Arjuna set up a loud shout.²¹ And struggling in the battle thus, and afflicting Bhishma with (his) arrows, the strength we saw of his arms then was very great.²² But though endued with such prowess, Bhishma also shot his arrows at him. But he cut off in that combat the arrows shot from Bhishma's bow.²³ And then that heroic warrior of arrows that were never lost, cut off with nine arrows, in that combat, the standard of Bhishma. And at

* *Kārshni* is *Krishna's* or Arjuna's son Abhimanyu. Arjuna was sometimes called Krishna.—T.

† *Lāghavamargasya* is a misreading for *Lāghavamargastham*; then again *chāpi* is incorrect, the correct reading being *chāpam* as in the Bombay text.—T.

that feat the people there set up a loud shout.²⁴ Decked with jewels and made of silver, that tall standard bearing the device of the palmyra, cut off, O Bhārata, by the shafts of Subhadrā's son, fell down on the earth.²⁵ And beholding, O bull of Bharata's race, that standard falling in consequence of the shafts of Subhadrā's son, the proud Bhima set up a loud shout for cheering the son of Subhadrā.²⁶ Then in fierce combat, the mighty Bhishma caused many celestial weapons of great efficacy to appear.²⁷ And the great grandsire of immeasurable soul then covered Subhadrā's son with thousands of arrows.²⁸ And at this, ten great bowmen and mighty car-warriors of the Pāndavas, quickly rushed on their cars for protecting the son of Subhadrā.²⁹ And those were Virāta with his son, and Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata's race, and Bhima, the five Kekaya brothers, and Sātyaki also, O king.³⁰ And as they were falling upon him with great impetuosity, Bhishma the son of Cāntanu, in that conflict, pierced the prince of Pāñchāla with three arrows, and Sātyaki with ten.³¹ And with one winged arrow, whetted and sharp-edged as a razor, and shot from his bow drawn to its fullest stretch, he cut off the standard of Bhimasena.³² And, O best of men, the standard of Bhimasena, made of gold and bearing the device of a lion, cut off by Bhishma, fell from the car.³³ And Bhima then, piercing Cāntanu's son Bhishma in that combat with three arrows, pierced Kripa with one, and Kritavarman with eight.³⁴ And Uttara also, the son of Virāta, on a tusker with upraised trunk, rushed against the ruler of the Madras.³⁵ Cālya, however, succeeded in checking the unparalleled impetuosity of that prince of elephants rushing quickly towards his car.³⁶ That prince of elephants, in great wrath, placing his leg upon the yoke of (Calya's) car, killed his four large steeds of excellent speed.³⁷ The ruler of the Madras then, staying on that car whose steeds had been slain, hurled a dart, all made of iron, and resembling a snake, for slaying Uttara outright.³⁸ The latter's coat of mail being cut through by that dart, he became totally deprived of his senses and fell down from his elephant's neck, with the hook and the lance loosened from his grasp.³⁹ And Calya then, taking up

his sword and jumping down from his excellent car, and putting forth his prowess, cut off the large trunk of that prince of elephants.⁴⁰ His coat of mail pierced all over with a shower of arrows, and his trunk cut off, that elephant uttered a loud shriek and fell down and expired.⁴¹ Achieving such a feat, O king, the ruler of the Madras speedily mounted on the splendid car of Kritavarman.⁴² And beholding his brother Uttara slain and seeing Calya staying with Kritavarman,⁴³ Virāta's son Cweta blazed up in wrath, like fire (blazing up) with clarified butter. And that mighty warrior, stretching his large bow that resembled the bow of Cakra himself,⁴⁴ rushed with the desire of slaying Calya the ruler of the Madras. Surrounded on all sides with a mighty division of cars,⁴⁵ he advanced towards Calya's car, pouring an arrowy shower. And beholding him rush to the fight with prowess equal to that of an infuriate elephant,⁴⁶ seven car-warriors of thy side surrounded him on all sides, desirous of protecting the ruler of Madras who seemed to be already within the jaws of Death.⁴⁷ And those seven warriors were Vrihadvala the ruler of the Koçalas, and Jayatsena of Magadha, and Rukmaratha, O king, who was the valorous son of Calya,⁴⁸ and Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti, and Sudakshina the king of the Kāmvojas, and Jayadratha the ruler of the Sindhus and the kinsman of Vrihadkshatra.⁴⁹ And the stretched bows of those high-souled warriors, decorated with diverse colors, looked like the lightning's flashes in the clouds.⁵⁰ And they all poured on Cweta's head ceaseless showers of arrows like the clouds tossed by the wind dropping rain on the mountain breast on the expiry of summer.⁵¹ That mighty bowman and commander of the forces, enraged at this, with seven broad-headed arrows of great impetuosity, struck their bows, and then continued to grind them.⁵² And those bows we saw were cut off, O Bhārata, and thereupon they all took up, within half the time taken up in a wink of the eye, other bows.⁵³ And they then shot at Cweta seven arrows. And once again that mighty-armed warrior of immeasurable soul, with seven fleet shafts, cut off those (other) bows of these bowmen.⁵⁴ Those

* The 54th is taken as consisting of 3 lines.—T.

warriors then, whose large bows had been cut off, those mighty car-warriors swelling (with rage), grasping (seven) darts, set up a loud shout.⁵⁵ And, O chief of the Bharatas, they hurled those seven darts at Cweta's car. And those blazing darts which coursed (through the air) like large meteors, with beside the sound of thunder,⁵⁶ were all cut off, before they could reach him, by that warrior conversant with mighty weapons, by means of seven broad-headed arrows. Then taking up an arrow capable of penetrating into every part of the body,⁵⁷ he shot it, O chief of the Bharatas, at Rukmaratha. And that mighty arrow, surpassing (the force of) the thunder-bolt, penetrated into the latter's body.⁵⁸ Then, O king, forcibly struck by that arrow, Rukmaratha sat down on the terrace of his car and fell into a deadly swoon.⁵⁹ His charioteer then, without betraying any fear, bore him away, senseless and in a swoon, in the very sight of all.⁶⁰ Then taking up six other (arrows) adorned with gold, the mighty-armed Cweta cut off the standard-tops of his six adversaries.*⁶¹ And that chastiser of foes then, piercing their steeds and charioteers also, and covering those six warriors themselves with ceaseless shafts, proceeded towards the car of Calya.⁶² And beholding that generalissimo of the (Pāndava) forces proceeding quickly towards Calya's car, a loud uproar of *oh* and *alas* arose in thy army, O Bhārata!⁶³ Then thy mighty son, with Bhishma at the head, and supported by heroic warriors and many troops, proceeded towards Cweta's car.†⁶⁴ And he (thus) rescued the ruler of the Madras who had already entered the jaws of Death. And then commenced a battle, terrific and making the hair to stand on end,⁶⁵ between thy troops and those of the enemy, in which cars and elephants all got mixed up in confusion. And upon Subhadrā's son, and Bhimasena, and that mighty car-warrior Sātyaki,⁶⁶ and upon the ruler of the Kekayas, and Virāta, and Dhrishta-

* Both 60 and 61 are read differently in the Bengal texts. I adopt the Bombay readings.—T.

† The Bengal reading is *Curais Vritascha Caingena*. The Bombay reading (which I do not adopt) is *Vritastu Sarva Caingena*.—T.

dyumna of Prishata's race, and upon the Chedi troops, the old Kuru grandsire poured showers of arrows.*' ॥१॥

SECTION XLVIII.

“Dhritarāshtra said,—‘When that great bowman Cweta proceeded towards Calya’s car, what did the Kuravas and the Pāndavas do, O Sanjaya? And what also did Bhishma the son of Cāntanu do? Tell me who ask thee, all this!†’

“Sanjaya said,—‘O king, hundreds and thousands of bulls among Kshatriyas, all brave and mighty car-warriors, placing the generalissimo Cweta in the van,² and displaying their strength, O Bhārata, unto thy royal son, and with Cikhandin also at their head, desired to rescue (Cweta).³ And those mighty car-warriors rushed towards Bhishma’s car decked with gold, desirous of slaying that foremost of warriors. And the battle that ensued then was terrible.⁴ I shall describe to thee that wonderful and terrific battle as it occurred between thy troops and those of the enemy.‡⁵ The son of Cāntanu made the terraces of many cars empty, (for) that best of car-warriors, showering (his) arrows, cut off many heads.§⁶ Endued with energy equal to that of the Sun himself, he shrouded the very Sun with his arrows. And he removed his enemies from

* Nine *slokas* and a half, from the second half of the 43rd verse to the 52nd verse (as above), are omitted in the Bengal texts. These, however, occur subsequently in section 49 following. The fact is, the whole of the passage in this section and the 116 verses in the following section, and the first 24 verses in section 49, are regarded as an interpolation. In those sections of the *Udyoga Parvan* where the *Rathas* and the *Atirathas*, &c., are counted by Bhishma, no mention is made of any warrior of the name of Cweta. The Burdwan Pundits omit these passages altogether. I myself believe them to be an interpolation. Occurring, however, as it does in both the Bengal and the Bombay texts, I cannot omit in the English version.—T.

† The first verse is taken as consisting of three lines.—T.

‡ For *tatoham* of the Bengal texts, the Bombay reading is *tatteham*.

§ The second line of the 6th verse, which, according to the numbering of the Bombay text, should be the first half of the 7th, is differently read in the Bombay text.—T.

around him in that combat like the rising Sun dispelling the darkness around.⁷ And in that battle, O king, arrows were shot by him in hundreds and thousands that were powerful and possessed of great impetuosity and that took in that conflict the lives of numberless Kshatriyas.⁸ And in that combat he felled heads, by hundreds, of heroic warriors, O king, and elephants cased in thorny mail, like summits of mountains (felled) by heaven's bolt.*⁹ And cars, O king, were seen to mingle with cars. A car might be seen upon another car, and a steed upon another steed.¹⁰ And impetuous chargers, O king, bore hither and thither heroic riders in the prime of youth, slain and hanging (from their saddles) with their bows (still in their grasp).†¹¹ With swords and quivers attached (to their persons) and coats of mail loosened (from their bodies), hundreds of warriors, deprived of life, lay on the ground, sleeping on beds (worthy) of heroes.¹² Rushing against one another, falling down and rising up again, and rushing again having risen up, the combatants fought hand to hand.¹³ Afflicted by one another, many rolled on the field of battle. Infuriate elephants rushed hither and thither, and car-warriors by hundreds were slain.‡¹⁴ And car-warriors, along with their cars, were crushed on all sides. And some warrior fell upon his car, slain by another with arrows.¹⁵ And a mighty car-warrior might be seen to fall down from high, his charioteer (also) having been slain. A thick dust arose, and thereupon unto the warrior struggling in battle,¹⁶ the twang of the (hostile) bow indicated the struggling adversary before. From the pressure also on their bodies, combatants guessed their foes.¹⁷ And the warriors, O king, fought on with arrows, guided by the sounds of bowstrings and (hostile) divisions. The very hiss of the arrows shot by the combatants at one another could not be heard.¹⁸ And so loud

* The second line of the 9th, which is the first of the 10th in the Bombay edition, is certainly incorrect as printed in the Bengal texts. I, therefore, adopt the Bombay reading.—T.

† For *Swavalam nihitam* the Bombay text reads *Yuvānam nihitam* which is better.—T.

‡ A *sloka* and a half occur in the Bombay text between the first half of the 14th and its second half as above.—T.

was the sound of drums, that it seemed to pierce the ears. And in that tumultuous uproar making the hair stand on end, the name the combatant uttered in the battle, while displaying his prowess, could not be heard. The sire could not recognise the son of his loins.¹⁹⁻²⁰ One of the the wheels being broken, or the yoke being torn off, or one of the steeds being slain, the brave car-warrior was overthrown from his car, along with his chariot-eer, by means of straight arrows.²¹ And thus many heroic warriors, deprived of their cars, were seen to fly away.*²² He who was slain had his head cut off; he who was not slain, was struck at the very vitals; but unstruck there was none, when Bhishma attacked the foe.²³ And in that terrific battle, Cweta caused a great slaughter of the Kurus. And he slew many noble princes by hundreds upon hundreds.†²⁴ And he cut off, by means of his arrows, the heads of car-warriors by hundreds upon hundreds, and (their) arms decked with *Angadās*, and (their) bows all around.²⁵ And car-warriors and car-wheels, and others that were on cars, and the cars themselves, and standards both small and costly, O king,²⁶ and large bodies of horse, and crowds of cars, and crowds of men, O Bhārata, and elephants also by hundreds, were destroyed, O bull of Bharata's race, by Cweta.²⁷ Ourselves, from fear of Cweta, abandoning (Bhishma) that best of car-warriors, left the battle retreating to the rear, and, therefore, do we (now) behold your lordship.²⁸ And all the Kurus, O son of Kuru's race, retreating beyond the range of arrows, and abandoning at Bhishma the son of Cāntanu, in that battle, stood (as spectators though) armed for the combat.²⁹ Cheerful in the hour of (universal) cheerlessness, that tiger among men, Bhishma, alone of our army, in that terrible battle stood immovable like the mountain Meru.³⁰ Taking the lives (of the foe) like the Sun at the close of winter, he stood resplendant with the golden rays (of his car) like the Sun himself with his rays.³¹ And that great Bowman shot clouds of arrows and struck down his enemies in that battle like Vishnu armed with the discus

* I adopt the Bombay reading of the 22nd verse.—T.

† *Swayam* in some of the Bengal texts is a misprint for *Kshayam*. T.

striking down the *Asuras*.^{*32} And while being slaughtered by Bhishma in that dreadful combat, those warriors breaking away from their ranks, they all fled from him, as if from a fire fed by fuel.†³³ Encountering the single warrior (Cweta), that slayer of foes, Bhishma, was the only one (amongst us) who was cheerful and whole. Devoted to the welfare of Duryodhana, he began to consume the Pāndava (warriors).³⁴ Reckless of his very life which is difficult of being cast off, and abandoning all fear, he slaughtered, O king, the Pāndava army in that fierce conflict.‡³⁵ And beholding the generalissimo (Cweta) smiting the (Dhārarāshtra) divisions, thy father Bhishma, called also Devavrata, impetuously rushed against him.³⁶ Thereupon, Cweta covered Bhishma with an extensive net-work of arrows. And Bhishma also covered Cweta with a flight of arrows.³⁷ And roaring like a couple of bulls, they rushed, like two infuriate elephants of gigantic size or two raging tigers, against each other.³⁸ Baffling each other's weapons by means of their weapons, those bulls among men, viz, Bhishma and Cweta, fought with each other, desirous of taking each other's life.³⁹ In one single day Bhishma, infuriate with anger, could consume the Pāndava army with his arrows if Cweta did not protect it,⁴⁰ Beholding the grand-sire then turned off by Cweta, the Pāndavas were filled with joy, while thy son became cheerless.⁴¹ Duryodhana then, with wrath excited and surrounded by many kings, rushed with his troops against the Pāndava host in battle.⁴² Then Cweta, abandoning the son of Gangā, slaughtered thy son's host with great impetuosity like the wind (uprooting) trees with violence.⁴³ And the son of Virāta, senseless with wrath, having routed (thy) army, advanced (once more), O king, to the place where Bhishma was stationed.⁴⁴ And those two high-souled and mighty warriors then, both blazing with their

* *Chakrapāni* is Vishnu armed with the discus.—T.

† For *Yuthān* which gives no meaning, I read *Yodhās*. The Bengal reading *muktvāgnimiva dārunā* is better than the Bombay reading *muktam bhūmishu dārunām*.—T.

‡ The Bombay reading *Jivitām dustyajam* is better than the Bengal reading *Jivam tāduttham* if it has any meaning.—T.

arrows, battled with each other like Vritra and Vāsava (of old),⁴⁵ desirous, O king, of slaying each other. Drawing (his) bow to the fullest stretch, Cweta pierced Bhishma with seven arrows.⁴⁶ The valorous (Bhishma) then, putting forth his prowess, quickly checked (his foe's) valor, like an infuriate elephant checking an infuriate compeer.⁴⁷ And Cweta then, that delighter of Kshatriyas, struck Bhishma, and Bhishma also, the son of Cāntanu, pierced him in return with ten arrows.⁴⁸ And though pierced by him (thus), that mighty warrior stood still like a mountain. And Cweta again pierced Cāntanu's son with five and twenty straight arrows, at which all wondered. Then smiling and licking with his tongue the corners of his mouth, Cweta in that combat ⁴⁹⁻⁵⁰ cut off Bhishma's bow into ten fragments with ten arrows. Then aiming a plumed arrow made wholly of iron,⁵¹ (Cweta) crushed the palmyra on the top of the standard of the high-souled (Bhishma). And beholding the standard of Bhishma cut down, thy sons,⁵² thought that Bhishma was slain, having succumbed to Cweta. And the Pāndavas also, filled with delight, blew their conchs all around.⁵³ And beholding the palmyra-standard of the high-souled Bhishma laid low, Duryodhana, from wrath, urged his own army (to the battle).⁵⁴ And they all began very carefully to protect Bhishma who was in great distress. Unto them, also unto those that stood (idle) spectators, the king said,—Either Cweta will die (today),⁵⁵ or Bhishma the son of Cāntanu. I say this truly.—Hearing the words of the king, the mighty car-warriors speedily,⁵⁶ with four kinds of forces, advanced for protecting the son of Gangā. And Vālhika, and Kritavarman, and Kripa, and Calya also, O Bhārata,⁵⁷ and the son of Jarāsandha, and Vikarna, and Chitrasena, and Vivinçati, with great speed, when speed was so necessary, surrounding him on all sides,⁵⁸ poured on Cweta ceaseless showers of arrows. That mighty warrior then, of immeasurable soul, quickly checked those angry warriors by means of sharp arrows, displaying his own lightness of hand. And checking them all like a lion a multitude of elephants,⁵⁹⁻⁶⁰ Cweta then cut off Bhishma's bow with a thick shower of arrows. Then Bhishma the son of

Oāntanu, taking up another bow in that battle,⁶¹ pierced Cweta, O king, with arrows furnished with feathers of *Kan-ka* birds. Then the commander (of the Pāndava army), with wrath excited, pierced Bhishma in that encounter, O king, with a great many shafts in the very sight of all. Beholding Bhishma, that foremost of heroes in all the world, checked in battle by Cweta, the king (Duryodhana) became greatly troubled, and great also became the distress of thy whole army.⁶²⁻⁶⁴ And beholding the heroic Bhishma checked and mangled by Cweta with his arrows, all thought that Bhishma, having succumbed to Cweta, was slain by him.⁶⁵ Then thy sire Devavrata, yielding to anger, and beholding his (own) standard overthrown and the (Dhārtarāshtra) army checked,⁶⁶ shot a great many arrows, O king, at Cweta. Cweta, however, that foremost of car-warriors, baffling all those (arrows) of Bhishma,⁶⁷ once more cut off, with a broad-headed shaft, thy sire's bow. Throwing aside that bow, O king, Gangā's son, senseless with anger,⁶⁸ taking up another bow large and stronger, and aiming seven large broad-headed arrows whetted on stone,⁶⁹ slew with four the four steeds of the generalissimo Cweta, and cut off with two his standard and with the seventh shaft that warrior of great prowess, exceedingly provoked, cut off his charioteer's head. Thereupon, that mighty car-warrior, jumping down from his car whose steeds and charioteer had been slain,⁷⁰⁻⁷¹ and yielding to the influence of wrath, became exceedingly troubled. The grandsire, beholding Cweta, that foremost of car-warriors, deprived of car,⁷² began to smite him on all sides with showers of arrows. And smitten in that combat with arrows shot from Bhishma's bow,⁷³ Cweta, leaving his bow on his (abandoned) car, took up a dart decked with gold. And taking up that terrible and fierce dart †⁷⁴ which resembled the fatal rod of Death and was capable of slaying Death's self, Cweta then,

* In the first line of 71st verse, the word is not *Laghu* but *alaghu*, the initial *a* being only silent according to the rule of *Sandhi*. Though omitted in the Bengal texts, it occurs in the Bombay edition.—T.

† *Ghorām*, *ugrām*, *mahābhyām*, are pleonastic.—T.

in great wrath, addressed Bhishma the son of Cāntanu in that combat,⁷⁵ saying,—*Wait a little, and behold me, O best men!*—And having said this unto Bhishma in battle, that great Bowman of exceeding prowess⁷⁶ and immeasurable soul, hurled that dart resembling a snake, displaying his valor for the sake of the Pāndavas and desiring to achieve thy evil.⁷⁷ Then loud cries of *oh* and *alas* arose among thy sons, O king, upon beholding that terrible dart resembling the rod of Death in splendour.⁷⁸ And hurled from Cweta's arms, (that dart), resembling a snake that had just cast off its slough, fell with great force, O king, like a large meteor from the firmament.⁷⁹ Thy sire Devavrata then, O king, without the slightest fear, with eight sharp and winged arrows, cut off into nine fragments, that dart decked with pure gold and which seemed to be covered with flames of fire,⁸⁰⁻⁸¹ as it coursed ablaze through the air. All thy troops then, O bull of Bharata's race, set up loud shouts of joy. The son of Virāta, however, beholding his dart cut off into fragments, became senseless with anger,⁸² and like one whose heart was overcome by (the arrival of) his hour, could not settle what to do. Deprived of his senses by anger, O king, the son of Virāta then, smiling,⁸³ joyfully took up a mace for Bhishma's slaughter. With eyes red in wrath, and resembling a second Yama armed with mace,⁸⁴ he rushed against Bhishma like a swollen torrent against the rocks. Regarding his impetuosity as incapable of check, Bhishma endued with great prowess⁸⁵ and conversant with the might (of others), suddenly alighted on the ground for warding off that blow. Cweta then, O king, whirling in wrath that heavy mace,⁸⁶ hurled it on Bhishma's car like the god Maheçwara. And in consequence of that mace intended for Bhishma's destruction, that car was reduced to ashes,⁸⁷ with standard, and charioteer, and steeds and shaft. Beholding Bhishma, that foremost of car-warrior's

* In the first line of 87 for *Maheçwara* (meaning *Civa*) the Bombay text reads *Dhaneçwara* (meaning *Kuvera* the lord of treasures). For also *Bhimanipātinyā* in the second line, the Bombay text reads *Bhishma nipātinyā*.—T.

become a combatant on foot,⁸⁸ many car-warriors, viz, Calya and others, speedily rushed (to his rescue). Mounting then upon another car, and cheerlessly stretching his bow,⁸⁹ Bhishma slowly advanced towards Cweta, seeing that foremost of car-warriors. Meanwhile, Bhishma heard a loud voice⁹⁰ uttered in the skies, that was celestial and fraught with his own good. (And the voice said)—*O Bhishma, O Bhishma, O thou of mighty arms, strive without losing a moment.*⁹¹ *Even this is the hour fixed by the Creator of the universe for success over this one.*—Hearing these words uttered by the celestial messenger,⁹² Bhishma, filled with joy, set his heart upon Cweta's destruction. And beholding that foremost of car-warriors, Cweta, become a combatant on foot,⁹³ many mighty car-warriors (of the Pāndava side) rushed unitedly (to his rescue). (They were) Sātyaki, and Bhimasena, and Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata's race;⁹⁴ and the (five) Kekaya brothers, and Dhrishtaketu, and Abhimanyu of great energy. And beholding them rushing (to the rescue), with Drona and Calya and Kripa⁹⁵ that hero of immeasurable soul (Bhishma) checked them all like the mountain resisting the force of the wind. And when all the high-souled warriors of the Pāndava side were (thus) held in check,⁹⁶ Cweta, taking up a sword, cut off Bhishma's bow. Casting aside that bow, the grandsire, quickly,⁹⁷ made up his mind for Cweta's destruction, having heard the words of the celestial messenger. Though baffled (by Cweta), thy sire Devavrata then,⁹⁸ that mighty car-warrior, quickly taking up another bow that resembled the bow of Cakra himself in splendour, stringed it in a moment.⁹⁹ Then thy sire, O chief of the Bharatas, beholding that mighty car-warrior Cweta, though the latter was then surrounded by those tigers among men with Bhimasena at their head,¹⁰⁰—(thy sire) the son of Gangā—advanced steadily for the sake of the generalissimo Cweta alone. Beholding Bhishma advance, Bhimasena of great prowess¹⁰¹ pierced him with sixty shafts. But that mighty car-warrior, thy sire Devavrata, checking both Bhimasena and Abhimanyu and other car-warriors with terrible shafts, struck him with three straight arrows.¹⁰²⁻¹⁰³ And the grandsire of the Bharatas also

struck Sātyaki, in that combat, with a hundred arrows, and Dhrishtadyumna with twenty, and the Kekaya brothers with five.¹⁰⁴ And checking all those great bowmen with terrible arrows, thy sire Devavrata advanced towards Cweta alone.¹⁰⁵ Then taking out an arrow resembling Death's self and capable of bearing a great strain and incapable of being resisted, the powerful Bhishma placed it on his bowstring.¹⁰⁶ And that shaft, furnished with wings and duly endued with the force of the *Brahma* weapon, was seen by the gods and *Gandharvas* and *Piçāchas* and *Uragas*, and *Rākshasas*.¹⁰⁷ And that shaft, of splendour like that of a blazing fire, piercing through his coat of mail (passed through his body and) struck into the earth, with a flash like that of heaven's bolt.¹⁰⁸ Like the Sun when speedily retiring to his western chambers taking along with him the rays of light, even thus that shaft passed out of Cweta's body, bearing-away with itself his life.¹⁰⁹ Thus slain in battle by Bhishma, we beheld that tiger among men fall down like the loosened crest of a mountain.¹¹⁰ And all the mighty car-warriors of the Kshatriya race belonging to the Pāndava side indulged in lamentations. Thy sons, however, and all the Kurus, were filled with delight.¹¹¹ Then, O king, beholding Cweta overthrown, Dusçāsana danced in joy over the field in accompaniment with the loud music of conchs and drums.¹¹² And when that great bowman was slain by Bhishma that ornament of battle, the mighty bowmen (of the Pāndava side) with Cikhandin at their head, trembled in fear.¹¹³ Then when their commander was slain, Dhananjaya, O king, and he of Vrishni's race, slowly withdrew the troops (for their nightly rest).¹¹⁴ And then, O Bhārata, the withdrawal took place of both theirs and thine, while thine and theirs were frequently setting up loud roars.¹¹⁵ And the mighty car-warriors of the Pārthas entered (their quarters) cheerlessly, thinking, O chastiser of foes, of that awful slaughter in single combat (of their commander).'¹¹⁶

SECTION XLIX.

“Dhritarāshtra said,—‘When the generalissimo Cweta, O son, was slain in battle by the enemy, what did those mighty bowmen, the Pānchālas with the Pāndavas, do? Hearing their commander Cweta slain, what happened between those that strove for his sake and their foes that retreated before them?’ O Sanjaya, hearing of our victory, (thy) words please my heart! Nor doth my heart feel any shame in remembering our transgression.*³ The old chief of Kuru’s race is ever cheerful and devoted (to us). (As regards Duryodhana), having provoked hostilities with that intelligent son of his uncle,⁴ he sought at one time the protection of the sons of Pāndu in consequence of his anxiety and fear due to Yudhishtira. At that time, abandoning everything he lived in misery.⁵ In consequence of the prowess of the sons of Pāndu, and everywhere receiving checks—having placed himself amid entanglements—from his enemies, Duryodhana had (for some time) recourse to honorable behaviour.⁶ Formerly that wicked-minded king had placed himself under their protection. Why, therefore, O Sanjaya, hath Cweta who was devoted to Yudhishtira, been slain?⁷ Indeed, this narrow-minded prince, with all his prospects, hath been hurled to the nether regions by a number of wretches. Bhishma liked not the war, nor ever did the preceptor.†⁸ Nor Kripa, nor

* The transgression to which Dhritarāshtra alludes is the slaughter, by Bhishma from his car, of Cweta who was then a combatant on foot. Or, it may be the very slaughter of Cweta, who was dear to the Pāndavas and which act would, the king thought, provoke them more.—T.

† Verses 4 to 7 are exceedingly difficult. I am not sure that I have understood them correctly. They are of the nature of *Vyasakutas*, i. e. deliberate obscurities for puzzling Ganeṣa, who acted as the scribe, for enabling Vyasa to gain time for composition. In verse 4, *Pitus* means uncle’s and not father’s; so also *durga deṣam* in verse 6 means entanglements, like Duryodhana’s hostility with the *Gandharvas* on the occasion of the tale of cattle. In verse of the Bengal reading is *Yudhishtiram bhaktiyā*. The Bombay reading, which I adopt, is *Yudhishtire bhaktas*. In 8, the *purushādhamas* are Cakuni and Karna, &c.—T.

Gāndhāri liked it, O Sanjaya, nor do I like it. Nor Vāsudeva of Vrishni's race, nor that just king the son of Pāndu;⁹ nor Bhima, nor Arjuna, nor those bulls among men the twins (liked it). Always forbidden by me, by Gāndhāri, by Vidura,¹⁰ by Rāma the son of Jamadagni, and by the high-souled Vyasa also, the wicked-minded and sinful Duryodhana, with Dusçāsana, O Sanjaya, always following the counsels of Karna and Suvala's son, behaved maliciously towards the Pāndavas.¹¹⁻¹² I think, O Sanjaya, that he has fallen into great distress! After the slaughter of Cweta and the victory of Bhishma,¹³ what did Pārtha, excited with rage, do in battle, accompanied by Krishua? Indeed, it is from Arjuna that my fears arise, and those fears, O son, cannot be dispelled.¹⁴ He, Dhananjaya, the son of Kunti, is brave and endued with great activity. I think, with his arrows he will cut into fragments the bodies of his enemies.¹⁵ The son of Indra, and in battle equal unto Upendra the younger brother of Indra, a warrior whose wrath and purposes are never futile, alas, beholding him what became the state of your minds?¹⁶ Brave, acquainted with the *Vedas*, resembling the fire and the Sun in splendour, and possessing a knowledge of the *Aindra* weapon, that warrior of immeasurable soul is ever victorious when he falleth upon the foe!¹⁷ His weapons always falling upon the foe with the force of the thunderbolt, and his arms wonderfully quick in drawing the bowstring, the son of Kunti is a mighty car-warrior.¹⁸ The formidable son of Drupada also, O Sanjaya, is endued with great wisdom. What, indeed, did Dhrishtadyumna do when Cweta was slain in battle?¹⁹ I think that in consequence of the wrongs they sustained of old, and of the slaughter of their commander, the hearts of the high-souled Pāndavas blazed up.²⁰ Thinking of their wrath I am never at my ease, by day or by night, on account of Duryodhana. How did the great battle take place? Tell me all about it, O Sanjaya!²¹

“Sanjaya said,—Hear, O king, quietly about thy great transgressions. It behoveth thee not to impute the fault to Duryodhana!²² As is the construction of an embankment when the waters have disappeared, so is thy understanding,

or, it is like the digging of a well when the house is on fire.*²³ When, after the forenoon had passed away, the commander Cweta was, O Bhārata, slain by Bhishma in that fierce conflict,²⁴ Virāta's son Cankha, that grinder of hostile ranks, ever delighting in battle, beholding Calya stationed with Kritavarman (on his car),²⁵ suddenly blazed up with wrath, like fire with clarified butter. That mighty warrior, stretching his large bow that resembled the bow of Indra himself,²⁶ rushed with the desire of slaying the ruler of the Madras in battle, himself supported on all sides by a large division of cars.²⁷ And Cankha, causing an arrowy down-pour, rushed towards the car on which Calya was. And beholding him advancing like an infuriate elephant,²⁸ seven mighty car-warriors of thy side surrounded him,—desirous of rescuing the ruler of the Madras already within the jaws of Death.²⁹ Then the mighty-armed Bhishma, roaring like the very clouds, and taking up a bow full six cubits long, rushed towards Cankha in battle.³⁰ And beholding that mighty car-warrior and great bowman thus rushing, the Pāndava host began to tremble like a boat tossed by the violence of the tempest.³¹ Then Arjuna, quickly advancing, placed himself in front of Cankha, thinking that Cankha should then be protected from Bhishma. And then the combat commenced between Bhishma and Arjuna.³² And loud cries of *oh* and *alas* arose among the warriors engaged in battle. And one force seemed to merge into another force. And thus all were filled with wonder.†³³ Then Calya, mace in hand, alighting from his large car, slew, O bull of Bharata's race, the four steeds of Cankha.³⁴ Jumping down from his car thus deprived of steeds, and taking a sword, Cankha ran towards Vibhatsu's car and (mounting on it) was once more at his ease.³⁵ And then there fell from Bhishma's car innumerable arrows by which were covered the entire welkin and the earth.³⁶ And that

* As both operations are useless, so are these thy regrets.—T.

† The sense is that Arjuna representing one force, and Bhishma another, the two forces seemed to mingle into one another, like one bolt of heaven against another, as one may say.—T.

foremost of smiters, Bhishma, slaughtered with his arrows the Pānchāla, the Matsya, the Kekaya, and the Prabhadra hosts.³⁷ And soon abandoning in that battle Pāndu's son (Arjuna) capable of drawing the bow with (even) his left hand, Bhishma rushed towards Drupada the king of the Pānchālas surrounded by his host.³⁸ And he soon covered his dear relative with innumerable arrows. Like a forest consumed by fire at the end of winter,³⁹ the troops of Drupada were seen to be consumed. And Bhishma stood in that battle like a blazing fire without smoke,⁴⁰ or, like the Sun himself at midday scorching everything around with his heat. The combatants of the Pāndavas were not able to even look at Bhishma.⁴¹ And afflicted with fear, the Pāndava host cast its eyes around, and not beholding any protector, looked like a herd of kine afflicted by cold.⁴² Slaughtered or retreating in despondence, being crushed the while, loud cries, O Bhārata, of *oh* and *alas* arose among the troops of the Pāndavas.⁴³ Then Bhishma the son of Cāntanu, with bow always drawn to a circle, shot therefrom blazing arrows that resembled snakes of virulent poison.⁴⁴ And creating continuous lines of arrows in all directions, that hero of rigid vows slew Pāndava car-warriors, naming each, O Bhārata, beforehand!⁴⁵ And then when the troops of the Pāndavas were routed and crushed all over the field, the sun set and nothing could be seen.⁴⁶ And then beholding Bhishma, O bull of Bharata's race, proudly standing in battle, the Pārthas withdrew their forces (for nightly rest).'⁴⁷

SECTION L.

"Sanjaya said,—'When the troops, O bull of Bharata's race, were withdrawn on the first day, and when Duryodhana was filled with delight upon (beholding) Bhishma excited with wrath in battle,¹ king Yudhishtira the just, speedily repaired unto Janārdhana, accompanied by all his brothers and all the kings (on his side).² Filled with great grief thinking of his defeat, and beholding Bhishma's prowess, O king, he addressed that scion of Vrishni's race, saying,³—

Behold, O Krishna, that mighty bowman Bhishma of terrible prowess! He consumes with his arrows my troops like fire (consuming) dry grass!⁴ How shall we even look at that high-souled (warrior) who is licking up my troops like fire fed with clarified butter?⁵ Beholding that tiger among men, that mighty warrior armed with the bow, my troops fly away, afflicted with arrows!⁶ Enraged Yama himself, or He armed with the thunder, or even Varuna noose in hand, or Kuvera armed with mace, may be vanquished in battle!⁷ But the mighty car-warrior Bhishma of great energy is incapable of being vanquished! Such being the case, I am sinking in the fathomless ocean represented by Bhishma, without a boat (to rescue me)!⁸ In consequence, O Keçava, of the weakness of my understanding, having obtained Bhishma (for a foe in battle), I shall, O Govinda, retire into the woods! To live there is preferable,⁹ and not to devote these lords of earth to Death in the form of Bhishma! Conversant with mighty weapons, Bhishma, O Krishna, will annihilate my army.¹⁰ As insects rush into the blazing fire for their own destruction, the combatants of my army are even so.¹¹ In putting forth prowess for the sake of kingdom, O thou of Vrishni's race, I am being led to destruction! My heroic brothers also are pained and afflicted with arrows¹² for my sake, having been deprived of both sovereignty and happiness in consequence of their love for their eldest brother! We regard life very highly, for, under these circumstances, life is too precious (to be sacrificed).¹³ During the remainder of my days I will practise the severest of ascetic austerities. I will not, O Keçava, cause these friends of mine to be slain!¹⁴ The mighty Bhishma incessantly slays, with his celestial weapons, many thousands of my car-warriors who are foremost of smiters.¹⁵ Tell me, O Mâdhava, without delay, what should be done that might do me good. As regards Arjuna, I see that he is an indifferent spectator in this battle.¹⁶ Endued with great might,

* *Aplavas* and *Aplave* are both correct.—T.

† In the first line of the 14th verse, *Aviçeshena* seems to be incorrect. The Bombay text reads *Avaçeshena* which I adopt.—T.

this Bhima alone, remembering Kshatriya duties, fighteth putting forth the prowess of his arms and to the utmost of his power.¹⁷ With his hero-slaying mace, this high-souled (warrior), to the full measure of his powers, achieveth the most difficult feats upon foot-soldiers and steeds and cars and elephants.¹⁸ This hero, however, is incapable, O sire, of destroying in fair fight the hostile host in even a century!¹⁹ This thy friend (Arjuna) alone (amongst us) is conversant with (mighty) weapons. He, however, beholding us consumed by Bhishma and the high-souled Drona, looketh indifferently on us!²⁰ The celestial weapons of Bhishma and the high-souled Drona, incessantly applied, are consuming all the Kshatriyas!²¹ O Krishna, such is his prowess, that Bhishma, with wrath excited, aided by the kings (on his side), will, without doubt, annihilate us!²² O lord of *Yoga*, look for that great bowman, that mighty car-warrior, who will give Bhishma his quietus like rain-charged clouds quenching a forest conflagration.*²³ (Then) through thy grace, O Govinda, the sons of Pāndu, their foes being slain, will, after recovery of their kingdom, be happy with their kinsmen!—²⁴

“Having said this, the high-souled son of Prithā, with heart afflicted by grief and mind turned within, remained silent for a long while in a reflective mood.²⁵ Beholding the son of Pāndu stricken with grief and deprived of his senses by sorrow, Govinda then, gladdening all the Pāndavas, said,²⁶—Do not grieve, O chief of the Bharatas! It behoveth thee not to grieve, when thy brothers are all heroes and renowned bowmen in the world!²⁷ I also am employed in doing thee good, as also that mighty car-warrior Sātyaki, and Virāta and Drupada, both reverend in years, and Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata's line.²⁸ And so also, O best of kings, all these monarchs with their (respective) troops are expectant of thy favor and devoted to thee, O king!²⁹ This mighty car-warrior, Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata's race, placed in command of thy army, is always desirous of thy welfare and engaged in doing

* The first line of the 23rd verse is read with a slight variation in the Bombay text.—T.

that which is agreeable to thee,³⁰ as also this Cikhandin, O thou of mighty arms, who is certainly the slayer of Bhishma ! Hearing these words, the king (Yudhishtira), unto that mighty car-warrior Dhrishtadyumna,³¹ said, in that very assembly and in the hearing of Vāsudeva, these words,— O Dhrishtadyumna, mark these words that I say unto thee, O thou of Prishata's line !³² The words uttered by me should not be transgressed. Approved by Vāsudeva, thou hast been the commander of our forces.*³³ As Kārtikeya, in days of old, was ever the commander of the celestial host, so also art thou, O bull among men, the commander of the Pāndava host !³⁴ Putting forth thy prowess, O tiger among men, slay the Kauravas ! I will follow thee, and Bhima, and Krishna also, O sire,³⁵ and the sons of Mādri united together, and the sons of Draupadi accoutred in mail, and all the other foremost of kings, O bull among men !³⁶—Then gladdening (the listeners), Dhrishtadyumna said,—Ordnained of old by Cambhu himself, I am, O son of Prithā, the slayer of Drona.³⁷ I shall now fight in battle against Bhishma and Drona and Kripa and Calya and Jayadratha and all the proud monarchs (on the Kuru side) !³⁸—When that foremost of princes, that slayer of foes, the son of Prishata, said this defiantly, the Pāndava warriors, endued with great energy and incapable of being defeated in battle, all set up a loud shout.³⁹ And then Prithā's son Yudhishtira said unto the commander of his army, the son of Prishata, (these words).—An array known by the name of *Kraunchārūna*, that is destructive of all foes,⁴⁰ and that was spoken of by Vrihaspati unto Indra in days of old when the gods and the *Asuras* fought,—that array destructive of hostile divisions, do thou form !⁴¹ Unseen before, let the kings behold it, along with the Kurus !—Thus addressed by that god among men, like Vishnu addressed by the wielder of the thunderbolt,†⁴² he (Dhrishtadyumna), when

* In the first line of the 33rd verse, *nābhikruddham* is evidently a misreading. The word, as in the Bombay text, is *nābhikramyam* which I adopt.—T.

† The correct reading is *Vishnu*, and not *Jishnu* as in many of the Bengal texts.—T.

morning dawned, placed Dhananjaya in the van of the whole army. And Dhananjaya's standard, created at Indra's command by the celestial artificer, while moving through the skies, seemed wonderfully beautiful. Decked with banners bearing hues resembling those of Indra's bow,⁴³⁻⁴⁴ coursing through the air like a ranger of the skies, and looking like the fleeting edifices of vapour in the welkin, seemed, O sire, to glide dancingly along the track of the car (to which it was attached).^{45*} And the bearer of *Gāndīva* with that (standard) graced with gems, and that standard itself with the bearer of *Gāndīva*, looked highly adorned, like the Self-creator with the Sun (and the Sun with the Self-creator).†⁴⁶ And king Drupada, surrounded by a large number of troops, became the head (of that array). And the two kings Kuntibhoja and Caiyya became its two eyes.⁴⁷ And the ruler of the Daçārnas, and the Prayāgas, with the Dāçerakas, and the Anupakas, and the Kirātas, were placed in its neck, O bull of Bharata's race.⁴⁸ And Yudhishtira, O king, with the Patachcharas, the Hundas, the Pauravakas, and the Nishādas, became its back.⁴⁹ And Bhimasena, and Dhrishtadyumna the son of Prishata, and the sons of Draupadi, and Abhimanyu, and that mighty car-warrior Sātyaki, became its two wings,⁵⁰ as also the Piçāchas, the Daradas, the Paundras, with the Kundavishas, and the Mandakas, the Ladakas, the Tanganas, and the further-Tanganas,⁵¹ and the Vāhikas, the Tittiras, the Pāndyas, and the Uddras, O Bhārata, and the Caravas, the Tumbhumas, the Vatsas, and the Nākulas.⁵² And Nakula and Sahadeva placed themselves on the left wing. And on the joints of the wings were placed ten thousand cars, and on the

* *Indrāyudha* is Indra's bow or the rain-bow. *Akāçaga* (literally, a ranger of the skies) is a bird. The vapoury edifices and forms, constantly melting away and reappearing in new shapes, are called *Gandharvanagaras* (lit. towns of the *Gandharvas* or celestial choristers).—T.

† The Bengal reading is *Savayambhuriva bhānuna* which I have adopted. The Bombay reading is *Meruriva bhānuā*, which means "like the mountain Meru with the Sun." It is difficult to make a choice between the two.—T.

head a hundred thousand,⁵³ and on the back a hundred millions and twenty thousand, and on the neck a hundred and seventy thousand.⁵⁴ And on the joints of the wings, the wings, and the extremities of the wings, proceeded elephants in large bodies, looking, O king, like blazing mountains.⁵⁵ And the rear was protected by Virāta aided by the Kekayas, and the ruler of the Kāçis and the king of the Chedis, with thirty thousand cars.⁵⁶ Forming, O Bhārata, their mighty array thus, the Pāndavas, expectant of sunrise, waited for battle, all cased in armour.⁵⁷ And their white umbrellas, clean and costly, and brilliant as the sun, shone resplendant on their elephants and cars,†⁵⁸

SECTION LI.

“Sanjaya said,—‘Beholding the mighty and terrible array called *Krauncha* formed by Pāndu’s son of immeasurable energy, thy son,¹ approaching the preceptor, and Kripa, and Calya, O sire, and Somadatta’s son, and Vikarna, and Aṣwatthāman also,² and all his brothers too, headed by Dusāsana, O Bhārata, and other immeasurable heroes assembled there for battle,³ said these timely words, gladdening them all, —Armed with various kinds of weapons, ye all are conversant with the meaning of the scriptures!⁴ Ye mighty car-warriors, each of you singly are capable of slaying in battle the sons of Pāndu with their troops! How much more then, when ye are united together!⁵ Our host, therefore, which is protected by Bhishma, is immeasurable, while that host of theirs, which is protected by Bhima, is measurable.†⁶ Let the

* The Bombay text differs in many respects from the Bengal texts as regards the positions assigned to the several warriors and races in the Pāndava host. It is impossible to settle the true readings. I have, therefore, without any attempt at correction, followed the Bengal texts.—T.

† The last word of the 58th verse is *Ratheshkucha*, and not *Dhajeskucha*, for umbrellas could not possibly be fastened to standards.—T.

‡ This identical verse occurs in the first chapter of the *Bhagavad-gītā* (*vide* verse 10, chap 25, of this *Pārvan*, *ante*). There, following

Samsthānas, the Curasenas, the Venikas, the Kukkuras, the Rechakas, the Trigartas, the Madrakas, the Yavanas,⁷ with Catrunjaya, and Dusçāsana, and that excellent hero Vikarna, and Nanda and Upanandaka,⁸ and Chitrasena, along with the Manibhadra, protect Bhishma with their (respective) troops!⁹—Then Bhishma and Drona and thy sons, O sire, formed a mighty array for resisting that of the Pārthas.¹⁰ And Bhishma, surrounded by a large body of troops, advanced, leading a mighty army, like the chief of the celestials himself.¹¹ And that mighty bowman, the son of Bharadwāja, endued with great energy, followed him, with the Kuntalas, the Daçārnas, and the Magadhas, O king,¹² and with the Vidarbhas, the Melakas, the Karnas, and the Prāvaranas also. And the Gāndhāras, the Sindhusauviras, the Civis, and the Vasātis, with all their combatants also, (followed) Bhishma, that ornament of battle. And Cakuni, with all his troops, protected the son of Bharadwāja.¹³⁻¹⁴ And then king Duryodhana, united with all his brothers, with the Açwālakas, the Vikarnas, the Vāmanas, the Koçalas,¹⁵ the Daradas, the Vrikas, as also the Kshudrakas and the Mālavas, advanced cheerfully against the Pāndava host.¹⁶ And Bhuriçravas, and Cala, and Calya, and the Bhagadatta, O sire, and Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti, protected the left flank.¹⁷ And Somadatta, and Suçarman, and Sudakshina the ruler of the Kāmvojas and Catāyus, and Crutāyus, were on the right flank.¹⁸ And Açwatthāman, and Kripa, and Kritavarman of Sātwtā's race, with a very large division of the troops, were stationed at the rear of the army.¹⁹ And behind them were the rulers of many provinces, and Ketumat, and Vasudāna. And the powerful son of the king of the Kāçis.²⁰ Then all the troops on thy side, cheerfully waiting for battle, O Bhārata, blew their conchs with great pleasure, and set up leonine roars.²¹ And hearing the shouts of those (combatants) filled with delight, the venerable Kuru grandsire, endued with great

the commentators, particularly Creedhara, I have rendered *Aparyāptam* and *paryāptam* as less than sufficient and sufficient. It would seem, however, that that is erroneous.—T.

prowess, uttering a leonine roar, blew his conch.²² Thereupon, conchs and drums and diverse kinds of *Peçis* and cymbals, were sounded at once by others, and the noise made became a loud uproar.²³ And Mādhava and Arjuna, both stationed on a great car unto which were yoked white steeds, blew their excellent conchs decked with gold and jewels.²⁴ And Hrishikeça blew the conch called *Gigantea*, and Dhananjaya (that called) *Theodotes*. And Vrikodara of terrible deeds blew the huge conch called *Arundinea*.²⁵ And Kunti's son king Yudhishtira blew the conch called *Triumphatrix*; while Nakula and Sahadeva (those conchs called) *Dulcisona* and *Gemmi flora*.²⁶ And the ruler of Kāçi, and Caivya, and Cikhandin the mighty car-warrior, and Dhrishtadyumna, and Virāta, and the mighty car-warrior Sātyaki,²⁷ and that great bowman the king of the Pāñchālas, and the five sons of Draupadi, all blew their large conchs and set up leonine roars.²⁸ And that great uproar uttered there by those heroes, loudly reverberated through both the earth and the welkin.²⁹ Thus, O great king, the Kurus and the Pāñdavās, both filled with delight, advanced against each other for battling again, and scorching each other thus.'"³⁰

SECTION LII.

“Dhritarāshtra said,—‘When mine and the hostile hosts were thus formed into battle-array, how did the foremost of smiters begin to strike?’”

“Sanjaya said,—‘When all the divisions were thus arrayed, the combatants waited, each cased in mail, and with their beautiful standards all upraised. And beholding the (Kuru) host that resembled the limitless ocean,† thy son Duryodhana, O king, stationed within it, said unto all the combatants on thy side,—‘Cased in mail (as ye are), begin ye the fight!’—The combatants then, entertaining cruel intentions, and aban-

* For these names, *vide* note in page 75 *ante*, *Bhishma Parvan*.—T

† A slight difference of reading is noticeable in the first line of this verse between the Bengal and the Bombay texts.—T.

doning their very lives, all rushed against the Pāṇḍavas, with standards upraised.⁴ The battle that took place then was fierce and made the hair to stand on end. And the cars and elephants all got mixed together.⁵ And shafts with beautiful feathers, and endued with great energy and sharp points, shot by car-warriors, fell upon elephants and horses.⁶ And when the battle began in this way, the venerable Kuru grandsire, the mighty-armed Bhishma of terrible prowess, cased in mail, and taking up his bow, and approaching them, showered an arrowy downpour on the heroic son of Subhadrā, and Bhimasena, and the mighty car-warrior Arjuna, and the ruler of the Kekayas, and Virāta, and Dhriṣhtadyumna of Prishata's race, as also upon the Chedi and the Matsya warriors.⁷⁻⁹ And that mighty array (of the Pāṇḍavas) wavered at the onset of that hero. And terrific was the encounter that took place between all the combatants. And horse-men and car-warriors and foremost of steeds fell fast. And the car-divisions of the Pāṇḍavas began to fly away.¹¹ Then that tiger among men, Arjuna, beholding that mighty car-warrior Bhishma, angrily said unto him of Vrishni's race,—Proceed to the place where the grandsire is !¹² O thou of Vrishni's race, it is evident that this Bhishma, with wrath excited, will annihilate for Duryodhana's benefit my host !¹³ And this Drona, and Kripa, and Calya, and Vikarna, O Janārdhana, united with Dhritarāshtra's sons headed by Duryodhana,¹⁴ and protected by this firm bowman, will slaughter the Pāṅchālas ! Even I, therefore, shall slay Bhishma for the sake of my troops, O Janārdhana !¹⁵—Unto him Vāsudeva then said,—Be careful, O Dhananjaya, for I will soon take thee, O hero, towards the grandsire's car !¹⁶—Having said this, O king, Cauṛin took that car, which was celebrated over the world, before the car of Bhishma.¹⁷ With numerous banners all waving, with steeds looking handsome like a flight of (white) cranes, with standard upraised on which was the ape roaring fiercely,¹⁸ upon his large car of solar effulgence and whose rattle resembled the roar of the clouds, slaughtering the Kaurava divisions and the Curusenās also, the son of Pāṇḍu,¹⁹ that enhancer of the joys of friends, speedily came to the encounter. Him (thus)

rushing impetuously like an infuriate elephant²⁰ and (thus) frightening in battle brave combatants and felling them with his shafts, Bhishma the son of Cāntanu, protected by the warriors headed by Saindhava and by the combatants of the East and the Sauviras and the Kekayas, encountered with great impetuosity. Who else save the Kuru grandsire and those car-warriors, *viz.* Drona and Vikartana's son (Karna), are capable of advancing in battle against the bearer of the bow called *Gāndīva*? Then, O great king, Bhishma the grand-sire of the Kauravas,²¹⁻²³ struck Arjuna with seventyseven arrows, and Drona (stuck him)with five and twenty, and Kripa with fifty;²⁴ and Duryodhana with four and sixty, and Cala with nine arrows; and Drona's son, that tiger among men, with sixty, and Vikarna with three arrows;²⁵ and Saindhava with nine, and Cakuni with five. And Ārtāyani, O king, pierced Pāndu's son with three broad-headed arrows. And (though) pierced on all sides by them with sharp arrows, that great bowman,²⁶ that mighty-armed (warrior), wavered not, like a mountain that is pierced (with arrows). Thereupon he, the diadem-decked, of immeasurable soul, O bull of Bharata's race, in return pierced Bhishma with five and twenty, and Kripa with nine arrows, and Drona with sixty, O tiger among men, and Vikarna with three arrows; and Ārtāyani with three arrows, and the king (Duryodhana) also with five. And then Sātyaki, and Virāta, and Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata's race, and the sons of Draupadi, and Abhimanyu, all surrounded him, (proceeding to his support). Then the prince of the Pāñchālas, supported by the Somakas, advanced towards the great bowman Drona who was engaged in seeking the welfare of Gangā's son. Then Bhishma, that foremost of car-warriors, speedily pierced the son of Pāndu²⁷⁻³¹ with eighty sharp arrows, upon which the combatants on thy side were much gratified. Hearing the shouts of those rejoicing warriors, that lion among car-warriors, Dhananjaya,³²⁻³³ endued with great prowess, then cheerfully entered into the midst of those lions

* The 26th verse in the Bengal texts consists of three lines. In the Bombay text, the half-sloka about *Artāyani* does not occur.—T.

among car-warriors, and sported with his bow, O king, (successively) aiming those mighty car-warriors. Then that ruler of men, king Duryodhana, said unto Bhishma,³⁴ beholding his own troops (thus) afflicted in battle by the son of Prithā,— This mighty son of Pāndu, O sire, accompanied by Krishna,³⁵ felling all our troops, cutteth down our roots, even though thou, O son of Gangā, and that foremost of car-warriors, Drona, are alive!³⁶ O monarch, it is for thee only that this Karna, laying aside his weapons, doth not fight with the sons of Prithā in battle, (though) he is ever a well-wisher of mine.³⁷ Do, therefore, that, O son of Gangā, by which Phālguna may be slain!—Thus addressed, O king, thy sire Devavrata,³⁸ saying,—*Fie to Kshatriya usages*, then proceeded towards Pārtha's car. And all the kings, O monarch, seeing both those warriors with white steeds yoked unto their cars, stationed (for battle),³⁹ set up loud leonine roars, and also blew their conchs, O sire! And Drona's son, and Duryodhana, and thy son Vikarna,⁴⁰ surrounding Bhishma in that combat, stood, O sire, for battle. And so all the Pāndavas, surrounding Dhananjaya,⁴¹ stood for fierce conflict. And the battle then commenced. And the son of Gangā pierced Pārtha in that combat with nine shafts.⁴² And Arjuna pierced him in return with ten shafts penetrating into the very vitals. Then with a thousand arrows, well shot, Pāndu's son⁴³ Arjuna, famed for his skill in battle, shrouded Bhishma on all sides. That arrowy net, however, of Pārtha, O king, Bhishma the son of Cāntanu baffled with an arrowy net (of his own). And both well-pleased, and both delighting in battle,⁴⁴⁻⁴⁵ fought with each other without each gaining any advantage over the other, and each desirous of counteracting the other's feats. And the successive flights of arrows shot from Bhishma's bow⁴⁶ were seen to be dispersed by the shafts of Arjuna. And so the flights of arrows shot by Arjuna,⁴⁷ cut off by the arrows of Gangā's son, all fell down on the ground. And Arjuna pierced Bhishma with five and twenty arrows of sharp points.⁴⁸ And Bhishma too, in that combat, pierced Pārtha in return with nine arrows. And those two mighty warriors, those chastisers of foes, piercing each other's steeds,

and also the shafts and the wheels of each other's cars, began to sport. Then, O king, Bhishma, that foremost of smiters,⁴⁹⁻⁵⁰ struck Vāsudeva between his two breasts with three arrows. And the slayer of Madhu, struck with those shafts shot from Bhishma's bow,⁵¹ shone in that battle, O king, like a flowering *Kinçulka*. Then Arjuna, indignant at seeing Mādhava pierced,⁵² pierced in that combat the charioteer of Gangā's son with three arrows. And both heroes, striving with each other against each other's car,⁵³ succeeded not in taking aim at each other in the combat. And in consequence of the ability and dexterity of the charioteers of both those warriors, both displayed, O king, beautiful circles and advancings and retreatings in respect of their moving cars. And, O monarch, seeking the opportunity to strike,⁵⁴⁻⁵⁵ they frequently changed positions, O king, for obtaining what they sought. And both the heroes blew their conchs, mingling that blare with their leonine roars.⁵⁶ And those mighty car-warriors twanged their bows, both in the same manner. And with the blare of their conchs and the rattle of their car-wheels,⁵⁷ the very Earth was suddenly rent. And it began to tremble and produce subterranean noises. And nobody, O bull of Bharata's race, could detect any latches in either of them.⁵⁸ Both of them possessed of great might and great courage in battle, each was other's match. And by (the sight of) his standard alone, the Kauravas could approach him (for aid).⁵⁹ And so the Pāndavas approached Prithā's son (for aid), guided by his standard only. And beholding, O king, the prowess thus displayed by those two foremost of men,⁶⁰ O Bhārata, all creatures (present) in that battle were filled with wonder. And none, O Bhārata, observed any difference between the two,⁶¹ just as none finds any transgression in a person observant of morality. And both of them (at times) became perfectly invisible in consequence of clouds of arrows.⁶² And soon enough both of them in that battle became visible. And the gods with the *Gandharvas* and the *Chāranas*, and the great *Rishis*,⁶³ beholding their prowess, said unto one another,—These mighty car-warriors, when excited with rage, are incapable of ever being vanquished in battle⁶⁴ by all the

worlds with the gods, the *Asuras*, and the *Gandharvas*. This highly wonderful battle would be wonderful in all the worlds.⁶⁵ Indeed, a battle such as this will never take place again. Bhishma is incapable of being conquered in combat by Prithā's son of great intelligence,⁶⁶ showering his arrows in battle, with bow and car and steeds. So also that great bowman, the son of Pāndu, incapable of being vanquished in battle by the very gods,⁶⁷ Bhishma is not competent to conquer in combat. As long as the world itself will last, so long will this battle continue equally!⁶⁸—We heard these words, O king, fraught with the praises of Gangā's son and Arjuna in battle, bruited about there.⁶⁹ And while those two were engaged in displaying their prowess, other warriors of thy side and of the Pāndavas, O Bhārata, slew one another in battle,⁷⁰ with sharp-edged scimitars, and polished battle-axes, and innumerable arrows, and diverse kinds of weapons.⁷¹ And the brave combatants of both armies cut one another down, while that terrible and murderous conflict lasted. And the encounter also, O king, that took place between Drona and the prince of the Pāñchālas, was awful!⁷²

SECTION LIII.

“Dhritarāshtra said,—“Tell me, O Sanjaya, how that great bowman Drona and the Pāñchāla prince of Prishata's race encounter each other in battle, each striving his best.¹ I regard Destiny to be superior, O Sanjay, to exertion, when Cāntanu's son Bhishma (even) could not escape Pāndu's son in battle!² Indeed, Bhishma, when enraged in battle, could destroy all mobile and immobile creatures. Why, O Sanjaya, could he not then, by his prowess, escape the son of Pāndu in battle?”³

“Sanjaya said,—“Listen, O king, quietly to this terrific battle. The son of Pāndu is incapable of being vanquished by the very gods with Vāsava!⁴ Drona with diverse arrows pierced Dhrishtadyumna, and felled the latter's charioteer from his niche in the car.⁵ And, O sire, the enraged hero

* In the first line of the 5th verse, the true reading is *avidhata* and not *amarshnam*.—T.

also afflicted Dhrishtadyumna's four steeds with four excellent shafts.⁶ And the heroic Dhrishtadyumna too pierced Drona in that combat with nine sharp arrows and addressed him, saying,—*Wait,—Wait.*⁷—Then, again, Bharadwāja's son of great prowess and immeasurable soul, covered with his arrows the wrathful Dhrishtadyumna.⁸ And he took up a dreadful arrow for the destruction of Prishata's son, whose force resembled that of Cakra's bolt and which was like a second rod of Death.⁹ And beholding that arrow aimed by Bhāradwāja in battle, loud cries of *oh* and *alas* arose, O Bhārata, among all the combatants.¹⁰ And then we beheld the wonderful prowess of Dhrishtadyumna insomuch that that hero stood alone, immovable like a mountain.¹¹ And he cut off that terrible and blazing arrow coming towards him like his own Death, and also showered an arrowy down-pour on Bharadwāja's son.¹² And beholding that difficult feat achieved by Dhrishtadyumna, the Pāñchālas with the Pāndavas, filled with delight, set up loud shouts.¹³ And that prince, endued with great prowess, desirous of slaying Dronā, hurled at him a dart of great impetuosity, decked with gold and stones of *lapis lazuli*.¹⁴ Thereupon the son of Bharadwāja, smiling the while, cut off into three fragments that dart decked with gold that was coming towards him impetuously.¹⁵ Beholding his dart thus baffled, Dhrishtadyumna of great prowess rained arrowy down-pours on Drona, O king!¹⁶ Then that mighty car-warrior Drona, baffling that arrowy shower, cut off, when the opportunity presented, the bow of Drupada's son.¹⁷ His bow (thus) cut off in the combat, that mighty warrior of great fame hurled at Drona a heavy mace endued with the strength of the mountain.¹⁸ And hurled from his hands, that mace coursed through the air for Drona's destruction. And then we beheld the wonderful prowess of Bharadwāja's son.¹⁹ By (the) lightness (of his car's motion), he baffled that mace decked with gold, and having baffled it, he shot at Prishata's son²⁰ many shafts of sharp edge, well-tempered, furnished with golden wings, and whetted on stone. And these, penetrating through Pārshata's coat of mail, drank his blood in that battle.²¹ Then the high-souled Dhrishtadyumna, taking

up another bow, and putting forth his prowess, pierced Drona in that encounter with five shafts.²² And then those two bulls among men, both covered with blood, looked beautiful like two blossoming *Kinçukas*. in spring variegated with flowers.²³ Then, O king, excited with wrath and putting forth his prowess at the head of his division, Drona once more cut off the bow of Drupada's son.²⁴ And then that hero of immeasurable soul covered that warrior whose bow was cut off, with innumerable straight arrows like the clouds showering rain on a mountain.²⁵ And he also felled his foe's charioteer from his niche in the car. And his four steeds, too, with four sharp arrows,²⁶ Drona felled in that combat and set up a leonine roar. And with another shaft he cut off the leathern fence that cased Dhrishtadyumna's hand.²⁷ His bow cut off, deprived of car, his steeds slain, and charioteer overthrown, the prince of Pāñchāla alighted from his car, mace in hand, displaying great prowess.²⁸ But before he could come down from his car, O Bhārata, Drona with his shafts cut off that mace into fragments. This feat seemed wonderful to us.²⁹ And then the mighty prince of the Pāñchālas, of strong arms, taking a large and beautiful shield decked with a hundred moons, and a large scimitar of beautiful make,[†]³⁰ rushed impetuously from desire of slaying Drona, like a hungry lion in the forest towards an infuriate elephant.³¹ Then wonderful was the prowess that we beheld of Bharadwāja's son, and his lightness (of hand) in the use of weapons, as also the strength of his arms, O Bhārata,³² inasmuch as, alone, he checked Prishata's son with a shower of arrows. And although possessed of great might in battle, he was unable to proceed further.³³ And we beheld the mighty car-warrior Dhrishtadyumna staying where he did and warding off those clouds of arrows with his shield, using his arms with great dexterity.³⁴ Then the mighty-armed Bhīma endued with great strength quickly came there,

* Both the Bengal and the Bombay texts read *hastāchchāpam*. This is incorrect; the Burdwan Pundits correctly read *hastavāpam*.—T.

† The Bengal texts read *Catachandram tato rane*; the Bombay edition reads *Catachandramcha Vhānumat*. The Burdwan reading is better than both, *viz*, *Catachandram manoramam*. I adopt the last.—T.

desirous of aiding in battle the high-souled son of Prishata.³⁵ And he pierced Drona, O king, with seven sharp-pointed arrows, and speedily caused Prishata's son to be taken up on another car.³⁶ Then king Duryodhana urged the ruler of the Kalingas supported by a large division, for the protection of Bharadwāja's son.³⁷ Then that terrible and mighty division of the Kalingas, O ruler of men, rushed against Bhima at the command of thy son.³⁸ And Drona then, that foremost of car-warriors, abandoning the prince of Pāñchāla, encountered Virāta and Drupada together.³⁹ And Dhishtadyumna also proceeded to support king Yudhishtira in battle. And then commenced a fierce battle, making the hair to stand on end,⁴⁰ between the Kalingas and the high-souled Bhima, a battle that was destructive of the universe, terrific, and awful!"⁴¹

SECTION LIV.

"Dhritarāshtra said,—'How did the ruler of the Kalingas, that commander of a large division, urged by my son, and supported by his troops, fight in battle with the mighty Bhimasena of wonderful feats, that hero wandering over the field of battle with his mace like Death himself club in hand?'"¹⁻²

"Sanjaya said,—'Thou urged by thy son, O great king, the mighty king of the Kalingas, accompanied by a large army, advanced towards Bhima's car.³ And Bhimasena then, O Bhārata, supported by the Chedis, rushed towards that large and mighty army of the Kalingas, abounding with cars, steeds, and elephants, and armed with mighty weapons, and advancing towards him with Ketumat the son of the king of the Nishādas.⁴⁻⁵ And Crutāyus also, excited with wrath, accoutred in mail, followed by his troops in battle-array, and accompanied by king Ketumat, came before Bhima in battle.⁶ And the ruler of the Kalingas with many thousands of cars, and Ketumat with ten thousand elephants and the Nishādas,⁷ surrounded Bhimasena, O king, on all sides. Then the Chedis, the Matsyas, and the Karushas, with Bhimasena at their head,⁸ and with many kings, impetuously rushed against the Nishādas. And then commenced the battle, fierce and terri-

ble,⁹ between the warriors rushing at one another from desire of slaughter. And terrific was the battle that suddenly took place between Bhima and his foes,¹⁰ resembling the battle, O great king, between Indra and the mighty host of Diti's sons. And loud became the uproar, O Bhārata, of that mighty army struggling in battle, that resembled the sound of the roaring ocean. And the combatants, O king, cutting one another,¹¹⁻¹² made the whole field resemble a crematorium strewn with flesh and blood. And the combatants, impelled by the desire of slaughter, could not distinguish friend from foe.¹³ And those brave warriors, incapable of being easily defeated in battle, even began to strike down their own friends. And terrific was the collision that took place between the few and the many,¹⁴—between the Chedis (on the one side) and the Kalingas and the Nishādas, O king, (on the other). Displaying their manliness to the best of their power, the mighty¹⁵ Chedis, abandoning Bhimasena, turned back. And when the Chedis ceased to follow him, the son of Pāndu, encountering all the Kalingas, did not turn back, depending upon the might of his own arms. Indeed, the mighty Bhimasena moved not, but from the terrace of his car¹⁶⁻¹⁷ covered the division of the Kalingas with showers of sharp arrows. Then that mighty bowman, the king of the Kalingas, and that car-warrior, his son,¹⁸ known by the name of Cakradeva, both began to strike the son of Pāndu with their shafts. And the mighty-armed Bhima, shaking his beautiful bow,¹⁹ and depending on the might of his own arms, fought with Kālinga. And Cakradeva, shooting in that battle innumerable arrows,²⁰ slew Bhimasena's steeds with them. And beholding that chastiser of foes Bhimasena deprived of his car,²¹ Cakradeva rushed at him, shooting sharp arrows. And upon Bhimasena, O great king, the mighty Cakradeva²² showered arrowy downpours like the clouds after summer is gone. But the mighty Bhimasena, staying on his car whose steeds had been slain,²³ hurled at Cakradeva a mace made of the hardest iron. And slain by that mace, O king, the son of the ruler of the Kalingas, from his car,²⁴ fell down on the ground, with his standard and charioteer. Then that mighty

car-warrior, the king of the Kalingas, beholding his own son slain,²⁶ surrounded Bhima on all sides with many thousands of cars. Then the mighty-armed Bhima endued with great strength, abandoning mace, took up a scimitar, desirous of achieving a fierce feat. And that bull among men also took up, O king, an incomparable shield made of bull's hide,²⁶⁻²⁷ and decked with stars and crescents made of gold. And the ruler of the Kalingas also, excited with wrath, and rubbing his bowstring,²⁸ and taking up a terrible arrow (deadly) as poison of the snake, shot it at Bhimasena, desirous as that monarch was of slaying (the Pāndava).²⁹ That sharp arrow, thus shot and coursing impetuously, Bhimasena, O king, cut in twain with his huge sword.³⁰ And filled with delight he set up a loud shout, terrifying the troops. And the ruler of the Kalingas, excited with rage in that combat with Bhimasena,³¹ quickly hurled at him fourteen bearded darts whetted on stone. The mighty-armed son of Pāndu, however, with that best of scimitars, fearlessly cut into fragments in a trice, O king, those darts while coursing through the welkin and before they could reach him. And having in that battle (thus) cut off those fourteen darts, Bhima,³²⁻³³ that bull among men, beholding Bhānumat, rushed at him. Bhānumat then covered Bhima with a shower of arrows,³⁴ and set up a loud shout, making the welkin resound with it. Bhima, however, in that fierce battle, could not bear that leonine shout.³⁵ Himself endued with a loud voice, he also shouted very loudly. And at those shouts of his, the army of the Kalingas became filled with fear.³⁶ In that battle they no longer regarded Bhima, O bull among men, as a human being. Then, O great king, having uttered a loud shout, Bhima,³⁷ sword in hand, impetuously jumping on (Bhānumat's) excellent elephant aided by the latter's tusks, gained, O sire, the back of that prince of tuskers,³⁸ and with his huge sword cut Bhānumat, dividing him in the middle. That chastiser of foes then, having (thus) slain in battle the prince of the Kalingas, next³⁹ made his

* In the first line of 39, the correct reading is *Prishonā* and not *Pritānā*.—T.

sword which was capable of bearing a great strain, to descend upon the neck of that elephant. His head cut off, that prince of elephants fell down with a loud roar,⁴⁰ like a crested mountain (whose base is) eaten away by the impetuous (surges of the) sea. And jumping down, O Bhārata, from that falling elephant, that prince of Bharata's race,⁴¹ of undepressed soul, stood on the ground, sword in hand and accoutred in mail (as before). And felling numerous elephants on all sides, he wandered (over the field), making many paths (for himself).⁴² And then he seemed to be like a moving wheel of fire slaughtering whole divisions of cavalry, of elephants, and cars, and large bodies of infantry. And that lord among men, the mighty Bhima, was seen to move over the field with the activity of the hawk,⁴³⁻⁴⁴ quickly cutting off in that battle, with his sharp-edged sword, their bodies and heads, as also those of the combatants on elephants.⁴⁵ A combatant on foot, excited with rage, all alone, and like Yama at the season of the universal dissolution, he struck terror into his foes and confounded those brave warriors.⁴⁶ Only they that were senseless rushed with loud shouts at him wandering in that great battle with impetuosity, sword in hand.⁴⁷ And that grinder of foes, endued with great strength, cutting off the shafts and yokes of warriors on their cars, slew those warriors also.⁴⁸ And Bhimasena was seen, O Bhārata, to display diverse kinds of motions there. He wheeled about, and whirled about on high, and made side thrusts, and jumped forward, and ran above, and leapt high.⁴⁹ And, O Bhārata, he was also seen to rush forward and rush upward. And some mangled by the high-souled son of Pāndu by means of his excellent sword,⁵⁰ shrieked aloud, struck at their vitals or fell down, deprived of life. And many elephants, O Bhārata, some with trunks and the extremities of their tusks cut off, and others having their temporal globes cut open, deprived of riders, slew their own ranks and fell down, uttering loud cries.⁵¹⁻⁵² And broken lances, O king, and the heads of elephant-drivers, and beautiful housings of elephants, and chords resplendant with gold,⁵³ and collars, and darts, and mallets, and quivers, diverse kinds of machines, and beautiful bows,⁵⁴

short arrows with polished heads, with hooks and iron crows for guiding elephants, bells of diverse shape, and hilts decked with gold,⁵⁵ were seen by us falling down or (already) fallen along with riders of steeds. And with elephants (lying down) having the fore parts and hind parts of their bodies and their trunks cut off, or entirely slain,⁵⁶ the field seemed to be strewn with fallen cliffs. And that bull among men, having thus crushed the huge elephants, next crushed the steeds also.⁵⁷ And, O Bhārata, that hero also felled the foremost of cavalry soldiers. And the battle, O sire, that took place between him and them was fierce in the extreme.⁵⁸ And hilts and traces, and saddle girths resplendant with gold, and covers for the backs of steeds, and bearded darts, and costly swords,⁵⁹ and coats of mail, and shields, and beautiful ornaments, were seen by us strewn over the ground in that great battle.⁶⁰ And he caused the earth to be strewn over (with blood) as if it were variegated with lilies. And the mighty son of Pāndu, jumping high and dragging some car-warriors down, with his sword felled them along with (their) standards. Frequently jumping up or rushing on all sides, that hero endued with great activity,⁶¹⁻⁶² wandering along many routes, caused the combatants to be amazed. And some he slew by his legs, and dragging down others he pressed them down under the earth.⁶³ And others he cut off with his sword, and others he frightened with his roars. And others he threw down on the ground by the force of his thighs (as he ran).⁶⁴ And others beholding him, fled away in terror. It was thus that that vast force of the Kalingas endued with great activity,⁶⁵ surrounding the terrible Bhimasena in battle, rushed at him. Then, O bull of Bharata's race, beholding Crutāyush at the head of the Kalinga troops, Bhimasena rushed at him. And seeing him advancing, the ruler of the Kalingas, of immeasurable soul, pierced Bhimasena between his two breasts with nine arrows. Struck with those shafts shot by the ruler of the Kalingas, like an elephant pierced with the hook,⁶⁶⁻⁶⁸ Bhimasena blazed up with wrath like fire fed with fuel. Then Açoka, that best of charioteers, bringing a car decked with gold, caused Bhima to mount on it. And thereupon that

slayer of foes, the son of Kunti, speedily mounted on that car.⁶⁹⁻⁷⁰ And then he rushed at the ruler of the Kalingas, saying,—*Wait, Wait.* And then the mighty Crutāyush, excited with wrath, shot at Bhima many sharp arrows, displaying his lightness of hand. And that mighty warrior, Bhima, forcibly struck with those nine sharp arrows shot by Kalinga from his excellent bow, yielded to great wrath, O king, like a snake struck with a rod.⁷¹⁻⁷³ Then that foremost of mighty men, Bhima the son of Prithā, excited with rage, and drawing his bow with great strength, slew the ruler of the Kalingas with seven shafts made wholly of iron.⁷⁴ And with two shafts he slew the two mighty protectors of the car-wheels of Kālinga. And he also despatched Satyadeva and Satya to the abode of Yama.⁷⁵ Of immeasurable soul, Bhima also, with many sharp arrows and long shafts, caused Ketumat to repair unto Yama's abode.⁷⁶ Then the Kshatriyas of the Kalinga country, excited with rage, and supported by many thousands of combatants, encountered the wrathful Bhimasena in battle.⁷⁷ And armed with darts and maces and scimitars and lances and swords and battle-axes, the Kalingas, O king, hundreds upon hundreds, surrounded Bhimasena.⁷⁸ Baffling that risen shower of arrows, that mighty warrior then took up his mace and jumped down (from his car) with great speed.⁷⁹ And Bhima then despatched seven hundred heroes to Yama's abode. And that grinder of foes despatched, in addition, two thousand Kalingas to the region of Death. And that feat seemed highly wonderful. And it was thus that the heroic Bhima of terrible prowess repeatedly felled in battle large bands of the Kalingas. And elephants deprived by Pāndu's son, in that battle, of their riders,⁸⁰⁻⁸² and afflicted with arrows, wandered on the field, treading down their own ranks and uttering loud roars, like masses of clouds driven by the wind.⁸³ Then the mighty-armed Bhima, scimitar in hand, and filled with delight, blew his conch of terrible loudness.⁸⁴ And with that blare he caused the hearts of all the

* *Samuchchritām* or *Samutthitām*, meaning risen, is scarcely a happy adjective here.—T.

Kalinga troops to quake with fear. And, O chastiser of foes, all the Kalingas seemed at the same time to be deprived of their sense.⁸⁶ And all the combatants and all the animals shook with terror. And in consequence of Bhimasena wandering in that battle through many paths or rushing on all sides like a prince of elephants, or frequently jumping up, a trance seemed to be engendered there that deprived his foes of their senses.⁸⁶⁻⁸⁷ And the whole (Kalinga) army, shook with terror of Bhimasena, like a large lake agitated by an alligator.⁸⁸ And struck with panic in consequence of Bhima of wonderful achievements, all the Kalinga combatants fled away in all directions. When, however, they were rallied again, the commander of the Pāndava army (Dhrishtadyumna), O Bhārata, ordered his own troops, saying,—*Fight.*⁸⁸⁻⁹⁰ Hearing the words of their commander, many leaders (of the Pāndava army) headed by Cikhandin approached Bhima, supported by many car-divisions accomplished in smiting.⁹¹ And Pāndu's son king Yndhishtira the just followed all of them behind with a large elephant force of the color of the clouds.⁹² And thus urging all his divisions, the son of Prishata, surrounded by many excellent warriors, took upon himself the protection of one of the wings of Bhimasena.*⁹³ There exists nobody on earth, save Bhima and Sātyaki, who to the prince of the Pāñchālas is dearer than his very life.⁹⁴ That slayer of hostile heroes, the son of Prishata, beheld the mighty-armed Bhimasena, that slayer of foes, wandering among the Kalingas.⁹⁵ He set up many shouts, O king, and was filled with delight, O chastiser of foes. Indeed, he blew his conch in battle and uttered a leonine roar.⁹⁶ And Bhimasena also, beholding the red standard of Dhrishtadyumna on his car decked with gold and unto which were yoked steeds white as pigeons, became comforted.†⁹⁷ And Dhrishtadyumna of immeasurable soul, beholding Bhimasena encountered by the Kalingas, rushed to the battle for his rescue.⁹⁸ And both those

* *Pārshni* is the wing or side of a car-warrior. The last word of this verse is not *Satpuruṣhohitam* but *Satpuruṣhairvritam*.—T.

† *Kevidāra* is a species of ebony called *Bauhinia Variegata*.—T.

heroes, Dhrishtadyumna and Vrikodara, endued with great energy, beholding Sātyaki at a distance, furiously encountered the Kalinags in battle.⁹⁹ And that bull among men, the (grand) son of Cini, that foremost of victorious warriors, quickly advancing to the spot, took up the wing of both Bhima and Prishata's son.¹⁰⁰ Bow in hand, creating a great havoc there, and making himself fierce in the extreme, he began to slay the enemy in battle.¹⁰¹ And Bhima caused a river to flow there of bloody current, mingled with the blood and flesh of the warriors born in Kalinga.¹⁰² And beholding Bhimasena then, the troops cried aloud, O king, saying,—*This is Death himself that is fighting in Bhima's shape with the Kalingas!*¹⁰³ Then Cāntanu's son Bhishma, hearing those cries in battle, quickly proceeded towards Bhima, himself surrounded on all sides with combatants in array.¹⁰⁴ Thereupon, Sātyaki and Bhismasena and Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata's race, rushed towards that car of Bhishma decked with gold.¹⁰⁵ And all of them, quickly surrounding Gangā's son in battle, pierced Bhishma, each with three terrible shafts, without losing a moment.¹⁰⁶ Thy sire Devavrata, however, in return pierced each of those mighty bowmen striving (in battle) with three straight shafts.¹⁰⁷ And checking those mighty car-warriors with thousands of arrows, he slew with his shafts the steeds of Bhima decked with golden armour.¹⁰⁸ Bhima, however, endued with great energy, staying on that car whose steeds had been slain, with great impetuosity hurled a dart at Bhishma's car.¹⁰⁹ Thy sire Devavrata then, in that battle, cut off that dart in twain before it could reach him, and thereupon it fell down on the earth.¹¹⁰ Then that bull among men, Bhimasena, taking up a heavy and mighty mace made of *Caikya* iron speedily jumped down from his car.¹¹¹ And Dhrishtadyumna quickly taking up that foremost of car-warriors on his own car, took away, in the very sight of all the combatants, that renowned warrior.¹¹² And Sātyaki then, from desire of doing what was agreeable to Bhima, felled with his shafts the chariot-eeer of the reverend Kuru grandsire.¹¹³ Upon his charioteer being slain, that foremost of car-warriors, Bhishma, was borne away from the field of battle by his steeds with the speed of

the wind.¹¹⁴ And when that mighty car-warrior was (thus) taken away from the field, Bhimasena then, O monarch, blazed up like a mighty fire while consuming dry grass.¹¹⁵ And slaying all the Kalingas, he stayed in the midst of the troops, and none, O bull of Bharata's race, of thy side ventured to withstand him.¹¹⁶ And worshipped by the Pānchālas and the Matsyas, O bull of Bharata's race, he embraced Dhrishtadyumna and then approached Sātyaki.¹¹⁷ And Sātyaki, that tiger among the Yadus, of prowess incapable of being baffled, then gladdening Bhimasena, said unto him, in the presence of Dhrishtadyumna, (these words).¹¹⁸—By good luck the king of the Kalingas, and Ketumat the prince of the Kalingas, and Cakra-deva also of that country, and all the Kalingas, have been slain in battle!¹¹⁹ With the might and prowess of thy arms, by thee alone, hath been crushed the very large division of the Kalingas that abounded with elephants and steeds and cars, and with noble warriors, and heroic combatants!¹²⁰—Having said this, the long-armed grandson of Cini, that chastiser of foes,¹²¹ quickly getting upon his car, embraced the son of Pāndu. And then that mighty car-warrior, coming back to his own car, began to slay thy troops, excited with rage and strengthening (the hands of) Bhima.'"¹²²

SECTION LV.

“Sanjaya said,—‘When the forenoon of that day had passed away, O Bhārata, and when the destruction of cars, elephants, steeds, foot-soldiers, and horse-soldiers, proceeded on,¹ the prince of Pānchāla engaged in battle with these three mighty car-warriors, *viz*, Drona's son, Calya, and the high-souled Kripa.² And the mighty heir of Pānchāla's king with many sharp shafts, slew the steeds of Drona's son that were celebrated over all the world.³ Deprived then of his animals,

* I have followed the Bengal texts in numbering the verses included in this section. All minor differences of reading, again, between the different published texts have necessarily not been noticed in the notes.—T.

Drona's son, quickly getting up on Calya's car, showered his shafts on the heir of the Pānchāla king.⁴ And beholding Dhrishtadyumna engaged in battle with Drona's son, the son of Subhadrā, O Bhārata, quickly came up, scattering his sharp arrows.⁵ And, O bull of Bharata's race, he pierced Calya with five and twenty, and Kripa with nine arrows, and Açwatthāman with eight.⁶ Drona's son, however, quickly pierced Arjuna's son with (many) winged arrows, and Calya pierced him with twelve, and Kripa with three sharp arrows.⁷ Thy grandson Lakshmana then, beholding Subhadrā's son engaged in battle, rushed at him, excited with rage. And the battle commenced between them.⁸ And the son of Duryodhana, excited with rage, pierced Subhadrā's son with sharp shafts in that combat. And that (feat), O king, seemed highly wonderful.⁹ The light-handed Abhimanyu then, O bull of Bharata's race, excited with rage, quickly pierced his cousin with five hundred arrows.¹⁰ Lakshmana also, with his shafts, then cut off his (cousin's) bow-staff at the middle, at which, O monarch, all the people sent forth a loud shout.¹¹ Then that slayer of hostile heroes, the son of Subhadrā, leaving aside that broken bow, took up another that was beautiful and tougher.^{*12} And thereupon those two bulls among men, thus engaged in combat and desirous of counteracting each other's feats, pierced each other with sharp shafts.¹³ King Duryodhana then, O monarch, beholding his mighty son thus afflicted by thy grandson (Abhimanyu), proceeded to that spot.¹⁴ And when thy son turned (towards that spot), all the kings surrounded the son of Arjuna on every side with crowds of cars.¹⁵ Incapable of being defeated in battle and equal in prowess unto Krishna himself, that hero, O king, thus surrounded by those heroes, was not agitated in the least.¹⁶ Then Dhananjaya, beholding Subhadrā's son engaged in battle, rushed to that spot, excited with wrath, desirous of rescuing his own son.¹⁷ Thereupon the kings (on

* The Bombay reading *Vegāvattarm* is better. Literally, it means, "capable of imparting a greater impetus." To avoid such periphrasis I render it "tougher."—T.

the Kuru side), headed by Bhishma and Drona and with cars, elephants, and steeds, rushed impetuously at Savyasāchin.¹⁸ Then a thick earthy dust, suddenly raised by foot-soldiers and steeds and cars and cavalry troopers, covering the sky appeared on the view.¹⁹ And those thousands of elephants and hundreds of kings, when they came within reach of Arjuna's arrows, were all unable to make any further advance.²⁰ And all creatures there set up loud wails, and the points of the compass became dark. And then the transgression of the Kurus assumed a fierce and dreadful aspect as regards its consequences.*²¹ Neither the welkin, nor the cardinal points of the compass, nor the earth, nor the sun, could be distinguished, O best of men, in consequence of the arrows shot by Kiritin.†²² And many were the elephants there deprived of the standards (on their backs), and many car-warriors also, deprived of their steeds. And some leaders of car-divisions were seen wandering, having abandoned their cars.²³ And other car-warriors, deprived of their cars, were seen to wander hither and thither, weapon in hand, and their arms graced with *Angadas*.²⁴ And riders of steeds abandoning their steeds and elephant-riders abandoning their elephants, from fear of Arjuna, O king, fled away in all directions.²⁵ And kings were seen felled or falling from cars and elephants and steeds in consequence of Arjuna's shafts.²⁶ And Arjuna, assuming a fierce countenance, cut off with his terrible shafts, the upraised arms of warriors mace in grasp, and arms bearing swords, O king, or darts, or quivers, or shafts, or bows, or hooks, or standards, all over the field.²⁷⁻²⁸ And spiked maces broken into fragments, and mallets, O sire, and bearded darts, and short arrows, and swords also, in that battle,²⁹ and sharp-edged battle-axes, and lances, O Bhārata, and shields broken into pieces, and coats of mail also, O king,‡³⁰

* A literal rendering of the second line of 21 would be unintelligible. Hence I have done it rather freely.—T.

† The sense is that all these were entirely shrouded by Arjuna's arrows.—T.

‡ The true reading is *Charmanām* and not *Varmanām*: also *bhumi-pa* and *bhuvale*.—T.

and standards, and weapons of all kinds thrown away, and umbrellas furnished with golden staves, and iron hooks also, O Bhārata,³¹ and goads, and whips, and traces also, O sire, were seen strewn over the field of battle in heaps.³² There was no man in thy army, O sire, who could advance against the heroic Arjuna in battle.³³ Whoever, O king, advanced against Prithā's son in battle, pierced by sharp shafts was despatched to the other world.³⁴ When all those combatants of thine broke and fled away, Arjuna and Vāsudeva blew their excellent conchs.³⁵ Thy sire Devavrata then, beholding the (Kuru) host routed, smilingly addressed the heroic son of Bharadwāja in battle and said,³⁶—This mighty and heroic son of Pāndu, *viz.* Dhananjaya, accompanied by Krishna, is dealing with (our) troops as he alone is competent to deal with them.³⁷ He is incapable of being vanquished in battle today by any means, judging by his form that we see now so like unto that of the Destroyer himself at the end of the *Yuga*!³⁸ This vast host again (of ours) is incapable of being rallied. Behold, looking at one another, our troops are flying away!³⁹ Yon Sun, robbing in every way the vision of the whole world, is about to reach that best of mountains called Asta.⁴⁰ For this, O bull among men, I think that the hour is come for the withdrawal (of the army). The warriors, who have all been tired and struck with panic, will never fight!⁴¹—Having said this unto Drona that best of preceptors, Bhishma that mighty car-warrior, caused thy army to be withdrawn.⁴² And then when the sun set, the withdrawal of both thy army and theirs took place, O sire, and twilight set in.'⁴³

SECTION LVI.

“Sanjaya said,—‘When the night having passed away, the dawn came, Cāntanu’s son Bhishma, that chastiser of foes, gave the order for the (Kuru) army to prepare for battle.’ And the son of Cāntanu, the old Kuru grandsire, desirous of

* *I. e.*, is about to set.—T.

victory to thy sons, formed that mighty array known after the name of *Garuda*.³ And on the beak of that *Garuda* was thy sire Devavrata himself. And its two eyes were Bharadwāja's son and Kritavarman of Satwata's race.⁴ And those renowned warriors, Acwatthāman and Kripa, supported by the Trigartas, the Matsyas, the Kekayas, and the Vātadhānas, were in its head.⁴ And Bhuriçravas, and Cala, and Calya, and Bhagadatta, O sire, and the Madrakas, the Sindhu-souviras, and they that were called the Pancha-nadas,⁵ together with Jayadratha, were placed on its neck. And on its back was king Duryodhana with all his followers.⁶ And Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti, and the Kāmvojas with the Cakas, and also the Curasenas, O sire, formed its tail, O great king.⁷ And the Magadhas and the Kalingas, with all the tribes of the Dāserakas, accoutred in mail, formed the right wing of that array.⁸ And the Kārushas, the Vikunjas, the Mundas, and the Kaundivrihas, with Vrihadvala, were stationed on the left wing.⁹ Then that chāstiser of foes, Savya-sāchin, beholding that host disposed in battle-array, aided by Dhrishtadyumna, disposed (his troops) in counter-array.¹⁰ And in opposition to that array of thine, the son of Pāndu formed a fierce array after the form of the half-moon.¹¹ And stationed on the right horn, Bhimasena shone, surrounded by kings of diverse countries abundantly armed with various weapons.¹² Next to him were those mighty car-warriors Virāta and Drupada; and next to them was Nila armed with envenomed weapons.¹³ And next to Nila was the mighty car-warrior Dhrishtaketu, surrounded by the Chedis, the Kāçis, the Karushas, and the Paurvas.¹⁴ And Dhrishtadyumna and Çikhandi, with the Pāñchālas and the Prabhadrakas, and supported by other troops, were stationed in the middle, O Bhārata, for battle.¹⁵ And thither also was king Yudhishthira the just, surrounded by his elephant division. And next to him were Sātyaki, O king, and the five sons of Draupadi.¹⁶ And immediately next to them was Irāvān. And next to him were Bhimasena's son (Ghaṭotkacha), and those mighty car-warriors the Kekayas.¹⁷ And next, on the left horn (of that array), was that best of men, *viz*, he who had for his protector,

Janārdhana—that protector of the whole universe!¹⁸ It was thus that the Pāndavas formed their mighty counter-array for the destruction of thy sons and of those who have sided with them.¹⁹ Then commenced the battle between thy troops and those of the foe striking one another, and in which cars and elephants mingled in the clash of combat.²⁰ Large numbers of elephants and crowds of cars were seen everywhere, O king, to rush towards one another for purposes of slaughter.²¹ And the rattle of innumerable cars rushing (to join the fray), or engaged separately, became a loud uproar, mingling with the beat of drums.²² And the shouts of the heroic combatants belonging to thy army and theirs, O Bhārata, slaying one another in that fierce encounter, reached the very heavens.’²³

SECTION LVII.

“Sanjaya said,—‘After the ranks of thy army and theirs had been disposed in battle-array, that mighty car-warrior, Dhananjaya, felling in that conflict leaders of car-divisions with his arrows, caused a great carnage, O Bhārata, among the car-ranks. The Dhārtarāshtras, (thus) slaughtered in battle by Prithā’s son like the Destroyer himself at the end of the *Yuga*, still fought perseveringly with the Pāndavas. Desirous of (winning) blazing glory and (bent upon) making death (the only ground for) a cessation of the fight,¹⁻³ with minds undirected to anything else, they broke the Pāndava ranks in many places, and were also themselves broken.⁴ Then both the Pāndava and the Kaurava troops broke, changed positions, and fled away. Nothing could be distinguished.⁵ An earthy dust arose, shrouding the very sun. And nobody there could distinguish either the cardinal or the subsidiary directions.⁶ And everywhere the battle raged, O king, the combatants being guided by the indications afforded by colors, by watch-words, names, and tribal distinctions.⁷ And the array of the Kauravas, O king, could not be broken, duly protected as it was by Bharadwāja’s son, O sire!⁸ And so

* For *Sa yathā tena* the Bombay text reads *Satyasandhena*. I follow the Bengal reading.—T.

the formidable array of the Pāndavas also, protected by Savya-sāchin, and well-guarded by Bhima, could not be broken.* And the cars and elephants in close ranks, O king, of both the armies, and other combatants, coming out of their respective arrays, engaged in conflict.¹⁰ And in that fierce battle, cavalry soldiers felled cavalry soldiers, with polished swords of sharp edges and long lances.¹¹ And car-warriors, getting car-warriors (within reach) in that fierce conflict, felled them with shafts decked with golden wings.¹² And elephant-riders, of thy side and theirs, felled large numbers of elephant-riders in close ranks, with broad-headed shafts and arrows and lances.¹³ And large bodies of infantry, inspired with wrath towards one another, cheerfully felled combatants of their own class with short arrows and battle-axes.¹⁴ And car-warriors, O king, getting elephant-riders (within reach) in that conflict, felled them along with their elephants. And elephant-riders similarly felled car-warriors.¹⁵ And, O bull of Bharata's race, the cavalry soldier with his lance felled the car-warrior in that conflict, and the car-warrior also felled the cavalry soldier.¹⁶ And in both the armies the foot-soldier felled the car-warrior in the combat, and the car-warrior felled the foot-soldier, with sharp weapons.¹⁷ And elephant-riders felled horse-riders, and horse-riders felled warriors on the backs of elephants. And all this appeared exceedingly wonderful.¹⁸ And here and there foot-soldiers were felled by foremost of elephant-riders, and elephant-riders were seen to be felled by the former.¹⁹ And bands of foot-soldiers, by hundreds and thousands, were seen to be felled by horse-riders, and horse-riders by foot-soldiers.²⁰ And strewn with broken standards and bows and lances and housings of elephants, and costly blankets, and bearded darts, and maces, and clubs furnished with spikes, and *Kampanas*, and darts, and variegated coats of mail, and *Kunapas*, and iron hooks, and polished scimitars, and shafts furnished with golden wings, the field, O best of Bharata's race, shone as if with floral wreaths.²¹⁻²³

* Three *ślokas* occur after the 13th, in the Bomay edition, that are omitted in the Bengal texts. I also omit them here.—T.

And the earth, miry with flesh and blood, became impassable with the bodies of men and steeds and elephants slain in that dreadful battle.²⁴ And drenched with human blood, the earthy dust disappeared. And the cardinal points, all around, became perfectly clear, O Bhārata.²⁵ And innumerable headless trunks rose up all around,—indications, O Bhārata, of the destruction of the world!²⁶ And in that terrible and awful battle, car-warriors were seen to run away in all directions.²⁷ Then Bhishma, and Drona, and Jayadratha the ruler of the Sindhus, and Purumitra, and Vikarna, and Cakuni the son of Suvala,²⁸—These warriors invincible in battle and possessed of leonine prowess,—staying in battle broke the ranks of the Pāndavas.²⁹ And so Bhimasena and the *Rākshasa* Ghatotkacha, and Sātyaki, and Chekitāna, and the sons of Draupadi, O Bhārata,³⁰ supported by all the kings (on their side), began to grind thy troops and thy sons stationed in battle, like the gods grinding the *Dānavas*.³¹ And those bulls among Kshatriyas, striking one another in battle, became terrible to behold, and covered with blood shone like *Kinçukas*.³² And the foremost warriors of both armies, vanquishing their opponents, looked, O king, like the planetary luminaries in the firmament.³³ Then thy son Duryodhana, supported by a thousand cars, rushed to battle with the Pāndavas and the *Rākshasa*.³⁴ And so all the Pāndavas, with a large body of combatants, rushed in battle against those chastisers of foes, the heroic Bhishma and Drona.³⁵ And the diadem-decked (Arjuna) also, excited with rage, rushed against the foremost of kings. And Arjuna's son (Abhimanyu), and Sātyaki, both advanced against the forces of Suvala's son.³⁶ And then commenced once more a fearful battle, making the hair to stand on end, between thine and the enemy's troops both desirous of vanquishing each other.'"³⁷

SECTION LVIII.

“Sanjaya said,—“Then those kings, excited with rage, beholding Phālguna in battle, surrounded him on all sides with many thousands of cars.¹ And having, O Bhārata, surrounded

him with a multitudinous division of cars, they shrouded him from all sides with many thousands of shafts.² And bright lauces of sharp points, and maces, and clubs endued with spikes, and bearded darts and battle-axes, and mallets and bludgeons,³ they hurled at Phālguna's car, excited with rage. And that shower of weapons approaching (towards him) like a flight of locusts,⁴ Prithā's son checked on all sides with his gold-decked arrows. And beholding there on that occasion the superhuman lightness of hand that Vibhatsu possessed,⁵ the gods, the *Dānavas*, the *Gandharvas*, the *Piçāchas*, the *Uragas*, and the *Rākshasas*, eulogised Phālguna, O king, saying,—*Excellent, Excellent!*⁶—And the heroic Gāndhāras along with Suvala's son, with a large force, surrounded Sātyakī and Abhimanyu.*⁷ Then the brave warriors led by Suvala's son, from anger, cut into pieces the excellent car of the Vrishni hero, with weapons of diverse kinds.⁸ And in course of that fierce conflict, Sātyakī, abandoning that car of his, speedily mounted on Abhimanyu's car, O chastiser of foes!⁹ And those two, mounted on the same car, then began to speedily slaughter the army of Suvala's son with straight arrows of sharp points.¹⁰ And Drona and Bhishma, steadily struggling in battle, began to slaughter the division of king Yudhishtira the just, with sharp shafts furnished with the feathers of the *kanka* bird.¹¹ Then the son of Dharma and the two other sons of Pāndu by Mādri, in the very sight of the whole army, began to grind the division of Drona.¹² And the battle that took place there was fierce and awful, making the hair to stand on end, like the terrible battle that took place between the gods and the *Asuras* in days of yore.¹³ And Bhimasena and Ghatotkacha both achieved mighty feats. Then Duryodhana, approaching, checked them both.¹⁴ And the prowess we then beheld of Hidimvā's son was exceedingly wonderful, insomuch that he fought in battle, O Bhārata, transcending his very father.¹⁵ And Bhimasena the son of Pāndu, excited with wrath, pierced the vindictive Duryodhana in the breast,

* The Bombay edition reads this *śloka* differently. I follow the Bengal reading which seems to be better.—T.

with an arrow, smiling the while.¹⁶ Then king Duryodhana, afflicted by the violence of that blow, sat down on the terrace of his car and swooned away.¹⁷ And his charioteer then, beholding him senseless, speedily bore him away, O king, from battle. And then the troops that supported Duryodhana broke and fled.¹⁸ And thereupon Bhima, smiting that Kuru army thus flying away in all directions, with sharp-pointed shafts, pursued it behind.¹⁹ And Prishata's son (Dhrishtadyumna), that foremost of warriors, and Pāndu's son king Yudhishtira the just, in the very sight, O Bhārata, of both Drona and Gangā's son,²⁰ slew their army with sharp shafts capable of slaying hostile forces. That host of thy son, thus flying away in battle,²¹ those mighty car-warriors, Bhishma and Drona, were incapable of checking. For though attempted to be checked by Bhishma and the high-souled Drona,²² that host fled away in the very sight of Drona and Bhishma. And then when (those) thousands of car-warriors fled away in all directions,²³ Subhadrā's son and that bull of Cini's race, both stationed on the same car, began, O chastiser of foes, to slaughter the army of Suvala's son in battle.²⁴ And Cini's grandson and that bull of Kuru's race looked resplendant like the sun and the moon when together in the firmament after the last lunation of the dark fortnight has passed away.²⁵ And then Arjuna also, O king, excited with rage, showered arrows on thy army like the clouds pouring rain in torrents.²⁶ And the Kaurava army, thus slaughtered in battle with the shafts of Pārtha, fled away, trembling in grief and fear.²⁷ And beholding the army flying away, the mighty Bhishma and Drona, excited with rage and both desirous of Duryodhana's welfare, sought to check it.²⁸ Then king Duryodhana himself, comforting the combatants, checked that army then flying away in all directions.²⁹ And thereupon all the mighty Kshatriya car-warriors stopped, each at the spot where he saw thy son.³⁰ And then others among the common soldiers, beholding them stop, stopped of their own accord, O king, from shame or desire of displaying their courage unto one another.³¹ And the impetuosity, O king, of that army thus rallied to the fight resem-

bled that of the surging sea at the moment of the moon's rise.³³ And king Soyodhana, beholding that army of his rallied for the fight, quickly repaired to Cāntanu's son Bhishma and said these words.³³—O grandsire, listen to what I say, O Bhārata! When, O son of Kuru, thou art alive, and Drona, that foremost of persons conversant with weapons, along with his son and with all our other friends, (is alive), and when that mighty bowman Kripa also is alive, I do not regard it as at all creditable that my army should thus fly away!³⁴⁻³⁵ I do not regard the Pāndavas to be, by any means, a match for thee, or for Drona, in battle, or for Drona's son, or for Kripa!³⁶ Without doubt, O grandsire, the sons of Pāndu are being favored by thee, inasmuch as thou forgivest, O hero, this slaughter of my army!³⁷ Thou shouldst have told me, O king, before this battle took place, that thou wouldst not fight with the Pāndavas!³⁸ Hearing such words from thee, as also from the preceptor, O Bhārata, I would then have, with Karna, reflected upon what course I should pursue!³⁹ If I do not deserve to be abandoned by you two in battle, then, O bulls among men, do ye fight according to the measure of your prowess!⁴⁰—Hearing these words, Bhishma, laughing repeatedly, and turning up his eyes in wrath, said to thy son,⁴¹—Many a time, O king, have I said unto thee words worthy of thy acceptance and fraught with thy good. The Pāndavas are incapable of being vanquished in battle by the very gods with Vāsava amongst them.⁴² That, however, which my aged self is capable of doing, I will do to the extent of my power, O best of kings, in this battle! Witness it now with thy kinsmen!⁴³ Today, in the very sight of all, alone I shall check the sons of Pāndu at the head of their troops and with all their kinsfolk!⁴⁴—Thus addressed by Bhishma, thy son, O king, filled with delight, caused conchs to be blown and drums to be beat.⁴⁵ And the Pāndavas also, O king, hearing that loud uproar, blew their conchs, and caused their drums and cymbals to be played upon.' ”⁴⁶

SECTION LIX.

“Dhritarāshtra said,—‘After that dreadful vow had been made in battle by Bhishma enraged by the words of my son,¹ what, O Sanjaya, did Bhishma do unto the sons of Pāndu, or what did the Pāñchālas do unto the grandsire? Tell it all unto me, O Sanjaya!’²

“Sanjaya said,—‘After the forenoon of that day, O Bhārata, had passed away, and the sun in his westward course had passed a portion of his path,³ and after the high-souled Pāndavas had won the victory, thy sire Devavrata, conversant with the distinction of all codes of morality,⁴ rushed, carried by the fleetest steeds, towards the army of the Pāndavas, protected by a large force and by all thy sons.⁵ Then, O Bhārata, in consequence of thy sinful policy, commenced a dreadful battle, making the hair to stand on end, between ourselves and the Pāndavas.⁶ And the twang of bows, the flapping of bowstrings against the leathern fences (casing the hands of the bowmen), mingling together, made a loud uproar resembling that of splitting hills.⁷ *Stay,—Here I stand,—Know this one,—Turn back,—Stand,—I wait for thee,—Strike,*—these were the words heard everywhere.⁸ And the sound of falling coats of mail made of gold, of crowns and diadems, and of standards, resembled the sound of falling stones on a stony ground.⁹ And heads, and arms decked with ornaments, falling by hundreds and thousands upon the ground, moved in convulsions.¹⁰ And some brave combatants, with heads severed from their trunks, continued to stand, weapons in grasp or armed with drawn bow.¹¹ And a dreadful river of blood began to flow there, of impetuous current, miry with flesh and blood, and with the bodies of (dead) elephants for its (sub-aqueous) rocks.¹² Flowing from the bodies of steeds, men, and elephants, and delightful to vultures and jackalls, it ran towards the ocean represented by the next world.¹³ A battle such as that, O king, which (then) took place between thy sons, O Bhārata, and the Pāndavas, was never seen or heard before!¹⁴ And in consequence of the bodies

of combatants slain in that conflict, cars could not make their way. And the field of battle, in consequence of the bodies of slain elephants, seemed to be strewn over with blue crests of hills.¹⁵ And the field of battle, strewn with variegated coats of mail and turbans, O sire, looked beautiful like the firmament in autumn.¹⁶ And some combatants were seen who, though severely wounded, yet rushed cheerfully and proudly upon the foe in battle.¹⁷ And many, fallen on the field of battle, cried aloud, saying,—*O father, O brother, O friend, O kinsman, O companion, O maternal uncle, do not abandon me!*¹⁸—And others cried aloud, saying,—*Come! Come thou here! Why art thou frightened? Where dost thou go? I stand in battle, do not be afeared!*¹⁹—And in that combat Bhishma the son of Cāntanu, with bow incessantly drawn to a circle, shot shafts of blazing points resembling snakes of virulent poison.²⁰ And shooting continuous lines of arrows in all directions, that hero of rigid vows smote the Pāṇḍava car-warriors, naming each beforehand, O Bhārata!²¹ And displaying his extreme lightness of hand, and dancing (as it were) along the track of his car, he seemed, O king, to be present everywhere like a circle of fire.²² And in consequence of the lightness of his movements, the Pāṇḍavas in that battle, along with the Srinjayas, beheld that hero, though really alone, as multiplied a thousandfold.²³ And every one there regarded Bhishma as having multiplied his self by illusion. Having seen him now on the east, the next moment they saw him on the west.²⁴ And so having seen him on the north, the next moment they saw him on the south. And the son of Gangā was thus seen fighting in that battle.²⁵ And there was no one amongst the Pāṇḍavas capable of even looking at him. What they all saw were only the innumerable shafts shot from his bow.²⁶ And heroic warriors, beholding him achieve such feats in battle, and (thus) slaughtering their ranks, uttered many lamentations.²⁷ And kings in thousands came in contact with thy sire thus coursing over the field in a superhuman way, and fell upon that fire represented by the enraged Bhishma like flights of senseless insects (upon a blazing fire) for their own destruction, Not a single shaft of that light-

handed warrior was futile, falling upon the bodies of men, elephants, and steeds, in consequence of the numbers (opposed to him). With a single straight shaft shot in that battle, he dispatched ³⁸⁻³⁹ a single elephant like a hill riven by the thunder-bolt. Two or three elephant-riders at a time, cased in mail and standing together,³¹ thy sire pierced with one shaft of sharp point. Whoever approached Bhishma, that tiger among men, in battle,³² seen for a moment was next beheld to fall down on the ground. And that vast host of king Yudhishthira the just, thus slaughtered ³³ by Bhishma of incomparable prowess, gave way in a thousand directions. And afflicted with that arrowy shower, that vast army began to tremble ³⁴ in the very presence of Vāsudeva and the high-souled Pārtha. And although the heroic leaders of the Pāndava army made great efforts, yet they could not check the flight of (even) the great car-warriors of their side afflicted with the shafts of Bhishma. The prowess, in consequence of which that vast army was routed, was equal to that of the chief of the gods himself.³⁵⁻³⁶ And that army was so completely routed, O great king, that no two persons could be seen together. And cars and elephants and steeds were pierced all over, and standards and shafts of cars were strewn over the field.³⁷ And the army of the sons of Pāndu uttered cries of *oh* and *alas*, and became deprived of its senses. And sire struck the son and son struck the sire;³⁸ and friend challenged the dearest of friends to battle, as if under the influence of fate. And others amongst the combatants of Pāndu's son were seen, O Bhārata, to run away, throwing aside their coats of mail, and with dishevelled hair. And the army of the sons of Pāndu, indulging in loud wails, including the very leaders of their best of car-warriors, was seen to be as confounded as a very herd of kine. The delighter of the Yādavas then, beholding that army thus routed,³⁹⁻⁴¹ said unto Pārtha, stopping that best of cars (which he guided), these words:—The hour is now come, O Pārtha, which was desired by thee!⁴² Strike Bhishma, O tiger among men, else thou wilt lose thy senses! O hero, formerly, in the conclave of kings,⁴³ thou hadst said,—*I will slay all the warriors of Dhriti*.

vāshtra's son, headed by Bhishma and Drona all, in fact, who will fight with me in battle!—O son of Kunti, O chastiser of foes, make those words of thine true! Behold, O Vibhatsa, this army of thine is being routed on all sides!⁴⁴⁻⁴⁵ Behold, the kings in Yudhishtira's host are all flying away, seeing Bhishma in battle, who looketh like the Destroyer himself with wide-open mouth!⁴⁶ Afflicted with fear, they are making themselves scarce like the weaker animals at sight of the lion!—Thus addressed, Dhananjaya replied unto Vāsudeva,⁴⁷ saying,—Plunging through this sea of the hostile host, urge on the steeds to where Bhishma is. I will throw down that invincible warrior, the reverend Kuru grandsire!⁴⁸—Then Mādhava urged those steeds of silvery hue to where, O king, the car of Bhishma was, that car which, like the very sun, was incapable of being gazed at.⁴⁹ And beholding the mighty-armed Pārtha thus rushing to an encounter with Bhishma, the mighty army of Yudhishtira rallied for battle.⁵⁰ Then Bhishma, that foremost warrior among the Kurus, repeatedly roaring like a lion, quickly covered Dhananjaya's car with an arrowy shower.⁵¹ In a moment that car of his, with standard and charioteer, became invisible, shrouded with that arrowy down-pour.⁵² Vāsudeva, however, endued with great might, fearlessly and summoning all his patience, began to guide those steeds mangled by Bhishma's shafts.⁵³ Then Pārtha, taking up his celestial bow whose twang resembled the roar of the clouds, caused Bhishma's bow to drop down, cutting it off with his keen shafts.⁵⁴ The Kuru warrior, thy sire, seeing his bow cut off, took up another and stringed it within the twinkling of the eye.⁵⁵ And he stretched that bow whose twang resembled the roar of the clouds, with his two hands. But Arjuna, excited with wrath, cut off that bow also of his.⁵⁶ The son of Cāntanu applauded that lightness of hand (displayed by Arjuna), saying,—*Excellent, O Pārtha, O thou of mighty-arms, excellent, O son of Pāndu!*⁵⁷ *O Dhananjaya, such a mighty feat is, indeed, worthy of thee! I have been pleased with thee! Fight hard with me, O son!*⁵⁸—And having applauded Pārtha thus, and taking up another large bow, that hero shot his shafts at Pārtha's

car.⁵⁹ And Vāsudeva then displayed his great skill in the guiding of horses, for he baffled those shafts of his, by guiding the car in quick circles.⁶⁰ Then, O sire, Bhishma with great strength pierced both Vāsudeva and Dhananjaya with keen shafts all over their bodies.⁶¹ And mangled by those shafts of Bhishma, those two tigers among men looked like two roaring bulls with the scratches of horns on their bodies.⁶² And once again, excited with rage, Bhishma covered the two Krishnas on all sides with shafts in hundreds and thousands.⁶³ And with those keen shafts of his, the enraged Bhishma caused him of Vrīṣṇi's race to shiver. And laughing loudly he also made Krishna to wonder.⁶⁴ Then the mighty-armed Krishna, beholding the prowess of Bhishma in battle as also the mildness with which Arjuna fought,⁶⁵ and seeing that Bhishma was creating incessant showers of arrows in that conflict and looked like the all-consuming Sun himself in the midst of the two armies,⁶⁶ and marking, besides, that that hero was slaying the foremost of combatants in Yudhishtira's host and causing a havoc in that army as if the hour of dissolution had come,⁶⁷—the adorable Keçava, that slayer of hostile hosts, endued with immeasurable soul,—unable to bear what he saw, thought that Yudhishtira's army could not survive that slaughter.⁶⁸—In a single day can Bhishma slaughter all the *Daityas* and the *Dānavas*. With how much ease then can he slay in battle the sons of Pāndu with all their troops and followers!⁶⁹ The vast army of the illustrious son of Pāndu is again flying away. And the Kauravaç also, beholding the Somakas routed,⁷⁰ are rushing to battle cheerfully, gladdening the grandsire! Accoutred in mail, even I will slay Bhishma today for the sake of the Pāndavas.⁷¹ This bruthen of the high-souled Pāndavas even I will lighten: As regards Arjuna, though struck in battle with keen shafts,⁷² he knoweth not what he should do, from respect for Bhishma,—And while Krishna was reflecting thus, the grandsire, excited with wrath, once again shot his shafts at Pārtha's car.⁷³ And in consequence of the very great number of those arrows all the points of the compass became entirely shrouded. And neither the welkin, nor the quarters, nor the earth, nor the

sun himself of brilliant rays, could be seen.⁷⁴ And the winds that blew seemed to be mixed with smoke, and all the points of the compass seemed to be agitated. And Drona, and Vikarna, and Jayadratha, and Bhuriçravas, and Kritāvarman, and Kripa,⁷⁵ and Crutāyush, and the ruler of the Amvashtas, and Vinda and Anuvinda, and Sudakshina, and the Westerners, and the diverse tribes of the Sauviras, the Vasātis, and the Kshudrakas and the Mālavas,⁷⁶ all these, at the command of the royal son of Cāntanu, quickly approached Kiritin for battle. And the grandson of Cini saw that Kiritin was surrounded by many hundreds of horse, and infantry, and cars, and mighty elephants. And beholding both Vāsudeva and Arjuna thus encompassed by infantry and elephants and horse and cars, on all sides,⁷⁷⁻⁷⁸ that foremost of all bearers of arms, viz, the chief of the Cinis, quickly proceeded to that spot. And that foremost of bowmen, the chief of the Cinis, quickly rushing at those troops,⁷⁹ came to Arjuna's aid like Vishnu coming to the aid of the slayer of Vritra. And that foremost warrior of Cini's race cheerfully said unto Yudhishthira's host all the combatants of which had been frightened by Bhishma, and whose elephants, steeds, cars, and numberless standards had been mangled and broken into pieces, and which was flying away from the field, these words:—Ye Kshatriyas, where do ye go? This is not the duty of the righteous as hath been declared by the ancients!⁸⁰⁻⁸² Ye foremost of heroes, do not violate your pledges! Observe your own duties as heroes!—Beholding that those foremost of kings were flying together from the field of battle, and marking the mildness with which Pārtha fought, and beholding also that Bhishma was exerting himself very powerfully in battle, and that the Kurus were rushing from all sides, the younger brother of Vāsava, the high-souled protector of all the Daçārhas, unable to bear it all, addressed the renowned grandson of Cini, and applauding him, said,—O hero of Cini's race, they that are retreating, are, indeed, retreating. They that are yet staying, O thou of the Sātвата race, let *them* also go away!⁸³⁻⁸⁴ Behold, I will soon throw Bhishma down from his car, and Drona also in battle, with all their followers!

There is none in the Kuru host, O thou of the Sātвата race, who is able to escape my angry self!⁸⁵ Therefore, taking up my fierce discus, I will slay Bhishma of high vows! And slaying in battle those two foremost of car-warriors, viz, Bhishma along with his followers and Drona also, O grandson of Cini,⁸⁶ I will gladden Dhananjaya, and the king, and Bhima, and the twin Açwins! And slaying all the sons of Dhritarāshtra and all those foremost of kings who have embraced their side,⁸⁷ I will joyfully furnish king Ajātaçatru with a kingdom today!—Saying this, Vasudeva's son, abandoning (the reins of) the steed, jumped down from the car, whirling with his (right) arm his discus of beautiful nave and edge sharp as a razor, effulgent as the sun and possessed of force equal to that of a thousand bolts of heaven. And making the earth tremble under his tread, the high-souled Krishna rushed impetuously towards Bhishma.⁸⁸⁻⁸⁹ And that grinder of foes, the younger brother of the chief of the gods, excited with wrath, rushed towards Bhishma staying in the midst of his troops, like a lion, from desire of slaying, upon a prince of elephants blinded with fury and staying proudly for the attack.⁹⁰ And the end of his yellow garments waving in the air looked like a cloud charged with lightning in the sky. And that lotus of a discus called *Sudarçana*, having for its stalk the beautiful arm of Caurin, looked as beautiful as the primeval lotus, bright as the morning sun, which sprung from the navel of Nārāyana. And Krishna's wrath was the morning sun that caused that lotus to blow. And the beautiful leaves of that lotus were as sharp as the edge of a razor. And Krishna's body was the beautiful lake, and his (right) arm the stalk springing therefrom, upon which that lotus shone. And beholding the younger brother of Mahendra, excited with wrath and roaring loudly and armed with that discus,⁹¹⁻⁹² all creatures set up a loud wail, thinking that the destruction of the Kurus was at hand. And armed with his discus Vāsudeva looked like the *Samvarta* fire that appears at the end of the *Yuga* for consuming the world.⁹⁴ And the preceptor of the universe blazed up like a fierce comet risen for consuming all creatures. And beholding that foremost of bipeds, that divine

personage, advancing armed with the discus,⁹⁵ Cāntanu's son stationed on his car, bow and arrow in hand, fearlessly said,—Come, Come, O Lord of the gods! O thou that hast the universe for thy abode! I bow to thee, O thou that art armed with mace, sword, and *Çārnga!*⁹⁶ O Lord of the universe, forcibly throw me down from this excellent car, O thou that art the refuge of all creatures, in this battle! Slain here by thee, O Krishna, great will be my good fortune both in this world and the next!⁹⁷ Great is the respect thou payest me, O lord of the Vrishnis and the Andhakas! My dignity will be celebrated in the three worlds!—Hearing these words of Cāntanu's son, Krishna rushing impetuously towards him said,⁹⁸—Thou art the root of this great slaughter on earth! Thou wilt behold Duryodhana slain today! A wise minister who treadeth in the path of righteousness should restrain a king that is addicted to the evil of gambling!⁹⁹ That wretch again of his race who transgresseth duty should be abandoned as one whose intelligence hath been misdirected by destiny!—The royal Bhishma, hearing these words, replied unto the chief of the Yadus, saying,—Destiny is all powerful!¹⁰⁰ The Yadus, for their benefit, had abandoned Kansa! I said this to the king (Dhritarāshtra) but he minded it not! The listener that hath no benefit to receive becometh, for (his own) misery, of perverted understanding through (the influence of) destiny.*¹⁰¹ Meanwhile, jumping down from his car, Pārtha, himself of massive and long arms, quickly ran on foot after that chief of Yadu's race possessed of massive and long arms, and seized him by his two hands.¹⁰² That first of all gods devoted in self, Krishna, was excited with rage. And therefore, though thus seized, Vishnu forcibly dragged Jishnu after him, like a tempest bearing away a single tree.¹⁰³ The high-souled Pārtha, however, seizing then with great force his legs as he was proceeding at a quick pace towards Bhishma, succeeded, O king, in stopping him with difficulty at the tenth step.¹⁰⁴ And when Krishna stopped, Arjuna, decked as he was with a

* I am not sure that I have correctly understood the second line of 101. It is very obscure.—T.

Beautiful garland of gold, cheerfully bowed down to him and said,—Quell this wrath of thine! Thou art the refuge of the Pāndavas, O Keçava!¹⁰⁶ I swear, O Keçava, by my sons and uterine brothers that I will not withdraw from the acts to which I have pledged myself! O younger brother of Indra, at thy command I will certainly annihilate the Kurus!¹⁰⁶—Hearing that promise and oath of his, Janārdhana became gratified. And ever engaged as he was in doing what was agreeable to Arjuna—that best of the Kurus,—he once more, discus on arm, mounted on his car.¹⁰⁷ And that slayer of foes once more took up those reins (that he had abandoned), and taking up his conch called *Pāñchajanya*, Caurin filled all the points of the compass and the welkin with its blare.¹⁰⁸ And thereupon beholding Krishna decked with necklace and *Angada* and ear-rings, with curved eye-lashes smeared with dust, and with teeth of perfect whiteness, once more take up his conch, the Kuru heroes uttered a loud cry.¹⁰⁹ And the sound of cymbals and drums and kettle-drums, and the rattle of car-wheels and the noise of smaller drums, mingling with those leonine shouts set forth from all the ranks of the Kurus, became a fierce uproar.¹¹⁰ And the twang of Pārtha's *Gāndīva*, resembling the roll of the thunder, filled the welkin and all the quarters. And shot from the bow of Pāndu's son, bright and blazing shafts proceeded in all directions.¹¹¹ Then the Kuru king, with a large force, and with Bhishma and Bhuriçravas also, arrow in hand, and resembling a comet risen for consuming a constellation, rushed against him.¹¹² And Bhuriçravas hurled at Arjuna seven javelins furnished with wings of gold, and Duryodhana a lance of fierce impetuosity, and Calya a mace, and Cāntanu's son a dart.¹¹³ Thereupon, Arjuna, baffling with seven shafts the seven javelins, fleet as arrows, shot by Bhuriçravas, cut off with another keen-edged shaft the lance hurled from Duryodhana's arm.¹¹⁴ And the blazing dart coming towards him—effulgent as lightning—hurled by Cāntanu's son, and the mace hurled from the arm of the ruler of the Madras, that hero cut off with two (other) shafts.¹¹⁵ Then drawing with his two hands and with great force his beautiful bow *Gāndīva* of immeasurable energy, he

invoked with proper *mantras* the highly wonderful and terrible *Mahendra* weapon and caused it to appear in the welkin.¹¹⁸ And with that mighty weapon producing profuse showers of arrows endued with the effulgence of the blazing fire, that high-souled and mighty bowman, decked with diadem and garland of gold, checked the entire Kaurava host.¹¹⁷ And those shafts from Pārtha's bow, cutting off the arms, bows, standard-tops, and cars, penetrated into the bodies of the kings and of the huge elephants and steeds of the foe¹¹⁸ And filling the cardinal and the subsidiary directions with those sharp and terrible shafts of his, Prithā's son decked with diadem and garland of gold, agitated the hearts of his foes by means of the twang of *Gāndīva*.¹¹⁹ And in that awful passage at arms, the blare of conchs and beat of drums and the deep rattle of cars were all silenced by the twang of *Gāndīva*.¹²⁰ And ascertaining that twang to be of *Gāndīva*, king Virāta and other heroes among men, and the brave Drupada the king of the Pāñchālas, all proceeded to that spot with undepressed hearts.¹²¹ And all thy combatants stood, struck with fear, each at the spot where he heard that twang of *Gāndīva*, and none amongst them ventured to proceed to that place whence that sound was heard.¹²² And in that awful slaughter of kings, heroic combatants were slain and car-warriors with those that guided their cars. And elephants with resplendant housings of gold and gorgeous standards (on their backs), afflicted with broad-headed shafts falling upon them,¹²³ suddenly fell down, deprived of life and their bodies mangled by Kiritin. And forcibly struck by Pārtha with his winged arrows of great impetuosity and broad-headed shafts of keen-edge and points,¹²⁴ the standards of innumerable kings stationed at the heads of their divisions had their *yantras* and *Indrajālas* cut off.* And bands of infantry and car-warriors, in that battle, and steeds and elephants, fell fast on the field, their limbs paralysed, or themselves speedily

* What these were it is difficult to determine. The Bombay reading is different. For *Indrajāla* they read *Indrakilā* which is as unknown as the other.—T.

deprived of life, afflicted by Dhananjaya with those shafts. And, O king, many were the warriors who in that terrible conflict had their coats of mail and bodies cut through by that mighty weapon called after the name of Indra.¹²⁵⁻¹²⁶ And with those terrible and sharp shafts of his, Kiritin caused an awful river to run on the field of battle, having for its waters the blood flowing from the mangled bodies of the combatants and having for its froth their fat.¹²⁷ And its current was broad and ran fiercely. And the bodies of elephants and steeds despatched to the other world formed its banks. And its mire consisted of the entrails, the marrow, and the flesh of human beings, and prodigious *Rākshasas* formed the (tall) trees (standing on its banks).¹²⁸ And the crowns of human heads in profusion, covered with hair, formed its (floating) moss, and heaps of human bodies, forming its sand-banks, caused that current to flow in a thousand directions. And the coats of mail strewn all over formed its waves, and the bones of human beings and elephants and steeds formed its hard pebbles.¹²⁹ And its banks were infested by large numbers of jackalls and wolves and cranes and vultures, and crowds of *Rākshasas*, and packs of hyenas. And they that were alive beheld that terrible river of current consisting of fat, marrow, and blood, caused by the arrowy showers of Arjuna,—that embodiment of (man's) cruelty,—to look like the great *Vaitarani*.^{*} And beholding the foremost warriors of that army of the Kurus thus slain by Phālguna,¹³⁰⁻¹³¹ the Chedis, the Pāñchālas, the Karushas, the Matsyas, and all the combatants of the Pāndava side, those foremost of men, elated with victory, together set up a loud shout for frightening the Kaurava warriors.¹³² And they uttered that cry indicative of victory, beholding the foremost combatants of the (Kuru) army, the very troops protected by mighty leaders of divisions, thus slain by Kiritin, that terror of foes, who frightened them like a lion frightening herds of smaller animals.¹³³ And then the bearer of *Gāndiva*

* The *Vaitarani* is the fabulous river that separates this world from the next.—T.

himself, and Janārdhana, both filled with delight, uttered loud roars. And the Kurus, with Bhishma, and Drona and Duryodhana and Vālhika, exceedingly mangled by the weapons (of Arjuna), beholding the sun withdraw his rays, and seeing also that awful and irresistible weapon called after the name of Indra spread out and causing (as it were) the end of the *Yuga* to appear, withdrew their forces for the nightly rest. And that foremost of men, Dhananjaya, also, having achieved a great feat and won great renown by crushing his foes, and beholding the sun assume a red hue and the evening twilight to set in, and having completed his work, retired with his uterine brothers to the camp for nightly rest. Then when darkness was about to set in, there arose among the Kuru troops a great and terrible uproar.¹³⁴⁻¹³⁷ And all said,—In today's battle Arjuna hath slain ten thousand car-warriors, and full seven hundred elephants. And all the Westerners, and the diverse tribes of the Sauviras, and the Kshudrakas and the Mālavas, have all been slain.¹³⁸ The feat achieved by Dhananjaya is a mighty one. None else is competent to achieve it. Crutāyush the ruler of the Amvashtas, and Durmarshana, and Chitrasena,¹³⁹ and Drona, and Kripa, and the ruler of the Sindhus, and Vālhika, and Bhuriçravas, and Calya, and Cala, O king, and other warriors by hundreds united together, along with Bhishma himself, have in battle, by the prowess of his own arms, been vanquished today by the angry son of Prithā, viz, Kiritin, that one mighty car-warrior in the world!—Talking thus, O Bhārata, all the warriors of thy side went to their tents from the field of battle.¹⁴⁰⁻¹⁴¹ And all the combatants of the Kuru army, frightened by Kiritin, then entered their tents illumined by thousands of torches, and beautified by innumerable lamps.'"¹⁴²

SECTION LX.

"Sanjaya said,—'When the night passed away, O Bhārata, the high-souled Bhishma, with wrath engendered, supported by a large force, and stationed at the head of the Bhārata army, proceeded against the foe.¹ And Drona and Duryo-

dhana and Vālhika, and also Durmarshana and Chitrasena, and the mighty Jayadratha, and other royal warriors, supported by large divisions, accompanied, surrounding him on all sides.² And surrounded by those great and mighty car-warriors endued with great prowess and energy, O king, he shone, O best of monarchs, in the midst of those foremost of royal warriors, like the chief of the celestials in the midst of the gods.³ And the magnificent standards, on the backs of the elephants stationed in front of those ranks, of diverse colors, *viz*, red, yellow, black and brown, waving in the air, looked exceedingly beautiful.⁴ And that army with the royal son of Cāntanu and other mighty car-warriors and with elephants and steeds, looked resplendant like a mass of clouds charged with lightning, or like the firmament, in the season of rains, with gathering clouds.*⁵ And then the fierce army of the Kurus, bent on battle and protected by Cāntanu's son, rushed impetuously towards Arjuna like the fierce current of the ocean-going (Gangā).†⁶ Pervaded by diverse kinds of forces possessed of great strength, and having in its wings elephants, steeds, infantry, and cars in profusion, that array the high-souled (Arjuna) having the prince of apes on his banner beheld from a distance to resemble a mighty mass of clouds.‡⁷ That high-souled hero, that bull among men, upon his car furnished with tall standard and unto which were yoked white steeds, at the head of his (own) division and surrounded by a mighty force, proceeded against the whole hostile army.⁸ And all the Kauravas with thy sons, beholding that ape-bannered (warrior) with his excellent standard and handsome car-shaft wrapped (in costly cover), accompanied by that bull of Yadu's race, his charioteer in battle, were filled with dismay.⁹ And thy army beheld that best of arrays, which was protected by that mighty car-warrior of the world, *viz*, Kiritin, with weap-

* In the first line of the 5th, for *rājñā* of the Bengal texts the Bombay text reads *guptā*. I follow the Bengal reading which is better.—T.

† In the second line of the 6th, for *sasāra senā* the Bombay reading is *senā mahogrā* which is better. I adopt it.—T.

‡ I adopt the Bengal reading *Vyāpta* and not *Vyāla*.—T.

ons upraised, to have on each of its corners four thousand elephants.¹⁰ Like the array which was formed on the day before by that best of Kuru's race, *viz*, king Yudhishtira the just, and the like of which had never been seen or heard before by human beings, was this one of today (that the Pāndavas formed).¹¹ Then on the field of battle thousands of drums were loudly beat, and there arose from all the divisions the loud blare of conchs and the notes of trumpets and many leonine shouts.¹² Then (innumerable) bows of loud twang, stretched by heroic warriors with shafts fixed on the bow-strings, and the blare of conchs, silenced that uproar of drums and cymbals.¹³ And the entire welkin filled with that blare of conchs was diffused with an earthy dust that made it wonderful to behold. And with that dust the sky looked as if a vast canopy were spread overhead. And beholding that canopy the brave warriors all rushed impetuously (to battle).¹⁴ And car-warriors, struck by car-warriors, were overthrown with charioteers, steeds, cars, and standards. And elephants, struck by elephants fell down, and foot-soldiers struck by foot-soldiers.¹⁵ And rushing horsemen, struck down by rushing horsemen with lances and swords, fell down with frightful countenances. And all this seemed exceedingly wonderful.¹⁶ And excellent shields decked with golden stars and possessed of solar effulgence, broken by (strokes of) battle-axes and lances and swords, dropped on the field.*¹⁷ And many car-warriors mangled and bruised by the tusks and the strong trunks of elephants, fell down with their charioteers. And many bulls among car-warriors, struck by bulls among car-warriors with their shafts, fell down on the ground.¹⁸ And many persons, hearing the wails of horsemen and foot-soldiers struck with the tusks and other limbs of elephants or crushed by the impetus of those huge creatures rushing in close ranks, fell down on the field of battle.†¹⁹

* The word *Carāvarāni* in the text is rendered by K. P. Singha as quivers. Nilakantha explains it as coats of mail. There can be no doubt, however, that the Burdwan Pundits render it correctly as "shields."—T.

† In the first line of 19th, the Bengal reading *Sōyakanām* is a mistake. The true reading is *Sāditanām*.—T.

“Then when cavalry and foot-soldiers were falling fast, and elephants and steeds and cars were flying away in fear, Bhishma, surrounded by many mighty car-warriors, obtained sight of him who had the prince of apes on his standard.²⁰ And the palmyra-bannered warrior, *viz*, the son of Cāntanu, having five palmyras on his standard, then rushed against the diadem-decked (Arjuna) whose car, in consequence of the fleetness of the excellent steeds attached to it, was endued with wonderful energy, and which blazed like the very lightning in consequence of the energy of his mighty weapons.²¹ And so against that son of Indra who was like unto Indra himself, rushed many (other) warriors headed by Drona and Kripa and Calya and Vivringçati and Duryodhana and also Somadatta’s son, O king !²² Then the heroic Abhimanyu the son of Arjuna, conversant with all weapons and cased in a handsome and golden coat of mail, rushing out of the ranks, quickly proceeded against all those warriors.²³ And that son of Krishna, of feats incapable of being borne, baffling the mighty weapons of all those warriors of great strength, looked resplendant like the adorable Agni himself, on the sacrificial altar, of blazing flames, invoked with high *mantras*.²⁴ Then Bhishma of mighty energy, creating in that battle a very river whose waters were the blood of foes, and quickly avoiding Subhadra’s son, encountered that mighty car-warrior, *viz*, Pārtha himself.²⁵ Then Arjuna decked with diadem and garlands, with his *Gāndiva* of wonderful mien and twang loud as the roar of the thunder, shooting showers of arrows, baffled that shower of mighty weapons (shot by Bhishma).²⁶ And that high-souled warrior having the prince of apes on his banner, of feats incapable of being borne, then poured in return upon Bhishma, that best of all wielders of bows, a shower of sharpe-dged arrows and polished shafts of broad heads.²⁷ And so thy troops also beheld that shower of mighty weapons shot by him who had the prince of apes on his banner, opposed and dispersed by Bhishma like the maker of day dispelling (the gloom of night).²⁸ And the Kurus and the Srinjayas, and all the people there, beheld that single combat between those two foremost of men, *viz*, Bhishma and

Dhananjaya, proceeding thus steadily and thus distinguished by the terrible twang of the bows of both ?”²⁹

SECTION LXI.

“Sanjaya said,—‘And Drona’s son, and Bhuriçravas, and Calya, and Chitrasena, O sire, and the son of Sāmyamani also, all fought with Subhadrā’s son.¹ And while fighting alone, with five tigers among men, people beheld him possessed of exceeding energy, like a young lion fighting with five elephants.² And no one among them equalled Krishna’s son in sureness of aim, in bravery, in prowess, in lightness of hand, or in knowledge of weapons.³ And beholding his son, that chastiser of foes, thus struggling and displaying his prowess in battle, Pārtha set up a leonine roar.⁴ And seeing thy grandson, O king, thus afflicting thy host, thy warriors, O monarch, surrounded him on all sides.⁵ Then that smiter of foes, the son of Subhadrā, depending upon his prowess and might, advanced with undepressed heart against the Dhārta-rāshtra host.⁶ And while battling with the foe in that conflict, his mighty bow endued with the effulgence of the sun, was seen by all to be incessantly stretched for striking.⁷ And piercing the son of Drona with one shaft, and Calya with five, he overthrew the standard of Sāmyamani’s son with eight shafts.⁸ And with another sharp-edged arrow he cut off the mighty dart, of golden staff, resembling a snake, that was hurled at him by Somadatta’s son.⁹ And the heir of Arjuna, baffling in the very sight of Calya, his hundreds of terrible shafts, slew his four steeds.¹⁰ Thereupon Bhuriçravas, and Calya, and Drona’s son, and Sāmyamani, and Cala, struck with fear at the strength of arms displayed by Krishna’s son, could not stay before him.¹¹ Then, O great king, the Trigartas, and the Madras, with the Kekayas, numbering five and twenty thousand, urged by thy son,¹² all of whom were foremost of men accomplished in the science of arms and who were incapable of defeat by foes in battle, surrounded Kiritin with his son, for slaying them both.¹³ Then, O king, that vanquisher of foes, the commander of the Pāndava army,

the prince of the Pāṅchālas, beheld the cars of the father and the son (thus) surrounded (by the foe).¹⁴ Supported by many thousands of elephants and cars, and by hundred thousands of cavalry and infantry,¹⁵ and stretching his bow in great wrath, he advanced against that division of the Madras and the Kekayas, O chastiser of foes, leading his troops with him!¹⁶ And that division (of the Pāṅḍava army), protected by that renowned and firm bowman, and consisting of cars, elephants, and cavalry, looked resplendant as it advanced for the encounter.¹⁷ And while proceeding towards Arjuna, that perpetrator of Pāṅchāla's race struck Caradwat's son on his shoulder-joint with three arrows.¹⁸ And piercing the Madrakas then with ten sharp shafts, he speedily slew the protector of Kritavarman's rear.¹⁹ And that chastiser of foes then, with a shaft of broad head, slew Damana the heir of the high-souled Paurava.²⁰ Then the son of Sāmyamani pierced the Pāṅchāla prince incapable of defeat in battle, with ten shafts, and his charioteer also with ten shafts.²¹ Then that mighty bowman, (thus) severely pierced, licked with his tongue the corners of his mouth, and cut off his enemy's bow with a broad-headed shaft of excessive sharpness.²² And soon the prince of Pāṅchāla afflicted his foe with five and twenty arrows, and then slew his steeds, O king, and then both the protectors of his wings.²³ Then, O bull of Bharata's race, Sāmyamani's son, standing on that car whose steeds were slain, looked at the son of the renowned king of the Pāṅchālas.²⁴ Then taking up a terrible scimitar of the very best kind, made of steel, Sāmyamani's son, walking on foot, approached Drupada's son staying on his car.²⁵ And the Pāṅḍava soldiers and Dhristadyumna also of Prishata's race beheld him coming like a surging wave and resembling a snake fallen from the skies. And he whirled his sword and looked like the sun and advanced with the tread of an infuriate elephant.²⁶⁻²⁷ The prince of Pāṅchāla then, excited with rage, quickly taking up a mace, smashed the head of Sāmyamani's son thus advancing towards him, sharp-edged scimitar in grasp and shield in hand, as soon as the latter, having crossed the shooting distance, was near enough to his adversary's car.²⁸⁻²⁹ And then, O king,

while falling down deprived of life, his blazing scimitar and shield, loosened from his grasp, fell down with his body on the ground.³⁰ And the high-souled son of the Pāṅchāla king, of terrible prowess, having slain his foe with his mace, won great renown.³¹ And when that prince, that mighty car-warrior and great bowman, was (thus) slain, loud cries of *oh* and *alas* arose among thy troops, O sire!³² Then Sāmyamani, excited with rage upon beholding his own son slain, impetuously rushed towards the prince of Pāṅchāla who was incapable of defeat in battle.³³ And all the kings of both the Kuru and the Pāṅdava armies beheld those two princes and foremost of car-warriors engage in battle.³⁴ Then that slayer of hostile heroes, Sāmyamani, excited with wrath, struck Prishata's son with three shafts like (the conductor of an elephant striking) a mighty elephant with hooks.³⁵ And so Calya also, that ornament of assemblies, excited with wrath, struck the heroic son of Prishata on his breast. And then commenced (another) battle (there)."³⁶

SECTION LXII.

"Dhritarāshtra said,—I regard destiny to be superior to exertion, O Sanjaya, inasmuch as the army of my son is continually slaughtered by the army of the Pāṅdavas.¹ Thou always speakest, O *Suta*, of my troops as being slaughtered, and thou always speakest of the Pāṅdavas as both unslain and cheerful.² Indeed, O Sanjaya, thou speakest of mine as deprived of manliness, felled and falling, and slaughtered,³ although they are battling to the best of their powers and striving hard for victory! Thou always speakest to me of the Pāṅdavas as obtaining victory and mine as becoming weaker and weaker.⁴ O child, I am incessantly hearing of countless causes of unbearable and poignant grief on account of Duryodhana's doings!⁵ I do not see, O Sanjaya, the means by which the Pāṅdavas, may be weakened or mine may obtain the victory in battle!⁶

"Sanjaya said,—This mighty evil hath proceeded from thee, O king! Listen now with patience to the great slaughter

of men, elephants, steeds, and car-warriors!⁷ Dhrishtadyumna, afflicted by Calya with nine shafts, afflicted in return the ruler of the Madras with many shafts made of steel.⁸ And then we beheld the prowess of Prishata's son to be highly wonderful inasmuch as he speedily checked Calya that ornament of assemblies.⁹ The battle between them lasted for only a short space of time. While angrily engaged in combat, none beheld even a moment's rest taken by any of them.¹⁰ Then, O king, Calya in that battle cut off Dhrishtadyumna's bow with a broad-headed shaft of sharp edge and excellent temper.¹¹ And he also covered him, O Bhārata, with a shower of arrows like rain-charged clouds pouring their drops on the mountain breast during the season of rains.¹² And while Dhrishtadyumna was being thus afflicted, Abhimanyu, excited with wrath, rushed impetuously towards the car of the ruler of the Madras.¹³ Then the wrathful son of Krishna, of immeasurable soul, obtaining the car of the ruler of the Madras (within shooting distance), pierced Artāyani with three sharp shafts.*¹⁴ Then the warriors of thy army, O king, desirous of opposing the son of Arjuna in battle, speedily surrounded the car of the ruler of the Madras.¹⁵ And Duryodhana, and Vikarna, and Dusçāsana, and Vivingçati, and Durmarshana, and Dussaha, and Chitrasena, and Durmukha,¹⁶ and Satya-vrata, blessed be thou, and Purumitra, O Bhārata,—these, protecting the car of the ruler of the Madras, stationed themselves there.¹⁷ Then Bhimasena, excited with wrath, and Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata's race, and the five sons of Draupadi, and Abhimanyu, and the twin sons of Mādri and Pāndu,¹⁸—these ten opposed those ten warriors of the Dhārta-rāshtra army, shooting, O king, diverse kinds of weapons.¹⁹ And they approached and encountered one another in battle, desirous of slaying one another, in consequence, O king, of thy wicked policy.²⁰ And when those ten car-warriors, excited with wrath, engaged with the ten others in that awful battle, the other car-warriors of both thy army and of the foe all stood as spectators.²¹ And those mighty car-warriors,

* Calya is called Artāyani after the name of his father.—T.

shooting diverse kinds of weapons, and roaring at one another, smote one another fiercely.³² With wrath engendered in their breasts, desirous of slaying one another, they uttered fierce shouts, challenging one another.³³ And jealous of one another, O king, those kinsfolk united together, encountered one another wrathfully, shooting mighty weapons.³⁴ And wonderful to say, Duryodhana, excited with rage, pierced Dhrishtadyumna in that battle with four sharp shafts.³⁵ And Durmarshana pierced him with twenty, and Chitrasena with five, and Durmukha with nine, and Dussaha with seven,³⁶ and Vivingçati with five, and Dusçāsana with three shafts. Then, O great king, that scorcher of foes, viz, Prishata's son,³⁷ pierced each of them in return with five and twenty shafts, displaying his lightness of hand. And Abhimanyu, O Bhārata, pierced Satyavrata and Purumitra each with ten shafts. Then the sons of Mādri, those delighters of their mother, covered their uncle with showers of sharp arrows. And all this seemed wonderful. Then, O monarch, Calya covered his nephews, those two foremost of car-warriors, desirous of counteracting their uncle's feats, with innumerable arrows. And though thus shrouded by him with arrows, the sons of Mādri wavered not.³⁸⁻³¹ Then the mighty Bhimasena, the son of Pāndu, beholding Duryodhana and desirous of ending the strife, took up his mace.³² And beholding the mighty-armed Bhimasena with upraised mace and looking like the crested Kailāsa mount, thy sons fled away in terror.³³ Duryodhana, however, excited with wrath, urged the Magadha division consisting of ten thousand elephants of great activity.³⁴ Accompanied by that elephant division and placing the ruler of Magadha before him, king Duryodhana advanced towards Bhimasena.³⁵ Beholding that elephant division advancing towards him, Vrikodara, mace in hand, jumped down from his car, uttering a loud roar like that of a lion.³⁶ And armed with that mighty mace which was endued with great weight and the strength of adamant, he rushed towards that elephant division, like the Destroyer himself with wide-open mouth.³⁷ And the mighty-armed Bhimasena endued with great strength, slaying elephants with his mace, wandered over the

field, like the slayer of Vritra among the Dānava host.³⁸ And with the loud shouts of the roaring Bhima, shouts that made the mind and the heart to tremble with fear, the elephants, crouching close, lost all power of motion.³⁹ Then the sons of Draupadi, and that mighty car-warrior the son of Subhadrā, and Nakula and Sahadeva, and Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata's race,⁴⁰ protecting Bhima's rear, rushed behind him, checking all by scattering their arrowy showers like the very clouds pouring rain on the mountain breast.⁴¹ And those Pāndava warriors struck off the heads of their foes battling from the backs of elephants, with well-tempered and keen-edged shafts of diverse forms.*⁴² And the heads (of elephant-riders), and arms decked with ornaments, and hands with iron-hooks in grasp, falling fast, resembled a stony shower.⁴³ And the headless trunks of elephant-riders on the necks of the beasts they rode, looked like headless trees on mountain summits.⁴⁴ And we beheld mighty elephants felled and falling, slain by Dhrishtadyumna, the high-souled son of Prishata.⁴⁵ Then the ruler of the Magadhas, in that battle, urged his elephant resembling Airāvata himself, towards the car of Subhadrā's son.⁴⁶ Beholding that mighty elephant advancing towards him, that slayer of hostile heroes, the brave son of Subhadrā, slew it with a single shaft.⁴⁷ And when the ruler of the Magadhas was thus deprived of his elephant, that conqueror of hostile cities, viz, the son of Krishna, then struck off that king's head with a broad-headed shaft with silver wings.⁴⁸ And Bhimasena the son of Pāndu, having penetrated that elephant division, began to wander over the field, crushing those beasts around him like Indra himself crushing the mountains.⁴⁹ And we beheld elephants slain in that battle by Bhimasena, each with only one stroke (of his mace), like hills riven by thunder.⁵⁰ And many elephants, huge as hills, were slain there, having their tusks broken, or temples, or bones, or backs, or frontal globes.⁵¹

* These were *kshuras* (arrows with heads like razors), *kshurapras* (arrows with horse-shoe heads), *bhallas* (broad-headed arrows), and *Anjalikas* (arrows with crescent-shaped heads).—T.

And others, O king, deprived of life, lay there with foaming mouths. And many mighty elephants, with frontal globes completely smashed, vomited large quantities of blood.⁵² And some, from fear, laid themselves down on the ground like (so many) hillocks. And smeared with the fat and blood (of elephants) and almost bathed in their marrow,⁵³ Bhima wandered over the field like the Destroyer himself club in hand. And Vrikodara, whirling that mace of his which was wet with the blood of elephants,⁵⁴ became terrible and awful to behold, like the wielder of *Pināka* armed with *Pināka*.* And those huge tuskers, while (thus) crushed by the angry Bhima,⁵⁵ suddenly fled away, afflicted, crushing thy own ranks. And those mighty bowmen and car-warriors, headed by Subhadrā's son, (all the while) protected that battling hero whirling his gory mace wet with the blood of elephants, like the celestials protecting the wielder of the thunder-bolt.†⁵⁶⁻⁵⁷ Of terrible soul, Bhimasena then looked like the Destroyer himself. Indeed, O Bhārata, putting forth his strength on all sides mace in arms,⁵⁸ we beheld Bhimasena then to resemble Cankara himself dancing (at the end of the *Yuga*), and his fierce, heavy, and sounding mace to resemble the club of Yama and possessed of the sound of Indra's bolt. And that gory mace of his, smeared with marrow and hair,⁵⁹⁻⁶⁰ resembled (also) the angry Rudra's *Pināka* while he is engaged in destroying all creatures. As a herdsman chastises his herd of cattle with a goad,⁶¹ so did Bhima smite that elephant division with that mace of his. And while thus slaughtered by Bhima with his mace and with shafts (by those that protected his rear), the elephants ran on all sides, crushing the cars of thy own army. Then driving away those elephants from the field like a mighty wind driving away masses of clouds, Bhima stood there like the wielder of the trident on a crematorium."⁶²⁻⁶³

* *I. e.*, Civa, the universal destroyer, armed with his bow.—T.

† *Gory mace wet with &c.*, the original is pleonastic.—T.

SECTION LXIII.

“Sanjaya said,—‘When that elephant division was exterminated, thy son Duryodhana urged his entire army, commanding the warriors to slay Bhimasena.¹ Then the entire army, at the command of thy son, rushed towards Bhimasena who was uttering fierce shouts.² That vast and unlimited host difficult of being borne by the very gods, incapable of being crossed like the surging sea on the day of full moon or new moon, abounding with cars, elephants, and steeds, resounding with the blare of conchs and the beat of drums, numbering untold foot-soldiers and car-warriors, and shrouded by the dust (it raised), that very sea of hostile troops incapable of being agitated, thus coming towards him, Bhimasena checked in battle, O king, like the banks resisting the ocean.³⁻⁵ That feat, O king, which we beheld, of Bhimasena the high-souled son of Pāndu, was exceedingly wonderful and superhuman.⁶ With his mace he fearlessly checked all those kings angrily rushing towards him, with their steeds, and cars, and elephants.⁷ Checking that vast force with mace, that foremost of mighty men, Bhima, stood in that fierce melee, immovable as the mountain Meru.⁸ And in that dreadful, fierce, and terrific encounter, his brothers and sons and Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata’s race⁹ and the sons of Draupadi and Abhimanyu, and the unvanquished Cikhandin,—these mighty warriors,—did not abandon him from fear.¹⁰ Taking up his massive and weighty mace made of *Caika* iron, he rushed towards the warriors of thy army like the Destroyer himself, armed with his club.¹¹ And pressing crowds of cars and crowds of horsemen down into the earth, the lord Bhima wandered over the field like the fire at the end of the *Yuga*.¹² And Pāndu’s son of infinite prowess, crushing crowds of cars with the impetus of his thighs, and slaying thy warriors in battle, wandered like the Destroyer himself at the end of the *Yuga*.¹³ And he began to grind thy troops with the greatest ease like an elephant crushing a forest of reeds. And dragging car-warriors down from their cars, and warriors fighting from the backs of elephants from the backs of those

beasts,¹⁴ and horsemen from the backs of horses, and foot-soldiers as they stood on the ground, in the army of thy son, the mighty-armed Bhimasena slew them all with his mace like the wind crushing trees by its force.¹⁵ And that mace of his, slaying elephants and steeds, became smeared with fat, marrow, flesh, and blood,¹⁶ and looked exceedingly terrible. And with the bodies of slain men and cavalry lying scattered about,¹⁷ the field of battle wore the appearance of the abode of Yama. And the terrible and slaughtering mace of Bhimasena, resembling the fierce bludgeon of Death and endued with the effulgence of Indra's bolt, looked like *Pināka* of the angry Rudra while destroying living creatures.¹⁸⁻¹⁹ Indeed, that mace of the high-souled son of Kunti, who was slaying all around, looked fiercely resplendant like the bludgeon of the Destroyer himself at the time of the universal dissolution.²⁰ And beholding him thus routing that large army repeatedly and advancing like Death's self, all the warriors became cheerless.²¹ Whithersoever the son of Pāndu, raising his mace, cast his eyes, in consequence of his look alone, O Bhārata, all the troops there seemed to melt away.²² Beholding Vrikodara of terrible deeds, thus routing the army and unvanquished by even so large a force and devouring the (hostile) division like the destroyer himself with wide-open mouth, Bhishma speedily came towards him,²³⁻²⁴ on his car of solar effulgence and rattle loud as that of the clouds, (shrouding the welkin) with his arrowy showers like a vapoury canopy charged with rain.²⁵ Then the mighty-armed Bhimasena, beholding Bhishma thus advancing like the Destroyer himself with wide-open mouth, rushed towards him, excited with wrath.²⁶ At that moment, that foremost hero of Cini's race, *viz.* Sātyaki of sure aim, fell upon the grandsire, slaying his enemies (along the way) with his firm bow and causing thy son's army to tremble.²⁷ And all the combatants who belonged to thy army were then, O Bhārata, unable to impede the progress of that hero thus advancing with his steeds of silvery hue and scattering his sharp shafts furnished with handsome wings.²⁸ At that time the *Rākshasa* Alamvusha (only) succeeded in piercing him with ten shafts. But piercing Alam-

vusha in return with four shafts, the grandson of Cini proceeded on his car.²⁹ Beholding that hero of Vrishni's race thus advancing and rolling (as it were) through the very midst of his enemies, and checking (as he proceeded) the foremost of Kuru warriors, and repeatedly uttering loud shouts in that battle, thy warriors then, like masses of clouds pouring rain in torrents on the mountain breast, showered their arrowy down-pours on him. They were, however, incapable of impeding the progress of that hero who looked like the noonday sun in his glory.³⁰⁻³¹ And there was none who was not then cheerless, save Somadatta's son, O king! And Bhuricravas the son of Somadatta, O Bhārata, beholding the car-warriors of his own side driven away, rushed against Sātyaki from desire of battle, taking up his bow of fierce impetus.' **³²

SECTION LXIV.

"Sanjaya said,—'Then, O king, Bhuriçravas, excited with great wrath, pierced Sātyaki with nine arrows like (the conductor of an elephant piercing) an elephant with the iron hook.¹ Sātyaki also, of immeasurable soul, in the very sight of all the troops, pierced the Kaurava warrior with nine shafts.² Then king Duryodhana, accompanied by his uterine brothers, surrounded Somadatta's son thus striving in battle.³ Smiliarly the Pāndavas also, of great energy, quickly surrounding Sātyaki in that battle, took up their positions around him.⁴ And Bhimasena, excited with wrath, and with mace upraised, O Bhārata, encountered all thy sons headed by Duryodhana.⁵ With many thousands of cars, and excited with wrath and vindictiveness, thy son Nandaka pierced Bhimasena of great might with keen-edged and sharp-pointed shafts whetted on stone and winged with the feathers of the *kanha* bird. Then Duryodhana, O king, in that great

* The last verse is a triplet although the *āryā* measure does not admit of a triplet. The fact is, it should really be counted as a *śloka* and a half,—T.

Battle, excited with wrath, struck Bhimasena in the breast with nine sharp shafts. Then the mighty-armed Bhima of great strength mounted on his own excellent car and, addressing (his charioteer) Viçoka, said,—These heroic and mighty sons of Dhritarāshtra, all great car-warriors,⁸⁻⁹ are exceedingly angry with me and desirous of slaying me in battle. I will slay all these today in thy sight, without doubt.¹⁰ Therefore, O charioteer, guide my steeds in battle with care!—Having said this, O monarch, Prithā's son pierced thy son with sharp-pointed arrows decked with gold. And he pierced Nandaka in return with three arrows between his two breasts.¹¹⁻¹² Then Duryodhana, having pierced the mighty Bhima with six arrows, pierced Viçoka in return with three other sharp arrows.¹³ And Duryodhana, O king, as if smiling the while, with three sharp arrows cut off at the grasp the resplendant bow of Bhima in that battle.¹⁴ Bhima then, that bull among men, beholding his charioteer Viçoka afflicted, in that conflict, with sharp shafts by thy son armed with the bow, and unable to bear it, drew another excellent bow, excited with wrath, for the destruction of thy son, O monarch.¹⁵⁻¹⁶ And excited with great wrath, he also took up an arrow with horse-shoe head and furnished with excellent wings. And with that (arrow) Bhima cut off the excellent bow of the king.¹⁷ Then thy son, excited to the highest pitch of fury, leaving that broken bow aside, speedily took up another that was tougher.¹⁸ And aiming a terrible shaft blazing as Death's rod, the Kuru king, excited with rage, struck Bhimasena between his two breasts.¹⁹ Deeply pierced therewith, and greatly pained, he sat down on the terrace of his car. And while seated on the terrace of his car, he swooned away.²⁰ Beholding Bhima thus unmanned, the illustrious and mighty car-warriors of the Pāndava army, headed by Abhimanyu, could not bear it.²¹ And those warriors then, with great steadiness, showered on thy son's head a thick down-pour of fierce shafts.²² Then the mighty Bhimasena, regaining consciousness, pierced Duryodhana at first with three shafts and then with five.²³ And that mighty bowman the son of Pāndu then pierced Calya with five and twenty shafts furnished with golden wings. And

pierced therewith, Calya was borne away from the battle.²⁴ Then thy fourteen sons, *viz*, Senāpati, Sushena, Jalasandha, Sulochana, Ugra, Bhimaratha, Bhima, Viravāhu, and Alolupa, Durmuka, Dushpradarsha, Vivitsu, Vikata, and Sama, then encountered Bhimasena in battle.²⁵⁻²⁸ United together they rushed against Bhimasena, and with eyes red in wrath, showering countless arrows, they pierced him deeply.²⁷ Then the heroic and mighty Bhimasena of strong arms, beholding thy sons and licking the corners of his mouth like a wolf in the midst of smaller creatures, fell upon them with the impetuosity of Gatura. And the son of Pāndu then cut off the head of Senāpati with a shaft having a horse-shoe head.²⁹⁻³⁰ And then with delighted soul and laughing the while, that mighty-armed warrior, piercing Jalasandha with three arrows, despatched him to Yama's abode.³⁰ And next, smiting Sushena, he sent him to the presence of Death's self. And with a single broad-headed shaft he felled on the ground the head, handsome as the moon, of Ugra, decked with turban and adorned with ear-rings. And in that battle, Pāndu's son Bhima, with seventy shafts, despatched Virvāhu to the other world, with his steeds and standard and charioteer. And smiling the while, O king, Bhimasena quickly despatched both the brothers Bhima and Bhimaratha also to Yama's abode. And then in that great battle, in the very sight of all the troops, with an arrow of horse-shoe head Bhima despatched Sulochana also to Death's domain. Then the rest of thy sons that were there, O king, beholding the prowess of Bhimasena and while thus being struck by that illustrious warrior, all fled from battle from fear of Bhima.³¹⁻³⁶ Then Cāntanu's son, addressing all the mighty car-warriors (of his army), said,—That fierce bowman, Bhima, excited with wrath in battle, is slaying the mighty sons of Dhritarāshtra and other heroic car-warriors united together, whatever their knowledge of weapons, and whatever their bravery! Therefore, seize ye all that son of Pāndu!³⁷⁻³⁸—Thus addressed, all the troops of the Dhārtarāshtra army, excited with rage, rushed towards Bhimasena endued with great might.³⁹ And Bhagadatta, O king, on his elephant of rent tremples, suddenly rushed thither

where Bhimasena was stationed.⁴⁹ And rushing thither to the combat, he shrouded Bhima with his shafts whetted on stone so as to make him completely invisible, like the clouds covering the sun.⁴⁹ Those mighty car-warriors, however, (of the Pāndava army), relying on the prowess of their own arms, could not bear that shrouding of Bhima (with the arrowy showers of Bhagadatta).⁴⁹ They, therefore, surrounding Bhagadatta on all sides, poured on him their arrowy down-pours. And they pierced his elephant also with showers of shafts.⁴⁹ And struck by all those mighty car-warriors with showers of fierce shafts of diverse kinds, that elephant, O king, of the ruler of the Prāg-yetishhas,⁴⁹ with blood trickling down his body, became beautiful to behold on the field of battle like a mass of clouds tinged with the rays of the sun.⁴⁹ And that elephant with temporal juice trickling down, urged by Bhagadatta, rushed against all those warriors, like Death's self urged by the Destroyer,⁴⁹ with double his former speed and shaking the very earth with his tread. Then all those mighty car-warriors, beholding that terrible mien of the animal,⁴⁹ and regarding it as irresistible, became cheerless. Then king Bhagadatta, that tiger among men, excited with rage, struck Bhimasena between his two breasts with a straight shaft. Deeply pierced by the king with that shaft, that great bowman and mighty car-warrior, with limbs deprived of sensation in consequence of a swoon, sat down on his car, holding his flagstaff. And beholding those mighty car-warriors terrified and Bhimasena in a swoon,⁴⁹⁻⁵⁰ Bhagadatta of great prowess uttered a loud roar. Then, O king, that terrible *Rākshasa* Ghatotkacha, beholding Bhima in that state, became excited with rage and there and then disappeared from the view. And creating a terrible illusion enhancing the fears of the timid,⁵¹⁻⁵² he reappeared in a moment assuming a fierce form. Himself riding on an Airāvata created by his powers of illusion,⁵³ the other *Dik*-elephants, viz, Anjana, Vāmana, and Mahāpadma of blazing glory, followed him.⁵⁴ And those three mighty elephants, ridden by *Rākshasas*, were of huge form, with juice profusely trickling down in three lines,⁵⁵ and endued with great speed and prowess. Then Ghatot-

kacha urged his own elephant to battle,⁵⁴ desirous, O chastiser of foes, of slaying Bhagadatta with his elephant. And those other elephants, excited with fury and each endued with four tusks, urged by *Rākshasas* of great strength, fell from all sides upon Bhagadatta's elephant, afflicting him with their tusks.⁵⁷⁻⁵⁸ And the elephant of Bhagadatta, thus afflicted by those elephants, (already) struck with arrows and feeling great pain, uttered loud cries that resembled the thunder of Indra.⁵⁹ And hearing those terrible and loud cries of that roaring elephant, Bhishma, addressing Drona and Suyodhana and all the kings, said,⁶⁰—The mighty bowman Bhagadatta is battling with the wicked-souled son of Hidimvā, and hath fallen into great distress!⁶¹ That *Rākshasa* is of huge form, and the king also is very wrathful. Engaged in battle, they would certainly prove each other's death.⁶² Loud shouts also are heard, of the rejoicing Pāndavas, and the cries of agony of (king Bhagadatta's) terrified elephant!⁶³ Blessed be ye, let us all go there for rescuing the king, for if left unprotected in battle, he will soon give up his life!⁶⁴ Ye warriors of great energy, do, as I bid, even now! Ye sinless ones, make no delay! The combat deepens and becometh fierce, making the hair to stand on end.⁶⁵ That commander of a division is high-born, endued with great bravery, and devoted to us! Ye warriors of unfading glory, it is meet that his rescue should be effected by us!⁶⁶—Hearing these words of Bhishma, all the kings (of the Kuru army), headed by Bharadwāja's son, desirous of rescuing Bhagadatta,⁶⁷ proceeded with great speed to where the ruler of the Prāg-yotishas was. And beholding the enemy advancing, the Pāñchālas with the Pāndavas, headed by Yudhishtira, pursued them behind. Then that prince of *Rākshasas*, endued with great prowess, beholding that division (of the enemy) advanc,⁶⁸⁻⁶⁹ uttered a fierce roar deep as that of the thunder. Hearing that roar of his and beholding those battling elephants,⁷⁰ Cāntanu's son Bhishma once again addressed Bharadwāja's son and said,—I do not like to fight (today) with the wicked-souled son of Hidimva!⁷¹ Endued with great might and energy, he is at present well-supported. He is incapable of being vanquished now by

the wielder of the thunder-bolt himself.⁷² Of sureness of aim, he is a great smiter. As regards ourselves, our animals are tired (today). We have also been greatly mangled by the Pānchālas and the Pāndavas.⁷³ I do not like a fresh encounter with the victorious Pāndavas. Let the withdrawal of our army, therefore, be proclaimed today! Tomorrow we will fight with the foe!⁷⁴—Hearing these words of the grandsire, the Kauravas, afflicted with the fear of Ghatotkacha, and availing of the advent of night as a pretext, gladly did what the grandsire said.⁷⁵ And after the Kauravas had withdrawn, the Pāndavas, crowned with victory, uttered leonine roars, mingling them with the blare of conchs and the notes of pipes.⁷⁶ Thus did the battle take place that day, O Bhārata, between the Kurus and the Pāndavas headed by Ghatotkacha.⁷⁷ And the Kauravas also, vanquished by the Pāndavas and overcome with shame, retired to their own tents when night came.⁷⁸ And those mighty car-warriors, the sons of Pāndu, their bodies mangled with shafts and themselves filled with (the result of) the battle, proceeded, O king, towards their encampment,⁷⁹ with Bhimasena and Ghatotkacha, O monarch, at their head. And filled with great joy, O king, they worshipped those heroes.⁸⁰ And they uttered diverse kinds of shouts which were mingled with the notes of trumpets. And they uttered many leonine roars that were mingled with the blare of conchs.⁸¹ And those high-souled warriors shouted, making the very earth tremble therewith, and grinding, as it were, O sire, the hearts of thy sons!⁸² And it was thus that those chastisers of foes, when night came, proceeded towards their tents. And king Duryodhana, cheerless at the death of his brothers,⁸³ passed some time in thoughtfulness, overcome with grief and tears. Then making all the arrangements for his camp according to the rules (of military science), he began to pass the hours in meditation, scorched with grief and afflicted with sorrow on account of his (slain) brothers.’⁸⁴

SECTION LXV.

“Dhritarāshtra said,—Hearing of those feats of the sons of Pāndu that are incapable of being achieved by the gods themselves, my heart, O Sanjaya, is filled with fear and wonder!¹ Hearing also of the humiliation of my sons in every way, great hath been my anxiety as to the consequence that will ensue!² The words uttered by Vidura will, no doubt, consume my heart! Everything that hath happened seemeth to be due to Destiny, O Sanjaya!³ The combatants of the Pāndava army are encountering and smiting those best of warriors having Bhishma for their head, those heroes conversant with every weapon!⁴ What ascetic penances have been performed by the high-souled and mighty sons of Pāndu, what boon have they obtained, O son, or what science is known to them,⁵ in consequence of which, like the stars in the firmament, they are undergoing no diminution? I cannot bear it that my army should be repeatedly slaughtered by the Pāndavas!⁶ The divine chastisement, highly severe, hath fallen on me alone! Tell me everything truly, O Sanjaya, about that for which the sons of Pāndu have become unslayable and mine slayable! I do not see the other shore of this (sea of) distress!⁷⁻⁸ I am like a man desirous of crossing the vasty deep with my two arms alone! I certainly think that a great calamity hath overtaken my sons!⁹ Without doubt, Bhima will slay all my sons! I do not see that hero who is able to protect my sons in battle!¹⁰ The death of my sons in this battle, O Sanjaya, is certain! It behoveth thee, therefore, O *Suta*, to tell me who asketh thee, everything about the true cause of all this! Beholding his own troops retreating from battle, what did Duryodhana do?¹¹⁻¹² And what did Bhishma and Drona, and Kripa, and Suvala's son, and Jayadratha, and that mighty bowman, *viz*, Drona's son, and Vikarna of great strength, do?¹³ When also, O thou of great wisdom, my sons turned back from the fight, what, O Sanjaya, became the resolve of those high-souled warriors?¹⁴

* The Bengal reading *parantapa* is a mistake for *kathanakana*.—T.

“Sanjaya said,—“Listen, O king, with attention, and having listened, let it go to thy heart! Nothing (in this) is the result of incantation, nothing the result of illusion of any kind!¹⁵ Nor have the sons of Pāndu created any new terrors! They are endued with might; and they are fighting by fair means in this battle.¹⁶ Desirous of high fame, the sons of Prithā always do every act, including even the support of their lives, agreeably to the ways of morality.¹⁷ Endued with every kind of prosperity, and possessed of great strength, they never desist from battle, keeping their eyes on righteousness. And victory is there where righteousness is.¹⁸ It is for this, O king, that the sons of Prithā are unslayable in battle and always victorious! Thy sons are of wicked souls and are addicted to sinfulness.¹⁹ They are cruel and wedded to mean acts. It is for this that they are being weakened in battle. Thy sons, O king, like despicable men, did many cruel and deceitful acts to the sons of Pāndu. Disregarding, however, all those offences of thy sons,²⁰⁻²¹ the sons of Pāndu always concealed those acts, O elder brother of Pāndu! Thy sons also, O king, on numerous occasions humiliated the Pāndavas.²² Let them now reap the terrible fruit, like poison, of that persistent course of sinfulness!²³ That fruit should be enjoyed by thee also, O king, with thy sons and kinsmen, since thou, O king, couldst not be awakened even though counselled by thy well-wishers!²⁴ Repeatedly forbidden by Vidura, by Bhishma, by the high-souled Drona, and by myself also, thou didst not understand,²⁵ rejecting our words intended for thy good and worthy of thy acceptance, like a sick man rejecting the medicine prescribed! Accepting the views of thy sons thou hadst regarded the Pāndavas as already vanquished!²⁶ Listen again, O king, to what thou hast asked me, *viz*, the true cause, O chief of the Bharatas, of the victory of the Pāndavas!²⁷ I will tell thee what I have heard, O chastiser of foes! Duryodhana had asked the grandsire this very question.²⁸ Beholding his brothers, all mighty car-warriors, vanquished in

* *Kimpāka* is a species of cucurbitaceous plant. To avoid periphrasis I render it poison.—T.

battle, thy son Duryodhana, O Kaurava, with heart confounded with grief, repairing with humility during the night to the grandsire possessed of great wisdom, asked him this question. Listen to me, O monarch, about it all!²⁸⁻³⁰

“Duryodhana said,—Drona, and thou, and Calya, and Kripa, and Drona’s son, and Kritavarman the son of Hridikā, and Sudakshina the ruler of the Kāmvojas,³¹ and Bhuriçravas, and Vikarna, and Bhagadatta of exceeding prowess, are all regarded as mighty car-warriors! All of these, again, are high-born, and prepared to throw away their lives in battle!³² It is my opinion that these are a match for even the three worlds (united together)! Even all the warriors of the Pāndava army (united together) cannot bear your prowess!³³ A doubt has arisen in my mind. Explain it to me who enquireth of thee! Who is it relying on whom the Pāndavas are vanquishing us repeatedly!³⁴—

“Bhishma said,—Listen, O king, to the words that I will speak unto thee, O thou of Kuru’s race! Frequently wert thou addressed by me to the same affect but thou didst not do what I said!³⁵ Let peace be made with the Pāndavas, O best of the Bharatas! I regard this to be beneficial both to the world and thee, O lord!³⁶ Enjoy this Earth, O king, with thy brothers and be happy, gratifying all thy well-wishers and delighting thy kinsfolk!³⁷ Although I cried myself hoarse before this, thou didst not yet listen to me, O sire! Thou hadst always disregarded the sons of Pāndu. The effect of all that hath now overtaken thee!³⁸ Listen also, O king, from me as I speak of it, O lord, to the reason why the Pāndavas, whose achievements tire them not, are unslayable!³⁹* There is not, was not, will not be, the being in all the worlds who would or will be able to vanquish the sons of Pāndu who are all protected by the wielder of Çārnga!⁴⁰ Listen truly, O

* *Akṣitakarman* literally means one who is not tired with what he does; hence, one who easily achieves the highest feats. When applied to Krishna or any divine personage, it means one who does everything by a fiat of his will, without being dependant on means like ordinary persons. It may also mean one of pure or white deeds.—T.

thou that art conversant with morality, to that ancient history which was recited to me by sages of souls under control!⁴¹ In days of yore, all the celestials and the *Rishis*, united together, waited reverentially on the Grandsire upon the mountains of Gandhamādana.⁴² And the Lord of all creatures, seated at his ease in their midst, beheld an excellent car stationed in the firmament, blazing with effulgence.⁴³ Having ascertained (everything about it) by meditation, joining his hands with restrained heart, Brahman, with delighted soul, made his salutations to the highest divine Being.⁴⁴ And the *Rishis* and the celestials, beholding in the firmament (the form thus) displayed, all stood up with joined hands, their eyes fixed on that wonder of wonders.⁴⁵ Worshipping him duly, Brahman, the foremost of all conversant with *Brahma*, the Creator of the universe, acquainted with the highest morality, uttered these high words:⁴⁶—Thou art the Glory of the Universe having the Universe for thy form! Thou art the Lord of the Universe! O thou whose protection extendeth through that the whole Universe! O thou hast the Universe for thy work! O thou that hast thy soul under control! Thou art the Supreme Master of the Universe! Thou art Vāsudeva! Therefore, I seek refuge in thee that art the soul of *Yoga* and the highest Divinity!⁴⁷ Victory to thee that art the Supreme God of the Universe! Victory to thee that art ever employed in the good of the worlds! Victory to thee that art the Lord of *Yoga*, thee that art all-powerful! Victory to thee that art prior and subsequent to *Yoga*!⁴⁸ Having the lotus springing from thy navel, and having large expansive eyes, victory to thee that art the Lord of the Lord of the Universe! O Lord of the Past, the Present, and the Future, victory to thee that art the embodiment of gentleness, thee that art the son of sons!⁴⁹ O thou that art the receptacle of untold attributes, victory to thee that art the refuge of all things! Thou art *Nārāyaṇa*, thou art incapable of being understood, victory to thee that art the wielder of the bow called *Çārṅga*!⁵⁰ Victory to thee that art endued with every attribute, O thou that hast the Universe for thy form, O thou that art ever hale! O Lord of the Universe, O thou of mighty arms, victory to thee that art

always ready for benefiting the worlds!⁵¹ O great Snake, O huge Boar, O first Cause, O thou of tawny locks, victory to thee that art Almighty! O thou of yellow robes, O Lord of the cardinal and the subsidiary points of the compass, O thou that hast the Universe for thy abode, O thou that art Infinite, O thou that hast no decay!⁵² O thou that art the Manifest, O thou that art the Unmanifest, O thou that art immeasurable Space, O thou that hast all thy senses under control, O thou that always achievest what is good! O thou that art immeasurable, O thou that alone knowest thy own nature, victory to thee that art deep, O thou that art the giver of all wishes!⁵³ O thou that art without end, O thou that art known as *Brahma*, O thou that art Eternal, O thou that art the Creator of all creatures! O thou that art ever successful, O thou whose acts always display wisdom, O thou that art conversant with morality, O thou that givest victory!⁵⁴ O thou of mysterious Self, O thou that art the Soul of all *Yoga*, O thou that art the Cause of everything that hath sprung into existence! O thou that art the Knowledge of the selfs of all beings, O Lord of the worlds, victory to thee that art the Creator of all beings!⁵⁵ O thou that hast thyself for thy origin, O thou that art highly blessed, O thou that art the Destroyer of everything, O thou that art the inspirer of all mental thoughts, victory to thee that art dear to all conversant with *Brahma*!⁵⁶ O thou that art busy in creation and destruction, O controller of all wishes, O Supreme Lord! O thou that art the Cause of *Amrita*, O thou that art All existent things, O thou that art the fire that appears at the end of the *Yuga*, O thou that art the giver of victory!⁵⁷ O Divine Lord of the Lord of all creatures, O thou that hast the lotus springing from thy navel, O thou of mighty strength! O thou that art sprung from thyself, O thou that art the great elements in their primal state, O thou that art the soul of all (religious) rites, victory to thee that givest all!⁵⁸ The goddess Earth represents thy two feet, the cardinal and the subsidiary directions represent thy arms, and the heavens thy head! I am thy form, the celestials constitute thy limbs, and the Sun and the Moon are thy two eyes!⁵⁹ Ascetic austerities, and Truth born of morality

and (religious) rites, constitute thy strength. Fire is thy energy, the wind is thy breath, and the waters have sprung from thy sweat.⁶⁹ The twin Aṣwins always constitute thy ears, and the goddess Saraswati is thy tongue. The *Vedas* are thy Knowledge, and upon thee resteth this Universe.⁶¹ O lord of *Yoga* and *Yogins*, we do not know thy extent, thy measure, thy energy, thy prowess, thy might, thy origin!⁶² O God, O Vishnu, filled with devotion in thee, and depending on thee with vows and observances, we ever worship Thee as the highest Lord, the God of gods!⁶³ The *Rishis*, the gods, the *Gandharvas*, the *Yakshas*, the *Rākshasas*, the *Pannagas*, the *Piṣāchas*, human beings, beasts, birds, and reptiles,⁶⁴—all these were created by me on Earth through Thy grace! O thou having the lotus springing from thy navel, O thou of large expansive eyes, O Krishna, O dispeller of all woe,⁶⁵ Thou art the Refuge of all creatures, and Thou their Guide! Thou hast the Universe for thy mouth! Through thy grace, O Lord of the gods, the gods are ever happy!⁶⁶ Through thy grace the Earth hath always been freed from terrors! Therefore, O thou of large eyes, take birth in the race of Yadu!^{67*} For the sake of establishing righteousness, for slaying the sons of Diti, and for upholding the Universe, do what I have said, O Lord!⁶⁸ O Vāsudeva, that which is thy supreme Mystery, that, O Lord, hath been sung by me through Thy grace!⁶⁹ Having created the divine Sankarshana out of thy own Self by Thyself, thou didst then, O Krishna, create Thyself as Pradyumna born of thyself.⁷⁰ From Pradyumna thou didst then create Anirudha who is known as the eternal Vishnu. And it was Aniruddha who created me as Brahman the upholder of the Universe.^{†71} Created out of Vāsudeva's essence, I have, therefore, been created by Thee. Dividing Thyself into portions, take birth, O Lord, among human beings!⁷² And slaughtering the *Asuras* there for the happiness of all

* Literally, "be a perpetuator (son) of Yadu's race!"—T.

† 70 and 71 in the Bengal texts are read incorrectly. I adopt the Bombay readings. The Bengal readings do not give any intelligible meaning.—T.

the worlds, and establishing righteousness, and winning renown, thou wilt again truly attain to *Yoga* !”³ The regenerate *Rishis* on Earth, and the gods, O thou of infinite prowess, devoted to thee, sing of thy wondrous Self under those names that belong to thee !⁴ O thou of excellent arms, all classes of creatures rest on Thee, having taken refuge in Thee, thou giver of boons ! The regenerate ones sing Thee as the world’s bridge, having no beginning, middle, and end, and as possessed of unlimited *Yoga* !—”⁵

SECTION LXVI.

“ Bhishma said,—Then that illustrious Deity, the Lord of the Lord of the worlds, replied unto Brahman in a soft and deep voice, saying,¹—*Through Yoga, O sire, all that is wished by thee is known to me. It will be even as thou wishest!*—And saying this, he disappeared there and then.² Then the gods, *Rishis*, and *Gandharvas*, filled with great wonder and curiosity, all asked the Grandsire, saying,³—*Who is that one, O Lord, that was worshipped by thy illustrious self with such humility and praised in such high words? We desire to hear!*—Thus addressed, the illustrious Grandsire replied unto all the gods, the regenerate *Rishis*, and the *Gandharvas*, in sweet words, saying,⁴—He who is called THAT, He who is Supreme, He who is existent at present and who will be for all time He, who is the highest Self, He who is the Soul of beings, and He who is the great Lord,⁵ I was talking even with His ever-cheerful Self, ye bulls among gods ! The Lord of the Universe was solicited by me, for the good of the Universe,⁶ to take his birth among mankind in the family of Vasudeva. I said unto him,—For the slaughter of the *Asuras* take thy birth in the world of men !⁷—Those *Daityas* and *Dānavas* and *Rākshasas*, of fierce form and great strength, that were slain in battle, have been born among men !⁸ Indeed, the illustrious and mighty Lord, taking birth in the human womb, will live on the Earth, accompanied by Nara.⁹ Those ancient and best of *Rishis*, viz, Nara and Nārāyana, are incapable of defeat in battle by even all the celestials

united together.¹¹ Of immeasurable effulgence, those *Rishis*, viz, Nara and Nārāyana, when born together in the world of men, will not be known (as such) by fools.*¹² He from whose Self, I, Brahman, the Lord of the whole Universe, have sprung, that Vāsudeva, that Supreme God of all the worlds, is worthy of your adoration!¹³ Endued with great energy, and bearing the conch, the discus, and the mace, he should never be disregarded as a man, ye best of deities!¹⁴ He is the Supreme Mystery, the Supreme refuge, the Supreme *Brahma*, and the Supreme glory!¹⁵ He is without decay, Unmanifest, and Eternal. He it is who hath been sung as *Puruṣa*, though none can comprehend him!¹⁶ The divine Artificer hath sung of him as the Supreme Energy, the Supreme Felicity, and the Supreme Truth.¹⁷ Therefore, the Lord Vāsudeva of immeasurable prowess should never be disregarded as a man by all the *Asuras* and the gods with Indra at their head!¹⁸ That person of foolish understanding is called a wretch, who, from disregard, speaketh of Hrishikeṣa as only a man.¹⁹ People speak of him as one labouring under darkness who disregardeth Vāsudeva, that *Yogin* of illustrious soul, for his entering into a human form.²⁰ People speak of him as one labouring under darkness who knoweth not that Divine personage, that Soul of the mobile and the immobile creation, that one bearing the auspicious whirl (on his breast), that one of dazzling effulgence, that one from whose navel hath sprung the (primeval) lotus.²¹ He who disregardeth that wearer of the diadem and the *Kaustuva* gem, that dispeller of the fears of his friends, that high-souled one, sinketh in thick darkness.²² Having known all these truths duly, that Lord of the worlds, viz, Vāsudeva, should be adored by every one, ye best of gods!²³—

“Bhishma continued,—Having said these words unto those gods and *Rishis* in days of yore, the illustrious Grandsire, dismissing them all, repaired to his own abode.²⁴ And the gods and the *Gandharvas*, and the *Munis* and the *Apsaras* also, having listened to those words spoken by Brahman,

* The present tense is used in the original for the future.—T.

were filled with delight and repaired to heaven.²⁶ Even this was heard by me, O sire, from *Rishis* of cultured souls talking in their assembly, of Vāsudeva, that Ancient one!²⁶ And, O thou that art well versed in scriptures, I heard this from Rāma the son of Jamadagni, and Mārkaṇḍeya of great wisdom, and Vyasa and Nārada also.²⁷ Having learnt all this* and heard of the illustrious Vāsudeva as the Eternal Lord, the Supreme God of all the worlds, and the great Master,²⁸ from whom hath sprung Brahman himself the Father of the Universe, why should not that Vāsudeva be adored and worshipped by men?²⁹ Forbidden wert thou before, O sire, by sages of cultured souls, (who said unto thee),—*Never go to war with that Vāsudeva armed with bow,*³⁰ *as also with the Pāṇḍavas!*—This, from folly, thou couldst not apprehend. I regard thee, therefore, as a wicked *Rākshasa!* Thou art, besides, enveloped in darkness!³¹ It is for this that thou hatest Govinda, and Dhananjaya the son of Pāṇdu, for who else among men would hate the divine Nara and Nārāyana?³² It is for this, O king, that I say unto thee that this one is Eternal and Unfading, pervading the whole Universe, Unchanging, the Ruler, Creator, and Upholder of all, and the truly Existent!³³ He it is who upholdeth the three worlds, He is the Supreme Lord of all mobile and immobile creatures, and He is the great Master, He is Warrior, He is Victory, He is Victor, and He is the Lord of all nature.³⁴ O king, He is full of goodness, and divested of the qualities of Darkness and Passion! There where Krishna is, there is righteousness; and there is victory where righteousness is!³⁵ It is by the *Yoga* of his Supreme Excellence, and the *Yoga* of his Self, that the sons of Pāṇdu, O king, are supported! Victory, therefore, will surely be theirs.³⁶ He it is that always imparteth to the Pāṇḍavas an understanding endued with righteousness, and strength in battle; and He it is that always protecteth them from danger.³⁷ He is the Eternal God, pervading all beings, and ever blessed! He of whom thou hast asked me is known by the name of Vāsudeva.³⁸ He it is whom

* Literally, "about this subject."—T.

Brāhmanas and Kshatriyas and Vaiçyas and Cudras, having distinctive features of their own, humbly serve and worship with restrained hearts and performing their own duties.³⁹ He it is who towards the close of the *Dwāpara Yuga* and the beginning of the *Kali Yuga* is sung of, with Sankarshana, by believers with devotion!⁴⁰ It is that Vāsudeva that createth, *Yuga* after *Yuga*, the worlds of the gods and the mortals, all cities girt by the sea, and the region of human habitation!—⁴¹

SECTION LXVII.

“Duryodhana said,—In all the worlds Vāsudeva is spoken of as the Supreme Being. I desire, O grandsire, to know his origin and glory!¹—

“Bhishma said,—Vāsudeva is the Supreme Being. He is the God of all gods. None superior to Him of eyes like lotus petals is to be seen, O bull of Bharata's race!² Mārkaṇdeya speaketh of Govinda as the Most Wonderful and the Most High, as All beings, as the All-Soul, as the Highest Soul, and as the Supreme Male Being.³ Water, Air and Fire,—these three were created by Him. That Divine Master and Lord of all the worlds created this Earth.⁴ That Supreme Being of illustrious soul laid himself down on the waters. And that Divine Being made up of all kinds of energy slept thereon in *Yoga*.⁵ From his mouth He created Fire, and from his breath, the Wind. Of unfading glory, He created from his mouth Speech and the *Vedas*.⁶ It was thus that He created first the worlds and also the gods along with the diverse classes of *Rishis*. And He created decay and death also of all creatures, as well as birth and growth.⁷ He is Righteousness and of righteous soul. He is the giver of boons and the giver of all (our) wishes. He is the Actor and the Action, and He is himself the Divine Master.⁸ He first made the Past, the Present, and the Future; He is the Creator of the Universe; He is of illustrious soul; He is the

* The Bengal reading is *Sa vai devas*. The Bombay reading is *Purvadevas*.—T.

Master possessed of unfading glory.⁹ He created Sankarshana the First-born of all creatures. He created the divine Cesha who is known as *Ananta*,¹⁰ and who upholdeth all creatures and the Earth with her mountains. Of Supreme Energy, He it is whom the regenerate ones know by *Yoga* meditation.¹¹ Sprung from the secretions of his ear, the great *Asura* known by the name of Madhu, fierce and of fierce deeds and entertaining a fierce intent¹² and about to destroy Brahman, was slain by that Supreme Being. And, O sire, in consequence of Madhu's slaughter, the gods, the *Dānavas*, and human beings,¹³ and *Rishis*, call Janārdhana the slayer of Madhu. He is the great Boar, He is the great Lion, and He is the Three-stepped Lord.*¹⁴ He is the Mother and the Father of all living creatures. There never was, nor will be, any superior to Him of eyes like lotus petals.¹⁵ From His mouth He created the Brāhmanas; and from His two arms the Kshatriyas. And from His thighs, O king, He created the Vaiçyas, and from His feet He created the Çudras.¹⁶ One waiting dutifully on Him, observant of vows with ascetic austerities on days of the full moon and the new moon, is sure to obtain the Divine Keçava, that refuge of all embodied creatures, that essence of *Brahma* and of *Yoga*. Keçava is the highest Energy, the Grandsire of all the worlds.¹⁷⁻¹⁸ Him, O king, the sages call *Hrishikeça* (the lord of the senses)! Him also should all know as the Preceptor, the Father, and the Master.¹⁹ Inexhaustible regions (of blessedness) are won by him with whom Krishna is gratified. He also who, in a place of fear, seeketh the protection of Keçava,²⁰ and he who frequently readeth this description, becometh happy and endued with every prosperity. Those men who

* The three-stepped lord. Vishnu became *Vāmana* or the dwarf for robbing the *Asura* Vali of his dominions. Disguised in that shape he asked of Vali three steps of land. Vali, smiling at the littleness of what was asked, gave it. But when the dwarf expanded his form and covered the heavens and the earth with only two step of his, no space could be found for the third steps. Vali was forthwith seized and bound as a promise-breaker, and sent to reside in the nether regions.—T.

attain to Krishna are never beguiled.²¹ Janārddana always saveth those that are sunk in great terrors. Knowing this truly, O Bhārata, Yudhishtira,²² with his whole soul, O king, hath sought the shelter of the highly blessed Keçava, the Lord of *Yoga*, and the Lord of the Earth!—' ”²³

SECTION LXVIII.

“Bhishma said,—Hear from me, O king, this hymn that was uttered by Brahman himself. This hymn was in days of old communicated by regenerate *Rishis* and the gods (to men) on Earth.¹—Nārada described thee as the Master and the Lord of the god of gods and all the *Sādhyas* and the celestials, and as one acquainted with the nature of the Creator of the worlds!² Mārkaṇdeya spoke of thee as the Past, the Present, and the Future, and the Sacrifice of Sacrifices, and the austerity of austerities.³ The illustrious Bhrigu said of thee that thou art the God of the gods, that thine is the ancient form of Vishnu!⁴ Dwaipāyana said of thee that thou art Vāsudeva of the Vasus, the establisher of Cakra, and the God of gods and all creatures.⁵ In days of old on the occasion of procreating creatures, the sages spoke of thee as Daksha the Father of creation. Angiras said that thou art the Creator of all beings.⁶ Devala said of thee that the unmanifest All is thy body, and the Manifest is in thy mind, and that the gods are all the result of thy breath.^{7*} With thy head is pervaded the heavens, and thy two arms support the Earth. In thy stomach are the three worlds, and thou art the Eternal Being!⁸ Even thus do men exalted by asceticism know thee. Thou art the SAT of SAT, with *Rishis* gratified with sight of Selves.⁹ With royal sages of liberal minds, never retreating from battle and having morality for their highest end, thou, O slayer of Madhu, art the sole refuge!¹⁰ Even thus is that illustrious and Supreme Being, *viz.*, Hari, adored and worshipped by Sanatkumāra and other ascetics endued with *Yoga*.¹¹ The

* Word of command.—T.

† *I. e.*, really existent among all things.—T.

truth about Keçava, O sire, is now narrated to thee, both in brief and detail! Turn thy heart in love to Keçava!—¹²

“Sanjaya continued,—Hearing this sacred story, thy son, O great king, began to regard highly both Keçava and those mighty car-warriors, viz, the sons of Pāndu.¹³ Then, O monarch, Bhishma the son of Cāntanu once more addressed thy son, saying,—Thou hast now heard truly, O king, about the glory of the high-souled Keçava and of Nara about which thou hadst asked me! Thou hast also heard about the object for which both Nara and Nārāyana have taken their births among men.¹⁴⁻¹⁵ Thou hast also been told the reason why those heroes are invincible and have never been vanquished in battle, and why also, O king, the sons of Pāndu are incapable of being slain in battle by anybody.¹⁶ Krishna beareth great love for the illustrious sons of Pāndu. It is for this, O king of kings, that I say—*Let peace be made with the Pāndavas!*¹⁷—Restraining thy passions, enjoy thou the Earth with thy mighty brothers (around thee)! By disregarding the divine Nara and Nārāyana, thou shalt certainly be destroyed!¹⁸—Having said these words, thy sire became silent, O monarch, and dismissing the king, entered his tent.¹⁹ And the king also came back to his (own) tent, having worshipped the illustrious grandsire. And then, O bull of Bharata's race, he laid himself down on his white bed for passing the night in sleep.’²⁰

SECTION LXIX.

“Sanjaya said,—‘After the night had passed away and the sun had risen, the two armies, O king, approached each other for battle.¹ Beholding each other, each rushed in united ranks towards the other, excited with rage and desirous of vanquishing the other.² And in consequence of thy evil policy, O king, the Pāndavas and the Dhārtarāshtras thus rushed, eased in mail and forming battle-array, for striking each other.³ And the array that Bhishma protected from all sides, O king, was of the shape of a *Makara*.^{*} And so the Pāndavas

* A fabulous aquatic animal resembling an alligator.—T.

also, O king, protected the array they had formed (of their troops).⁴ Then thy sire Devavrata, O great king, that foremost of car-warriors, proceeded in advance, supported by a large division of cars.⁵ And others, *viz.*, car-warriors, infantry, elephants, and cavalry, all followed him, each stationed in the place allotted.⁶ And beholding them prepared for battle, the illustrious sons of Pāndu arrayed their troops in that invincible and prince of arrays called the *Cyena*.⁷ And in the beak of that array shone Bhimasena of great strength. And in its two eyes were the invincible Cikhandin and Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata's race.⁸ And in the head was the heroic Sātyaki of prowess incapable of being baffled. And in its neck was Arjuna shaking his *Gāndiva*.⁹ And in its left wing was the high-souled and blessed Drupada with his son and supported by an *Akshauhini* of all forces.¹⁰ And the king of the Kekayas, owning an *Akshauhini*, formed the right wing (of that array). And in its back were the sons of Draupadi, and Subhadrā's son of great prowess.¹¹ And in its tail was the heroic king Yudhishtira himself, of excellent prowess, supported by his twin brothers.¹² Then in the battle (that ensued), Bhima, penetrating the *Makara* array (of the Kauravas) through its mouth, and approaching Bhishma, covered him with his shafts.¹³ Then in that great battle, Bhishma possessed of great prowess shot his mighty weapons, confounding the combatants of the Pāndavas disposed in battle array.¹⁴ And when the combatants (of the Pāndava army) were thus confounded, Dhananjaya, speedily proceeding, pierced Bhishma at the van of battle with a thousand arrows.¹⁵ And counteracting, in that conflict, the weapons shot by Bhishma, Arjuna stood ready for the combat, supported by his own division filled with cheerfulness.¹⁶ Then king Duryodhana, that foremost of mighty men, that great car-warrior, beholding that terrible carnage of his troops and remembering the slaughter of his brothers (on the previ-

* Formed after the shape of the hawk.—T.

† The Bengal reading is *Yudhi sandhāya*. The Bombay reading is *pratisamvārya*. I adopt the latter.—T.

ous day), came quickly towards Bharadwāja's son, and addressing him, said,—O preceptor, O sinless one, thou art ever my well-wisher! Relying on thee as also on the grandsire Bhishma, ourselves hope to vanquish without doubt the very gods in battle,¹⁷⁻¹⁹ let alone the sons of Pāndu that are destitute of energy and prowess! Blessed be thou, act in such a way that the Pāndavas may be slain!²⁰—Thus addressed in battle by thy son, Drona penetrated into the Pāndava array in the very sight of Sātyaki.²¹ Then, O Bhārata, Sātyaki checked the son of Bharadwāja, and (thereupon) ensued a battle that was fierce in its incidents and awful to behold.²² Then Bharadwāja's son, excited with rage and endued with great prowess, as if smiling the while, pierced the grandson of Cini with ten shafts at his shoulder-joint.²³ And Bhimasena also, excited with rage, pierced Bharadwāja's son (with many shafts), desirous of protecting Sātyaki, O king, from Drona that foremost of all wielders of weapons!²⁴ Then Drona, and Bhishma, and Calya also, O sire, excited with rage, covered Bhimasena, in that battle, with their shafts.²⁵ Thereupon Abhimanyu excited with wrath, and the sons of Draupadi, O sire, pierced with their sharp-pointed shafts all those warriors with upraised weapons.²⁶ Then, in that fierce battle, the great bowman Cikhandin rushed against those two mighty warriors, *viz*, Bhishma and Drona who, excited with rage, had (thus) fallen upon the Pāndavas.²⁷ Firmly grasping his bow whose twang resembled the roar of the clouds, that hero, shrouding the very Sun with his arrows, quickly covered his antagonists therewith.²⁸ The grandsire of the Bharatas, however, getting Cikhandin before him, avoided him, remembering the femininity of his sex.²⁹ Then, O king, urged by thy son, Drona rushed to battle, desirous of protecting Bhishma in that stress.³⁰ Cikhandin, however, approaching Drona that foremost of all wielders of weapons, avoided, from fear, that warrior resembling the blazing fire that appears at the end of the *Yuga*.³¹ Then, O king, thy son with a large force, desirous of winning great glory, proceeded to protect Bhishma.³² And so the Pāndavas also, O king, firmly setting their hearts upon victory, and placing Dhananjaya at

their head, steadily advanced towards Bhishma.³³ And the battle then that took place between the combatants of both armies desirous of victory and fame, was fierce and highly wonderful, resembling that (in days of yore) between the gods and *Dānavas*.'³⁴

SECTION LXX.

"Sanjaya said,—'Then Bhishma the son of Cāntanu fought fiercely,* desirous of protecting thy sons from the fear of Bhishmasena.¹ And the battle that then took place between the kings of the Kaurava and the Pāndava armies was awful in the extreme and destructive of great heroes.² And in that general engagement, so fierce and terrible, tremendous was the din that arose, touching the very heavens.³ And in consequence of the shrieks of huge elephants and the neigh of steeds and the blare of conchs and beat of drums, the uproar was deafening.⁴ Fighting for the sake of victory, the mighty combatants endued with great prowess roared at one another like bulls in a cow-pen.⁵ And heads cut off in that battle with keen-edged shafts, incessantly falling, created, O bull of Bharata's race, the appearance of a stony shower in the welkin.⁶ Indeed, O bull of Bharata's race, innumerable were the heads lying on the field of battle, decked with ear-rings and turbans and resplendent with ornaments of gold.⁷ And the Earth was covered with limbs cut off with broad-headed shafts, with heads decked with ear-rings, and with arms adorned with ornaments.⁸ And in a moment the whole field was strewn over with bodies cased in mail, with arms decked with ornaments, with faces beautiful as the moon and having eyes with reddish corners, and with every limb, O king, of elephants, steeds, and men!⁹⁻¹⁰ And the dust (raised by the warriors) looked like a thick cloud, and the bright implements of destruction, like flashes of lightning. And the noise made by the weapons resembled the roar of thunder.¹¹ And that fierce and awful passage-at-arms, O Bhārata, between the

* Literally, "made a fierce battle."—T.

Kurus and the Pāndavas, caused a very river of blood to flow there.¹² And in that terrible, fierce, and awful battle causing the hair to stand on end, Kshatriya warriors incapable of defeat incessantly poured their arrowy showers.¹³ And the elephants of both thy army and the enemy's, afflicted with those arrowy showers, shrieked aloud and ran hither and thither in fury.¹⁴ And in consequence of (the twang of) bows, endued with great energy, of fierce and heroic warriors excited with fury, and of the flappings of their bowstrings against their leathern fences, nothing could be distinguished.†¹⁵ And all over the field which looked like a lake of blood, headless trunks stood up, and the kings, bent upon slaying their foes, rushed to battle.¹⁶ And brave warriors of immeasurable energy and possessed of arms resembling stout bludgeons, slew one another with arrows and darts and maces and scimitars.¹⁷ And elephants, pierced with arrows and deprived of riders to guide them with hooks, and steeds destitute of riders, wildly ran in all directions.¹⁸ And many warriors, O best of the Bharatas, belonging to both thy army and that of the foe, deeply pierced with shafts jumped up and fell down.‡¹⁹ And in that encounter between Bhima and Bhishma, heaps of arms and heads, as also of bows and maces and spiked clubs and hands and thighs, of legs and ornaments and bracelets, were seen lying over the field.²⁰⁻²¹ And here and there over the field, O king, were seen large bodies of unretreating elephants and steeds and ears.²² And the Kshatriya warriors, urged on by fate, slew one another with maces, swords, lances, and straight shafts.²³ And others endued with great heroism and accomplished in fight, encountered one another with their bare arms that resembled spiked clubs made of iron.²⁴ And other heroic warriors of thy army, engaged with the combatants of the Pāndava

* The last line of 14 is read variously.—T.

† The Bengal reading *Ghorānāmatitejasā* is what I adopt. The Bombay reading *Ghorānnāmamitaujasām* involves a useless hyperbole. Of course, *atitejasā* qualifies *dhanushā* in the next line.—T.

‡ The last half of the second line of 19 is differently read in the Bengal texts. I adopt the Bombay reading.—T.

host, fought on slaying one another with clenched fists and knees, and slaps and blows, O king!²⁵ And with the fallen and falling warriors and those weltering in agony on the ground, the field of battle everywhere became, O king, terrible to behold.²⁶ And car-warriors, deprived of their cars and grasping excellent swords, rushed at one another, desirous of slaughter.²⁷ Then king Duryodhana, surrounded by a large division of Kālingas, and placing Bhishma ahead, rushed towards the Pāndavas.²⁸ And so the Pāndava combatants also, supporting Vrikodara, and owning fleet animals, rushed, excited with rage, against Bhishma'²⁹.

SECTION LXXI.

“Sanjaya said,—‘Bholding his brothers and the other kings engaged in battle with Bhishma, Dhananjaya, with weapons upraised; rushed against the son of Gangā.¹ Hearing the blare of *Pānchajanya* and the twang of the bow *Gāndiva*, and seeing also the standard of Prithā’s son, a great fear entered our hearts.² And the standard that we beheld, O king, of the wielder of *Gāndiva* bore the device of a lion’s tail and looked like a blazing mountain in the welkin. Beautiful and of celestial workmanship, it was variegated with diverse hues, and looking like a risen comet it could not be obstructed by trees.³⁻⁴ And in that great battle, the warriors beheld *Gāndiva*, the back of whose staff was decked with pure gold, look beautiful like a flash of lightning in the midst of a mass of clouds in the firmament.⁵ And while slaying the combatants of thy army, the shouts we heard uttered by Arjuna seemed to resemble the loud roars of Indra himself, and the slaps also of his palms were frightfully loud.⁶ Like a roaring mass of clouds charged with lightning and aided by a raging tempest, Arjuna incessantly poured his arrowy showers on all sides, completely shrouding the ten points of the compass.⁷ Dhananjaya then, possessed of terrible weapons, quickly proceeded towards the son of Gangā. Deprived of our senses in consequence of his weapons, we could not then distinguish the East from the West.⁸ And thy warriors then, O bull

of Bharata's race,—their animals tired, steeds slain, and hearts depressed,—thoroughly confounded* and huddling close to one another, sought Bhishma's protection along with all thy sons. And in that battle Bhishma the son of Cāntanu became their protector.⁹⁻¹⁰ Struck with fear, car-warriors jumping down from their cars, and cavalry soldiers jumping down from the backs of their steeds, and the foot-soldiers where they stood, all began to fall down on the earth.¹¹ Hearing the twang of *Gāndīva* that resembled the roar of the thunder, all thy warriors were struck with fear and seemed, O Bhārata, to melt away.¹² Then, O king, with many huge and fleet steeds of the Kāmvoja breed, and surrounded by many thousands of Gopas with a large Gopāyana force,¹³ and supported by the Madras, the Sauviras, the Gāndhāras, and the Trigartas, and surrounded by all the principal Kālingas, the king of the Kālingas,¹⁴ and king Jayadratha accompanied by all the kings and supported by a large force of diverse races with Duṣṣāsana at their head,¹⁵ and fourteen thousand principal horsemen, urged by thy son, surrounded the son of Suvala (for supporting him).¹⁶ Then in that battle, all the Pāndavas, united together, and riding on separate cars and animals, began, O bull of Bharata's race, to slaughter thy troops.†¹⁷ And the dust raised by car-warriors and steeds and foot-soldiers, looking like a mass of clouds, made the field of battle exceedingly awful.¹⁸ And with a large force consisting of elephants, steeds and cars, and armed with lances and bearded darts and broad-headed shafts, Bhishma engaged in battle with the diadem-decked (Arjuna).¹⁹ And the king of Avanti engaged with the ruler of the Kāçis, and the ruler of the Sindhus engaged with Bhimasena. And king Yudhishtira with his sons and counsellors engaged with Calya the famous chief of the Madras. And Vikarna engaged with Sahadeva, and Cnitrāsena with Cikhandin.²⁰⁻²¹ And the Matsays, O

* *Kāndighhutās*, lit, "not knowing which point of the compass was which."—T.

† In the second line of 17, the Bombay text incorrectly reads *Arjunam* for *Pāndavās*.—T.

king, engaged with Duryodhana and Cakuni; and Drupada, and Chekitāna, and that mighty car-warrior Sātyaki,²² engaged in battle with the high-souled Drona aided by his son. And Kripa and Kritavarman both rushed against Dhrishtadyumna.²³ And thus, all over the field, rushing bodies of horse, of elephants and cars, engaged with one another in battle.²⁴ And although there were no clouds in the sky, yet flashes of lightning were seen. And all the points of the compass were covered with dust. And, O king, fierce meteors were seen, falling with thundering noise.²⁵ And violent winds blew and a shower of dust fell from above. And the sun, covered by the dust raised by the troops, disappeared in the firmament.²⁶ And all the warriors, covered by that dust and battling with weapons, were deprived of their senses.²⁷ And the sound made by weapons, all capable of penetrating through every armour and hurled from heroic arms, became a tremendous uproar.²⁸ And, O bull of Bharata's race, weapons hurled from excellent arms and possessed of stellar brightness, illumined the whole welkin.²⁹ And variegated shields made of bulls' hides and embossed with gold were strewn, O bull of Bharata's race, all over the field.³⁰ And heads and limbs were seen falling on all sides, cut off with swords and scimitars possessed of solar effulgence.³¹ And great car-warriors, the wheels, *akshas*, and boxes of whose cars were broken, fell down on the ground, their steeds slain and their tall standards tumbling down.*³² And many car-warriors having been slain, their steeds, mangled with weapons, fell down as they ran dragging the cars (to which they were yoked).³³ And in many places over the field, excellent steeds, afflicted with arrows, with limbs mangled, and with their traces on, ran, dragging the car-yokes after them.³⁴ And many car-warriors, with their charioteers and steeds, were seen, O king, to be crushed by single elephants endued with great strength.†³⁵ And in that battle, in

*In the first line of 32, the Bengal reading is *Mahābhujās*. The correct reading seems to be (as in the Bombay text) *Mahādhwajās*.—T.

† The last half of the second line of 35 in the Bengal texts is vicious. I adopt the Bombay reading.—T.

the midst of large forces, many elephants, scenting the odor of the temporal juice of their compeers, began to snuff the breeze repeatedly.³⁶ And the whole field was strewn with slain elephants, deprived of life by means of broad-headed shafts, and falling, down with the wooden edifices and the guides on their backs.³⁷ And many elephants, in the midst of large forces crushed, with the standards and warriors on their backs, by huge compeers urged by their guides, fell down on the field.³⁸ And many car-shafts, O king, were seen to be broken in that battle by huge elephants using their trunks each of which resembled the trunk of the prince of elephants (called *Airāvata*).³⁹ And many car-warriors also, in that conflict, the *Jālas* of whose cars had been broken, were, like branches of trees dragged down by tuskers, seized by the hair of their heads and, thrashed violently on the ground, were crushed into shapeless masses.⁴⁰ And other huge elephants, dragging cars that were entangled with other cars, ran in all directions shrieking loudly.⁴¹ And those elephants, thus dragging those cars, looked like others of their species dragging lotus stalks growing in lakes.⁴² And thus was that vast field of battle strewn over with cavalry soldiers and foot-soldiers and great car-warriors and standards.’⁴³

SECTION LXXII.

“Sanjaya said,—‘Cikhandin with Virāta the king of the Matsyas speedily approached Bhishma that invincible and mighty bowman.¹ And Dhananjaya encountered Drona and Kripa, and Vikarna, and many other kings, brave in battle, all mighty bowmen endued with great strength,² as also that mighty bowman the ruler of the Sindhus supported by his friends and kinsmen, and many kings of the west and the south also, O bull of Bharata’s race!³ And Bhimasena proceeded against that mighty bowman, viz, thy vindictive son Duryodhana, as also against Dussaha.⁴ And Sahadeva proceeded against those invincible warriors, viz, Cakuni and that mighty car-warrior Uluka, those great bowmen, who were sire and son.⁵ And that mighty car-warrior Yudhishtira, deceit-

fully treated by thy son, proceeded in that battle, O king, against the elephant-division (of the Kauravas).⁵ And that son of Pāndu and Mādri, *viz*, the heroic Nakula capable of wringing tears from the foe, engaged in battle with the excellent car-warriors of the Trigartas.⁷ And those invincible warriors, *viz*, Sātyaki, and Chekitāna, and the mighty son of Subhadrā, proceeded against Cālwa and the Kaikeyas.⁸ And Dhrishtakētu and the *Rākshasa* Ghatōtkacha, both invincible in battle, proceeded against the car-division of thy sons.⁹ And that mighty car-warrior Dhrishtadyumna, that generalissimo (of the Pāndava forces) of immeasurable soul, engaged in battle, O king, with Drona of fierce achievements.¹⁰ And it was thus that those heroic and mighty bowmen of thy army and the Pāndavas, engaged in battle, began to strike one another.¹¹ And when the sun had reached the meridian and the sky was brilliantly illumined by his rays, the Kauravas and the Pāndavas began to slay one, another.¹² Then cars, furnished with standards from whose tops pennons were afloat, variegated with gold and covered with tiger-skins, looked beautiful as they moved on the field of battle.¹³ And the shouts of warriors engaged in battle from desire of vanquishing one another, became as loud as leonine roars.¹⁴ And that encounter which we beheld between the heroic Srinjayas and the Kurus, was fierce in the extreme and highly wonderful.¹⁵ And in consequence of the arrows shot all around, we could not, O king, distinguish, O chastiser of foes, the firmament, the sun, and the cardinal and the subsidiary points of the compass.¹⁶ And the splendour, like that of the blue lotus, of darts with polished points, of bearded lances hurled (at the foe), of well-tempered sabres and scimitars, of variegated coats of mail, and of the ornaments (on the persons of the warriors), illumined the wellkin and the cardinal and the subsidiary points with its effulgence.¹⁷⁻¹⁸ And the field of battle in many places, O king, shone in consequence of the bodies of monarchs whose effulgence resembled that of the moon and the sun.¹⁹ And brave car-warriors, tigers among men, shone in that battle, O king, like the planets in the firmament.²⁰ And Bhishma, that foremost of car-warriors, excited with rage, checked

the mighty Bhimasena in the very sight of all the troops.²² And the impetuous shafts shot by Bhishma, furnished with golden wings, and whetted on stone, and rubbed with oil, pierced Bhima in that battle.²³ Then Bhimasena endued with great strength hurled at him, O Bhārata, a dart of fierce impetuosity that resembled a wrathful snake.²⁴ But Bhishma in that combat cut off with straight shafts that dart with staff made of gold and difficult of being borne, as it coursed impetuously towards him.²⁵ And with another broad-headed shaft, sharp and well-tempered, he cut off Bhimasena's bow, O Bhārata, into two parts.²⁶ Then, O king in that battle, Sātyaki, coming quickly towards Bhishma, pierced thy sire with innumerable keen-edged and sharp-pointed shafts of fierce impetuosity shot from his bowstring drawn to the ear. Then Bhishma, aiming an exceedingly fierce shaft,²⁶⁻²⁷ felled the charioteer of the Vrishni hero from his box in the car. And when the charioteer of Sātyaki's car was (thus) slain, his steeds, O king, bolted away.²⁸ Endued with the speed of the tempest or the mind, they ran wild over the field. Then cries were uttered by the whole army which became a loud uproar.²⁹ And exclamations of *oh* and *alas* arose from the high-souled warriors of the Pāndava army. (And those cries said)—*Run, seize, check the horses, go in haste!*³⁰—And this uproar followed Yuyudhāna's car. Mean-while, Bhishma the son of Cāntanu³¹ began to slay the Pāndava forces like Indra slaying the *Dānavas*. But the Pāñchālas and the Somakas, though slain by Bhishma thus,³² forming yet a laudable resolution, rushed towards Bhishma. And other warriors of the Pāndava army, headed by Dhrishtadyumna, and desirous of slaughtering the ranks of thy son, rushed towards Cāntanu's son in that battle. And so also, O king, the warriors of thy army, headed by Bhishma and Drona, impetuously rushed towards their foes. And thereupon another battle took place.' ³³⁻³⁴

SECTION LXXIII.

“Sanjaya said,—‘King Virāta then pierced that mighty car-warrior, *viz*, Bhishma, with three shafts. And that great car-warrior pierced his (antagonist’s) steeds also with three shafts.¹ Thereupon Cāntanu’s son Bhishma, that great bowman of mighty strength and extreme quickness of hand, pierced Virāta in return with ten shafts furnished with golden wings.² And that terrible bowman and mighty car-warrior of firm hand, *viz*, Drona’s son, pierced with six shafts the wielder of *Gāndīva* between his two breasts.³ Thereupon that grinder of foes, *viz*, Phālguna, that slayer of hostile heroes, cut off Aṣwathhāman’s bow and deeply pierced him in return with five shafts.⁴ Deprived of his senses by anger, and unable to bear the cutting off of his bow in that battle, Drona’s son, taking up another bow that was tougher,⁵ pierced Phālguna, O king, with ninety sharp-shafts, and Vāsudeva also with seventy fierce arrows.⁶ Then, with eyes red in wrath, Phālguna, with Krishna, breathing long and hot breaths, reflected for a moment.⁷ Firmly grasping the bow with his left hand, that grinder of foes, *viz*, the wielder of *Gāndīva*, excited with rage, fixed on his bowstring a number of fierce shafts, sharp and perfectly straight, and capable of taking (the foe’s) life. And that foremost of mighty men speedily pierced Drona’s son, in that battle, with those arrows.⁸⁻⁹ And those arrows, penetrating through his armour, drank his life-blood. But though thus pierced by the wielder of *Gāndīva*, Drona’s son wavered not.¹⁰ Shooting in return similar arrows at Pārtha, he stayed, unperturbed, in that battle, desirous, O king, of protecting Bhishma of high vows.¹¹ And that feat of his was applauded by the foremost warriors of the Kuru army, consisting, as it did, of his having encountered the two Krishnas united together.¹² Indeed, Aṣwathhāman daily battled fearlessly amid the forces, having obtained from Drona all weapons with the methods also of their withdrawal.¹³—This one is the son of my preceptor. He is again the dear son of Drona. He is especially a Brāhmana, and, therefore, worthy of my

regard!¹⁴—Thinking so, that scorcher of foes, the heroic Vibhatsu, that foremost of car-warriors, showed mercy to the son of Bhāradwāja.¹⁵ Avoiding the son of Drona, Kunti's son endued with great prowess and having white steeds (yoked unto his car), began to fight, displaying great quickness of arms and causing a great carnage of thy troops.¹⁶ Duryodhana then pierced that great Bowman Bhima with ten shafts winged with vulturine feathers, adorned with gold, and whetted on stone.¹⁷ Thereupon Bhimasena, excited with wrath, took up a tough and well-adorned bow capable of taking the life of the foe, and also ten sharp shafts.¹⁸ And steadily aiming those sharp-pointed shafts of fierce energy and impetuous velocity, and drawing the bowstring to his ear, he deeply pierced the king of the Kurus in his wide chest.¹⁹ Thereupon the gem hanging on his breast on threads of gold, surrounded by those shafts, looked beautiful like the Sun in the firmament surrounded by the planets.²⁰ Thy son, however, endued with great energy, thus struck by Bhimasena, could not bear it (coolly), like a snake unable to bear the sounds of a man's slap.²¹ Excited with wrath and desirous of protecting his army, he then pierced Bhima in return, O king, with many shafts whetted on stone and endued with golden wings.²² Thus struggling in battle and mangling each other fiercely, those two mighty sons of thine looked like a pair of celestials.²³

“That tiger among men and slayer of hostile heroes, *viz*, the son of Subhadrā, pierced Chitrasena with many sharp shafts and Purumitra also with seven shafts.²⁴ And piercing Satyawrata too with seventy shafts, that hero resembling Indra himself in battle, began as it were to dance on the field, and caused us much pain.²⁵ Chitrasena then pierced him in return with ten shafts, and Satyawrata with nine, and Purumitra with seven.²⁶ Then the son of Arjuna, thus pierced, while yet covered with blood, cut off the large and beautiful bow of Chitrasena that was capable of checking foes.²⁷ And cutting through his coat of mail, he pierced his antagonists' breast with a shaft. Then the princes of thy army, all heroic and mighty car-warriors,²⁸ excited with wrath and united together in that conflict, pierced him with sharp arrows. But Abhi-

manyu, acquainted with the mightiest weapons, smote them all with keen shafts.²⁹ Beholding that feat of his, thy sons then surrounded the son of Arjuna, who was consuming thy army in that conflict like a swelling fire of blazing flames consuming a heap of dry grass in summer. And the son of Subhadra, while smiting thy troops (thus), seemed to grow in splendour.³⁰⁻³¹ Seeing that conduct of his, thy grandson Lakshmana then, O monarch, quickly fell upon the son of Subhadra.³² Thereupon that mighty car-warrior Abhimanyu, excited with wrath, pierced Lakshmana graced with auspicious marks, as also his charioteer, with six sharp arrows.³³ But Lakshmana also, O king, pierced Subhadra's son with many keen shafts. And that feat, O king, seemed to be highly wonderful.³⁴ Then that mighty car-warrior, viz, Abhimanyu, slaying the four steeds as also the charioteer of Lakshmana with sharp shafts, rushed towards the latter.³⁵ Thereupon Lakshmana, that slayer of hostile heroes, staying on that car of his whose steeds had been slain, and excited with wrath, hurled a dart towards the car of Subhadra's son.³⁶ Abhimanyu, however, with his sharp arrows, cut off that irresistible dart of fierce mien, resembling a snake, and coming impetuously towards him.³⁷ Then Kripa, taking Lakshmana up on his own car, bore him away from the conflict, in the very sight of all the troops.³⁸ Then when that awful conflict became general, the combatants rushed against one another, desirous of taking one another's life.³⁹ And the mighty bowmen of thy army and the great car-warriors of the Pāndava host, prepared to lay down their lives in battle, slew one another.⁴⁰ With hair dishevelled, divested of their coats of mail, deprived of their cars, and their bows broken, the Srinjayas fought with the Kurus with their bare arms.⁴¹ Then the mighty-armed Bhishma, endued with great strength, and excited with wrath, slew with his celestial weapons the troops of the high-souled Pāndavas.⁴² And the earth became covered with the fallen bodies of elephants deprived of their guides, of men and steeds and car-warriors and cavalry-soldiers.⁴³

SECTION LXXIV.

“Sanjaya said,—“Then, O king, the mighty-armed Sātyaki invincible in battle, drawing in that conflict an excellent bow capable of bearing a great strain,¹ shot innumerable winged arrows resembling snakes of virulent poison, displaying his wonderful lightness of hand.² And while slaying his foes in battle, so quickly did he draw the bow, take out his arrows, fix them on the bowstring, and letting them off throw them among the foe, that he then seemed to be a mass of clouds pouring a thick shower of rain.³⁻⁴ Beholding him then thus blazing up (like a swelling fire), king Duryodhana, O Bhāratā, despatched ten thousand cars against him.⁵ But that great bowman, Sātyaki, of prowess incapable of being baffled and possessed of great energy, slew with his celestial weapons all those mighty car-warriors.⁶ Having achieved, bow in hand, that fierce feat, that hero then approached Bhuriçravas in battle.⁷ And Bhuriçravas also, that enhancer of the fame of the Kurus, beholding the Dhārtarāshtra ranks thus felled by Yuyudhāna, rushed in wrath against the latter.^{8*} Drawing his great bow which resembled that of Indra himself in hue, he shot thousands of shafts, O monarch, looking like snakes of virulent poison and possessed of the strength of the thunder, displaying his extreme lightness of hand. Thereupon the combatants that followed Sātyaki, unable to bear those shafts of fatal touch, fled away, O king, in all directions, abandoning, O monarch, the invincible Sātyaki in that conflict.⁹⁻¹¹ Beholding this, the ten mighty sons of Yuyudhāna, all mighty car-warriors of great renown, cased in excellent mail, bearing diverse arms, and possessing excellent standards,¹² approaching that great bowman *viz*, Bhuriçravas, in battle, wrathfully addressed that warrior bearing on his standard the device of a sacrificial stake, and said these words:¹³—Listen, O kinsman of the Kauravas, O thou that art pos-

* The pronoun *sa* in the first line of 8 refers to Bhuriçravas. The Burdwan Pundits erroneously take it as referring to Duryodhana, being misled by the words *Kurunām Kirtivardhanas*.—T.

sessed of great strength! Come, fight in battle with us, *i. e.*, with either all of us jointly or with each of us separately!¹⁴ Vanquishing us in battle thou mayst win great renown, or ourselves, vanquishing thee, will have great gratification!¹⁵— Thus addressed by them, that mighty hero endued with great strength and proud of his prowess, that foremost of men, beholding them before him, replied unto them, saying,¹⁶— Ye heroes, ye have said well! If such be now your wish, fight ye then all together with care! I shall slay all of you in battle!¹⁷—Thus addressed by him, those heroic and mighty bowmen endued with great activity covered that chastiser of foes with a thick shower of arrows.¹⁸ And it was towards the afternoon, O king, that that dreadful battle took place between Bhuriçravas alone on one side and the many united together on the other.¹⁹ And those ten heroes covered that single mighty car-warrior with showers of arrows like the clouds showering rain on a mountain cliff in the season of rains.²⁰ That mighty car-warrior, however, cut off those clouds of shafts shot by them resembling the fatal darts of Death or the very thunder in effulgence, before they could reach him.²¹ They then, surrounding that mighty-armed warrior, endeavored to slay him. But the son of Somadatta, excited with rage, cut off their bows, O Bhārata, and then their heads, with sharp shafts. Thus slain, they fell down, O monarch like mighty trees felled by the thunder.²²⁻²³ Beholding then his mighty sons thus slain in battle, the Vrishni hero (Sātyaki), O king, uttering a loud roar, rushed against Bhuriçravas.²⁴ And those mighty warriors then each pressed his car against the other's. And each of them in that combat slew

* The last half of the second line of 15 is read differently in the Bombay text.—T.

+ The Bombay reading *açaniprabhān* (which I adopt) is better than the Bengal reading *açaniswanān*, for in connection with *yamadanda* immediately preceding, the latter would be incongruous if not unmeaning.—T.

‡ An additional verse occurs here in connection with the slaughter of Sātyaki's sons, in the Bombay text. The Bengal texts omit it.—T.

the other's car-steeds.²⁵ And both deprived of their cars, those mighty warriors jumped down on the ground. And both taking up large scimitars and excellent shields, encountered each other.²⁶ And those tigers among men, stationed for the encounter, shone brightly. Then Bhimasena, O king, quickly coming up to Sātyaki thus armed with an excellent scimitar, took him up on his own car. And thy son also, O monarch, speedily took up Bhuriçravas on his car, in that battle, at the very sight of all the bowmen.

“Meanwhile, during the continuance of that battle, the Pāndavas, O bull of Bharata's race, excited with wrath, fought with that mighty car-warrior Bhishma. And when the sun assumed a red hue, Dhananjaya exerting himself actively,²⁷⁻²⁸ slew five and twenty thousand great car-warriors. These, urged on by Duryodhana for slaying Pārtha,²⁹ were thus completely destroyed before they could even come up to him, like insects on a blazing fire. Then the Matsyas and the Kekayas, all accomplished in the science of arms,³⁰ surrounded that mighty car-warrior Pārtha as also his son (for supporting them). Just at that time the sun disappeared,³¹ and all the combatants seemed to be deprived of their senses. Then at twilight, O king, thy sire Devavrata, his animals having been tired, caused the troops to be withdrawn. And the troops of both the Pāndavas and the Kurus, filled with fear and anxiety in course of that dreadful encounter, proceeded to their respective encampments. And then, O Bhārata, having repaired to their respective camps, the Pāndavas with the Srinjayas, and the Kauravas also, rested for the night agreeably to the rules (of military science).’³²⁻³⁶

SECTION LXXV.

“Sanjaya said,—‘Having rested for a while, O king, both the Kurus and the Pāndavas, after the night had passed away, once more went out for battle.¹ And then loud was the uproar, O king, that arose of mighty car-warriors as they prepared for battle, and of tuskers as these were being equipped for the conflict, and of infantry as they put on their armour,

and of steeds also, O Bhārata !² And the blare of conchs and the beat of drums became deafening in all parts of the field.³ Then king Yudhishtira addressed Dhrishtadyumna and said, —O mighty-armed one, dispose the troops in the array called *Makara* that scorseth the foe !⁴—Thus addressed by Prithā's son, that mighty car-warrior Dhrishtadyumna, that foremost of combatants on cars, issued the order, O great king, to the car-warriors (for forming the *Makara* array).⁵ Drupada, and Dhananjaya the son of Pāndu, formed the head of that array, and Sahadeva and that mighty car-warrior Nakula formed its two eyes.⁶ And the mighty Bhimasena formed its beak. And Subhadrā's son, and the sons of Draupadī, and the *Rākshasa* Ghatotkacha,⁷ and Sātyaki, and king Yudhishtira the just, were stationed in its neck. And king Virāta, that commander of a large division, formed its back,⁸ supported by Dhrishtadyumna and a large force. And the five Kekaya brothers constituted its left wing,⁹ and that tiger among men, *viz.*, Dhrishtaketu, and Chekitāna of great prowess, stationed in the right wing, stood for protecting that array.¹⁰ And its two feet, O monarch, were constituted by that mighty car-warrior the blessed Kuntibhoja, and Catānika, supported by a large force.¹¹ And that great bowman, the mighty Cikhandin, surrounded by the Somakas, and Irāvata, were stationed in the tail of that *Makara* array.¹² And having, O Bhārata, formed their great array, the Pāndavas, O monarch, equipped in mail at dawn, again stood for battle.¹³ And with elephants and steeds and cars and infantry, and with standards upraised and umbrellas set up, and armed with bright, whetted weapons, they quickly proceeded against the Kauravas.¹⁴

“Then thy sire Devavrata, beholding the (Pāndava) army thus arrayed, disposed his army, O king, in counter-array after the form of a huge crane.¹⁵ And in its beak was Bharadwāja's son (Drona). And Aṣwatthāman and Kripa, O monarch, formed its two eyes.¹⁶ And that foremost of all bowmen, *viz.*, Kritavarman, united with the ruler of the Kambojahs and with the Vālhikas, was stationed, O king, in its head.¹⁷ And in its neck, O Bhārata, were Curasena, and thy son Duryodhana, O king, surrounded by many kings.¹⁸ And

the ruler of the Prāgyotishas, united with the Mādras, the Saurviras, and the Kekayas, and surrounded by a large force, was stationed, O king, in its breast.¹⁹ And Suçarman the king of Prasthala, accompanied by his own troops, stood, accoutred in mail, in the left wing.²⁰ And the Tushāras, the Yavanas and the Cakas, along with the Chulikas, stood in the right wing, O Bhārata, of that array.²¹ And Crutāyush and Catāyush and Somadatta's son, O sire, were stationed in the rear of that array, protecting one another.²²

“Then the Pāndavas, O king, rushed against the Kauravas for battle. The sun, O Bhārata, had risen when the battle commenced.²³ And elephants proceeded against elephants. And horsemen rushed against horsemen, and car-warriors against car-warriors, O king, and against elephants also, in that dreadful conflict.²⁴ And car-men rushed against riders of elephants, and riders of elephants against horsemen.²⁵ And car-warriors engaged with foot-soldiers, and cavalry with infantry. And all the warriors, O king, excited with wrath, rushed against one another in battle.²⁶ And the Pāndava army, protected by Bhimasena and Arjuna and the twins, looked beautiful like the night decorated with stars.²⁷ And thy army also, with Bhishma and Kripa and Drona and Calya and Duryodhana, and others, shone like the firmament spangled with the planets.²⁸ And Bhimasena the son of Kunti, endued with great prowess, beholding Drona, rushed against the division of Bharadwāja's son, borne by his steeds of great fleetness.²⁹ Then Drona, excited with wrath in that conflict and endued with great energy, pierced Bhima with nine shafts made wholly of iron, aiming his vital limbs.³⁰ Deeply pierced by Bharadwāja's son in that conflict, Bhima despatched Drona's charioteer to the region of Yama.³¹ Thereupon the son of Bharadwāja, endued with great prowess, himself restraining his steeds, began to consume the Pāndava army like fire consuming a heap of cotton.³² And while thus slaughtered, O king, by Drona and Bhishma, the Srinjayas along with the Kekayas took to flight.³³ And so thy troops also, mangled by Bhima and Arjuna, became deprived of their senses as they stood, like a beautiful female in her pride.³⁴

And in that conflict destructive of heroes, great was the distress, O Bhārata, that befell both thy army and theirs.³⁵ And we beheld the wonderful sight, O Bhārata, of the troops fighting with one another regardless of their lives.³⁶ And the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas, O king, in that conflict, fought with one another counteracting one another's weapons.³⁷

SECTION LXXVI.

"Dhritarāshtra said,—'Our army is possessed of many excellencies. Consisting of diverse forces, its efficiency is great. It is again arrayed according to the rules of science and, therefore, ought to be irresistible.¹ It is attached to us exceedingly, and always devoted to us. It is submissive, and free from the faults of drunkenness and licentiousness. Its prowess had before been tested.² The soldiers are neither very old nor very young. They are neither lean nor corpulent. Of active habits, of well-developed and strong frames, they are free from disease.³ They are cased in mail and well equipped with arms. They are exercised in every kind of weapons. They are skilled in encounters with swords, with bare arms, and with maces.⁴ They are well exercised in lances, sabres, and darts, as also in iron clubs, short arrows, javelins, and mallets.⁵ They are devoted to all kinds of armed exercises, and are adepts in mounting upon and descending from the backs of elephants, in moving forward and stepping back, in smiting effectually, in marching and retreating. Many a time have they been tested in the management of elephants and steeds and cars.⁶⁻⁷ Having been examined duly they have been entertained on pay, and not for the sake of lineage, nor from favor, nor from relationship,⁸ nor from strength of attachments, nor from connections of birth and blood. They are all respectable and honest, and their kinsmen have been well-treated and gratified by us.⁹ We have done them many good offices. They are, besides, all renowned men and endued with great mental vigor. O son, they are again protected by many foremost of men endued with great activity, and

* *Ekāyanagatās* is lit. "intently."—T.

of famous achievements, resembling the very Regents of the world, and renowned over the whole earth! Innumerable Kshatriyas, respected throughout the world,¹⁰⁻¹¹ and who have of their own will sided us with their forces and followers, also protect them. Indeed, our army is like the vast ocean filled with the waters of innumerable rivers running from all directions!¹² It abounds with elephants, and with cars which, though destitute of wings, yet resemble the winged tenants of the air. Vast numbers of combatants constitute the waters of that ocean, and the steeds and other animals constitute its terrible waves.¹³ Innumerable swords and maces and darts and arrows and lances constitute the oars (plied on that ocean). Abounding with standards and ornaments and adorned with cloths inlaid with gold and gems, the rushing steeds and elephants constitute the winds agitating it into fury. Our host, therefore, really resembles the vast, shoreless, ocean roaring in rage.¹⁴⁻¹⁵ And that host is protected by Drona and Bhishma, and by Kritavarman and Kripa and Dusçāsana, and others headed by Jayadratha.¹⁶ It is also protected by Bhagadatta and Vikarna, by Drona's son, and Suvala's son, and Vālhika, and by many other mighty and high-souled heroes of the world. That that army should yet be slaughtered in battle is due only to predestined fate. O Sanjaya, neither men nor highly blessed *Rishis* of old ever beheld such preparations (for battle) on earth before. That so large an army, mustered according to science, and attached (to us) by wealth, should yet be slaughtered in battle, alas, what can it be but the result of Destiny? O Sanjaya, all this seems to be unnatural.¹⁷⁻²⁰ Indeed, Vidura had often said what was both beneficial and desirable. But my wicked son Duryodhana would not accept it!²¹ I believe that high-souled and all-knowing person had foreseen all that is now happening, and hence the counsel he gave.^{22*} Or, O Sanjaya, all this, in all its details, had been pre-arranged by Him, for that which is ordained by the Creator must happen as ordained and cannot be otherwise."²³

* Literally, "hence his thoughts were so."—T.

SECTION LXXVII.

“Sanjaya said,—‘Thou hast, O king, in consequence of thy own fault, been overtaken by this calamity! O bull of Bharata’s race, the faults which thou, O monarch, hadst seen in that unrighteous course of conduct (towards the Pāndavas), were not seen by Duryodhana! It was through thy fault, O king, that the match at dice had taken place!¹⁻² And it is through thy fault that this battle hath taken place with the Pāndavas. Having committed a sin, do thou, therefore, reap the fruit of that sin of thine!³ One reapeth the fruit of acts perpetrated by one’s own self. Do thou, therefore, O king, reap the fruit of thy own acts, both here and hereafter!⁴ Therefore, O monarch, though overtaken by this calamity, be calm still, and listen, O sire, to the (account of the) battle as I recite it.⁵

“The heroic Bhimasena, having with his sharp shafts, broken thy mighty array, then came upon all the younger brothers of Duryodhana.⁶ The mighty Bhima, beholding Duscāsana and Durvisaha and Dussaha and Durmada and Jaya, and Jayasena and Vikarna and Chitrasena and Sudarçana, and Chāruchitra and Suvarman and Duskarna and Karna, and many other mighty car-warriors, excited with rage, of the Dhārtarāshtra host near enough to himself, penetrated into (thy) mighty array that was protected by Bhishma in that battle.⁷⁻⁹ Then, beholding him in their midst, all those warriors said,—Ye kings, let us take this one’s life!¹⁰—Thereupon that son of Prithā was surrounded by those cousins of his who were firmly resolved (to take his life). And Bhima then resembled Surya himself of fierce splendour surrounded by the mighty planets of evil nature, at the time of the universal destruction.¹¹ And though the son of Pāndu was there in the very midst of the (Kaurava) array, yet fear entered not his heart, as it did not that of Indra while surrounded by the *Dānavas* in the fierce battle of old between the celestials and the *Asuras*.¹² Then thousands of car-warriors armed with all weapons and fully prepared for battle, overwhelmed his single self with terrible shafts.¹³ Thereupon the heroic

Bhima, disregarding the sons of Dhritarāshtra, slew in that conflict many foremost warriors (of the Kaurava army) fighting from cars or upon the backs of elephants and steeds.¹⁴ And ascertaining the purpose harboured by those cousins of his who were bent upon his destruction, the mighty Bhima set his heart upon slaying them all.¹⁵ Then leaving his car and taking up his mace, the son of Pāndu began to smite that very sea of Dhārtarāshtra troops.¹⁶

“Then when Bhimasena thus penetrated the Dhārtarāshtra host, Dhistadyumna the son of Prishata, forsaking Drona (with whom he had been engaged), quickly proceeded to the spot where Suvala’s son was stationed.¹⁷ That bull among men, baffling countless warriors of thy army, came upon the empty car of Bhimasena in that battle.¹⁸ And beholding in that conflict Viçoka, the charioteer of Bhimasena, Dhrishtadyumna, O king, became exceedingly cheerless and almost deprived of his senses.¹⁹ With voice choked in tears, and sighing as he spoke, he asked Viçoka, in grief, saying,—Where is Bhima who is dear to me as life itself?²⁰—Viçoka then, joining his hands, replied unto Dhrishtadyumna, saying,—The mighty son of Pāndu, endued with great strength, ordering me to wait for him here, hath alone penetrated into the Dhārtarāshtra host that resembleth the very ocean! That tiger among men very cheerfully said unto me these words:²¹⁻²² *Wait for me, O charioteer, restraining the steeds for a short space of time, that is till I slay those that are bent upon my destruction!*²³—Beholding then the mighty Bhima rushing, mace in hand, all our troops (that supported him) became filled with delight.²⁴ Then in this fierce and terrible battle, O prince, thy friend, breaking the mighty array (of the foe), hath penetrated into it:²⁵—Hearing these words of Viçoka, Prishata’s son Dhrishtadyumna, endued with great strength, said unto the charioteer these words on the field of battle!²⁶—What need have I today of life itself, if, forgetting my affection for the Pāndavas, I forsake Bhima in battle?²⁷ If I return today without Bhima, what will the Kshatriyas say of me? What will they say of me when they will learn that while I was on the field, Bhima penetrated alone into the hostile array making

a single opening in it?*** The gods with Indra at their head, visit him with evil who, forsaking his comrades in battle, returneth home unhurt!²⁹ The mighty Bhima again is my friend and kinsman. He is devoted to me, and I also am devoted to that slayer of foes.³⁰ Therefore, I will go thither whither Bhima hath gone! Behold me slaying the foe like Vāsava slaying the *Dānavas*!³¹—Having said this, the heroic Dhrishtadyumna, O Bhārata, proceeded through the midst of the foe, along the tracks opened by Bhimasena and marked by elephants crushed with his mace.³² He then obtained sight of Bhimasena consuming the hostile ranks or felling Kshatriya warriors like the tempest devastating rows of trees.³³ And car-warriors and horsemen, and foot-soldiers and tuskers, while thus slaughtered by him, uttered loud cries of woe.³⁴ And cries of *ah* and *alas* arose from thy troops, O sire, while they were slaughtered by the victorious Bhima accomplished in all modes of warfare.³⁵ Then the Kaurava warriors, all accomplished in arms, surrounding Vrikodara on all sides, fearlessly poured upon him their arrow showers at the same time.³⁶ Then the mighty son of Prishata, beholding that foremost of all wielders of weapons, that celebrated hero, *viz*, the son of Pāndu, thus attacked on all sides by fierce ranks of foes in close array, mangled with shafts, treading the field on foot, and vomiting the poison of his wrath, mace in hand, and looking like the Destroyer himself at the hour of the universal dissolution, quickly approached him and comforted him by his presence.³⁷⁻³⁸ And taking him up on his car, and plucking the arrows from off all his limbs, and embracing him warmly, the high-souled son of Prishata comforted Bhimasena in the very midst of the foe.³⁹ Then thy son, in that terrible conflict, quickly coming up to his brothers, said unto them,—This son of Drupada, of wicked soul, is now united with Bhimasena.⁴⁰ Let us all approach him together for slaying him. Let not the foe seek our ranks (for battle)!—Hearing these words, the Dhārtarāshtras, thus urged on by the command of their eldest brother and unable to put up (with the foe),⁴¹ quickly

* The second line of 28 I expand a little for making the sense clearer. A closely literal rendering would scarcely be intelligible.—T.

rushed, with upraised weapons, for slaying Dhrishtadyumna, like fierce comets at the hour of the universal dissolution. Taking up their beautiful bows, those heroes, making the very earth shiver with the twang of their bowstrings, and the rattle of their car-wheels,⁴³ showered their shafts on Drupada's son, like the clouds covering the mountain-breast with torrents of rain. But that hero conversant with all modes of warfare, though thus struck with sharp arrows in that battle, did not waver.⁴³ On the other hand, that mighty car-warrior, the youthful son of Drupada, beholding those heroic sons of thine staying before him in battle and exerting themselves to their utmost, became desirous of slaying them and applied that fierce weapon called *Pramohana*,⁴⁴ enraged with thy sons, O king, like Indra with the *Dānavas* in battle. Then those heroic warriors were deprived of their senses, their minds and strength afflicted by the *Pramohana* weapon.⁴⁵ And the Kauravas fled away in all directions, with their steeds and elephants and cars, beholding those sons of thine deprived of their senses in a swoon like those whose hours had come.⁴⁶ At that time Drona, the foremost of all wielders of weapons, approaching Drupada, pierced him with three fierce shafts.⁴⁷ And that monarch then, O king, *viz*, Drupada, deeply pierced by Drona, left the battle, O Bhārata, remembering his former hostility (with Bharadwāja's son).⁴⁸ Thereupon Drona endued with great prowess, having thus vanquished Drupada, blew his conch. And hearing the blare of his conch, all the Somakas were struck with fear.⁴⁹ Then Drona possessed of great energy, that foremost of all wielders of weapons, heard of thy sons being deprived of their senses in battle with the *Pramohana* weapon.⁵⁰ Then the son of Bharadwāja, desirous of rescuing the princes, speedily left that part of the field where he was, and proceeded to the place where thy sons were.⁵¹ And that mighty bowman, *viz*, Bharadwāja's son of great prowess, there beheld⁵¹ Dhrishtadyumna and Bhima careering through the field in that dreadful conflict. And that mighty car-warrior beheld thy sons deprived of their senses.⁵² Taking up then the weapon called *Prajnā*, he neutralised the *Pramohana* weapon (that Dhrishtadyumna had shot). Then thy sons,

those mighty car-warriors, when their senses returned,⁵³ once more proceeded to battle with Bhima and Prishata's son. Then Yudhishtira, addressing his own troops, said,⁵⁴—Let twelve brave car-warriors cased in mail and headed by Subhadrā's son, follow, to the utmost of their might, the track of Bhima and Prishata's son in battle!⁵⁵ Let intelligence be had (of those two warriors)! My heart is very uneasy.—Thus ordered by the king, those heroes possessed of great prowess in battle⁵⁶ and proud of their manliness, saying—Yes, all proceeded forward when the sun had reached the meridian.⁵⁷ And those chastisers of foes then, *viz*, the Kaikeyas, and the sons of Draupadi, and Dhrishtaketu of great prowess, supported by a large force and with Abhimanyu at their head, and disposing themselves in the array called *Suchimukha*,* penetrated into that car-division of the Dhārtarāshtras in battle.⁵⁸⁻⁵⁹ And thy troops, O king, struck with the fear of Bhimasena and deprived of their senses by Dhrishtadyumna, were unable to resist (the rush of) those mighty bowmen headed by Abhimanyu. And they were quite helpless, like a lady in in the streets.⁶⁰⁻⁶¹ And those mighty bowmen with standards variegated with gold, cutting through (the Kaurava ranks), proceeded with great speed for rescuing Dhrishtadyumna and Vrikodara.⁶² And the latter, beholding those mighty bowmen headed by Abhimanyu, became filled with delight and continued to smite down thy ranks.⁶³ And the heroic prince of Pāñchāla, *viz*, the son of Prishata, seeing meanwhile his preceptor advancing towards him with great speed, no longer wished to compass the death of thy sons.⁶⁴ Causing Vrikodara then to be taken up on the car of the king of the Kaikeyas, he rushed in great wrath against Drona accomplished in arrows and all weapons.⁶⁵ And that slayer of foes, *viz*, the valiant son of Bharadwāja, excited with rage, cut off with a broad-headed shaft the bow of Prishata's son who was rushing towards him with impetuosity.⁶⁶ And remembering the bread

* *Suchimukha* is literally "needle-mouthed." It was a wedge-like column, with the thin or pointed end turned towards the side of the enemy.—T.

he had eaten of his master and desirous of doing good to Duryodhana, he also sped hundreds of shafts after Prishata's son.⁶⁷ Then that slayer of hostile heroes, *viz*, the son of Prishata, taking up another bow, pierced Drona with seventy shafts whetted on stone and furnished with wings of gold.⁶⁸ Then that grinder of foes, *viz*, Drona, once more cut off his bow, and despatched his four steeds to Yama's abode with four excellent arrows, and also slew his charioteer, O Bhārata, with a broad-headed shaft.⁶⁹⁻⁷⁰ Then that mighty car-warrior of strong arms, *viz*, Dhrishtadyumna, quickly descending from that car whose steeds had been slain, ascended the great car of Abhimanyu.⁷¹ Then Drona caused the Pāndava army consisting of cars, elephants, and steeds, to tremble, in the very sight of Bhimasena and the intelligent son of Prishata.⁷² Beholding then that army thus broken by Drona of immeasurable energy, all those mighty car-warriors were incapable of checking its flight.⁷³ And that army, thus slaughtered by Drona with his sharp shafts, began to move in eddies there, like the agitated sea.⁷⁴ And beholding the (Pāndava) army in that condition, thy troops were filled with delight. And seeing the preceptor excited with rage and thus consuming the ranks of the foe, all thy warriors, O Bhārata, set up loud shouts and uttered exclamations in praise (of Drona).⁷⁵

SECTION LXXVIII.

“Sanjaya said,—“Then king Duryodhana, regaining his senses, once more began to resist Bhima with showers of arrows.¹ And once more those mighty car-warriors, *viz*, thy sons, united together, began to fight valiantly with Bhimasena.² And Bhimasena also of mighty arms, during that battle, having got his car, ascended it and proceeded to the spot where thy sons were.³ And taking up a strong and very tough bow adorned with gold and capable of taking the lives of foes, he pierced thy sons in that conflict, with his shafts.⁴ Then king Duryodhana struck the mighty Bhimasena at the very vitals with a long shaft of exceeding sharpness.⁵ Then that mighty bowman, pierced thus deeply by thy son bow in hand,

forcibly drawing his own bow with eyes red in wrath,⁶ struck Duryodhana in his two arms and the breast with three shafts. But struck thus, O king, he moved not, like a prince of mountains.⁷ Beholding then those two heroes excited with rage and smiting each other, the younger brothers of Duryodhana, all of whom were heroes prepared to lay down their lives,⁸ remembering their previously formed scheme of afflicting Vrikodara of terrible deeds, set about, firmly resolved, for smiting him down.⁹ And as they fell upon him in battle, Bhimasena of great strength rushed against them, O king, like an elephant rushing against an attacking compeer.¹⁰ Excited with fury and endued with great energy, that celebrated hero then, O king, afflicted thy son Chitrasena with a long arrow.¹¹ And as regards thy other sons, that descendant of Bharata smote them all, in that battle, with diverse kinds of shafts furnished with wings of gold and endued with great impetus.¹² Then king Yudhishtira the just, disposing all his own divisions properly, despatched twelve mighty car-warriors including Abhimanyu and others to follow Bhimasena behind. These, O king, all proceeded against those mighty car-warriors, *viz*, thy sons.¹³⁻¹⁴ Beholding those heroes on their cars, resembling the Sun himself or the fire in splendour,—those great bowmen of blazing effulgence and exceeding beauty,¹⁵ looking resplendent in that dreadful conflict with ornaments of gold,—thy mighty sons abandoned Bhima (with whom they had been fighting). The son of Kunti, however, could not bear the sight of their abandoning the conflict alive.’¹⁶

SECTION LXXIX.

“Sanjaya said,—‘Then Abhimanyu, accompanied by Bhimasena, pursuing thy sons, afflicted them all.¹ Then the mighty car-warriors of thy army, including Duryodhana and others, beholding Abhimanyu and Bhimasena united with Prishata’s son in the midst of the (Kaurava) troops, took up their bows, and borne by their fleet steeds rushed to the spot where those warriors were. And on that afternoon, O king, a dreadful conflict took place²⁻³ between the mighty combat-

ants of thy army and those of the foe, O Bhārata. And Abhimanyu, having, in that fierce battle, slain the steeds of Vikarna,⁴ pierced the latter with five and twenty small arrows. Thou that mighty car-warrior, Vikarna, abandoning that car-whose steeds had been slain,⁵ mounted on the resplendent car, O king, of Chitrasena. Them thus stationed on the same car, viz, those two brothers of Kuru's race,⁶ the son of Arjuna covered, O Bhārata, with showers of arrows. Then Durjaya and Vikarna pierced Abhimānyu with five shafts made wholly of iron. Abhimanyu, however, shook not in the least but stood firm like the mountain Meru. Dusçāsana in that battle, O sire, fought with the five Kekaya brothers. All this, O great king, seemed exceedingly wonderful. The sons of Draupadi, excited with rage, resisted Duryodhana in that battle.⁷⁻⁹ And each of them, O king, pierced thy son with three shafts. Thy son also, invincible in battle, pierced each of the sons of Draupadi, O monarch, with sharp shafts. And pierced by them (in return) and bathed in blood, he shone¹⁰⁻¹¹ like a hill with rilllets of water mixed with red-chalk, (gliding down its breast.) And the mighty Bhishma also, in that battle, O king, afflicted the Pāndava army like a herdsman belabouring his herd. Then, O monarch, the twang of *Gāndīva* was heard,¹²⁻¹³ of Pārtha, who was engaged in slaughtering the foe on the right wing of the army. And in that part of the field headless trunks stood up by thousands,¹⁴ amongst the troops, O Bhārata, of both the Kauravas and the Pāndavas. And the field of battle resembled an ocean whose waters were blood, and whose eddies were the shafts (shot by the combatants). And the elephants constituted the islands of that ocean, and the steeds its waves.¹⁵ And cars constituted the boats by which brave men crossed it. And many brave combatants, with arms cut off, divested of armour, and hideously mutilated,¹⁶ were seen lying there in hundreds and thousands. And with the bodies of infuriate elephants deprived of life and bathed in blood,¹⁷ the field of battle, O Bhārata, looked as if strewn with hills. And the wonderful sight we saw there, O Bhārata, was that neither in their army nor in thine was a single person that was unwilling to fight! And thus, O monarch, did those

brave warriors, of both thy army and the Pāndavas, fight, seeking glory and desirous of victory !” *18-19

SECTION LXXX.

“Sanjaya said,—“Then when the sun assumed a red hue, king Duryodhana, desirous of battle rushed towards Bhima from desire of slaying him.¹ Beholding that heroic warrior cherishing deep animosity (thus) coming towards him, Bhimasena, excited with great wrath, said these words :²—That hour hath come which I have desired for so many years. I will slay thee today if thou dost not abandon the battle.³ Slaying thee, I shall today dispel the sorrows of Kunti as also of Draupadi and the woes that were ours during our exile in the woods!⁴ Filled with pride, thou hadst formerly humiliated the sons of Pāndu. Behold, O son of Gāndhāri, the dire fruit of that sinful behaviour!⁵ Following the counsels of Karna as also of Suvala’s son, and recking the Pāndavas little, thou hadst formerly behaved towards them as thou hadst listed.⁶ Thou hadst also disregarded Krishna who begged thee (for peace). With a joyous heart didst thou despatch Uluka (to us) with thy messages.⁷ For all these, I shall slay thee today with all thy kinsmen, and thus avenge all those offences of thine of former days!⁸—Having said these words, Bhima, bending his bow and stretching it repeatedly, and taking up a number of terrible shafts whose effulgence resembled that of the lightning itself,⁹ and filled with wrath, quickly, sped six and thirty of them at Suyodhana. And those shafts resembled the flames of a blazing fire, and coursed straight with the force of the thunder-bolt.¹⁰ And then he pierced Duryodhana’s bow with two shafts, and his charioteer with two. And with four shafts he despatched Duryodhana’s (four) steeds to the regions of Yama.¹¹ And that grinder of foes then, with two shafts shot with great force, cut off in that battle the king’s umbrella from his excellent car.¹² And with three other shafts he cut off his handsome

* The Bombay edition includes these *ślokas* with the 78th section. In the Bengal texts they constitute the 79th section.—T.

and blazing standard. And having cut it off, he uttered a loud shout in the very sight of thy son.¹³ And that beautiful standard of the latter, decked with diverse gems, suddenly fell down on the earth from his car like a flash of lightning from the clouds.¹⁴ And all the kings beheld that beautiful standard of the Kuru king, bearing the device of an elephant, decked with gems, and blazing like the sun, fall down cut off (by Bhimasena).¹⁵ And that mighty car-warrior, *viz*, Bhima, then pierced Duryodhana in that battle, smiling the while, with ten shafts like a guide piercing a mighty elephant with the hook.¹⁶ Then that foremost of car-warriors, *viz*, the mighty king of the Sindhus, supported by many brave warriors, placed himself on the flank of Duryodhana.¹⁷ And then that great car-warrior, *viz*, Kripa, O king, caused the vindictive Duryodhana, that son of Kuru's race, of immeasurable energy, to mount on his own car.¹⁸ Then king Duryodhana, deeply pierced by Bhimasena and feeling great pain, sat down on the terrace of that car.¹⁹ Then Jayadratha, desirous of slaying Bhima, surrounded him on all sides with several thousands of cars.²⁰ Then, O king, Dhrishtaketu, and Abhimanyu of great energy, and the Kekayas, and the sons of Draupadi, all encountered thy sons.²¹ And the high-souled Abhimanyu smote them all, piercing each with five straight shafts²² resembling the bolts of heaven or Death's selves, shot from his excellent bow. Thereupon, all of them, unable to bear it (coolly), showered on that foremost of car-warriors, *viz*, the son of Subhadra, a perfect down-pour of sharp shafts like rain-charged clouds pouring rain on the breast of the mountains of Meru. But Abhimanyu, that invincible warrior accomplished in arms, thus afflicted by them in battle, caused all thy sons, O king, to tremble like the wielder of the thunder-bolt causing the mighty *Asuras* to tremble in the battle between the celestials and the latter.²³⁻²⁵ Then that foremost of car-warriors, O Bhārata, shot fourteen broad-headed shafts, fierce and looking like snakes of virulent poison, at Vikarna.²⁶ Endued with great prowess and as if dancing in that battle, he felled with those shafts the standard of Vikarna from his car and slew also his charioteer and steeds.²⁷ Then that mighty

car-warrior, the son of Subhadrā, again sped at Vikarna many other arrows that were well-tempered, straight-going, and capable of penetrating every armour.²⁸ And these arrows furnished with feathers of the *kanka* bird, coming at Vikarna and passing through his body, entered the earth, like hissing snakes.²⁹ And those arrows, with wings and points decked with gold, bathed in Vikarna's blood, seemed to vomit blood on the earth.³⁰ Beholding Vikarna thus pierced, his other uterine brothers rushed, in that battle, against those car-warriors headed by Subhadrā's son.³¹ And when these invincible warriors upon their (own) cars came upon those combatants (of the Pāndava army) resplendent like so many suns and staying on their cars, both began to pierce one another.³² And Durmukha, having pierced Crutakarman with five shafts, cut off the latter's standard with a single shaft and then pierced his charioteer with seven.³³ And advancing closer, he slew with half a dozen shafts his foe's steeds fleet as the wind and cased in golden armour, and then felled his charioteer.³⁴ Crutakarman, however, staying on that car of his the steeds of which had been slain, hurled in great wrath a dart blazing like a fierce meteor.³⁵ That dart, blazing with effulgence, passing through the renowned Durmukha's hard coat of mail, penetrated into the earth.³⁶ Meanwhile the mighty Sutasoma, beholding Crutakarman deprived of his car, caused him to mount upon his own car in the very sight of all the troops.³⁷ The heroic Crutakirti rushed against thy son Jayatsena in that battle, desirous, O king, of slaying that renowned warrior.³⁸ Then thy son Jayatsena, O king, with a sharp arrow having a horse-shoe head, smiling the while, cut off the bow of the high-souled Crutakirti as the latter came along stretching it in his hands. Then Catānika, beholding his uterine brother's bow cut off,³⁹⁻⁴⁰ endued as he was with great valor, quickly came at that spot, repeatedly roaring like a lion. And Catānika, drawing his bow in that battle with great force,⁴¹ speedily pierced Jayatsena with ten shafts, and uttered a loud shout like an infuriate elephant.⁴² And with another arrow of sharp point and capable of penetrating every armour, Catānika deeply pierced Jayatsena in the chest.⁴³ Just at

that time, Dushkarna who was near his brother (Jayatsena) infuriate with anger, cut off Catānika's bow and arrow.⁴⁴ Then the mighty Catānika, taking up another excellent bow capable of bearing a great strain, aimed many sharp shafts.⁴⁵ And addressing Dushkarna in the presence of his brother (Jayatsena), saying—*Wait, Wait*,—he sped at him those sharp and blazing shafts resembling so many snakes.⁴⁶ And then he speedily cut off Dushkarna's bow with one arrow, and slew his charioteer, O sire, with two, and then pierced Dushkarna himself with seven arrows.⁴⁷ And that spotless warrior then, with a dozen sharp shafts, slew all the steeds of Dushkarna, that were fleet as the mind and of variegated hue.⁴⁸ And then with another broad-headed arrow, well aimed and capable of coursing swiftly, Catānika, excited with great wrath, deeply pierced Dushkarna in the chest.⁴⁹ And thereupon the latter fell down on the earth like a tree struck with lightning. Beholding Dushkarna slain, five mighty car-warriors, O king,⁵⁰ surrounded Catānika on all sides, from desire of slaying him. And they struck the renowned Catānika with showers of arrows.⁵¹ Then the five Kekaya brothers, excited with wrath, approached (Catānika for rescuing him). Beholding these latter coming upon them, thy sons—those mighty car-warriors,⁵²—rushed towards them like elephants rushing against mighty elephants. (These amongst thy sons, *viz*), Durmukha, and Durjaya, and the youthful Durmarshana,⁵³ and Cattrunjaya and Cattrusaha, all renowned warriors, excited with rage, proceeded, O king, against the (five) Kekaya brothers.⁵⁴ On their cars that resembled (fortified) towns, unto which were yoked steeds decked with ornaments, and which were graced with beautiful standards of variegated hue,⁵⁵ those heroes, wielding excellent bows and cased in beautiful coats of mail and owning excellent standards, entered the hostile army like lions entering one forest from another.⁵⁶ Smiting one another, fierce and terrific was the battle that ensued between them and the foe, in which cars and elephants got entangled with one another.⁵⁷

* The Bombay reading, which I do not adopt, is *Karvurān Vāta-ramhasas*. It is uselessly pleonastic.—T.

Cherishing feelings of hostility towards one another, the terrible battle in which they took part lasted for a short space of time about sunset, increasing the population of Yama's kingdom.⁵⁸ And car-warriors and horsemen by thousands were strewn over the field. Then Bhishma the son of Cāntanu, excited with wrath, began to slaughter the troops of the high-souled Pāndavas with his straight shafts. And with his arrows he began to despatch the combatants of the Pāñchālas to the domains of Yama.⁵⁹⁻⁶⁰ And the grandsire, having thus broken the ranks of the Pāndavas, at last withdrew his troops and retired, O king, to his encampment.⁶¹ And king Yudhishtira also, beholding both Dhrishtadyumna and Vrikōdara, smelt their heads, and filled with joy, retired to his tents.'"⁶²

SECTION LXXXI.

"Sanjaya said,—Then those heroes, O king, who cherished feelings of hostility towards one another, retired to their tents, their persons covered with blood.¹ Having rested for a while agreeably to rule, and praising one another (for the feats of the day), they were again seen clad in mail, desirous of battle.² Then thy son, O king, overwhelmed, with anxiety and covered with blood trickling down (from his wounds), asked the grandsire, saying,³—Our troops are fierce and terrible and carry innumerable standards. They are, again, arrayed properly. Yet the brave and mighty car-warriors of the Pāndavas, having penetrated (into our array) and afflicted and slaughtered (our troops), escaped unhurt.⁴ Confounding us all, they have won great fame in battle. Bhima again, having penetrated into our *Makura* array which was strong as the thunder-bolt, afflicted me with his terrible shafts each resembling the rod of Death.⁵ Beholding him excited with wrath,

* The Bombay reading, which I adopt, is *visravat* in the beginning of the 2nd line. The Bengal reading is *vigraṃvāt*, meaning "from motives of affectionate enquiry." It may also mean "from confidence," though not in this connection.—T.

† The last word of 4 is read differently in the Bengal texts, *viz*, *Rathaughās* instead of, as in the Bombay edition, *Māhārathās*.—T.

O king, I was deprived of my senses. Even now I cannot regain my peace of mind. Through thy grace, O thou that art firm in truth, I desire to obtain victory and slay the sons of Pāndu!⁸—Thus addressed by him, the high-souled son of Gangā, that foremost of all wielders of weapons, endued with great mental energy, understanding that Duryodhana was possessed by grief, replied unto him, laughing the while though cheerless, saying,⁹—Penetrating into (their) army with the utmost exertions and with my whole soul, O prince; I wish to give thee victory and joy. For thy sake I do not at all dissemble.⁹ They that have become the allies of the Pāndavas in this battle are fierce and numerous. Mighty car-warriors of great renown, they are exceedingly brave and accomplished in arms. Incapable of being fatigued, they vomit forth their wrath,⁹ Cherishing feelings of animosity towards thee, and swelling with prowess, they are not capable of being defeated easily. I will, however, O king, contend against those heroes with my whole soul and throwing away my very life.¹⁰ For thy sake, in battle, O thou of great glory, my life itself shall today be recklessly exposed! For thy sake I would consume all the worlds with the celestials and the *Daityas*, let alone thy foes here!¹¹ I will, O king, fight with those Pāndavas, and do all that is agreeable to thee!—Hearing these words, Duryodhana became inspired with great confidence and his heart was filled with delight.¹² And cheerfully he ordered all the troops, and all the kings, (in his army), saying,—*Advance*.—And at that command, O king, his army consisting of cars, steeds, foot-soldiers, and elephants, began to advance.¹³ And that large force, O king, armed with diverse kinds of weapons, was exceedingly cheerful. And that army of thine, O monarch, consisting of elephants, steeds, and foot-soldiers, on the field of battle, looked exceedingly beautiful.¹⁴ And huge tuskers, stationed in large bodies, and skill-

* *Vīmanā* the nominative singular of *Vīmanas* refers to *Gangāsutas*. The Burdwan Pundits wrongly translate it "with mind unmoved." I am not aware of any other reading, the word occurring in all the texts I have examined.—T.

fully urged, looked resplendent on the field all around. And many royal combatants accomplished in diverse weapons were seen in the midst of thy troops.¹⁵ And the dust, red as the morning sun, raised by those cars and foot-soldiers and elephants and steeds in large bodies as they were duly moved over the field, looked beautiful, shrouding the rays of the sun.¹⁶ And the many-colored banners stationed on cars and elephants, waving in the air and moving along the welkin, looked beautiful like flashes of lightning amid the clouds.¹⁷ And loud and fierce was the uproar made by the twang of the bows stretched by the kings, resembling the roar of the ocean while churned in the *Krita* age by the gods and the great *Asuras*.¹⁸ And that army of thy sons, looking so proud, consisting of (combatants of) diverse hues and shapes, shouting so fiercely, and capable of slaying hostile warriors, then looked like those masses of clouds that appear at the end of the *Yuga*.”^{*19}

SECTION LXXXII.

“Sanjaya said,—‘O chief of the Bharatas, Gangā’s son, once more addressing thy son who was plunged in thought, told him these delightful words :—Myself and Drona and Calya and Kritavarman of Satwata’s race, and Açwatthāman and Vikarna and Bhagadatta and Suvala’s son,² and Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti, and Vālhika with the Vālhikas,† and the mighty king of the Trigartas and the invincible ruler of the Magadhas,³ Vrihadvala the king of the Koçalas, and Chitrasena and Vivingçati, and many thousands of car-warriors graced with tall standards,⁴ a large number of country-born steeds well-mounted with excellent horse-soldiers, and many infuriate

* The last verse is read variously. Both the Bombay and the Bengal texts have faults of their own. The first word is *ugranādam* (Bengal) and not *ugranāgam* (Bombay). Then *Vahuvārnarupam* (Bomb) is correct, and not *Vahuvārnarutam* (Bengal). The last word of the first line is *Samudirnamevam* (Bombay), and not *Samudirnavarnam* (Bengal).—T.

† Differently read in the Bengal texts, *viz.*, “Somadatta with the Saindhavas.”—T.

elephants of large size with temporal juice issuing from their mouths and cheeks,⁵ and many brave foot-soldiers armed with diverse weapons and born in diverse realms, are all prepared to do battle for thy sake.*⁶ These, and many others, ready for thy sake to lay down their lives, are, as I think, competent to vanquish the very gods in battle.⁷ I should, however, always tell thee, O king, what is for thy good. The Pāndavās are incapable of being vanquished by the very gods with Vāsava.⁸ They have Vāsudeva for their ally and are equal to Mahendra himself in prowess. As regards myself, I shall, however, always do thy bidding.⁹ Either I shall vanquish the Pāndavas in battle, or they will vanquish me!—Having said these words, the grandsire gave him an excellent herb of great efficacy for healing his wounds. And therewith thy son was cured of his wounds. Then at dawn when the sky was clear, the valiant Bhishma, that foremost of men, well-versed in all kinds of array, himself disposed his troops in that array called *Mandala* bristling with weapons.¹⁰⁻¹² And it abounded with foremost of warriors and with tuskers and foot-soldiers. And it was surrounded on all sides with many thousands of cars,¹³ and with large bodies of horsemen armed with swords and lances. Near unto every elephant were placed seven cars, and near unto every car were placed seven horsemen.¹⁴ And behind every horseman were placed seven bowmen, and behind every bowman were seven combatants with shields. And thus, O king, thy army, arrayed by mighty car-warriors,¹⁵ stood for fierce battle, protected by Bhishma. And ten thousand horse, and as many elephants,¹⁶ and ten thousand cars, and thy sons all equipt in mail, *viz*, the heroic Chitrasena and others, protected the grandsire.¹⁷ And it was seen that Bhishma was protected by those brave warriors, and those princes themselves of great strength, accoutred in mail, were (in their turn) protected by him.¹⁸ And Duryōdhana, accoutred in mail and upon his car on the field, and possessed of every grace, looked resplendent like Cakra himself in heaven.¹⁹

* The Bengal reading *Rathās* in the first line of 6 is a mistake. It should be, as in the Bombay text, *sāthā*.—T.

Then, O Bhārata, loud were the shouts uttered by thy sons and deafening the clatter of cars and the uproar of musical instruments.³⁰ That mighty and impenetrable array of those slayers of foes, *viz*, the Dhārtarāshtras (in the form called) *Mandala*, (thus) arrayed by Bhishma, began to proceed, facing the west.³¹ Incapable of being defeated by enemies, it looked beautiful in every point. Beholding then the array called *Mandala* that was exceedingly fierce,³² king Yudhishthira himself disposed his troops in the array called *Vajra*. And when the divisions were thus arrayed, car-warriors and horsemen, stationed in their proper places, uttered leonine shouts. Accompanied by their (respective) forces, the brave warriors of both armies, well versed in smiting, and longing for battle, proceeded, desirous of breaking each other's array. And Bharadwāja's son proceeded against the king of the Matsyas, and his son (Açwatthāman) against Cikhandin.³³⁻³⁴ And king Duryodhana himself rushed against the son of Prishata. And Nakula and Sahadeva went forth against the king of the Madras.³⁵ And Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti proceeded against Irāvāt. And many kings together battled with Dhananjaya.³⁷ And Bhimasena, exerting himself well, opposed the son of Hridikā in battle. And possessed of great prowess, (Abhimanyu) the son of Arjuna, fought in battle, O king, against thy sons Chitrasena and Vikarna, and Durmarshana. And Hidimvā's son, that prince of the *Rākshasas*, rushed against that mighty bowman, the ruler of the Prāgyotishas, like one infuriate elephant against another. And the *Rākshasa* Alamvusha, O king, excited with wrath, rushed in battle against the invincible Sātyaki in the midst of his followers. And Bhuriçravas, exerting himself greatly, fought against Dhristaketu.³⁸⁻⁴¹ And Yudhishthira the son of Dharma, proceeded against king Crutāyush. And Chekitāna in that battle fought against Kripa.⁴² And others (among the Kuru warriors), exerting themselves powerfully, proceeded against that mighty car-warrior Bhima. And thousands of (other) kings surrounded Dhananjaya,⁴³ with darts, lances, arrows, maces, and spiked clubs in their hands. Then Arjuna, excited with great wrath, addressing him of Vrishni's race,

said,³⁴—Behold, O Mādhava, the Dhārtarāshtra troops in battle, arrayed by the high-souled son of Gangā, acquainted with every kind of array:³⁵ Behold, O Mādhava, those brave warriors, countless in number, and desirous of battle (with me)! Behold, O Keçava, the ruler of the Trigartas with his brothers!³⁶ This very day I shall slay them all, O Janārdana, before thy eyes,—them; that is, O foremost of the Yādus, who, longing for battle (with me), are on the field:³⁷—Having said those words, the son of Kunti, rubbing his bow-string, showered his arrows on that multitude of kings.³⁸ And those great bowmen also, poured on him thick showers of arrows, like clouds that fill a lake with torrents of rain in the rainy season.³⁹ And loud shouts were heard in thy army, O monarch, when in that great battle the two Krishnas were seen covered with thick showers of arrows,⁴⁰ And the gods, the celestial *Rishis*, and the *Gandharvas* with the *Uragas*, beholding the two Krishnas in that state, were filled with great wonder.⁴¹ Then Arjuna, O king, excited with wrath, invoked the *Aindra* weapon. And then the prowess, we beheld of Vijaya seemed to be highly wonderful⁴² insomuch that those showers of weapons shot by his foes were checked by his myriads of arrows. And there among those thousands of kings and steeds and elephants, was none, O king, that was not wounded. And others, O sire, the son of Prithā pierced, each with two or three arrows.⁴³⁻⁴⁴ And while being thus struck by Pārtha, they sought the protection of Bhishma the son of Cāntanu. And Bhishma then became the rescuer of those warriors who were like men sinking in the fathomless deep.⁴⁵ And in consequence of those warriors thus flying away and mixing with thy troops, thy broken ranks, O king, were agitated like the vasty deep with a tempest.⁴⁶

* The last word of the first line of 36 is *amitān* in the Bengal texts. The Bombay reading is *Varmīñān*. I prefer the Bengal reading.—T.

SECTION LXXXIII.

“Sanjaya said,—‘And when the battle was thus raging, and after Suçarman had ceased fighting, and the (other) heroic warriors (of the Kuru army) had been routed by the high-souled son of Pāndu,¹ after, indeed, thy army, resembling the very ocean, had become quickly agitated and the son of Gangā had speedily proceeded against the car of Vijaya,² king Duryodhana, beholding the prowess of Pārtha in battle, quickly proceeded towards those kings, and addressing them³ as also the heroic and mighty Suçarman stationed in their van, said in their midst these words, gladdening them all:⁴—This Bhishma the son of Cāntanu, this foremost one among the Kurus, reckless of his very life, is desirous of fighting with his whole soul against Dhananjaya!⁵ Exerting your best, ye all, united together, and accompanied by your troops, protect in battle the grandsire of Bharata’s race, who is proceeding against the hostile army!⁶—Saying—Yes—all those divisions belonging to those kings, O monarch, proceeded, following the grandsire.⁷ Then the mighty Bhishma the son of Cāntanu, (thus rushing to battle), speedily came upon Arjuna of Bharata’s race who also had been coming towards him,⁸ on his exceedingly resplendent and large car unto which were yoked white steeds and upon which was set up his standard bearing the fierce ape, and whose rattle resembled the deep roll of the clouds.⁹ And thy entire army, beholding the diadem-decked Dhananjaya thus coming to battle, uttered, from fear, many loud exclamations.¹⁰ And beholding Krishna, reins in hand, and looking like the mid-day sun in splendour, thy troops could not gaze at him.¹¹ And so also the Pāndavas were incapable of looking at Cāntanu’s son Bhishma of white steeds and white bow and resembling the planet *Çulvra* risen in the firmament.¹² And the latter was surrounded on all sides by the high-souled warriors of the Trigartas headed by their king with his brothers and sons, and by many other mighty car-warriors.¹³

“Meanwhile, Bharadwāja’s son pierced with his winged arrows the king of the Matsyas in battle. And in that com-

bat he cut off the latter's standard with one shaft, and his bow also with another.¹⁴ Then Virāta, the commander of a large division, leaving aside that bow thus cut off, quickly took up another that was strong and capable of bearing a great strain.¹⁵ And he also took up a number of blazing arrows that resembled snakes of virulent poison. And he pierced Drona in return with three (of these) and his (four) steeds with four.¹⁶ And then he pierced Drona's standard with one arrow, and his charioteer with five. And he also pierced Drona's bow with one arrow, and (at all this) that bull among Brāhmanas became highly angry.¹⁷ Then Drona slew Virāta's steeds with eight straight shafts, and then his charioteer, O chief of the Bharatas, with one shaft.¹⁸ His charioteer having been slain, Virāta jumped down from his car whose steeds also had been killed. And then that foremost of car-warriors speedily mounted upon the car of (his son) Cankha.¹⁹ Then sire and son, staying on the same car, began with great might to resist the son of Bharadwāja with a thick shower of arrows.²⁰ Then the mighty son of Bharadwāja, excited with wrath, quickly shot at Cankha, in that encounter, an arrow resembling a snake of virulent poison.²¹ And that arrow, piercing through Cankha's breast and drinking his blood, fell upon the earth, wet and smeared with gore.²² Struck with that arrow of Bharadwāja's son, Cankha speedily fell down from his car, his bow and arrows loosened from his grasp in the very presence of his sire.²³ And beholding his son slain, Virāta fled from fear, avoiding Drona in battle, who resembled Death's self with gaping mouth.²⁴ The son of Bharadwāja then, without losing a moment, checked the mighty host of the Pāndavas, resisting combatants by hundreds and thousands.²⁵

“Cikhandin also, O king, getting at Drona's son in that battle, struck the latter between his brows with three swiftly coursing shafts.²⁶ And that tiger among men, *viz*, Aṣwatthāman, pierced with those three shafts, looked beautiful like the mountain Meru with its three tall golden crests.²⁷ Then, O king, Aṣwatthāman, excited with rage, and within half the time taken up by a wink of the eye, overthrew in that battle Cikhan-

din's charioteer and standard and steeds and weapons, covering them with myriads of shafts. Then that foremost of car-warriors, viz., Cikhandin, that scorcher of foes, jumping down from that car whose steeds had been slain, and taking up a sharp and polished scimitar and a shield, and excited with rage, moved on the field with great activity like a hawk.³⁸⁻³⁹ And while moving with great activity, O king, on the field, sword in hand, the son of Drona failed to find an opportunity (for striking him). And all this seemed highly wonderful.⁴⁰ And then, O bull of Bharata's race, the highly wrathful son of Drona sent after Cikhandin in that battle many thousands of shafts.⁴¹ But Cikhandin, that foremost of mighty men, with his sharp sword cut that fierce shower of arrows coming towards him.⁴² Then the son of Drona cut into pieces that resplendent and beautiful shield decked with a hundred moons and then that sword also of Cikhandin.⁴³ And he pierced the latter's person also, O king, with a large number of winged arrows. Then Cikhandin, whirling the fragment (in his hand) of that sword of his which had been cut off by Açwatthāman with his arrows, and which resembled a blazing snake, quickly hurled it at him. The son of Drona, however, displaying in that battle the lightness of his arms, cut off that (broken blade) coming impetuously towards him and resembling in splendour the fire that blazeth forth at the end of the *Yuga*. And he pierced Cikhandin himself with innumerable arrows made of iron.⁴⁴⁻⁴⁵ Then Cikhandin, O king, exceedingly afflicted with those whetted arrows, speedily mounted on the car of (Sātyaki) that high-souled scion of Madhu's race.⁴⁶ Then Sātyaki, excited with rage, pierced in that battle, with his terrible shafts, the cruel *Rākshasa* Alamvusha on all sides.⁴⁷ That prince of *Rākshasas* then, O Bhārata, cut off in that combat Sātyaki's bow with a crescent-shaped arrow and pierced Sātyaki also with many shafts.⁴⁸ And creating by his *Rākshasa* powers an illusion, he covered Sātyaki with showers of arrows. But wonderful was the prowess that we then beheld of the grandson of Cini,⁴⁹ inasmuch as struck with those whetted shafts he betrayed no fear. On the other hand, O Bhārata, that son of Vrishni's race applied (with *mantras*) the *Aindra* weapon,⁵⁰ which

that illustrious hero of Madhu's race had obtained from Vijaya.* That weapon, consuming into ashes that Démoniac illusion,⁴³ covered Alamvusha all over with terrible shafts, like a mass of clouds covering the mountain-breast with torrents of rain in the rainy season.⁴⁴ Thereupon the *Rākshasa*, thus afflicted by that hero of Madhu's race, fled away in fear, avoiding Sātyaki in battle.⁴⁵ Then the grandson of Cini, having vanquished that prince of *Rākshasas* who was incapable of being vanquished by Maghavat himself, uttered a loud roar in the very sight of all thy troops.⁴⁶ And Sātyaki, of prowess incapable of being baffled, then began to slay thy troops with innumerable sharp shafts whereupon the latter fled away in fear.⁴⁷

“Meanwhile, O monarch, Dhristadyumna the mighty son of Drupada, covered thy royal son in battle with innumerable straight shafts. While, however, O Bhārata, Dhristadyumna was thus shrouding him with his shafts,⁴⁸⁻⁴⁹ thy royal son was neither agitated nor struck with fear. On the other hand, he speedily pierced Dhristadyumna in that battle (first) with sixty and (then) with thirty shafts. And all this seemed highly wonderful. Then the commander of the Pāndava army, O Bhārata, excited with wrath, cut off his bow.⁵⁰⁻⁵¹ And that mighty car-warrior then slew in that combat the four steeds of thy son, and also pierced him with seven shafts of the keenest points.⁵² Thereupon (thy son), that mighty-armed warrior endued with great strength, jumping down from that car whose steeds had been slain, ran on foot, with an upraised sabre, towards the son of Prishata.⁵³ Then the mighty Cakuni, devoted to the king, quickly coming to that spot, caused thy royal son to mount on his own car in the very sight of all.⁵⁴ Then that slayer of foes, the son of Prishata, having vanquished the king, began to slaughter thy troops like the wielder of the thunder-bolt slaughtering the *Asuras*.⁵⁵

“Kritavarman, in that battle, covered with his arrows that mighty car-warrior Bhima. Indeed, he overwhelmed the

* Sātyaki was Arjuna's disciple in arms. Vijaya was another name of Arjuna.—T.

latter entirely, like a mighty mass of clouds shrouding the sun.⁵⁶ Then that chastiser of foes, *viz.*, Bhimasena, excited with wrath, and laughing the while, sped some shafts at Kritavarman.⁵⁷ Struck therewith, that *Atiratha* of the Sātвата race, excelling all in might, trembled not, O king, but (instead) pierced Bhima (in return) with many sharp arrows.⁵⁸ Then the mighty Bhimasena, slaying the four steeds of Kritavarman, felled the latter's charioteer, and then his beautiful standard,⁵⁹ And that slayer of hostile heroes, (*viz.*, Bhīma) then pierced Kritavarman himself with many shafts of diverse kinds. And Kritavarman, pierced all over, seemed to be excessively mangled in every limb.⁶⁰ Then from that car whose steeds had been slain, Kritavarman quickly went to the car of Vrishaka, in the very sight, O king, of both Calya and thy son.⁶¹ And Bhimasena, excited with rage, began to afflict thy troops. Goaded to fury, he began to slay them, like the destroyer himself armed with his club."⁶²

SECTION LXXXIV.

"Dhritarāshtra said,—'Many and wonderful, O Sanjaya, were the single combats I hear thee speak of between the Pāndavas and my warriors.¹ Thou speakest not, however, O Sanjaya, of any one of my side having been cheerful (on such occasions). Thou always speakest of the sons of Pāndu as cheerful and never routed.² O *Suta*, thou speakest of mine as cheerless, deprived of energy, and constantly vanquished in battle! All this, without doubt, is Destiny!'"³

"Sanjaya said,—'Thy men, O bull of Bharata's race, exert themselves according to the measure of their might and courage, and display their valour to the utmost extent of their strength.⁴ As contact with the properties of the ocean make the sweet waters of the celestial stream Gangā brackish,⁵ so the valour, O king, of the illustrious warriors of thy army coming in contact with the heroic sons of Pāndu in battle, becometh futile.⁶ Exerting themselves according to their might, and achieving the most difficult feats, thou shouldst not, O chief of the Kurus, find fault with thy troops!'"⁷ O

monarch, this great and awful destruction of the world, swelling the (population of the) domains of Yama, hath arisen from thy misconduct and thy son's!⁸ It behoveth thee not, O king, to grieve for what hath arisen from thy own fault. Kings do not always in this world protect their lives.⁹ These rulers of Earth, desirous of winning by battle the regions of the righteous, daily fight, penetrating into (hostile) divisions, with heaven only for their aim.¹⁰

“On the forenoon of that day, O king, great was the carnage that ensued. Resembling what occurred in the battle between the gods and the *Asuras* (of old), listen to it, O monarch, with undivided attention.¹¹ The two princes of Avanti, those great bowmen endued with exceeding might, those excellent warriors fierce in battle, beholding Irāvāt, advanced against him.¹² The battle that took place between them was fierce, making the hair to stand on end. Then Irāvāt, excited with rage, quickly pierced those two brothers of celestial forms with many sharp and straight shafts. Those two, however, conversant with all modes of warfare, pierced him in return in that battle.¹³⁻¹⁴ Struggling their best to slaughter the foe, and desirous of counteracting each other's feats, no distinction, O king, could be observed between them as they fought.¹⁵ Irāvāt then, O monarch, with four shafts, despatched the four steeds of Anuvinda to the abode of Yama.¹⁶ And with a couple of sharp, broad-headed shafts, O sire, he cut off the bow and standard also of Anuvinda. And this feat, O king, seemed highly wonderful.¹⁷ Then Anuvinda, leaving his own car, mounted on the car of Vinda. Taking up an excellent and strong bow capable of bearing a great strain,¹⁸ Anuvinda, as also his brother Vinda, those foremost of car-warriors hailing from Avanti, both stationed on the same car, quickly shot many shafts at the high-souled Irāvāt.¹⁹ Shot by them, those shafts of great impetuosity, decked with gold, while coursing through the air, covered the welkin.²⁰ Then Irāvāt, excited with rage, show-

* *Divākaram prāpya*, lit., “reaching the path of the sun”, i. e. while coursing through the sky.”—T.

ered on those mighty car-warriors, those two brothers (of Avanti), his arrow down-pours, and felled their charioteer.²¹ When the charioteer, deprived of life, fell down on the ground, the horses, no longer restrained, ran away with the car.²² Having vanquished those two warriors, that daughter's son of the king of the Nāgas, displaying his prowess, then began to consume with great activity thy ranks.²³ Then that mighty Dhārtarāshtra host, while thus slaughtered in battle, began to reel in many directions like a person who hath drunk poison.²⁴

“That prince of *Rākshasas*, the mighty son of Hidimvā, on his car of solar effulgence furnished with a standard, rushed against Bhagadatta.²⁵ The ruler of the Pragyotishas was stationed on his prince of elephants like the wielder of the thunder-bolt in days of old in the battle occasioned by the ravishment of Tārakā.²⁶ The gods, the *Gandharvas*, and the *Rishis* had all come there. They could not, however, notice any distinction between Hidimvā's son and Bhagadatta.²⁷ As the chief of the celestials, excited with wrath, had inspired the *Dānavas* with fear, so did Bhagadatta, O king, frighten the Pāndava warriors.²⁸ And the warriors of the Pāndava army, frightened by him on all sides, failed, O Bhārata, to find among their ranks any protector.²⁹ We beheld, however, O Bhārata, the son of Bhimasena there, on his car. The other mighty car-warriors fled away with cheerless hearts³⁰ When, however, O Bhārata, the troops of the Pāndavas rallied; in the battle that then ensued an awful uproar arose among thy troops.³¹ Then Ghatotkacha, O king, in that dreadful battle, covered Bhagadatta with his arrows like the clouds pouring rain on the breast of Meru.³² Baffling all those arrows shot from the *Rākshasa's* bow, the king quickly struck the son of Bhimasena in all his vital limbs.³³ That prince of the *Rākshasas*, however, though struck with innumerable straight shafts, wavered not at all (but stood still) like a mountain pierced (with shafts).³⁴ Then the ruler of the Prāgyotishas, excited with wrath, hurled in that combat fourteen lances, all of which, however, were cut off by the *Rākshasa*.³⁵ Cutting off by means of his sharp shafts those lances, the mighty-

armed *Rākshasa* pierced Bhagadatta with seventy shafts, each resembling the thunder-bolt in force.³⁶ Then the ruler of the *Prāgyotishas*, laughing the while, O *Bhārata*, despatched in that combat the four steeds of the *Rākshasa* to Death's domain.³⁷ The prince of the *Rākshāsas*, however, of great valor, staying on that car whose steeds had been slain, hurled with great force a dart at the elephant of the ruler of the *Prāgyotishas*.³⁸ King Bhagadatta then cut off that swift dart furnished with a staff of gold and coursing impetuously towards him, into three fragments, and thereupon it fell down on the ground.³⁹ Beholding his dart cut off, the son of *Hidimvā* fled from fear like *Namuchi*, that foremost of the *Daityas*, in days of old, from battle with *Indra*.⁴⁰ Having vanquished in battle that hero of great valor and renowned prowess, who, O king, cannot be vanquished in battle by *Yama* himself or *Varuna*,⁴¹ king Bhagadatta with his elephant began to crush down the troops of the *Pāndavas* like a wild elephant, O king, crushing, as he treads, the lotus-stalks (in a lake).⁴²

“The ruler of the *Madras* engaged in battle with his sister's sons the twins. And he overwhelmed those sons of *Pāudu* with clouds of arrows.⁴³ Then *Sahadeva*, beholding his maternal uncle engaged in battle (with him), covered him with arrows like the clouds covering the maker of day.⁴⁴ Covered with those clouds of arrows, the ruler of the *Madras* wore a delighted expression, and the twins also felt great delight for the sake of their mother.⁴⁵* Then *Calya*, that mighty car-warrior, smiting effectively in that battle, despatched with four excellent shafts, O king, the four steeds of *Nakula* to the abode of *Yama*. *Nakula* then, that mighty car-warrior, quickly jumping down from that car whose steeds had been slain,⁴⁶⁻⁴⁷ mounted upon the vehicle of his renowned brother. Stationed then on the same car, those two heroes, both fierce

* The meaning seems to be that *Calya* was pleased in witnessing the skill of his sister's sons, while the twins themselves were pleased in displaying that skill before one who was related to them through their mother.—T.

in battle, and both excited with rage, began to shroud the car of the ruler of Madras, (with their arrows), drawing their bows with great strength. But that tiger among men, though thus covered by his sister's sons with innumerable straight arrows, shook not in the least (but stood immovable) like a hill. Laughing the while, he smote them (in return) with showers of arrows.⁴⁸⁻⁵⁰ Then Sahadeva of great prowess, O Bhārata, excited with wrath, took up a (powerful) shaft, and rushing at the ruler of the Madras, shot it at him.⁵¹ That shaft endued with the impetuosity of Gadura himself, shot by him, pierced the ruler of the Madras through, and fell on the earth.⁵² Thereupon that mighty car-warrior, deeply pierced and greatly pained, sat down, O king, on the terrace of his car, and went into a swoon.⁵³ Beholding him (thus) afflicted by the twins, deprived of consciousness, and prostrated (on his car), his charioteer bore him away on his vehicle over the field.⁵⁴ Seeing the car of the ruler of the Madras retreating (from battle), the Dhārtarāshtras all became cheerless and thought it was all over with him.⁵⁵ Then those mighty car-warriors, *viz.*, the two sons of Mādri, having vanquished in battle their maternal uncle, cheerfully blew their conchs and uttered leonine roars.⁵⁶ And then they rushed joyfully, O king, towards thy forces like the gods Indra and Upendra, O monarch, towards the *Dāitya* host.' ⁵⁷

SECTION LXXXV.

"Sanjaya said,—Then when the sun attained the meridian, king Yudhishtira, beholding Crutāyush, urged on his steeds.¹ And the king rushed at Crutāyush, that chastiser of foes, striking him with nine straight shafts of keen points.² That great bowman, *viz.*, king Crutāyusha then, checking in that battle those arrows shot by the son of Pāndu, struck

* The Būrdwan Pundits render this verse by carelessly taking *Virya-vān* as an adjective of *çaram*. It qualifies *Sahadeva*. The reading *Viryavat* occurs in no text.—T.

† Lit. "This one no longer is" *i.*, *e.*, "alive."—

Yudhishtira with seven shafts.* These, penetrating through his armour, drank his blood in that battle, as if sucking the very vital energies dwelling in the body of that high-souled one.** The son of Pāndu then, though deeply pierced by that high-souled king, pierced king Crutāyush (in return), at the latter's heart, with an arrow shaped as the hoar's ear.† And that foremost of car-warriors, viz., the son of Prithā, with another broad-headed arrow, quickly felled on the earth the standard of the high-souled Crutāyush from his car.‡ Beholding his standard overthrown, king Crutāyush then, O monarch, pierced the son of Pāndu with seven sharp shafts.§ Thereupon Yudhishtira the son of Dharma blazed up with wrath, like the fire that blazeth forth at the end of the *Yuga* for consuming creatures.¶ Beholding the son of Pāndu excited with rage, the gods, the *Gandharvas*, and the *Rākshasas*, trembled, O king, and the universe became agitated.‡‡ And even this was the thought that arose in minds of all creatures, viz., that *this king, excited with rage, will today consume the three worlds!*††—Indeed, when the son of Pāndu was thus excited with wrath, the *Rishis* and the celestials prayed for the peace of the world.‡‡‡ Filled with wrath and frequently licking the corners of his mouth, Yudhishtira assumed a terrible expression looking like the sun that riseth at the end of the *Yuga*.‡‡‡‡ Then all thy warriors, O king, became hopeless of their lives, O Bhārata!‡‡‡‡‡ Checking, however, that wrath with patience, that great bowman endued with high renown then cut off Crutāyush's bow at the grasp.‡‡‡‡‡‡ And then, in the very sight of all the troops, the king in that battle pierced Crutāyush whose bow had been cut off, with a long arrow in the centre of the chest.‡‡‡‡‡‡‡ And the mighty Yudhishtira then, O king, speedily slew with his arrows the steeds of Crutāyush and then, without losing a moment, his charioteer.‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡ Beholding the prowess of the king, Crutāyush leaving that car whose steeds had been slain, quickly fled away from battle.‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡ After that great bowman had been van-

* The original is *Vichinvantās* (a participial) meaning "plucking" as flowers.—T.

quished in combat by the son of Dharma, all the troops of Duryodhana, O king, turned their faces.¹⁸ Having, O monarch, achieved this feat, Yudhishtira the son of Dharma began to slay thy troops like Death himself with wide-open mouth.¹⁹

“Chekitāna of the Vrishni race, in the very sight of all the troops, covered with his shafts Gautama, that foremost of car-warriors.²⁰ Baffling all those arrows, Kripa the son of Caradvat pierced Chekitāna in return, who was fighting with great care, O king, with arrows in that battle.²¹ Then, O Bhārata, with another broad-headed arrow he cut off Chekitāna’s bow, and endued with great lightness of hand, he also felled with another broad-headed arrow the former’s charioteer.²² Kripa then, O monarch, slew Chekitāna’s steeds, as also both the warriors that protected the latter’s wings. Then Chekitāna of the Sātвата race, quickly jumping down from his car, took up a mace.²³ The foremost of all wielders of the mace, Chekitāna, with that hero-slaying mace of his, slew the steeds of Gautama and then felled his charioteer.²⁴ Then Gautama, standing on the ground, shot sixteen arrows at Chekitāna. Those arrows, piercing through that hero of the Sātвата race, entered the earth.²⁵ Thereat, Chekitāna, excited with rage, once more hurled his mace, desirous of slaying Gautama, like Purandara desirous of slaying Vritra.²⁶ Then Gautama with many thousands of arrows checked that huge mace, endued with the strength of adamant, that was coursing towards him.²⁷ Then Chekitāna, O Bhārata, drawing his sabre from the sheath, rushed with great speed towards Gautama.²⁸ Thereupon Gautama also, throwing away his bow, and taking up a polished sabre, rushed with great speed towards Chekitāna.²⁹ Both of them possessed of great strength, and both armed with excellent sabres, they began to strike each other with those sharp-edged weapons of theirs.³⁰ Then those bulls among men, struck with the force of each other’s sabres, fell down on the earth, that (common) element of all creatures.³¹ Exhausted by the efforts they had made, the limbs of both were motionless in a swoon. Then Karakarsha, impelled by friendship, quickly rushed to that spot.³² And

that invincible warrior, beholding Chekitāna in that plight, took him up on his car in the very sight of all the troops.³³ And so also the brave Cakuni, thy brother-in-law, O monarch, speedily caused Gautama, that foremost of car-warriors, to mount on his car.³⁴

“The mighty Dhrishtaketu, excited with wrath, speedily pierced the son of Somadatta, O king, with ninety shafts in the chest.³⁵ And the son of Somadatta looked highly resplendent with those shafts on his chest, like the sun, O king, with his rays at midday,³⁶ Bhuriçravas, however, in that battle, with his excellent shafts, deprived Dhrishtaketu, that mighty car-warrior, of his car, slaying his charioteer and steeds.³⁷ And beholding him deprived of his car, and his steeds and charioteer slain, Bhuriçravas covered Dhrishtaketu in that combat with a thick shower of arrows.³⁸ The high-souled Dhrishtaketu then, O sire, abandoning that car of his, mounted upon the vehicle of Catānika.³⁹ Chitrasena, and Vikarna, O king, and also Durmarshana,—these car-warriors cased in golden mail,—all rushed against the son of Subhadrā.⁴⁰ Then a fierce battle took place between Abhimanyu and those warriors, like the battle of the body, O king, with wind, bile, and phlegm.⁴¹ That tiger among men, however, (*viz.*, Abhimanyu), having, O king, deprived thy sons of their cars, slew them not, remembering Bhima’s words.^{†42} Then, during the progress of the fight, Kuntī’s son (Arjuna), of white steeds, beholding Bhishma, who was incapable of being vanquished by very gods, proceeding to rescue thy sons in view of Abhimanyu—a boy and alone though a mighty car-warrior,—addressed Vāsudeva and said these words:—Urge the steeds, O Hrishikeça, to that spot where are those numerous car-warriors!⁴³⁻⁴⁵ They are many in number, brave, accomplished in arms, and invincible in battle! Guide the horses so, O

* These, in Hindu physiology, are the three humours of the body always contending for mastery over the vital forces.—T.

† Bhima had vowed to slay all the sons of Dhritarāshtra; therefore, Abhimanyu liked not to falsify his uncle’s vow by himself slaying any of them.—T.

Mādhava, that the foe may not be able to slay our troops!⁴⁶— Thus urged by Kunti's son of immeasurable energy, he of Vrishni's race then drove that car, unto which were yoked white steeds, to battle.⁴⁷ When Arjuna, excited with rage, thus proceeded towards thy army, a loud uproar, O sire, arose among thy troops.⁴⁸ The son of Kunti then, having come up to those kings that were protecting Bhishma, (first) addressed Suçarman; O king, and said these words:⁴⁹—I know thee to be foremost in battle, and a dire enemy (of ours) of old. Behold today the terrible fruit of that evil behaviour (of thine):†⁵⁰ I will today cause thee to visit the manes of thy ancestors!— That leader of car-divisions, Suçarman, however, hearing these harsh words uttered by that slayer of foes, viz., Vibhatsu, told him nothing (in reply), well or ill.⁵¹⁻⁵² (But) approaching the heroic Arjuna, with a large number of kings in his train, and surrounding him in that battle, he covered him, aided by thy sons, O sinless one, with arrows from all sides, viz., front, rear, and flanks, like the clouds covering the maker of day.⁵³⁻⁵⁴ Then, O Bhārata, a dreadful battle took place between thy army and the Pāndavas, in which blood ran like water'⁵⁵

SECTION LXXXVI.

“Sanjaya said,—Then the mighty Dhananjaya, struck with those shafts and drawing long breaths like a trodden snake, cut off, with great force, by means of his successive shafts, the bows of those mighty car-warriors.¹ Cutting off in a moment, O king, the bows of those powerful monarchs in that battle, the high-souled Arjuna, desiring to exterminate them, pierced all of them simultaneously with his shafts.² Struck (thus) by Indra's son, O king, some of them fell down on the field, covered with blood. And some had their limbs mangled, and some had their heads struck off.

* Instead of *yat* in the beginning of the second line, *Yadā* would be better. None of the printed texts, however, have *Yadā*.—T.

† In the first line of 50, the Bengal reading is *Satyam*. I prefer the Bombay reading which is *atyantam*. For, again, *pariyāyasya* in the beginning of the second line, the Bombay text reads *anayasya* which is better.—T.

And some perished, with bodies mangled and coats of mail out through.³ And afflicted by the arrows of Pārtha, many of them, falling down on the earth, perished together. Beholding then those princes slain in battle, the ruler of the Trigartas advanced on his car.⁴ And two and thirty others amongst those car-warriors, they who had been protecting the rear of the slain combatants, also fell upon Pārtha. These all, surrounding Pārtha, and drawing their bows of loud twang,⁵ poured on him a thick shower of arrows like the clouds pouring torrents of water on the mountain-breast. Then Dhananjaya, afflicted with that arrowy down-pour in that battle, became excited with wrath,⁶ and with sixty arrows steeped in oil he despatched all those protectors of the rear. Having vanquished in battle those sixty car-warriors; the illustrious Dhananjaya became cheerful of heart.⁷ And having slain also the forces of those kings, Jishnu sped for Bhishma's slaughter. Then the ruler of the Trigartas, beholding his friends, those mighty car-warriors, slain,⁸ speedily advanced upon Pārtha, with a number of (other) kings in his van, for slaying him. Then the Pāndava warriors headed by Cikhandin, beholding those combatants advancing upon Dhananjaya that foremost of all conversant with arms,⁹ proceeded, with whetted weapons in hand, desirous of protecting the car of Arjuna. Pārtha also, beholding those brave men advance towards him with the ruler of the Trigartas,¹⁰ mangled them in battle with arrows shot from *Gāndīva*. Then that distinguished bowman, desirous of approaching Bhishma, beheld Duryodhana and other kings headed by the ruler of the Sindhus.¹¹ Fighting with great energy for a moment and checking those warriors that were desirous of protecting Bhishma, the heroic Arjuna of great valor and infinite prowess, avoiding Duryodhana and Jayadratha and others,¹²—that warrior of mighty strength and great mental vigor,—at last proceeded, bow and arrow in hand, towards the son of Gangā in battle. The high-souled Yudhishtira also; of fierce prowess and infinite renown, avoiding in battle the ruler of the Madras who had been assigned to his share, quickly proceeded, with excited wrath and accompanied by Bhima and the sons of Mādri,

towards Bhishma the son of Cāntanu for battle.¹³⁻¹⁴ Conversant with all modes of warfare, the high-souled son of Gangā and Cāntanu, though attacked in battle by all the sons of Pāndu united together, wavered not at all.¹⁵ Of fierce might and great energy, king Jayadratha of sure aim, advancing in battle, forcibly cut off with his own excellent bow, the bows of all those mighty car-warriors.¹⁶ And the illustrious Duryodhana also, with excited wrath and having wrath for his poison, struck Yudhishtira and Bhimasena and the twins and Pārtha, with arrows resembling flames of fire.¹⁷ Pierced with arrows by Kripa and Cala and Chitrasena, O lord, the Pāndavas, inflamed with rage, resembled the gods pierced with arrows by the united *Daityas* (in days of old).¹⁸ King Yudhishtira then, beholding Cikhandin flying away, having had his weapon cut off by Cāntanu's son, became filled with anger. The high-souled Ajātāçatru, angrily addressing Cikhandin in that battle, said these words:¹⁹—Thou saidst at that time, in the presence of thy sire, unto me,—*Even I shall slay Bhishma of high vows with my shafts of the hue of the effulgent sun. Truly do I say this!*—Even this was thy oath!²⁰ That oath of thine thou dost not fulfil inasmuch as thou dost not slay Devavrata in battle! O hero, be not a person of unfulfilled vow. Take care of thy virtue, race, and fame!²¹ Behold Bhishma of terrible impetuosity scorching all my troops with his innumerable arrows of fierce energy and destroying everything in a moment like Death himself!²² With thy bow cut off, avoiding the battle, and vanquished by the royal son of Cāntanu, whither dost thou go, forsaking thy kinsmen and brothers? This doth not become thee!²³ Beholding Bhishma of infinite prowess, and our army routed and flying away, thou art assuredly, O son of Drupada, frightened, since the color of thy face is pale!²⁴ Unknown to thee, O hero, Dhananjaya hath engaged in the dreadful battle! Celebrated over the whole world, why, O hero, art thou afear'd today of Bhishma!²⁵—Hearing these words of king

* The Bombay reading which I adopt is *ajñāyamānas cha*. The Bengal reading seems to be incorrect.—T.

Yudhishtira the just that were harsh though fraught with sound reason, the high-souled Cikhandin, regarding them as good counsel, speedily set himself about slaying Bhishma.*²⁶ And while Cikhandin was proceeding to battle with great impetuosity for falling upon Bhishma, Calya began to resist him with terrible weapons that were difficult of being baffled.²⁷ The son of Drupada, however, O king, of prowess equal to that of Indra himself, beholding those weapons effulgent as the fire that blazeth forth at the hour of universal dissolution (thus) displayed, was not confounded in the least.²⁸ Checking those weapons by means of his own shafts, that mighty Bowman, viz, Cikhandin, stayed there without moving. And then he took up another weapon, viz, the fierce *Vārūna* weapon for baffling (those fiery weapons of Calya).²⁹ Then the celestials staying in the firmament, and the kings of the earth also, all beheld Calya's weapons baffled by that *Vārūna* weapon of Cikhandin. Meanwhile, the high-souled and heroic Bhishma, O king, in that battle, cut off the bow and the variegated standard also of Pāndu's son king Yudhishtira of the Ājamida race. Thereupon casting aside his bow and arrows upon beholding Yudhishtira overwhelmed with fear,³⁰⁻³¹ and taking up a mace in that battle, Bhimasena rushed, on foot, at Jayadratha. Then Jayadratha, with five hundred terrible arrows of keen points and each resembling the rod of Death, pierced Bhimasena from every side who was thus rushing impetuously at him, mace in hand. Disregarding those arrows, the impetuous Vrikodara, with heart filled with rage,³²⁻³³ slew in that battle all the steeds, born in Āratta, of the king of the Sindhus. Then beholding Bhimasena on foot, thy son (Chitrasena) of unrivalled prowess and resembling the chief of the celestials himself, quickly rushed at him on his car, with upraised weapons, for giving him his quietus. Bhima also, roaring and uttering a loud shout, rushed at him impetuously, mace in hand.³⁴⁻³⁵ Thereupon the Kauravas all around, beholding that upraised

* *Vipralāpāpavidham* is literally "force from unreasoning declamation." The Bombay reading vicious.—T.

mace resembling the rod of Death, forsaking thy brave son, fled away, desirous of avoiding its fall (amongst them). In that fierce and awful crush (of men), O Bhārata, confounding the senses, Chitrasena, however, beholding that mace coursing towards him, was not deprived of his senses.⁸⁶⁻⁸⁷ Taking up a bright scimitar and a shield, he forsook his car and became a warrior on foot in the field, for jumping down (from his vehicle) like a lion from the top of a cliff he came down upon the level ground.⁸⁸ Meanwhile that mace, falling upon that beautiful car and destroying the vehicle itself with its steeds and charioteer in that battle, dropped on the ground like a blazing meteor, loosened from the firmament, falling upon the earth.⁸⁹ Then thy troops, O Bhārata, beholding that highly wonderful feat, became filled with joy, and all of them together set up a loud shout over the field of battle. And the warriors all applauded thy son (for what they witnessed).'⁹⁰

SECTION LXXXVII.

"Sanjaya said,—'Approaching then thy son Chitrasena of great energy who had thus been deprived of his car, thy son Vikarna caused him to mount on his car.¹ And during the progress of that general engagement, so fierce and dreadful, Bhishma the son of Cāntanu impetuously rushed at Yudhishtira.² Then the Srinjayas with their cars, elephants, and horse, trembled. And they regarded Yudhishtira to be already within the jaws of Death.³ The lord Yudhishtira, however, of Kuru's race, accompanied by the twins, proceeded towards that mighty bowman, that tiger among men, *viz.*, Bhishma.⁴ Then the son of Pāndu, shooting in that battle thousands of arrows, shrouded Bhishma like the clouds shrouding the sun.⁵ And those numberless arrows, well shot by Yudhishtira, were received by the son of Gangā in distinct sets by hundreds and thousands.⁶ And so also, O sire, innumerable

* The meaning seems to be that the arrows shot by Yudhishtira were cut off by Bhishma in numberless distinct sets, taking each set at a time.—T.

were the arrows shot by Bhishma (in return), which looked like flights of insects coursing through the air.⁷ In half the time taken up by a wink of the eye, Bhishma the son of Cāntanu, in that battle, made Kunti's son invisible by means of his numberless shafts shot in sets.⁸ Then king Yudhishtira, excited with rage, sped at the high-souled Kaurava a long arrow resembling a snake of virulent poison.⁹ That mighty car-warrior, Bhishma, however, O king, cut off in that combat, with a horse-shoe(-headed) arrow, that shaft shot from Yudhishtira's bow before it could reach him.¹⁰ Having cut off that long arrow resembling Death himself, Bhishma then slew in that battle the steeds, decked with gold, of that prince of Kuru's line.¹¹ Then Yudhishtira the son of Dharma, abandoning that car whose steeds had been slain, quickly mounted upon the car of the high-souled Nakula.¹² Then Bhishma, that subjugator of hostile cities, excited with rage, and coming upon the twins in that battle, covered them with arrows.¹³ Beholding those two (brothers), O king, thus afflicted with the arrows of Bhishma, Yudhishtira began to reflect earnestly, desirous, O monarch, of (compassing) Bhishma's destruction.¹⁴ Then Yudhishtira, O king, urged his friends and the rulers (on his side), saying,—Slay Bhishma the son of Cāntanu, uniting together!¹⁵—Then all those rulers, hearing these words of Prithā's son, surrounded the grandsire with a large number of cars.¹⁶ Thy sire Devavrata then, thus surrounded on all sides, began to sport, O king, with his bow, felling (all the while) many mighty car-warriors.¹⁷ Him of Kuru's race thus careering over the field of battle, the Pāndavas beheld resembling a young lion in the forest amid a herd of deer.¹⁸ Uttering loud roars in that battle and striking fear into the hearts of brave warriors by means of his shafts, the Kshatriyas beholding him, O king, were all struck with fear, like inferior animals upon seeing a lion.¹⁹ Indeed, the Kshatriyas beheld the movements of that lion of Bharata's race in battle to resemble those of a conflagration aided by the wind, while consuming a heap of dry grass.²⁰ And Bhishma in that battle felled the heads of car-warriors like a skilful man felling (with stones) ripe (palmyra)

fruits from a trees that bear them.²¹ And the heads of warriors, O king, falling upon the surface of the earth produced a loud noise resembling that of a stony shower.²² During the progress of that fierce and dreadful battle, a great confusion set in among all the troops.²³ And in consequence of that confusion the arrays (of both armies) were broken. And the Kshatriyas, summoning one another individually, approached one another for fight.²⁴ Then Cikhandin, sighting the grandsire of the Bharatas, rushed at him impetuously, saying,—*Wait, Wait.*²⁵—Remembering, however, the femininity of Cikhandin, and disregarding him on that account, Bhishma proceeded against the Srinjayas.²⁶ Thereupon the Srinjayas, beholding Bhishma in that great battle, were filled with joy. And they set forth diverse kinds of loud shouts mingled with the blare of their conchs.²⁷ Then commenced a fierce battle in course of which cars and elephants got entangled with one another. And it was that hour of the day, O lord, when the sun was on the other side (of the meridian).²⁸ Then Dhrishtadyumna the prince of the Pāñchālas, and that mighty car-warrior Sātyaki, greatly afflicted the (Bharata) host with showers of arrows and lances.²⁹ And with innumerable shafts, O king these two began to smite down thy warriors in that battle. Thy combatants, however, O bull among men, though slaughtered in battle (thus),³⁰ retreated not from the fight, having formed an honorable resolution in that engagement. Indeed, thy troops began to smite according to the measure of their courage.³¹ While, however, O king, thy high-souled combatants were being slaughtered by the illustrious son of Prishata, loud cries of woe were heard among them.³² Hearing those loud cries, that couple of mighty car-warriors of thy army, *viz.*, Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti, quickly proceeded against Prishata's son.³³ And those mighty car-warriors, speedily slaying his steeds, together covered Prishata's son with showers of arrows.³⁴ Thereupon that mighty car-warrior, *viz.*, the prince of the Pāñchālas, quickly jumping down from that car of his, mounted without

* The Bengal reading is faulty.—T.

loss of time the car of the high-souled Sātyaki.³⁵ Then king Yudhishtira, supported by a large force, proceeded against those chastisers of foes, *viz.*, the two princes of Avanti excited with rage.³⁶ Similarly thy son also, O sire, with every preparation, stood, surrounding Vinda and Anuvinda in that battle (for supporting them).³⁷ Arjuna also in that battle, excited with rage, fought against many bulls of the Kshatriya race, like the wielder of the thunder-bolt against the *Asuras*.³⁸ Drona also, who always does what is agreeable to thy son, inflamed with wrath in that battle, began to consume the Pāñchālas like fire consuming a heap of cotton.³⁹ Thy other sons, O king, owning Duryodhana as their chief, surrounding Bhishma in that battle, fought against the Pāndavas.⁴⁰ Then when the sun assumed a red hue,* king Duryodhana, O Bhārata, addressing thy troops, said,—*Lose no time*.⁴¹—And while they were thus battling and achieving feats difficult of accomplishment, the sun having become invisible in consequence of his retirement behind the Western hill,⁴² there soon flowed, towards dusk, an awful river whose current and billows were of blood, and which was infested by innumerable jackalls.⁴³ And the field of battle became dreadful, abounding as it did with spirits and with those jackalls howling hideously, foreboding evil.⁴⁴ And *Rākshasas*, and *Piçāchas*, and other cannibals were seen all around, in hundreds and thousands.⁴⁵ Then Arjuna, having vanquished those kings headed by Suçarma along with all their followers, in the midst of their division, proceeded towards his tent.⁴⁶ And the lord Yudhishtira also of Kuru's race, accompanied by his brothers, and followed by his troops, proceeded, O king, when night set in, towards his tent.⁴⁷ And Bhimasena, too, having vanquished those kings, *viz.*, those car-warriors headed by Duryodhana, proceeded towards his tent.⁴⁸ And king Duryodhana (with his troops), surrounding Bhishma the son of Cāntanu in that great battle, proceeded towards his tent.⁴⁹ And Drona, and Drona's son, and Kripa, and Calya, and Kritavarman of the Sātвата race, surrounding the whole (Dhārtarāshtra) army,

* I. e, just before setting.—T.

proceeded towards their tents.⁵⁰ And similarly Sātyaki also, O king, and Dhrishtadyumna the son of Prishata, surrounding their army, proceeded towards their tents.⁵¹ It was thus, O king, that those chastisers of foes, *viz.*, thy troops and the Pāndavas, ceased to fight when darkness came.⁵² Then the Pāndavas, and the Kuravas, retiring to their tents, entered the same, applauding one another.⁵³ And making arrangements for the protection of their brave warriors and disposing outposts according to rule, they plucked out the arrows (from their bodies) and bathed in diverse kinds of water.⁵⁴ And Brāhmanas performed propitiatory rites for them, and bards sang their praises. And those renowned men sported for a while, in accompaniment with music both vocal and instrumental.⁵⁵ And for a while the whole scene resembled heaven itself. And those bulls among men for a while spoke not of battle.⁵⁶ And when both the armies abounding with tired men and elephants and steeds slept there, they became, O monarch, beautiful to behold.' ”⁵⁷

SECTION LXXXVIII.

“Sanjaya said,—‘Having passed the night in sound sleep, those rulers of men, the Kauravas and the Pāndavas, once more proceeded to battle.¹ And when the troops of both armies were about to proceed to the field, great was the uproar heard there, resembling the loud uproar of the ocean itself.² Then king Duryodhana, and Chitrasena, and Vivinçati, and that foremost of car-warriors, *viz.*, Bhishma, and Bharadwāja’s son possessed of great prowess,³—those mighty car-warriors, clad in mail and uniting together, O king, formed with great care the array of the Kauravas against the Pāndavas.⁴ Having formed that mighty array fierce as the ocean and having for its billows and current its steeds and elephants, thy sire Bhishma the son of Cāntanu then, O king, proceeded in the van of the whole army, supported by the Mālavas, and the inhabithants of the southern countries, and the Avantis.⁵⁻⁶ Next to him was the valiant son of Bharadwāja, accompanied by the Pulindas, the Pāradas, and

the Kshudraka-Mālavas.⁷ Next to Drona was the valiant Bhagadatta, O king, firmly resolved on fight, accompanied by the Magadhas, the Kalingas, and the Piçāchas.⁸ Behind Bhagadatta was Vrihadvala the king of the Koçalas, accompanied by the Melakas, the Tripuras, and the Chicchhilas.⁹ Next to Vrihadvala was the brave Traigarta the ruler of the Prasthala, accompanied by a large number of the Kāmvojas, and by Yavanas in thousands.¹⁰ Next to the ruler of the Trigartas, O Bhārata, proceeded that mighty hero, viz., the son of Drona, uttering leonine roars and filling the earth with those shouts.¹¹ Next to Drona's son proceeded king Duryodhana with the whole army, surrounded by his uterine brothers.¹² Behind Duryodhana proceeded Kripa the son of Caradwat. It was thus that that mighty array, resembling the very ocean, advanced (to battle).¹³ And standards and white umbrellas, O lord, and beautiful bracelets and costly bows shed their effulgence there.¹⁴ And beholding that mighty array of thy forces, that great car-warrior Yudhishtira, speedily addressing the generalissimo (of his forces), viz., Prishata's son, saying,¹⁵—Behold, O great bowman, that array, already formed, resembling the ocean! Do thou also, O son of Prishata, form without delay thy counter-array!¹⁶—(Thus addressed), the heroic son of Prishata, O great king, formed that terrible array called *Çringātaka* that is destructive of all hostile arrays.¹⁷ At the horns were Bhishmasena and that mighty car-warrior, viz., Sātyaki, with many thousands of cars as also of horse and infantry.¹⁸ Next to them was that foremost of men, (viz., Arjuna) of white steeds and having Krishna for his charioteer.* In the centre were king Yudhishtira and the (twin) sons of Pāndu by Mādri.¹⁹ Other royal bowmen, conversant with the science of arrays, with their troops, filled up that array.²⁰ In the rear were ordered Abhimanyu, and that mighty car-warrior, Virāta, and the sons of Draupadi and the *Rākshasa* Ghatotkacha.²¹ Thus, O Bhārata, having formed their mighty array, the heroic Pāndavas waited on the field, longing for battle and desirous

* *Krishna-sārathis* (Bombay); the Bengal reading is *Vānaradhvajās*.

of victory.²⁸ And the loud noise of drums mingling with the blare of conchs and the leonine roars and shouts (of the combatants) and the slapping of their armpits, became terrible and filled all the points of the compass.²⁹ Then those brave warriors, approaching one another for battle, looked at one another, O king, with winkless eyes.³⁰ Then, O ruler of men, the warriors, first challenging each other by name, engaged with each other.³¹ Then commenced a fierce and terrible battle between thy troops and those of the foe striking one another.³² And in that battle, O Bhārata, whetted shafts fell in showers like terrible snakes with mouths wide open.³³ And polished darts of impetuous force, washed with oil, fell, O king, like the effulgent flashes of lightning from the clouds.³⁴ And maces decked with gold and attached to bright slings, were seen to fall all over the field, resembling beautiful crests of hills.³⁵ And sabres of the color of the clear (blue) sky, O Bhārata, and shields of bulls' hides and decked with a hundred moons, as they fell everywhere over the field, O king, looked beautiful. And as the two armies, O king, were engaged in battle with each other,³⁶⁻³⁷ they looked resplendent like the celestial and the demoniac hosts battling with each other. All around they rushed against one another in battle.³⁸ Foremost of royal car-warriors, impetuously dashing against car-warriors in that dreadful battle, fought on, with the yokes of their cars entangled with those their-adversaries.³⁹ And, O bull of Bharata's race, all over the field flashes of fire mixed with smoke were generated, in consequence of friction, in the tusks of battling elephants.⁴⁰ And combatants on the backs of elephants, struck with lances, were seen all around to fall down like blocks (loosened) from crests of hills.⁴¹ And brave foot-soldiers, battling with their bare arms or with lances, and striking one another, looked exceedingly beautiful.⁴² And

* The true reading, I think, is that of the Bombay text, *vis.*, *nāma-bhis*. The Bengal reading is *manobhis*. How can persons challenge each other mentally, although they may single out their antagonists so?—T.

† *Nagās*, which may mean both stones and trees. In either case, the comparison would apply.—T.

the warriors of the Kaurava and the Pāndava hosts, coming upon one another in that conflict, despatched one another with diverse kinds of shafts to the abode of Yama.³⁷ Then Bhishma the son of Cāntanu, filling (the air) with the rattle of his car, and depriving the foe of his senses by the twang of his bow, rushed against the Pāndavas in battle.³⁸ The car-warriors of the Pāndavas, too, headed by Dhrishtadyumna, uttering fierce shouts, rushed at him, firmly resolved on fight.³⁹ Then commenced, O Bhārata, a battle between the infantry, car-warriors, and elephants, of theirs and thine, in which the combatants became all entangled with one another."⁴⁰

SECTION LXXXIX.

"Sanjaya said,—“The Pāndavas were incapable of even looking at Bhishma excited with rage in battle and scorching every side like the Sun himself shedding scorching heat.¹ Then all the (Pāndava) troops, at the command of Dharma's son, rushed at the son of Gangā who was grinding (everything) with his whetted arrows.² Bhishma, however, who delighted in battle, felled the mightiest of bowmen among the Srinjayas and the Pāñchālas, with his shafts.³ Though thus slaughtered by Bhishma, the Pāñchālas along with the Somakas still rushed impetuously at him, forsaking the fear of death.⁴ The heroic Bhishma the son of Cāntanu, however, in that battle, cut off, O king, the arms and heads of their car-warriors.⁵ Thy sire Devavrata deprived their car-warriors of cars. And the heads of cavalry soldiers on their chargers fell fast.⁶ And we beheld, O king, huge elephants, looking like hills, deprived of their riders, and paralysed with Bhishma's weapons, lying all around.⁷ Amongst the Pāndavas, O king, there was no other man save that foremost of car-warriors, the mighty Bhimasena, (who could resist Bhishma).⁸ Indeed, Bhima alone, approaching Bhishma, encountered him in battle. Then in that encounter between Bhima and Bhishma, a fierce and terrible uproar arose among all the troops (of the *Kauravas*). The Pāndavas then, filled with joy, uttered lionine shouts."⁹⁻¹⁰ During that destructive carnage, king Duryodhana,

surrounded by his uterine brothers, protected Bhishma in that battle.¹¹ Then that foremost of car-warriors, *viz.*, Bhima, slew Bhishma's charioteer. Thereupon the steeds no longer controlled, ran away from the field with the car.¹² Then that slayer of foes, *viz.*, Bhima, with a sharp arrow having a horse-shoe head, cut off the head of Sunābha. (Thus) slain, the latter fell down on the earth.¹³ When that son of thine, that mighty car-warrior and great bowman was slain, seven of his heroic brothers, O sire, could not (quietly) bear (that act).¹⁴ (These, *viz.*) Ādityaketu and Vahvāçin, and Kundadhāra and Mahodara, and Aparājita, and Pānditaka and the invincible Viçālāksha,¹⁵ clad in variegated armour and with their beautiful coats of mail and weapons,—these grinders of foes desirous of battle,—rushed against the son of Pāndu.¹⁶ And Mahodara, in that battle, pierced Bhimasena with nine winged arrows, each resembling the thunder-bolt in force, like the slayer of Vritra striking (the great *Asura*) Namuchi.¹⁷ And Ādityaketu struck him with seventy shafts, and Vahvāçin with five. And Kundadhāra struck him with ninety shafts, and Viçālāksha with seven.¹⁸ And that conqueror of foes, the mighty car-warrior Aparājita, O king, struck Bhimasena of great strength with many arrows.¹⁹ And Pānditaka also, in that battle, pierced him with three arrows. Bhima, however, did not (quietly) bear these attacks of his foes in battle.²⁰ Forcibly grasping the bow with his left hand, that grinder of foes cut off, in that battle, the head, with a straight shaft,²¹ of thy son Aparājita, graced with a fine nose. Thus vanquished by Bhima, his head then dropped on the ground.²² Then, in the very sight of all the troops, Bhima despatched, with another broad-headed arrow, the mighty car-warrior Kundadhāra to the domain of Death.²³ Then that hero of immeasurable soul, once more aiming an arrow, sped it, O Bhārata, at Pānditaka in that battle.²⁴ And that arrow, killing Pānditaka, entered the earth, like a snake impelled by Death quickly entering the earth after despatching the person (whose hour had come).²⁵ Of undepressed soul, that hero then, O king, recollecting his former woes, felled Viçālāksha's head, cutting it off with three arrows.²⁶ Then Bhima, in that

battle; struck the mighty bowman Mahodara in the centre of the chest with a long shaft. Slain (therewith), O king, the latter fell down on the earth.²⁷ Then, O Bhārata, cutting off with an arrow the umbrella of Ādityaketu in that battle, he severed his head with another broad-headed shaft of exceeding sharpness.²⁸ Then, O monarch, excited with rage, Bhima, with another straight shaft, despatched Vahvāçin towards the abode of Yama.²⁹ Then thy other sons, O king, all fled away, regarding the words to be true which Bhima had uttered in the (midst of the Kaurava) assembly.³⁰ Then king Duryodhana, afflicted with sorrow on account of his brothers, addressed all his troops, saying,—*There is Bhima! Let him be slain!*³¹—Thus, O king, thy sons, those mighty bowmen, beholding their brothers slain, recollected those words,³² beneficial and peaceful, that Vidura of great wisdom had spoken. Indeed, these words of the truthful Vidura are now being realised,³³—these beneficial words, O king, which, influenced by covetousness and folly as also by affection for thy sons, thou couldst not then understand!³⁴ From the way in which that mighty-armed hero is slaying the Kauravas, it seemeth that that mighty son of Pāndu hath assuredly taken his birth for the destruction of thy sons!³⁵ Meanwhile, king Duryodhana, O sire, overwhelmed with great grief, went to Bhishma, and there, overcome with sorrow, he began to lament,³⁶ saying,—My heroic brothers have been slain in battle by Bhimasena! Although, again, all our troops are fighting bravely, yet they also are falling!³⁷ Thou seemest to disregard us, behaving (as thou dost) like an indifferent spectator! Alas, what course have I taken! Behold my evil destiny!—³⁸

“Sanjaya continued,—Hearing these cruel words of Duryodhana, thy sire Devavrata, with eyes filled with tears, said this unto him:†³⁹—Even this was said by me before, as also by Drona, and Vidura, and the renowned Gāndhāri! O

* His pledge, viz., that in battle he would slay all the sons of Dhritarāshtra.—T.

† The Bengal reading is *tatas krুদ্ধas*. The Bombay reading is *vachas kruram*. I adopt the latter.—T.

son, thou didst not then comprehend it!⁴⁰ O grinder of foes, it hath also been before settled by me that neither myself, nor Drona, will ever escape with life from this battle!⁴¹ I tell thee truly that those upon whom Bhima will cast his eyes in battle, he will surely slay!⁴² Therefore, O king, summoning all thy patience, and firmly resolved on battle, fight with the sons of Prithā, making heaven thy goal!⁴³ As regards the Pāndavas, they are incapable of being vanquished by the very gods with Vāsava (at their head). Therefore, setting thy heart firmly on battle, fight, O Bhārata!—⁴⁴

SECTION XC.

“Dhritarāshtra said,—‘Beholding my sons, so many in number, O Sanjaya, slain by a single person, what did Bhishma and Drona and Kripa do in battle?’¹ Day after day, O Sanjaya, my sons are being slain. I think, O *Suta*, that they are completely overtaken by evil destiny,² inasmuch as my sons never conquer but are always vanquished! When my sons staying in the midst of those unretreating heroes, *viz.*, Drona and Bhishma, and the high-souled Kripa, and Somadatta’s heroic son and Bhagadatta, and Aṣwatthāman also, O son, and other brave warriors, are still slain in battle, what can it be save the result of fate?³ The wicked Duryodhana did not comprehend (our) words before, though admonished by me, O son, and by Bhishma and Vidura!⁴ (Though forbidden) always by Gāndhāri, too, from motives of doing him good, Duryodhana of wicked understanding awoke not before from folly! That (conduct) hath now borne fruit,⁵ inasmuch as Bhimasena, excited with wrath, despatcheth, day after day in battle, my insensate sons to the abode of Yama!⁶

* The last word of this verse in the Bengal texts is *Sanjaya*; in the Bombay text, it is *Samyuge*. The latter seems to be the true reading, for after *Sanjaya* in the first line, its repetition in the second is useless.—T.

† The last word of the 4th verse is *anivartinām*. In the Bengal texts it is *sumahātmanām*.—T.

‡ The last word of the first line of 8 is *Vichetasas* and not (as in the Bengal texts, including the Burdwan edition) *Viçeshatas* which would scarcely have any meaning.—T.

Sanjaya said,—“Those excellent words of Vidura, uttered for thy good, but which thou didst not then understand, have now come to be realised!¹⁰ Vidura had said,—*Restrain thy sons from the dice!*—Like a man whose hour is come refusing the proper medicine, thou didst not then listen to the words of well-wishing friends counselling thee (for thy good)! Those words uttered by the righteous have now been realised before thee!¹⁰⁻¹¹ Indeed, the Kauravas are now being destroyed for having rejected those words, deserving of acceptance, of Vidura and Dróna and Bhishma and thy other well-wishers!¹² These very consequences happened even then when thou declinedst to listen to those counsels! Hear now, however, to my narration of the battle exactly as it has happened.¹³ At midday the battle became exceedingly awful and fraught with great carnage. Listen to me, O king, as I describe it.¹⁴ Then all the troops (of the Pándava army), excited with rage, rushed, at the command of Dharma’s son, against Bhishma alone from desire of slaying him.¹⁵ Dhrishtadyumna and Cikhandin, and the mighty car-warrior Sátyaki, accompanied, O king, by their forces, proceeded against Bhishma alone.¹⁶ And those mighty car-warriors, viz., Viráta and Drupada, with all the Somakas, rushed in battle against Bhishma alone.¹⁷ And the Kaikeyas, and Dhrishtaketu, and Kuntibhoja, equipt in mail and supported by their forces, rushed, O king, against Bhishma alone.¹⁸ And Arjuna, and the sons of Draupadi, and Chekitána of great prowess, proceeded against all the kings under the command of Duryodhana.¹⁹ And the heroic Abhimanyu, and that mighty car-warrior, viz., the son of Hidimvā, and Bbimasena excited with wrath, rushed against the (other) Kauravas.²⁰ (Thus) the Pándavas; divided into three bodies, began to slaughter the Kauravas. And similarly the Kauravas also, O king, began to slaughter their foes.²¹ That foremost of car-

* I have expanded the first line of 13, as a closely literal version would scarcely be intelligible to the general reader. The sense is that the evil consequences, that have now overtaken thee, arose even then when the beneficial counsels of Vidura were first rejected.—T.

+ The B́engál reading *Dvidhābhutais* is incorrect. It should be, as in the Bombay text, *tridhābhutais*.—T.

warriors, *viz.*, Drona, excited with wrath, rushed against the Somakas and the Srinjayas, desirous of sending them to the abode of Yama.²³ Thereupon loud cries of woe arose among the brave Srinjayas while they were being slaughtered, O king, by Bharadwāja's son bow in hand.²⁴ Large numbers of Kshatriyas, struck down by Drona, were seen to roll convulsively like persons writhing in the agony of disease.²⁵ All over the field were continuously heard moans and shrieks and groans resembling those of persons afflicted with hunger.²⁶ And so the mighty Bhimasena, excited with wrath, and like unto a second Yama, caused a terrible carnage amongst the Kaurava troops.²⁷ There in that dreadful battle, in consequence of the warriors slaying one another, a terrible river began to flow whose billowy current consisted of blood.²⁸ And that battle, O king, between the Kurus and the Pāndavas, becoming fierce and awful, began to swell the population of Yama's kingdom.²⁹ Then in that battle, Bhima, excited with wrath, fell with great impetuosity upon the elephant divisions (of the Kauravas) and began to send many to the regions of Death.³⁰ Then, O Bhārata, struck with Bhima's shafts, some of those beasts fell down, some were paralysed, some shrieked (in pain), and some ran away in all directions.³¹ Huge elephants, their trunks cut off and limbs mangled, screaming like cranes, began, O king, to fall down on the earth.³² Nakula and Sahadeva fell upon the (Kaurava) cavalry. Many steeds with garlands of gold on their heads and with their necks and breasts adorned with ornaments of gold,³³ were seen to be slain in hundreds and thousands. The earth, O king, was strewn with fallen steeds.³⁴ And some were deprived of their tongues; and some breathed hard; and some uttered low moans, and some were void of life. The earth looked beautiful, O chief of men, with those steeds of such diverse kinds.³⁵ At the same time, O Bhārata, she looked fiercely resplendent, O monarch, with a large number of kings slain by Arjuna in that battle.³⁶ And strewn with broken cars and rent ban-

* In the Bengal texts, *tava* in the first line is incorrect. It should be *tatra* (Bombay).—T.

ners and brilliant umbrellas, with torn *chāmaras* and fans, and mighty weapons broken into fragments,⁸⁶ with garlands and necklaces of gold, with bracelets, with heads decked with earrings, with head-gears loosened (from off heads), with standards,⁸⁷ with beautiful bottoms of cars, O king, and with traces and reins, the earth shone as brightly as she does in spring when strewn with flowers.⁸⁸ And it was thus, O Bhārata, that the Pāndava host suffered destruction when Bhishma the son of Cāntanu, and Drona that foremost of car-warriors, and Aṣwatthāman, and Kripa, and Kritavarman, were inflamed with wrath. And similarly thy army also suffered the same kind of destruction when the other side, *viz.*, the Pāndava heroes, were excited with rage.’ ”⁸⁹⁻⁹⁰

SECTION XCI.

“Sanjaya said,—‘During the progress, O king, of that fierce battle fraught with the slaughter of great heroes, Cakuni the glorious son of Suvala, rushed against the Pāndavas,¹ And so also, O monarch, Hridikā’s son of the Sātawata race, that slayer of hostile heroes, rushed in that battle against the Pāndava ranks.² And smiling the while, (several warriors on thy side), with a large number of steeds consisting of the best of the Kāmvoja breed as also of those born in the country of the Rivers, and of those belonging to Āratta and Mahi and Sindhu, and of those of Vānāyu also that were white in hue, and lastly of those of hilly countries, surrounded (the Pāndava army).³⁻⁴ And so also with other horses, exceedingly swift, fleet as the very winds, and belonging to the *Tittiri* breed, (others encompassed that army). And with many horses, clad in mail and decked with gold,⁵ the foremost of their class and fleet as the winds, the mighty son of Arjuna (*viz.*, Irāvāt), that slayer of foes, approached the (Kaurava) force.⁶ This hand-

* These verses are incomplete. I am obliged to make the parenthetical interpolations to make the sense clear. Steeds that are described as *Nadijas* would literally mean “those born in rivers.” What that means I cannot guess. Probably, the Punjab, or some other country watered by many rivers was meant.—T.

some and valiant son of Arjuna, named Irāvāt, was begotten upon the daughter of the king of the Nāgas by the intelligent Pārtha.⁷ Her husband having been slain by Garuda, she became helpless, and of cheerless soul. Childless as she was, she was bestowed (upon Arjuna) by the high-souled Airāvāt.⁸ Pārtha accepted her for wife, coming to him as she did under the influence of desire. It was thus that that son of Arjuna was begotten upon the wife of another.⁹ Abandoned by his wicked uncle from hatred of Pārtha, he grew up in the region of the Nāgas, protected by his mother.¹⁰ And he was handsome, and endued with great strength, possessed of diverse accomplishments, and of prowess incapable of being baffled. Hearing that Arjuna had gone to the region of Indra, he speedily went thither.¹¹ And the mighty-armed Irāvāt, possessed of prowess incapable of being baffled, approaching his sire, saluted him duly, standing before him with joined hands.¹² And he introduced himself to the high-souled Arjuna, saying,—I am Irāvāt, blessed be thou, and I am thy son, O lord!¹³—And he reminded Arjuna of all the circumstances connected with the latter's meeting with his mother. And thereupon the son of Pāndu recollected all those circumstances exactly as they had happened.¹⁴ Embracing his son then who resembled himself in accomplishments, Pārtha, in Indra's abode, was filled with joy.¹⁵ The mighty-armed Irāvāt then, O king, in the celestial regions, was, O Bhārata, joyfully commanded by Arjuna, with regard to his own business, (in these words) :¹⁶—When the battle takes place, assistance should be rendered by thee!—Saying *Yes*, O lord, he went away. And now at the time of battle he presented himself,¹⁷ O king, accompanied with a large number of steeds of great fleetness and beautiful color. And those steeds, decked with ornaments of gold, of various colors and exceeding fleetness,¹⁸ suddenly coursed over the field, O king, like swans on the bosom of the vasty deep. And those steeds, falling upon thine of exceeding swiftness,¹⁹ struck their chests and noses against those of thine.

* Literally, "in soil belonging to another." The original is *para-kshetre*.—T.

Affected by their own impetuous clash (against thine), they suddenly fell down, O king, on the earth.³⁰ And in consequence of the falling of those steeds as also of thine occasioned by that clash, loud sounds were heard resembling what occurs at Garuda's swoop.³¹ And the riders of those steeds, O king, thus dashing against one another in that battle, began to slay one another fiercely.³² And during that general engagement which was fierce and terrible, the chargers of both sides (escaping from press of battle) ran wildly away over the field.³³ Weakened by one another's shafts, brave warriors, with their horses killed under them, and themselves worn out with exertion, perished fast, sabring one another.³⁴ Then when those cavalry divisions were thinned and a remnant only survived, the younger brothers of Suvala's son, possessed of great wisdom, rode out, O Bhārata, (from the Kaurava array) to the van of battle,³⁵ mounted on excellent chargers that resembled the tempest itself in both fleetness and the violence of their dash and that were well-trained and neither old nor young.³⁶ These six brothers endued with great strength, viz., Gaya, Gavāksha, Vrishava, Charmavat, Ārjava, and Cuka, dashed out of the mighty (Kaurava) array,³⁷ supported by Cakuni and by their respective forces of great valour, themselves clad in mail, skilled in battle, fierce in mien, and possessed of exceeding might.³⁸ Breaking through that invincible cavalry division (of the Pāndavas), O thou of mighty arms, those Gāndhāra warriors who could with difficulty be vanquished, supported by a large force, desirous of heaven, longing for victory, and filled with delight, penetrated into it. Beholding them filled with joy, the valiant Irāvāt,³⁹⁻⁴⁰ addressing his own warriors decked with diverse ornaments and weapons, said unto them,—Adopt such contrivances in consequence of which these Dhārtarāshtra warriors with their weapons and animals may all be destroyed!—

* *Vāyuvēga-samasparcān*, literally, "the contact (of whose dash or collision) resembles that of the wind in force." The meaning, therefore, is that these chargers dashed against hostile divisions with the fury of the tempest.—T.

Saying—Yes—all those warriors of Irāvāt³¹⁻³³ slew that Dhār-tarāshtra division invincible by foes in battle. Beholding that division of theirs overthrown in battle by Irāvāt's division,³⁴ those sons of Suvala, unable to bear it coolly, all rushed at Irāvāt and surrounded him on all sides.³⁴ And commanding (all their followers) to attack those of Irāvāt with lances, these heroes swept over the field, creating a great confusion.³⁵ And Irāvāt, pierced with lances by those high-souled warriors, and bathed in blood that trickled down (his wounds), looked like an elephant pierced with the hook.³⁶ Wounded deeply on the chest, back, and flanks, singly encountering the many, he did not yet, O king, swerve from his (natural) firmness.³⁷ Instead, Irāvāt, excited with rage, deprived all those adversaries of their senses, piercing them, in that battle, with sharp shafts.³⁸ And that chastiser of foes, tearing those lances from off his body, struck with them the sons of Suvala in battle.³⁹ Then un-sheathing his polished sword and taking a shield, he rushed on foot, desirous of slaying Suvala's sons in that combat.⁴⁰ The sons of Suvala, however, recovering their senses, once more rushed at Irāvāt, excited with wrath.⁴¹ Irāvāt, however, proud of his might, and displaying his lightness of hand, proceeded towards all of them, armed with his sword.⁴² Moving as he did with great activity, the sons of Suvala, although they moved about on their fleet steeds, could not find an opportunity for striking that hero (on foot).⁴³ Beholding him then on foot, his foes surrounded him closely and wished to take him captive.⁴⁴ Then that crusher of foes, seeing them contiguous to himself, struck off, with his sword, both their right and left arms, and mangled their other limbs.⁴⁵ Then those arms of theirs adorned with gold, and their weapons, fell down on the earth, and they themselves, with limbs mangled, fell down on the field, deprived of life.⁴⁶ Only Vrishava, O king, with many wounds on his person, escaped (with life) from that dreadful battle destructive of heroes.⁴⁷ Beholding them lying on the field of battle, thy son Duryodhana, excited with wrath, said unto that *Rākshas* of terrible mien,⁴⁸ viz., Rishyaçringa's

* This verse is read variously.—T.

son (Alamvusha), that great bowman versed in illusion, that chastiser of foes, who cherished feelings of animosity against Bhimasena in consequence of the latter's well-known slaughter of Vaka,⁴⁹ these words:—Behold, O hero, how this mighty son of Phālguna, versed in illusion, hath done me a severe injury by destroying my forces!⁵⁰ Thou also, O sire, art capable of going everywhere at will and accomplished in all weapons of illusion. Thou cherishest animosity also for Pārtha. Therefore, do thou slay this one in battle!⁵¹—Saying—*Yes*—that *Rākshasa* of terrible mien proceeded with a leonine roar to that spot where the mighty and youthful son of Arjuna was.⁵² And he was supported by the heroic warriors of his own division, accomplished in smiting, well-mounted, skilled in battle, and fighting with bright lances.⁵³ Accompanied by the remnant of that excellent cavalry division (of the Kauravas), he proceeded, desirous of slaying in battle the mighty Irāvāt.⁵⁴ That slayer of foes, *viz.*, the valiant Irāvāt, excited with rage, and advancing speedily from desire of slaying the *Rākshasa*, began to resist him.⁵⁵ Beholding him advance, the mighty *Rākshasa* speedily set himself about for displaying his powers of illusion.⁵⁶ The *Rākshasa* then created a number of illusive chargers which were ridden by terrible *Rākshasas* armed with spears and axes.⁵⁷ Those two thousand accomplished smiters advancing with rage were, however, soon sent to the regions of Yama, (falling in the encounter with Irāvāt's forces).⁵⁸ And when the forces of both perished, both of them, invincible in battle, encountered each other like Vritra and Vāsava.⁵⁹ Beholding the *Rākshasa*, who was difficult of being vanquished in battle, advance towards him, the mighty Irāvāt, excited with rage, began to check his onset.⁶⁰ And when the *Rākshasa* approached him nearer, Irāvāt with his sword quickly cut off his bow, as also each of his shafts into five fragments.⁶¹ Seeing his bow cut off, the *Rākshasa* speedily rose up into the welkin, confounding with his illusion the enraged Irāvāt.⁶² Then Irāvāt also, difficult of approach, capable of assuming any form at will, and having a knowledge of what are the vital limbs of the body, rising up into the welkin, and confounding with his

illusion the *Rākshasa*, began to cut off all the latter's limbs in that battle. And thus was that prince of *Rakshasas* repeatedly cut into pieces.*⁶⁸⁻⁶⁴ The *Rākshasa*, however, O king, was reborn, assuming a youthful form. Illusion is natural with them, and their age and form are both dependent on their will.⁶⁵ And the limbs of that *Rākshasa*, O king, cut into pieces, presented a beautiful sight. Irāvāt, excited with rage, repeatedly cut that mighty *Rākshasa* with his sharp axe. The brave *Rākshasa*, thus cut into pieces like a tree by the mighty Irāvāt,⁶⁶⁻⁶⁷ roared fiercely. And those roars of his became deafening. Mangled with the axe, the *Rākshasa* began to pour forth blood in torrents.⁶⁸ Then (Alamvusha) the mighty son of Rishyaçringa, beholding his foe blazing forth with energy, became infuriate with rage and himself put forth his prowess in that combat.⁶⁹ Assuming a prodigious and fierce form, he endeavoured to seize the heroic son of Arjuna, viz., the renowned Irāvāt.⁷⁰ In the sight of all the combatants there present, beholding that illusion of the wicked *Rākshasa* in the van of battle,⁷¹ Irāvāt became inflamed with rage and adopted steps for himself having recourse to illusion. And when that hero, never retreating from battle, became inflamed with wrath,⁷² a *Nāga* related to him by his mother's side, came to him. Surrounded on all sides, in that battle, by *Nāgas*; that *Nāga*, O king,⁷³ assumed a huge form mighty as *Ananta* himself. With diverse kinds of *Nāgas* then he covered the *Rākshasa*.⁷⁴ While being covered by those *Nāgas*, that bull among *Rākshasas* reflected for a moment, and then assuming the form of Garuda, he devoured those snakes.⁷⁵ When that *Nāga* of his mother's line was devoured through illusion, Irāvāt became confounded. And while in that state, the *Rākshasa* slew him with his sword.⁷⁶ Alamvusha felled on the earth Irāvāt's head decked with ear-rings and graced with a diadem and looking beautiful like a lotus or the moon.⁷⁷

“When the heroic son of Arjuna was thus slain by the *Rākshasa*, the Dhārtarāshtra host with all the kings (in it) were

* In the first line of 64, the true reading is *Sarvamarmajna* and not, *Sarvadharmajna*.—T.

freed from grief.⁷⁸ In that great battle that was so fierce, awful was the carnage that occurred among both the hosts.⁷⁹ Horses and elephants and foot-soldiers, entangled with one another, were slain by tuskers. And car-steeds and tuskers were slain by foot-soldiers.⁸⁰ And in that general engagement bodies of foot-soldiers and cars, and large numbers of horse, belonging both to thy army and theirs, were slain, O king, by car-warriors.⁸¹ Meanwhile, Arjuna, not knowing that the son of his loins had been slaughtered, slew in that battle many kings who had been protecting Bhishma.⁸² And the warriors, O king, of thy army and the Srinjayas, by thousands, poured out their lives as libations (on the fire of battle), striking one another.⁸³ And many car-warriors, with dishevelled hair, and with swords and bows fallen from their grasp, fought with their bare arms, encountering one another.⁸⁴ The mighty Bhishma also, with shafts capable of penetrating into the very vitals, slew many mighty car-warriors and caused the Pāndava army to tremble (the while).⁸⁵ By him were slain many combatants in Yudhishtira's host, and many tuskers and cavalry-soldiers and car-warriors and steeds.⁸⁶ Beholding, O Bhārata, the prowess of Bhishma in that battle, it seemed to us that it was equal to that of Cakra himself.⁸⁷ And the prowess of Bhimasena, as also that of Pārshata, was hardly less, O Bhārata, (than that of Bhisma). And so also the battle fought by that great bowman (*viś.*, Sātyaki) of Satwata's race, was equally fierce.⁸⁸ Beholding, however, the prowess of Drona, the Pāndavas were struck with fear. Indeed, they thought that—*Alone, Drona can slay us with all our troops!*⁸⁹ *What then should be said of him when he is surrounded by a large body of warriors who for their bravery are renowned over the world?*—Ever this, O king, was what the Pārthas said, afflicted by Drona.⁹⁰ During the progress of that fierce battle, O bull of Bharata's race, the brave combatants of neither army forgave their adversaries of the other.⁹¹ O sire, the mighty bowmen of both thy army and that of the Pānda-

* The second line of 87 is omitted in some of the Bengal texts.—T.

† The Bombay reading of the second line of 88 is vicious.—T

vas, inflamed with wrath, fought furiously with one another, as if they were all possessed by *Rākshasas* and demons.*²² Indeed, we did not see any one in that battle which was so destructive of heroes and which was like unto a battle of the demons, to take care of his life.' "²³

SECTION XCII.

"Dhritarāshtra said,—'Tell me, O Sanjaya, all that the mighty Pārthas did in battle when thy heard that Irāvāt had been slain.'¹

"Sanjaya said,—'Beholding Irāvāt slain in battle; the *Rākshasa* Ghatotkacha, the son of Bhimasena, uttered loud shouts.² And in consequence of the loudness of those roars, the earth having the ocean for her robes, along with her mountains and forests, began to tremble violently.³ And the welkin also, and the quarters both cardinal and subsidiary, all trembled. And hearing those loud roars of his, O Bhārata, the thighs and other limbs of the troops began to tremble, and sweat also appeared on their persons. And all thy combatants, O king, became cheerless of heart.⁴⁻⁵ And all over the field the warriors stood still, like elephants afeared of the lion. And the *Rākshasa*, uttering those loud roars resembling the rattle of thunder,⁶ assuming a terrible form, and with a blazing spear upraised in hand, and surrounded by many bulls among *Rakshasas* of fierce forms armed with diverse weapons,⁷ advanced, excited with rage and resembling the Destroyer himself at the end of the *Yuga*. Beholding him advance in wrath and with a terrible countenance,⁸ and seeing also his own troops almost all running away from fear of that *Rākshasa*, king Duryodhana rushed against Ghatotkacha,⁹ taking up his bow with arrow fixed on the string, and repeatedly roaring like a lion. Behind him proceeded the ruler of the Vangas, with ten thousand elephants, huge as hills, and each with juice trickling down. Beholding thy son, O king, (thus) advancing,

* The Bombay reading *Rakshabhutā* is incorrect. The instrumental plural is the correct reading.—T.

surrounded by that elephant division, that ranger of the night (*viz.*, Ghatotkacha) became inflamed with wrath. Then commenced a battle that was fierce and that made the hair to stand on end,¹⁰⁻¹² between that *Rākshasa* force, O king, and the troops of Duryodhana. And beholding also that elephant division risen (on the horizon) like a cloud,¹³ the *Rākshasas*, inflamed with rage, rushed towards it, weapons in hand, and uttering diverse roars like clouds charged with lightning.¹⁴ With arrows and darts and swords and long shafts, as also with spears and mallets and battle-axes and short arrows, they began to smite down that elephant host.¹⁵ And they slew huge elephants with mountain summits and large trees. While the *Rākshasas* slew those elephants, O king, we saw that some of them had their frontal globes smashed, some were bathed in blood, and some had their limbs broken or cut through. At last when that elephant host was broken and thinned,¹⁶⁻¹⁷ Duryodhana, O king, rushed upon the *Rākshasas*; under the influence of rage and becoming reckless of his very life.¹⁸ And that mighty warrior sped clouds of sharp shafts at the *Rākshasas*. And that great bowman slew many of their foremost warriors.¹⁹ Inflamed with rage, O chief of the Bharatas, that mighty car-warrior, *viz.*, thy son Duryodhana, then slew with four shafts four of the principal *Rākshasas*, *viz.*, Vegavat, Mahāraudra, Viduyjjihva, and Pramāthin. And once again, O chief of the Bharatas, that warrior of immeasurable soul, sped at the *Rākshasa* host showers of arrows that could with difficulty be resisted. Beholding that great feat of thy son, O sire,²⁰⁻²² the mighty son of Bhimasena blazed up with wrath. Drawing his large bow effulgent as the lightning,²³ he rushed impetuously at the wrathful Duryodhana. Beholding him (thus) rushing like Death himself commissioned by the Destroyer,²⁴ thy son Duryodhana, O king, shook not at all. With eyes red in anger, and excited with rage, Ghatotkacha then, addressing thy son, said,²⁵—I shall today be freed from the debt I owe to my sires as also to my mother, they that had so long been exiled by thy cruel self!²⁶ The sons of Pāndu, O king, were vanquished by thee in that match at dice. Drupada's daughter Krishnā

also, while ill and, therefore, clad in a single raiment,³⁷ was brought before the assembly and persecuted by thee in diverse ways, O thou of wicked understanding! While dwelling also in her sylvan retreat, thy well-wisher, that wicked wight, viz., the ruler of the Sindhus, persecuted her further, disregarding my sires! For these and other wrongs, O wretch of thy race,³⁸⁻³⁹ I shall today take vengeance if thou dost not quit the field!—Having said these words, Hidimvā's son, drawing his gigantic bow,³⁹ biting his (nether) lip with his teeth, and licking the corners of his mouth, covered Duryodhana with a profuse shower of arrows, like a mass of clouds covering the mountain-breast with torrents of rain in the rainy season.'⁴⁰⁻⁴¹

SECTION XCIII.

“Sanjaya said,—‘That arrowy shower, difficult of being borne by even the *Dānavas*, king Duryodbana, however, (quietly) bore in that battle, like a gigantic elephant bearing a shower (from the blue).†¹ Then filled with anger, and sighing like a snake, thy son, O bull of Bharata's race, was placed in a position of great danger.² He then shot five and twenty sharp arrows of keen points. These, O king, fell with great force on that bull among *Rākshasas*,³ like angry snakes of virulent poison on the breast of Gandhamādana. Pierced with those shafts, blood trickled down the *Rākshasa's* body and he looked like an elephant with rent temples.†⁴ Thereupon that cannibal set his heart upon the destruction of the (Kuru) king. And he took up a huge dart that was capable of piercing even a mountain.⁵ Blazing with light, effulgent as a large meteor, it flamed with radiance like the lightning itself. And the mighty-armed Ghatotkacha, desirous of slay-

* The last verse consists of three lines. It ought, however, to be taken as a *śloka* and a half.—T.

† The last word of the second line is variously read. The Bengal reading is *Mahādwijas* probably implying Garuda the prince of birds. I have adopted the Bombay reading.—T.

‡ *I. e.*, with temporal juice trickling down.—T.

ing thy son, raised that dart.⁶ Beholding that dart upraised, the ruler of the Vangas quickly urged an elephant, huge as a hill, towards the *Rākshasa*.⁷ On the field of battle, with that mighty elephant of great speed, Bhagadatta placed himself in the very front of Duryodhana's car.⁸ And with that elephant he completely shrouded the car of thy son. Beholding then the way (to Duryodhana's car) thus covered by the intelligent king of the Vangas,⁹ the eyes of Ghatotkacha, O king, became red in anger. And he hurled that huge dart, before upraised, at that elephant.¹⁰ Struck, O king, with that dart hurled from the arms of Ghatotkacha, that elephant, covered with blood and in great agony, fell down and died.¹¹ The mighty king of the Vangas, however, quickly jumping down from that elephant, alighted on the ground.¹² Duryodhana then, beholding that prince of elephants slain, and seeing also his troops broken and giving way, was filled with anguish.¹³ From regard, however, for a Kshatriya's duty* as also his own pride, the king, though defeated, stood firm like a hill.¹⁴ Filled with wrath and aiming a sharp arrow that resembled the *Yuga* fire in energy, he sped it at that fierce wanderer of the night.¹⁵ Beholding that arrow, blazing as Indra's bolt, thus coursing towards him, the high-souled Ghatotkacha baffled it by the celerity of his movements.¹⁶ With eyes red in wrath, he once more shouted fiercely, frightening all thy troops, like the clouds that appear at the end of the *Yuga*.¹⁷ Hearing those fierce roars of the terrible *Rākshasa*, Bhishma the son of Cāntanu, approaching the preceptor, said these words :¹⁸—These fierce roars that are heard, uttered by the *Rākshasa*, without doubt, indicate that Hidimvā's son is battling with king Duryodhana.¹⁹ That *Rākshasa* is incapable of being vanquished in battle by any creature! Therefore, blessed be ye, proceed ye thither and protect the king!²⁰ The blessed Duryodhana hath been attacked by the high-souled *Rākshasa*. Therefore, ye chastisers of foes, even this is our highest duty!²¹†—Hearing those words of the

* The duty consisted in not retreating from the field.—T.

† I. e., the rescue of the king.—T.

grandsire, those mighty car-warriors, without loss of time and with the utmost speed, proceeded to the spot where the king of the Kurus was.²³ They were Drona and Somadatta, and Vālhika and Jayadratha; and Kripa and Bhuriçravas and Calya, and the two princes of Avanti along with Vrihadvala,²⁴ and Açwatthāman and Vikarna, and Chitrasena and Vivingçati. And many thousands of other car-warriors, including all those that followed them,²⁵ proceeded, desirous of rescuing thy son Duryodhana who had been hotly pressed. Beholding that invincible division protected by those mighty car-warriors, coming towards him with hostile intentions, that best of *Rākshasas*, viz., the mighty-armed Ghatotkacha, stood firm like the Maināka mountain,²⁶⁻²⁶ with a huge bow in hand, and surrounded by his kinsmen armed with clubs and mallets and diverse other kinds of weapons.²⁷ Then commenced a fierce battle, making the hair to stand on end, between those *Rākshasas* on the one side and that foremost of Duryodhana's divisions on the other.²⁸ And the loud noise of twanging bows in that battle was heard, O king, on all sides resembling the noise made by burning bamboos.²⁹ And the din produced by the weapons falling upon the coats of mail of the combatants resembled, O king, the noise of splitting hills.³⁰ And the lances, O monarch, hurled by heroic arms, while coursing through the welkin, looked like darting snakes.³¹ Then, excited with great wrath and drawing his gigantic bow, the mighty-armed prince of the *Rākshasas*, uttering a loud roar,³² cut off, with a crescent shaped arrow, the preceptor's bow in rage. And overthrowing, with another broad-headed arrow, the standard of Somadatta, he uttered a loud yell.³³ And he pierced Vālhika with three shafts in the centre of the chest. And he pierced Kripa with one arrow, and Chitrasena with three.³⁴ And with another arrow, well-aimed and well-spiced from his bow drawn to its fullest stretch, he struck Vikarna at the shoulder-joint.³⁵ Thereupon the latter, covered with gore, sat down on the terrace of his car. Then that *Rākshasa* of immeasurable soul, excited with rage, O bull of Bharata's race, sped at Bhuriçravas five and ten shafts. These, penetrating through the latter's armour, entered the earth.³⁶⁻³⁷

He then struck the charioteers of Vivingçati and Açwatthāman. These fell down on the terraces of their cars, relinquishing the reins of the steeds.³⁸ With another crescent-shaped shaft he overthrew the standard of Jayadratha bearing the device of a boar and decked with gold. And with a second arrow he cut off the latter's bow.³⁹ And with eyes red in wrath, he slew with four shafts the four steeds of the high-souled king of Avanti.⁴⁰ And with another arrow, O king, well-tempered and sharp, and shot from his bow drawn to its fullest stretch, he pierced king Vrihadvala.⁴¹ Deeply pierced and exceedingly pained, the latter sat down on the terrace of his car. Filled with great wrath and seated on his car, the prince of the *Rākshasus*⁴² then shot many bright arrows of keen points that resembled snakes of virulent poison. These, O king, succeeded in piercing Calya accomplished in battle.⁴³

SECTION XCIV.

“Sanjaya said,—‘Having in that battle made all those warriors (of thy army) turn their faces from the field, the *Rākshasa* then, O chief of the Bharatas, rushed at Duryodhana, desirous of slaying him.¹ Beholding him rushing with great impetuosity towards the king, many warriors of thy army, incapable of defeat in battle, rushed towards him (in return) from desire of slaying him.² Those mighty car-warriors, drawing their bows that measured full six cubits long, and uttering loud roars like a herd of lions, all rushed together against that single warrior.³ And surrounding him on all sides, they covered him with their arrowy showers like the clouds covering the mountain-breast with torrents of rain in autumn.⁴ Deeply pierced with those arrows and much pained, he resembled then an elephant pierced with the hook. Quickly then he soared up into the firmament like Garuda.⁵ And (while there) he uttered many loud roars like autumnal clouds, making the welkin, and all the points of the compass, cardinal and subsidiary, resound with those fierce cries.⁶ Hearing those roars of the *Rākshasa*, O chief of the Bharatas, king Yudhishtira then, addressing Bhima, said unto

that chastiser of foes these words :?—The noise that we hear uttered by the fiercely-roaring *Rākshasa*, without doubt, indicates that he is battling with the mighty car-warriors of the Dhārtarāshtra army.³ I see also that the burthen has proved heavier than what that bull among *Rākshasas* is able to bear. The grandsire, too, excited with rage, is ready to slaughter the Pāñchālas.⁹ For protecting them Phālguna is battling with the foe. O thou of mighty arms, hearing now of these two tasks both of which demand prompt attention,¹⁰ go and give succour to Hidimvā's son who is placed in a position of very great danger.—Listening to these words of his brother, Vrikodara, with great speed,¹¹ proceeded, frightening all the kings with his leonine roars, with great impetuosity, O king, like the ocean itself during the full or the new moon.*¹² Him followed Satyadhriti, and Sauchitti difficult of being vanquished in battle, and Crenimat, and Vasudāna, and the powerful son of the ruler of the Kācis,¹³ and many car-warriors headed by Abhimanyu, as also those mighty car-warriors, viz., the sons of Draupadi, and the valiant Kshatradeva, and Kshatradharman,¹⁴ and Nila, the ruler of the low countries, at the head of his own forces. And these surrounded the son of Hidimvā with a large division of cars (for aiding him).†¹⁵ And they advanced to the rescue of Ghatotkacha, that prince of the *Rākshasas*, with six thousand elephants, always infuriate and accomplished in smiting.¹⁶ And with their loud leonine roars, and the clatter of their car-wheels, and with the tread of their horses' hoofs, they made the very earth to tremble.¹⁷ Hearing the din of those advancing warriors, the faces of thy troops who were filled with anxiety in consequence of their fear of Bhimasena became pale.¹⁸ Leaving Ghatotkacha then they all fled away. Then commenced in that part of the field a dreadful battle between those high-souled warriors

* The collocation of such sentences may be easily improved if I were not under an obligation of marking off the different verses. The fact is that in the endeavour to follow the order of the original as far as practicable, the sentences necessarily become a little involved.—T.

† In the second line of 15, the Bengal reading *paravarshena* is incorrect. The Bombay reading *Rathavançena* is what I follow.—T.

and thine,¹⁹ both of whom were unretreating. Mighty car-warriors, hurling diverse kinds of weapons,²⁰ chased and smote one another. That fierce battle, striking terror into the hearts of the timid, was such that the different classes of combatants became entangled with one another.²¹ Horses engaged with elephants, and foot-soldiers with car-warriors. And challenging one another, O king, they engaged in the fight.²² And in consequence of that clash of cars, steeds, elephants, and foot-soldiers, a thick dust appeared, raised by the car-wheels and the tread (of those combatants and animals).²³ And that dust, thick and of the color of reddish smoke, shrouded the field of battle. And the combatants were unable to distinguish their own from the foe.²⁴ Sire recognised not the son, and son recognised not the sire, in that dreadful engagement which made the hair to stand on end and in which no consideration was shown (by any one for any body).²⁵ And the noise made by the hissing weapons and the shouting combatants resembled, O chief of Bharata's race, that made by departed spirits (in the infernal regions).²⁶ And there flowed a river whose current consisted of the blood of elephants and steeds and men. And the hair (of the combatants) formed its weeds and moss.²⁷ And in that battle heads falling from the trunks of men made a loud noise like that of a falling shower of stones.²⁸ And the earth was strewn with the headless trunks of human beings, with mangled bodies of elephants, and with the hacked limbs of steeds.²⁹ And mighty car-warriors chased one another for smiting one another down, and hurled diverse kinds of weapons.³⁰ Steeds, urged by their riders and falling upon steeds, dashed against one another and fell down deprived of life.³¹ And men, with eyes red in wrath, rushing against men and striking one another with their chests, smote one another down.³² And elephants, urged by their guides against hostile elephants, slew their compeers in that battle, with the points of their tusks.³³ Covered with blood in consequence of their wounds and decked with

* The Bengal reading *hayais* in the instrumental plural is incorrect. The Bombay text reads *hayās* (nom. plural). This is correct.—T.

standards (on their backs), elephants got entangled with elephants and looked like masses of clouds charged with lightning.³⁴ And some amongst them mangled (by others) with the points of their tusks, and some with their frontal globes split with lances, ran hither and thither with loud shrieks like masses of roaring clouds.³⁵ And some amongst them with their trunks lopped off,* and others with mangled limbs, dropped down in that dreadful battle like mountains shorn of their wings.†³⁶ Other huge elephants, copiously shedding blood from their flanks ripped open by compeers, looked like mountains with (liquified) red chalk running down their sides (after a shower).‡³⁷ Others, slain with shafts or pierced with lances and deprived of their riders, looked like mountains deprived of their crests.§³⁸ Some amongst them, possessed by wrath and blinded (with fury) in consequence of the juice (trickling down their temples and cheeks)§ and no longer restrained with the hook, crushed cars and steeds and foot-soldiers in that battle by hundreds.³⁹ And so steeds, attacked by horsemen with bearded darts and lances, rushed against their assailants, as if agitating the points of the compass.⁴⁰ Car-warriors of noble parentage and prepared to lay down their lives, encountering car-warriors, fought fearlessly, relying upon their utmost might.⁴¹ The combatants, O king, seeking

* Literally, "divided in twain."—T.

† Mountains, in Hindu mythology, had wings, till they were shorn of these by Indra with his thunder. Only Maināka, the son of Himavat, saved himself by a timely flight. To this day he conceals himself within the ocean.—T.

‡ The Bengal reading of the first line of this verse is vicious. The true reading is *pārṣvavastūdarīṭāiranye*. Both *pārṣva* and *dārīṭa* should be (as here) in the instrumental plural, and *anye* should be in the nom. plural.—T.

§ The Bombay reading of the second line is vicious. The correct reading, as settled by the Burdwan Pundits, is *Haṭārōhā vyadrīṣyanta*. Some texts have *Hayārōhā* which is incorrect.—T.

§ "Blinded ... cheeks." The Sanskrit word is *matlāndha*. Literally rendered, it would be "juice-blind." This can scarcely be intelligible to the general European reader. Hence the long-winded adjectival clause I have used.—T.

glory or heaven, struck one another in that awful press, as if in a marriage by self-choice.⁴⁸ During, however, that dreadful battle making the hair to stand on end, the Dhārtarāshtra troops generally were made to turn their backs on the field.’⁴⁹

SECTION XCV.

“Sanjaya said,—‘Beholding his own troops slain, king Duryodhana then, excited with wrath, rushed towards Bhimasena, that chastiser of foes.’ Taking up a large bow whose effulgence resembled that of Indra’s bolt, he covered the son of Pāndu with a thick shower of arrows.¹ And filled with rage, and aiming a sharp crescent-shaped shaft winged with feathers; he cut off Bhimasena’s bow.² And that mighty car-warrior, noticing an opportunity, quickly aimed at his adversary a whetted shaft capable of riving the very hills.³ With that (shaft), that mighty-armed (warrior) struck Bhimasena in the chest. Deeply pierced with that arrow, and exceedingly pained, and licking the corners of his mouth,⁵ Bhimasena of great energy caught hold of his flag-staff decked with gold. Beholding Bhimasena in that cheerless state, Ghatotkacha blazed up with wrath like an all-consuming conflagration.⁶ Then many mighty car-warriors of the Pāndava army, headed by Abhimanyu and with wrath generated (in their bosoms), rushed at the king, shouting loudly. Beholding them (thus) advancing (to the fight) filled with wrath and in great fury,⁷⁻⁸ Bharadwāja’s son, addressing the mighty car-warriors (of thy side), said these words :—Go quickly, blessed be ye, and protect the king!⁹ Sinking in an ocean of distress, he is placed in a situation of great danger! These mighty car-warriors of the Pāndava army, these great bowmen,¹⁰ placing Bhimasena at their head, are rushing towards Duryodhana, shooting and hurling diverse kinds of weapons, resolved upon (winning) success,¹¹ uttering terrible shouts, and frightening the kings (on our side)!—Hearing these words of the preceptor, many warriors of thy side headed by Somadatta, rushed upon the Pāndava ranks. Kripa and Bhuriçravas and Calya, and Drona’s son and Vivingçati,¹²⁻¹³ and Chitrasena and

Vikarna, and the ruler of the Sindhus, and Vrihadvala, and those two mighty bowmen, *viz.*, the two princes of Avanti, surrounded the Kuru king.¹⁴ Advancing only twenty steps, the Pāudavas and the Dhārtarāshtras began to strike, desirous of slaughtering each other.¹⁵ The mighty-armed son of Bharadwāja also, having said those words (unto the Dhārtarāshtra warriors), stretched his own large bow and pierced Bhima with six and twenty arrows.¹⁶ And once again that mighty car-warrior speedily covered Bhimasena with a shower of arrows like a mass of clouds dropping torrents of rain on the mountain-breast in the rainy season.¹⁷ That mighty bowman Bhimasena, however, of great strength, speedily pierced him in return with ten shafts on the left side.¹⁸ Deeply pierced with those arrows and exceedingly pained, O Bhārata, the preceptor, enfeebled as he is with age, suddenly sat down on the terrace of his car, deprived of consciousness.¹⁹ Beholding him thus pained, king Duryodhana himself, and Aṅwatthāman also, excited with wrāth, both rushed towards Bhimasena.²⁰ Beholding those two warriors advance, each like Yama as he shows himself at the end of the *Yuga*, the mighty-armed Bhimasena, quickly taking up a mace,²¹ and jumping down from his car without loss of time, stood immovable like a hill, with that heavy mace resembling the very club of Yama, upraised in battle.²² Beholding him with mace (thus) upraised and looking (on that account) like the crested Kailāsa, both the Kuru king and Drona's son rushed towards him.²³ Then the mighty Bhimasena himself rushed impetuously at those two foremost of men thus rushing together towards him with great speed.²⁴ Beholding him thus rushing in fury and with a terrible expression of face, many mighty car-warriors of the Kaurava army speedily proceeded towards him.²⁵ Those car-warriors headed by Bharadwāja's son, impelled by the desire of slaughtering Bhimasena, hurled at his breast diverse kinds of weapons,²⁶ and thus all of them together afflicted Bhima from all sides. Beholding that mighty car-warrior thus afflicted and placed in a situation of great peril,²⁷ many mighty car-warriors of the Pāndava army, headed by Abhimanyu, and prepared to lay down dear life

itself, rushed to the spot, desirous of rescuing him.³⁸ The heroic ruler of the low country, the dear friend of Bhima, *viz.*, Nila, looking like a mass of blue clouds, rushed at Drona's son, filled with wrath.³⁹ A great Bowman, Nila always desired an encounter with Drona's son. Drawing his large bow, he pierced the son of Drona with many winged arrows,⁴⁰ like Cakra in days of old, O king, piercing the invincible *Dānava* Viprachitti, that terror of the celestials,⁴¹ who, moved by anger, frightened the three worlds by his energy. Pierced after the same way by Nila with his well-shot arrow winged with feathers,⁴² Drona's son, covered with blood and exceedingly pained, was filled with wrath. Drawing then his large bow, of twang loud as the roar of Indra's thunder,⁴³ that foremost of intelligent persons set his heart upon the destruction of Nila. Aiming then a few bright shafts of broad heads and sharpened by the hands of their forger,⁴⁴ he slew the four steeds of his adversary and overthrew also his standard. And with the seventh shaft he pierced Nila himself in the chest.⁴⁵ Deeply pierced and exceedingly pained, he sat down on the terrace of his car. Beholding king Nila, who looked like a mass of blue clouds, in a swoon,⁴⁶ Ghatotkacha, filled with wrath and surrounded by his kinsmen, rushed impetuously towards Drona's son, that ornament of battle.⁴⁷ Similarly many other *Rākshasas*, incapable of being easily defeated in battle, rushed at Aṅwatthāman. Beholding then that *Rākshasa* of terrible mien coming towards him,⁴⁸ the valiant son of Bhāradwāja impetuously rushed towards him. Filled with wrath he slew many *Rākshasas* of formidable visage,⁴⁹ that is, those wrathful ones amongst them who were in Ghatotkacha's van. Beholding them repulsed from the encounter by means of the shafts shot from the bow of Drona's son,⁵⁰ Bhimasena's son Ghatotkacha of gigantic size was filled with rage. He then exhibited a fierce and awful illusion.⁵¹ Therewith that prince of the *Rākshasas*, endued with extraordinary powers of illusion, confounded the son of Drona in that battle. Then all thy troops, in consequence of that illusion, turned their backs upon the field.⁵² They beheld one another cut down and lying prostrate on the surface of the earth, writhing convul-

sively, perfectly helpless, and bathed in blood.⁴³ And Drona and Duryodhana and Calya and Açwatthāman, and other great bowmen that were regarded as foremost amongst the Kauravas, also seemed to fly away.⁴⁴ All the car-warriors seemed to be crushed, and all the kings seemed to be slain. And horses and horse-riders seemed to be cut down in thousands.⁴⁵ Beholding all this, thy troops fled away towards their tents. And although, O king, both myself and Devayrata cried out at the top of our voices, saying,⁴⁶—Fight, do not fly away! All this is *Rākshasa* illusion in battle, applied by Ghatotkacha!—yet they stopped not, their senses having been confounded.⁴⁷ Although both of us said so, still, struck with panic, they gave no credit to our words. Beholding them fly away, the Pāndavas regarded the victory to be theirs.⁴⁸ With Ghatotkacha (among them) they uttered many leonine shouts. And all around they filled the air with their shouts mingled with the blare of their conchs and the beat of their drums.⁴⁹ It was thus that thy whole army, routed by the wicked Ghatotkacha towards the hour of sunset, fled away in all directions.’⁵⁰

SECTION XCVI.

“Sanjaya said,—‘After that great battle, king Duryodhana, approaching Gangā’s son and saluting him with humility,¹ began to narrate to him all that had happened about the victory won by Ghatotkacha and his own defeat,² That invincible warrior, O king, sighing repeatedly, said these words unto Bhishma the grandsire of the Kurus :³—O lord, relying upon thee as Vāsudeva hath been (relied upon) by the foe, a fierce war hath been commenced by me with the Pāndavas.†⁴ These eleven *Akshauhini*s of celebrated troops that I have, are with myself obedient to thy command, O chastiser of

* This verse is read differently in the Bombay text. The Bengal reading also is defective. I take the latter as it is.—T.

† I endeavour in such verses to follow the construction of the original.—T.

foes !⁸ O tiger among the Bharatas, though thus situated, yet have I been defeated in battle by the Pāndava warriors headed by Bhimasena relying upon Ghatotkacha !⁹ It is this that consumeth my limbs like fire consuming a dry tree ! O blessed one, O chastiser of foes, I, therefore, desire, through thy grace, O grandsire, to myself slay Ghatotkacha, that worst of *Rākshasas*, relying upon thy invincible self ! It becometh thee to see that that wish of mine may be fulfilled !¹⁰—Hearing these words of the king, that foremost one among the Bharatas, viz., Bhishma the son of Cāntanu, said these words unto Duryodhana :¹¹—Listen, O king, to these words of mine that I say unto thee, O thou of Kuru's race, about the way in which thou, O chastiser of foes, shouldst always behave !¹² One's own self, under all circumstances, should be protected in battle, O represser of foes ! Thou shouldst always, O sinless one, battle with king Yudhishtira the just,¹³ or with Arjuna, or with the twins, or with Bhimasena ! Keeping the duty of a king before himself, a king striketh a king !¹⁴ Myself, and Drona, and Kripa, and Drona's son, and Kritayarman of the Sātawata race, and Calya, and Somadatta's son, and that mighty car-warrior Vikarna,¹⁵ and thy heroic brothers headed by Dusçāsana, will all, for thy sake, battle against that mighty *Rākshasa*.¹⁶ Or, if thy grief on account of that fierce prince of the *Rākshasas* be too great, let this one proceed in battle against that wicked warrior,¹⁷ that is to say, king Bhagadatta who is equal unto Purandara himself in fight !—Having said this much unto the king, the grandsire skilled in speech then addressed Bhagadatta in the presence of the (Kuru) king, saying,—Proceed quickly, O great monarch, against that invincible warrior, viz., the son of Hidimvā !¹⁸⁻¹⁷ Resist in battle, with care, and in view of all the bowmen, that *Rākshasa* of cruel deeds, like Indra in days of old resisting Tāraka !¹⁸ Thy weapons are celestial. Thy prowess also is great, O chastiser of foes ! In days of old many have been the encounters that thou hadst with *Asuras* !¹⁹ O tiger among kings, thou art that *Rākshasa*'s match in great battle ! Strongly supported by thy own troops, slay, O king, that bull among *Rākshasas* !²⁰—Hearing these words of

Bhishma the generalissimo (of the Kaurava army), Bhagadatta speedily set out with a leonine roar, facing the ranks of the foe.²¹ Beholding him advance towards them like a mass of roaring clouds, many mighty car-warriors of the Pāndava army proceeded against him, inflamed with wrath.²² They were Bhimasena, and Abhimanyu, and the *Rākshasa* Ghatotkacha; and the sons of Draupadi, and Satyadhriti, and Kshatradeva, O sire,²³ and the ruler of the Chedis, and Vasudāna, and the king of the Daçārnas. Bhagadatta then, on his elephant named Supratika, rushed against them.²⁴ Then commenced a fierce and awful battle between the Pāndavas and Bhagadatta, that increased the population of Yama's kingdom.²⁵ Shafts of terrible energy and great impetuosity, shot by car-warriors, fell, O king, on elephants and cars.²⁶ Huge elephants with rent temples and trained (to the fight) by their guides, approaching fell upon one another fearlessly.²⁷ Blind (with fury) in consequence of the temperal juice trickling down their bodies, and excited with rage, attacking one another with their tusks resembling stout bludgeons, they pierced one another with the points of those weapons.²⁸ Graced with excellent tails, and ridden by warriors armed with lances, steeds, urged by those riders, fell fearlessly and with great impetuosity upon one another.²⁹ And foot-soldiers, attacked by bodies of foot-soldiers with darts and lances, fell down on the earth by hundreds and thousands.³⁰ And car-warriors upon their cars, slaughtering heroic adversaries in that battle by means of barbed arrows and muskets and shafts, uttered leonine shouts.†³¹ And during the progress of that battle mak-

* The first line is evidently pleonastic. Sanskrit, however, being very copious, repetitions can scarcely be marked at the first glance. Literally rendered, the original is—"Juice-blind and excited with rage." "Juice-blind," I have explained elsewhere.—T.

† The word I render "muskets" is *nālika*. Sometime ago the *Bhārati* (a Bengali periodical of Calcutta edited by Babu Dwijendra Nath Tagore) in a paper on Hindu weapons of warfare, from certain quotations from the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*, argued that the *nālika* must have been some kind of musket vomiting bullets of iron in consequence of some kind of explosive force. The *Rishis* discouraged the use of *nālikas*.

ing the hair to stand on end, that great bowman, *viz.*, Bhagadatta, rushed towards Bhimasena,³² on his elephant of rent temples and with juice trickling down in seven currents, and resembling (on that account) a mountain with (as many) rilllets flowing adown its breast after a shower.³³ And he came, O sinless one, scattering thousands of arrows from the head of Supratika (whereon he stood) like the illustrious Purandara himself on his Airāvata.³⁴ King Bhagadatta afflicted Bhimasena with that arrowy shower like the clouds afflicting the mountain-breast with torrents of rain on the expiry of summer.³⁵ That mighty bowman Bhimasena, however, excited with rage, slew by his arrowy showers the combatants, numbering more than a hundred, that protected the flanks and rear of Bhagadatta.³⁶ Beholding them slain, the valiant Bhagadatta, filled with rage, urged his prince of elephants towards Bhimasena's car.³⁷ That elephant, thus urged by him, rushed impetuously, like an arrow propelled from the bowstring, towards Bhimasena that chastiser of foes.³⁸ Beholding that elephant advancing, the mighty car-warriors of the Pāndava army, placing Bhimasena at their head, themselves rushed towards it.³⁹ Those warriors were the (five) Kekaya princes, and Abhimanyu, and the (five) sons of Draupadi, and the heroic ruler of the Daçārnas, and Kshatradeva also, O sire,⁴⁰ and the ruler of the Chedis, and Chitraketu. And all these mighty warriors came, inflamed with anger, and exhibiting their excellent celestial weapons.⁴¹ And they all surrounded in anger that single elephant (on which their adversary rode). Pierced with many shafts, that huge elephant, covered with gore flowing from his wounds, looked resplendent like a prince of mountains variegated with (liquified) red chalk (after a shower). The ruler of the Daçārnas then, on an elephant that

declaring them to be barbarous and fit only for kings that would come in the *Kali* age.—T.

* *Pādarakshān*, lit., those that protected the feet (of any warrior of note). These always stood at the flanks and rear of the warrior they protected. In the case of car-warriors, these were called *chakra-rakshas* (protectors of the wheels). So we have *Pārshni-rakshas*, and *Prishtra-rakshas*, &c., &c.—T.

resembled a mountain, rushed towards Bhagadatta's elephant. That prince of elephants, however, *viz.*, Supratika, bore (the rush of) that advancing compeer like the continent bearing (the rush of) the surging sea. Beholding that elephant of the high-souled king of the Daçārnas thus resisted,⁴²⁻⁴⁵ even the Pāndava troops, applauding, cried out—*Excellent, excellent!*—Then that best of kings, *viz.*, the ruler of the Prāgyotishas, excited with rage, sped four and ten lances at that elephant. These, speedily penetrating through the excellent armour, decked with gold, that covered the animal's body, entered into it, like snakes entering ant-hills. Deeply pierced and exceedingly pained, that elephant, O chief of the Bharatas,⁴⁶⁻⁴⁸ its fury quelled, speedily turned back with great force. And it fled away with great swiftness, uttering frightful shrieks,⁴⁹ and crushing the Pāndava ranks like the tempest crushing trees with its violence. After that elephant was (thus) vanquished, the mighty car-warriors of the Pāndava army,⁵⁰ uttering loud leonine shouts, approached for battle. Placing Bhima at their head, they rushed at Bhagadatta,⁵¹ scattering diverse kinds of arrows and diverse kinds of weapons. Hearing the fierce shouts, O king, of those advancing warriors swelling with rage and vengeance, that great bowman Bhagadatta, filled with rage and perfectly fearless, urged his own elephant.⁵²⁻⁵³ That prince of elephants then, thus urged with the hook and the toe, soon assumed the form of the (all-destructive) *Samvarta* fire (that appears at the end of the *Yuga*).⁵⁴ Crushing crowds of cars and (hostile) compeers and steeds with riders, in that battle, it began, O king, to run hither and thither.⁵⁵ Filled with rage it also crushed foot-soldiers by hundreds and thousands. Attacked and agitated by that elephant, that large force of the Pāndavas⁵⁶ shrank in dimensions, O king, like a piece of leather exposed to the heat of fire. Beholding then the Pāndava array broken by the intelligent Bhagadatta,⁵⁷ Ghatotkacha, of fierce mien, O king, with blazing face and eyes red as fire, filled with rage, rushed towards him.⁵⁸ Assuming a terrible form and burning with wrath, he took up a bright dart capable of riving the very hills.⁵⁹ Endued with great strength, he forcibly hurled that

dart that emitted blazing flames from every part, desirous of slaying that elephant.⁶⁰ Beholding it coursing towards him with great impetuosity, the ruler of the Prāgyotishas sped at it a beautiful but fierce and sharp arrow with a crescent head.⁶¹ Possessed of great energy he cut off that dart with that arrow of his. Thereupon that dart, decked with gold, thus divided in twain, dropped down on the ground,⁶² like the bolt of heaven, hurled by Indra, flashing through the welkin. Beholding that dart (of his adversary) O king, divided in twain and fallen on the ground,⁶³ Bhagadatta took up a large javelin furnished with a golden staff and resembling a flame of fire in effulgence, and hurled it at the *Rākshasa*, saying,—*Wait, Wait!*⁶⁴—Seeing it coursing towards him like the bolt of heaven through the welkin, the *Rākshasa* jumped up and speedily seizing it uttered a loud shout.⁶⁵ And quickly placing it against his knee, O Bhārata, he broke it in the very sight of all the kings. All this seemed exceedingly wonderful.⁶⁶ Beholding that feat achieved by the mighty *Rākshasa*, the celestials in the firmament, with the *Gandharvas*, and the *Munis*, were filled with wonder.⁶⁷ And the Pāndava warriors also, headed by Bhimasena, filled the earth with cries of *Excellent, Excellent!*⁶⁸—Hearing, however, those loud shouts of the rejoicing Pāndavas, that great bowman, *viz.*, the valiant Bhagadatta, could not bear it (coolly).⁶⁹ Drawing his large bow whose effulgence resembled that of Indra's bolt, he roared with great energy at the mighty car-warriors of the Pāndava army,⁷⁰ shooting at the same time many bright arrows of great sharpness and possessed of the effulgence of fire. And he pierced Bhima with one arrow, and the *Rākshasa* with nine.⁷¹ And he pierced Abhimanyu with three, and the Kekaya brothers with five. And with another straight arrow shot from his bow drawn to its fullest stretch,⁷² he pierced, in that battle, the right arm of Kshatradeva. Thereupon the latter's bow with arrow fixed on the bowstring dropped down from his hand.⁷³ And he struck the five sons of Draupadī with five arrows. And, from wrath, he slew the steeds of Bhimasena.⁷⁴ And with three shafts winged with feathers, he cut down Bhimasena's standard bearing the device of

a lion. And with three other shafts he pierced Bhima's charioteer.⁷⁶ Deeply pierced by Bhagadatta in that battle, and exceedingly pained, Viçoka thereupon, O chief of the Bharatas, sat down on the terrace of the car.⁷⁷ Then, O king, that foremost of car-warriors, viz., Bhima, thus deprived of his car, quickly jumped down from his large vehicle, taking up his mace.⁷⁸ Beholding him with mace upraised and looking like a crested hill, all thy troops, O Bhārata, became filled with great fear.⁷⁹ Just at this time that son of Pāndu who had Krishna for his charioteer, O king, slaughtering the foe on all sides as he came, appeared on that spot⁸⁰ where those tigers among men, those mighty car-warriors, viz., Bhimasena and Ghatotkacha, sire and son, were engaged with the ruler of the Prāgyotishas.⁸¹ Beholding his brothers, those mighty car-warriors, engaged in battle, that son of Pāndu quickly commenced to fight, profusely scattering his shafts, O chief of the Bharatas.⁸² Then that mighty car-warrior, viz., king Duryodhana, speedily urged on a division of his troops abounding with cars and elephants.⁸³ Towards that mighty division of the Kauravas thus advancing with impetuosity, Arjuna of white steeds rushed with great impetuosity.⁸⁴ Bhagadatta also, upon that elephant of his, O Bhārata, crushing the Pāndava ranks, rushed towards Yudhishthira.⁸⁵ Then commenced a fierce battle between Bhagadatta, O sire, and the Pāñchālas, the Srinjayas, and the Kekayas, with upraised weapons.⁸⁶ Then Bhimasena, in that battle, told both Keçava and Arjuna in detail about the slaughter of Irāvata as it had occurred.⁸⁷

SECTION XCVII.

"Sanjaya said,—Hearing that his son Irāvata had been slain, Dhananjaya was filled with great grief and sighed like a snake.¹ And addressing Vāsudeva in the midst of battle, he said these words :—Without doubt, the high-souled Vidura of great wisdom had before seen (with his mind's eye) this awful destruction of the Kurus and the Pāndavas ! It was for

this that he forbade king Dhritarāshtra !^{*2-3} In this battle, O slayer of Madhu, many other heroes have been slain by the Kauravas and many amongst the Kauravas have similarly been slain by ourselves !⁴ O best of men, for the sake of wealth vile acts are being done ! Fie upon that wealth for the sake of which such slaughter of kinsmen is being perpetrated !⁵ For him that hath no wealth, even death would be better than the acquisition of wealth by the slaughter of kinsmen ! What, O Krishna, shall we gain by slaying our assembled kinsmen ?⁶ Alas, for Duryodhana's fault, and of Cakuni also the son of Suvala, as also through the evil counsels of Karna, the Kshatriya race is being exterminated !⁷ O slayer of Madhu, I now understand, O mighty-armed one, that the king acted wisely by begging of Suyodhana†⁸ only half the kingdom, or, instead, only five villages ! Alas, even that was not granted by that wicked-souled wight ! Beholding so many brave Kshatriyas lying (dead) on the field of battle,⁹ I censure myself, (saying) fie upon the profession of a Kshatriya ! These Kshatriyas will regard me powerless in battle !¹⁰ (For this alone, I am battling ! Else,) O slayer of Madhu, this battle with kinsmen is distasteful to me ! Urge the steeds on with speed towards the Dhārtarāshtra army !¹¹ I will, with my two arms, reach the other shore of this ocean of battle that is so difficult to cross ! There is no time, O Mādhyava, to lose in inaction !¹²—Thus addressed by Pārtha, Keçava, that slayer of hostile heroes, urged those steeds of white hue endued with the speed of the wind.¹³ Then, O Bhārata, loud was the noise that was heard among thy troops, resembling that of the ocean itself at full tide when agitated by the tempest.‡¹⁴ In the afternoon, O king, the battle that ensued between Bhishma and the Pāndavas was marked by noise that resembled the roar of the clouds.¹⁵ Then, O king, thy sons, sur-

* In the first line of the 3rd verse, the Bengal reading is *bhayam*. The true reading, however, is *khayam*.—T.

† In the second line of 8th, for the Bengal reading *yāchayāmāsa yodhanam* the Bombay reading is *yāchatācha Suyodhanam*. This is better. The Bengal reading has no meaning.—T.

‡ Literally, "when its impetuosity is stirred up by the wind."—T.

rounding Drona like the Vasus surrounding Vāsava, rushed in battle against Bhimasena.¹⁶ Then Cāntanu's son Bhishma, and that foremost of car-warriors, viz., Kripa, and Bhagadatta, and Suçarman, all rushed towards Dhananjaya.¹⁷ And Hridikā's son (Kritavarman) and Vālhika rushed towards Sātyaki. And king Amvashta placed himself before Abhimanyu.¹⁸ And other great car-warriors, O king, encountered other great car-warriors. Then commenced a fierce battle that was terrible to behold.¹⁹ Bhimasena then, O king, beholding thy sons, blazed up with wrath in that battle, like fire with (a libation of) clarified butter.²⁰ Thy sons, however, O monarch, covered that son of Kunti with their arrows like the clouds drenching the mountain-breast in the season of rains.²¹ While being (thus) covered in diverse ways by thy sons, O king, that hero, possessed of the activity of the tiger, licked the corners of his mouth.²² Then, O Bhārata, Bhima felled Vyudoroska with a sharp horse-shoe-headed arrow. Thereupon that son of thine was deprived of life.²³ With another broad-headed arrow, well-tempered and sharp, he then felled Kundalin like a lion overthrowing a smaller animal.²⁴ Then, O sire, getting thy (other) sons (within reach of his arrows), he took up a number of shafts, sharp and well-tempered, and with careful aim speedily shot these at them.²⁵ Those shafts, sped by that strong bowman, viz., Bhimasena, felled thy sons, those mighty car-warriors, from their vehicles.²⁶ (Those sons of thine that were thus slain were) Anādhrishti, and Kundabhedin, and Vairāta, and Dirghalochana, and Dirghavāhu, and Suvāhu, and Kanakadhyaja.²⁷ While falling down (from their cars), O bull of Bharata's race, those heroes looked resplendent like falling mango trees variegated with blossoms in the spring.²⁸ Then thy other sons, O monarch, fled away, regarding the mighty Bhimasena as Death himself.²⁹ Then, like the clouds pouring torrents of rain on the mountain breast, Drona in that battle covered with arrows from every side that hero who was thus consuming thy sons.³⁰ The prowess that we then beheld of

* The Bengal reading, which I adopt, is *çārdula iva vegavān*. The Bombay reading is *çārdula iva darpitās*.—T.

Kunti's son was exceedingly wonderful, for though held in check by Drona, he still slew thy sons.³¹ Indeed, as a bull beareth a shower of rain falling from above, Bhima cheerfully bore that shower of arrows shot by Drona.³² Wonderful, O monarch, was the feat that Vrikodara achieved there, for he slew thy sons in that battle and resisted Drona the while.³³ Indeed, the elder brother of Arjuna sported amongst those heroic sons of thine, like a mighty tiger, O king, among a herd of deer!³⁴ As a wolf, staying in the midst of a herd of deer, would chase and frighten those animals, so did Vrikodara, in that battle, chase and frighten thy sons.³⁵

“ ‘Meanwhile, Gangā's son, and Bhagadatta, and that mighty car-warrior, *viz.*, Gautama, began to resist Arjuna, that impetuous son of Pāndu.³⁶ That *Atiratha*, baffling with his weapons the weapons of those adversaries of his in that battle, despatched many prominent heroes of thy army to the abode of Death.³⁷ Abhimanyu also, with his shafts, deprived that renowned and foremost of car-warriors, *viz.*, king Amvashta, of his car.³⁸ Deprived of his car and about to be slain by the celebrated son of Subhadrā, that king quickly jumped down from his car in shame,³⁹ and hurled his sword in that battle at the high-souled Abhimanyu. Then that mighty monarch got up on the car of Hridikā's son.⁴⁰ Conversant with all movements in battle, Subhadrā's son, that slayer of hostile heroes, beholding that sword coursing towards him, baffled it by the celerity of his movements.⁴¹ Seeing that sword thus baffled in that battle by Subhadrā's son, loud cries of *well done, well done*, were, O king, heard among the troops.⁴² Other warriors headed by Dhrishtadyumna battled with thy troops, while thy troops, also, all battled with those of the Pāndavas.⁴³ Then, O Bhārata, fierce was the engagement that took place between thine and theirs, the combatants smiting one another with great force and achieving the most difficult feats.⁴⁴ Brave combatants, O sire, seizing one another by the hair, fought, using their nails and teeth, and fists and knees,⁴⁵ and palms and swords, and their well-proportioned arms. And seizing one another's *laches*, they despatched one another to the abode

of Yama.⁴⁶ Sire slew son, and son slew sire. Indeed, the combatants fought with one another, using every limb of theirs.⁴⁷ Beautiful bows with golden staves, O Bhārata, loosened from the grasp of slain warriors, and costly ornaments,⁴⁸ and sharp shafts furnished with wings of pure gold or silver and washed with oil, looked resplendent (as they lay scattered on the field), the latter resembling, in particular, snakes that had cast off their slough.⁴⁹ And swords furnished with ivory handles decked with gold, and the shields also of bowmen, variegated with gold, lay on the field, loosened from their grasp.⁵⁰ Bearded-darts and axes and swords and javelins, all decked with gold,⁵¹ beautiful coats of mail, and heavy and short bludgeons, and spiked clubs, and battle-axes, and short arrows, O sire,⁵² and elephants' housings of diverse shapes, and yak tails, and fans, lay scattered on the field.⁵³ And mighty car-warriors lay on the field with diverse kinds of weapons in their hands or beside them, and looking alive though the breath of life had gone.⁵⁴ And men lay on the field with limbs shattered with maces and heads smashed with clubs, or crushed by elephants, steeds, and cars.⁵⁵ And the earth, strewn in many places with the bodies of slain steeds, men, and elephants, looked beautiful, O king, as if strewn with hills.⁵⁶ And the field of battle lay covered with fallen darts and swords and arrows and lances and scimitars and axes and bearded darts and iron crowns and battle-axes,⁵⁷ and spiked clubs and short arrows and *Çataghnis†* and bodies mangled with weapons.⁵⁸ And, O slayer of foes, covered with blood, warriors lay prostrate on the field, some deprived of life and, therefore, in the silence of death, and others uttering low moans. And the earth, strewn with those bodies, presented a variegated sight.⁵⁹ And strewn with the arms of strong warriors smeared with sandal paste and decked with leathern fences and bracelets, with tapering thighs resembling

* In the first line of 54, the Bombay reading *pragrihya* is better than the Bengal reading *visrihya*.—T.

† Literally, "hundred-slayers;" supposed to be a kind of rock; etc.—T.

the trunks of elephants, and with fallen heads, graced with gems attached to turbans and with ear-rings, of large-eyed combatants, O Bhārata, the earth assumed a beautiful sight.⁶⁰⁻⁶¹ And the field of battle, overspread with blood-dyed coats of mail and golden ornaments of many kinds, looked exceedingly beautiful as if with (scattered) fires of mild flames.⁶² And with ornaments of diverse kinds fallen off from their places, with bows lying about, with arrows of golden wings scattered around,⁶³ with many broken cars adorned with rows of bells, with many slain steeds scattered about covered with blood and with their tongues protruding,⁶⁴ with bottoms of cars, standards, quivers, and banners, with gigantic couches, belonging to great heroes, of milky whiteness lying about,⁶⁵ and with trunkless elephants lying prostrate, the earth looked beautiful like a damsel adorned with diverse kinds of ornaments.⁶⁶ And there, with other elephants pierced with lances and in great agony, and frequently uttering low moans with their trunks,⁶⁷ the field of battle looked beautiful as if with moving hills. With blankets of diverse hue, and housings of elephants,⁶⁸ with beautiful hooks falling about having handles decked with stones of *lapis lazuli*, with bells lying about that had adorned gigantic elephants,⁶⁹ with clean and variegated cloths as also skins of the *Ranku* deer, with beautiful neck-chains of elephants, with gold-decked girths,⁷⁰ with broken engines of diverse kinds, with bearded darts decked with gold, with embroidered housings of steeds, embrowned with dust,⁷¹ with the lopped off arms of cavalry soldiers, decked with bracelets and lying about, with polished and sharp lances and bright swords,⁷² with variegated head-gears fallen off (from heads) and scattered about, with beautiful crescent-shaped arrows decked with gold,⁷³ with housings of steeds, with skins of the *Ranku* deer, torn and crushed, with beautiful and costly gems that decked the head-gears of kings,⁷⁴ with their umbrellas lying about and yak tails and fans, with faces, bright as the lotus or the moon, of heroic warriors, decked with beautiful ear-rings⁷⁵ and graced with well-cut beards, lying about and radiant with other ornaments of gold,⁷⁶ the earth looked like the firmament bespangled with planets and

stars. Thus, O Bhārata, the two armies, viz., thine and theirs, encountering each other in battle, crushed each other. And after the combatants had been fatigued, routed, and crushed, O Bhārata,⁷⁷⁻⁷⁸ dark night set in and the battle could no longer be seen. Thereupon both the Kurus and the Pāndavas withdrew their armies,⁷⁹ when that awful night of pitchy darkness came. And having withdrawn their troops, both the Kurus and the Pāndavas took rest for the night, retiring to their respective tents.⁸⁰

SECTION XCVIII.

“Sanjaya said,—‘Then king Duryodhana, and Cakuni the son of Suvala, and thy son Dusçāsana, and the invincible *Suta’s* son (Karna),¹ meeting together, consulted in the following way. How could the sons of Pāndu, with their followers, be vanquished in battle? Even this was the subject of their consultation.² Then king Duryodhana, addressing the *Suta’s* son and the mighty Cakuni, said unto all those counsellors of his,³—Drona, and Bhishma, and Kripa, and Calya, and Somadatta’s son, do not resist the Pārthas. I do not know what the cause is of such conduct (of theirs).⁴ Unslain by any of these, the Pāndavas are destroying my forces. Therefore, O Karna, I am becoming weaker in strength and my weapons also are being exhausted!⁵ I am deceived by the heroic Pāndavas—they that are incapable of being vanquished by the very gods! Doubt filleth my mind as to how, indeed, I shall succeed in smiting them in battle!⁶—Unto the king who said so, O great monarch, the *Suta’s* son answered,—Do not grieve, O chief of the Bharatas! Even I will do what is agreeable to thee!⁷ Let Cāntanu’s son Bhishma soon withdraw from the great battle! After Gangā’s son will have withdrawn from the fight and laid aside his weapons,⁸ I will slay the Pārthas along with all the Somakas, in the very sight of Bhishma! I pledge my troth, O king!⁹ Indeed, Bhishma every day showeth mercy towards the Pāndavas. He is, besides, incapable of vanquishing those mighty car-warriors.¹⁰ Bhishma is proud of showing his prowess in battle. He is, again, very fond of

fight. Why, O sire, will he, therefore, vanquish the assembled Pāndavas (for then the battle will be over) ?¹¹ Therefore, repairing without delay to the tent of Bhishma, solicit that old and reverend signior to lay aside his weapons.¹² After he will have laid aside his weapons, O Bhārata, think the Pāndavas as already slain, with all their friends and kinsmen, O king, by myself alone !¹³—Thus addressed by Karna, thy son Duryodhana then said unto his brother Dusçāsana these words :¹⁴—See, O Dusçāsana, without delay that all who walk in my train be dressed !¹⁵—Having said these words, O monarch, the king addressed Karna, saying,—Having caused Bhishma, that foremost of men, to consent to this,¹⁶ I will, without delay, come to thee, O chastiser of foes ! After Bhishma will have retired from the fight, thou wilt smite (the foe) in battle.¹⁷—Then thy son, O monarch, set out without delay, accompanied by his brothers like He of a hundred sacrifices (accompanied) by the gods.¹⁸ Then his brother Dusçāsana caused that tiger among kings, endued, besides, with the prowess of a tiger, to mount on his horse.¹⁹ Graced with bracelets, with diadem on head, and adorned with other ornaments on his arms, O king, thy son shone brightly as he proceeded along the streets.²⁰ Smearcd with fragrant sandal-paste of the hue of the *Bkāndī* flower and bright as burnished gold,²¹ and clad in clean vestments, and proceeding with the sportive gait of the lion, Duryodhana looked beautiful like the Sun of brilliant radiance in the firmament.²² And as that tiger among men proceeded towards the tent of Bhishma, many mighty bowmen, celebrated over the world, followed him behind.²³ And his brothers also walked in his train, like the celestials walking behind Vāsava. And others, foremost of men, mounted upon steeds, and others again on elephants, O Bhārata,²⁴ and others on cars, surrounded him on all sides. And many amongst those that wished him well, taking up arms for the protection of his royal self,²⁵ appeared there in large bodies, like the celestials surrounding Cakra in heaven. The mighty chief of the Kurus, adored by all the Kauravas,²⁶ thus proceeded, O king, towards the quarters of the renowned son of Gangā. Ever followed and surrounded

by his uterine brothers,³⁷ he proceeded, often raising his right arm, massive and resembling the trunk of an elephant and capable of resisting all foes. And with that arm of his, he accepted the regards that were paid to him from all sides by bystanders who stood raising towards him their joined hands. And he heard, as he journeyed, the sweet voices of the natives of diverse realms.³⁸⁻³⁹ Of great fame, he was eulogised by bards and eulogists. And in return that great king paid his regards unto them all.³⁹ And many high-souled persons stood around him with lighted lamps of gold fed with fragrant oil.³¹ And surrounded with those golden lamps, the king looked radiant like the Moon attended by the blazing planets around him.³² And (attendants) with head-gears decked with gold, having canes and *Jharjharas* in hand, softly caused the crowd all around to make way.³³ The king then, having reached the excellent quarters of Bhishma, alighted from his horse. And arrived at Bhishma's presence, that ruler of men³⁴ saluted Bhishma and then sat himself down on an excellent seat that was made of gold, beautiful throughout and overlaid with a rich coverlet.³⁵ With hands joined, eyes bathed in tears, and voice choked in grief, he then addressed Bhishma, saying,—Taking thy protection in this battle, O slayer of foes, we³⁶ ventured to vanquish the very gods and the *Asuras* with Indra at their head. What shall I say, therefore, of the sons of Pāndu, heroic though they be, with their kinsmen and friends?³⁷ Therefore, O son of Gangā, it behoveth thee, O lord, to show me mercy! Slay the brave sons of Pāndu like Mahendra slaying the *Dānavas*!³⁸—I will slay, O king, all the Somakas and the Pāñchālas and the Karushas along with the Kekayas, O Bhārata!³⁹—(These were thy words to me!) Let these words become true! Slay the assembled Pārthas, and those mighty bowmen, *viz.*, the Somakas! Make thy words true, O Bhārata!⁴⁰ If from kindness (for the Pāndavas), O king, or from thy hatred of my unfortunate self, thou sparest the Pāndavas,⁴¹ then permit Karna, that ornament of battle, to fight! He will vanquish in battle the Pārthas with all their friends and kinsmen!⁴²—The king, thy son Duryodhana,

having said this, shut his lips without saying anything more to Bhishma of terrible prowess.' ”*46

SECTION XCIX.

“Sanjaya said,—‘The high-souted Bhishma, deeply pierced with wordy daggers by thy son, became filled with great grief. But he said not a single disagreeable word in reply.¹ Indeed, mangled by those wordy daggers, and filled with grief and rage, he sighed like a snake and reflected (in silence) for a long while.^{†2} Raising his eyes then, and as if consuming, from wrath, the world with the celestials, the *Asuras*, and the *Gandharvas*, that foremost of persons conversant with the world,³ then addressed thy son and said unto him these tranquil words :—Wny, O Duryodhana, dost thou pierce me thus with thy wordy daggers ?⁴ I always endeavour to the utmost of my might to achieve, and do achieve, what is for thy good ! Indeed, from desire of doing what is agreeable to thee, I am prepared to cast away my life in battle !⁵ (The Pāndavas are really invincible). When the brave son of Pāndu gratified Agni in (the forest of) Khāndava, having vanquished Cakra himself in battle, even that is a sufficient indication.^{‡6} when, O mighty-armed one, the same son of Pāndu rescued thee while thou wert being led away a captive by the *Gandharvas*, even that is a sufficient indication.⁷ On that occasion, O lord, thy brave uterine brothers had all fled, as also Rādhā’s son of the *Suta* caste. That (rescue, therefore, by Arjuna) is a sufficient indication.⁸ In Virāta’s city, alone he fell upon all of us united together ! That is a suffi-

* In numbering the verses in this Section I have followed the Bombay edition. The fact is, in the Bengal texts, this Section is made to consist of 42 *slokas*, the 6th and the 42nd being both taken as consisting of three lines. Hence the difference.—T.

† In the Bengal texts, the second line of the 2nd verse is printed as the 2nd of the 1st verse. There can be no doubt that the Bombay text is correct.—T.

‡ Some of the Bengal texts, in the first line of the 6th, incorrectly read *çatrun* for *çakram*.—T.

cient indication.⁹ Vanquishing in battle both Drona and myself excited with rage, he took away our robes. That is a sufficient indication.¹⁰ On that occasion, of old, of the seizure of kine, he vanquished that mighty bowman the son of Drona, and Cāradwaṭ also. That is a sufficient indication.¹¹ Having vanquished Karna also who is ever boastful of his manliness, he gave the latter's robes unto Uttarā. That is a sufficient indication.¹² The son of Prithā defeated in battle the Nivātakavachas who were incapable of defeat by Vāsava himself. That is a sufficient indication.¹³ Who, indeed, is capable of vanquishing in battle the son of Pāndu by force, him, viz., that hath for his protector the Protector of the Universe armed with conch, discus, and mace?¹⁴ Vāsudeva is possessed of infinite power, and is the Destroyer of the Universe. He is the highest Lord of all, the God of gods, the Supreme Soul, and eternal!¹⁵ He hath been variously described, O king, by Nārada and other great *Rishis*. In consequence of thy folly, however, O Suyodhana, thou knowest not what should be said and what should not!¹⁶ The man on the point of death beholdeth all trees to be made of gold. So thou also, O son of Gāndhāri, seest everything inverted.¹⁷ Having provoked fierce hostilities with the Pāndavas and the Srinjayas, fight now (thyself) with them in battle! Let us see thee act like a man!¹⁸ As regards myself, I will, O tiger among men, slay all the Somakas and the Pānchālas assembled together, avoiding Cikhandin alone.¹⁹ Slain by them in battle, I will go to Yama's abode, or, slaying them in battle, I will give thee joy!²⁰ Cikhandin was born in Dru-pada's palace as a female at first. She became a male in consequence of the grant of a boon. After all, however, she is Cikhandini.²¹ Him I will not slay even if I have to lose my life, O Bhārata! She is the same Cikhandini that the Creator had first made her.²² Pass the night in happy sleep, O son of Gāndhāri! Tomorrow I will fight a fierce battle about which men will speak as long as the world lasts!²³—Thus addressed by him, thy son, O monarch, came away. And saluting his signior with a bow of the head, he came back to his own tent.²⁴ Coming back, the king dismissed his

attendants. And soon then that destroyer of foes entered his abode.²⁵ And having entered (his tent), the monarch passed the night (in sleep). And when the night dawned, rising up, the king ordered all the royal warriors, saying,—*Draw up the forces ! Today Bhishmā, excited with wrath, will slay all the Somakas !—*²⁶⁻²⁷

“Hearing those copious lamentations of Duryodhana in the night, Bhishma regarded them, O king, as commands to himself.²⁸ Filled with great grief and deprecating the status of servitude, Cāntana’s son reflected for a long time, thinking of an encounter with Arjuna in battle.²⁹ Understanding from signs that Gangā’s son had been thinking of that, Duryodhana, O king, commanded Dusçāsana, saying,³⁰—O Dusçāsana, let cars be quickly appointed for protecting Bhishma ! Let all the two and twenty divisions (of our army) be urged on !³¹ That hath now come about which we had been thinking for a series of years, viz., the slaughter of the Pāndavas with all their troops and the acquisition (by ourselves) of the kingdom !³² In this matter, I think, the protection of Bhishma is our foremost duty. Protected by us, he will protect us and slay the Pārthas in battle !³³ Of cleansed soul, he said unto me,—*I will not slay Çikhandin. He was a female before, O king, and, therefore, should be avoided by me in battle !*³⁴ *The world knoweth, O thou of mighty arms, that from desire of doing good to my father, I formerly gave up a swelling kingdom !*³⁵ *I will not, therefore, slay in battle, O foremost of men, any female or anybody that was a female before ! This that I tell thee is true !*³⁶ *This Çikhandi, O king, was first born a female. Thou hast heard that story ! She was born as Çikhandini after the manner I told thee before the battle began.*³⁷ *Taking her birth as a daughter she hath become a man. Indeed, she will fight with me, but I will never shoot my arrows at her.*³⁸ *As regards all other Kshatriyas desirous of victory to the Pāndavas, O sire, whom I may get within my reach on the field of battle, I will slay them.*³⁹—These were the words that Gangā’s son acquainted with the scriptures, that chief of Bharata’s race, said unto me ! Therefore, with my whole

soul I think that protecting the son of Gangā is our foremost duty.⁴⁰ The very wolf may slay the lion left unprotected in the great forest ! Let not Gangā's son be slain by Cikhandin like the lion slain by the wolf !⁴¹ Let our maternal uncle Cakuni, and Calya, and Kripa, and Drona, and Vivingçati, carefully protect the son of Gangā. If he is protected, (our) victory is certain !⁴²—

“Hearing these words of Duryodhana, they all surrounded Gangā's son with a large division of cars.⁴³ And thy sons also, taking up their position around Bhishma, proceeded to battle. And they all went, shaking the earth and the welkin, and causing fear in the hearts of the Pāndavas.⁴⁴ The mighty car-warriors (of the Kaurava army), supported by those cars and elephants, and clad in mail, stood in battle, surrounding Bhishma.⁴⁵ And all of them took up their positions for protecting that mighty car-warrior like the celestials in the battle between themselves and the *Asuras* for protecting the wielder of the thunder-bolt.⁴⁶ Then king Duryodhana once more addressing his brother, said,—Yudhāmanyu protects the left wheel of Arjuna's car, and Uttamaujas his right wheel.⁴⁷ And (thus protected) Arjuna protected Cikhandin. O Dusçāsana, adopt such steps that, protected by Pārtha, Cikhandin may not be able to slay Bhishma left unprotected by us !—Hearing these words of his brother, thy son Dusçāsana,⁴⁸⁻⁴⁹ accompanied by the troops, advanced for battle, placing Bhishma in the van. Beholding Bhishma (thus) surrounded by a large number of cars,⁵⁰ Arjuna, that foremost of carwarriors, addressed Dhrishtadyumna and said,—O prince, place that tiger among men, Cikhandin, today in front of Bhishma ! I myself will be his protector, O prince of Pāñchāla ! ”—*⁵¹

SECTION C.

“Sanjaya said,—Then Bhishma the son of Cāntanu went out with the troops. And he disposed his own troops in a

* The last consists of three lines.—T.

mighty array called *Sarvatobhadra*.^{*1} Kripa, and Kritavarman, and that mighty car-warrior Caivya, and Cakuni, and the ruler of the Sindhus, and Sudakshina the ruler of the Kāmvojas,² these all, together with Bhishma and thy sons, O Bhārata, took up their stations in the van of the whole army and in the very front of the (Kaurava) array.³ Drona and Bhuriçravas and Calaya and Bhagadatta, O sire, clad in mail, took up their position in the right wing of that array.⁴ And Açwatthāman, and Somadatta, and those great car-warriors, *viz.*, the two princes of Avanti, accompanied by a large force, protected the left wing.⁵ Duryodhana, O monarch, surrounded on all sides by the Trigartas, took up, for encountering the Pāndavas, a position in the midst of that array.⁶ That foremost of car-warriors, *viz.*, Alamvusha, and that mighty car-warrior, *viz.*, Crutāyush, clad in mail, took up their position in the rear of that array, and, therefore, of the whole army.⁷ Having, O Bhārata, on that occasion formed their array thus, thy warriors, clad in mail, looked like scorching fires.⁸

“Then king Yudhishtira, and that son of Pāndu, *viz.*, Bhimasena, and the twin sons of Mādri, *viz.*, Nakula and Sahadeva,⁹ clad in mail, took up their position in the van of that array and, therefore, at the very head of all their troops. And Dhrishtadyumna, and Virāta, and that mighty car-warrior, *viz.*, Sātyaki,¹⁰—these destroyers of hostile ranks,—stood, supported by a large force. And Cikhandin, and Vijaya (Arjuna), and the *Rākshasa* Ghatotkacha,¹¹ and Chekitāna of mighty arms, and the valiant Kuntibhoja, stood for battle, surrounded by a large force.¹² And that great bowman Abhimanyu, and the mighty Drupada, and the (five) Kaikeya brothers, stood for battle, clad in mail.¹³ Having formed their mighty and invincible array thus, the Pāndavas, endued with great courage in battle, stood for the fight, clad in mail.¹⁴

* The Bengal reading *ātmanā*, the last word of the verse, seems to be a mistake. The Bombay text gives the right word, which is *ātmanas* (genetive). *Sarvatobhadra* seems to have been a kind of square array in which the troops faced all the points of the compass.—T.

“Then the kings of thy army, O monarch, exerting themselves at their best, accompanied by their forces, and placing Bhishma at their van, rushed against the Pārthas in battle.¹⁵ Similarly the Pāndavas also, O king, headed by Bhimasena, and desirous of victory in battle, proceeded, for battling with Bhishma,¹⁶ With leonine roars and confused cries, blowing their conchs, *Krakachas*, and cow-horns, beating their drums and cymbals and *Panavas* in thousands,¹⁷ and uttering terrible shouts, the Pāndavas advanced to battle. With the din of our drums and cymbals and conchs and smaller drums,¹⁸ with loud leonine roars, and other kinds of shouts, ourselves also, replying to the cries of the foe, rushed against him with great impetuosity,¹⁹ inflamed with rage. These sounds, mingling with one another, produced a tremendous uproar. The warriors then, of the two armies, rushing at one another, began to strike.²⁰ And in consequence of the din produced by that encounter, the earth seemed to tremble. And birds, uttering fierce cries, hovered in the air.²¹ The Sun, radiant as he was when he had risen, became dimmed. And fierce winds blew, indicating great terrors.²² Frightful jackalls wandered, yelling terribly, O king, and foreboding an awful carnage at hand.²³ The quarters seemed, O king, to be ablaze, and showers of dust fell from the blue. And a shower fell there, of pieces of bones mixed with blood.²⁴ And tears fell from the eyes of the animals which were all weeping. And filled with anxiety, O king, these began to urinate and eject the contents of their stomachs.²⁵ And the loud shouts of battle, O bull of Bharata's race, were rendered inaudible by the louder cries of *Rākshasas* and cannibals.²⁶ And jackalls and vultures and crows and dogs, uttering diverse kinds of cries, began, O sire, to fall and swoop down on the field.²⁷ And blazing meteors, striking against the Sun's disc, fell with great celerity on the

* In the Bengal texts, *çavdās* in the first line is vicious. The true reading seems to be *çankhān*, as in the Bombay edition. Then again for *Kunjarān* (Beng.), the Bombay text reads *Pushkarān* which is unquestionably correct.—T.

† The first line of 19 in the Bengal texts is vicious.—T.

earth, foreboding great terrors.²⁸ Then those two vast hosts belonging to the Pāndavas and the Dhārtarāshtras, in course of that awful encounter, shook in consequence of that tremendous uproar of conchs and drums, like forests shaken by the tempest.²⁹ And the noise made by the two armies, both of which abounded with kings, elephants, and steeds, and which encountered each other in an evil hour, resembled the noise made by oceans tossed by the tempest.’³⁰

SECTION CI.

“Sanjaya said,—“Then the noble Abhimanyu of great energy, borne by his steeds of a twany hue, rushed at the mighty host of Duryodhana,¹ scattering his arrowy showers like the clouds pouring torrents of rain. O son of Kuru’s race, thy warriors, in that battle, were unable to resist that slayer of foes, viz., Subhadrā’s son, who, excited with wrath and possessed of wealth of arms, was then immersed in that inexhaustible ocean of (Kaurava) forces.²⁻³ Death-dealing shafts, O king, shot by him in that battle, despatched many heroic Kshatriyas to the regions of the King of the departed spirits.⁴ Indeed, excited with wrath, Subhadrā’s son in that battle shot fierce and blazing arrows in profusion that resembled snakes of virulent poison or rods of Death himself.⁵ And Phālguna’s son speedily split into fragments car-warriors with their cars, steeds with their riders, and elephant-warriors along with the huge animals they rode.⁶ And the rulers of the earth, filled with joy, applauded those mighty feats in battle and praised him also that achieved them.⁷ And the son of Subhadrā, O Bhārata, tossed those divisions (of the Kaurava army) like the tempest tossing a heap of cotton on all sides in the welkin.⁸ Routed by him, O Bhārata, thy troops failed to find a protector, like elephants sunk in a slough.⁹ Then, O best of men, having routed all thy troops, Abhimanyu stood, O king, like a blazing fire without a curl of smoke.¹⁰ Indeed, O king, thy warriors were incapable of bearing that slayer of foes, like insects impelled by fate unable to bear a blazing fire.¹¹ That mighty car-warrior and

great bowman, having struck all the foes of the Pāndavas, looked at that moment like Vāsava himself armed with the thunder.¹³ And his bow, the back of whose staff was decked with gold, as it moved on every side, seemed, O king, like the lightning's flash as it sports amid the clouds.¹³ And well-tempered and sharp shafts came from his bowstring in that battle like flights of bees, O king, from a blossoming tree in the forest.¹⁴ And as the high-souled son of Subhadrā careered on the field on his car whose limbs were decked with gold, people were incapable of finding an opportunity (for striking him).¹⁵ Confounding Kripa and Drona and mighty son of Drona, as also the ruler of the Sindhus, that great bowman moved on the field of battle with great activity and skill.¹⁶ As he consumed thy troops, O Bhārata, I beheld his bow incessantly drawn to a circle and resembling on that account the circular halo of light that is sometimes seen around the Sun.¹⁷ Brave Kshatriyas, beholding him endued with such activity and scorching the foe thus, thought, in consequence of those feats, that the world contained two Phālgunas.¹⁸ Indeed, O king, the vast host of the Bharatas, afflicted by him, reeled hither and thither like a woman drunk with wine.¹⁹ Routing that large army and causing many mighty car-warriors to tremble, he gladdened his friends like Vāsava (gladdening the celestials) after vanquishing Maya.²⁰ And while being routed by him in that battle, thy troops uttered loud exclamations of woe that resembled the roar of the clouds.²¹ Hearing that awful wail of thy troops, O Bhārata, that resembled the roar of the very sea at full tide when agitated by the winds,²² Duryodhana then, O king, addressed the son of Rishyaçringa and said,—This Abhimanyu singly, O thou of mighty arms, like a second Phālguna,²³ routeth from rage (my) army like Vritra routing the celestial host. I do not see any other efficacious medicine for him in battle²⁴ than thyself, O best of *Rākshasas*, that art well-skilled in every science. Therefore, go speedily and slay the heroic son of Subhadrā in battle !²⁵ As regards ourselves, headed by Bhishma and Drona, we will slay Pārtha himself !—Thus addressed, the mighty and valiant *Rākshasa*²⁶ speedily went to battle at

the command of thy son, uttering loud roars like the clouds themselves in the season of rains.³⁷ And in consequence of that loud noise, O king, the vast host of the Pāndavas trembled throughout like the ocean when agitated by the wind.³⁸ And many combatants, O king, terrified by those roars, giving up dear life, fell prostrate on the earth.³⁹ Filled with joy and taking up his bow with arrow fixed on the string, and apparently dancing on the terrace of his car, that *Rākshasa* proceeded against Abhimanyu himself.⁴⁰ Then the angry *Rākshasa*, having in that battle got Arjuna's son within reach, began to rout his ranks,—even those that stood not far from him.⁴¹ Indeed, the *Rākshāsa* rushed in battle against that mighty Pāndava host which he began to slaughter, like Vala rushing against the celestial host.⁴² Attacked in battle by that *Rākshasa* of terrible mien, the slaughter was very great, O sire, that took place amongst those troops.⁴³ Exhibiting his prowess, the *Rākshasa* began to rout that vast force of the Pāndavas, with thousands of arrows.⁴⁴ Thus slaughtered by that *Rākshasa* of terrible visage, the Pāndava army fled away, from excess of fear.⁴⁵ Grinding that army like an elephant grinding lotus-stalks, the mighty *Rākshasa* then rushed in battle against the sons of Draupadi.⁴⁶ Then those great bowmen, accomplished in fighting, *viz.*, the sons of Draupadi, rushed towards the *Rākshasa* in battle like five planets rushing against the Sun.⁴⁷ That best of *Rākshasas* then was afflicted by those brothers endued with great energy, like the Moon afflicted by the five planets on the awful occasion of the dissolution of the world.⁴⁸ Then the mighty Prati-vindhya quickly pierced the *Rākshasa* with whetted shafts sharp as battle-axes and furnished with points capable of penetrating every armour.⁴⁹ Thereupon that foremost of *Rākshasas*, with his armour pierced through, looked like a mass of clouds penetrated by the rays of the Sun.⁵⁰ Pierced with those shafts furnished with golden wings, Rishyaçringa's son, O king, looked resplendent like a mountain with blazing crests.⁵¹ Then those five brothers, in that great battle, pierced that foremost of *Rākshasas* with (many) whetted shafts of golden wings.⁵² Pierced with those terrible

shafts resembling angry snakes, Alamvusha, O king, became inflamed with rage like the king of the serpents himself.⁴³ Deeply pierced, O king, within only a few moments, O sire, by those great car-warriors, the *Rākshasa*, much afflicted, remained senseless for a long while.⁴⁴ Regaining his consciousness then, and swelling through rage to twice his dimensions, he cut off their arrows and standards and bows.⁴⁵ And as if smiling the while he struck each of them with five arrows. Then that mighty *Rākshasa* and great car-warrior, Alamvusha, excited with wrath, and as if dancing on the terrace of his car, quickly slew the steeds, and then the ocharioteers, of those five illustrious adversaries of his.⁴⁶⁻⁴⁷ And burning with rage he once more pierced them with sharp arrows of diverse shapes by hundreds and thousands.⁴⁸ Then that wanderer of the night, *viz.*, the *Rākshasa* Alamvusha, having deprived those great bowmen of their cars, rushed impetuously at them, wishing to despatch them to Yama's abode.⁴⁹ Beholding them (thus) afflicted in battle by that wicked-souled *Rākshasa*, the son of Arjuna rushed at him.⁵⁰ Then the battle that took place between him and the cannibal resembled that between Vitra and Vāsava. And the mighty car-warriors of thy army, as also of the Pāndavas, all became spectators of that engagement.⁵¹ Encountering each other in fierce battle, blazing with wrath, endued with great might, and with eyes red in rage,⁵² each beheld the other in that battle to resemble the *Yuga* fire. And that engagement between them became fierce and awful like that between Cakra and Camvara in days of old in the battle between the gods and the *Asuras*.'⁵³

SECTION CII.

“Dhritarāshtra said,—‘How, O Sanjaya, did Alamvusha resist in combat the heroic son of Arjuna smiting many of our mighty car-warriors in battle ?’ And how also did that slayer of hostile heroes, *viz.*, the son of Subhadrā, fight with Rishyaṅginga's son ? Tell me all this in detail, exactly as it happened in that fight !’ What also did Bhīma, that foremost of car-warriors, and the *Rākshasa* Ghatotkacha, and Nakula, and

Sahadeva, and the mighty car-warrior Sātyaki, and Dhananjaya, do with my troops in battle? Tell me all this truly, O Sanjaya, for thou art skilled (in narration)!⁸⁻⁴

“Sanjaya said,—I will presently describe to thee, O sire, the awful battle that took place between that foremost of the *Rākshasas* and the son of Subhadra.⁵ I will also describe to thee the prowess that Arjuna put forth in battle, and Bhimaseena the son of Pāndu, and Nakula, and Sahadeva, as also the warriors of thy army headed by Bhishma and Drona, all of whom fearlessly achieved wonderful feats of diverse kinds.⁶⁻⁷ Alamvusha, uttering loud shouts and repeatedly roaring at Abhimanyu, rushed impetuously against that mighty car-warrior in battle, saying,—*Wait, Wait!*—Abhimanyu also, repeatedly roaring like a lion, rushed with as great force at that mighty bowman, *viz.*, the son of Rishyaçringa, who was an implacable foe of the former’s sire. Soon then those two foremost of car-warriors, man and *Rākshasa*, on their cars, encountered each other, like a god and a *Dānava*. That best of *Rākshasas* was endued with powers of illusion, while Phālguna’s son was acquainted with celestial weapons.⁸⁻¹¹ Then Abhimanyu, O king, pierced Rishyaçring’s son in that battle with three sharp shafts and once more with five.¹² Alamvusha also, excited with wrath, speedily pierced Abhimanyu in the chest with nine shafts like a guide piercing an elephant with hooks.¹³ Then, O Bhārata, that wanderer of the night, endued with great activity, afflicted Arjuna’s son in that combat with a thousand arrows.¹⁴ Then Abhimanyu, excited with rage, pierced that prince of the *Rākshasas* in his wide chest with nine straight shafts of great sharpness.¹⁵ Piercing through his body these penetrated into his very vitals. And that best of *Rākshasas*, his limbs mangled by them, looked beautiful¹⁶ like a mountain overgrown with flowering *Kinçukas*. Bearing those shafts of golden wings on his body, that mighty¹⁷ prince of *Rākshasas* looked radiant like a mountain on fire. Then the vindictive son of Rishyaçringa, inflamed with wrath, covered Abhimanyu, who was equal unto Mahendra himself, with clouds of winged arrows. Those sharp shafts resembling the rods of Yama himself, shot by him,¹⁸⁻¹⁹ pierced Abhimanyu

through and entered the earth. And similarly the gold-decked arrows shot by Arjuna's son,⁸⁰ piercing Alamvusha through, entered the earth. The son of Subhadra then, in that battle, with his straight shafts, obliged the *Rākshasa* to turn his back upon the field, like Cakra repulsing Maya in days of old. That scorcher of foes, the *Rākshasa*, then, thus repulsed and struck repeatedly by his adversary, exhibited his great powers of illusion by causing a thick darkness to set in. Then all the combatants there, O king, were covered by that darkness.⁸¹⁻⁸² Neither could Abhimanyu be seen, nor could friends be distinguished from foes in that battle. Abhimanyu, however, beholding that thick and awful gloom,⁸³ invoked into existence, O son of Kuru's race, the blazing solar weapon. Thereupon, O king, the universe once more became visible.⁸⁴ And thus he neutralised the illusion of that wicked *Rākshasa*. Then that prince of men, excited with wrath and endued with great energy, covered that foremost of *Rākshasas* in that battle with many straight shafts. Diverse other kinds of illusion were conjured up there by that *Rākshasa*.⁸⁵⁻⁸⁷ Conversant with all weapons, the son of Phālguna, however, neutralised them all. The *Rākshasa* then, his illusions all destroyed, and himself struck with shafts,⁸⁸ abandoned his car even there, and fled away in great fear. After that *Rākshasa* addicted to unfair fight had been thus vanquished,⁸⁹ the son of Arjuna began to grind thy troops in battle, like a juice-blind prince of wild elephants agitating a lake overgrown with lotus.⁹⁰ Then Bhishma the son of Cāntanu, beholding his troops routed, covered Subhadra's son with a thick shower of arrows.⁹¹ Then many mighty car-warriors of the Dhārtarāshtra army, standing in a ring round that single hero, began to strike him forcibly with their shafts.⁹² That hero then, who resembled his sire in prowess and who was equal to Vāsudeva in valor and might,⁹³—that foremost of all wielders of weapons,—achieved diverse feats in that battle that were worthy of both his sire and maternal uncle.⁹⁴ Then the heroic

* The Bengal reading *vanya-nāgendra* is better than the Bombay reading *gandha-nāgendra*. As to "juice-blind," vide note in p. 341 ante.—T.

Dhananjaya, excited with wrath and desirous of rescuing his son, arrived at that spot where the latter was, slaughtering thy troops as he came along.³⁵ And similarly, O king, thy sire Devavrata in that battle approached Pārtha like *Rāhu* approaching the Sun.³⁶ Then thy sons, O monarch, supported by cars, elephants, and steeds, surrounded Bhishma in that battle and protected him from every side.³⁷ And so also the Pāndavas, O king, clad in mail and surrounding Dhananjaya, engaged in fierce battle, O bull of Bharata's race.³⁸ Then Caradwat's son (Kripa), O king, pierced Arjuna who was staying in front of Bhishma, with five and twenty shafts.³⁹ Thereupon, like a tiger attacking an elephant, Sātyaki, approaching Kripa, pierced him with many whetted shafts from desire of doing what was agreeable to the Pāndavas.⁴⁰ Goutama in return, excited with wrath, quickly pierced him of Madhu's race in the chest with nine arrows winged with the feathers of the *Kanka* bird.⁴¹ Cini's grandson also, excited with wrath, and forcibly drawing his bow, quickly sped at him an arrow capable of taking his life.⁴² The fiery son of Drona, however, excited with wrath, cut in twain that arrow as it coursed impetuously towards Kripa, resembling Indra's bolt in effulgence.⁴³ Thereupon that foremost of car-warriors, *viz.*, Cini's grandson, abandoning Gautama, rushed in battle towards Drona's son like *Rāhu* in the firmament against the Moon.⁴⁴ Drona's son, however, O Bhārata, cut Sātyaki's bow in twain. After his bow had thus been cut off, the former began to strike the latter with his shafts.⁴⁵ Sātyaki then, taking up another bow capable of bearing a great strain and slaughtering the foe, struck Drona's son, O king, in the chest and arms with six shafts.⁴⁶ Pierced therewith and feeling great pain, for a moment he was deprived of his senses, and he sat down on the terrace of his car, catching hold of his flagstaff.⁴⁷ Regaining his consciousness then, the valiant son of Drona, excited with rage, afflicted

* In Hindu mythology, solar eclipses are caused by Rāhu's attempts at swallowing the Sun. For Rāhu's enmity to the Sun, *vide Adi Parvan*, p. 81.—T.

him of Vrishni's race in that battle, with one long shaft.⁴⁸ That shaft, piercing Cini's grandson through, entered the earth like a vigorous young snake entering its hole in the season of spring.⁴⁹ And with another broad-headed arrow, Drona's son in that battle cut off the excellent standard of Sātyaki. And having achieved this feat he uttered a leonine roar.⁵⁰ And once more, O Bhārata, he covered his adversary with a shower of fierce shafts like the clouds, O king, covering the Sun after summer is past.⁵¹ Sātyaki also, O monarch, baffling that arrowy shower, soon covered the son of Drona with diverse showers of arrows.⁵² That slayer of hostile heroes, *viz.*, the grandson of Cini, freed from that arrowy shower like the Sun from the clouds, began to scorch the son of Drona (with his energy).⁵³ Swelling with rage the mighty Sātyaki once more covered his foe with a thousand arrows and uttered a loud shout.⁵⁴ Beholding his son then thus afflicted like the Moon by *Rahu*, the valiant son of Bharadwāja rushed towards the grandson of Cini.⁵⁵ Desirous, O king, of rescuing his son who was afflicted by the Vrishni hero, Drona, in that great battle, pierced the latter with a shaft of exceeding sharpness.⁵⁶ Sātyaki then, abandoning the mighty car-warrior Açwatthāman, pierced Drona himself in that battle with twenty arrows of exceeding sharpness.⁵⁷ Soon after, that scorcher of foes and mighty car-warrior, *viz.*, Kunti's son of immeasurable soul, excited with wrath, rushed in that battle against Drona.⁵⁸ Then Drona and Pārtha encountered each other in fierce combat like the planets *Vudha* and *Çukra*, O king, in the firmament.' "59

SECTION CIII.

"Dhritarāshtra said,—'How did those bulls among men, *viz.*, that great bowman Drona, and Dhananjaya the son of Pāndu, encounter each other in battle?' The son of Pāndu is ever dear to the wise son of Bharadwāja. The preceptor also is ever dear to Prithā's son, O Sanjaya !' Both of those

* *Vudha* is Venus, and *Çukra* is Jupiter.—T.

car-warriors delight in battle, and both of them are fierce like lions. How, therefore, did Bharadwāja's son and Dhananjaya, both fighting with care encounter each other in battle ?³

“Sanjaya said,—In battle Drona never recognises Pārtha as dear to himself. Pārtha also, keeping a Kshatriya's duty in view, recognises not in battle his preceptor.⁴ Kshatriyas, O king, never avoid one another in battle. Without showing any regard for one other, they fight with sires and brothers.⁵ In that battle, O Bhārata, Pārtha pierced Drona with three shafts. Drona, however, regarded not those shafts shot in battle from Pārtha's bow.⁶ Indeed, Pārtha once more covered the preceptor in the fight with a shower of arrows. Thereupon the latter blazed up with wrath like a conflagration in a deep forest.⁷ Then, O king, Drona soon covered Arjuna in that combat with many straight shafts, O Bhārata.⁸ Then king Duryodhana, O monarch, despatched Suçarman for taking up the wing of Drona.⁹ Then the ruler of the Trigartas, excited with rage and forcibly drawing his bow, covered Pārtha, O king, with a profusion of arrows furnished with iron heads.¹⁰ Shot by those two warriors, O king, the shafts looked beautiful in the welkin like cranes in the autumnal sky.¹¹ Those shafts, O lord, reaching the son of Kunti, entered his body like birds disappearing within a tree bending with a load of tasteful fruits.¹² Arjuna then, that foremost of car-warriors, uttering a loud roar in that battle, pierced the ruler of the Trigartas and his son with his shafts.¹³ Pierced by Pārtha like Death himself at the end of the *Yuga*, they were unwilling to avoid Pārtha, resolved as they were on laying down their lives.¹⁴ And they shot showers of arrows at the car of Arjuna. Arjuna, however, received those arrowy showers with showers of his own, like a mountain, O monarch, receiving a down-pour from the clouds. And the lightness of hand that we then beheld of Vibhatsu was exceedingly wonderful.¹⁵⁻¹⁶ For alone he baffled that unbearable shower of arrows shot by many warriors, like the wind alone scattering myriads of clouds rushing upon clouds.¹⁷ And at that feat of Pārtha, the gods and the *Dānavas* (assembled there for witnessing the fight) were highly gratified. Then, O Bhārata,

enraged with the Trigartas in that battle, Pārtha¹⁸ shot, O king, the *Vāyavya* weapon against their division. Then arose a wind that agitated the welkin,¹⁹ felled many trees, and smote down the (hostile) troops. Then Drona, beholding the fierce *Vāyavya* weapon,²⁰ himself shot an awful weapon called the *Çaila*. And when that weapon, O ruler of men, was shot by Drona in that battle, the wind abated and the ten quarters became calm. The heroic son of Pāndu, however, made the car-warriors of the Trigarta division destitute of prowess and hope, and caused them to turn their backs on the field. Then Duryodhana and that foremost of car-warriors, viz., Kripa,²¹⁻²² and Aṣwatthāman, and Calya, and Sudakshina the ruler of the Kāmvojas, and Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti, and Vālhika supported by the Vālhikas,²⁴ with a large number of cars surrounded Pārtha on all sides. And similarly Bhagadatta also, and the mighty Crutāyush,²⁵ surrounded Bhima on all sides with an elephant division. And Bhuriçravas, and Cala, and Suvala's son, O monarch,²⁶ began to check the twin sons of Mādri with showers of bright and sharp arrows. Bhishma, however, in that battle, supported by the sons of Dhritarāshtra with their troops,²⁷ approaching Yudhishtira, surrounded him on all sides. Beholding that elephant division coming towards him, Prithā's son Vrikodara,²⁸ possessed of great courage, began to lick the corners of his mouth like a lion in the forest. Then Bhima, that foremost of car-warriors, taking up his mace in that great battle,²⁹ quickly jumped down from his car and struck terror into the hearts of thy warriors. Beholding him mace in hand, those elephant-warriors³⁰ in that battle carefully surrounded Bhimasena on all sides. Stationed in the midst of those elephants, the son of Pāndu looked resplendent³¹ like the Sun in the midst of a mighty mass of clouds. Then that bull among the sons of Pāndu began with his mace to consume that elephant-division³² like the wind dispelling an huge mass of clouds covering the welkin. Those tuskers, while being slaughtered by the mighty Bhimasena,³³ uttered loud cries of woe like roaring masses of clouds. With diverse scratches (on his person) inflicted by those huge animals with

their tusks,³⁴ the son of Prithā looked beautiful on the field of battle like a flowering *Kinçuka*. Seizing some of the elephants by their tusks he deprived them of those weapons.³⁵ Wrenching out the tusks of others, with those very tusks he struck them on their frontal globes and felled them in battle like the Destroyer himself armed with his rod.³⁶ Wielding his mace bathed in gore, and himself bespattered with fat and marrow and smeared with blood, he looked like *Rudra* himself.³⁷ Thus slaughtered by him, the few gigantic elephants that remained, ran away on all sides, O king, crushing even friendly ranks.³⁸ And in consequence of those huge elephants fleeing away on all sides, Duryodhana's troops once more, O bull of Bharata's race, fled away from the field.'"³⁹

SECTION CIV.

"Sanjaya said,—'At midday, O king, happened a fierce battle, fraught with great carnage, between Bhishma and the Somakas.¹ That foremost of car-warriors, *viz.*, Gangā's son, began to consume the ranks of the Pāndavas with keen shafts by hundreds and thousands.² Thy sire Devavrata began to grind those troops like a herd of bulls grinding (with their tread) a heap of paddy sheaves.³ Then Dhrishtadyumna and Cikhandin and Virāta and Drupada, falling upon Bhishma in that battle, struck that mighty car-warrior with numerous arrows.⁴ Bhishma then, having pierced Dhrishtadyumna and Virāta each with three arrows, sped a long shaft, O Bhārata, at Drupada.⁵ Thus pierced in battle by Bhishma, that grinder of foes, those great bowmen became filled with wrath, O king, like snakes trod upon (by human feet).⁶ Then Cikhandin pierced the grandsire of the Bharatas (with many shafts). Of unfading glory, Bhishma, however, regarding his foe as a female, struck him not.⁷ Dhrishtadyumna then, in that battle, blazing up with wrath like fire, struck the grandsire with three shafts in his arms and chest.⁸ And Drupada pierced Bhishma with five and twenty shafts, and Virāta pierced him with ten, and Cikhandin with five and twenty.⁹ Deeply pierced (with those shafts) he became covered with blood, and

looked beautiful like a red *Açoka* variegated with flowers.¹⁰ Then the son of Gangā pierced in return, each of them with three straight shafts. And then, O sire, he cut off Drupada's bow with a broad-headed arrow.¹¹ The latter then, taking up another bow, pierced Bhishma with five shafts. And he pierced Bhishma's charioteer also with three sharp shafts on the field of battle.¹² Then the five sons of Draupadi, and the five Kaikeya brothers, and Sātyaki also of the Sātвата race,¹³ headed by Yudhishtira, all rushed towards Gangā's son, desirous of protecting the Pāñchālas headed by Dhrištadyumna.¹⁴ And so all the warriors of thy army also, O king, prepared to protect Bhishma, rushed at the head of their troops against the Pāñdava host.¹⁵ And then happened there a fierce general engagement between thy army of men, steeds, and elephants, and theirs, that increased the population of Yama's kingdom.¹⁶ And car-warriors falling upon car-warriors despatched one another to Yama's abode. And so men and elephant-riders and horse-riders, falling upon others (of their class),¹⁷ despatched them to the other world with straight shafts. And here and there on the field, O monarch, cars, deprived of riders and charioteers by means of diverse kinds of fierce shafts, were in that battle dragged on all sides over the field.¹⁸ And those cars, O king, crushing large numbers of men and steeds in that battle, were seen to resemble the wind itself (in speed) and vapoury edifices in the firmament (for their picturesque forms).¹⁹ And many car-warriors cased in mail and endued with great energy, decked with ear-rings and head-gears and adorned with garlands and bracelets, and resembling the children of the celestials, equal to Cakra himself for prowess in battle, surpassing Vaiçravaṇa in wealth and Vrihaspati in intelligence, ruling over extensive territories, and possessed of great heroism, O monarch, deprived of their cars, were seen to run hither and thither like ordinary men.*²⁰⁻²² Huge tuskers also, O chief of men, deprived of their skilled riders, ran, crush-

* In this long sentence I have exactly followed the order of the original, with the exception of the phrase "deprived of their cars" which occurs as the second word of the 20th verse.—T.

ing friendly ranks, and fell down with loud shrieks.²³ Prodigious elephants looking like newly-risen clouds and roaring also like the clouds, were seen to run in all directions, deprived of their coats of mail. And, O sire, their *Chāmaras* and variegated standards, their umbrellas with golden staves, and the bright lances (of their riders), lay scattered about.²⁴⁻²⁵ And elephant-riders, O king, deprived of their elephants, belonging both to thy army and theirs, were seen to run (on foot) amid that awful press.²⁶ And steeds from diverse countries, decked with ornaments of gold, were seen, by hundreds and thousands, to run with the speed of the wind.²⁷ And horse-riders, deprived of their horses, and armed with swords, were in that battle seen to run, or made to run (by others assailing them).²⁸ Elephant, meeting with a flying elephant in that dread battle, proceeded, quickly crushing foot-soldiers and steeds.²⁹ And, similarly, O king, those prodigious creatures crushed many cars in that battle, and cars also, coming upon fallen steeds, crushed them (in their course).³⁰ And steeds too, in the press of battle, crushed many foot-soldiers, O king, (with their hoofs). And thus, O monarch, they crushed one another in diverse ways.†³¹ And in that fierce and awful battle there flowed a terrible river of bloody current.³² And heaps of bows obstructed its straight course, and the hair (of slain warriors) formed its moss. And (broken) cars formed its lakes, and arrows its eddies. And steeds formed its fishes.³³ And heads (severed from trunks) formed its blocks of stone. And it abounded with elephants that formed its crocodiles. And coats of mail and head-gears formed its froth. And bows (in the hands of the warriors) constituted the speed of its current, and swords its tortoises.³⁴ And banners and standards in profusion formed the trees on its banks. And mortals constituted its banks which that river continually ate away. And it abounded with

* Both the Bombay and the Bengal texts repeat *Chāmarais* in the second line of 24th. This is certainly erroneous. The Burdwan Pundits read it *tomarais*. This is correct.—T.

† In the second line of 30th, the correct reading is *Rathās* (nom. plural) and not *Rathān*. So in the first line of 31st, the word is *turangās* (nom. plural) and not *turangān*.—T.

cannibals that formed its swans. And that stream (instead of swelling the ocean with its discharge) swelled the population of Yama's kingdom.³⁶ And brave Kshatriyas,—mighty warriors,—casting off all fear, O king, sought to cross that river with the aid of cars, elephants, and steeds that played the part of rafts and boats.³⁷ And as the river Vaitarani beareth all departed spirits towards the domains of the King of the Dead, so that river of bloody current bore away all timid men deprived of their senses in a swoon.³⁷ And the Kshatriyas, beholding that awful carnage, all exclaimed, saying,—*Alas, through Duryodhana's fault the Kshatriyas are being exterminated !*³⁸ *Why, Oh, Dhritarāshtra of sinful soul, deluded by avarice, harboured envy for the sons of Pāndu, who are graced with numerous virtues !*³⁹—Diverse exclamations of this kind were heard there, made by one another, fraught with the praises of the Pāndavas and censure of thy sons.⁴⁰ Hearing then these words uttered by all the combatants, thy son Duryodhana, that offender against all,⁴¹ addressed Bhishma and Drona and Kripa and Calya, O Bhārata, saying,—Fight ye without boastfulness ! Why tarry ye at all ?⁴²—Then the battle was resumed between the Kurus and the Pāndavas, that fierce battle, O king, caused by the match at dice and marked by an awful slaughter.⁴³ Thou beholdest now, O son of Vichitravirya, the dread fruit of that rejection by thee (of the counsels of thy friends) though warned against it by many illustrious persons !⁴⁴ Neither the sons of Pāndu, O king, nor their troops, nor they that follow them, nor the Kauravas, show the least regard for their lives in battle.⁴⁵ For this reason, O tiger among men, a dreadful destruction of kinsmen is taking place, caused either by Destiny or by thy evil policy, O king ! ”⁴⁶

SECTION CV.

“Sanjaya said,—‘O tiger among men, Arjuna sent those Kshatriyas that followed Suçarman, to the abode of the King

* I have expanded the original a little to make the sense clear.—T.

of the Dead by means of his whetted shafts.¹ Suçarman, however, in that battle, pierced Pārtha with his shafts. And he pierced Vāsudeva with seventy, and Arjuna once more with nine shafts.² Checking those shafts by means of his arrowy showers, that mighty car-warrior, *viz.*, the son of Indra, despatched Suçarman's troops unto Yama's abode.³ Those mighty car-warriors, while being slaughtered by Pārtha in that battle as if by Death himself at the end of the *Yuga*, all fled away from the field, O king, struck with panic.⁴ Some abandoning their steeds, some abandoning, O sire, their cars, and others their elephants, fled away in all directions.⁵ Others, taking with them their horses, elephants, and cars, fled away, O king, with great speed.⁶ Foot-soldiers, in that dreadful battle, throwing aside their weapons, and without any regard for one another, fled away hither and thither.⁷ Though forbidden by Suçarman the ruler of the Trigartas, and by other foremost of kings, they stayed not yet in battle.⁸ Beholding that host routed, thy son Duryodhana himself at the head of the whole army and with Bhishma ahead,⁹ attacked Dhananjaya with all his vigor, for the sake, O king, of (protecting) the life of the ruler of the Trigartas.¹⁰ Alone he stayed in battle, scattering diverse kinds of arrows, supported by all his brothers. The rest of the men all fled away.¹¹ Similarly, the Pāndavas, O king, clad in mail and with all their vigor, proceeded, for the sake of Phālguna, to the spot where Bhishma was.¹² Although acquainted with the awful prowess, in battle, of the wielder of *Gāndiva*, these yet proceeded with loud cries and great bravery to the spot where Bhishma was and surrounded him on all sides.¹³ Then the palmyra-bannered hero covered the Pāndava army, in that battle, with his straight shafts.¹⁴ The Sun had reached the meridian, the Kauravas, O king, fought with the Pāndavas in one confused mass.¹⁵ The heroic Sātyaki, having pierced Kritavarman with five arrows, stayed in battle, scattering his arrows by thousands.¹⁶ And so king Drupada also, having pierced Drona with many whetted shafts, once more pierced him with seventy shafts and his charioteer with nine.¹⁷ Bhimasena also, having pierced his great grandsire king Vālhika, uttered a loud-roar

like a tiger in the forest.¹⁸ Arjuna's son (Abhimanyu), pierced by Chitrasena with many shafts, deeply pierced Chitrasena in the chest with three arrows.¹⁹ Engaged with each other in battle, those two foremost of men looked resplendent on the field like the planets Venus and Saturn, O king, in the firmament.*²⁰ Then that slayer of foes, *viz.*, the son of Subhadra, having slain his antagonist's steeds and charioteer with nine arrows, uttered a loud shout.²¹ Thereupon that mighty car-warrior, (*viz.*, Chitrasena,) quickly jumping down from that car whose steeds had been slain, mounted O king, without delay, the car of Durmukha.²² The valiant Drona, piercing Drupada with many straight shafts, quickly pierced the latter's charioteer also.²³ Then, O king, Drupada, thus afflicted at the head of his troops, retreated by the aid of his fleet steeds, recollecting the hostility that existed from days of old (between himself and Drona).²⁴ Bhimasena, within a moment, deprived king Vālhika of his steeds, car, and charioteer, in the very sight of all the troops.²⁵ Fallen into a situation of great danger and with fear in his heart, O king, Vālhika, that best of men, jumping down from that vehicle,²⁶ quickly mounted upon the car of Lakshmana in that battle. Sātyaki, having checked Kritavarman in that dreadful battle,²⁷ fell upon the grandsire and rained on him shafts of diverse kinds.† Piercing the grandsire with sixty whetted shafts winged with feathers,²⁸ he seemed to dance on his car, shaking his large bow. The grandsire then hurled at him a mighty dart made of iron,²⁹ decked with gold, endued with great velocity, and beautiful as a daughter of the Nāgas. Beholding that irresistible dart, resembling Death himself, coursing towards him,³⁰ that illustrious warrior of the Vrishni race baffled it by the celerity of his movements. Thereupon that fierce dart, unable to reach him of the Vrishni race,³¹ fell down on the earth like a large meteor of blazing splendour. Then he of Vrishni's race, O king, taking up with a firm hand his

* This is differently read in the Bombay edition. I adopt the Bengal reading, which is better.—T.

† Lit. "reached him with shafts &c."—T.

own dart of golden effulgence, hurled it at the car of the grandsire. That dart, hurled in that dreadful battle with the strength of Sātyaki's arms,³²⁻³³ coursed impetuously like the fatal night coursing speedily towards a (doomed) man. As it coursed, however, towards him with great force, Bhishma cut it in twain, O Bhārata,³⁴ with a couple of horse-shoe-headed arrows of keen-edge, and thereupon it fell down on the earth. Having cut that dart, that grinder of foes, viz., Gangā's son, excited with wrath and smiling the while, struck Sātyaki in the chest with nine arrows. Then the Pāndava warriors, O elder brother of Pāndu, with their cars, elephants, and steeds,³⁵⁻³⁶ surrounded Bhishma in that battle, for the sake of rescuing him of Madhu's race. Then commenced again a fierce battle, making the hair to stand on end, between the Pāndavas and the Kurus both of whom were desirous of victory.'"³⁷

SECTION CVI.

"Sanjaya said,—'Beholding Bhishma excited with wrath in battle, surrounded on all sides by the Pāndavas like the Sun in the firmament, O king, by the clouds at the end of summer,¹ Duryodhana, O monarch, addressed Dusçāsana, saying,—This heroic and great bowman Bhishma, this slayer of heroes,² hath, O bull of Bharata's race, been surrounded on all sides by the brave Pāndavas. It is thy duty, O hero, to protect that illustrious one !³ Protected by us in battle, our grandsire Bhishma will slay all the Pāñchālas along with the Pāndavas.⁴ The protection of Bhishma, therefore, is, I think, our highest duty, for this great bowman of high vows, viz., Bhishma, is our protector in return !⁵ Therefore, surrounding the grandsire with all our troops, do thou protect him, who al-

* Both the Bengal and the Bombay printed texts are in fault regarding the word *Pāndupurvaḥ*. The Bombay text makes it a nominal plural. The Bengal text makes it an accusative singular. There can be no doubt that the Burdwan Pundits are right in taking it as a vocative.—T.

ways achieveth the most difficult feats in battle !*—Thus addressed by Duryodhana, thy son Dusçāsana, surrounding Bhishma with a large force on all sides, took up his position.⁷ Then Suvala's son Cakuni, with hundreds and thousands of horsemen having bright spears and swords and lances in hand,⁸ and who formed a proud, well-dressed, and strong body bearing standards, and who were mingled with excellent foot-soldiers that were all well-trained and skilled in battle,⁹ began to check Nakula, and Sahadeva, and Yudhishtira the son of Pāndu, surrounding those foremost of men on all sides.¹⁰ Then king Duryodhana despatched ten thousand (other) brave horsemen for resisting the Pāndavas.¹¹ When these rushed, like so many Garudas, towards the enemy with great impetuosity, the earth, O king, struck with their horses hoofs, trembled and uttered a loud noise.¹² And the loud clatter of their hoofs was heard resembling the noise made by a large forest, in conflagration, of bamboos on a mountain.¹³ And as these dashed over the field, there rose a cloud of dust, which rising to the welkin shrouded the very Sun.¹⁴ And in consequence of those impetuous steeds, the Pāndava army was agitated like a large lake with a flight of swans suddenly alighting on its bosom.¹⁵ And in consequence of their neighing, nothing else could be heard there. Then king Yudhishtira, and the two sons of Pāndu by Mādri,¹⁶ quickly checked the charge of those horsemen in battle, like the continent, O king, bearing the force, at full tide, of the surging sea swollen with the waters of the rainy season. Then those (three) car-warriors, O monarch, with their straight shafts,¹⁷⁻¹⁸ cut off the heads of those horse-riders. Slain by those strong bowmen, they fell down, O king, (on the earth),¹⁹ like mighty elephants tumbling into mountain caves, slain by huge compeers. Indeed, coursing all over the field, those warriors (of the Pāndava army) cut off the heads of those cavalry soldiers with sharp bearded darts and straight shafts. Struck with swords, those horsemen, O bull of Bha-

* In the first line of 19th occurs, in all the texts, a superfluous word *çarma*.—T.

rata's race,²⁰⁻²¹ suffered their heads to drop like tall trees dropping their fruits. All over the field, O king, steeds along with their riders were seen fallen or falling, deprived of life. And while being (thus) slaughtered, the steeds, affected with panic, fled away,²²⁻²³ like smaller animals desirous of saving their lives at sight of the lion. And the Pāndavas, O king, having vanquished their foes in that great battle,²⁴ blew their conchs and beat their drums. Then Duryodhana, filled with grief on seeing his troops vanquished,²⁵ addressed the ruler of the Madras, O chief of the Bhāratas, and said,—There, the eldest son of Pāndu, accompanied by the twins in battle,²⁶ in thy very sight, O thou of mighty arms, routeth our troops, O lord! O mighty-armed one, resist him like the continent resisting the ocean!²⁷ Thou art exceedingly well-known as possessed of might and prowess that are irresistible!—Hearing these words of thy son, the valiant Calya²⁸ proceeded with a large body of cars to the spot where Yudhishtira was. Thereupon the son of Pāndu began to resist in battle that large host of Calya rushing impetuously towards him with the force of a mighty wave. And that mighty car-warrior, viz., king Yudhishtira the just, in that battle quickly pierced the ruler of the Madras in the centre of the chest with ten shafts. And Nakula and Sahadeva struck him with seven straight shafts.²⁹⁻³¹ The ruler of the Madras then struck each of them with three arrows. And once more he pierced Yudhishtira with sixty sharp-pointed arrows.³² And excited with wrath he struck each of the sons of Mādri also with two shafts. Then that vanquisher of foes, the mighty-armed Bhima, beholding the king, in that great battle, staying within reach of Calya's car as if within the very jaws of Death, quickly proceeded to Yudhishtira's side.³³⁻³⁴ Then when the Sun, having passed the meridian, was sinking, there commenced a fierce and terrible battle (on that part of the field).'³⁵

SECTION CVII.

“Sanjaya said,—‘Then thy sire, excited with wrath, began to strike the Pārthas and their troops all around, with excel-

lent shafts of great sharpness.¹ And he pierced Bhima with twelve shafts, and Sātyaki with nine. And having pierced Nakula with three shafts, he pierced Sahadeva with seven.² And he pierced Yudhishtira in the arms and the chest with twelve shafts. And piercing Dhrishtadyumna also, that mighty warrior uttered a loud roar.³ Him Nakula pierced (in return) with twelve shafts, and Sātyaki with three. And Dhrishtadyumna pierced him with seventy shafts, and Bhimasena with seven.⁴ And Yudhishtira pierced the grandsire in return with twelve shafts. Drona (on the other hand), having pierced Sātyaki, pierced Bhimasena next.⁵ And he pierced each of them with five sharp shafts, each of which resembled the rod of Death. Each of those two, however, pierced Drona, that bull among Brāhmanas, in return, with three straight shafts. The Sauviras, the Kitavas, the Easterners, the Westerners, the Northerners, the Mālavas,⁶⁻⁷ the Abhishāhas, the Curasenas, the Civis, and the Vasātis, did not avoid Bhishma in battle although they were incessantly slaughtered by him with sharp shafts.⁸ And similarly kings coming from diverse countries and armed with diverse weapons, approached the Pāndavas (without seeking to avoid them in battle).⁹ And the Pāndavas, O king, surrounded the grandsire on all sides. Surrounded on all sides, yet unvanquished by that large body of cars,¹⁰ Bhishma blazed up like a fire in the midst of a forest, and consumed his foes. His car was his fire-chamber; his bow constituted the flames (of that fire); swords, darts, and maces, constituted the fuel;¹¹ his shafts were the sparks (of that fire); and Bhishma was himself the fire that consumed the foremost of Kshatriyas. Indeed, with shafts furnished with golden wings and vulturine feathers and endued with great energy,¹² with barbed arrows, and *nālikas*, and long shafts, he covered the hostile host. And he felled elephants and car-warriors also with his sharp shafts.¹³ And he made that large body of cars resemble a forest of palmyras shorn of their leafy heads. And that mighty-armed warrior, that foremost of all wielders of weapons, O king, deprived cars and elephants and steeds of their riders in that conflict. And hearing the twang of his bowstring and the noise of his palms, loud as the roar of the

thunder, all the troops trembled, O Bhārata. The shafts of thy sire, O bull of Bharata's race, told on the foe.¹⁴⁻¹⁶ Indeed, shot from Bhishma's bow they did not strike the coats of mail only (but pierced them through). And we beheld, O king, many cars destitute of their brave riders dragged over the field of battle, O monarch, by the fleet steeds yoked unto them. Fourteen thousand car-warriors, belonging to the Chedis, the Kācis, and the Karushas, of great celebrity and noble parentage, prepared to lay down their lives, unretreating from the field, and owning excellent standards decked with gold,¹⁷⁻¹⁹ having met with Bhishma in battle who resembled the Destroyer himself with wide-open mouth, all went to the other world along with their cars, steeds, and elephants.²⁰ And we beheld there, O king, cars by hundreds and thousands, some with their *Akshas* and bottoms broken, and some, O Bhārata, with broken wheels.²¹ And the earth was strewn with cars broken along with their wooden fences, with the prostrate forms of car-warriors, with shafts, with beautiful but broken coats of mail, with axes, O monarch; with maces and short arrows and sharp shafts, with bottoms of cars, with quivers and broken wheels, O sire, with innumerable bows and scimitars and heads decked with ear-rings; with leathern fences and gloves and overthrown standards, and with bows broken in various parts. And elephants, O king, destitute of riders, and slain horsemen,²²⁻²⁵ lay prostrate on the field by hundreds and thousands. Those heroic warriors (of the Pāndava army), notwithstanding all their efforts, could not rally those car-warriors, who, afflicted by the shafts of Bhishma, were flying away from the field. Indeed, O king, that mighty host, while being slaughtered by Bhishma endued with energy equal to that of Indra himself,²⁶⁻²⁷ broke so completely that no two persons fled together. With its cars, elephants, and steeds overthrown, and with its standards laid low in profusion,²⁸ the army of the sons of Pāndu, deprived of its senses, uttered loud exclamations of woe. And at that time, sire slew

* The last half of the second line of 28th is read incorrectly in the Bengal texts.—T.

son, and son slew sire,³⁹ and friend smote dear friend, impelled by fate. And many combatants of the Pāndava army, throwing aside their armour,³⁹ were seen flying in all directions with dishevelled hair. Indeed, the Pāndava troops looked like bulls running wild in fear, and no longer restrained by the yoke.³¹ Indeed, loud were the exclamations we heard, of woe that they uttered !

“ Then that delighter of the Yādavas, beholding the Pāndava army breaking,³² reined the excellent car (that he guided), and addressing Vibhatsu the son of Prithā, said,—That hour is come, O Pārtha, which thou hadst hoped for !³³ Strike now, O tiger among men, or thou wilt be deprived of thy senses ! Formerly, O hero, thou saidst, O Pārtha, in that conclave of kings in Virāta's city, in the presence also of Sanjaya, these words :—*I will slay all the warriors of Dhritarāshtra's son, all of them with their followers, including Bhishma and Drona, that would fight with me in battle !*—O son of Kuntī, O chastiser of foes, make those words of thine true ! Remembering the duty of a Kshatriya, fight, without any anxiety !—Thus addressed by Vāsudeva, Arjuna hung down his head and looked askance at him.³⁴⁻³⁷ And Vibhatsu replied very unwillingly, saying,—To acquire sovereignty with hell in the end, having slain those who should not be slain,³⁸ or the woes of an exile in the woods,—(these are the alternatives) ! Which of these should I achieve ? Urge the steeds, O Hrishi-keça, I will do thy bidding !³⁹ I will overthrow the Kuru grandsire Bhishma, that invincible warrior !—Thus asked, Mādhava urged those steeds of a silvery hue,⁴⁰ to the spot where Bhishma, incapable of being looked at like the Sun himself, was staying. Then that large host of Yudhishtira rallied and came again to the fight,⁴¹ beholding the mighty-armed Pārtha proceeding for an encounter with Bhishma. Then Bhishma, that foremost one among the Kurus, repeatedly roared like a lion.⁴² And he soon covered Dhananjaya's car with a shower of arrows. Within a trice that car of his, with its steeds and charioteer,⁴³ became entirely invisible in consequence of that thick shower of arrows. Vāsudeva, however, without fear, mustering patience, and endued with

great activity,⁴⁴ urged those steeds mangled with Bhishma's shafts. Then Pārtha, taking up his celestial bow of twang loud as the roar of the clouds,⁴⁵ caused Bhishma's bow to drop from his hands, cutting it (into fragments) by means of his sharp shafts. Then thy sire, the Kuru hero, whose bow had thus been cut off, stringed another large bow within the twinkling of the eye. Arjuna, however, excited with wrath, cut that bow also of his.⁴⁶⁻⁴⁷ The son of Cāntanu applauded that lightness of hand displayed by Arjuna, saying,—*Well done, Well done, O mighty-armed one! Well done, O son of Kunti!*⁴⁸—Having addressed him thus, Bhishma took up another beautiful bow in that battle, and shot many arrows at Pārtha's car.⁴⁹ And Vāsudeva showed great skill in the management of steeds, for, displaying the circling motion he baffled all those arrows (of Bhishma).⁵⁰ Mangled with the arrows of Bhishma, those two tigers among men looked beautiful like two angry bulls marked with scratches of horns.⁵¹ Then that slayer of hostile heroes, *viz.*, the mighty-armed Vāsudeva of Madhu's race, beholding that Pārtha was fighting mildly and that Bhishma was incessantly scattering his arrowy showers in battle, that, stationed between the two hosts, the latter was scorching everything like the Sun himself, smiting down the foremost of Yudhishtira's combatants, and, in fact, achieving feats on Yudhishtira's army like unto what happeneth at the end of the *Yuga*, could not any longer bear it.⁵²⁻⁵⁴ Abandoning then, O sire, Pārtha's steeds that looked like silver, and filled with wrath, that great lord of *Yoga* powers jumped down from that great car.⁵⁵ Repeatedly roaring like a lion, the mighty Krishna of great energy and immeasurable splendour, the Lord of the Universe, with eyes red as copper from rage, and having his bare arms alone for his weapons, rushed towards Bhishma, whip in hand, desirous of slaying him, and seeming to split the universe itself with his tread.⁵⁶⁻⁵⁷ Beholding Mādhava in the vicinity of Bhishma and about to fall upon him in that furious battle, the hearts of all the combatants seemed to be in a stupor.⁵⁸—*Bhishma is slain, Bhishma is slain!*—these loud exclamations were

* The first word of this verse is read variously.—T.

heard there, O king, caused by the fear inspired by Vāsudeva.⁵⁹ Robed in yellow silk, and himself dark as the *lapis lazuli*, Janārdhana, when he pursued Bhishma, looked beautiful as a mass of clouds charged with lightning.⁶⁰ Like a lion towards an elephant, or the leader of a bovine herd upon another of his speices, that bull of Madhu's race, with a loud roar, impetuously rushed towards Bhishma.⁶¹ Beholding him of eyes like lotus petals (thus) rushing towards him in that battle, Bhishma began to fearlessly draw his large bow.⁶² And with a fearless heart he addressed Govinda, saying,—Come, come, O thou of eyes like lotus petals ! O God of the gods, I bow to thee !⁶³ O best of the Sātwtas, throw me down today in this great battle ! O god, slain by thee in battle, O sinless one,⁶⁴ great will be the good done to me, O Krishna, in every respect in the world ! Amongst all in the three worlds, great is the honor done to me today in battle, O Govinda !⁶⁵ Strike me as thou pleasest, for I am thy slave, O sinless one !—Meanwhile, the mighty-armed Pārtha, quickly following Keçava behind,⁶⁶ seized him by encircling him with his two arms. That best of male beings, *viz.*, Krishna, of eyes like lotus petals, seized by Pārtha,⁶⁷ still proceeded with great speed, bearing the latter away with him. The mighty Pārtha, that slayer of hostile heroes, however, forcibly catching hold of his legs,⁶⁸ stopped Hrishikeça with great difficulty at the tenth step. Then Arjuna, his dear friend, filled with sorrow, affectionately addressed Keçava, who was then sighing like a snake and whose eyes were troubled in wrath, saying,—O thou of mighty arms, stop ! O Keçava, it behoveth thee not to make those words false which thou hadst spoken before, *viz.*, *I will not fight* !—O Mādhava, people will say that thou art a liar !⁶⁹⁻⁷¹ All this burthen resteth upon me ! *I will slay the grandsire ! I swear, O Keçava, by my weapons, by truth, and by my good deeds,*⁷² that, O slayer of foes, I will do all by which the destruction of my foes may be achieved ! Behold this very day that invincible and mighty car-warrior in the act of being thrown down by me,⁷³ with the greatest ease, like the crescent moon at the end of the *Yuga* (when the destruction of the universe comes) !—Mādhava, however, hear-

ing these words of the high-souled Phālguna,⁷⁴ spoke not a word, but in anger once more mounted upon the car. And then upon those two tigers among men, when stationed on their car, Bhishma the son of Cāntanu once more⁷⁵ poured his arrowy showers like the clouds pouring rain upon the mountain-breast. Thy sire Devavrata took the lives of the (hostile) warriors⁷⁶ like the Sun sucking with his rays the energies of all things during summer. As the Pāndavas had been breaking the ranks of the Kurus in battle,⁷⁷ so thy sire broke the Pāndava ranks in battle. And the routed soldiers, hopeless and heartless,⁷⁸ slaughtered in hundreds and thousands by Bhishma, were unable to even look at him in that battle,—him who resembled the midday Sun blazing in his own splendour ! Indeed, the Pāndavas, afflicted with fear, timidly gazed at Bhishma who was then achieving superhuman feats in that battle. And the Pāndava troops, thus fleeing away, O Bhārata,⁷⁹⁻⁸¹ failed to find a protector, like a herd of kine sunk in a slough, or like a shoal of ants while being trod down by a strong person.⁸² Indeed, the Pāndavas could not, O Bhārata, look at that mighty car-warrior incapable of being shaken, who, furnished with a profusion of shafts, was scorching the kings (in the Pāndava army), and who in consequence of those shafts looked like the blazing Sun shedding his fiery rays.⁸³ And while he was thus grinding the Pāndava army, the thousand-rayed maker of day repaired to the setting hills, and the troops, worn with fatigue, set their hearts on withdrawal (from the field).’⁸⁴

SECTION CVIII.

“Sanjaya said,—‘While they were battling, the Sun set, O Bhārata, and there came the dread hour of twilight and the battle could no longer be seen.¹ Then king Yudhishtira, seeing that twilight had come and that his own troops, slaughtered by Bhishma, had thrown aside their weapons, and that, stricken with fear, and turned off the field, they were seeking to fly away, and beholding Bhishma also, that mighty car-warrior, excited with wrath and afflicting everybody in the

fight, and noticing that the mighty car-warriors of the Somakas, having been vanquished, had all become cheerless, reflected a little, and then ordered the troops to be withdrawn.²⁻⁴ Then king Yudhishtira withdrew his forces. And similarly, the withdrawal of thy forces also took place at the same time.⁵ Then those mighty car-warriors, O chief of the Kurus, having withdrawn their forces, entered their tents, themselves mangled in battle.⁶ Afflicted by the shafts of Bhishma and reflecting upon that hero's feats in battle, the Pāndavas obtained no peace of mind.⁷ Bhishma also, having vanquished the Pāndavas and the Srinjayas in battle, was worshipped by thy sons and glorified by them, O Bhārata.⁸ Accompanied by the rejoicing Kurus, he then entered his tent. Night then set in, that deprives all creatures of their senses.⁹ Then in that fierce hour of night, the Pāndavas, the Vrishnis, and the invincible Srinjayas sat down for a consultation.¹⁰ All those mighty persons, skilled in arriving at conclusions in council, coolly deliberated about that which was beneficial for them in view of their immediate circumstances.¹¹ Then king Yudhishtira, having reflected for a long while, said these words, casting his eyes on Vāsudeva :¹²—Behold, O Krishna, the high-souled Bhishma of fierce prowess ! He crusheth my troops like an elephant crushing a forest of reeds !¹³ We dare not even look at that high-souled warrior. Like a raging conflagration he licketh up my troops !¹⁴ The valiant Bhishma of keen weapons, when excited with wrath in battle and bow in hand shooting his shafts, becometh as fierce as the mighty *Nāga* Takshaka of virulent poison ! Indeed, the angry Yama is capable of being vanquished, or even the chief of the celestials armed with the thunder,¹⁵⁻¹⁶ or Varuna himself, noose in hand, or the Lord of the *Yakshas* armed with mace ! But Bhishma, excited with wrath, is incapable of being vanquished in battle !¹⁷ When this is the case, O Krishna, I am, through the weakness of my understanding, plunged in an ocean of grief, having got Bhishma (as a foe) in battle !¹⁸ I will retire into the woods, O invincible one ! My exile there would be for my benefit. Battle, O Krishna, I no longer desire ! Bhishma slayeth us always !¹⁹ As an insect, by rushing

into a blazing fire, meeteth only with death, even so do I rush upon Bhishma !²⁰ In putting forth prowess, O thou of Vrishni's race, for the sake of my kingdom, I am, alas, led to destruction ! My brave brothers have all been exceedingly afflicted with arrows !²¹ In consequence of the affection they bear to myself their (eldest) brother, they had to go into the woods, deprived of kingdom ! For myself alone, O slayer of Madhu, hath Krishnā been sunk into such distress !²² I regard life to be of high value. Indeed, even life now seemeth to be difficult of being saved. (If I can save that life), its later remnant will I pass in the practice of excellent virtue !²³ If, with my brothers, O Keçava, I am worthy of thy favor, tell me, O Krishna, what is for my benefit, without contravening the duties of my order !²⁴—Hearing these words of his, many and (describing the situation) in detail, Krishna, from compassion, said these words in reply, for comforting Yudhishthira,²⁵—O son of Dharma, O thou that art firm in truth, do thou not indulge in sorrow, thou that hast these invincible heroes, these slayers of foes, for thy brothers !²⁶ Arjuna and Bhimasena are each endued with the energy of the Wind and the Fire. The twin sons of Mādri also are each as valiant as the Chief of the celestials himself.²⁷ From the good understanding that exists between us, do thou set me also to this task ! Even I, O son of Pāndu, will fight with Bhishma ! Directed by thee, O great king, what is there that I may not do in great battle !²⁸ Challenging that bull among men, *viz.*, Bhishma, I will slay him in battle, in the very sight of the Dhārtarāshtras, if Phālguna doth not wish to slay him !²⁹ If, O son of Pāndu, thou seest victory to be certain on the slaughter of the heroic Bhishma, even I, on a single car, will slay that aged grandsire of the Kurus !³⁰ Behold, O king, my prowess, equal to that of the great Indra, in battle ! I will overthrow from his car that warrior who always shooteth mighty weapons !³¹ He that is an enemy of the sons of Pāndu, without doubt, is my enemy also ! They that are yours are mine, and so they that are mine are yours !³² Thy brother (Arjuna) is my friend, relative, and disciple. I will, O king, cut off my own flesh and give it away for the sake of

Arjuna !³³ And this tiger among men also can lay down his life for my sake ! O sire, even this is our understanding, *viz.*, that we will protect each other !³⁴ Therefore, command me, O king, in what way I am to fight ! Formerly, at Upaplavya, Pārtha had, in the presence of many persons, vowed, saying,—*I will slay the son of Gangā.*—These words of the intelligent Pārtha should be observed (in practice).³⁵⁻³⁶ Indeed, if Pārtha requests me, without doubt I will fulfil that vow. Or, let it be the task of Phālguna himself in battle. It is not heavy for him.³⁷ He will slay Bhishma, that subjugator of hostile cities. If excited in battle, Pārtha can achieve feats that are incapable of being achieved by others.³⁸ Arjuna can slay in battle the very gods exerting themselves actively, along with the *Daityas* and the *Dānavas* ! What need be said of Bhishma, therefore, O king ?³⁹ Endued with great energy, Bhishma the son of Cāntanu is now of perverted judgment. Of intelligence decayed, and of little sense, without doubt, he knoweth not what he should do !⁴⁰—

“Hearing these words of Krishna, Yudhishtira said,—It is even so, O thou of mighty arms, even as thou sayest, O thou of Madhu’s race ! All these together are not competent to bear thy force !⁴¹ I am sure of always having whatever I desire, when, O tiger among men, I have thyself staying on my side.⁴² O foremost of victorious persons, I would conquer the very gods with Indra at their head, when, O Govinda, I have thee for my protector ! What need I say, therefore, of Bhishma though he is a mighty car-warrior ?⁴³ But, O Krishna, I dare not, for my own glorification, falsify thy words ! Therefore, O Mādhava, as promised before by thee, render me aid without fighting for me !⁴⁴ In this battle an agreement was made by me with Bhishma. He said,—*I will give thee counsel, but fight I shall never for thee,*⁴⁵ *since I shall have to fight for Duryodhana’s sake ! Know this for truth !*—Therefore, O lord, Bhishma may give me sovereignty by giving me good counsel, O Mādhava !⁴⁶ Therefore, O slayer of Madhu, all of us, accompanied by thee, will once more repair unto Devavrata, for asking him about the means of his own death.⁴⁷ All of us then, O best of persons, together going to

Bhishma without delay, will speedily ask him of Kuru's race his advice.⁴⁸ O Janārdhana, he will truly give us beneficial counsel; and, O Krishna, I will do in battle what he will say!⁴⁹ Of austere vows, he will give us counsel as also victory. We were children and orphans. By him were we reared.⁵⁰ O Mādhava, him, our aged grandsire, I wish to slay,—him, the sire of our sire! Oh, fie upon the profession of a *Kshatriya*!—⁵¹

“Sanjaya continued,—Hearing these words, O king, he of Vrishni's race said unto Yudhishtira,—O thou of great wisdom, these words of thine, O king, are to my taste!⁵² Bhishma, otherwise called Devavrata, is skilled in weapons. With only his glances he can consume the foe. Repair unto that son of the Ocean-going (Gangā), for asking him about the means of his death.⁵³ Asked by thee, in particular, he will certainly say the truth! We will, therefore, proceed for questioning the Kuru grandsire.⁵⁴ Repairing unto the reverend son of Cāntanu, we will, O Bhārata, ask him his advice, and according to the advice that he will give us, we will fight with the foe.⁵⁵—Having thus deliberated, O elder brother of Pāndu, the heroic sons of Pāndu, and the valiant Vāsudeva, all proceeded together⁵⁶ towards the abode of Bhishma, casting aside their coats of mail and weapons. And entering then his tent, they all bowed to him, bending their heads.⁵⁷ And the sons of Pāndu, O king, worshipping that bull of Bharata's race, and bowing unto him with their heads, sought his protection.⁵⁸ The Kuru grandsire, the mighty-armed Bhishma, then addressed them, saying,—Welcome art thou, O thou of Vrishni's race! Welcome art thou, O Dhananjaya!⁵⁹ Welcome to thee, O king Yudhishtira the just, and to thee, O Bhima! Welcome to you also, ye twins! What am I to do now for enhancing your joy?⁶⁰ Even if it be exceedingly difficult of achievement, I will yet do it with all my soul!—Unto the son of Gangā who thus repeatedly spoke unto them with such affection,⁶¹ king Yudhishtira, with a cheerless heart, lovingly said these words:—O thou that art conversant with everything, how shall we obtain victory, and how shall we acquire sovereignty?⁶² How also may this destruction of

creatures be stopped? Say all this unto me, O lord! Tell us the means of thy own death!⁶³ How, O hero, shall we be able to bear thee in battle? O grandsire of the Kurus, thou givest not thy foes even a minute hole to pick in thee!⁶⁴ Thou art seen in battle with thy bow ever drawn to a circle! When thou takest thy shafts, when aimest them, and when drawest the bow (for letting them off), no one is able to mark.⁶⁵ O slayer of hostile heroes, constantly smiting (as thou dost) cars and steeds and men and elephants, we behold thee on thy car, O mighty-armed one, to resemble a second Sun!⁶⁶ What man is there, O bull of Bharata's race, who can venture to vanquish thee! Scattering showers of arrows in battle, and causing a great carnage,⁶⁷ by thee hath my host been made to suffer a great destruction! Tell me, O grandsire, the means by which we may vanquish thee in battle, by which sovereignty may be ours, and, lastly, by which my army may not have to undergo such destruction!—Hearing these words, Cāntanu's son, O elder brother of Pāndu, said unto the son of Pāndu,⁶⁸⁻⁶⁹—As long as I am alive, O son of Kuntī, victory cannot be yours in battle, O thou of great wisdom! Truly do I say this unto thee!⁷⁰ After, however, I am vanquished in fight, ye may have victory in the battle, ye sons of Pāndu! If, therefore, ye desire victory in the battle, smite me down without delay!⁷¹ I give you permission, ye sons of Prithā, strike me as ye please! That I am thus known to you is what I regard to be a fortunate circumstance.* After I am slain, all the rest will be slain. Therefore, do as I bid!—⁷²

“Yudhishtira said,—Tell us the means by which we may vanquish thee in battle, thee that art, when excited with wrath in the fight, like unto the Destroyer himself armed with mace!⁷³ The wielder of the thunder-bolt may be vanquished, or Varuna, or Yama! Thou, however, art incapable.

* That you know me to be invincible is a fortunate circumstance, for if you had not known this, you would have fought on for days together and thus caused a tremendous destruction of creatures. By your coming to me now, that destruction may be stopped.—T.

of being defeated in battle by even the gods and the *Asuras* united together, with Indra at their head !⁷⁴—

“Bhishma said,—That, O son of Pāṇḍu, is true, which thou sayest, O thou of mighty arms ! When with weapons and my large bow in hand I contend carefully in battle, I am incapable of being defeated by the very gods and the *Asuras* with Indra at their head ! If, however, I lay aside my weapons, even these car-warriors can slay me !⁷⁵⁻⁷⁶ One that hath thrown away his weapons, one that hath fallen down, one whose armour hath slipped off, one whose standard is down, one who is flying away, one who is frightened, one who says—*I am thine*,⁷⁷ one who is a female, one who beareth the name of a female, one no longer capable of taking care of one's self, one who hath only a single son, or one who is a vulgar fellow,—with these I do not like to battle.⁷⁸ Hear also, O king, about my resolve formed before ! Beholding any inauspicious omen I would never fight !⁷⁹ That mighty car-warrior, the son of Drupada, O king, whom thou hast in thy army, who is known by the name of Cikhandin, who is wrathful in battle, brave, and ever victorious,⁸⁰ was a female before but subsequently obtained manhood. How all this took place, ye all know it truly !⁸¹ Brave in battle and clad in mail, let Arjuna, keeping Cikhandin before him, attack me with his sharp shafts.⁸² When that inauspicious omen will be there, especially in the form of one that was a female before, I will never seek, though armed with bow and arrow, to strike him.⁸³ Obtaining that opportunity, let Dhananjaya the son of Pāṇḍu quickly pierce me on every side with his shafts, O bull of Bharata's race !⁸⁴ Except the highly blessed Krishna, and Dhananjaya the son of Pāṇḍu, I do not behold the person in the three worlds who is able to slay me while exerting myself in battle !⁸⁵ Let Vibhatsu, therefore, armed with weapons, struggling carefully in battle, with his excellent bow in hand, placing (Cikhandin or) something else before me, throw me down (from my car) ! Then thy victory will be certain ! Do this, O great king, even this that I have said unto thee, O thou of excellent vows ! Thou wilt then be able to slay all the Dhārtarāshtras assembled together in battle !⁸⁶⁻⁸⁷

“Sanjaya continued,—‘The Pārthas then, having ascertained all this, went back to their tents, saluting the Kuru grandsire, viz., the high-souled Bhishma.⁸⁸ After Gangā’s son, prepared to go to the other world, had said this, Arjuna, burning with grief and his face suffused in shame, said these words:⁸⁹—How, O Mādhava, shall I fight in battle with the grandsire who is my senior in years, who is possessed of wisdom and intelligence, and who is the oldest member of our race?⁹⁰ While sporting in days of childhood, O Vāsudeva, I used to smear the body of this high-souled and illustrious one with dust by climbing on his lap with my own filthy body!⁹¹ O elder brother of Gada, he is the sire of my sire Pāndu! While a child, climbing on the lap of this high-souled one I once called him *father*!⁹²—*I am not thy father but thy father’s father, O Bhārata!*—even this is what he said to me (in reply) in my childhood! He who said so, Oh, how can he be slain by me!⁹³ Oh, let my army perish! Whether it is victory or death that I obtain, I will never fight with that high-souled person! (Even this is what I think!) What dost thou think, O Krishna!⁹⁴

“Vāsudeva said,—Having vowed the slaughter of Bhishma before, O Jishnu, how canst thou abstain from slaying him, agreeably to the duties of a Kshatriya?⁹⁵ Throw down from his car, O Pārtha, that Kshatriya who is invincible in battle. Victory can never be yours without slaying Gangā’s son.⁹⁶ Even thus shall he go to the abode of Yama. This hath been settled before by the gods. That which hath been destined before, O Pārtha, must happen. It cannot be otherwise.⁹⁷ None save thee, O invincible one, not even the wielder of the thunder-bolt himself, would be capable of fighting with Bhishma, who is like the Destroyer with wide-open mouth!⁹⁸ Slay Bhishma, without any anxiety! Listen also to these words of mine that are what Vrihaspati of great intelligence had said unto Cakra in days of old!⁹⁹ *One should slay even an aged person endued with every merit and worthy of reverence if he cometh as a foe, or, indeed, any other who approacheth for destroying one’s self.*¹⁰⁰ O Dhananjaya, this is the eternal duty sanctioned for the Kshatriyas, viz., that

they should fight, protect subjects, and perform sacrifices, all without malice!¹⁰¹

“Arjuna said,—Cikhandin, O Krishna, will certainly be the cause of Bhishma's death, for Bhishma, as soon as he beholds the prince of the Pāñchālas, abstains from striking.¹⁰² Therefore, keeping Cikhandin before him and at our head, we will, by that means, overthrow the son of Gangā! Even this is what I think.¹⁰³ I will hold in check other great bowmen with my shafts. As regards Cikhandin, he will fight with Bhishma alone, that foremost of all warriors!¹⁰⁴ I have heard from that chief of the Kurus that he would not strike Cikhandin, for having been born before as a woman he subsequently became a male person.’—¹⁰⁵

“Sanjaya continued,—‘Having settled this with Bhishma's permission, the Pāñdavas, along with Mād'hava, went away with rejoicing hearts. And then those bulls among men retired to their respective beds.’”¹⁰⁶

SECTION CIX.

“Dhritarāshtra said,—‘How did Cikhandin advance against the son of Gangā in battle, and how did Bhishma also advance against the Pāñdavas? Say all this unto me, O Sanjaya!’¹

“Sanjaya said,—‘Then all those Pāñdavas towards the hour of sunrise, with beat of drums and cymbals and smaller drums, and with the blare of conchs of milky whiteness, all around, went out for battle, placing Cikhandin in their van.²⁻³ And they marched out, O king, having formed an array that was destructive of all foes. And Cikhandin, O monarch, was stationed in the very van of all the troops.⁴ And Bhimasena and Dhananjaya became the protectors of his car-wheels. And in his rear were the sons of Draupadi and the valiant Abhimanyu.⁵ And those mighty car-warriors, *viz.*, Sātyaki and Chekitāna, became the protectors of the last. And behind

* The last verse consists of three lines. In some of the Bengal texts the last line is omitted—T.

them was Dhrishtadyumna protected by the Pāñchālas.⁶ Next to Dhrishtadyumna, behind, marched the royal lord Yudhishthira, accompanied by the twins, filling the air with leonine shouts, O bull of Bharata's race.⁷ Next behind him was Virāta, surrounded by his own troops. Next to him marched Drupada, O mighty-armed one.⁸ And the five Kaikeya brothers and the valiant Dhrishtaketu, O Bhārata, protected the rear of the Pāñdava army.⁹ Having disposed their vast army in such an array, the Pāñdavvas rushed against thy host, prepared to cast away their lives.¹⁰ And similarly the Kauravas, O king, placing that mighty car-warrior Bhishma at the head of their whole host, proceeded against the Pāñdavvas.¹¹ And that invincible warrior was protected by thy mighty sons. Next behind them was the great bowman Drona, as also his mighty son (Açwatthāman).¹² Next behind was Bhagadatta surrounded by his eldphant division. And behind Bhagadatta were Kripa and Kritavarman.¹³ Behind them were Sudakshina the mighty ruler of the Kāmvojas, and Jayatsena the king of the Māgadhas, and Suvala's son, and Vrihadvala.¹⁴ And similarly, many other kings, that were all great bowmen, protected the rear of thy host, O Bhārata !¹⁵ As each day came, Bhishma the son of Cāntanu, formed arrays in battle, some times after the manner of the *Asuras*, sometimes after that of the *Piçāchas*, and sometimes after that of the *Rākshasas*.¹⁶ Then commenced the battle between thy troops, O Bhārata, and theirs, both parties smiting one another and increasing the population of Yama's kingdom.¹⁷ And the Pārthas with Arjuna at their head, placing Cikhandin in the van, proceeded against Bhishma in that battle, scattering diverse kinds of arrows.¹⁸ And then, O Bhārata, afflicted by Bhima with his shafts, (many of) thy warriors, profusely bathed in blood, repaired to the other world.¹⁹ And Nakula and Sahādeva, and the mighty car-warrior Sātyaki, approaching thy army, began to afflict it with great vigor.²⁰ Thus slaughtered in battle, O bull of Bharata's race, thy warriors were unable to resist that vast host of the Pāñdavvas.²¹ Then thy host, vigorously afflicted by great car-warriors and thus slaughtered by them everywhere, fled away on all sides.²² Slaughtered with sharp

shafts by the Pāndavas and the Srinjayas, they found not a protector, O bull of Bharata's race !²³

" Dhritarāshtra said,—'Tell me, O Sanjaya, what the valiant Bhishma, excited with rage, did in battle, upon beholding my host afflicted by the Pārthas.²⁴ O sinless one, tell me how that hero, that chastiser of foes, rushed against the Pāndavas in battle, and slaughtered the Somakas !'²⁵

"Sanjaya said,—'I will tell thee, O king, what thy sire did when thy son's host was afflicted by the Pāndavas and the Srinjayas !²⁶ With cheerful hearts, the brave sons of Pāndu, O elder brother of Pāndu, encountered thy son's host, slaughtering (all whom thy met).²⁷ That carnage, O chief of men, of human beings, elephants, and steeds, that destruction by the foe of thy army in battle, Bhishma could not brook.²⁸ That invincible and great bowman, then, reckless of his very life, poured upon the Pāndavas, the Pānchālas, and the Srinjayas, showers of long shafts and calf-toothed and crescent-shaped arrows. Armed with weapons, O monarch, he checked with his shafts and with showers of other weapons, both offensive and defensive, all sped with energy and wrath, the five foremost of mighty car-warriors of the Pāndavas, who had been struggling vigorously in battle.²⁹⁻³¹ Excited with wrath, he slaughtered in that battle countless elephants and steeds. And that bull among men, O monarch, throwing down many car-warriors from their cars,³² and horsemen from their horses, and crowds of foot-soldiers, and elephant-warriors from the backs of the beasts they rode, struck terror into the foe,³³ And the Pāndava warriors all rushed together upon Bhishma singly, upon that mighty car-warrior struggling in battle with great activity, like the *Asuras* rushing together upon him with the thunder-bolt in hand.³⁴ Shooting on all sides his whetted arrows whose touch resembled that of Indra's thunder, he seemed to the enemy to have assumed a terrible visage.³⁵ While fighting in that battle,

* The adjective *Vahu* in the first line of 32 qualifies *rathinas* in the second line. The last word of the verse is a nom. sing, and not a vocative.—T.

his large bow, resembling that of Cakra himself, seemed to be always drawn to a circle.³⁶ Beholding those feats in battle, thy sons, O monarch, filled with exceeding wonder, worshipped the grandsire.³⁷ The Pārthas cast their eyes, with cheerless hearts, upon thy heroic sire struggling in battle, like the celestials upon (the *Asura*) Viprachitti (in days of old.)³⁸ They could not resist that warrior who then resembled the Destroyer himself with wide-open mouth. In that battle on the tenth day, Bhishma, with his sharp shafts, consumed the division of Cikhandin like a conflagration consuming a forest. Him resembling an angry snake of virulent poison, or the Destroyer urged by Death himself, Cikhandin pierced with three shafts in the centre of the chest. Deeply pierced therewith, Bhishma saw that it was Cikhandin (who was piercing him).³⁹⁻⁴¹ Excited with wrath, but unwilling (to fight with Cikhandin), Bhishma laughingly said,—Whether thou choosest to strike me or not, I will never fight with thee!⁴² Thou art that Cikhandin still which the Creator had made thee first!†—Hearing these words of his, Cikhandin, deprived of his senses by wrath,⁴³ and licking the corners of his mouth, addressed Bhishma in that battle, saying,—I know thee, O mighty-armed one, to be the exterminator of the Kshatriya race!⁴⁴ I have heard also of thy battle with Jamadagni's son! I have also heard much of thy superhuman prowess!⁴⁵ Knowing thy prowess I will still fight with thee today! For doing what is agreeable to the Pāndavas and what is agreeable to my own self, O chastiser of foes,⁴⁶ I will today fight with thee in battle, O best of men! I will, of a certainty, slay thee! I swear this before thee by my troth!⁴⁷ Hearing these words of mine, do that which thou shouldst! Whether thou choosest to strike me or not, thou shalt not escape me with life! O thou that art ever victorious, O Bhishma, look thy last on this world!—⁴⁸

* The Bengal texts read *mahaçuram* in the second line of the verse. This seems to be vicious. A better reading would be *mahāsuram* (the great *asura*). The Bombay text reads *rane çuram*. I adopt the last.—T.

† I. e., Thou art still a woman though thy sex hath been changed.—T.

“Sanjaya continued,—“Having said so, Cikhandin in that battle pierced Bhishma with five straight shafts, having already pierced him with his wordy shafts.⁴⁹ Hearing those words of his, the mighty car-warrior Arjuna, regarding Cikhandin to be Bhishma’s Destroyer, urged him on, saying,⁵⁰—I will fight behind thee, routing the foe with my shafts! Excited with fury, rush thou against Bhishma of terrible prowess!⁵¹ The mighty Bhishma will not be able to afflict thee in battle; Therefore, O mighty-armed one, encounter Bhishma with vigor.⁵² If, O sire, thou returnest today without slaying Bhishma, thou wilt, with myself, be an object of ridicule with the world!⁵³ Seek to do that in battle by which, O hero, we may not incur ridicule in this great battle! Slay the grandsire!⁵⁴ O thou of great strength, I will protect thee in this battle, checking all the car-warriors (of the Kuru army)! Do thou slay the grandsire!⁵⁵ Drona, and Drona’s son, and Kripa, and Suyodhana, and Chitrasena, and Vikarna, and Jayadratha the ruler of the Sindhus,⁵⁶ and Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti, and Sudakshina the ruler of the Kāmvojas, and the brave Bhagadatta, and the mighty king of the Magadhas,⁵⁷ and Somadatta’s son, and the brave *Rākshasa* who is Rishyaçringa’s son, and the ruler of the Trigartas, along with all the other great car-warriors (of the Kuru army),⁵⁸ I will check like the continent resisting the surging sea! Indeed, I will hold in check all the mighty warriors of the Kuru army assembled together and battling with us! Do thou slay the grandsire!—’ ”⁵⁹

SECTION CX.

“Dhritarāshtra said,—“How did Cikhandin the prince of the Pānchālas, excited with wrath, rush in battle against the grandsire, *viz.*, Gangā’s son of righteous soul and regulated vows? What mighty car-warriors of the Pāndava army, with upraised weapons, desirous of victory and exerting themselves with activity, protected Cikhandin on that occasion which required great activity?²⁸ How also did Bhishma the son of Cāntanu, endued with great energy, fight on that the tenth

day of battle with the Pāndavas and the Srinjays?³ I cannot brook the idea of Cikhandin encountering Bhishma in battle! (Indeed, when Cikhandin attacked Bhishma), was Bhishma's car or his bow broken?⁴

"Sanjaya said,—'While fighting in that battle, O bull of Bharata's race, neither the bow nor the car of Bhishma had suffered any injury.⁵ He was then slaying the foe with his straight shafts. Many thousands of mighty car-warriors belonging to thy army,⁶ as also elephants, O king, and steeds well harnessed, proceeded for battle, with the grandsire in the van.⁷ Agreeably to his vow, O thou of Kuru's race, the ever-victorious Bhishma was incessantly engaged in slaughtering the troops of the Pārthas.⁸ The Pāñchālas and the Pāndavas were unable to bear that great bowman battling (with them) and slaying his foes with his shafts.⁹ When the tenth day came, the hostile army was torn into pieces by Bhishma with his shafts by hundreds and thousands.¹⁰ O elder brother of Pāndu, the sons of Pāndu were incapable of defeating in battle the great bowman Bhishma who resembled the Destroyer himself armed with the lance!¹¹

"Then, O king, the unvanquished Vibhatsu or Dhananjaya, who was capable of drawing the bow with even the left hand, came to that spot, frightening all the car-warriors.¹² Roaring loudly like a lion, and repeatedly drawing the bowstring, and scattering showers of arrows, Pārtha careered on the field of battle like Death himself.¹³ Frightened at those roars of his, thy warriors, O bull of Bharata's race, fled away in terror, like smaller animals, O king, at the sound of the lion.¹⁴ Beholding the son of Pāndu crowned with victory and thus afflicting that host, Duryodhana, himself under the influence of terror, addressed Bhishma and said,¹⁵—Yon son of Pāndu, O sire, with white steeds (yoked unto his car), and having Krishna for his charioteer, consumeth all my troops like a conflagration consuming a forest!¹⁶ Behold, O son of Gangā, all my troops, slaughtered by Pāndu's son in battle, are, O foremost of warriors, flying away!¹⁷ Indeed, as the herdsman belaboureth his cattle in the forest, even so, O scorcher of foes, is my army being belaboured!¹⁸ Broken and driven away

on all sides by Dhananjaya with his shafts, the invincible Bhima also is routing that (already broken) host of mine!¹⁹ And Sātayki, and Chekitāna, and the twin sons of Mādri, and the valiant Abhimanyu,—these also are routing my troops!²⁰ The brave Dhṛishtadyumna, and the *Rākshasa* Ghatotkacha also, are vigorously breaking and driving away my army in this fierce conflict!²¹ Of these troops that are being slaughtered by all those mighty car-warriors, I do not see any other refuge in the matter of their staying and fighting on the field, O Bhārata,²² save thee, O tiger among men, that art possessed of prowess equal to that of the celestials! Therefore, receive thou those great car-warriors without delay, and be thou the refuge of these afflicted troops!²³—Thus addressed by him, O king, thy sire Devavrata, the son of Cāntanu, reflecting for a moment and settling what he should do, said these words unto thy son, comforting him (therewith):—O Duryodhana, listen calmly to what I say, O king!²⁴⁻²⁵ O thou of great might, formerly I vowed before thee that slaying every day ten thousand high-souled Kshatriyas, I would come back from the battle. I have fulfilled that vow, O bull of Bharata's race!²⁶⁻²⁷ O thou of great might, today I will achieve even a greater feat! Today I will either sleep myself being slain, or, I will slay the Pāndavas!²⁸ O tiger among men, I will today free myself from the debt I owe thee,—the debt, O king, arising out of the food thou gavest me,—by casting away my life at the head of the army!²⁹—Having said these words, O chief of the Bharatas, that invincible warrior, scattering his shafts among the Kshatriyas, attacked the Pāndava host.³⁰ And the Pāndavas then, O bull of Bharata's race, began to resist the son of Gangā staying in the midst of his forces and excited with wrath like a snake of virulent poison.³¹ Indeed, O king, on that the tenth day of battle, Bhishma, displaying his might, slew, O son of Kuru's race, hundreds of thousands.³² And he drained the energies of those royal and mighty car-warriors that were the foremost among the Pānchālas, like the Sun sucking up the moisture (of the earth)

* The Bomby reading of the first line of this verse is vicious.—T.

with his rays.⁵³ Having slain ten thousand elephants of great activity and ten thousand steeds also, O king, along with their riders,⁵⁴ and full two hundred thousands of foot-soldiers, that best of men, *viz.*, Bhishma, shone resplendent in battle like a fire without a curl of smoke.⁵⁵ And no one amongst the Pāndavas was capable of even looking at him who then resembled the burning Sun staying in the northern solstice.⁵⁶ The Pāndavas, however, though afflicted in battle by that great bowman, still rushed, accompanied by the mighty car-warriors of the Srinjayas, for slaughtering him.⁵⁷ Battling with myriads upon myriads around him, Cāntanu's son Bhishma then looked like the cliff of Meru covered on all sides with masses of clouds.⁵⁸ Thy sons, however, stood, surrounding Bhishma on all sides with a large force (for protecting him). Then commenced a fierce battle (between the Kurus and the Pāndavas.)⁵⁹

SECTION CXI.

“Sanjaya said,—‘Arjuna then, O king, beholding the prowess of Bhishma in battle, addressed Cikhandin, saying,—Proceed towards the grandsire !¹ Thou shouldst not entertain the slightest fear of Bhishma today. Even I will throw him down from his excellent car by means of my sharp shafts !²—Thus addressed by Pārtha, Cikhandin, O bull of Bharata's race, having heard those words, rushed at the son of Ganga.³ And so Dhrishtadyumna also, O king, and the mighty car-warrior Abhimanyu, having heard those words of Pārtha, joyfully rushed at Bhishma.⁴ And old Virāta and Drupada, and Kuntibhoja also, clad in mail, rushed at Bhishma in the very sight of thy son.⁵ And Nakula, and Sahadeva, and the valiant king Yudhishtira also, and all the rest of the warriors, O monarch,⁶ rushed against Bhishma. As regards thy warriors, O king, that rushed, according to the measure of their might and courage, against those mighty car-warriors (of the Pāndava army) united together, listen to me as I speak (of them) unto thee !⁷ Like a young tiger attacking a bull, Chitrasena, O king, rushed against Chekitāna who in that battle was proceed-

ing for getting at Bhishma.⁸ Kritavarman, O king, resisted Dhrishtadyumna who had reached the presence of Bhishma and who was exerting himself with great activity and vigor in that battle.⁹ Somadatta's son, O monarch, with great activity, resisted Bhimasena excited with fury and desirous of slaying Bhishma.¹⁰ Similary Vikarna, desirous of (protecting) Bhishma's life, resisted the brave Nakula who was scattering innumerable arrows around.¹¹ And so, O king, Kripa the son of Caradwat, excited with rage, resisted Sahadeva proceeding towards Bhishma's car.¹² And the mighty Durmukha rushed at that *Rākshasa* of cruel deeds, *viz.*, the mighty son of Bhimasena, desirous of Bhishma's slaughter.¹³ Thy son Duryodhana himself resisted Sātyaki proceeding to battle. Sudakshina the ruler of the Kāmvojas, O king, resisted Abhimanyu, O monarch, who was proceeding towards Bhishma's car. And Açwathāman, O king, excited with rage, resisted old Virāta and Drupada, those two chastisers of foes, united together. And Bharadwāja's son, exerting himself with vigor in battle, resisted the eldest Pāndava, that is to say, king Yudhishtira the just who was desirous of Bhishma's death. And that great bowman, *viz.*, Dusçāsana, in that battle, resisted Arjuna who was rushing with great speed, with Cikhandin before him, desirous of coming upon Bhishma, O monarch, and illuminating the ten quarters (with his bright weapons). And other warriors of thy army resisted in that great battle other mighty car-warriors of the Pāndavas proceeding against Bhisma.¹⁴⁻¹⁸ Dhrishtadyumna, that mighty car-warrior, excited with rage, rushed against Bhishma alone and addressing the troops, repeatedly said in a loud voice,²⁰—There, Arjuna, that delighter of Kuru's race, is proceeding against Bhishma in battle! Rush ye against Gangā's son! Be not afraid! Bhishma will not be able to attack you in battle!²¹ Vāsava himself cannot venture to fight with Arjuna in battle! What, therefore, need be said of Bhishma who, though possessed of bravery in battle, is feeble and old?²²—Hearing these words of their commander, the mighty

* Literally, "will not get or obtain you."—T.

car-warriors of the Pāndava army, filled with joy, rushed towards the car of Gangā's son.²³ Many foremost of men, however, of thy army cheerfully received and resisted those heroes coming towards Bhishma like impetuous masses of living energy.²⁴ That mighty car-warrior, Dusçāsana, abandoning all fears, rushed against Dhananjaya, desirous of protecting the life of Bhishma.²⁵ And so the heroic Pāndavas also, O king, rushed in battle against thy sons, those mighty car-warriors, stationed about Bhishma's car.²⁶ And then, O king, we beheld a highly wonderful incident, *viz.*, that Pārtha, having proceeded as far as Dusçāsana's car, could not advance further.²⁷ As the continent resists the surging sea, even so did thy son (Dusçāsana) resist the angry son of Pāndu!²⁸ Both of them were foremost of car-warriors. Both of them, O Bhārata, were invincible. Both of them, in beauty and splendour, O Bhārata, resemble the Sun or the Moon.²⁹ Both of them were excited with wrath. And each of them desired to slay the other. And they encountered each other in dreadful battle like Maya and Cakra in days of old.³⁰ And Dusçāsana, O king, in that battle pierced the son of Pāndu with three shafts and Vāsudeva with twenty.³¹ Then Arjuna, excited with rage upon beholding him of Vrishni's race thus afflicted, pierced Dusçāsana with a hundred shafts.³² These, penetrating through the latter's armour, drank his blood in that battle. Then Dusçāsana, excited with wrath, pierced Pārtha with five shafts.³³ And once more, O chief of the Bharatas, he pierced Arjuna in the forehead with three sharp shafts. And with those shafts sticking to his forehead, the son of Pāndu looked beautiful in that battle,³⁴ like Meru, O king, with its tall crests. That great bowman, *viz.*, Pārtha, then, thus deeply pierced by thy son wielding the bow,³⁵ looked resplendent in that battle like a flowering *Kinçuka*. The son of Pāndu then, excited with rage, afflicted Dusçāsana,³⁶ like *Rāhu* inflamed with rage on the fifteenth day of the lighted fortnight afflicting the Moon at full. Thus afflicted by that mighty warrior, thy son, O king,³⁷ pierced Pārtha in that battle with many shafts whetted on stone and winged with the feathers of the *Kanka* bird. Then Pārtha,

cutting off Dusçāsana's bow and splitting his car with three shafts,³⁸ sped at him many fierce arrows resembling the darts of Death. Thy son, however, cut off all those shafts of Pārtha exerting himself with vigor, before they could reach him. All this seemed highly wonderful. Then thy son pierced Pārtha with many shafts of great sharpness.³⁹⁻⁴⁰ Then Pārtha, excited with rage in that battle, placed on his bowstring a number of shafts whetted on stone and furnished with wings of gold, and aiming them, sped them all at his foe.⁴¹ These, O king, penetrated the body of that high-souled warrior, like swans, O monarch, diving into a lake.⁴² Thus afflicted by the high-souled son of Pāndu, thy son, avoiding Pārtha, quickly proceeded to the car of Bhishma.⁴³ Indeed, Bhishma then became an island unto him who was thus sinking into fathomless waters. Regaining consciousness then, thy son, O monarch,⁴⁴ endued with heroism and prowess, once more began to resist Pārtha with sharp arrows like Purandara resisting (the *Asura*) Vritra. Of huge form, thy son began to pierce Arjuna, but the latter was scarcely pained (at all this).'⁴⁵

SECTION CXII.

"Sanjaya said,—'The mighty bowman (Alamvusha) the son of Rishyaçringa, in that battle, resisted Sātyaki clad in mail and proceeding towards Bhishma.¹ He of Madhu's race, however, O king, excited with wrath, pierced the *Rākshasa* with nine arrows, smiling the while, O Bhārata!² And so the *Rākshasa* also, O king, excited with wrath, afflicted him of Madhu's race, *viz.*, that bull of Cini's line, with nine arrows.³ Then Cini's grandson, that slayer of hostile heroes, of Madhu's race, excited with rage, sped in that battle a profusion of arrows at the *Rākshasa*.⁴ Then that mighty-armed *Rākshasa* pierced Sātyaki, of prowess incapable of being baffled, with many sharp arrows, and uttered a loud shout.⁵ Then he of Madhu's race, endued with great energy, though deeply pierced by the *Rākshasha* in that battle, still, relying upon his prowess, laughed (at his wounds) and uttered loud roars.⁶

Then Bhagadatta, excited with rage, afflicted him of Madhu's race in that battle with many sharp arrows like a guide piercing a huge elephant with the hook.⁷ Then that foremost of car-warriors, viz., the grandson of Cini, abandoning the *Rākshasa* in battle, sped many straight shafts at the ruler of the Prāgyotishas.⁸ The ruler of the Prāgyotishas then, with a broad-headed arrow of great sharpness, cut off, displaying great lightness of hand, the large bow of Sātyaki.⁹ Then that slayer of hostile heroes, excited with rage and taking up another bow of greater impetus, pierced Bhagadatta in that battle with many sharp arrows.¹⁰ That mighty bowman, viz., Bhagadatta, then, deeply pierced, began to lick the corners of his mouth. And he then hurled at his foe, in that dreadful battle, a tough dart, made wholly of iron, decked with gold and stones of *lapis lazuli*, and fierce as the rod of Yama himself. Sped with the might of Bhagadatta's arm and coursing towards him impetuously, Sātyaki, O king, cut that dart in twain by means of his shafts. Thereupon that dart fell down suddenly, like a great meteor shorn of its splendour.¹¹⁻¹³ Beholding the dart baffled, thy son (Duryodhana), O monarch, surrounded him of Madhu's race with a large number of cars.¹⁴ And seeing that mighty car-warrior among the Vrishnis thus surrounded, Duryodhana, angrily addressing all his brothers, said,¹⁵—Take such steps, ye Kauravas, that Sātyaki may not in this battle escape you and this large division of cars, with life!¹⁶ If he be slain, the vast host of the Pāndavas may be regarded as slain also!—Accepting Duryodhana's words with the answer—*So be it*,—those mighty car-warriors fought with Cini's grandson in the view of Bhishma. The mighty ruler of the Kāmvojas, in that battle, resisted Abhimanyu who was proceeding against Bhishma. The son of Arjuna, having pierced the king with many straight shafts,^{*17-19} once more pierced that monarch, O monarch,

* There can be no doubt that (in the second line of 19 corresponding with the first line of 19 of the Bombay text), *Arjuni* should be a nominative, and not an accusative. The Bombay reading, therefore, is vicious. The Burdwan Pundits also err in taking that word as occurring in the accusative form.—T.

with four and sixty shafts. Sudakshina, however, desirous of Bhishma's life, pierced Abhimanyu in that battle with five arrows and his charioteer with nine. And the battle that took place there, in consequence of the meeting of those two warriors, was fierce in the extreme.²⁰⁻²¹ That grinder of foes, Cikhandin, then rushed at the son of Gangā.* Old Virāta and Drupada, those mighty car-warriors, both excited with rage, rushed to battle with Bhishma, resisting the large host of the Kauravas as they went. That best of car-warriors, *viz.*, Aṅwatthāman, excited with rage, encountered both those warriors.²²⁻²³ Then commenced a battle, O Bhārata, between him and them. Virāta then, O chastiser of foes, struck, with broad-headed shafts, that mighty bowman and ornament of battle, *viz.*, Drona's son, as the latter advanced against them. And Drupada also pierced him with three sharp shafts.²⁴⁻²⁵ Then the preceptor's son, Aṅwatthāman, coming upon those mighty warriors thus striking him, *viz.*, the brave Virāta and Drupada both proceeding towards Bhishma, pierced them both with many shafts. Wonderful was the conduct that we then beheld of those two old warriors,²⁶⁻²⁷ inasmuch as they checked all those fierce shafts shot by Drona's son. Like an infuriate elephant in the forest rushing against an infuriate compeer, Kripa the son of Caradwat proceeded against Sahadeva who was advancing upon Bhishma. And Kripa, brave in battle, quickly struck that mighty car-warrior, *viz.*, the son of Mādri, with seventy shafts decked with gold. The son of Mādri, however, cut Kripa's bow in twain by means of his shafts.²⁸⁻³⁰ And cutting off his bow, Sahadeva then pierced Kripa with nine arrows. Taking up then, in that battle, another bow capable of bearing a great strain,³¹ Kripa, excited with rage and desirous of Bhishma's life, cheerfully struck Mādri's son in that battle with ten shafts.³² And so the son of Pāndu, in return, desirous of Bhishma's death, excited with rage, struck

* There seems to be some omission here. This line has apparently no connection with either what precedes or what succeeds. The Bengali translations of this passage that I have examined are equally unmeaning.—T.

the wrathful Kripa in the chest (with many shafts).³³ And then occurred there a terrible and fierce battle. That scorcher of foes, *viz.*, Vikarna, desirous of saving the grandsire Bhishma, excited with rage in that battle, pierced Nakula with sixty arrows. Nakula also, deeply pierced by thy intelligent son,³⁴⁻³⁵ pierced Vikarna in return with seven and seventy shafts. There those two tigers among men, those two chastisers of foes, those two heroes, struck each other for the sake of Bhishma, like two bovine bulls in a fold. Thy son Durmukha, endued with great prowess, proceeded, for the sake of Bhishma, against Ghatotkacha advancing to battle and slaughtering thy army as he came. Hidimvā's son, however, O king, excited with rage, struck Durmukha, that chastiser of foes, in the chest with a straight shaft. The heroic Durmukha then, shouting cheerfully, pierced Bhimasena's son on the field of battle with sixty shafts of keen points. That mighty car-warrior, *viz.*, the son of Hridikā resisted Dhristadyumna, that foremost of car-warriors, who was advancing to battle from desire of Bhishma's slaughter. The son of Prishata, however, having pierced Kritavarman with five shafts made wholly of iron,³⁶⁻⁴¹ once more struck him quickly in the centre of the chest with fifty shafts. And similarly, O king, Prishata's son struck Kritavarman with nine sharp and blazing shafts winged with the feathers of the *Kanka* bird. Encountering each other with great vigor, the battle that took place between them for Bhishma's sake was as fierce as that between Vritra and Vāsava. Against Bhimasena who was advancing upon the mighty Bhishma,⁴²⁻⁴⁴ proceeded Bhuriçravas with great speed, saying,—*Wait, Wait!*—And the son of Somadatta struck Bhima in the centre of the chest⁴⁵ with an arrow of exceeding sharpness and golden wings in that battle. And the valiant Bhimasena, with that arrow on his chest, looked beautiful,⁴⁶ O best of kings, like the Krauncha mountain in days of old with the dart of Skanda. And those two bulls among men, enraged in battle, shot at each other shafts brightly polished by their forgers and endued with the effulgence of the Sun. Bhima, longing for Bhishma's death, fought with the mighty son of Somadatta, and the latter, desir-

ous of Bhishma's victory, fought with the former, each carefully seeking to counteract the other's feats.⁴⁷⁻⁴⁹ Bharadwāja's son resisted Yudhishtira the son of Kunti, who, accompanied by a large force, was coming towards Bhishma.⁵⁰ Hearing the rattle of Drona's car, O king, that resembled the roar of the clouds, the Prabhadrakas, O sire, began to tremble.⁵¹ That large force, O king, of Pāndu's son, resisted by Drona in battle, could not, exerting vigorously, advance even one step.⁵² Thy son Chitrasena, O king, resisted Chekitāna of wrathful visage who was exerting vigorously for coming upon Bhishma.⁵³ Possessed of great prowess and great dexterity of hand, that mighty car-warrior, for the sake of Bhishma, battled with Chekitāna, O Bhārata, according to the utmost of his power.⁵⁴ And Chekitāna also fought with Chitrasena to the utmost of his power. And the battle that took place there in consequence of the meeting of those two warriors, was exceedingly fierce.⁵⁵ As regards Arjuna, although he was resisted by all means, O Bhārata, he still compelled thy son to turn back and then crushed thy troops.⁵⁶ Dusçāsana, however, to the utmost stretch of his power, began to resist Pārtha, wishing, O Bhārata, to protect Bhishma.⁵⁷ The army of thy son, O Bhārata, undergoing such slaughter, began to be agitated here and there by many foremost car-warriors (of the Pāndavas).'⁵⁸

SECTION CXIII.

"Sanjaya said,—The heroic Drona, that great bowman endowed with the prowess of an infuriate elephant, that foremost of men possessed of great might, taking up his large bow which was capable of checking even an infuriate elephant, and shaking it (in his hands), was engaged in afflicting the Pāndava ranks, having penetrated into their midst. That valiant warrior acquainted with every omen, beholding the omens on all sides, addressed his son who also was scorching the hostile ranks, and said these words:¹⁻²—This is that day, O son, on which the mighty Pārtha, desirous of slaying Bhishma in battle, will exert himself to the best of his might!⁴ My

arrows are coming out (of the quiver, of their own accord). My bow seems to yawn. My weapons seem unwilling to obey my behests, and my heart also is cheerless.⁶ Animals and birds are uttering fearful and incessant cries. Vultures seem to disappear beneath the feet of the Bharata troops.⁵ The Sun himself seems to have lost his hue. The quarters are all ablaze. The Earth seems to shriek, inspire fear, and tremble everywhere.⁷ *Kankas*, and vultures, and cranes are frequently crying. Jackalls are uttering inauspicious and fierce yells foreboding great danger.⁸ Large meteors seem to fall from the centre of the solar disc. The constellation called *Parigha*, with a trunkless form, appeareth around the Sun.⁹ The solar and the lunar discs have become awful, foreboding great danger to Kshatriyas about the mangling of their bodies.¹⁰ The idols of the Kuru king in his temples tremble and laugh and dance and weep.¹¹ The planets wheel about, keeping the inauspicious Sun to their left. The illustrious Moon riseth with his horns downward.¹² The bodies of the kings belonging to the Kuru army all seem to be pale, and though clad in mail, are shorn of splendour.¹³ The loud blare of *Pāñchajanya* and the twang of *Gāndīva* are heard on all sides of both the armies.¹⁴ Without doubt, Arjuna, relying upon his great weapons and avoiding other warriors, will advance upon the grandsire.¹⁵ The pores of my body are contracting, and my heart also is depressed, thinking, O mighty-armed one, of the encounter between Bhishma and Arjuna.¹⁶ Keeping on his fore the Pāñchāla prince of sinful soul and conversant with deceit, Pārtha is proceeding towards Bhishma for battle.¹⁷ Bhishma said before that he would not slay Cikhandin. By the Creator had that one been made a female, though through chance he subsequently became a male person.¹⁸ That mighty son of Yajnasena is also an inauspicious omen (by himself). The son of the Ocean-going (Gangā) will not strike that person of inauspicious self.¹⁹ Thinking of this, *viz.*, that Arjuna, excited with wrath, is about to fall upon the aged Kuru grandsire, my heart is exceedingly depressed.²⁰ The wrath of Yudhishtira, an encounter between Bhishma and Arjuna in battle, and an endeavour like this (of the shooting

of weapons) by myself,—these (three) are certainly fraught with great harm to creatures.²¹ Arjuna is endued with great energy; he is powerful, brave, accomplished in weapons, and possessed of valor that is very active. Capable of shooting his arrows to a great distance and shooting them with force, he is, besides, acquainted with omens.²² Endued with great might and intelligence, and above fatigue, that foremost of warriors is incapable of defeat by the very gods with Vāsava at their head.²³ The son of Pāndu possesses terrible weapons, and is ever victorious in battle. Avoiding his path, go thou to battle (for Bhishma's victory), O thou of rigid vows!²⁴ Today in this dreadful battle thou wilt behold a great carnage! The beautiful and costly coats of mail, decked with gold, of brave warriors will be pierced with straight shafts. And the tops of standards, and bearded javelins, and bows, and bright lances of sharp points, and darts bright with gold, and the standards on the backs of elephants, will all be cut off by Kiritin in wrath.²⁵⁻²⁷ O son, this is not the time when dependants should take care of their lives. Go to battle, keeping heaven before thee, and for the sake of fame and victory!²⁸ There, the ape-bannered (Arjuna) crosseth on his car the river of battle that is awful and incapable of being easily crossed, and hath cars, elephants, and steeds, for its eddies?²⁹ Regard for Brāhmnas, self-restraint, liberality, asceticism, and noble conduct, are seen in Yudhishtira alone who hath for his brothers Dhananjaya,³⁰ and the mighty Bhimasena, and the twin sons of Mādri by Pāndu, and who hath Vāsudeva of the Vrishni race for his protector.³¹ The wrath, born of grief, of that Yudhishtira whose body hath been purified by the flames of penance, directed to the wicked-souled son of Dhritarāshtra, is consuming this Bharata host!³² There cometh Pārtha, having Vāsudeva for his protector, checking (as he cometh) this entire Dhārtarāshtra army!³³ Behold, Kiritin is agitating this host like a large whale agitating the vast sea of crested waves!³⁴ Hark, cries of distress and woe are heard in the van of the

* I think *Yataavrata* had better be read *Yataavratam*. It would then mean Bhishma.—

army! Go, encounter the heir of the Pāñchāla king! As for myself, I will proceed against Yudhishtira.⁵⁵ The heart of king Yudhishtira's very strong array is difficult of access. Inaccessible as the interior of the sea, it is guarded on all sides by *Atirathas*.⁵⁶ Sātyaki, and Abhimanyu and Dhrishtadyumna, and Vrikodara, and the twins, even these are protecting that ruler of men, *viz.*, king Yudhishtira!⁵⁷ Dark as the younger brother of Indra, and risen like a tall *Çāla*, behold Abhimanyu advancing at the head of the (Pāñdava) host, like a second Phālguna!⁵⁸ Take up thy mighty weapons, and with thy large bow in hand proceed against the royal son of Prishata (*viz.*, Cikhandin), and against Vrikodara!⁵⁹ Who is there that doth not wish his dear son to live for many years? Keeping the duties of a Kshatriya, however, before me, I am engaging thee (to this task)!⁶⁰ So, Bhishma also, in this battle, is consuming the mighty host of the Pāñdavas! O son, he is, in battle, equal to Yama or Varuna himself!—"⁶¹

SECTION CXIV.

"Sanjaya said,—'Hearing these words of the high-souled Drona, Bhagadatta and Kripa and Calya and Kritavarman,¹ and Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti, and Jayadratha the ruler of the Sindhus, and Chitrasena and Vikarna and Durmarshana and others,² these ten warriors of thy army, supported by a large host consisting of many nationalities, fought with Bhimasena, desirous of winning high renown in that battle for Bhishma's sake. And Calya struck Bhima with nine arrows,³⁻⁴ and Kritavarman struck him with three, and Kripa with nine. And Chitrasena and Vikarna and Bhagadatta, O sire,⁵ each struck him with ten arrows. And the ruler of the Sindhus struck him with three,⁶ and Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti each struck him with five arrows. And Duryodhana struck that son of Pāñdu with twenty sharp arrows.⁷ Bhimasena, O king, pierced in return every one of those kings, those foremost of men in the world, those mighty car-warriors of the Dhārtarāshtra army, one after another.⁸ The brave Pāñdava, that slayer of hostile heroes, pierced Calya with seven arrows, and Krita-

varman with eight.⁹ And he cut off Kripa's bow with arrow fixed thereon, O Bhārata, in the middle, dividing it in twain, And after thus cutting off his bow, he pierced Kripa once more with seven arrows.¹⁰ And he struck Vinda and Anuvinda with three arrows each. And he pierced Durmarshana with twenty arrows, and Chitrasena with five,¹¹ and Vikarna with ten, and Jayadratha with five. And once more striking the ruler of the Sindhus with three arrows, he uttered a loud shout, filled with joy.¹² Then Gautama, that foremost of car-warriors, taking up another bow, angrily pierced Bhima with ten sharp shafts.¹³ Pierced with those ten shafts like a huge elephant with the hook, the valiant Bhimasena, O king, filled with wrath,¹⁴ struck Gautama in that battle with many shafts. Possessed of the splendour of Yama himself as he appears at the end of the *Yuga*, Bhimasena then, with three arrows, despatched unto Death's domain the steeds of the ruler of the Sindhus as also his charioteer. Thereupon that mighty car-warrior, (*viz.*, Jayadratha), quickly jumping down from that car whose steeds had been slain,¹⁵⁻¹⁶ shot in that battle many sharp-pointed shafts at Bhimasena. Then, O sire, with a couple of broad-headed arrows, he cut off, O chief of the Bharatas, the bow of the high-souled king of the Sindhus in the middle. His bow cut off, himself deprived of car, his steeds and charioteer slain,¹⁷⁻¹⁸ Jayadratha then, O king, quickly mounted on the car of Chitrasena. Indeed, the son of Pāndu achieved in that battle a most wonderful feat, for piercing all those mighty car-warriors and holding them in check, he deprived, O sire, the ruler of the Sindhus of his car in the very sight of all the army.¹⁹⁻²⁰ Calya could not brook to see the prowess that Bhimasena displayed, for saying unto him,—*Wait, Wait*,—he aimed some sharp arrows well-polished by the forger's hands, and pierced Bhima therewith in that battle. And Kripa and Kritavarman and the valiant Bhagadatta,²¹⁻²² and Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti, and Chitrasena, and Durmarshana, and Vikarna, and the valiant ruler of the Sindhus also, in that battle,²³—These chastisers of foes,—All quickly pierced Bhima for the sake of Calya. Bhima then pierced each of them in

return with five arrows.²⁴ And he pierced Calya then with seventy arrows and once more with ten. And Calya then pierced him with nine arrows and once more with five.²⁵ And he pierced Bhimasena's charioteer also, deep in his vitals, with a broad-headed arrow. The valiant Bhimasena then, beholding his charioteer Viçoka deeply pierced,²⁶ sped three arrows at the arms and chest of the ruler of the Madras. And as regards the other great bowmen, he pierced each of them in that battle with three straight arrows, and then uttered a loud roar like that of a lion. Each of those great bowmen then, exerting himself with vigor, deeply pierced that son of Pāndu skilled in battle, with three arrows in his vitals. That mighty bowman, *viz.*, Bhimasena, though pierced deeply, trembled not,²⁷⁻²⁹ (but stood still) like a mountain drenched with torrents of rain by showering clouds. Then that mighty car-warrior of the Pāndavas, filled with wrath,³⁰ that celebrated hero, deeply pierced the ruler of the Madras with three arrows. And he pierced the ruler of the Prāgyotishas, O king, in that battle, with a hundred arrows.³¹ Of great renown, he then pierced Kripa with many arrows, and then, displaying great dexterity, he cut off with a keen-edged shaft the bow, with arrow fixed thereon, of the high-souled Kritavarman. Then Kritavarman, that scorcher of foes, taking up another bow, struck Vrikodara between his eyebrows with a long arrow. Bhima, however, in that battle, having pierced Calya with nine arrows made wholly of iron, and Bhagadatta with three, and Kritavarman with eight, pierced each of the others with Gautama at their head, with two arrows.³²⁻³⁴ Those warriors also, in return, pierced him, O king, with sharp-pointed shafts. Though thus afflicted by those mighty car-warriors with all kinds of weapons,³⁵ yet, regarding them all as straw, he coursed on the field without any anxiety. Those foremost of car-warriors (on the other hand), with great coolness, sped at Bhima sharp-pointed arrows by hundreds and thousands. The heroic and mighty Bhagadatta then, in that battle, hurled at him a dart of fierce impetuosity furnished with a golden staff. And the Sindhu king, of strong arms, hurled at him a lance and an axe.³⁶⁻³⁸ And Kripa, O king, hurled at him a

Çataghni, and Calya an arrow. And the other great bowmen each sped at him five arrows with great force. The son of the Wind-god then cut off, with a sharp shaft, that lance in twain.³⁹⁻⁴⁰ And he cut off that axe also with three shafts as if it were a sessame stalk. And with five shafts winged with the feathers of the *Kanka* bird, he cut that *Çataghni* into fragments.⁴¹ That mighty car-warrior then, having cut off the arrow sped by the ruler of the Madras, forcibly cut off the dart sped by Bhagadatta in that battle.⁴² As regards the other fierce shafts, Bhimasena, proud of his feats in battle, cut them each into three fragments by means of his own straight shafts.⁴³ And he struck each of those great bowmen also with three shafts. Then Dhananjaya, during the progress of that dreadful battle, beholding the mighty car-warrior Bhima striking the foe and battling (against many) with his arrows, came thither on his car.⁴⁴⁻⁴⁵ Then those bulls among men, of thy army, beholding those two high-souled sons of Pāndu together, gave up all hopes of victory.⁴⁶ Then Arjuna, desirous of slaying Bhishma, placing Çikhandin before him, approached Bhima who had been fighting with those great car-warriors and fell upon those fierce combatants, numbering ten, of thy army, O Bhārata. Then Vibhatsu, desirous of doing what was agreeable to Bhima, pierced all those warriors, O king, who had been battling with Bhima. Then king Duryodhana urged Suçarman,⁴⁷⁻⁴⁸ for the destruction of both Arjuna and Bhimasena, saying,—O Suçarman, go thou quickly, supported by a large force!⁴⁹ Slay those two sons of Pāndu, *viz.*, Dhananjaya and Vrikodara!—Hearing these words of his, the Trigarta king who ruled the country called Prasthala,⁵¹ quickly rushed in battle upon those two bowmen, *viz.*, Bhima and Dhananjaya, and surrounded them both by many thousands of cars.⁵² Then commenced a fierce battle between Arjuna and the foe.’⁵³

 SECTION CXV.

“Sanjaya said,—‘Arjuna covered with his straight shafts, the mighty car-warrior Calya who was struggling vigorously

in battle.¹ And he pierced Suçarman and Kripa with three arrows each. And in that battle the *Atiratha* Arjuna, afflicting thy host, struck the ruler of the Prāgyotishas, and Jayadratha the king of the Sindhus, and Chitrasena, and Vikarna, and Kritavarman, and Durmarshana, O monarch, and those two mighty car-warriors, viz., the princes of Avanti, each with three arrows winged with the feathers of the *Kanka* and the peacock.²⁻⁴ Jayadratha, staying on the ear of Chitrasena, pierced Pārtha (in return), O Bhārata, and then, without loss of time, Bhima also, with his shafts.⁵ And Calya, and that foremost of car-warriors, viz., Kripa, both pierced Jishnu, O monarch, with diverse arrows capable of penetrating into the very vitals.⁶ Thy sons headed by Chitrasena, O king, each quickly pierced Arjuna and Bhimasena in that battle, O sire, with five sharp shafts. Those two foremost of car-warriors however, viz., those sons of Kunti, those bulls of Bharata's race,⁷⁻⁸ began in that battle to afflict the mighty host of the Trigartas. Suçarman (in return) pierced Pārtha with nine swift arrows,⁹ and uttered a loud shout frightening the vast host (of the Pāndavas). And other heroic car-warriors pierced Bhimasena and Dhanañjaya with many straight-going arrows of keen points and golden wings. Amid these car-warriors, however, those two bulls of Bharata's race, viz., the two sons of Kunti,¹⁰⁻¹¹ those great car-warriors, looked exceedingly beautiful. And they seemed to sport amid them like two furious lions amid a herd of kine.¹² Cutting off in various ways the bows and arrows of many brave warriors in that battle, those two heroes felled the heads of combatants by hundreds upon hundreds.¹³ Innumerable cars were broken, and steeds by hundreds were slain, and many elephants, along with their riders, were laid low on the field in that dreadful battle.¹⁴ And car-warriors and horsemen and elephant-riders in large numbers, O king, deprived of life, were seen moving in convulsions all over the field.¹⁵ And the earth was covered with slain elephants and foot-soldiers in large bands, and steeds deprived of life, and cars broken in diverse ways.¹⁶ And the prowess we beheld there of Pārtha was highly wonderful, inasmuch as holding in check all those heroes, that mighty warrior

caused a great slaughter.¹⁷ Kripa, and Kritavaman, and Jayadratha the ruler of the Sindhus, and Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti,—these did not forsake the battle.¹⁸ Then that great bowman Bhima, and that mighty car-warrior Arjuna, began in that battle to rout the fierce host of the Kauravas.¹⁹ The kings (in that army) quickly sped at Dhananjaya's car myriads upon myriads and millions upon millions of arrows furnished with peacock feathers.²⁰ Pārtha, however, checking those arrows by means of his own arrowy showers, began to send those mighty car-warriors to Yama's abode.²¹ The great car-warrior Calya then, excited with wrath and as if sporting in that battle, struck Pārtha in the chest with some straight shafts of broad heads.²² Pārtha then, cutting off by means of five shafts Calya's bow and leathern fence, pierced the latter deeply in the very vitals with many arrows of keen points.²³ Taking up another bow capable of bearing a great strain, the ruler of the Madras then furiously attacked Jishnu²⁴ with three arrows, O king, and Vāsudeva with five. And he struck Bhimasena in the arms and the chest with nine arrows.²⁵ Then Drona, O king, and that mighty car warrior, *viz.*, the ruler of the Magadhas, commanded by Duryodhana, both came to that spot²⁶ where those two mighty car-warriors, *viz.*, Pārtha and Bhimasena, were slaughtering the mighty host of the Kuru king.²⁷ Jayatsena (the king of the Magadhas) then, O bull of Bharata's race, pierced Bhima, that wielder of awful weapons in battle, with eight sharp arrows.²⁸ Bhima, however, pierced him (in return) with ten arrows, and once more with five. And with another broad-headed shaft he felled Jayatsena's charioteer from his niche in the car.²⁹ The steeds (of his car), no longer restrained, ran wildly in all directions and thus car-ried away the ruler of the Magadhas (from battle) in the sight of all the troops.³⁰ Meanwhile Drona, noticing an opening, pierced Bhimasena, O bull of Bharata's race, with eight keen shafts furnished with heads shaped after the frog's mouth.³¹ Bhima, however, ever delighting in battle, pierced the preceptor, who was worthy of paternal reverence, with five broad-headed arrows, and then, O Bhārata, with sixty.³² Arjuna, again, piercing Suçarman with a large number

of arrows made (wholly) of iron, destroyed his troops like the tempest destroying mighty masses of clouds.³³ Then Bhishma, and the king (*viz.*, Duryodhana), and Vrihadvala the ruler of the Koçalas, excited with rage, advanced upon Bhimasena and Dhananjaya.³⁴ At this, the heroic warriors of the Pāndava army, and Dhrishtadyumna the son of Prishata, rushed in battle against Bhishma who was advancing like Death himself with wide-open mouth.³⁵ Cikhandin also, sighting the grandsire of the Bharatas, was filled with joy and rushed at him, abandoning all fear of that mighty car-warrior.³⁶ Then all the Pārthas with Yudhishtira at their head, placing Cikhandin in the van, and uniting with the Srinjayas, fought with Bhishma in battle.³⁷ And similarly all the warriors of thy army, placing Bhishma of regulated vows in their van, fought in battle with all the Pārthas headed by Cikhandin.³⁸ The battle then that commenced there between the Kauravas and the sons of Pāndu for the sake of Bhishma's victory or victory over Bhishma, was exceedingly terrible.³⁹ Indeed, in that game of battle, played for the sake of victory or the reverse, Bhishma, O monarch, became the stake on which the victory of thy army depended.⁴⁰ Then Dhrishtadyumna, O king, commanded all the troops, saying,—Rush against the son of Gangā! Do not fear, ye best of car-warriors!⁴¹—Hearing those words of their generalissimo, the army of the Pāndavas quickly advanced against Bhishma, ready to lay down their lives in that dreadful battle.⁴² Bhishma then, that foremost of car-warriors, received that large host rushing towards him, like the continent receiving the surging sea."⁴³

SECTION CXVI.

“Dhritarāshtra said,—‘How, O Sanjaya, did Cāntanu's son Bhishma of mighty energy fight on that the tenth day of battle, with the Pandavas and the Srinjayas? How also did the Kurus resist the Pandavas in battle? Describe to me the great battle fought by Bhishma that ornament of battle!’”

“Sanjaya said,—“I will presently describe to thee, O Bhārata, how the Kuravas fought with the Pāndavas, and how

that battle took place.³ Day after day many mighty car-warriors of thy army, excited with wrath, were despatched to the other world by the diadem-decked (Arjuna) with his great weapons.⁴ The ever-victorious Kuru warrior Bhishma also, agreeably to his vow, always caused a great carnage among the Pārtha army.⁵ O chastiser of foes, beholding Bhishma fighting at the head of the Kurus, and Arjuna also fighting at the head of the Pānchālas, we could not say truly on which side the victory would declare itself.⁶ On that the tenth day of battle, when Bhishma and Arjuna encountered each other, awful was the carnage that took place.⁷ On that day, O scorcher of foes, Cāntanu's son Bhishma, conversant with high and mighty weapons, repeatedly slew thousands upon thousands of warriors.⁸ Many, O Bhārata, whose names and families were not known, but who, endued with great bravery, were unretreating from battle, were on that day slain by Bhishma.⁹ Scorching the Pāndava army for ten days, Bhishma of virtuous soul gave up all desire of protecting his life.¹⁰ Wishing his own slaughter presently at the head of his troops,—*No more shall I slay large numbers of foremost of warriors!*—thought thy mighty-armed sire Devavrata. And seeing Yudhishtira near him, O king, he addressed him, saying,¹¹—O Yudhishtira, O thou of great wisdom, O thou that art acquainted with every branch of learning, listen to these righteous and heaven-leading words, O sire, that I say!¹² O Bhārata, I no longer desire to protect, O sire, this body of mine! I have passed much time in slaying large numbers of men in battle!¹⁴ If thou wishest to do what is agreeable to me, strive to slay me, placing Pārtha with the Pānchālas and the Srinjayas at thy van!¹⁵—Ascertaining this to be his intention, king Yudhishtira of true sight proceeded to battle with the Srinjayas (for his support).¹⁶ Then Dhrishtadyumna, O king, and Pāndu's son Yudhishtira, having heard those words of Bhishma, urged their array on.¹⁷ And Yudhishtira said,—Advance! Fight! Vanquish Bhishma in battle! Ye all will be protected by that conqueror of foes, *viz.*, Jishnu of unbaffled aim! And this great bowman, this generalissimo (of our forces), *viz.*, the son of Prishata, as also Bhima, will assuredly protect you!¹⁸⁻¹⁹ Ye Srinjayas, entertain no fear today of

Bhishma in battle ! Without doubt, we will vanquish Bhishma today, placing Cikhandin in our van !²⁰—Having, on the tenth day of battle, made such a vow, the Pāndavas, resolved to (conquer or) go to heaven, advanced, blinded by rage,²¹ with Cikhandin and Dhananjaya the son of Pāndu to the fore. And they made the most vigorous efforts for the overthrow of Bhishma.²² Then diverse kings, of great might, urged by thy son, and accompanied by Drona and his son and a large force,²³ and the mighty Dus̄cāsana at the head of all his uterine brothers, proceeded towards Bhishma staying in the midst of that battle.²⁴ Then those brave warriors of thy army, placing Bhishma of high vows in their van, battled with the Pārthas headed by Cikhandin.²⁵ Supported by the Chedis and the Pāñchālas, the ape-bannered (Arjuna), placing Cikhandin ahead, proceeded towards Bhishma the son of Cāntanu.²⁶ And the grandson of Cini battled with Drona's son, and Dhristaketu with the descendant of Puru, and Yudhāmanyu with thy son Duryodhana at the head of his followers.²⁷ And Virāta, at the head of his forces, encountered Jayadratha supported by his own troops. And Vārdhakshatra's heir, O chastiser of foes, encountered thy son Chitrasena armed with excellent bow and arrows.²⁸ And Yudhishtira proceeded against the mighty bowman Calya at the head of his troops. And Bhimasena, well protected, proceeded against the elephant-division (of the Kaurava army).²⁹ And Dhristadyumna, the prince of Pāñchāla, excited with fury and accompanied by his brothers, proceeded against Drona, that foremost of all wielders of weapons, invincible, and irresistible.³⁰ That chastiser of foes, viz., prince Vrihadvala, bearing on his standard the device of the lion, proceeded against Subhadrā's

* For *Yudhāmanyu* the Bombay text reads *Abhimanyu*.—T.

* Both the Bengal and the Bombay texts are here at fault. I follow the text as settled by the Burdwan Pundits. If the emendation of the Burdwan Pundits be rejected, 28 would read as, "Virata, at the head of his forces, encountered Jayadratha supported by his own troops, and also Vārdhaskhemi's heir, O chastiser of foes !" This would be evidently wrong.—T.

son whose standard bore the device of the *Karnikāra* flower.³¹ Thy sons, accompanied by many kings, proceeded against Cikhandin and Dhananjaya the son of Prithā, from desire of slaughtering both of them.³² When the combatants of both armies rushed against each other with awful prowess, the earth shook (under their tread).³³ Beholding Cāntanu's son in battle, the divisions of thy army and of the foe, O Bhārata, became mingled with one another.³⁴ Tremendous was the din, O Bhārata, that arose there of those warriors burning with rage and rushing against each other. And it was heard on all sides, O king.³⁵ With the blare of conchs and the leonine shouts of the soldiers, the uproar became awful.³⁶ The splendour, equal to that of either the Sun or the Moon, of bracelets and diadems of all the heroic kings, became dimmed.³⁷ And the dust that rose looked like a cloud, the flash of bright weapons constituting its lightning. And the twang of bows, the whizz of arrows, the blare of conchs, the loud beat of drums, and the rattle of cars, of both the armies, constituted the fierce roar of those clouds.³⁸⁻³⁹ And the welkin, over the field of battle, in consequence of the bearded darts, the javelins, the swords and showers of arrows of both armies, was darkened.⁴⁰ And car-warriors, and horsemen felled horsemen, in that dreadful battle. And elephants killed elephants, and foot-soldiers slew foot-soldiers.⁴¹ And the battle that took place there for Bhishma's sake, between the Kurus and the Pāndavas, O tiger among men, was fierce in the extreme, like that between two hawks for a piece of flesh.⁴² Engaged in battle, that encounter between those combatants desirous of slaughtering and vanquishing one another, was extremely dreadful!"⁴³

SECTION CXVII.

"Sanjaya said,—'Abhimanyu, O king, displaying his prowess for the sake of Bhishma, fought with thy son who was supported by a large force.¹ Then Duryodhana, excited with wrath, struck Abhimanyu in the chest with nine straight arrows, and once more with three.² Then, in that battle,

Arjuna's son, inflamed with wrath, hurled at Duryodhana's car a terrible dart resembling the sister of Death herself.⁸ Thy son, however, that mighty car-warrior, O king, with a broad-headed arrow of great sharpness, cut off in twain that dart of terrible force coursing towards him with great speed.⁴ Beholding that dart of his drop down on the earth, Arjuna's wrathful son pierced Duryodhana with three shafts in his arms and chest.⁵ And once more, O chief of the Bharatas, that mighty car-warrior of Bharata's race struck the Kuru king with ten fierce shafts in the centre of his chest.⁶ And the battle, O Bhārata, that took place between those two heroes, *viz.*, Subhadra's son and that bull of Kuru's race, the former fighting for compassing Bhishma's death and the latter for Arjuna's defeat, was fierce and interesting to behold, and gratifying to the senses, and was applauded by all the kings.⁷⁻⁸ That bull among Brāhmanas and chastiser of foes, *viz.*, the son of Drona, excited with wrath in that battle, forcibly struck Sātyaki in the chest with a fierce arrow.⁹ The grandson of Cini also, that hero of immeasurable soul, struck the preceptor's son in every vital limb with nine shafts winged with the feathers of the *Kanka* bird.¹⁰ Açwatthāman then, in that battle, struck Sātyaki (in return) with nine shafts, and once more, quickly, with thirty, in his arms and chest.¹¹ Then that great bowman of the Sātвата race, possessed of great fame, deeply pierced by Drona's son, pierced the latter (in return) with three arrows.¹² The mighty car-warrior Paurava, covering Dhrishtaketu in that battle with his shafts, mangled that great bowman exceedingly.¹³ The mighty car-warrior Dhrishtaketu, endued with great strength, quickly pierced the former with thirty arrows.¹⁴ Then the mighty car-warrior Paurava cut off Dhrishtaketu's bow, and uttering a loud shout, pierced him with whetted shafts.¹⁵ Dhrishtaketu then, taking up another bow, pierced Paurava, O king, with three and seventy shafts of great sharpness.¹⁶ Those two great bowmen and mighty car-warriors, both of gigantic stature, pierced each other with showers of arrows.¹⁷ Each succeeded in cutting off the other's bow, and each slew the other's steeds. And both of them, thus deprived of their cars, then encountered each

other in a battle with swords.¹⁸ And each took up a beautiful shield made of bull's hide and decked with a hundred moons and graced with a hundred stars. And each of them also took up a polished sword of brilliant lustre. And thus equipt, they rushed, O king, at each other, like two lions in the deep forest, both seeking the companionship of the same lioness in her season.¹⁹⁻²⁰ They wheeled in beautiful circles, advanced and retreated, and displayed other movements, seeking to strike each other.²¹ Then Paurava, excited with wrath, addressed Dhrishtaketu, saying,—*Wait, Wait*,—and struck him on the frontal bone with that large scimitar of his.²² The king of the Chedis also, in that battle, struck Paurava, that bull among men, on his shoulder-joint, with his large scimitar of sharp edge.²³ Those two repressers of foes, thus encountering each other in dreadful battle and thus striking each other, O king, both fell down on the field.²⁴ Then thy son Jayatsena, taking Paurava up on his car, removed him from the field of battle on that vehicle.²⁵ And as regards Dhrishtaketu, the valiant and heroic Sahadeva, the son of Mādri, possessed of great prowess, bore him away from the field.²⁶

“Chitrasena, having pierced Suçarman with many arrows made wholly of iron, once more pierced him with sixty arrows, and once more with nine.²⁷ Suçarman, however, excited with wrath in battle, pierced thy son, O king, with hundreds of arrows.²⁸ Chitrasena then, O monarch, excited with rage, pierced his adversary with thirty straight shafts. Suçarman, however, pierced Chitrasena again in return.²⁹

“In that battle for the destruction of Bhishma, Subhadrā's son, enhancing his fame and honor, fought with prince Vrihadvala,³⁰ putting forth his prowess for aiding (his sire) Pārtha then proceeding towards Bhishma's front. The ruler of the Koçalas, having pierced the son of Arjuna with five shafts made of iron,³¹ once more pierced him with twenty straight shafts. Then the son of Subhadrā pierced the ruler of the Koçalas with eight shafts made wholly of iron.³² He suc-

* This Suçarman was not the king of the Trigartas but another person who was on the Pāndava side.—T.

ceeded not, however, in making the ruler of the Koçalas to tremble, and, therefore, he once more pierced him with many arrows. And Phālguna's son then cut off Vrihadvala's bow,³⁸ and struck him again with thirty arrows winged with the feathers of the *Kanka* bird. Prince Vrihadvala then, taking up another bow,³⁴ angrily pierced the son of Phālguna in that battle with many arrows. Verily, O scorcher of foes, the battle, for Bhishma's sake, that took place between them, both excited with rage and both conversant with every mode of fight, was like the encounter of Vali and Vāsava in days of old on the occasion of the battle between the gods and the *Asuras*.³⁵⁻³⁶

“ ‘Bhimasena, fighting against the elephant-division, looked highly resplendent like Cakra armed with the thunder after splitting large mountains.*³⁷ Indeed, elephants, huge as hills, slaughtered by Bhimasena in battle, fell down in numbers on the field, filling the earth with their shrieks.³⁸ Resembling massive heaps of antimony, and of mountain-like proportions, those elephants with frontal globes split open, lying prostrate on the earth, seemed like mountains strewn over the earth's surface.³⁹ The mighty bowman Yudhishtira, protected by a large force, afflicted the ruler of the Madras, encountering him in that dreadful battle.⁴⁰ The ruler of the Madras, in return, displaying his prowess for the sake of Bhishma, afflicted the son of Dharma, that mighty car-warrior, in battle.⁴¹ The king of the Sindhus, having pierced Virāta with nine straight arrows of keen points, once more struck him with thirty.⁴² Virāta, however, O king, that commander of a large division, struck Jayadratha in the centre of his chest with thirty shafts of keen points.⁴³ The ruler of the Matsyas and the ruler of the Sindhus, both armed with beautiful bows and beautiful scimitars, both decked with handsome coats of mail and weapons and standards, and both of beautiful forms, looked resplendent in that battle.⁴⁴

“ ‘Drona, encountering Dhrištadyumna the prince of the

* Both the Bengal and the Bombay texts have *Rathānika*. The correct reading, as settled by the Burdwan Pundits, is *Gujānika*.—T.

Pāñchālas in dreadful battle, fought fiercely with his straight shafts.⁴⁵ Then Drona, O king, having cut off the large bow of Prishata's son, pierced him deeply with fifty arrows.⁴⁶ Then that slayer of hostile heroes, viz., the son of Prishata, taking up another bow, sped at Drona who was contending with him, many arrows.⁴⁷ The mighty car-warrior Drona, however, cut off all those arrows, striking them with his own. And then Drona sped at Drupada's son five fierce shafts.⁴⁸ Then that slayer of hostile heroes, viz., the son of Prishata, excited with rage, hurled at Drona in that battle a mace resembling the rod of Death himself.⁴⁹ Drona, however, with fifty arrows checked that mace decked with gold as it coursed impetuously towards him.⁵⁰ Thereupon that mace, cut into fragments, O king, by those shafts shot from Drona's bow, fell down on the earth.⁵¹ Then that scorcher of foes, viz., the son of Prishata, beholding his mace baffled, hurled at Drona an excellent dart made wholly of iron.⁵² Drona, however, O Bhārata, cut that dart with nine shafts in that battle, and then afflicted that great bowman, viz., the son of Prishata.⁵³ Thus took place, O king, that fierce and awful battle between Drona and the son of Prishata, for the sake of Bhishma.⁵⁴

“Arjuna, getting at the son of Gangā, afflicted him with many arrows of keen points, and rushed at him like an infuriate elephant in the forest upon another.⁵⁵ King Bhagadatta, however, of great prowess then rushed at Arjuna, and checked his course in battle with showers of arrows.⁵⁶ Arjuna then, in that dreadful battle, pierced Bhagadatta's elephant coming towards him, with many polished arrows of iron, that were all bright as silver and furnished with keen points.⁵⁷ The son of Kunti, meanwhile, O king, urged Cikhandin, saying,—*Proceed, proceed, towards Bhishma, and slay him!*⁵⁸—Then, O elder brother of Pāndu, the ruler of the Prāgyotishas, abandoning that son of Pāndu, quickly proceeded, O king, against the car of Drupada.⁵⁹ Then Arjuna, O monarch, speedily proceeded towards Bhishma, placing Cikhandin ahead. And then there took place a fierce battle,⁶⁰ for all the brave combatants of thy army rushed with great vigor against Arjuna, uttering loud shouts. And all this

seemed extremely wonderful.⁶¹ Like the wind dispersing in summer masses of clouds in the welkin, Arjuna dispersed, O king, all those diverse divisions of thy sons.⁶² Cikhandin, however, without any anxiety, coming up at the grandsire of the Bharatas, quickly pierced him with a great many arrows.⁶³ As regards Bhishma, his car was then his fire-chamber. His bow was the flame of that fire. And swords and darts and maces constituted the fuel of that fire. And the showers of arrows he shot were the blazing sparks of that fire with which he was then consuming Kshatriyas in that battle.⁶⁴ As a raging conflagration with constant supply of fuel, wandereth amid masses of dry grass when aided by the wind, so did Bhishma blaze up with his flames, scattering his celestial weapons.⁶⁵ And the Kuru hero slew the Somakas that followed Pārtha in that battle. Indeed, that mighty car-warrior checked also the other forces of Arjuna,⁶⁶ by means of his straight and whetted shafts furnished with wings of gold. Filling in that dreadful battle all the points of the compass, cardinal and subsidiary, with his leonine shouts, Bhishma⁶⁷ felled many car-warriors, O king, (from their cars) and many steeds along with their riders. And he caused large bodies of cars to look like forests of palmyras shorn of their leafy heads.⁶⁸ That foremost of all wielders of weapons, in that battle, deprived cars and steeds and elephants, of their riders.⁶⁹ Hearing the twang of his bow and the slap of his palms, both resembling the roll of thunder, the troops, O king, trembled all over the field.⁷⁰ The shafts, O chief of men, of thy sire were never bootless as they fell. Indeed, shot from Bhishma's bow they never fell only touching the bodies of the foe (but pierced them through in every case).⁷¹ We saw crowds of cars, O king, deprived of riders, but unto which were yoked fleet steeds, dragged on all sides with the speed of the wind.⁷² Full fourteen thousand great car-warriors of noble parentage, prepared to lay down their lives, unretreating, and brave, and possessed of standards decked with gold, belonging to the Chedis, the Kāçis, and the Karushas, approaching Bhishma, that hero who resembled the Destroyer himself with wide-open mouth, were despatched to the other world, with their

steeds, cars and elephants. There was not, O king, a single great car-warrior among the Somakas, who, having approached Bhishma in that battle, returned with life from that engagement. Beholding Bhishma's prowess, people regarded all those warriors (who approached him) as already despatched to the abode of the King of the Dead. Indeed, no car-warrior ventured to approach Bhishma in battle,⁷²⁻⁷⁷ except the heroic Arjuna having white steeds (yoked unto his car) and owning Krishna for his charioteer, and Cikhandin, the prince of Pānchāla, of immeasurable energy.⁷⁷⁸

SECTION CXVIII.

"Sanjaya said,—'Cikhandin, O bull among men, approaching Bhishma in battle, struck him in the centre of the chest with ten broad-headed arrows.¹ The son of Gangā, however, O Bhārata, only looked at Cikhandin with eyes blazing with wrath and as if consuming the Pānchāla prince with that look.² Remembering his femininity, O king, Bhishma, in the very sight of all, struck him not. Cikhandin, however, understood it not.³ Then Arjuna, O monarch, addressed Cikhandin, saying,—Rush quickly and slay the grandsire!⁴ What needst thou say, O hero? Slay the mighty car-warrior Bhishma! I do not see any other warrior in Yudhishtira's army⁵ who is competent to fight with Bhishma in battle, save thee, O tiger among men! I say this truly!⁶—Thus addressed by Pārtha, Cikhandin, O bull of Bharata's race, quickly covered the grandsire with diverse kinds of weapons.⁷ Disregarding those shafts, thy sire Devavrata began, with his shafts, to check the angry Arjuna only in that battle.⁸ And that mighty car-warrior, O sire, began also to despatch, with his shafts of keen-points, the whole army of the Pāndavas to the other world.⁹ The Pāndavas also, O king, after the same manner, supported by their vast host, began to overwhelm Bhishma like the clouds covering the maker of day.¹⁰ O bull of Bharata's race, surrounded on all sides, that Bharata hero consumed many brave warriors in that battle like a raging conflagration in the forest (consuming numberless trees).¹¹ The prowess that we then beheld there

of thy son (Dusçāsana) was wonderful, inasmuch as he battled with Pārtha and protected the grandsire at the same time.¹² With that feat of thy son Dusçāsana, that illustrious bowman, all the people there were highly gratified.¹³ Alone he battled with all the Pārthas having Arjuna amongst them; and he fought with such vigor that the Pāndavas were unable to resist him.¹⁴ Many car-warriors were in that battle deprived of their cars by Dusçāsana. And many mighty bowmen on horseback and many mighty-warriors, elephant,¹⁵ pierced with Dusçāsana's keen shafts, fell down on the earth. And many elephants, afflicted with his shafts, ran away in all directions.¹⁶ As a fire fiercely blazeth forth with bright flames when fed with fuel, so did thy son blaze forth, consuming the Pāndava host.¹⁷ And no car-warrior, O Bhārata, of the Pāndava host ventured to vanquish or even proceed against that warrior of gigantic proportions,¹⁸ save Indra's son (Arjuna) owning white steeds and having Krishna for his charioteer. Then Arjuna called also Vijaya, vanquishing Dusçāsana in battle, O king,¹⁹ in the very sight of all the troops, proceeded against Bhishma. Though vanquished, thy son, however, relying upon the might of Bhishma's arms,²⁰ repeatedly comforted his own side and battled with the Pāndavas with great fierceness. Arjuna, O king, fighting with his foes in that battle, looked exceedingly resplendent.²¹* Then Cikhandin, in that battle, O king, pierced the grandsire with many arrows whose touch resembled that of the bolts of heaven and which were as fatal as the poison of the snake.²² These arrows, however, O monarch, caused thy sire little pain, for the son of Gangā received them laughingly.²³ Indeed, as a person afflicted with heat cheerfully receives torrents of rain, even so did the son of Gangā receive those arrows of Cikhandin.²⁴ And the Kshatriyas there, O king, beheld Bhishma in that great battle as a being of fierce visage who was incessantly consuming the troops of the high-souled Pāndavas.²⁵

* Both the Bengal and the Bombay texts read *Arjunas* in the second line of 21. The Burdwan Pundits are for correcting it as *Arjunam*. I do not think the correction happy.—T.

“Then thy son (Duryodhana), addressing all his warriors, said unto them,—Rush ye against Phālguna from all sides!³⁶ Bhishma, acquainted with the duties of a commander, will protect you!—Thus addressed, the Kaurava troops casting off all fear, fought with the Pāndavas.³⁷ (And once more, Duryodhana said unto them),—With his tall standard bearing the device of the golden palmyra, Bhishma stayeth, protecting the honor and the armour of all the Dhārtarāshtra warriors!³⁸ The very gods, striving vigorously, cannot vanquish the illustrious and mighty Bhishma! What need be said, therefore, of the Pārthas who are mortals?³⁹ Therefore, ye warriors, fly not away from the field, getting Phālguna for a foe! I myself, striving vigorously, will today fight with the Pāndavas,⁴⁰ uniting with all of you, ye lords of earth, exerting yourselves actively!—Hearing these words, O monarch, of thy son with bow in hand,⁴¹ many mighty combatants, excited with rage, belonging to the Videhas, the Kalingas, and the diverse tribes of the Dāserakas,⁴² fell upon Phālguna. And many combatants also, belonging to the Nishādas, the Sauviras, the Vālhikas, the Daradas, the Westerners, the Northerners, the Mālavas,⁴³ the Abhigātas, the Curasenas, the Civis, the Vasātis, the Cālwas, the Cakas, the Trigartas, the Amvāshthas, and the Kekayas,⁴⁴ similarly fell upon Pārtha like flights of insects upon a fire. The mighty Dhananjaya, otherwise called Vibhatsu, then, O monarch, calling to mind diverse celestial weapons and aiming them at those great car-warriors at the heads of their respective divisions,* quickly consumed them all, by means of those weapons of great force, like fire consuming a flight of insects. And while that firm bowman was (by means of his celestial weapons) creating thousands upon thousands of arrows,⁴⁵⁻⁴⁷ his *Gāndiva* looked highly resplendent in the welkin. Then those Khatriyas, O monarch, afflicted with those arrows, with their tall standards torn and overthrown,⁴⁸ could not, even together, approach the ape-bannered (Pārtha). Car-warriors fell down with their standards,

* In the second line of 35. for *ṣatānikān*, the true reading, I apprehend, is *sahānikān*.—T.

and horsemen with their horses,³⁹ and elephant-riders with their elephants, attacked by Kiritin with his shafts. And the earth was soon covered on all sides with the retreating troops of those kings, routed in consequence of the shafts shot from Arjuna's arms. Pārtha then, O monarch, having routed the Kaurava army,⁴⁰⁻⁴¹ sped many arrows at Duṣṣāsana. Those arrows with iron heads, piercing thy son Duṣṣāsana through,⁴² all entered the earth like snakes through ant-hills. Arjuna then slew Duṣṣāsana's steeds, and then felled his charioteer.⁴³ And the lord Arjuna, with twenty shafts, deprived Vivingṣati of his car, and struck him with five straight shafts.⁴⁴ And piercing Kripa and Vikarna and Calya with many arrows made wholly of iron, Kunti's son owning white steeds deprived all of them of their cars.⁴⁵ Thus deprived of their cars and vanquished in battle by Savyasāchin, Kripa and Calya, O sire, and Duṣṣācana, and Vikarna, and Vivingṣati, all fled away. Having vanquished those mighty car-warriors, O chief of the Bharatas, in the forenoon,⁴⁶⁻⁴⁷ Pārtha blazed up in that battle like a smokeless conflagration. Scattering his shafts all around like the Sun shedding rays of light,⁴⁸ Pārtha felled many other kings, O monarch! Making those mighty car-warriors turn their backs upon the field by means of his arrowy showers,⁴⁹ Arjuna caused a large river of bloody current to flow in that battle between the hosts of the Kurus and the Pāndavas, O Bhārata!⁵⁰ Large numbers of elephants and steeds and car-warriors were slain by car-warriors. And many were the car-warriors slain by elephants, and many also were the steeds slain by foot-soldiers.⁵¹ And the bodies of many elephant-riders and horsemen and car-warriors, cut off in the middle, as also their heads, fell down on every part of the field.⁵² And the field of battle, O king, was strewn with (slain) princes,—mighty car-warriors,—falling or fallen, decked with ear-rings and bracelets.⁵³ And it was also strewn with the bodies of many warriors cut off by car-wheels, or trodden down by elephants. And foot-soldiers ran away, and horsemen also with their horses.⁵⁴ And many elephants and car-warriors fell down on all sides. And many cars, with wheels and yokes and standards broken, lay scattered all about on the field.⁵⁵ And

the field of battle, dyed with the gore of large numbers of elephants, steeds, and car-warriors, looked beautiful like a red cloud in the autumnal sky.⁵⁵ Dogs, and crows, and vultures, and wolves, and jackalls, and many other frightful beasts and birds, set up loud howls, at sight of the food that lay before them.⁵⁷ Diverse kinds of winds blew along all directions. And *Rākshasas* and evil spirits were seen there, uttering loud roars.⁵⁸ And strings embroidered with gold, and costly banners, were seen to wave, moved by the wind.⁵⁹ And thousands of umbrellas, and great cars with standards attached to them, were seen lying scattered about on the field.⁶⁰ Then Bhishma, O king, invoking a celestial weapon, rushed at the son of Kunti, in the very sight of all the bowmen.⁶¹ Thereupon Cikhandin, clad in mail, rushed at Bhishma who was dashing towards Arjuna. At this, Bhishma withdrew that weapon resembling fire (in effulgence and energy).⁶² Meanwhile Kunti's son owning white steeds slaughtered thy troops, confounding the grandsire.' ”*⁶³

SECTION CXIX.

“Sanjaya said,—‘When the combatants of both armies, strong in number, were thus disposed in battle array, all these unretreating heroes, O Bhārata, set their hearts upon the region of Brahma.†¹ In course of the general engagement that followed, the same class of combatants did not fight with the same class of combatants. Car-warriors fought not with car-warriors, or foot-soldiers with foot-soldiers,² or horsemen with horsemen, or elephant-warriors with elephant-warriors. On

* After the 60th verse, three lines occur in the Bombay edition as follows :—‘And many elephants, with standards on their backs, were seen to fly away in all directions. And many Kshatriyas, O monarch, armed with maces and darts and bows, were seen lying prostrate on the field.’ The first line of 63 also is read differently in the Bombay text.—T.

† The Bengal texts read *Evam* &c. ; the Bombay reading is *samam* &c”. I adopt the former reading. “Set their hearts upon the region of Brahma,” i. e., fought on, resolved to win the highest heaven by bravery or death in battle.—T.

the other hand, O monarch, the combatants fought with one another like madmen!³ Great and dreadful was the calamity that overtook both the armies. In that fierce slaughter when elephants and men spread themselves on the field,⁴ all distinctions between them ceased, for they fought indiscriminately.

“Then Calya, and Kripa, and Chitrasena, O Bhārata,⁵ and Dusçāsana, and Vikarna, those heroes mounted on their bright cars, caused the Pāndava host to tremble.⁶ Slaughtered in battle by those high-souled warriors, the Pāndava army began to reel in diverse ways, O king, like a boat on the waters tossed by the wind.⁷ As the wintry cold cuts kine to the quick, so did Bhishma cut the sons of Pāndu to the quick.⁸ As regards thy army also, many elephants, looking like newly-risen clouds, were felled by the illustrious Pārtha.⁹ And many foremost of warriors too were seen to be crushed by that hero. And struck with arrows and long shafts in thousands,¹⁰ many huge elephants fell down, uttering frightful shrieks of pain. And the field of battle looked beautiful, strewn with the bodies, still decked with ornaments, of high-souled warriors deprived of life, and with heads also that were still decked with ear-rings. And in that battle, O king, which was so destructive of great heroes,¹¹⁻¹² when Bhishma and Dhananjaya the son of Pāndu put forth their prowess, thy sons, O monarch, beholding the grandsire exert himself vigorously, approached him, with all their troops placed ahead, Desirous of laying down their lives in battle and making heaven itself their goal,¹³⁻¹⁴ they approached the Pāndavas in that battle, which was fraught with great carnage. The brave Pāndavas also, O king, bearing in mind the many injuries of diverse kinds inflicted upon them before by thee and thy son, O monarch, and casting off all fear, and eager to win the highest heavens,¹⁵⁻¹⁶ cheerfully fought with thy son and the other warriors of thy army.

“Then the generalissimo of the Pāndava army, *viz.*, the mighty car-warrior Dhrishtadyumna, addressing his soldiers, said,¹⁷—Ye Somakas, accompanied by the Srinjayas, rush ye at Gangā's son!—Hearing those words of their commander, the Somakas and the Srinjayas,¹⁸ though afflicted with showers

of arrows, rushed at the son of Gangā. Thus attacked, O king, thy sire Bhishma,¹⁹ influenced by wrath, began to fight with the Srinjayas. In days of old, O sire, the intelligent Rāma had imparted to Bhishma of glorious achievements that instruction in weapons which was so destructive of hostile ranks. Relying on that instruction and causing a great havoc among the troops of the foe, that slayer of hostile heroes, *viz.*, the old Kuru grandsire Bhishma, day after day, slew ten thousand warriors of the Pārthas.²⁰⁻²² On that the tenth day, however, O bull of Bharata's race, Bhishma, single-handed, slew ten thousand elephants. And then he slew seven great car-warriors among the Matsyas and the Pānchālas. In addition to all this, in that dreadful battle five thousand foot-soldiers, and one thousand tuskers, and ten thousand steeds,²³⁻²⁵ were also slain by thy sire, O king, through skill acquired by education. Then, having thinned the ranks of all the kings,²⁶ he slew Catānika the dear brother of Virāta. And the valiant Bhishma, having slain Catānika in battle,²⁷ felled, O king, full one thousand Kshatriyas with his broad-headed shafts. Besides these, all the Kshatriyas of the Pāndava army who followed Dhananjaya, as soon as they approached Bhishma, had to go to Yama's abode. Covering the Pāndava host from every side with showers of arrows, Bhishma stayed in battle at the head of the Kaurava army. Achieving the most glorious feats on that the tenth day,²⁸⁻³⁰ as he stayed between the two armies, bow in hand, none of the kings, O monarch, could even look at him,³¹ for he then resembled the hot midday Sun in the summer sky. As Cakra scorched the *Daitya* host in battle,³² even so, O Bhārata, did Bhishma scorch the Pāndava host. Beholding him thus put forth his prowess, the slayer of Madhu,³³ *viz.*, the son of Devaki, cheerfully addressing Dhananjaya, said,—There, Bhishma, the son of Cāntanu, stayeth between the two armies!³⁴ Slaying him by putting forth thy might, thou mayst win victory! There, at that spot, whence he breaketh our ranks, check him, putting forth thy strength!³⁵ O lord, none else, save thee, ventureth to bear the arrows of Bhishma! —Thus urged, the ape-bannered Arjuna at that moment³⁶ made Bhishma with his car, steeds, and standard, invisible by

means of his arrows. That bull, however, among the foremost of Kurus, by means of his own arrowy showers, pierced those showers of shafts shot by the son of Pāndu. Then the king of the Pāñchālas, the valiant Dhrishtaketu,³⁷⁻³⁸ Bhimasena the son of Pāndu, Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata's race, the twins (Nakula and Sahadeva), Chekitāna, and the five Kaikaya brothers,³⁹ and the mighty-armed Sātyaki, and Subhadrā's son, and Ghatotkacha, and the (five) sons of Draupadi, and Cikhandin, and the valiant Kuntibhoja,⁴⁰ and Suçarman, and Virāta,—these and many other powerful warriors of the Pāndava army, afflicted by the shafts of Bhishma,⁴¹ seemed to sink in an ocean of grief. Phālguna, however, rescued them all. Then Cikhandin, taking up a mighty weapon, and protected by Kiritin, rushed impetuously towards Bhishma alone. The unvanquished Vibhatsu then, knowing what should be done after what, slew all those that followed Bhishma, and then himself rushed at him. And Sātyaki, and Chekitāna, and Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata's race,⁴²⁻⁴⁴ and Virāta, and Drupada, and the twin sons of Mādri by Pāndu, all protected by that firm bowman (*viz.*, Arjuna), rushed against Bhishma alone in that battle.⁴⁵ And Abhimanyu, and the five sons of Draupadi also, with mighty weapons upraised, rushed against Bhishma in battle.⁴⁶ All those firm bowmen, unretreating from battle, pierced Bhishma in diverse parts of his body with well-aimed shafts.⁴⁷ Disregarding all those shafts, large in number, shot by those foremost of princes belonging to the Pāndava host, Bhishma of undepressed soul penetrated into the Pāndava ranks.⁴⁸ And the grandsire baffled all those arrows, as if sporting the while. Frequently looking at Cikhandin the prince of the Pāñchālas with a laugh, he aimed not a single arrow at him, recollecting his femininity. On the other hand, he slew seven great car-warriors belonging to Drupada's division.⁴⁹⁻⁵⁰ Then confused cries of woe soon arose amongst the Matsyas, the Pāñchālas, and the Chedis, who were together rushing at that single hero.⁵¹ With large numbers of foot-soldiers and steeds and cars, and with showers of arrows, O scorcher of foes, they overwhelmed that single warrior, *viz.*, Bhishma the son of Bhāgirathi, that scorcher

of fogs, like the clouds overwhelming the maker of day! Then in that battle between him and them, which resembled the battle between the gods and the *Asuras* in days of old, the diadem-decked (Arjuna), placing Cikhandin before him, pierced Bhishma (repeatedly).'⁵²⁻⁵³

SECTION CXX.

“Sanjaya said,—‘Thus all the Pāndavas, placing Cikhandin before them, pierced Bhishma in that battle repeatedly surrounding him on all sides.¹ And all the Srinjayas, uniting together, struck him with dreadful *Çataghnis*, and spiked maces, and battle-axes, and mallets, and short thick clubs, and bearded darts, and other missiles, and arrows furnished with golden wings, and darts and lances and *kampanas*; with long shafts, and arrows furnished with heads shaped like the calf-tooth, and rockets. Thus afflicted by many, his coat of mail was pierced everywhere.²⁻⁴ But though pierced in every vital part, Bhishma felt no pain. On the other hand, he then seemed to his enemies to resemble in appearance the (all-destructive) fire that rises at the end of the *Yuga*. His bow and arrows constituted the blazing flames (of that fire). The flight of his weapons constituted its (friendly) breeze. The rattle of his car-wheels constituted its heat, and mighty weapons constituted its splendour. His beautiful bow formed its fierce tongue, and the bodies of heroic warriors, its profuse fuel.* And Bhishma was seen to roll through the midst of crowds of cars belonging to those kings, or to come out (of the press) at times, or course once more through their midst. Then, disregarding the king of the Pānchālas and Dhrishtaketu,⁵⁻⁸ he penetrated, O monarch, into the midst of the Pāndava army. He then pierced the six Pāndava warriors, *viz.*, Sātyaki, and Bhima, and Dhananjaya the son of Pāndu, and Drupada, and Virāta, and Dhrishtadyumna of Prishata’s race, with many excellent arrows of great sharpness

* Portions of this simile are tautological. I have endeavoured to avoid repetition by straining a word or two.—T.

and dreadful whizz and exceeding impetuosity, and capable of piercing through every kind of armour. Those mighty car-warriors, however, checking those keen shafts,⁹⁻¹¹ afflicted Bhishma with great force, each of them striking him with ten shafts. Those mighty shafts, whetted on stone and furnished with golden wings, which the great car-warrior Cikhandin shot,¹² quickly penetrated into Bhishma's body. Then the diadem-decked (Arjuna), excited with wrath, and placing Cikhandin ahead, rushed at Bhishma and cut off the latter's bow. Thereupon those mighty car-warriors, seven in number, viz., Drona, and Kritavarman, and Jayadratha the ruler of the Sindhus, and Bhuriçravas, and Cala, and Calya, and Bhagadatta, could not brook that act of Arjuna. Inflamed with rage, they rushed at him. Indeed, those mighty car-warriors, invoking into existence celestial weapons,¹³⁻¹⁶ fell with great wrath upon that son of Pāndu, and covered him with their arrows. And as they rushed towards Phālguna's car, the noise made by them was heard¹⁷ to resemble that made by the ocean itself when it swelleth in rage at the end of the *Yuga*.—*Kill, Bring up* (our forces), *Take, Pierce, Cut off*,¹⁸—this was the furious uproar heard about Phālguna's car. Hearing that furious uproar, the mighty car-warriors of the Pāndava army¹⁹ rushed forward, O bull of Bharata's race, for protecting Arjuna. They were Sātyaki, and Bhimasena, and Dhrištadyumna of Prishata's race,²⁰ and both Virāta and Drupada, and the *Rākshasa* Ghatotkacha, and the wrathful Abhimanyu. These seven, inflamed with rage,²¹ and armed with excellent bows, rushed with great speed. And the battle that took place between these and the Kaurava warriors was fierce, making the hair to stand on end,²² and resembling, O chief of the Bharatas, the battle of the gods with the *Dānavas*. Cikhandin, however, that foremost of car-warriors, protected in the battle by the diadem-decked (Arjuna),²³ pierced Bhishma, in that encounter, with ten shafts after the latter's bow had been cut off. And he struck Bhishma's charioteer with other shafts, and cut off the latter's standard with one shaft.²⁴ Then the son of Gangā took up another bow that was tougher. That even was cut off by

Phālguna with three sharp shafts.²⁵ Indeed, that chastiser of foes, *viz.*, Arjuna, who was capable of drawing the bow with even his left hand, excited with rage, one after another, cut off all the bows that Bhishma took up.²⁶ Then Bhishma, whose bows were thus cut off, excited with rage, and licking the corners of his mouth, took up a dart that was capable of riving a hill.²⁷ In rage he hurled it at Phālguna's car. Beholding it course towards him like the blazing bolt of heaven,²⁸ the delighter of the Pāndavas fixed five sharp broad-headed arrows (on his bowstring). And with those five arrows, O chief of the Bharatas, the angry Arjuna cut off into five fragments that dart hurled from Bhishma's arms. Thus cut off by the angry Arjuna, that dart then fell down²⁹⁻³⁰ like a flash of lightning separated from a mass of clouds. Beholding his dart cut off, Bhishma became filled with rage.³¹ That hero, that subjugator of hostile cities, then began to reflect. And he said unto himself,—With only a single bow I could slay all the Pāndavas³² if the mighty Vishnu himself had not been their protector. For two reasons, however, I will not fight with the Pāndavas,³³ *viz.*, their unslayableness, and the femininity of Cikhandin. Formerly, when my sire wedded Kāli, pleased (with me)³⁴ he gave me two boons, *viz.*, that I should be incapable of being slain in battle, and that my death should depend on my own choice. I should, however, now wish my own death, this being the proper hour!³⁵—Ascertaining this to be the resolve of Bhishma of immeasurable energy, the *Rishis* and the *Vasus*, stationed in the firmament, said,³⁶—That which hath been resolved by thee is approved by us also, O son! Act according to thy resolution, O king! Withdraw thy heart from battle!³⁷—On the conclusion of those words, a fragrant and auspicious breeze, charged with particles of water, began to blow along a natural direction.*³⁸ And celestial cymbals of loud sounds began

* The Bengal reading of this verse is vicious. In the first line, *lokasya* is incorrect and unmeaning, the correct word being *vākyaśya*. In the second line, again, for *Prishthatascha samantatas*, the correct reading is *Prishataścha samantatas*.—T.

to beat. And a flowery shower fell upon Bhishma, O sire !³⁹ The words spoken by the *Rishis* and the *Vasus*, however, O king, were not heard by any one save Bhishma himself. I also heard them, through the power conferred on me by the *Muni*.⁴⁰ Great was the grief, O monarch, that filled the hearts of the celestials at the thought of Bhishma, that favorite of all the worlds, falling down from his car.⁴¹ Having listened to these words of the celestials, Cāntanu's son Bhishma of great ascetic merit rushed not at Vibhatsu,⁴² even though he was then being pierced with sharp arrows capable of penetrating through every armour. Then Cikhandin, O king, excited with rage, struck the grandsire of the Bharatas in the chest with nine sharp arrows. The Kuru grandsire Bhishma, however, though struck by him in battle thus,⁴³⁻⁴⁴ trembled not, O monarch, but remained unmoved like a mountain during an earthquake. Then Vibhatsu, drawing his bow *Gāndīva* with a laugh,⁴⁵ pierced the son of Gangā with five and twenty arrows. And once more, Dhananjaya, with great speed and excited with wrath, struck him in every vital part with hundreds of arrows. Thus pierced by others also with thousands of arrows,⁴⁶⁻⁴⁷ the mighty car-warrior Bhishma pierced those others in return with great speed. And as regards the arrows shot by those warriors, Bhishma, possessed of prowess in battle that was incapable of being baffled,⁴⁸ equally checked them all with his own straight arrows. Those arrows, however, endued with wings of gold and whetted on stone, which the mighty car-warrior Cikhandin shot in that battle, scarcely caused Bhishma any pain. Then the diadem-decked (Arjuna), excited with rage and placing Cikhandin to the fore, approached Bhishma (nearer) and once more cut off his bow. And then piercing Bhishma with ten arrows, he cut off the latter's standard with one. And striking Bhishma's chariot with ten arrows, Arjuna caused him to tremble. The son of Gangā then took up another bow that was stronger.⁴⁹⁻⁵² Within, however, the twinkling of an eye, as soon, in fact, as it was taken up, Arjuna cut that bow also into three fragments with three broad-headed shafts.⁵³ And thus the son of Pāndu cut off in that battle even all the bows of Bhishma,

After that, Bhishma the son of Cāntanu no longer desired to battle with Arjuna.⁵⁴ The latter, however, then pierced him with five and twenty arrows. That great bowman, thus pierced greatly, then addressed Dusçāsana, and said,⁵⁵—Behold, Pārtha, that great car-warrior of the Pāndavas, excited with wrath in battle, pierceth me alone with many thousands of arrows!⁵⁶ He is incapable of being vanquished in battle by the wielder of the thunder-bolt himself! As regards myself also, O hero, the very gods, *Dānāvas*, and *Rākshasas*, united together,⁵⁷ are incapable of vanquishing me! What I shall say then of mighty car-warriors among men?—While Bhishma was thus speaking to Dusçāsana, Phālguna, with sharp shafts,⁵⁸ and placing Cikhandin to the fore, pierced Bhishma in that battle. Then Bhishma, deeply and excessively pierced by the wielder of *Gāndīva* with keen-pointed shafts, once more addressed Dusçāsana with a smile and said,—These arrows coursing towards me in one continuous line, whose touch resembleth that of heaven's bolt, have been shot by Arjuna. These are not Cikhandin's. Cutting me to the quick, piercing through even my hard coat of mail,⁵⁹⁻⁶¹ and striking me with the force of *mushalas*, these arrows are not Cikhandin's. Of touch as hard as that of the Brāhmana's rod (of chastisement),* and of impetus unbearable as that of the thunderbolt,⁶² these arrows are afflicting my vital forces. These are not Cikhandin's. Of the touch of maces and spiked bludgeons, those arrows are destroying my vital forces like messengers of Death commissioned (by the grim king himself)! These are not Cikhandin's. Like angry snakes of virulent poison, projecting their tongues out these are penetrating into my vitals. These are not Cikhandin's,⁶³⁻⁶⁵—these that cut me

* *Brahma-danda* literally means a Brāhmana's rod or bamboo-stick. In consequence of the Brāhmana's ascetic power, this thin rod (symbolical of the Brāhmana's power of chastisement) is infinitely more powerful than even Indra's bolt. The latter can strike only one, but the former can smite whole countries, and entire races from generation to generation. With only his *Brahma-danda* Vaçishtha baffled all the mighty and celestial weapons of Viçvāmitra. (*vide, Rāmāyana*, section—66, *Valakānda*.)—T.

to the quick like the cold of winter cutting kine to the quick! Save the heroic wielder of *Gāndīva*, viz., the ape-bannered Jishnu, even all other kings united together cannot cause me pain!—Saying these words, Bhishma the valiant son of Cāntanu, as if for the object of consuming the Pāndavas, hurled a dart at Pārtha. Pārtha, however, caused that dart to drop down, cutting it into three fragments with three shafts,⁶⁶⁻⁶⁸ in the very sight, O Bhārata, of all the Kuru heroes of thy army. Desirous of obtaining either death or victory, the son of Gangā then took up a sword and a shield decked with gold. Before, however, he could come down from his car, Arjuna cut off, by means of his arrows, that shield into a hundred fragments. And that feat of his seemed exceedingly wonderful. Then king Yudhishtira urged his own troops,⁶⁹⁻⁷¹ saying,—Rush ye at Gangā's son! Do not entertain the slightest fear!—Then, armed with bearded darts, and lances, and arrows, from all sides,⁷² with axes, and excellent scimitars, and long shafts of great sharpness, with calf-toothed arrows, and broad-headed shafts, they all rushed at that single warrior.⁷³ Then arose from among the Pāndava host a loud shout. Then thy sons also, O king, desirous of Bhishma's victory,⁷⁴ surrounded him and uttered leonine shouts. Fierce was the battle fought there between thy troops and those of the enemy⁷⁵ on that the tenth day, O king, when Bhishma and Arjuna met together. Like unto the vortex that occurs at the spot where Gangā meets the Ocean, for a short while a vortex occurred there where the troops of both armies met and struck one another down. And the Earth, wet with gore, assumed a fierce form.⁷⁶⁻⁷⁷ And the even and the uneven spots on her surface could no longer be distinguished. Although Bhishma was pierced in all his vital limbs, yet on that the tenth day he stayed (calmly) in battle, having slain ten thousand warriors. Then that great bowman, Pārtha, stationed at the head of his troops,⁷⁸⁻⁷⁹ broke the centre of the Kuru army. Ourselfes then, afraid of Kunti's son Dhananjaya having white steeds attached to his car,⁸⁰ and afflicted by him with polished weapons, fled away from the battle. The Sauviras, the Kitavas, the Easterners, the Westerners, the Northerners, the Mālavas,⁸¹ the

Abhishāhas, the Curasenas, the Civis, the Vasātis, the Cālwas, the Cayas, the Trigartas, the Amvashthas, and the Kaikeyas,*³³—these and many other illustrious warriors,—afflicted with arrows and pained by their wounds, abandoned Bhishma in that battle while he was fighting with the diadem-decked (Arjuna).³³ Then a great many warriors, surrounding that single warrior on all sides, defeated the Kurus (that protected him) and covered him with showers of arrows.³⁴—*Throw down, Seize, Fight, Cut into pieces*,—this was the furious uproar, O king, heard in the vicinity of Bhishma's car.³⁵ Having slain in that battle, O monarch, (his foes) by hundreds and thousands, there was not in Bhishma's body space of even two fingers' breadth that was not pierced with arrows.³⁶ Thus was thy sire mangled with arrows of keen points by Phālguna in that battle. And then he fell down from his car with his head to the east, a little before sunset, in the very sight of thy sons. And while Bhishma fell, loud cries of *alas* and *oh*, O Bhārata, were heard in the welkin uttered by the celestials and the kings of the earth. And beholding the high-souled grandsire falling down (from his car),³⁷⁻³⁸ the hearts of all of us fell with him. That foremost of all bowmen, that mighty-armed hero, fell down, like an uprooted standard of Indra, making the earth tremble the while.† Pierced all over with arrows, his body touched not the ground.³⁶⁻³⁷ At that moment, O bull of Bharata's race, a divine nature took possession of that great bowman lying on a bed of arrows.³⁹ The clouds poured a (cool) shower (over him) and the Earth trembled. While falling he had marked that the Sun was then in the southern solstice.³³ That hero, therefore, permitted not his senses to depart, thinking of that (inauspicious) season (of death). And all around in the welkin he heard celestial voices³⁴

* Instead of "the Cālwas, the Cayas, and the Trigartas," the Bombay text reads,—“the Trigartas depending on (king) Cāwla.” I have not, however, met with any Trigartas under Cālwa's rule, that race having, at this time, Suçarman for their ruler.—T.

† *Indra-dadhaja* was a pole, decked with banners, created in honor of Indra. The festival attracted considerable crowds.—T.

saying,—Why, Oh why, should Gangā's son, that foremost of all wielders of weapons, yield up his life during the southern declension?⁹⁵—Hearing these words, the son of Gangā answered,—I am alive! Although fallen upon the earth, the Kuru grandsire Bhishma, expectant of the northern declension, suffered not his life to depart. Ascertaining that to be his resolve, Gangā, the daughter of Himavat,⁹⁶⁻⁹⁷ sent unto him the great *Rishis* in swanlike forms. Then those *Rishis* in the forms of swans inhabiting the *Mānasa* lake, quickly rose up,⁹⁸ and came together, for obtaining a sight of the Kuru grandsire Bhishma, to that spot where that foremost of men was lying on his bed of arrows.⁹⁹ Then those *Rishis* in swan-like forms, coming to Bhishma, beheld that perpetuator of Kuru's race lying on his bed of arrows.¹⁰⁰ Beholding that high-souled son of Gangā, that chief of the Bharatas, they walked round him, and the Sun being then in the southern solstice, they said, addressing one another, these words:—Being a high-souled person, why should Bhishma pass out (of the world) during the southern declension?¹⁰¹⁻¹⁰² Having said these words, those swans went away, proceeding towards the southern direction. Endued with great intelligence, Bhishma, O Bhārata, beholding them, reflected for a moment.¹⁰³ And the son of Cāntanu then said unto them,—I will never pass out (of the world) as long as the Sun is in the southern solstice! Even this is my resolve.¹⁰⁴ I will proceed to my own ancient abode when the Sun reacheth the northern solstice! Ye swans, I tell you this truly!¹⁰⁵ Expectant of the northern declension I will hold my life! Since I have the fullest control over the yielding up of my life,¹⁰⁶ I will, therefore, hold life, expectant of death during the northern declension! The boon that was granted to me by my illustrious sire,¹⁰⁷ to the effect that my death would depend on my own wish, O, let that boon become true! I will hold my life, since I have control in the matter of laying it down!¹⁰⁸—Having said these words to those swans, he continued to lie down on his bed of arrows.

“When that crest of the Kuru race, viz; Bhishma of great energy, fell down,¹⁰⁹ the Pāndavas and the Srinjayas

uttered leonine shouts. When the grandsire of the Bharatas who was endued with great might was over thrown,¹¹⁰ thy son, O bull of Bharata's race, knew not what to do. And all the Kurus were entirely deprived of their senses.¹¹¹ And the Kurus headed by Kripa, and Duryodhana, sighed and wept. And from grief they remained for a long while deprived of their senses.¹¹² And they remained perfectly still, O monarch, without setting their hearts on battle. As if seized by thighs, they stood motionless, without proceeding against the Pāndavas.¹¹³ When Cāntanu's son Bhishma of mighty energy, who was (regarded as) unslayable, was slain, all of us thought that the destruction of the Kuru king was at hand.*¹¹⁴ Vanquished by Savyasāchin, with our foremost heroes slain, and ourselves mangled with sharp arrows, we knew not what to do.¹¹⁵ And the heroic Pāndavas possessed of massive arms that looked like spiked maces, having obtained the victory and won a highly blessed state in the other world,† all blew their great conchs.¹¹⁶ And the Somakas and the Pāñchālas all rejoiced, O king! Then when thousands of trumpets were blown, the mighty¹¹⁷ Bhimasena slapped his armpits and uttered loud shouts. When the all-powerful son of Gangā was slain, the heroic warriors of both armies, laying down their weapons, began to reflect thoughtfully. And some uttered loud shrieks, and some fled away, and some were deprived of their senses.¹¹⁸⁻¹¹⁹ And some censured the practices of the Kshatriya order, and some applauded Bhishma. And the *Rishis* and the *Pitris* all applauded Bhishma of high vows.¹²⁰ And the deceased ancestors of the Bharatas also praised Bhishma. Meanwhile the valiant and intelligent Bhishma the son of Cāntanu, having recourse to that *Yoga* which is taught in the great *Upanishads*, and engaged in mental prayers, remained quiet, expectant of his hour.¹²¹

* The second line of 114 in the Bengal text is vicious. I adopt the Bombay reading, which is *Kururājāsya tarkitas*. Literally rendered, the second line is "the destruction of the Kuru king was inferred."—T.

† By bravery on the field of battle, which, according to the Hindu scriptures, is always thus rewarded.—T.

SECTION CXXI.

"Dhritarāshtra said,—'Alas, what was the state of (my) warriors, O Sanjaya, when they were deprived of the mighty and god-like Bhishma, who had become a *Brahmachārin* for the sake of his reverend sire? Even then I regarded the Kurus and all the others as slain by the Pāndavas when Bhishma, despising the son of Drupada, struck him not.¹⁻² Wretch that I am, alas, I hear today of my sire's slaughter! What can be a heavier sorrow than this?³ My heart assuredly, O Sanjaya, is made of adamant, since it breaketh not into a hundred fragments on hearing of Bhishma's death!⁴ Tell me, O thou of excellent vows, what was done by that lion among the Kurus, *viz.*, the victory-desiring Bhishma when he was slain in battle.⁵ I cannot at all brook it that Devavrata should be slain in battle! Alas, he that was not slain by Jamadagni's son himself in days of old by means of even his celestial weapons, alas, he hath now been slain by Drupada's son Cikhandin the prince of Pānchāla!—'

'Sanjaya said,—'Slain in the evening, the Kuru grandsire Bhishma saddened the Dhārtarāshtras and delighted the Pānchālas. Falling down on the earth, he lay on his bed of arrows without, however, touching the earth with his body. Indeed, when Bhishma, thrown down from his car, fell upon the surface of the earth,⁷⁻⁸ cries of *Oh* and *Alas* were heard among all creatures. When that boundary-tree of the Kurus, *viz.*, the ever-victorious Bhishma, fell down,⁹ fear entered the hearts, O king, of the Kshatriyas of both the armies. Beholding Bhishma the son of Cāntanu with his standard overthrown and his armour cut open,¹⁰ both the Kurus and the Pāndavas were inspired, O monarch, with sentiments of cheerlessness.† And the welkin was enveloped with a gloom,

* A slight difference of reading occurs between the Bengal and the Bombay texts as regards the second line of the 3rd verse.—T.

† *Paryyavartanta* literally means "were filled with sentiments the reverse of what usually inspired them." Hence, they were cheerless.—T.

and the Sun himself became dim.¹¹ The Earth seemed to utter loud shrieks when the son of Cāntanu was slain.—This one is the foremost of those conversant with the *Vedas*!—This one is the best of those that are conversant with the *Vedas*!¹²—Even thus did creatures speak of that bull among men as he lay (on his bed of arrows).—This one, formerly, ascertaining his sire Cāntanu to be afflicted by Kāma,¹³ this bull among men, resolved to draw up his vital seed!—Even thus did the *Rishis* together with the *Siddhas* and the *Chāranas* said of that foremost one of the Bharatas as he lay on his bed of arrows. When Cāntanu's son Bhishma, the grandsire of the Bharatas, was slain,¹⁴⁻¹⁵ thy sons, O sire, knew not what to do. Their faces wore an expression of grief. The splendour of their countenances seemed to abandon them, O Bhārata!¹⁶ All of them stood in shame, hanging down their heads. The Pāndavas, on the other hand, having won the victory, stood at the head of their ranks.¹⁷ And they all blew their large conchs decked with gold. And when in consequence of their joy thousands of trumpets, O sinless one, were blown there,¹⁸ we beheld, O monarch, the mighty Bhimasena, the son of Kunti, sporting in great glee,¹⁹ having quickly slain many hostile warriors endued with great strength. And a great swoon overtook all the Kurus.²⁰ And Karna and Duryodhana repeatedly drew long breaths. When the Kuru grandsire Bhishma fell down, thus,²¹ cries of sorrow were heard all around, and the greatest confusion prevailed (among the Kuru army). Beholding Bhishma fallen, thy son Duṣṣāsana,²² with great speed, entered the division commanded by Drona. That hero, clad in mail and at the head of his own troops, had been placed by his elder brother (for the protection of Bhishma).²³ That tiger among men now came, plunging the troops he had commanded into grief. Beholding him coming towards them, the Kuravas surrounded²⁴ prince Duṣṣāsana, desirous, O monarch, of hearing what he had to say. Then Duṣṣāsana of Kuru's race informed Drona of Bhishma's slaughter.²⁵ Drona then, hearing those evil tidings, suddenly fell down from his car. Then the valiant son of Bharadwāja, quickly recovering his senses,²⁶ forbade the Kuru army, O sire, to continue the fight.

Beholding the Kurus desist from battle, the Pāndavas also, through messengers on fleet horses, forbade their own troops to fight. And after the troops of both armies had, according to their orders, ceased to fight,²⁷⁻²⁸ the kings of both armies, putting off their armour, all repaired to Bhishma. Desisting from the fight, thousands of (other) warriors then,²⁹ proceeded towards the high-souled Bhishma like the celestials towards the Lord of all creatures. Approaching Bhishma who was then, O bull of Bharata's race, lying (on his bed of arrows),³⁰ the Pāndavas and the Kurus stood there, having offered him their salutations. Then Cāntanu's son Bhishma of righteous soul addressed the Pāndavas and the Kurus who having revered him thus, stood before him. And he said,—Welcome to you, ye highly blessed ones! Welcome to you, ye mighty car-warriors!³¹⁻³² Gratified am I with your sight, ye that are the equals of the very gods!—Thus addressing them with his head hanging down, he once more said,³³—My head is hanging down greatly. Let a pillow be given to me!—The kings (standing there) then fetched many excellent pillows that were very soft and made of very delicate fabrics.³⁴ The grandsire, however, desired them not. That tiger among men then said unto those kings with a laugh,³⁵—These, ye kings, do not become a hero's bed.—Beholding then that foremost of men, that mightiest of car-warriors in all the worlds, *viz.*, the mighty-armed Dhananjaya the son of Pāndu, he said,—O Dhananjaya, O thou of mighty arms, my head hangeth down, O sire! Give me a pillow, such as thou regardest to be fit!—³⁶⁻³⁷

SECTION CXXII.

“Sanjaya said,—Stringing then his large bow and reverentially saluting the grandsire, Arjuna, with eyes filled with tears, said these words:—O foremost one among the Kurus, O thou that art the first among all wielders of weapons, command me, O invincible one, for I am thy slave!¹ What shall I do, O grandsire!²—Unto him Cāntanu's son said,—My head, O sire, hangeth down! O foremost one among the Kurus, O Phālguna, get me a pillow!³ Indeed, give me one without

delay, O hero, that would become my bed ! Thou, O Pārtha, art competent, thou art the foremost of all wielders of bows !⁴ Thou art conversant with the duties of Kshatriyas, and thou art endued with intelligence and goodness !—Then Phālguna, saying—*So be it*—desired to do Bhishma's bidding.⁵ Taking up *Gāndīva* and a number of straight shafts, and inspiring them with *mantras*, and obtaining the permission of that illustrious and mighty car-warrior of Bharata's race,⁶ Arjuna then, with three keen shafts endued with great force, supported Bhishma's head. Then that chief of the Bharatas, *viz.*, Bhishma of virtuous soul, conversant with the truths of religion, seeing that Arjuna, having divined his thought, had achieved that feat, became highly gratified. And after that pillow had thus been given to him, he applauded Dhananjaya.⁷⁻⁸ And casting his eyes upon all the Bharatas there, he addressed Kunti's son Arjuna, that foremost of all warriors, that enhancer of the joys of his friends,⁹ and said,—Thou hast given me, O son of Pāndu, a pillow that becometh my bed ! If thou hadst acted otherwise, I would have cursed thee, from wrath !¹⁰ Even thus, O mighty-armed one, should a Kshatriya, observant of his duties, sleep on the field of battle on his bed of arrows !¹¹—Having addressed Vibhatsu thus, he then said unto all those kings and princes that were present there, these words:¹²—Behold ye the pillow that the son of Pandu hath given me ! I will sleep on this bed till the Sun turneth to the northern solstice !¹³ Those kings that will then come to me will behold me (yield up my life) ! When the Sun on his car of great speed and unto which are yoked seven steeds, will proceed towards the direction occupied by Vaiçravaṇa, verily, even then, will I yield up my life like a dear friend dismissing a dear friend !¹⁴⁻¹⁵ Let a ditch be dug here around my quarters, ye kings ! Thus pierced with hundreds of arrows will I pay my adorations to the Sun ! As regards yourselves, abandoning enmity, cease ye from the fight, ye kings !—¹⁶

“Sanjaya continued,—Then there came unto him some surgeons well trained (in their science) and skilled in plucking out arrows, with all becoming appliances (of their profession).¹⁷ Beholding them, the son of Gangā said unto thy son,— Let

these physicians, after proper respect being paid to them, be dismissed with presents of wealth.¹⁸ Brought to such a plight, what need have I now of physicians? I have won the most laudable and the highest state ordained in Kshatriya observances!¹⁹ Ye kings, lying as I do on a bed of arrows, it is not proper for me to submit now to the treatment of physicians. With these arrows on my body, ye rulers of men, should I be burnt!²⁰—Hearing these words of his, thy son Duryodhana dismissed those physicians, having honored them as they deserved.²¹ Then those kings of diverse realms, beholding that constancy in virtue displayed by Bhishma of immeasurable energy, were filled with wonder.²² Having given a pillow to thy sire thus, those rulers of men, those mighty car-warriors, *viz.*, the Pāndavas and the Kauravas, united together,²³ once more approached the high-souled Bhishma lying on that excellent bed of his. Reverentially saluting that high-souled one and circumambulating him thrice,²⁴ and stationing guards all around for his protection, those heroes, with bodies drenched in blood, repaired for rest towards their own tents in the evening, their hearts plunged into grief and thinking of what they had seen.

“Then at the proper time, the mighty Mādhava, approaching the Pāndavas, those mighty car-warriors cheerfully seated together and filled with joy at the fall of Bhishma, said unto Dharma’s son Yudhishtira these words:²⁵⁻²⁷—By good luck victory hath been thine, O thou of Kuru’s race! By good luck hath Bhishma been thrown, he, that is, who is unslayable by men, that mighty car-warrior of aim incapable of being baffled!²⁸ Or, perhaps, as destiny would have it, that warrior who was master of every weapon, having obtained thee for a foe that canst slay with thy eyes alone, hath been consumed by thy wrathful eye!²⁹—Thus addressed by Krishna, king Yudhishtira the just replied unto Janārdhana, saying,—Through Thy grace is Victory, through Thy wrath is Defeat!³⁰ Thou dispeller of the fears of those that are devoted to thee, Thou art our refuge! It is not wonderful that they should have victory whom Thou always protectest in battle, and in whose welfare Thou art always engaged, O Keçava! Having got

Thee for our refuge, I do not regard anything as wonderful!⁸¹⁻⁸² Thus addressed by him, Janārdhana answered with a smile,— O best of kings, these words can come from thee alone!—”⁸⁸

SECTION CXXIII.

“Sanjaya said,—‘After the night had passed away, O monarch, all the kings, the Pāndavas and the Dhārtarāshtras, repaired to the grandsire.¹ Those Kshatriyas then saluted that bull of their order, that foremost one among the Kurus, that hero lying on a hero’s bed, and stood in his presence.² Maidens by thousands, having repaired to that place, gently showered over Cāntanu’s son powdered sandal wood and fried paddy, and garlands of flowers.³ And women and old men and children, and ordinary spectators, all approached Cāntanu’s son like creatures of the world desirous of beholding the Sun.*⁴ And trumpets by hundreds and thousands, and actors, and mimes, and skilled mechanics also came to the aged Kuru grandsire.⁵† And ceasing to fight, putting aside their coats of mail, and laying aside their weapons, the Kurus and the Pāndavas, united together,⁶ came to the invincible Devavrata, that chastiser of foes. And they were assembled together as in days of old, and cheerfully addressed one another according to their respective ages.⁷ And that conclave full of Bharata kings by hundreds and adorned with Bhishma, looked beautiful and blazing like a conclave of the gods in heaven.⁸ And that conclave of kings engaged in honoring the son of Gangā looked as beautiful as a conclave of the celestials engaged in adoring their Lord, viz., the Grandsire (Brahman).⁹ Bhishma, however, O bull of Bharata’s race, suppressing his agonies with fortitude though burning with the arrows (still sticking to his body), was sighing like a snake.¹⁰ His body burning with those arrows, and himself nearly deprived

* *Bhutāniva tamonudam*; Nilakantha thinks that *bhutāni*, in this connection, may mean *Gandharvas and others* who are believed to approach the Sun every day as he rises in the eastern hills.—T.

† The first line is read with a slight variation in the Bengal texts.—T.

of his senses in consequence of his weapon-wounds, Bhishma cast his eyes on those kings and asked for water.¹¹ Then those Kshatriyas, O king, brought thither excellent viands and several vessels of cold water.¹² Beholding that water brought for him, Cāntanu's son said,— I cannot, O sire, now use any article of human enjoyment!¹³ I am removed from the pale of humanity. I am lying on a bed of arrows. I am staying here, expecting only the return of the Moon and the Sun!¹⁴— Having spoken these words and the rebu rebuked those kings, O Bhārata, he said,— I wish to see Arjuna!¹⁵—The mighty-armed Arjuna then came there, and reverentially saluting the grandsire, stood with joined hands, and said,—What shall I do?¹⁶—Beholding then that son of Pāndu, O monarch, thus standing before him after having offered him respectful salutations, Bhishma of righteous soul cheerfully addressed Dhananjaya, saying,¹⁷—Covered all over with thy shafts, my body is burning greatly! All the vital parts of my body are in agony. My mouth is dry.¹⁸ Staying as I am with body afflicted with agony, give me water, O Arjuna! Thou art a great bowman! Thou art capable of giving me water duly!¹⁹—The valiant Arjuna then saying,—*So be it*,—mounted on his car, and stringing his *Gāndīva* with force, began to stretch it.²⁰ Hearing the twang of his bow and the slap of his palms which resembled the roar of the thunder, the troops and the kings were all inspired with fear.²¹ Then that foremost of car-warriors, mounted on his car, circumambulated that prostrate chief of the Bharatas, that foremost of all wielders of weapons.²² Aiming then a blazing arrow, after having inspired it with *mantras* and identified it with the *Parjanya* weapon, in the very sight of the entire army, the son of Pāndu,²³ viz., Pārtha, pierced the Earth a little to the south of where Bhishma lay. Then there arose a jet of water that was pure, and auspicious,²⁴ and cool, and that, resembling the nectar itself, was of celestial scent and taste. And with that cool jet of water Pārtha gratified²⁵ Bhishma, that bull among the Kurus, of godlike deeds and prowess. And at that feat of Pārtha who resembled Cakra himself in his acts,²⁶ all those rulers of Earth were filled with great wonder, And beholding that feat of Vibhatsu implying

superhuman prowess,⁸⁷ the Kurus trembled like kine afflicted with cold. And from wonder all the kings there present waved their garments (in the air).⁸⁸ And loud was the blare of conchs and the beat of drums that were then heard all over the field. And Cāntanu's son, his thirst quenched, then addressed Vibhatsu, O monarch, and said,⁸⁹ applauding him highly in the presence of all those kings, (these words, *viz.*)—O thou of mighty arms, this is not wonderful in thee, O son of Kuru's race!⁹⁰ O thou of immeasurable effulgence, even Nārada spoke of thee as an ancient *Rishi*! Indeed, with Vāsudeva as thy ally, thou wilt achieve many mighty feats⁹¹ which the chief of the celestials himself with all the gods, of a certainty, will not venture to achieve! They that have knowledge of such things know thee to be the destroyer of the whole Kshatriya race!⁹² Thou art the one bowman among the bowmen of the world! Thou art the foremost among men. As human beings are, in this world, the foremost of all creatures, as Garuda is the foremost of all winged creatures;⁹³ as the Ocean is the foremost among all receptacles of water and the cow among all quadrupeds; as the Sun is the foremost among all luminous bodies and Himavata among all mountains; as the Brāhmana is the foremost among all castes, so art thou the foremost of all bowmen!⁹⁴ Dhritarashtra's son (Duryodhana) listened not to the words repeatedly spoken by me and Vidura and Drona and Rāma and Janārdhana and also by Sanjaya.⁹⁵ Reft of his senses, like unto an idiot, Duryodhana placed no reliance on those utterances. Past all instruction, he will certainly have to lie down for ever, overwhelmed by the might of Bhima!⁹⁶—Hearing these words of his, the Kuru king Duryodhana became of cheerless heart. Eyeing him, Cāntanu's son said,—Listen, O king! Abandon thy wrath!⁹⁷ Thou hast seen, O Duryodhana, how the intelligent Pārtha created that jet of cool and nectar-scented water!⁹⁸ There is none else in this world capable of achieving such a feat. The weapons appertaining to Agni, Varuna, Soma, Vāyu, and Vishnu,⁹⁹ as

* In the 2nd line of 32 some of the Bengal texts read *dhanvinam* incorrectly for *nīdanam*.—T.

also those appertaining to Indra, Paçupati, and Paramesthi, and those of Prajāpati, Dhātri, Tashtri, Sāvitrī, and Vivasvat,⁴⁰ all these are known to Dhananjaya alone in this world of men ! Krishna, the son of Devakī, also knoweth them. But there is none else here that knoweth them.⁴¹ This son of Pāndu, O sire, is incapable of being defeated in battle by even the gods and the *Asuras* together. The feats of this high-souled one are superhuman.⁴² With that truthful hero, that ornament of battle, that warrior accomplished in fight, let peace, O king, be soon made !⁴³ As long as the mighty-armed Krishna is not possessed by wrath, O chief of the Kurus, it is fit, O sire, that peace should be made with the heroic Pārthas !⁴⁴ As long as this remnant of thy brothers is not slain, let peace, O monarch, be made !⁴⁵ As long as Yudhishtira, with eyes burning in wrath, doth not consume thy troops in battle, let peace, O sire, be made !⁴⁶ As long as Nakula, and Sahadeva, and Bhimasena the son of Pāndu, do not, O monarch, exterminate thy army,⁴⁷ it seems to me that friendly relations should be restored between thee and the heroic Pāndavas ! Let this battle end with my death, O sire ! Make peace with the Pāndavas !⁴⁸ Let these words that are uttered to thee by me be acceptable to thee, O sinless one ! Even this is what I regard to be beneficial both for thyself and the race (itself of Kuru) !⁴⁹ Abandoning thy wrath, let peace be made with the Pārthas. What Phālguna hath already done is sufficient. Let friendly relations be restored with the death of Bhishma ! Let this remnant (of warriors) live ! Relent, O king !⁵⁰ Let half the kingdom be given to the Pāndavas. Let king Yudhishtira the just go to Indraprastha. O chief of the Kurus, do not achieve a sinful notoriety among the kings of the earth by incurring the reproach of meanness, and becoming a fomentor of intestine dissensions !⁵¹ Let peace come to all with my death ! Let these rulers of earth, cheerfully mix with one another ! Let sire get back the son, let sister's son get back the maternal uncle !⁵² If from want of understanding and possessed by folly thou dost not hearken to these timely words of mine, thou wilt have to repent greatly ! What I say is true, Therefore, desist even now !⁵³—

Having, from affection, said these words unto Duryodhana in the midst of the kings, the son of the Ocean-going (Gangā) became silent. Though his vital limbs were burning with the arrow-wounds, yet, prevailing over his agonies, he applied himself to *yoga*.⁵⁴

“Sanjaya continued,—‘Having heard these beneficial and peaceful words fraught with both virtue and profit, thy son, however, accepted them not, like a dying man refusing medicine.’ ”⁵⁵

SECTION CXXIV.

“Sanjaya said,—‘After Cāntanu’s son Bhishma, O monarch, had become silent, all those rulers of earth, there present, then returned to their respective quarters.¹ Hearing of Bhishma’s slaughter, that bull among men, *viz.*, Rādhā’s son (Karna), partially inspired with fear, quickly came there.² He beheld that illustrious hero lying on his bed of arrows like the lord Kārtikeya himself lying (after birth) on his bed of reeds.*³ Then Vrisha (Karna) endued with great glory, with voice choked in tears, approaching that hero lying with eyes closed, fell at his feet.⁴ And he said,—O chief of the Kurus, I am Rādhā’s son, who, while before thy eyes, was everywhere looked at by thee with hate!⁵—Hearing these words, the aged chief of the Kurus, *viz.*, the son of Gangā, whose eyes were covered with a film, slowly raising his eyelids, and causing the guards to be removed, and seeing the place deserted by all, embraced Karna with one arm, like a sire embracing his son, and said these words with great affection.⁶⁻⁷—Come, come! Thou art an opponent of mine who always challengest comparison with me! If thou hadst not come to me, without doubt, it would not have been well with thee!⁸ Thou art

* Kārtikeya or Skanda, the celestial generalissimo, believed to be the son of Agni though represented in some *Puranas* as the son of Pārvati or Umā by Civa, was born in a forest of reeds. The child, a hero from the moment of birth, of gigantic proportions, was discovered lying on straight reeds or *ṣaras*; hence he is called Carajanman.—T.

Kunti's son, not Rīdhā's! Nor is Adhiratha thy father! O thou of mighty arms, I heard all this about thee from Nārada,⁹ as also from Krishna-Dwaipāyana! Without doubt, all this is true! I tell thee truly, O son, that I bear thee no malice!¹⁰ It was only for abating thy energy that I used to say such harsh words to thee! O thou of excellent vows, without any reason thou speakest ill of all the Pāndavas!¹¹ Sinfully didst thou come into the world. It is for this that thy heart hath been such! Through pride, and owing also to thy companionship with the low, thy heart hateth even persons of merit!¹² It is for this that I spoke such harsh words about thee in the Kuru camp! I know thy prowess in battle, which can with difficulty be borne on earth by foes!¹³ I know also thy regard for Brāhmanas, thy courage, and thy great attachment to alms-giving! O thou that resemblest a very god, amongst men there is none like thee!¹⁴ From fear of intestine dissensions I always spoke harsh words about thee. In bowmanship, in aiming weapons, in lightness of hand, and in strength of weapons,¹⁵ thou art equal to Phālguna himself, or the high-souled Krishna! O Karna, proceeding to the city of Kāçī, alone, with thy bow, thou¹⁶ hadst crushed the kings in battle for procuring a bride for the Kuru king! The mighty and invincible king Jarāsandha also,¹⁷ ever boastful of his prowess in battle, could not become thy match in fight! Thou art devoted to Brāhmanas; thou always fightest fairly! In energy and strength,¹⁸ thou art equal to a child of the celestials and certainly much superior to men. The wrath I cherished against thee is gone.¹⁹ Destiny is incapable of being avoided by exertion. O slayer of foes, the heroic sons of Pāndu are thy uterine brothers!²⁰ If thou wishest to do what is agreeable to me, unite with them, O thou of mighty arms! O son of Surya, let these hostilities end with me! Let all the kings of Earth be today freed from danger!²¹—

“Karna said,—I know this, O thou of mighty arms! All this, without doubt, is (as thou sayest)! As thou tellest me, O Bhishma, I am Kunti's son, and not the son of a *Suta*.²² I was, however, abandoned by Kunti, and I have been reared by a *Suta*. Having (so long) enjoyed the wealth of Duryodhana,

I dare not falsify it now.*²⁸ Like Vasudeva's son who is firmly resolved for the sake of the Pāndavas, I also, O thou that makest profuse presents to Brāhmanas, am prepared to cast away my possessions, nay, my body itself, my children, and my wife, for Duryodhana's sake!† Death from disease, O thou of Kuru's race, doth not become a Kshatriya!²⁴⁻²⁵ Relying upon Suyodhana, I have always offended the Pāndavas! This affair is destined to take its course. It is incapable of being prevented.²⁹ Who was there that would venture to overcome Destiny by exertion? Various omens indicating the destruction of the Earth, O grandsire,²⁷ were noticed by thee and declared in the assembly. It is well known to me that the son of Pāndu, and Vāsudeva,²⁸ are incapable of being conquered by other men. Even with them we venture to fight! I will vanquish the son of Pāndu in battle! Even this is my firm resolve!²⁹ I am not capable, again, of casting off this fierce animosity (that I cherish against the Pāndavas)! With a cheerful heart, and keeping the duties of my order before my eye, I will contend against Dhananjaya.³⁰ Firmly resolved that I am on battle, grant me thy permission, O hero! I will fight! Even this is my wish.³¹ It behoveth thee to forgive me also any harsh words that I may have at any time uttered against thee or any act that I may have done against thee from anger or inconsiderateness!—³²

“Bhishma said,—If, indeed, thou art unable to cast off this fierce animosity, I permit thee, O Karna! Fight, moved by the desire of heaven!³³ Without anger, and without vindictiveness, serve thou the king, according to thy power and according to thy courage and observant of the conduct of the righteous!³⁴ Have then my permission, O Karna! Obtain thou that which thou seekest! Through Dhananjaya thou wilt obtain all those regions (hereafter) which are capable of being had by fulfilling the duties of a Kshatriya.³⁵ Freed from pride, and relying on thy (own) might and energy, engage in

* *I.e.*, by falsifying the expectations of Duryodhana.—T.

† The form of the assertion, in the original, is that “I have already cast these away for Duryodhana's sake!”—T.

battle, since a Kshatriya cannot have a (source of) greater happiness than a righteous battle.*⁸⁶ For a long while I made great efforts for bringing about peace! But I succeeded not, O Karna, in the task! Truly do I say this unto thee!—⁸⁷

"Sanjaya continued,—'After the son of Gangā had said this, Rādhā's son (Karna), having saluted Bhishma and obtained his forgiveness, got up on his car and proceeded towards (the quarters of) thy son.'"⁸⁸

FINIS BHISHMA PARVA.

* It seems that a *Dharmya-yuddha* (lit., a righteous battle) was not a battle happening on a meritorious occasion or induced by a just and righteous cause, such as the defence of a nation's liberty against unjust invasion or oppression, &c.&c, for, in that case, the great battle between the Kauravas and the Pāndavas would be a *Dharmya-yuddha* only as regarded the Pāndavas and not as regarded the Kauravas, for the former fought for their just inheritance, while the latter, from the sinful motive of unjustly retaining what they had originally acquired by fraud. And yet this very battle has been frequently spoken of as a *dharmya-yuddha* even as regards the Kauravas. It seems, therefore, that a battle, in order to be righteous, depended only on the *manner* in which it was fought and not on the justice or injustice of the reasons that induced it.—T.

† The first line of the last verse is read variously. I adopt the Bengal reading —T.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

The progress of the English translation of the *Mahabharata* under the enterprise and supervision of Mr. Protap Chundra Roy, has been noticed by us at intervals in the last three years, and a few days ago we had to acknowledge the receipt of a fresh instalment of the work. We now quote with pleasure, an extract from the letter of a French professor of note in Paris, affording additional testimony to the unique value of the great Hindoo epic, and to the advisability of clothing it in an appropriate English dress. M. Sylvain Levi, Professor in the School of Higher Studies in the French capital, writes as follows :—

“The Mahabharata is not only the largest, but also the grandest of all Epics, as it contains throughout a lively teaching of morale under a glorious garment of poetry. If ever national spirit may be fostered in India, it is only through a study of national antiquities, national literature, and national ethics.”

It is to be regretted that the work is so costly, but the fact that it is of national importance, and has made sufficient progress almost to guarantee its completion, and further that the cost under any circumstances would be unavoidable—lead us to recommend strongly that an effort should be made to get it out of hand. The work has to be done, and the cost will probably be Rs. 100,000, but as one half the task has been accomplished, Governmental and private support should be forthcoming for its completion. *Statesman, April 25, 1888*

REVIEW.

THE MAHABHARATA, Translated into English Prose. By PROTAP CHANDRA RAI. Calcutta : *Bharata Press*.

This vast national undertaking has now advanced one-third of the way towards completion. Unlike most enterprises of great extent, the promoters of which generally tire of their task, and hurry it on to an ignominious end, this translation certainly improves as it proceeds, and shows that more and more pains are being taken to render it accurate and valuable. The point now reached is that portion of the Bhishmaparvan which rehearses the Bhagavad-Gita, or “Song of the Lord,” so justly famous as the exponent of the most exalted view of Hinduism. This part of the book is sure to be very well read, for it not only sets forth clearly the dogmas of esoteric Hinduism, but, at the same time, presents that religion in its most favorable aspect.

The translator now carefully annotates as he proceeds, using as his guides the works of Sānkara, Sridhara, Telang, and the famous Comment of Nilakantha. Literal exactness has been essayed rather than elegance; and this is especially commendable, for the whole narrative is presented in its simple nakedness without any attempt at artificial adornment, and, better still, without any attempt, by dexterous manipulation of words, to give a higher or different meaning to that of the ancient writers. The text, in fact, is presented word for word, as far as the nature of the two languages admits.

It is true that exception may be taken to the translation in many places. It is impossible that this should not be the case. A task of this nature bristles with difficulties, and scholars will ever be divided in opinion on hosts of passages; still there can be no doubt that the translator gives us in his work a reasonably accurate version in English of the entire book, and, by doing so, places the mass of traditions it contains within easy reach of the entire civilised world. Sanskritists themselves will be glad of the aid which this version affords, in readily searching for facts, and bringing together comparative passages, the precise terms of which can be afterwards verified by the Sanskrit text. The translation, therefore, even to the specially qualified, is an admirable labour-saving work. Another detail, facilitating reference to the original, is now being introduced,—viz., small figures, indicating where the Sanskrit stanzas commence; thus, any line of the translation can with rapidity be compared with the original.

It must never be forgotten that Pratap Chandra Roy commenced this great and costly labour at his expense, with the noble intention of distributing as many copies gratis as his means could afford. He has redeemed his promise, and is now faithfully supplying part by part free of cost, to those who early established their claim to the privilege. Others are supplied at varying prices, according to their means; but in every case the price asked is insignificant, and far beneath the prime cost of printing the book. There are, however, indications that the more careful way in which the work is now being done, is exhausting the resources of the brave-hearted man who has undertaken the task. It is most earnestly to be hoped that the work may not have to stop for want of funds. It is more than a national enterprise; it is a work in which the whole civilised world is interested; and it would not only be a disaster, but a disgrace, if the translator did not receive the support necessary to enable him to complete his gigantic enterprise.

From the "JOURNAL DES SAVANTES" of Sept. 1886.

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA.

The Mahābhārata of Krishna-Dwaipāyana Vyāsa, translated into English prose. Published by Protap Chandra Roy, Calcutta, Bhārata Press, in 8vo., 1883-1887;—the first four volumes.

The translation of the Mahābhārata is certainly one of the most arduous undertakings which Philology can possibly propose. It is not that the text is difficult to render into any other language, but the poem has more than two hundred-thousand verses. This is colossal, and no one, who commences this task can flatter himself by thinking that he will be able to bring it to a termination. Among us, a trial was attempted by M. Hippolyte Fauche, who, midway, was surprised by death. He was full of courage, but had come to the end of his strength. In India there has been a new translation, this time in English, which was commenced four years ago, and has reached the 5th volume. It has every chance of success. On our part we sincerely wish that it may succeed.

Babu Protap Chandra Roy, who was come forward to accomplish this work of time, unites in himself all the conditions which safe-guard him from failure. He knows the language of the original better no doubt than others can know it, he writes English with perfect correctness, as is testified to by the most competent judges, he is animated with an enthusiasm which sustains him in his hard work, and he has taken every precaution so that this grand project may be continued after him, if by any chance he should fail to accomplish it himself. The personal history of the Babu is very touching, and deserves some notice, as a knowledge of the details will enable one to appreciate better the publication which he is carrying on with such rare energy and at such self-sacrifice.

Mr. Protap Chandra Ray has been a librarian and com-

mission-agent (Mercantile), and by his labors has honorably earned a competency. Having lost his wife, of whom he was very fond, and having settled well his only daughter, he resolved to devote his fortune, of which his family had no further need, to the publication and diffusion of the grand monuments of Brahmanical literature. With this view he brought out at first a Sanskrit edition of the Mahābhārata, then a translation into Bengali, which reached its fourth edition. He also edited the Rāmāyana, with Sanskrit text and a translation into Bengali, and the Harivansa, with text and translation. These were by no means the speculations of a librarian. The Babu, as generous as he is talented, distributed *gratis* the works which he printed, and his only object was to place before his countrymen, and make them like more and more grand epics of his nation. It is with this same intention that he has undertaken the English translation of Mahābhārata. In borrowing the language of his rulers, he hopes to advance more effectively his country's glory, which is the passion of his life. One cannot but admire the proselytising ardour. It shows that the Babu admires without limit this poem by Vyāsa, in which, according to our classical tastes we cannot share, but which is felt by the most intelligent in India. It is true that the Mahābhārata does not hesitate to place itself, from the beginning of the poem far above the Vedas, and it gravely relates that when the gods placed the four Sacred books on the one side and the Mahābhārata on the other side of a scale, it was the Mahābhārata which out-weighed the hymns of the Rishis. Unshaken faith like this is necessary to uphold courage and to remove mountains. The faith of Babu Pratap Chandra Roy is as religious in its character as it is patriotic, for he looks upon the Mahābhārata, as the most sacred school of morals and of virtue. This is not exactly what we think, but this is the conviction of the whole Indian peninsula.

The Babu has expressly established a Society for his publications under the title of *Dātavya Bhārata Kāryālaya*, that is, a society for the distribution of the Mahābhārata

gratis. The Press which the society has organised is called the Bhārata Press. Among the founders and benefactors of this society the Babu could count from the very beginning the highest of Indian notabilities,—the Maharaja of Kashmir, the Gaekwar of Baroda, the Maharaja of Travancore, the Maharaja of Burdwan, the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Maharajas of Darbhanga, of Faridkote, of Jeypore, of Dhār, of Rewā, the Maharaja Holkar, the Maharaja Sir Joteendro Mohun Tagore Bahadoor, the Nawab Khajeh Abdul Gani, Princesses like the Mahranis Sarnomoyi and Sarat Sundari; European professors as Mr. Max Muller of Oxford, Professor Garbe of Koenigsberg, Dr. E. Windisch of Leipsic, Mr. Fausboll of Copenhagen, Professor Herman Jacobi of Westphalia, Mr. William Emmett Coleman of San Francisco, Mr. H. B. Witton of Hamilton in Canada; authors Indian and foreign Journalists. Among his patrons, the Babu can also count the right Honorable the Marquis of Hartington, Sir Arthur Colvin, M. P., Mr. R. Rost, Librarian of the India office, Dr. W. W. Hunter, the statistician, Mr. C. P. Ilbert, and a large number of distinguished persons. A very wealthy Babu, Govinda Lall Roy, of Rungpore has taken upon himself to pay the cost of printing one of the largest cantos of the Mahābhārata, the Vanaparva, which has 17,478 *slokas* or 34,956 verses, that is, cost of printing two large octavo volumes. It was the object of Babu Govinda Lall Roy, by this act of generosity, to celebrate and sanctify the marriage of his daughter. He has done at the same time, great honor to himself.

The Viceroy,—the Marquiss of Ripon and Lord Dufferin, Sir Rivers Thompson and Sir Steuart Bayley, Sir Charles Aitchison, the Lieutenant Governor of the Panjab, have all favored with their approval the publication which the natives have most gratefully welcomed. It offers to them, all things considered, more healthy reading than the novels and romances sent out from Europe, which are much in vogue among the Hindus. We can understand why the Government has encouraged this movement in the Metropolis as well as in the provinces. It is aware that there are many temples in India

where the *Mahābhārata* is regularly read out to the public, and that the people listen to it piously and with pleasure.

The Press in India, and latterly of the whole world have given a warm reception to the new translation. In India, among other journals we name the *Bengal Times*, the *Englishman*, the *People's Friend*, the *Hindu Patriot*, the *Pioneer*, the *Civil and Military Gazette*, the *Hindu*, le *Petit Bengali*,—a newspaper published in French in Calcutta, the *Ries and Rayyet*, the *Gazette of Bombay*, the *Statesman*, the *Indian Mirror*, the *Express*, the *Indu Prokash*, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, the *East*, the *Indian Chronicle*, &c. &c.

Next to Indian journals, the newspapers of the united states of America (North) have unanimously shown the greatest sympathy:—the *American-Book-seller*, *Critic and Good literature*, the *Century*, the *Harvard Herald*, the *American Antiquary*; all the *Journals of New York*, the *Science of Cambridge in Massachusetts*; the *Journal of the Great Salt Lake City of the Mormons*; the *Public Library of Millvankee in Wisconsin*; the *religio-philosophical Society of Chicago in Illinois*, &c., &c. Also journals published in England, France and Italy have kindly recommended the translation to the public and have not been niggard in their expressions of praise.

However disinterested the translator of the *Mahābhārata* has shown himself to be and though he has received good support from his associates and his benefactors, he has not been able to secure all the resources required for the undertaking on the plan in which he has conceived it. It appears, that the entire cost of the work has been estimated at about 250,000 francs, upto the present time, however, only one-third of this amount has been secured. We hope, however, that the translator will succeed in getting the necessary funds, and it should be the prayer of every lover of literature and they should make strenuous efforts that an undertaking of this kind which offers such good guarantees of success, does not sadly fail for want of support.

It will profit the world to have at last a complete and faithful translation of the Hindu epic. M. l'abbé Gorresio,

associate of the Institute of France has given us an admirable translation of the Rāmāyana ; but we have all along felt the want of a translation of the Mahābhārata, and it will be a great regret to all if the opportunity of getting it in its integrity, in a language which is accessible to every body, be allowed to pass, when moreover the re-production is being made with the required efficiency. When a century ago (1785) Mr. Wilkins published in calcutta an extract from this grand poem, and made it known through the episode of the Bhagavadgita, the world was dazzled with its magnificence. Vyāsa, the reputed author of the Mahābhārata appeared greater than even Homer, and it required a very little indeed to induce people to place India above Greece. This excessive admiration is excusable, but when the first feeling of rapture had passed away, and the nature of the entire work was known, public opinion and public judgment were modified and a more fair opinion was formed of the poem. In spite, however, of the just reservations made in this direction, it has not the less been admitted that this prodigious Hindu epic is one of the grandest monuments of its kind of human intelligence and genius. If this poem is cherished by and charms India on account of the numerous traditions which are contained in it, and if according to our tastes, which are somewhat more austere than those of the Brahmanas, we find in it great defects, our curiosity, nevertheless, is not less keen,—and this requires to be satisfied. Hindu intelligence has furnished so many proofs of its power and fertility by its sacred poetry, its religious books, its systems of philosophy, by its laws and by its drama, that it is necessary for us to know in what manner this epic was conceived. Of the two principal poems to which it has given birth we know one, and it remains for us to know the other. Up to the present time we have had only fragments, selected with care, thanks to Messrs Paire and Foucaux amongst ourselves ; to Schlegel and Bopp in Germany &c. What we have got has made us wish for the remainder, and if the learned world assists a little Mr. Protap Chandra Roy and his colleagues who are as disinterested and

as learned as he is, we shall possess the entire work as it stands. The Dātavya Bhārata Kāryālaya has been working for the last eleven years and it is necessary that it should be maintained till this noble undertaking is entirely accomplished. Only one-third of the work has been finished. Out of 18 cantos which the Mahābhārata contains, 5 have already appeared in English: the Ādiparva, 8487 *slokas*, the Sabha 2709 *slokas*, the Vana 17478 *slokas*, the Virāta 2376 *slokas*, the Udyoga 7657 *slokas*,—total 38,699 *slokas* or 77398 verses, out of a total of 212,000.

From what we know already of the Mahābhārata we see clearly what it is. A faithful and elegant translation will have the great merit of giving it to us in its entirety, but will not change in any way the opinion which we ought to form of it. This tremendous Epic which surpasses all other by its extent and its irregularity, is the delight of the Hindu because he finds himself depicted in it, and he admires it with all its defects. It does not, however, charm us in an equal degree, who live with Homer and Virgil, with Lasso and Milton, without taking into account other poems almost as beautiful as theirs. But every critic will admit that this Epic has preserved all the traditions of a vast population who regard it as the repository of their glorious annals. In spite of the episodes which are very diffuse and sometimes very unreasonable there is in the Mahābhārata a historical basis of which there cannot be the least doubt. At an epoch not definitely determined but nevertheless real, two great royal families the Kurus and the Pāndus had a dispute amongst themselves for the throne, not that of the whole of India, but of that portion of the peninsula which in the present day is comprised of the provinces under the governments of the North West and the Punjab. In our times archæology has determined the site of the battle-field where this great struggle took place, and how vague soever are the indications given in the poem, it has been found possible to ascertain the disposition of the two armies on the field of battle and the varied chances of the fight which appears to have lasted for several days.

The above is the real plot of the poem, round which have been grouped all sorts of legends. The Hindus have as much regard for them as for their religious faith, and these traditions are added to all their other superstitions. According to M. Alexander Cunningham, the plain where the great battle was fought extends between two rivers,—the Saraswati and the Drištavati, the one on the north and the other on the south, not far from Thanessar, Ambala and Paniput. This plain is called the Kouroukshetra—the field of the Kourous, and also Dharmakshetra—the field of honour. The people of the provinces have not forgotten those grand events, and even in our days it is their custom to assemble there annually and to hold a solemn festival.—It is a place invested with a religious and patriotic character, to which pilgrimages are made. People come here to worship the monuments which have the reputation of being sacred, but the origin and purpose of which are not known to them. They worship them with a piety as keen as it is blind. It appears that in the seventh century of our era (if one may judge from the writings of an eye-witness, Hionen-thsang, the Chinese pilgrim) this vast plain, where so many heroes perished, was still covered with heaps of their bones. This popular piety continued unabated under the rule of the Arabs and the Moguls and as the multitudes were not always tranquil in their enthusiastic demonstrations, the ruler of the country had recourse to force, more than once, to suppress emities and bloody affrays. The Kurukshetra is nearly in 30 degrees latitude north and 74 degrees longitude east.

Thus the Mahābhārata is not a work of pure imagination, and though as poem it is far below the Iliad, it bears at least this resemblance to the latter, that it relates to the great deeds of a nation, the memory of which ought to last forever. But the Mahābhārata has this advantage over the Iliad,—the people, who, in the present day celebrate by solemn rites the valour of those heroes are themselves their successors—residing in the very same locality, while Asia Minor of our times has not the slightest idea of the Trojans of Priam or the Greeks

of Agamemnon. The nations who have succeeded each other twenty times in the soil where the Trojan war took place, have lost all vestiges of glorious past with which they have nothing in common, In India, on the contrary, tradition has not been entirely effaced, and is still recognizable even under the changes which have taken place. The Mahābhārata is still a favorite study, and will, we doubt not, continue to be so for yet a very long time in the country where the deeds of valour which it relates were performed.

(Sd.) BARTHELEMY—SAINT HILAIRE.

TRANSLATION OF MAHABHARATA—It gives us much pleasure to notice that His Highness the Maharajah of Alwar has given a donation of Rs. 500 which together with Rs. 300 paid by His Highness on a former occasion will in some measure help the able translator to bring on this very important work. It is a known fact that the completion of Mr. Pratap Chandra Roy's English translation of the Mahābhārata has been seriously retarded for want of liberal assistance in the shape of money. It is hardly creditable to the nobles and Princes of land, that while they are villing with one another in paying lakhs towards objects proposed by the Europeans, and of no benefit to the country at large they are so very backward in redeeming the glorious history of their ancestors from obscurity, which is calculated to throw the lustre on the present and past generations of our country. We cannot but deeply deplore the shallow tendency of the age which would obliterate the past and the fortune of our country in the pursuit of selfish aims for present aggrandizement. *The Jubilee and Rajputana Herald Wednesday, April 25, 1881.*

THE INDIAN CLASSICS IN ENGLISH.

For the first time English readers are in the way of complete access to the most important of Hindu poems. We have to thank the enterprise of Pratap Chandra Roy of Calcutta for this. But some readers may ask at the outset, What benefit is there in the study of the ancient Hindu epics ?

It might seem that there was very little. The history, the poetry, the ethics that these writings contain are those of the intellectual infancy of the race. They appeal to other standards than ours ; in that "large twilight" the actions of men and of gods, their very thoughts and imaginations, take on an air of supernatural strangeness that is unequalled even by the wild genius of the Norse races, in whose sombre thoughts and deeds modern dramatic art seeks to interest us. But the Hindu epics are, after all, the more interesting ; they have a nearer significance for us than anything in the Norse mythology. The "Mahabharata," one of the longest of these poems, has wider romantic element in it than King Frithiof's "Saga" ; its action is cast upon a grander scale, and its heroes belittle all others in mythology. There is crudeness in their exaggeration. But the Hindu poems, early though they are, contain ethical and human elements that are unknown to the Norseman. It is in this that their enduring, their growing, interest remains for the mind of Europe and of America.

Wilkins was the first English scholar to break ground in this rich field, his "Bhagavad Gita" having preceded Sir William Jones's earliest translation by several years. Wilkins

indeed went to India in 1770, while Sir Wiliam Jones did not follow him until 1783. Wilkin's translation, published in 1785, lies before us; and since that date a number of versions of the "Bhagavad Gita" have followed and in more languages than one. Parraud, Proben, Herder, Schlegel, and Mayer are among its translators; * * * and Chandra Roy, is now engaged in turning the entire "Mahabharata" into English prose. In this great enterprise he has engaged with no thought of making money, but actually at the cost of a part of his fortune.

"Animated from my earliest days," he tells us, "with the desire of rendering the great religious works of India easily accessible to my countrymen, I cursed the fate that condemned me to inactivity and silence. But I never lost heart. The occupation which offered me the most chance was that of bookseller and general agent, and to it I betook myself. After some years of unremitting toil I achieved a success in my business which I considered fair enough. I might have retired, but I commenced the publication in Bengali prose of the "Mahabharata," the great Sanskrit epic of Vyasa, a perfect storehouse of religious and moral instruction, imparted not by dry precepts only, but enforced by the history of living men, princes and warriors, sages and hermits. My edition consisted of 3,000 copies, and it took me a little more than seven years to complete it." Of these, 1,000 copies were distributed free among his countrymen, and Mr. Roy then resolved to establish a permanent institution for the gratuitous distribution of the great Sanskrit works of ancient India. The result was the Bharata press of Calcutta, supported by contributions from the native Princes and from foreign well-wishers of the

undertaking. It has distributed some 20,000 volumes of the Hindu classics in the Bengali translation.

But Mr. Roy's amiable enthusiasm did not stop with this. He determined to make a literal translation of the entire "Mahabharata" into English prose, and to supply the work at a moderate subscription price to those who could afford it, and gratis to those who could not. More than a third of the translation has been done, and has been published in an edition of 2,500 copies. But recent letters from Mr. Roy show that new subscriptions to his great work are needed for its completion.

It has now gone as far as the famous "Bhagavad Gita," upon which so many translators have tried their hands. Among the latest of these is Mr. Chatterji, an educated Hindu, who professes to represent the highest Brahmin culture.

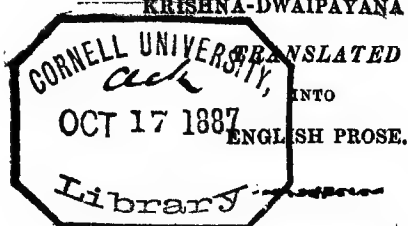
The translation is very carefully adapted to the New-England market, and it lacks flavor of sincerity throughout. On the other hand, Mr Chandra Roy's prose version into English prose is a work that deserves the hearty support of all English readers who are interested in the poetry and philosophy of the East, and to such we shall be doing a favor in saying that subscriptions for the work may be sent either to William E. Coleman, San Francisco, or to Prof. Max Muller, 7 Norham Gardens, Oxford, England. *New York Times 4th March, 1888.*

TITUS MUNSON COAN.

THE MAHABHARATA

OF

KRISHNA-DWAIPAYANA VYASA



TRANSLATED

INTO

ENGLISH PROSE.

Published and distributed *chiefly gratis*

BY

PROTAP CHANDRA ROY.

 UDYOGA

&

 BHISHMA PARVAS.

(SECTIONS CLXXXVIII—CXCVIII. & I—IX.)



CALCUTTA :

BHARATA PRESS.

No. 1, RAJA GOOROO DASS' STREET,

1887.

(The right of translation is reserved.)

NOTICE.

The demand, as evidenced by applications received from almost every country, having increased, the number of copies of the English translation of the "Mahābharata" has been increased by 1,000, the earlier fasciculi (1—23), which have been exhausted, being proposed to be reprinted. The free-list, large as it is, will be increased by 250 copies more, intended for countries out of India, while the remaining 750 copies will be supplied to applicants at the old rates including postal and packing charges. For fuller particulars, apply to the undersigned.

Some sets of the Sanskrit "Mahābharatā" have been found on removing the godowns of the "Kāryālaya." These may be had at the old rates. Applicants should send early for them.

The "Kāryālaya" has lately been removed to No. 1, Rājā Gooroo Dass' Street, Beadon Square P. O.. Remittances &c., should be directed to this new address.

Calcutta,
No. 1, Rājā Gooroo Dass'
Street. }

PROTAP CHANDRA ROY.

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BHISHMA PARVA.

(SECTION X—XXXIV.)



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THE MAHABHARATA OF KRISHNA. DWAIPAYANA VYASA.

Translated into English Prose. Published and distributed,
chiefly gratis, by Protap Chandra Roy.

Of the Great Asiatic Religions, those of Hindn growth alone can boast of a civilizing influence similar to that which has made the success of Christianity. Islamism, blinded with fanatic fervour, never found time to reflect and compare itself with other religions. It fought its way with the sword and conquered rather than converted. Uncompromising in its tenets, it had no occasion to modify and assimilate itself. Hence the absence at the present moment throughout the Mahomedan world of that interest in the history of its own growth and development which gives birth to new life and kindles the desire for progress. Hinduism, on the other hand, has ever been reflective, and has, with the stimulus of the European example, commenced in this century a renaissance of the ancient culture which bids fair to assume proportions which will carry it far beyond the bounds of India. Already a sort of Buddhistic Bible Society has worked successfully in the East, and it would be little surprising if Buddhistic missionaries appeared among ourselves some day preaching the Gospel of Gautama, and propounding the dogma of the transmigration of the soul. Another Society, more learned if less fanatic, has made its object to encourage and promote the study of the ancient religious literature of India. The Dātavya Bhārata Kāryālaya has not only distributed gratis two whole editions of a Bengali Version of the Mahābhārata and another of the Sanskrit text, as well as editions of the Rāmāyana in Sanskrit and Bengali, and the Harivansa in Bengali, but it is now also engaged in the publication of an English translation of the Mahābhārata by Protap Chandra Roy. The publication of an English Version of the Mahābhārata is an event of great importance in the history of literature. The comparative indifference for this gigantic poem on the part of Oriental scholars, their preference for the Canonical scriptures of the Buddhists, has acted prejudicially on the progress of Indian studies. It is the object of the Society in question to create a greater interest in the wonderful epic than has hitherto existed among students, and through them among the general public. Besides the ritualistic, scholastic, and sacerdotal legends which it contains in common with the Vedas, other legends of equal interest and equal importance abound therein. And yet, how little has up to the present been done to unravel the mysteries it contains, or even to smooth a path leading to its golden treasures! Professor Weber's thoughtful investigation on the epic portions and the additions made by Brahmanas have hardly been appreciated. Mr. Muir's studies have not been followed up, and as to our critical knowledge of the Mahābhārata, little has been added during the last 40 years to what was then known from Lassen's essays in his *Indische Alterthumskunde*. Sir Monier Monier-Williams' analysis of the contents is of course a most

valuable help to every student, and Bopp gave a brilliant example of editorship in making some of the finest episodes accessible. Still, we are entirely without a critical examination of the whole poem, and it is impossible from the fragmentary work done to gain an oversight over its dimensions and the relative value of its different portions. And we are assured that a bird's-eye view of the whole is most desirable for all who wish to make a special study of any particular part of the Mahābhārata. The present translation is practically the first ever made into a European language. Th. Goldstucker once hoped to undertake the task, and he left a large mass of material which he had collected during his lifetime. Fauche's French version, of which ten volumes had appeared when the author died, is rather a rough paraphrase than a translation. Yet even that would have been most valuable if complete, and the obstacle which has hitherto stood in the way of a translation of the whole work is more its enormous length than the difficulty of finding an adequate translator.

Protap Chandra Roy has so far proved himself amply efficient for the task, and his English is idiomatic and clear. His terminology is flowery, and many of his passages are decidedly oriental in their character. There is in fact a peculiar charm about his pages which cannot fail to fascinate the promiscuous reader, and yet, although the work is at all times pleasant reading, the accuracy of rendering is nowhere sacrificed by the translator to his desire to be entertaining. The first fasciculi contain nothing but the bare text of the translation; but, following the advice of his critics, Protap Chandra Roy has in the later parts accompanied his text with explanatory notes which contain much useful information. A great improvement of paper and printing is also noticeable in the later parts, which have quite the appearance of European printed books.

Up to the present 31 fasciculi have appeared, representing about one-third of the whole. We congratulate the learned Hindu, who, if we are rightly informed, began life as publisher or bookseller, and who, having retired from business after losing the larger portion of his fortune and having provided for an only daughter, set on foot a movement in the literary world of India, which resulted in the formation of the Dātavya Bhārata Kāryālaya, upon the successful accomplishment of this considerable proportion of his self-imposed gigantic task.

May he be spared to complete a work which have up to the present been too enormous for the single life-time of one individual man, and may his fondest wish be fulfilled, that funds may be forthcoming to enable him to leave behind him a momentous name in literary history—the English translator of the “Mahābhārata.” *“Trubner's American, European, & Oriental Literary Record. NEW SERIES.—VOL. VII. No. 3.”*

THE MAHABHARATA

OF

KRISHNA-DWAIPAYANA VYASA

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PROTAP CHANDRA ROY.

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BHISHMA PARVA.  
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(SECTION XXXV—LII.)



CALCUTTA :

BHARATA PRESS.

No. 1, RAJA GOOROO DASS' STREET.

1887.

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VIJAYA.

Another year of our lives has passed away. The goddess Durgā, the symbol of Universal Power and Beneficence, came and has gone away. The day of her departure, auspicious beyond compare, the day whose remote anniversary witnessed the triumph of Rāma over Rāvana the demon king of Lankā, the day that is utilised in all India for the embrace of love, affection, and gratitude, between father and son, brother and brother, friend and friend, should be utilised by us also in offering our sincere regards to the friends and patrons of the *Kāryālaya*. Inspired by the same sentiments of unalterable loyalty and devotion to the Crowned head of the British Empire and by the same feelings of regard and gratitude to all the friends and patrons of this institution, we pray, as we prayed last year, may victory and joy, through the grace of the victory and joy-giving consort of Civa, ever attend on Her Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress of India! May the Goddess grant Her Majesty health and years to complete a reign which promises to be the longest in the annals of the British Empire and which is destined to stand unique in the pages of history as one of love and peace, joy and happiness! May Her revered name be a household word in every part of vast Empire, associated with everything that is noble and righteous! May the hearts of jubilant nations turn towards Her in reverence and affection, loyalty and gratitude, as towards their common Mother! May success always attend the noble statesman who now presides over the destinies of this country! May the Goddess vouchsafe peace and happiness unto the different provincial Governors of the realm! May the adorable *Cakti* grant the princes and chiefs of India energy and wisdom to carry on the governments of their respective states to the happiness of their subjects! May the Chiefs of Indore and Gwalior, Baroda and Hyderabad, Mysore and Travancore, Jeypore and Ulwar, Dhar and Rewa, and all others who have befriended the *Kāryālaya*, be themselves happy in the happiness of their subjects! May the Goddess shower her choicest blessings on the eminent *savants* in different parts of the world who have taken an interest in my work,—on Dr. Rost, the learned Librarian of the India Office who is kindness' self to me and my poor labors,—on Professor Max Muller who first encouraged me to take up the English translation of the *Mahābharata*,—on Mr. W. E. Coleman, Professor Jacobi, Professor Lanman, and others, all of whom have befriended me in many ways! May the Marquis and Marchioness of Ripon, who have endeared themselves to the people of this country, live in peace and happiness! May the

accomplished lady Miss Mary Scott, who has been more than a mother to me in offering me sympathy amid my difficulties, receive the blessings of mother Durgā ! May those noblemen of England who have evinced an interest in my work, take still greater interest in it, and in all matters of Indian administration ! May the various Government officials in India, such as our late illustrious Finance Minister Sir Auckland Colvin, now the Lieutenant Governor of the North West Provinces, Sir Charles Aitchison who, after winning the heartfelt gratitude of a whole nation committed to his care, has succeeded to Sir Steuart Bayley in the Supreme Council, General the Hon'ble Chesney, and others, who have always lent such hearty support to the *Kāryālaya*, continue to earn even greater distinction by unwearied attention to the weal of the people of this land ! May the landed gentry of Bengal work in harmony among themselves for the amelioration of their own condition and that of their tenantry at large ! May the symbol of *Cakti* give them the inspiration to strive for securing the well-being of their country and also crown their efforts with success ! May the Goddess stimulate them to noble deeds ! May the blessed *Bhagavati* inspire the Press of India,—Native and English—to which my obligations are due, with noble sentiments, impartial views, and catholic ideas ! And last, though not least, may the Supreme Goddess vouchsafe health and means, peace and prosperity, joy and happiness, to the two hundred and fifty millions of India's inhabitants, and may these remain faithful to the benign rule of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress ! These were, and these are, my prayers to the mighty Goddess, and with these words I beg to offer my sincere greetings to my patrons and the public for the manifold marks of kindness I have received at their hands !

PROTAP CHANDRA ROY.

Printed and Published by Protap Chandra Roy,
at No. 1, Rājā Gooroo Dass' Street, Calcutta.

THE MAHABHARATA

OF

KRISHNA-DWAIPAYANA VYASA

TRANSLATED

INTO

ENGLISH PROSE.

Published and distributed *chiefly gratis*

BY

PROTAP CHANDRA ROY.

~~~~~  
*BHISHMA PARVA.*  
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(SECTION LIII—LXXIV.)



CALCUTTA :

BHARATA PRESS.

No. 1, RAJA GOOROO DASS' STREET.

1888.

(*The right of translation is reserved.*)

*Extract of a letter from Mr. Barthelemy. St. Hilairé
Dated Paris 13th December 1887.*

“I have received your latter of the 22nd November, and I feel happy that mine has given you too much satisfaction. I do not understand why any one should hesitate to support your generous enterprise, and it seems to me that those who at first blamed it, ought now to see that they had been deceived. I well know that you have still many obstacles to overcome, but I have no doubt whatever that you will be able to surmount them, and I wish you, with all my heart the success which you deserve.

Accept, my dear Sir, my wishes for the new year.—May good health and good courage be yours.”

Directions for binding the fasciculi of the English
translation of the *Mahābhārata*.

<i>Adi and Sabhā Parvans...</i>	...	...	...	1vol.
<i>Vana Parvan</i>	...	...	...	1vol.
<i>Virāta and Udyoga Parvans</i>	...	...	...	1vol.
<i>Bhishma Parvan</i>	...	...	...	1vol.
<i>Drona Parvan</i>	...	...	...	1vol.
<i>Karna, Calya, Saupthika, and Stri Parvans</i>	...	...	...	1vol.
<i>Cānti Parvan</i>	...	...	...	2vols.*
<i>Anaṣāsana Parvan</i>	...	...	...	1vol.
<i>Açem-tha, Açramavāshika, Maushala, Mahāprasthānika, and Swargārohana Parvans</i>	...	...	...	1vol.

* *Cānti* may be bound into *one* volume, which, however, would be rather bulky. If bound into two, care should be taken to divide the three hundred and sixty sections of which it consists into two equal parts. The first 174 sections would be very nearly equal to the last 192. Care shall be taken by ourselves to leave a blank page or half page after Sec.174. As regards the other 8 vols., these would be pretty nearly equal to one another, with the exception of *Bhishma* which would be slightly smaller.

“We are glad to hear that H. E. the Viceroy at an interview which he kindly gave Mr. PROTAP CHUNDRA ROY on Tuesday last, expressed very warmly the interest which he takes in the English translation of the *Mahabharata* upon which that gentleman has so long been engaged. We have drawn public attentions on several occasions to Mr. PROTAP CHUNDRA'S work as many of our contemporaries have also done, but have regretted to hear at intervals, that the support which has been accorded to him needs to be increased very considerably, to enable him to complete the translation. The work is of an order that we think should appeal successfully to the support of our native princes, and to Hindoo gentlemen of means, as being of a national order. It has made sufficient progress moreover to make its completion very desirable. We are unable to pass any critical judgment upon its execution, and our native contemporaries have an advantage in this respect of which we think they should avail themselves. The work has already, and very properly, received Governmental assistance, and it will be cause of regret if, having proceeded so far, it should fail to secure the help needed for its completion.”—*The Statesman and Friend of India*, 17th February 1888.

The (London) *Times* in its issue of Sunday, January 15th, 1888, referring to the decoration of Dr. Reinhold Rost with the Order of the Indian Empire, says,—

“Who that favours Oriental studies has not been at one time or another indebted to Dr. Reinhold Rost, of the India Office Library, and will fail to congratulate the worthy Librarian on his well-deserved decoration of the Indian Empire? That his own knowledge is immense does not matter so much, for it is not his Trubner's grammars or his masterly linguistic contributions to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, his Indo-Chinese essays, or any other profound and mystical learning, that commends Dr. Rost to the many, but his unfailing courtesy, the never-tiring unselfishness with which he ransacks the stores of his brains or his shelves on behalf of the enquiring or studious visitor. He has made the India Office Library what it is, a centre of Oriental research and scholarship for all Europe.”

The above is no empty compliment that the great journal pays to the learned scholar. The *Times* is not given to paying compliments. It is the truth and nothing but the truth, The courtesy of Dr. Rost is not limited by considerations of proximity or distance, creed or color. It was his encouraging words that first led me to seriously think of an English translation of the “Mahābhārata,” and it is his sympathy and friend-

ship, unchanging and stable, that have supported and cheered me amid all my distractions. Honor to such a man is honor to Oriental scholarship. Yet how inadequate that honor! No man has worked more unselfishly in the cause of Oriental research than he. In this respect he is the exact prototype of an Indian Pundit of Navadwipa, Vikram-pore, Mithilā, Beuares, Mahārāshtra, or Drāvīda. Utterly forgetful of what is due to themselves or their families, perfectly unmindful of what would befall those they leave behind after they themselves are gone, such men work on for work's sake, with a simplicity in worldly affairs that draws tears from every eye from feelings the like of which man rarely experiences in life. Government may honor them, as, indeed, it does, with titular distinctions of *C. I. E.* or Mahamahopadhyaya, or a grateful public may erect a bust or statue, or designate a temple, pagoda, or large tank after them, for purposes of living or posthumous honor. But it would be more in keeping with the fitness of things if, instead of such distinctions, provision were made for those near and dear to them so as to make the former independent of the exertions of the latter in life.

भूषयित्वा भवन्तं हि राज्ञा विद्या सुपूजिता ।
 उपाधिना भूषणन्तु तव भाव द्विरुक्तितम् ॥
 असामान्यगुणैरेव भूषितोऽस्ति भवान् विभो ।
 प्रकृत्यामधुरश्चन्द्रो मण्डनं किमपेक्षते ॥
 के वा न सन्ति मतिमन् भुवि भावमित्राः
 शास्त्रे श्रुतौ सुनिपुणा धिषणाविभाताः ।
 मैत्री जने सरलता विपुलञ्च चेतः
 यद्दृश्यते त्वयि तु तद्द्विरलं हि लोके ॥
 अमित्राणि क्षयं यान्तु वडेन्तु तव वाम्भवाः ।
 शीरस्तु निश्चला तुभ्यं शान्तिः शमयतु ज्वरम् ॥
 मार्कण्डेयो भवान् भूयात् साधयन् समितोर्हितम् ।
 दिव्यात् त्रिदिवमाक्रम्य वर्जितो विबुधैः सह ॥

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(SECTION LXXV—XCVII.)



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THE DATAVYA BHARATA KARYALAYA.

We owe Mr. Protap Chandra Roy an apology for not acknowledging earlier his kindness in forwarding to us all the available issues of his monthly publication of the Translation of the Mahabharata. The work which Mr. Roy has undertaken is so vast and laborious, leaving out of consideration the pecuniary responsibilities involved, that it appears impossible for a single man to achieve even a hundredth part of it. It speaks volumes for Mr. Roy's industry, self-denial, devotion to work, intellectual capacity and firmness of purpose that he has accomplished one tenth of the work. The liberal donations that he has received from the Government and the Native States as also from the general public, attest to the high esteem in which the work is held. We need not say anything as to the literary value of the translation, for European scholars speak of it highly. On the whole the task which Mr. Roy has undertaken, i. e. that of interpreting to the West the best Epic of the East, is a mighty one, we might say, a noble and national one; and we hope to see it carried through by the joined efforts of all Hindus who have a spark of reverence for their ancestors. We are glad that the Hon. Sir Dinshaw Manockji Petit during his recent visit to Calcutta, granted Rs. 500 towards defraying the cost of the gigantic work. When we see Parsees and Mahomedans helping in the cause, what must we expect of the Hindu? The Maharaja of Vizianagram, who has been recently nominated Member of the Supreme Legislative Council, will, we hope, see that this work is as important as the reissue of the Rig Veda which he has promised to get out at his own expense. *The Mahratta. March 11, 1888.*

We are glad to note that in the exercise of his unstinted munificence the Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Manokji Petit has subscribed the sum of Rs. 500 to the fund raised by Babu Protap Chandra Roy for the publication of the translation of the Mahabharata. The undertaking is so vast and the means so limited that unless the enterprising Babu is handsomely supported, it will be no easy task for him to carry out this self-imposed work satisfactorily. The Mahabharata is the key-stone in the arch of Sanscrit literature, so highly prized both in the east and particularly in the west. These literary treasures are laid open in the shape of the present translations, and richly deserve the support and patronage not only of Hindus, but of every other people who feel a living interest in the Sanscrit language. *The Native Opinion, March 11, 1888.*

TREASURY GATE,
FORT WILLIAM
January 6th, 1888.

I am desired by H. E. the Commander-in-chief to thank you for your letter of the 26th ultimo.

Sir Frederick Roberts is extremely glad to hear that your work is progressing, and he hopes that your labors may be adequately rewarded by the work proving a great success when it is finally issued from the press. As regards your wish that some competent Military officer should occasionally assist your translation, His Excellency feels sure that you will be glad to hear that Colonel Jarrett, the well known oriental scholar, has kindly consented to meet your wishes. In his letter to Sir Frederick Roberts on the subject, he says, "I have read the letter which I return. The writer may certainly refer to me when he needs help and I shall be glad to do any thing for him in my power."

Colonel Jarrett lives at 17 Elysium Row, so you might like to communicate with him on the subject. His Excellency desires me to add that if there is any thing else he can do for you, he hopes you will let him know.

Yours faithfully
(Sd.) Neville Chamberlain,
Colonel.

To
Protap Chandra Roy.

WE are glad to hear that Lord Dufferin granted the other day an interview to Babu Protap Chundra Roy, the publisher of the English translation of the Mahabharata, and assured him of His Excellency's warm sympathy with his work. We hope, however, that the Viceroy will see his way to procure some substantial aid from Government to the Babu, so that he may successfully carry out his project. It appears that the Babu, by begging from almost door to door, has been able to do about half the work, and unless the Government now comes to his rescue, it is next to impossible for him to complete the remainder. The supreme importance of the undertaking has been universally recognised, and surely it will reflect very little credit on the Government and the nation if, at this stage, the translation has to be abandoned for want of funds. *The Amrita Bazar Patrika, February 23, 1888.*

Printed and Published by Protap Chandra Roy,
at No. I, Rājā Gooroo Dass' Street, Calcutta.

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SCANDINAVIAN PHILOLOGICAL JOURNAL

NEW SERIES VIII, COPENHAGEN.

New Books.

The Mahābhārata of Krishna Dwaipāyana Vyāsa translated into English prose. Published and distributed, chiefly gratis, by Protap Chandra Roy. Calcutta. 1883.

The Mahābhārata is, as every body knows, a gigantic Sanskrit epic describing the hard-fought contest between two closely related branches of one of the most famous royal families of India. Numerous interpolated narrative or didactic episodes give the poem the aspect of a very confused encyclopædia, in which an attempt has been made to bring together old traditions and a great deal of popular information of various kinds. It is the store which has supplied almost all the subject-matter of Indian literature during the middle ages and in later times, and the Indians consider it as one of their most sacred books. It is no exaggeration to say that no book is of more importance in the history of Indian literature and civilisation than the one under review. Nevertheless it has been only very superficially considered by Indian philologists, principally on account of its confused arrangement and enormous bulk. It contains 200,000 verses (8 times more than in Homer) where all possible subjects are mixed up in inextricable confusion. A translation is urgently wanted, partly to give specialists a general view of the subject-matter and partly to bring it within reach of the general public, but this is an enterprise of great magnitude and is at the same time very expensive. It is calculated that the present translation will cost more than Rs.100,000. The only attempt to translate this work into a European language was made by a Frenchman, Monsieur Hippolyte Fauche, but his attempt was a distinct failure and he died before the translation was half finished. Protap Chandra Roy's work is infinitely superior to that of Fauche and shows great energy and skill.

Protap Chandra Roy was originally a book-seller. During several years of hard and continuous work, he earned a sum which would have enabled him to retire and live on his means, but from early years his great desire had been to make the great religious books of India accessible to his countrymen, hoping in this way to counteract the ever-increasing scepticism and impiety peculiar to our age. His position being improved from a financial point of view, he decided to carry out his particular idea in the matter. He started by providing for a Bengali edition of the Mahābhārata, which he at first sold at a cheap rate (about £. 4,10s), but as many who wished to possess the work were unable to buy it even at this price, he at last made up his mind to distribute the

remaining part of the edition, *gratis*, he having by this time married his only daughter and put by what would just suffice for his own maintenance. He was, however, greatly disappointed when he found that those to whom he had made a present of the book were making money by its sale. But he was not to be deterred from continuing his generous efforts. He saw that it would be necessary to control the distribution. He established a society for the distribution of the old religious books of India (Dātavya Bhārata Kāṭyālaya) and started a subscription in order to obtain the necessary means. His appeal to the feelings of his countrymen did not remain without response. The society during the 7 years of its existence had distributed, or was distributing *gratis* 13,783,500 printed sheets or 18000 volumes (3 editions of the Mahābhārata, 1 of the Harivaṅṣa and 1 of the Rāmāyana). He then determined on the present translation of the Mahābhārata and for its distribution *gratis* in India, Europe and America, in order to make it easier for Europeans and principally for Englishmen to become acquainted with the intellectual inheritance of their Indian brethren, and thus conduce to a more intimate understanding and close relations between the rulers and the ruled. This work will, as already mentioned, cost more than £10,000. The intention is to print 1250 copies, of which 800 are for distribution to Indians and to European and American specialists, 200 to be kept in reserve to make good any accidental loss, and the remaining 250 for sale at a low rate, (Rs 50 in India and Rs. 65 out of India) which in cases of proved inability to meet the cost can be still further reduced (to Rs.12 and Rs.25 respectively).

This enterprise is of great scientific interest and ought to be supported in every way. Our public libraries ought each to obtain a copy without delay, and people who can afford it will not regret the purchase of a book which, besides its poetical value, has peculiar interest as being the chief religious book of 200 millions of men.

The translation is carefully executed, pleasantly readable, and yet faithful to the original, and the author has not committed the mistake of leaving out portions lest they should offend European taste. The Calcutta edition is the basis of the translation, but two other editions have also been used and manuscripts have been consulted where any passage offered peculiar difficulties. The translator has also consulted European specialists. Mr. Max Muller appears to have taken great interest in the work.

Opinions may, of course, differ as to the true meaning of certain passages, particularly where it is uncertain what text has been used. The translator has not noted the passages where he does not follow the Calcutta edition. His division of the first book into 236 chapters does not correspond with any other edition, while his division of the second book corresponds with the Bombay edition (81).

Names are not always written in the same way, but the latter portions of the work are much better in this respect than the first. The addition

of explanatory notes would greatly enhance the value of the book for non-specialists. Such addition might be made in the form of a glossary forming an appendix to the book.

This monument of self-sacrifice and patriotism has gained deserved acknowledgment and has been highly praised in numerous Indian, European and American publications. One-fourth of the book has up to this time been published. Let us hope that Protap Chandra Roy may succeed in completing, as satisfactorily as he has commenced, this noble work, so important for the true understanding of Indian Wisdom.

(Sd.) S. Sorensen.

Extract from a letter of M. Sylvain Levi, Prof. in the School of Higher Studies, Paris, dated 17th March, 1888.

"The Mahabharata is not only the largest, but also the grandest of all Epics, as it contains throughout a lively teaching of morals under a glorious garment of poetry. If ever national spirit may be fostered in India, it is only through a study of national antiquities, national literature, and national ethics."

17 Elysium Row
25th March.

My dear Sir,

I have received the review and thank you much for it. It quite expresses my own judgment on your work and the public spirit and love of letters which have induced you to spend your time and fortune for the benefit of your countrymen, in the publication of their celebrated Epic. I am glad to see that one of the ornaments of the literary world of Europe has so well acknowledged its indebtedness to you.

I remain, yours truly
(Sd.) H. S. Jarett.

Babu Protap Chandra Roy.

