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KALHANA'S RĀJATARANGINĪ

A CHRONICLE OF THE KINGS
OF KĀŚMĪR

TRANSLATED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION, COMMENTARY, & APPENDICES

BY

M. A. STEIN

VOL. II

BOOK VIII. NOTES, GEOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR, INDEX, MAPS

WESTMINSTER:

ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND COMPANY, LTD.

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KALHAṆA'S RĀJATARAṄGINĪ.

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ERRATUM, VOL. II.

The Map of Parihāsapura and Confluence of Vitastā and Sindhu is not suitable for folding in a pocket as stated in Contents, and therefore will be found facing page 430, Vol. II.



THE RĀJATARANGINĪ OF KALHAṆA.

EIGHTH BOOK.

REVERENCE TO THE REMOVER OF OBSTACLES.

1. May Pārvati, the wife of the lord of what moves and of what is immovable, ward off harm,—she in whose half the adorable one, who knows the conduct observed [by all], took up his residence after leaving outside, O wonder, his whole retinue, though [otherwise] ever-trusted: the old chamberlains (or snakes), the age-worn noble bull, and the hump-backed moon.

2. For some time the new king displayed neither wrath nor kindness, just as the ocean before the churning had brought to light neither its poison nor its nectar.

3. In the beginning his brother and the Dāmara host, who both showed excessive arrogance, prevented him from asserting himself, as wind and drought [prevent] the cloud [from raining].

4. As the brother was thoughtless in his actions and overbearing, owing to his youth, the little dignity shown by the tender-hearted king was a source of trouble.

5. For he (Sussala) was ever roaming about with drawn sword, seated on an elephant, and plundering the land of all that was of value, just as the sun draws up the moisture of the earth.

1. In representing S'iva in his union with Pārvati as *Ardhanārīśvara*, the left half, which corresponds to the goddess, is shown without the usual emblems and attendants of the god, such as the crescent, the snakes, etc.; comp. the introductory verses of Books i., iii. This the author wishes to explain by the care which the god takes to keep away from his beloved wife all male beings, even his most trusted attendants. Old chamberlains,

eunuchs and cripples are generally admitted into the seraglio. The double meaning of the word *kañcukin* permits of the snakes being represented as S'iva's chamberlains; the moon, supposed to be hump-backed, figures as the cripple. We should get a third pun if we had as the designation of S'iva's bull *jaradavṣa-rara* instead of *jaradavaravṣa* as in the text; *varavara* means 'eunuch.' It is evident that the author intended this *double entendre*.

6. He said [to the king]: "Destroy those Dāmaras by fire when they are collected." But the king, who was wholly devoted to virtue, did not accept this advice.

7. Robbers as ministers and feudatories, a brother ready to become a pretender, a land without treasure, what difficulty did not beset this king?

8. He honoured his brother by having him crowned as a sovereign, and then sent him to rule separately the territory dependant on *Lohara*.

9. When he proceeded [there], he carried away everything, elephants, arms, foot-soldiers, horses, treasure, councillors, and the rest, while his elder brother out of tender regard did not object.

10. As he feared that the soldiers garrisoning the castle (*koṭṭabhṛtya*) would resist his entrance, he took with him a son of *Utkarṣa*, *Pratāpa* by name, and thus addressed them:

11. "I want to make this [prince] king, acting [myself] as his doorkeeper." The neighbouring chiefs stood humbly before the king, as if they were his own servants.

12. After the road had been blocked during seven days for his followers, the singer *Kanaka* got an opportunity and went abroad.

13. He gave up his life at *Vārāṇasī* in weariness of the world, [being the only one] among *Harṣa's* servants who displayed gratitude.

14. Again, the honest *Uccala* from kind-heartedness allowed robbers (*dasyu*) to rise to high [posts] in remembrance of their [past] services, just as the sandal-wood tree allows the snakes [to climb up on it].

15. *Janakacandra* at that time conducted himself with such arrogance that the king and the other Dāmaras seemed to lose all importance.

16-18. *Bhoja*, *Harṣa's* son, had from the Queen *Vibhavamati*, the daughter of King *Abhaya of Uraśā*, a male child. As he was born after two or three other sons had died [in childhood], the Gurus, anxious [to assure him] a long life, had given him the ignominious name of *Bhikṣācara* ('beggar'). Though this boy of two years should have been treated as an enemy, as he continued the enemy's

7. By the 'robbers' (*dasyavaḥ*) the Dāmaras are meant here and in subsequent passages; comp. e.g. viii. 14, 39, 856, 968, 1057, 1734, etc., and the expression *dāmarataskarāḥ*, v. 406.

11. The want of connection in the narrative seems to indicate here a lacuna of the text.

12. See regarding *Kanaka* and his probable relationship with K., note vii. 1117.

16-18. *Abhaya*, king of *Uraśā*, has been mentioned in vii. 586.

The custom of giving opprobrious names to children born after the death of their elder

predecessors, is widely spread throughout India. It takes its origin from the superstition that a disgusting name will save the child from evil influences which otherwise seem to threaten it. A full discussion of names of this kind will be found in Colonel Temple's *Proper Names of Panjābis*, pp. 22 sqq. The name *Bhikṣā*, 'beggar,' which is there quoted from a list of Bihār names collected by Dr. Grierson, corresponds exactly to our *Bhikṣācara*. Compare also note vii. 1068 and viii. 1085.



stock, yet the king at his (Janakacandra's) advice preserved him and entrusted him to his own queen.

UGGALA
(A.D. 1101-11).

19. While he (Janakacandra) was thinking of getting hold of that [boy] and himself ruling [in his name], *Uggala*, who perceived his intentions, showed politic shrewdness.

20-21. Calculating that either the *Dāmaras*, unable to submit to the ascendancy of an equal, would become his enemies, or that he himself owing to the great honour would become honest, he indicated his intention of giving to him charge of the 'Gate.' Thereupon there arose ill-feeling [against Janakacandra] in *Bhīmādeva* and all the other [*Dāmaras*].

22. When the jealousy between them and him had risen high their respective followers challenged each other to fight for a stake.

23. The king wished to see them fight each other on the bridge, and ascended to the four-pillared pavilion (*catuskikā*), though his councillors tried to hold him back.

24. When, however, the combat in pairs had commenced, the excited *Dāmaras* on both sides suddenly started a furious fight.

25. When the fight had begun by the approaches to the bridge, the soldiers of *Janakacandra* poured from the river-bank a shower of arrows towards the king.

26. The arrows hissing in their flight grazed the king's body and, after embedding themselves in the posts, were seen there shaking, as if in fury.

27. The attendants thereupon dragged the king back forcibly, as it were, by his arms, and getting [with him] into the hall bolted its door.

28. *Janakacandra* and *Bhīmādeva*, along with their men, then drew their swords in the pavilion to slay each other.

29. In this tumult *Arjuna*, *Kālapāśa's* son, a violent follower of *Bhīmādeva*, struck with his knife the body of *Janakacandra*.

30. When the latter saw himself hurt, he kicked in rage the door of the king's apartments, thinking that the king had arranged this treachery.

31. The door held fast, and when he [then] from fear got into a bathing place (*snānādronī*), *Bhīmādeva* ran towards him with a drawn dagger to kill him.

32. Seeing this the accountant of his (*Bhīmādeva's*) household, who had hidden behind a pillar, cut with his sword *Janakacandra's* body in two.

Murder of *Janakacandra*.

33. The same man, remaining unnoticed after killing him, wounded with his sword his younger brothers *Gagga* and *Saḍḍa* as they were fleeing.

23. For *catuskikā*, see note vii. 1550.

33. Regarding *Gagga* or *Gargacandra*, see

31. Compare regarding *snānādronī* note viii. 182.

viii. 605.



UCCALA
(A.D. 1101-11).

34. The lightning after striking down the tree does not remain [in view] for long, nor a man of remarkable deeds after bringing low a very exalted enemy.

35. He (Janakacandra) was thus killed [exactly] three fortnights, not less and not more, after the day of *Harṣa's* death in that year which contained two *Bhādrapada* months.

36. Or perhaps he found his end so quickly on account of the enormity of his sin in betraying his lord, though he was his benefactor.

37. As the king, though rejoicing inwardly, affected to feel anger and grief *Bhīmādeva* fled, while *Gagga* trusted him.

38. The king sent *Gagga* to *Lahara* to recover from his wound, and dismissed also the other *Dāmaras*, who were frightened, to their own [respective] territories.

39. After having got his kingdom clear of the robbers (*dasyu*) by diplomacy as well as by open acts of repression, King *Uccala* gradually gained assurance.

40. As soon as he had secured his position, the ambitious [king] in a few days forced the *Dāmaras* in *Kramarāja* to dismiss their mounted and other troops.

41. Then he proceeded to *Maḍavarāja* and executed *Kāliya* and other *Dāmaras* who were fond of rebellions, by having them impaled.

42. He destroyed also in due course the powerful *Illārāja* who had amassed land, by surprising him in the City with strong forces.

43. Whether from the effect of attachment in a previous existence or from deep judgment, the king's affection for *Gagga* became as great as [if he had been] his son.

44. The king, who cared for his subjects and did not tolerate even a word of opposition, showed on no occasion anger when *Gagga* committed offences.

35. K. refers here to the fact that in the year of *Harṣa's* death (*Lokakāla* 4177, A.D. 1101-2), the luni-solar calendar had an intercalary month which fell into the month of *Bhādrapada*, two months of that name being thus counted for that year. The tables given by Cunningham, *Indian Eras*, p. 173, and in Messrs. Sewell and Dikshit's *Indian Calendar*, p. lii., actually show *Bhādrapada* as the intercalary month for that year, and thus prove K.'s statement to be correct.

Harṣa's death, according to vii. 1717, fell on *Bhādrapada śukli* 5. As K. designates there the month simply as *Bhādrapada*, we may assume that the day meant was the fifth day of the bright half of the proper (*nija*) *Bhādra-*

pada. This half, according to the rule of the *Sūryasiddhānta* still observed in *Kāśmir*, follows after the intercalated month, in this case called *dvitīyabhādrapada* (comp. *Ind. Eras*, p. 91 and *Ind. Cal.*, p. 30). The date of *Janakacandra's* death must accordingly have been *Kārttika vadi* 5.

K.'s mention of the intercalary month of this year furnishes interesting evidence as to the general accuracy of his chronology for the later reigns.

38. Emend *Laharam* for *Loharam* of A. L. For the opposite clerical error, comp. note v. 51. From vii. 1330, 1373 sqq.; viii. 437, etc., it is evident that *Janakacandra* and *Gargacandra* were *Dāmaras* of *Lahara*.



UCCALA
(A.D. 1101-11).

Uccala's government.

45. He remembered like magic spells two useful counsels which the wise *Bhīmādeva* had given him, when asked [for advice] at the commencement of his reign.

46. In accordance with the one he went outside [his inner apartments] in the morning and occupied himself in the outer courts [of the palace] till the evening, in order to learn what the people said.

47. In accordance with the other he, being ever ready for exertion, would, if he heard but the [mere] word 'opponent,' start [at once], even were it midnight, and suppress the revolt.

48. As this [king] possessed great firmness and wisdom among kings, his conduct was without stain, not even spoiled by avarice.

49. Now the guilt arising from the narration of a wicked ruler's [reign] will be cleared off my song by immersion in *Uccala's* virtuous conduct [which is purifying like] Gaṅgā water.

50. Though his resources (*aṅga*) were incomplete, yet he removed almost entirely the dense darkness which impedes the recognition of the right, like another *Anūru*.

51. As he had taken a vow that he would commit suicide if any person should die by starving himself (*prāyopaveśa*), he caused the judges to be careful.

52. If this high-minded [king] heard the plaintive cry of a person in distress, it caused him pain; and he would not spare punishment even to himself.

53. If a lament arose owing to the fault of an official, the angered king would make it stop by the lamentations of that [official's] own relatives.

54. As the king was ever anxious to help the weak, the citizens were everywhere strong and the officials weak.

55. He used to go about alone on horseback, and whenever he heard the people, ignorant that he was the king, remarking upon a fault of his, he would quickly abandon it.

56. In whatever way the king was approached his presence proved fruitful, and for applicants he was like a wishing tree.

57. Showering nectar by friendly words and gifts of kindness and being of genial disposition, he could not do without his attendants even in places of relaxation.

58. Those who worked for him exerted themselves in their respective professions, and might even at night be received by him three or four times.

46. Compare regarding the term *bāhyāli* applied to the public portion of the palace, note iv. 62.

50. *Anūru* ('the thighless'), the charioteer of the sun, is compared to the king, because his limbs (*aṅga*) are incomplete.



UCCALA
(A.D. 1101-11).

59. When receiving services, he would at that very time give his reward with kindness. For whom was he not like a tree sown by jugglers [which grows and bears fruit rapidly]?

60. When he heard of any trouble of the inhabitants, he left off his other occupations and relieved their distress, just as a father [relieves that] of his sons.

61. By selling his own grain-stores at cheap prices, from tender care for the people, he stopped famines at their very rise.

62. Full of mercy he freed even robbers from the [necessity of] living by plunder, and made them lead a blameless life by giving them employ as guardians of treasuries.

63. He was ever considering who might require assistance, and in whose territory calamities had to be removed, and through spies he made certain of each instance.

64. The one great virtue of this king, his indifference to wealth, was putting forth, as it were, fresh shoots in the [form of the] various [other] virtues which accompanied it.

65. Though he fined those who deserved punishment, for the sake of moral order, yet he did not take money from them for fear of being defiled by its touch, but made them exculpate themselves by some pious work.

66. If he had promised to give to an applicant a certain thing singly, he kept his word by giving it a thousandfold.

67. Hence, as one hears supplicants cry, "Give, give to me," so this liberal king was heard saying, "Give, give to him."

68. No gift of his was seen bestowed without magnanimity, given with delay, reduced in amount, given without kindness, or half-embezzled by the officials, messengers and others [concerned with it].

69. He, unlike a tree [which is merely] painted [and hence gives no fruit], gave his rewards at festive occasions [of others], on hearing of their distress, in order to gratify them, and in order to help them in their affairs.

70. On the S'ivarātri and other festivals he flooded his people with presents, just as Indra [floods] the earth with rain at the conjunctions of planets.

61. This passage shows clearly that the land revenue of the Valley was collected in Hindu times, as it was until quite recently, for the most part in kind. The State sold its grain stores to the non-agricultural population of the city and towns at fixed rates, and had thus, as in modern times, a preponderating influence over the grain prices. Under a provident administration the system

afforded the means of meeting famines arising from occasional bad harvests. It is evident that the system referred to is far more ancient in Kāśmīr than has been assumed by some writers. Compare regarding the conditions under which the land revenue in kind has been collected in recent times, LAWRENCE, *Valley*, pp. 409 sq.



71. Not even King *Harṣa* showed such extravagance in offering betel [at assemblies, etc.], and such splendour at festivals as he did.

72. Though the regal seat, when he obtained it, was nothing more than a clod of earth, yet he displayed excessive liberality such as even Kubera would find difficult to practise.

73. A *Kāśmīrian* as he was, he yet did not waste again and again wealth on the soil or on robbers by erecting and pulling down buildings, or purchasing horses.

74. By employing himself in every direction and throwing his soul [into everything], he acquired a full knowledge of affairs and became, as it were, the soul of his people.

75. The Brahmans who suffered from illness received from him food fit for a king, and medicine, and those who had no livelihood, the means of subsistence.

76. At *S'rāddha* sacrifices and when propitiatory rites [had to be performed to avert] bad omens [connected] with eclipses, comets and the like, he bestowed upon Brahmans thousands of cows, horses, gold and other gifts.

77. The whole town at *Nandikṣetra* which had been burned during his reign by a sudden conflagration was built anew by him finer than it was before.

Temples restored by
Uccala.

78. This pious [king], with whom the restoration of decayed [buildings] was a passion, put in order the famous sites of *Cakradhara*, *Yogeśa*, and *Svayambhū*.

79. The illustrious [image of Viṣṇu] *Parihāsakeśava* which King *Harṣa* had carried off was put up afresh by the king at *Parihāsapura*.

80. The king, who knew no greed, adorned the [shrine of Viṣṇu] *Tribhuvanasvāmin* with the previously described parrot-house (? *śukāvalī*) which *Harṣa* had carried off.

73. Comp. regarding the character given to horse-dealers, vii. 188, 293.

76. The text has probably a corruption in the form °*saṁbhavaik* (for °*saṁbhārāik*?)

77. As viii. 110 shows, the complex of sacred and profane buildings which had gathered around the ancient temple of *Si'va Bhūtesvara* at *Bukhār*, is meant here. Comp. regarding this sacred site and its ruins, notes i. 107; v. 48-59. When I examined these ruins in August, 1891, I came across unmistakable signs of later restoration, executed with inferior materials, especially in the first or western group of the temples. These repairs may well be attributed to Uccala on the strength of our passage, no subsequent reference to a restoration of this kind being found in the *Rajāt*, or the later *Chronicles*.

78. Regarding the ancient shrine of Viṣṇu *Cakradhara*, at the present *Tsakdar*, see note i. 38.

Yogeśa is found as a name of Viṣṇu in the *Nilamata*, 1138. No temple dedicated to the god under this name is referred to elsewhere. But possibly the shrine named in our passage is identical with that of Viṣṇu *Yogaśāyin*, mentioned near the confluence of the *Vitastā* and *Sindhu* in v. 100.

Regarding the worship of *Agni Svayambhū*, 'the Self-created Fire,' at *Suyam*, comp. note i. 34. I have not been able to trace any remains of old buildings, either at the sacred spot itself or in the neighbouring village of *Nichetom*.

79. The destruction of the silver image of *Parihāsakeśava* by *Harṣa* has been related in vii. 1344 sqq.; comp. also iv. 195 (Note F).

Our passage must refer to the construction of a new statue which could scarcely have equalled the old in size and material.

80. Regarding the *śukāvalī* here mentioned, see v. 31; for the *Tribhuvanasvāmin* temple, compare iv. 78.



UCCALA
(A.D. 1101-11).

Measures against
officials.

81. He renovated the throne, that emblem of the royal power which *Jayāpīḍa* had acquired, and which had been injured by fire at *Harṣa's* overthrow.

82. *Jayamati*, through the king's fond attachment, secured the rare [privilege of] occupying one half of this throne, and did not disgrace the dignity of a queen, though she was of common birth.

83. For she distinguished herself by kindness, charm of manners, liberality, regard for virtuous people, and wisdom, as well as by other good qualities, such as helpfulness for those who were without support and distressed.

84. Yet women who have secured the attachment of a king, may, though charming by their loveliness, bring through their temper ruin over the people, as [if they were] demons.

85-87. King *Uccala*, who loved his subjects and who ever kept free from greed, had another merit which stood foremost among all his virtues. He ever recited to himself the verse: "Officials in truth are eager to kill, desirous of evil, robbers of others' property, rogues and demons; he (the king) should protect his subjects from them." Faithfully believing this traditional counsel, he uprooted the *Kāyasthas*.

88. Because, indeed, the officials also are plagues for the people, and not only cholera, colic, and exhaustion, rapidly destroying everybody.

89. The crab kills its father, and the white ant destroys her mother, but the ungrateful *Kāyastha* when he has become powerful destroys everything.

90. If ever a man of mark raises up the *Kāyastha* and gives him distinction, the rogue, just as [if he were] a *Vetāla*, slays him without scruple.

91. The official, like a poison-tree, makes, O wonder, the ground upon which he grows up unapproachable.

92. These rogues were everywhere suppressed by the king through degradation, dismissal from office, and imprisonment.

93. He turned the *Mahattama Sahela* and many others out of office, and made them wear clothes of hemp in jail.

94. He made *Bhūtabhīṣa*, in order to ridicule him, act like a strolling player together with his wife, and run about like a *Domba* soldier.

81. According to iv. 471, this throne had been brought from *Kanyakubja*.

82. Regarding *Jayamati's* antecedents, see vii. 1460-62.

86. The verse here quoted is found in *Manusmṛti*, vii. 123, with a somewhat different text. The variations are evidently due to K. having quoted from memory. For the meaningless °*dāy'naśca tāh* we have to read, in accordance with the original text, °*dāyinaś śathāh*, as already suggested by *Durgāpr*.

90. The words in the first half-verse may also be taken as referring to a *Vetāla* whom a magician (*sphuratā*) binds by spells (*guṇa*), and subjects to his will, but who ultimately devours his master, as related in many an edifying story of the *Kathā-saritsāgara*, etc.

93. Comp. regarding *bhaṅgā*, and the material made of it, note vii. 300.

94. Comp. vii. 1695 sqq.



95. Who was not moved to laughter by [seeing] him with his long body, with his beard bound up, wearing an extravagant headdress, with a spear in his hand, and with his knees and thighs [joined] together?

96. Another [of the officials] who was fond of courtezans, he made dance and sing in his presence with [pantomimic] movements of the head, in the company of musicians, courtezans, and parasites.

97. Another he had bound naked to a cart, with half his head shaved, and the [remaining] hair covered with lumps of vermilion.

98. The disgraced officials became known everywhere by nicknames from their [having had to] play on earthen pots and to decorate their heads [in a ludicrous fashion].

99. Some of those who had been dismissed from office could be seen running about night after night begging for anything, and veiling themselves with rags which were dripping with dirt.

100. Others who had grown old in vain, thinking that learning could be easily got like the birch bark (*bhūrja*), began to study in the house of a teacher, as [if they were] children.

101. Some again as street-beggars would chant hymns loudly and with unction, accompanied by their children, and would thus amuse the people in the morning.

102. Some in order to get employment made even their mother, sister, daughter, and wife offer their persons to men of noble rank.

103. Other rogues would worry the astrologers by asking them to examine their nativities, dreams, omens, and auspicious marks.

104. Those who were in prison, appeared to others like goblins with their parched faces, with the wild-growing hair of their beards, with their lean bodies, and with the chains tinkling on their legs.

105. When the king had taken away from the officials the marks of their arrogance (?) their eyes became capable of recognizing their relatives.

106. With tears in their eyes they devoted themselves to reciting hymns (*stotra*) such as the *Stavarājas* contained in the *Mahābhārata*, etc., and to mumbling the [spell called] *Durgottārīṇīvidyā*.

95. The interpretation of *saṅgānu* is doubtful.

96. For *sūmyarāda*°, perhaps, *sāṅgarādi*° has to be corrected. Connect *saṅgānu* with *Durgāpr*.

98. To make music by beating pots is an accomplishment still known to strolling players in Kāśmīr; comp. viii. 891.

100. Comp. regarding the use of *bhūrja* as writing material, note vii. 508.

105. There is probably a corruption in the words °*lūṅgānāse vipāṭite*, but no suitable emendation suggests itself.

106. *Stavarāja*, 'chief hymn,' is the designation of panegyric texts in praise of particular deities such as are found in the



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107. Thus under this king the ever evil-working Kāyasthas were seen to sink into lasting misfortune.

108. Because they could not deceive that wise king, as [they had deceived] other rulers, by effecting reconciliations with the disaffected, by offering great sums and by procuring [rare] dishes, and the like.

109. The king wisely held these enemies of his subjects under continual control by [employing] various honest superintendents.

110. "As the town of *Bhūteśa*, which had been destroyed by a conflagration, has quickly recovered its [former] splendour by the power of your order, thus O King *Uccala*, may you restore to happiness and comfort this, your own City, which has been destroyed by the five fires of Kāyasthas, [royal] relatives, [obnoxious] regulations (? *klpti*), ministers and solemn fasts (*prāyopaveśa*)!"

111. When the learned *S'ivaratha* had recited this verse at the *S'ivarātri* festival, he insisted upon making him chief-superintendent.

112. Though he (*Uccala*) was not inured to affairs, yet he made for some time the followers of the righteous realize the conditions of the *Kṛta Yuga* by his virtuous procedure.

113. Wise men valued highly the quick punishments which this king of mighty glory meted out to the cruel Kāyasthas.

114. Because those who know the wise use of punishments, do not recommend delay in the punishment of low-bred horses, Kāyasthas, persons possessed by goblins and of enemies.

115. For these, if punished late, would certainly from fear of the punishment use the interval to bring destruction on their punisher.

116. The considerate king in no case harmed the sons, wives, friends, and relatives of the guilty persons whom he punished.

117. He punished with severe pains *Loṣṭadhara* and other intriguers, and thus closed even the way for calumny.

118. Former resolutions are [usually] forgotten by the persons [who formed them], when they obtain the throne, just as the desires formed in the womb [are forgotten] at the time of birth.

119. *Uccala* [however] forgot on the throne nothing of what, rightly or wrongly, he had thought before obtaining the royal dignity, resembling thus a person who knows his former birth.

Mahābhārata, *Purāṇas* and other collections; comp. the *Bhīsmastavarāja*, *Mahāpurāṣastavarāja* in the *Mahābh.*, the *Gaṇeśastavarāja* in the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*, etc.

Duryottarīnīvidyā, 'the knowledge which

helps across dangers,' is perhaps the name of a Tantric text, or probably another designation of the well known *Durgamahātmya* (see *Cat. Catalog.*, s.v. *devīmāhātmya*).

117. Compare for *Loṣṭadhara*, vii. 1076.



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120. If he had before noticed an enemy to be free from treachery or a follower to be perfidious, he showed that he had penetrated [them], by acting accordingly.

121. The paramour will not remember that the faithless wife has betrayed her former husband, nor a foolish king now-a-days the perfidy which an unfaithful servant has committed against his former lord.

122. Surely this king who discerned between right and wrong, must have obtained from the body of S'eṣanāga his wisdom along with the earth.

123. Thus it happened that he was able to remove the doubt in a law-suit between a merchant and his customer, which had surpassed the comprehension of judges and others.

Suit of merchant and depositor.

124. A certain man of means deposited a lakh of money (*dānnāra*) in the house of a merchant who disguised his true character under [apparent] friendship, with a view to its coming useful in a difficulty.

125. From time to time he took from the merchant some small sum of money (*arthamātrā*) to use it for [meeting] expenditure.

126. When twenty or thirty years had passed, he asked the holder of the deposit (*nyāsadhārin*) to give him the amount which remained after what he had drawn.

127. The wicked merchant, however, who was anxious to embezzle the deposit, deceitfully delayed [payment] under various pretexts.

123. With the anecdote related here in viii. 123-158 may be compared the digest given by JOLLY, *Recht u. Sitte*, pp. 102 sqq., of the Hindu law regarding deposits. The detailed references contained in the Smṛtis and other legal texts as to the means by which the peculation of deposits may be prevented, and as to the legal procedure in such suits, show how frequent cases similar to that related in our text must have been at all times. The law books clearly indicate two different kinds of deposits, open or closed (comp. e.g. *Manusmṛti*, viii. 185). The king's decision, viii. 150-156, is based on the evidence furnished by the new coins as to the merchant having treated the deposit as an open one. Having used the amount deposited for trade purposes, the merchant is bound to pay interest for it just as if he had taken the money on loan. In the same way the depositor is obliged to pay interest on the advances he had drawn from the merchant. Stratagems like the one employed by Uccala, are recommended to the judge already by the Smṛtis in suits of this kind where direct proofs are not available.

124. The explanations given in Note H, iv. 495, regarding the basis of the Kaśmīr

currency, will explain the apparent contrast between the large figure here mentioned for the deposit and the trifling expenses referred to in verses 136 sqq., which are supposed to have exhausted it.

125. Instead of the word *attamātrā* A (*antamātrā* L), which gives no sense and for which *attamātrā* had been conjectured in the Ed., I propose now to read *arthamātrā*, 'sum of money'; comp. P.W., s.v. *rth* and *tt* are very easily confused in S'aradā writing. The sums thus advanced to the depositor are referred to in viii. 154 as *draviṇena* . . . *āttena*, 'money taken up.' Durgāpr. has *dattamātrā*, evidently a correction.

126. The expression *trīṃśadvīṃśa* must be understood as 'twenty or thirty, and not as 'fifty' (comp. v. 210), because we are informed in viii. 153 that the deposit was handed to the merchant under King Kalaśa. Even taking as the extreme time limits Kalaśa's nominal coronation in Lokakāla 4139, and the year of Uccala's death, Lokakāla 4187, the interval is less than fifty years. Between the accession of Kalaśa and Uccala about thirty-eight years intervened, and between the dates of their death twenty-two years.



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128. The water which has been carried down to the ocean by the streams is received [back] from the clouds; but a thing deposited in a merchant's hands is never again recovered.

129. A merchant in a law-suit relating to the embezzlement of a deposit is more to be dreaded than a tiger; because he shows a face smooth as oil, uses his voice but very little, and shows a gentle appearance.

130. A merchant does not to his life's end abandon his deceit, though in a law-suit one might think each moment that he has abandoned it, judging from his smiles and protestations of former friendship.

131. Courtézans, the official (*kāyastha*), the clerk (*divira*) and the merchant, being [all] deceitful by nature, are [in this respect] superior to a poisoned arrow that they have been trained under a teacher's advice.

132. If a person trusts to a Kirāta, because he bears on his forehead a mark of sandal-ointment, because he wears white clothes and smells of incense, his ruin is not far off.

133. The merchant who puts drops of sandal-ointment on his forehead, eye-holes, ears and heart, takes one's life in a moment, just as a dangerous scorpion would which is marked in six places.

134. The merchant draws up blood and flesh, just like a gourd, and resembles it, being white and black in colour, sweating from the smoke of the fire, having a mouth [narrow] like a needle and a very capacious belly.

135. Then when that [depositor] persisted in his demands, the merchant, having exhausted his pretexts, showed him in anger and with a frown the account book [and said]:

136. "That word *śreyase* ('to profit?') which was put at the opening [of the account], has turned into *aśreyase* ('to loss'). Six hundred [Dinnāras] have been taken by you for tolls in crossing the bridge."

137. "A hundred [Dinnāras] was given to the leather-worker for the repair of a torn shoe and of a whip. For fifty [your] servant girl took ghee against a blister on the foot."

134. The gourd (*Lagenaria vulgaris* Ser.) is generally used in Kāśmīr and the Panjāb as a vesicatory. For this purpose a small opening is made at one end of the fruit, and the latter filled with smoke over a fire. The gourd is then applied to the suffering part of the body, where it causes blisters. The moisture which the fire draws out of the gourd is compared to the sweat-drops (or tears) which appear on the sanctimonious merchant when he attends daily to his sacrificial fire.

Any one who has visited a bazaar in Northern India will find it easy to recall to

his memory figures which might have sat for the humorous, if not very complimentary, portrait drawn here by the author.

136. The interpretation of the first half-line (*yad ūdan śreyasa itī nyastam aśreyase padam*) is very doubtful. In translating as above, I assume that *śreyase* and *aśreyase* were mercantile terms, corresponding to our 'profit' and 'loss,' or credit and debit. The merchant would thus say that the depositor's account had turned, owing to the several advances, from a credit account into a debit one.



138. "From pity you gave three hundreds to a potter-woman who was crying over her broken load of pots. Look again and again, here they are put down on the birch-bark."

139. "For a hundred you have brought from the market mice and fish-juice to feed tenderly the kittens of that cat."

140. "For seven hundreds were bought butter as an ointment for the feet as well as rice-flower, ghee and honey on occasion of the baths of the S'raddha-fortnight."

141. "Your little boy took honey and ginger when suffering from an attack of cough. What can he say whose speech is still a babble? A hundred is put down for this."

142. "In order to get rid of an obstinate beggar who tore his testicles and was expert in assaults, you gave him three hundreds."

143. "For the incense (*dhūpa*), the roots of the S'andā plant and the onions [presented] to the Gurus, at an average [estimate] of the whole cost one hundred or two must be counted."

144. In this fashion that [merchant] totalled up such and other expenses which could not be kept in mind, and which were to be deducted [from the deposit], and in due course made out an account also for [his] interest.

145. On his fingers which he moved [continually in calculation], the years, months, weeks and lunar days returned again and again without end, just as [they return] in the perpetual circle of existence.

146. Then after lumping up the original sums taken (*mūlagrahaṇa*) and the interest [due for them], he spoke softly with his lips protruding and his eyes half-closed.

140. *S'rāddhapakṣa* or 'S'rāddha-fortnight' is the designation of the dark half of the month Āśvina, when special sacrifices to the Manes are prescribed. For the latter, offerings of the articles mentioned in the text are obligatory. Compare regarding the S'rāddhapakṣa, which is still religiously observed in Kāśmīr and popularly known as *Kūmbhar-pach* (Skr. *Kamāripakṣa*), *Nilamata*, 748 sqq. A reference to special bathing in connection with these sacrifices occurs in the *Vijayaśāramāh.*; comp. also *Padma Pur.* i. 20, 79, where the S'rāddhapakṣa is understood under the term *aparapakṣa*.

142. Certain mendicants established at Srinagar, but recruited from the Panjab and known as *Sutrāśāhi*, still practise exactions by threatening to remove their testicles, in case they are refused alms.

143. The translation of this verse is doubtful and the text scarcely quite in order. The

dhūpa is an incense prepared from the roots of the *dup* plant (*Jurinea macrocephala*), which grows on the Kāśmīr mountains and is largely exported to India. *Sandā*, not found in our dictionaries, is certainly the Skr. name of the plant known in Kāśmīr as *hand*. The latter is found growing wild all over the Valley, and is valued as a vegetable and for its medicinal properties. According to Dr. Elmslie's *Kāśmīrī Vocabulary*, p. 130, the botanical name of the *hand* is *Cichorium intybus*.

The expression *thaṭṭapāda* rendered above by 'Guru,' has already occurred, vii. 280, as an honorific designation of Tantric teachers.

146. I understand this and the preceding verses to mean that the merchant makes out a bill not only for the cost of the articles supplied by him from time to time, but also for the interest due on these advances. The total of these sums, according to his reckoning, exceeds the amount of the original deposit.



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147. "Take this thorn [from my side]. Take the deposit, but the amount of this debt (*ujjāmadhana*) which was advanced to you on trust, you should give [back] honestly together with its interest."

148. That [customer] for a moment thought this speech to be just, and felt assured. But subsequently he felt mortified when he recognized that [the merchant's offer] was like a knife smeared over with honey.

149. He then sued that cruel-hearted and dishonest [merchant], who had cunningly embezzled the whole money. But in court he could not get the better of him, nor could the judges who considered [the case].

Judgment of Uccala.

150. When then this matter regarding which the judges had not been able to arrive at a decision, came before the king, he decided it in the following manner, saying to the merchant:

151. "If the deposited money (*dānnāra*) is to this day still [available], then let some small portion of it be produced. Then I shall pronounce judgment."

152. When this had been done, he looked at the money and spoke to the ministers: "Do kings use [for their money] the coin type (*taṭka*) of future kings?"

153. "If not, then how come there to be on money deposited in King Kalaśa's time, also coin types which show my name?"

154. "From this [it follows that] the merchant here has used for his purposes the deposited lakh, just as also this [customer has used] the goods which he had taken from time to time from the merchant."

155-156. "Therefore, if the plaintiff has to pay to this merchant interest on what he has taken from him, from that time to the present day, then this [merchant] too ought to pay to him interest on the full lakh from the time of its being deposited. What need be said of the original amount?"

157. "Compassionate persons like myself can settle only this much. But for

The latter is treated by the merchant as if it were a closed one, i.e. not bearing interest. Hence it is he who claims to be paid up by his customer; compare the verses following.

147. This verse receives its proper sense if we read with *L nayojjāmadhana* for *A nayojjāmadhana*; the latter is unintelligible. The word *ujjāma* I take as the Skr. original or representative of the Kāśmir *uzam*, 'debt.' The word is found in the *Lokaṭp.* i., in the expressions *dānnārajjāmacirikā* 'acknowledgment of a debt in cash,' *dhānyojjāmacirikā*, 'acknowledgment of a debt in rice,' *bhāṇḍajjāmacirikā*, 'acknowledgment of a debt on pawn,' and also in a bond formula given, *ib.* Ksemendra, *Samayan.* viii. 96, uses in the same sense the term *ujjāmapatṭrikā*: comp. also *ujjāmatarṇḍula* 'rice advanced on interest,'

ib. ii. 78. I have not been able to trace the word *ujjāma* in any of our dictionaries.

148. The saying *ksuram kṣaudropaliptram* still lives in the Kāśmiri proverb *mud'r srākh*, 'a knife with honey.' It is often used of an arrangement which seems fair on the first look and is yet unjust.

152. Regarding *taṭka*, see note vii. 926.

155-156. For the general drift of the argument see note viii. 123. I am unable to construe properly these somewhat involved words, unless we read for *vanjo rthina*, with a slight correction, *°rthina*. In S'aradā writing the short mark for *i* is liable to be misread for *;* (Visarga) at the end of words, if followed by a Danda.

157. See vi. 41 for the punishment inflicted by Yaśaskara in a similar case.



such persons [as this merchant] a harsh treatment would be right like that [employed] by the illustrious *Vaśaskara*."

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158. "In a law-suit a merciful order is appropriate in the case of a person who has been under a mistaken notion. But severity ought to be used against him who has employed fraud."

159. The king who knew to await the [right] time, showed patience in debatable matters which were as difficult to get rid of, as arrow-heads embedded in particularly vital parts of the body.

160. In this manner, the king who was ever watchful and wise like Manu, became famous for the care [which he bestowed] on his subjects, and which required no stimulation.

161. Friendship which ought not look to interested motives; strength which ought to be free from arrogance; a woman's virtue which ought to be above rumour; propriety in speech which ought to satisfy all; learning which ought to command power; youth which ought to be free from irresolution; and royalty which should be without blemish,—[all these] verily are found reversed in this last epoch.

162. Even such a moon among great kings lost his self-control owing to jealousy, and caused terror by sinful acts which resembled a fall of meteors.

163. In his jealousy of noble bearing, valour, intelligence, firmness, and youth he destroyed the honour and life of numberless men.

164. And again [on the other hand] men of high honour, who were angered by his harsh speeches, caused humiliation also to the king by their retorts.

165. For one must know that living men, like sleeping snakes, do not display their vigour without their anger having been aroused.

166. In this manifold creation of beings not one is found, whose body, descent, conduct, and the like, is not blemished by faults.

167. The Creator of the Universe (Brahman) is born from [the lotus] which grows in the mud; his body is covered with a reddish-brown colour; his dignity is destroyed by imperfections [such as are implied] by the loss of his immaculate character [consequent] upon the cutting of his head, and by other [defects]. Where such serious faults are first [of all] in him who pervades the great spheres, who could there boast of faultlessness?

168. The king did not reflect upon this and every day discussed openly the defects of his servants' descent, conduct, personal appearance, and the like.

169. He took an excessive pleasure in fights, and caused numberless men of valour to fall in duels by raising mutual enmity between them.

167. The fifth head of Brahman has been burned off by the fire of S'iva's eye.



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Ministers of Uccala.

170. On the monthly reception-days, at Indra-festivals and on other occasions he presented riches to those soldiers who joined in single combats.

171. There was not at that time any festival when the ground in the court of the palace was not drenched with blood, and lamentation not heard.

172. Soldiers of noble race who had left their homes, as if in exultation, were carried away mutilated from the palace court by their relatives.

173. When the king saw soldiers killed who had glistening black hair, fine beards and splendid apparel, he felt delight instead of pain.

174. The women, when their husbands returned [alive] after going to the royal palace, thought that they had gained a day, but otherwise never felt safe.

175. Proudly he used to say: "Let that be done which I want," and not allowing any contradiction he forced various servants to act as ministers.

176. Spoiled in his character by spite, he deprived the very persons who had been exalted of their offices, and often also put them in disgrace.

177. The commander-in-chief *Dañchaka*, when he (Uccala) showed anger at his powerful position, fled to *Viṣalātā* where the *Khaṣas* fell upon him and killed him.

178. *Rakkaka*, whom he had himself raised to the dignity of lord of the Gate, he deprived of his office, when he saw his great strength.

179. The general *Mānikya* on being suddenly dismissed from the charge of the 'Gate,' devoted himself in his affliction to austerities at *Vijayakṣetra*.

180. *Tilaka* and other excellent men from *Kāka's* family, who held chief-command of the army (*kampana*) and other high offices, escaped his displeasure by their pliant nature.

181. Being pleased by his devoted services, he gave to *Bhogasena*, though he had no attendants and but mean clothes, the office of chief-justice (*rājasthānādhikāra*).

170. Compare for the expression *māsārgha-dina*, vii. 196.

177. In note i. 317, it has already been indicated that *Viṣalātā* must be identified with the valleys drained by the *Bichtlāri* river, a tributary of the *Cināb*. This hill district, situated immediately to the S. of the *Div'sar* and *Shahabad* Parganas, is now called generally *Ban'hāl*, after the pass of that name to which it forms the approach. The name *Viṣalātā* is probably preserved in that of the river *Bichtlāri* (for *t > r*, comp. notes iii. 11; vi. 202; viii. 250).

In viii. 684 *Viṣalātā* is mentioned as the route by which the pretender *Bhikṣācara* intends to invade *Devasarasa*, i.e. *Div'sar*. In viii. 1074 we read of some *Kāśmīr* nobles who,

after being pursued to *Vitastātra* (below the *Ban'hāl* pass), take refuge with the *Khaṣas* in *Viṣalātā* after crossing the mountain range. In viii. 1729 *Deṅgapāla*, a *Khaṣa* chief, who according to viii. 554 resides on the banks of the *Candrabhāga*, is spoken of as threatening to advance against *Kāśmīr* from *Viṣalātā*. For other passages, comp. viii. 697, 1131, 1662.

Regarding the *Khaṣas*, see note i. 317.

180. From viii. 1385 it is seen that *Kāka* was the father of *Tilaka* '*Kāka*'*manśya*', who with his relatives is so frequently mentioned in the succeeding narrative. The same family may have been meant in vii. 1311.

181. Compare note vii. 601 regarding the term *rājasthāna*.



182. Even *Gaggacandra*, when he had seen his (Bhogasena's) terrible prowess in a fight at a festival of *Indradvādaśī*, had ignominiously fled, though he had strong soldiers.

183. *Raḍḍa*, *Chuḍḍa* and *Vyaḍḍa*, the sons of a common soldier of the name of *Saḍḍa*, were also made ministers by that [king].

184. *Tilaka* and *Janaka*, the sons of *Vijayasimha*, escaped from misery by serving him, and were received amongst his councillors.

185. Who could name [all] those, *Yama*, *Aila*, *Abhaya*, *Bāṇa*, and the rest, who held charge of the 'Gate' and other offices, and whose fortunes proved as transitory as the lightning?

186. Two or three old [officers], like *Prasastakalaśa*, who were amongst them, appeared like decayed trees in the midst of young ones.

187. *Kandarpa* whom the king had recalled by messengers, did not accept office, notwithstanding his requests, as he recognized the king's intolerant nature.

188. Under the new king everything in the land was quite new, the conduct in the [royal] assembly, discussion, procedure and the rest.

189. The goddess of fortune, as if she were a courtesan covered with a magic powder, subdues even the strong-minded and makes them trespass.

190. The regal dignity causes [those who own it], just as if they were spirits of the dead, to see manifest enemies even in relatives and to lose regard for relationship.

191. [Thus it came about] that King *Sussala*, though in possession of all that gives happiness, planned a sudden attack on his brother in the hope of wresting the kingdom [from him].

Sussala's invasion.

192. Suddenly the elder brother heard that [*Sussala*], who moved as fast as a falcon, had arrived [in *Kāśmīr*] and had got beyond the place called *Varāhavārta*.

182. The name of *Indradvādaśī* is still known in *Kāśmīr* as the designation of the 12th day of the bright half of *Bhādrapada*, which is the day of the pilgrimage to the sacred sites of the *Varāhakṣetra*. The *Nilamata*, 792 sq. knows a festival on this day, but calls it *mahādvādaśī*. The 'Indrafestival' mentioned above viii. 170 was, perhaps, celebrated on this day.

Gaggacandra is the same person as *Gagga*, mentioned above, viii. 33, 37, 43, as the brother of the *Dānara Janakacandra*. The full Skr. form of the name is *Gargacandra*, found viii. 354, 390, 593. Most frequently, however, this personage is referred to by the abbreviated name *Garga*, viii. 348, 352, 424 sqq., etc.

184. *Vijayasimha* is, perhaps, identical

with the person of this name mentioned vii. 580, 583, 827 sqq.

Tilaka and *Janaka* are often referred to in the subsequent narrative by their full names *Tilakasimha* and *Janakasimha*: comp. viii. 573, 592, 632, 791, etc.

186. For *Prasastakalaśa*, see vii. 572.

187. Regarding *Kandarpa's* exile, see vii. 1000 sqq.

192. In Note E on *Lohara* (iv. 177), § 7, it has been shown that this invasion of *Sussala* was made in all probability by the *Tosṃaidān* route. *Varāhavārta* might therefore be placed at or near the present village of *Varāh'gām*, situated in the *Biru Pargana* 74° 39' long. 33° 58' lat., and about three miles to the E. of *Drang*. (The place is marked on the map as *Waragam*.)



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193. He (Uccala) thereupon set out with rapidity and attacking him with a strong force, before he had secured a firm position, inflicted a defeat upon him.

194. The means [at his disposal] could be judged from the various stores and masses of betel left at the place from which he had fled.

195. On the following day, before the king had started to return after accomplishing this deed, he heard that [Sussala], whose valour was formidable, had returned.

196. Thereupon *Gaggacandra* started by his order with a strong force and routed the troops of King *Sussala*.

197. Numerous soldiers of *Sussala* who could not stand the brunt of the battle, found relief from their fatigues on the garden-like cars of the celestial maids (*Apsaras*).

198. The two Rājaputras *Sahadeva* and *Yudhiṣṭhira* there paid back in battle with their lives the debt [they owed] for their lord's favour.

199. *Gagga* captured excellent horses which had run away from *Sussala's* army, such as excited the wonder even of the king, though he owned many horses.

200. When the king heard that he (*Sussala*) was encamped on the route of *Selyapura* and on the way towards *Kramarājya*, he quickly followed him.

201. Closely pursued by his elder brother he (*Sussala*) proceeded with a small number of followers to the *Darad* land.

202. The king executed the *Dāmara Loṣṭaka*, a native of *Selyapura*, who had opened the way for him, and then proceeded to the City.

203. Though guilty of hostile acts, yet from tender regard for his brother he made no effort during the latter's absence to seize the *Lohara* mountains.

204-205. The illustrious King *Sussala* had married the spotless *Meghamañ-jarī*, the daughter of King *Vijayapāla*. [She was] the daughter's daughter of *Kalha*, lord of *Kālīnjara*, who being himself without a son had brought her up, when she had lost her father, with tender love in place of a son and in his own palace.

206. On account of the greatness of this [king's] power the disaffected and enemies had not the strength to harm even a child at *Lohara*.

195. The text in the first half of this verse is scarcely correct.

200. For *Selyapura*, the modern *Silpūr*, situated on the route from the Toṣṭamāidān to S'rinagar, see note vii. 494.

204-5. Regarding *Kālīnjara* (here wrongly written *Kālīndara*) and its rulers, see note vii. 1256.

206. The text of this verse permits of different interpretations. It seems to me to contain a reference to the authority of *Kalha*, who protected *Sussala's* dominion. Without such a reference, the mention of the latter's marriage with *Kalha's* granddaughter in the preceding verses would be meaningless.



207. Brave King *Sussala*, too, left [the Darad land] by routes hard to pass, and after many months reached his own territory by a difficult mountain-track.

208. After this danger had been averted, other apparent troubles too passed away from the resolute King *Uccala* as [soon as] they arose.

209. *Bhīmādeva* having got hold of *Bhoja*, a son of King *Kalaśa*, called to his assistance *Jagaddala*, king of the *Darads*.

210. *Salha*, the son of one of King *Harṣa*'s concubines, and *Sanjapāla*, the brother of *Darśanapāla*, were his supporters.

211. Thereupon the shrewd king caused by diplomatic means the lord of the *Darads* to refrain from aggression; he turned back and proceeded to his own country.

212. *Salha* followed him; *Bhoja* went secretly to his own land, and *Sanjapāla* took service with King *Sussala*.

213. In a short time *Bhoja* was betrayed by his own servant, who had taken a bribe, and executed by the king like a robber.

214. *Pitthaka*, too, *Dēśvara*'s son, who aspired to the crown, had to flee into distant lands when the king supported by the *Dāmaras* went forth [to meet him].

215. Foolish persons who rely on notoriety, and move about everywhere without reflection just like animals, deserve to be laughed at.

216-217. A certain bazaar-cook who was a clever intriguer, passed himself off abroad as a son of *Malla*, *Rāmala* by name, and was made much of with grants of presents, honours and the like, by neighbouring chiefs who were eager to cause disturbance, and were deceived [by him].

218. In the summer when the heat troubled him he came alone to *Kāsmīr*, and on being recognized had his nose cut off by the king's servants.

219. This very person was then seen again to the people's amusement running about in the royal camp, engaged, as befitted [a person of] his caste, in selling articles of food, etc.

220. In vain do people use cunning and deceptions to raise their position; the will of fate cannot be altered.

221. Man's effort resembles a fire in the grass, which by the wind of fate is made to flame up in one place even when subdued, and to go out in another even if kindled.

222. Man cannot get away by running from his fixed destiny, as [little as] the bird [by flying] from the fire bound to its tail.

223. The life of a person, whose breath is destined [to last] until he has

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(A.D. 1101-11).

Rise of other pre-
tenders.

207. For a route possibly taken by *Sussala*, comp. note viii. 2704 sqq.

209. Regarding *Bhīmādeva*, comp. viii. 21 sqq.
210. Regarding *Darśanapāla*, see vii. 1253.



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(A.D. 1101-11).

Escape of Prince
Bhikṣācara.

enjoyed what he is to enjoy, cannot be destroyed by adversaries, neither by the employment of continuous fire, poison, the sword and arrows, nor by a violent throw over a precipice, nor by sorcery.

224. By the king's order *Bhikṣācara*, being condemned to die, was taken at night by the executioners from *Jayamatī's* apartments to the place of execution.

225-227. Bound to a stone he was thrown into the *Vitastā*; the winds drove him immediately to the river-bank where a compassionate Brahman found him with his breast still palpitating. After some time he recovered consciousness and was given [by that Brahman] to *Āsamatī*, who being a relative, was called by the *S'āhi* princesses out of respect by the name of *Diddā*. This clever woman took the boy secretly abroad, and he grew up in the *Dekhan*.

228. *Naravarman*, the ruler of *Mālava*, kept that [boy] who was aware of his story, like a son, and had him trained in arms and taught sciences.

229. Others have said that *Jayamatī* herself had preserved him by having another child of the same age killed in his place.

230. When the king heard this account from an envoy who had returned from abroad, he ceased thereafter to show affection for this [queen].

231. He prudently did not openly betray this [fact], and made a treaty with the princes whose [lands] lay on the route, to prevent his (*Bhikṣācara's*) entry [into *Kāśmīr*].

232. A foolish person by showing openly suspicion as to his wife's [faithfulness], and by displaying apprehension of an enemy, himself invites others [to injure him].

233. Others have related that *Diddā*, when *Bhikṣācara* had been killed, had taken some child which resembled him, and had passed it off under his name.

234. Whether this be true or false, he (*Bhikṣācara*) obtained thus such importance that even fate could not reduce him to insignificance.

235. The wonderful diversity of [the results of] former actions produces astonishing phenomena, such as are unknown to dreams, magic or imagination.

236. This prince grew up secretly for the ruin of the people, as the fire [rises] in a thicket to burn down towns, villages and other [habitations].

225-227. Comp. regarding *Āsamatī*, viii. 541, 552. It is still customary in *Kāśmīr* Brahman families to call the eldest woman of the household by the honorific name of *Diddā* (*Didda*), given in recollection of the great queen. The '*S'āhi* princesses' are *Harṣa's* queens; comp. vii. 1470, 1550, etc.

228. The *Naravarman* here referred to is mentioned in the genealogical lists of the

later *Paramāra* rulers of *Mālava* as contained in their copper-plate grants; see Prof. KIELHORN's paper, *Ind. Ant.*, xix. 346 sq. From the Nagpur stone inscription published by Prof. KIELHORN, *Epigr. Ind.*, ii. 180 sqq., it appears that *Naravarman* was on the throne in the Vikrama year 1161, i.e. A.D. 1104-5, having succeeded his brother *Lakṣmadeva*, son of *Udayāditya*.



237. Close to the poison-tree grows the plant *Prativiṣā* ('antidote'), and at the time when the pure waters are spoilt by the rainy season, the rise of *Agastya* (*Canopus*) makes itself felt. The far-sighted Creator sees indeed the dangers which threaten to destroy creation when they [first] arise, and arranges to counteract them.

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238. Thus at that very time there was born to King *Sussala* a son who was capable of upholding the world which was sinking in misfortunes.

Birth of *Jayasimha*
(A.D. 1105-6).

239. Appropriately the king gave to this son the name of *Jayasimha* ('lion of victory'), since from the time of this son's birth he was everywhere victorious.

240. Just as *Sarvārthasiddha*, the name of *Buddha*, is appropriate [in its literal meaning] on account of his possessing supernatural powers in all matters (*sarvārthasiddhi*) [and yet in conventional use applies only to *Buddha*], so also his name *Jayasimha* while [in its literal meaning] appropriate, yet has not ceased to have a conventional use (*rūḍhi*) [restricted to this particular king].

241. When King *Uccala* saw the mark which showed itself on the saffron-coloured foot of this [son], he gave up his anger against his brother.

242. This mark on the boy's foot removed the enmity between his father and uncle, and gave peace to both kingdoms.

243. King *Uccala* thereupon to increase the merits of his father, who had gone to heaven, built a *Maṭha* under his name on the site of the paternal [house].

Uccala's pious foundations.

244. The liberal king gave away at the great festival [when that *Maṭha* was consecrated,] cows, land, gold and clothes, and was like a wondrous wishing-tree for all supplicants.

245. Even great kings were astonished in distant lands by the presents of great value sent to them by that [ruler] whose wealth deserved to be praised.

246. Also Queen *Jayamatī* built a *Vihāra* with a *Maṭha* in order to put to a noble use the riches which she had gained by her husband's favour.

247. Owing to certain demerits of the king from a former [birth], this *Maṭha* lost its desired designation [and became known] by the name of *Navamaṭha* ('the new *Maṭha*').

237. See regarding the star of *Agastya*, note ii. 140.

238. From K's statement, viii. 3404, it must be concluded that *Jayasimha's* birth fell in the *Lankika* year 4181, or A.D. 1105-6.

240. K. wants to say that the name *Jayasimha*, as that of *Buddha Sarvārthasiddha*, has both an etymological and conventional meaning, equally applicable to the king. Such words are designated as *yogarūḍha*.

241. Reddish colour of the feet is an auspicious sign; comp. *Bṛhatsamhitā*, lxviii. 87, 97.

244. No reference is made subsequently to a *Mallamaṭha*.

247. The *Navamaṭha* is mentioned subsequently viii. 374, 1052, 2309. It seems from K's words that *Jayamatī* intended it to be called after her husband. For a suggestion as to its site, see note viii. 1052.



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Uccala's adventure
near Svayambhū.

248. Also the Vihāra which he built in honour of his sister *Sullā* on the site of the other paternal [house], did not acquire proper renown.

249. Indeed, as he did not think of death which was hanging over his head, endowments had not been settled on his foundations [when he died].

250. Once this king, while stopping in *Kramarājya*, proceeded to the hill-village of *Varhaṭacakra* to see the *Svayambhū* fire.

251. As he was marching by way of the village of *Kambaleśvara*, there came suddenly armed *Caṇḍālas*, robbers of that locality, and surrounded him.

252. They wished to strike him down quickly, as he had only a very small force with him, yet his . . . courage arrested their weapons, and they did not strike.

253. The path being blocked, he passed one night in the deep mountain-gorge moving about with a few followers.

254. At that time there spread everywhere in the camps the evil rumour, difficult to stop and causing commotion, that the king was no more.

255. This bad report which was a small affair when it started from the camp, became important in the City, like the wind from a hill-gorge when it reaches the forest.

248. The *Sullāvihāra* was completed by Jayasinha, see viii. 3318. Comp. for Malla's second residence on the right bank of the river, vii. 1491.

250-251. The localities connected with this adventure of Uccala can be fixed without difficulty. The still existing Tirtha of Agni *Svayambhū*, now known as Suyam, has been discussed in note i. 34. About a mile to the S. of this site lies the hamlet of *Tsak^ovaḍar* (marked 'Sheikhwadda' on the map), which, I think, can safely be identified with *Varhaṭacakra*.

The modern name is the exact phonetic derivative of a form **Cakra-Varhaṭa*, in which the two words of the compound name have been transposed. Ks. *tsak^o*, 'wheel,' is the representative of Skr. *cakra*. For *Vaḍar* < *Varhaṭa*, it should be noted that in rustic Ks. *r* at the end or in the middle of words is almost invariably pronounced as *ḷ*, and that final *t* is regularly changed into *r*: comp. *Kaṣṭhavāṭa* > *Kaṣṭ^ovār*, *ghoṭaka* > *gur*, 'horse,' etc. Alternative forms of village names in which the words composing them can be transposed, are not unknown in Kāśmīr. Thus, e.g. a village of the Phak Pargana is known both as *Dārā-Sāḍ^opōr* and *Sāḍ^opōr-Dārā*, and another in the Vular Pargana, both as *Kai-Chackōṭh* and *Chackōṭh-Kai*.

The name *Kambaleśvara* can be recognized without difficulty in the present *Krambar*,

the name of a village situated at the foot of a low hill range in the Machpōr Pargana, about 74° 15' long. 34° 26' lat. (marked *Krombhar* on map). For the phonetic relation between Ks. *-har* < Skr. *-eśvara*, comp. the remarks made in note v. 46 on *Triphar* < *Tripreśvara* and other Ks. local names derived from Skr. names ending in *-isvara*.

Past this range of fir-covered hills leads the route from the northern parts of *Kramarājya* towards *Svayambhū*. Near the village of *Duck^olōr* it enters the valley of the stream shown as *Parjtar* on the map, and hence follows it to the W. This valley contracts above the village of *Rājpōr* into a narrow wooded gorge. This for a distance of about one mile would offer excellent opportunities for a sudden attack, such as that described in the text. The path runs along the bottom of the gorge and follows the tortuous course of the stream between steep cliffs. A visit I paid to this neighbourhood in September, 1892, showed me that this path could easily be blocked by a small number. Higher up near *Svayambhū* itself the country is comparatively open and formed by a series of grassy spurs with broad shallow valleys between them.

252. The reading of *A udrajoṣaṣṭambha^o* is certainly corrupt in its first part, and satisfactory emendation difficult.



256. Prefect of the City was at that time *Chuḍḍa*, a descendant of the soldier *Kāmadeva* and brother of *Ṭaḍḍa* and the rest.

257. After allaying the agitation in the City, he went with his brothers into the armoury in the palace and held council as to the further course of action.

258. While they were considering whom they should make king, there addressed them also the Kāyastha *Saḍḍa*, who was an intriguer among the householders.

259. "Having got hold of the kingdom thus without rivals, you should yourself rule it, since the number of your friends, relatives and servants makes you invincible."

260. When he had thus spoken to them, these villains felt the desire to become rulers, and were quickly preparing to seat themselves on the throne.

261. The report that they were of the race of the illustrious King *Yaśaskara* put into all of their family the aspiration to the throne.

262. Dishonest as their course of life was, this deep-rooted ambition turned by the sayings of wicked friends into disaffection.

263. How should not this wicked procedure have recommended itself to *Saḍḍa*, [considering] that the wretch was born in the family of the load-carrier *Lavaṭa*?

264. Though he was only the son of a small official called *Kṣemadeva*, yet he had a ferocious character, as befitted a person given to desperate actions.

265. When he had stolen a golden pitcher from the royal palace he was suspected owing to [certain] indications, but yet not recognized [as the thief] on account of [his] cunning.

266. Carrying a dagger, bareheaded and insulting everybody with his laughs, he [behaved himself] like a Rājaputra, and thought the three worlds a very small thing [compared with himself].

267. While he was swinging his fingers to and fro he was [ever] occupied by a thought of the throne, which was seen to bear an evil fruit.

268. They (*Chuḍḍa*, etc.) were eager to grasp the royal power both owing to his advice and by their own desire, but when they heard that the king was alive they lost their hopes.

269. From that time onwards that ambition was ever [present] in their mind.

256. Comp. above viii. 183. Regarding *Kāmadeva*, the grandfather of *Yaśaskara*, see v. 469.

261. *Chuḍḍa* and his brothers, as descendants of *Kāmadeva*, *Yaśaskara*'s grandfather, could claim relationship with a former dynasty.

263. Regarding *Lavaṭa*, see v. 177.

266. Compare vii. 922, where the going bareheaded is referred to as the former habit of Kāśmīrians.



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Without [openly] displaying itself it seemed neither to close the eyes nor to sleep.

270. Then in the course of time the king, whose attachment did not last long, reduced them to an inferior position, and removed them from [their posts in] the royal court (? *rājasthāna*).

271. The king who by nature used at all times harsh words against everyone, said to them too, in the meantime, things which cut to the quick.

272. They had lost their father in the time of King *Harṣa*, and were then living in the house of their widowed mother who was [yet] young and hot-blooded.

273. At that time they had killed a soldier called *Mayyāmattaka*, who was their neighbour and intimate friend, because they suspected him of being the paramour of their mother.

274. The king asked himself why they had not punished her too, as she had been unchaste, and angrily ordered their mother's nose to be cut off.

275. This story the king mentioned in their presence, and used to inquire after them with the words: "Where are the sons of the woman with the cut nose?"

276. The king who was like death to the *Kāyasthas*, had removed *Saḍḍa* too from his official position after having [previously] employed him as the superintendent of the 'Chief Treasury' (*brhadgaṇḍa*) and other [treasuries].

277. His (*Saḍḍa*'s) own accountant whom he had violently maltreated, then denounced him to the king as having embezzled revenue of the treasury.

278. When the king thereupon in indignation took [from him] the post of *praveśabhāṅika* (cashier?), this ferocious man urged *Raḍḍa*, *Chudḍa*, and the rest to [follow up] their former plan.

279. They then decided to kill the king, and waiting for an opportunity put themselves into communication with other evil-minded persons, *Hamsaratha*, and the like.

280. Those who wished to take the king's life met and took an oath by sacred libation (*pītakōśa*), but for four or five years they never found an opportunity.

281. It is curious and due to the people's sins that this secret design was not

270. This reference to the *rājasthāna* is curious. Neither of *Chudḍa* nor of any of his brothers has it been previously stated that they held the high post of *Rājasthāniya*, which is last mentioned in viii. 181 as filled by *Bhogasena*. It is therefore probable that the word has not to be taken here in the technical meaning explained in note vii. 601, but in the wider sense indicated by the trans-

lation; compare also viii. 576, where an accounts-office (*śeḍa*) is designated as a '*Rājasthāna*.'

278. The exact character of the post of *praveśabhāṅika* is uncertain. It might have been a subordinate official of the treasury who received the actual tax-payments (*praveśa*), corresponding to the modern *Khazānchi* (*Pēṭivāl* in *Kaśmīr*).

Conspiracy against
Uccala.



betrayed, though it was planned for a long time and by many persons who were much divided [amongst themselves].

282. They told each one: "It is to you that the king ever uses words which cut to the quick," and thus fomented disaffection towards the ruler.

283. The conspirators protecting their breasts, sides and back with hidden armour, continually followed the king.

284-285. The king, who before had been unable to support separation from *Jayamatī*, and who though [king] would do anything to please her, just as [if he were] an ordinary lover, now showed for two years a permanent dislike for her [which was due] to a change in his character foreboding his end.

286. Some attributed this to her having protected *Bhikṣācara*, others again to the inconstancy of love passions which resembles that of the lightning.

287. Then *Bijjalā*, the daughter of the lord of *Vartula*, whom the king had married, gained his affections.

288. King *Samgrāmapāla* died at that time, and his son, *Somapāla* by name, ascended the paternal throne.

289. When the king heard that intriguers had crowned him after having, from hatred, imprisoned his elder brother, who was fit for the throne, he became enraged against *Rajapuri*.

290. He gave the hand of his daughter, who was a surety of lasting good fortune

291. This great feast was the last celebrated with splendour and great expense by that lover of all his subjects, who was a magical thought-gem to supplicants.

292. When his son-in-law had departed, the king turned out of employ (?) all the *Tantrins* for some slight displeasure, but let the conspirators go free.

293. *Bhogasena*, too, whom the king at that time removed in anger from the charge of the 'Gate,' became his enemy.

287. I am unable to identify the territory of *Vartula* of whose king *Sahajapāla* is named, viii. 539. The only other mention of it I can trace is in *Vikram*. xviii. 38, where 'a lord of *Bhartula*' is mentioned among the hill chiefs defeated by King Anantadeva. As व and ब are easily confused in S'aradā writing (which also Bilhāṇa used), it is scarcely doubtful that both names refer to the same tract. Can *Vartula* be the hill-district of *Batal* shown on the map as situated on the N. bank of the Cināb and to the S.W. of Ban'hāl or Viṣalāṭa?

288. For *Samgrāmapāla* of *Rajapuri*, see vii. 533.

290. The text has here a lacuna which extends probably over more than one half-verse. It appears that K. referred in the missing text to the marriage of Uccala's daughter *Saubhāgyalekhā* to *Somapāla*. This daughter is subsequently mentioned viii. 1464 sq.

292. The meaning of this verse is doubtful. Instead of *A nīrṣṭik*, corrected in the Ed. into *nīrṣṭin*, L has *nīrṣṭik*, which, however, is also not clear.



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*Bhogasena joins the
conspirators.*

294. Now this man of valour had previously, while in office, after suppressing all Dāmaras, set out towards *Lohara* to vanquish King *Sussala*.

295. The king, whose hostility [against his brother] was mixed with tenderness, had ordered him back, whereupon he (*Bhogasena*) had spoken in a derogatory way of the king; on hearing this the latter felt anger.

296. The king having insulted this brave man who was his best friend, *Raḍḍa*, *Chuḍḍa*, and the others then took him into the secret.

297. The king [as if he were] anxious to gain Yama's land (i.e. death) did not exile those who had been insulted, who were full of aspirations, who had formed a league and had lost their subsistence.

298. The crooked-minded *Saḍḍa* reproached them for having trusted themselves to *Bhogasena*, because he judged from the latter's bravery that his character was straightforward.

299. And he said: "The king must be killed to-day, even if it costs our lives. Otherwise *Bhogasena* with his shallow mind will betray [the conspiracy]."

300. *Saḍḍa's* words were not untrue, because *Bhogasena*, anxious to disclose [the conspiracy], told the king that he wished to say something in secret.

301. The king replied: "What are you going to tell? I shall not give you [back] the charge of the 'Gate.'" By this insult he led him to join the conspirators.

302. He who abandons himself to fate, hates those who stir him up, just like a person who forgets himself in deep sleep on a day at the end of the hot season.

Attack of conspirators.

303. The *Tantrins* who came on guard in their own turn, proceeded then to the palace together with their armed companions who were ready.

304. They let certain *Caṇḍālas* come into the hall who had been given a sign, and told them: "Strike at him at whom we strike to-night."

305. When the king had taken his meal they, standing in the outer hall, turned out the servants by saying that the king was in an angry mood.

306. The king was preparing to go to *Bijjalā's* apartments, and dulled by amorous sensations came out from the inner hall, with lamps lit to guide him.

307. When he had got into the central hall with a few followers, *Saḍḍa* blocked the hall he had left, and held back the other people [from following him].

308. When the opposite door had also been blocked by others, all the conspirators rose up and surrounded the king.

296. The text of the first half-verse the verse is evidently the one indicated is defective, but the general purport of above.



309. While one [of them] stopped him by kneeling down before him, pretending to address a communication [to him], the Brahman *Teja*, the son of *Dīma*, laid hold of his hair and struck him with a dagger.

310. The many daggers which then penetrated into his limbs, yellow-coloured by his golden ornaments, appeared like great snakes [moving] into the cliffs of Mount Sumeru.

311. Crying "Treason, treason," he freed his hair which they had seized, and tore off with his teeth the leather-string which held back the hilt of his toy-dagger.

312. Because the attendant who carried his *Kaṭar* (*kaṭṭāraka*), *Sujanākara* by name, had fled from his side when the assailants were striking at him.

313. He (*Uccala*) then drew out that small knife, fit for a boy. With difficulty it came out from the sheath, secured as it was at the hilt.

314. While his entrails were protruding, he then bound up his braided hair which the assailants had let go, holding [meanwhile] the dagger between his knees.

315. With a roar he struck *Teja*, and showed even such strength that the latter fell to the ground, as if struck in all vulnerable places [at once].

316. Then he struck *Raḍḍa*, who was attacking him from behind, and with a lion-like roar turned round and tore open *Vyaḍḍa*.

317. He cut down also another armed man, who though wearing armour, soon breathed his last, writhing in [agony].

318. Having got an opportunity he was running to get out, but the hall door was kept closed by the guards who did not know it was the king.

319. As he was going towards the other door, *Chudḍa* stepped in his way and saying: "Where are you going?" struck at him with his sword.

320. Then he saw *Bhogasena*, who was standing at the end of the doorway with his face turned away, and was making a drawing on the wall with a wooden paint brush.

321. The king as he ran past, said: "*Bhogasena*, why do you look on?" In his shame he replied something indistinct.

322. *Rayyāvatta*, a lamp-bearer, who was unarmed, had taken up the fight with a brass lamp, and fell under their strokes.

323. *Somapāla*, a Rājaputra from *Caṁpā*, did not fall into disgrace when after slaying his assailants he succumbed to their strokes.

312. The *Kaṭar* is a large double-edged dagger fitted with a peculiar hilt. It was much used once in Northern India; for representations see e.g. EGERTON, *Handbook of Indian Arms*, p. 102, fig. 340.



UCCALA
(A.D. 1101-11).

Death of Uccala
(A.D. 1111).

324. *Ajjaka*, the grandson of the illustrious *S'ūrapāla* and a son of *Rājaka*, ran away like a dog, hiding his dagger just as [if it were his] tail.

325. Then as the king in his flight was endeavouring to scale the railing, the *Caṇḍālas* cut his knees, and he fell to the ground.

326. A faithful *Kāyastha*, *S'rūgāra* by name, threw his own body over him, but was removed by the enemies after their strokes had lacerated his body.

327. As the king endeavoured to rise again, all his assailants let fall upon him their numerous weapons, which seemed like a garland of dark-blue lotuses [bestowed upon him] by *Kālī* [as a mark] of her choice.

328. The depraved *Saḍḍa* himself cut his throat, saying: "This rogue may perhaps simulate death though yet not dead."

329. He also cut off his fingers, and drew off the jewelled rings, exclaiming: "It is I who was turned out of office [by him]."

330. The long-armed [king] was seen on the ground as if asleep, with his face covered by the locks from which the garlands had fallen, and with one foot yet shod.

331. The want of pity which this mighty [king] had shown towards people was to some extent atoned for by the great heroism [he displayed] at his end.

332. A servant, *S'ūraṭa* by name, who had gone out and was loudly bewailing the treachery, was cut down by the enraged *Bhogasena*.

333. The king who had started for the apartments of his beloved wife, seemed by a mistake in the direction to have taken his way to the residence of *Kālī*.

334. Kings who in their kingdom go eagerly after enjoyments, and please their mind with a multitude of various dresses, resemble bees which in the garden seek eagerly the stamina [of the flowers] and please themselves with a multitude of various blossoms. Alas, they [both] somehow disappear as soon as they are seen; those [kings] are thrown down by their destiny set in motion by fate, and these [bees] by the creeper [set in motion] by the wind.

335. The lord of *Laṅkā* (*Rāvaṇa*) who had vanquished the three worlds, was defeated by animals, and the Kuru lord, the foremost of numberless kings, received on his head a kick from a foot. Thus every [great person finds] in the end humiliating defeat, just as [if he were] of the ordinary kind. Who then would keep up his pride and think: "I am great"?

336. The king whom his enemies had abandoned, when he was dead, was carried naked like a pauper by his parasol-holders to be cremated.

335. *Rāvaṇa's* defeat by *Hanumat's* monkeys is alluded to. 'The Kuru lord' is *Duryodhana*, who was kicked on the head by *Bhīma* at the end of their combat.



337-338. O attached [the king's] arms to his neck, the other took the feet under his arms. Thus they dragged the king whose neck hung down, whose hair was waving, whose body was drenched with blood, and whose wounds emitted a faint whistling sound, out of the palace, and carried him naked like a pauper to the burning-ground.

339. Frightened, they cremated him at once on the ground of the island which is at the confluence of the *Mahāsarit* and *Vitastā*.

340. Nobody looked on when he was slain nor when he was burned. Quickly he disappeared from sight, as if he had flown away.

341. He had passed his forty-first year when he lost his life in the year [of the *Laukika* era four thousand one hundred] eighty-seven (A.D. 1111) on the sixth day of the bright half of *Pauṣa*.

342. Then *Raḍḍa* blood-stained [as he was], with sword and armour, placed himself on the throne, [where he appeared] like a *Vetāla* on a stone of the burning-ground.

UCCALA
(A.D. 1101-11).

RAḌḌA-S'ĀṆKHARĪJA
(8-9th December,
1111 A.D.).

† 343.

344. After he (*Raḍḍa*) had descended from the throne to fight, his relatives and followers fought bravely in his presence and [dying] adorned the battle field.

345. Two Tantrins, *Vaṭṭa* and *Paṭṭa*, who were his relatives, and *Kaṭṭasūrya* and other soldiers fell, after fighting for a long time, and died at the main gate of the palace (*śimhadvāra*).

346. *Raḍḍa*, armed with sword and shield, was seen in the palace courtyard dancing, as it were, like an actor on the stage of the combat and striking his opponents.

347. After he had cut down many by his strokes, and had again and again rendered the victory of his enemies doubtful, he fell at last in the combat.

339. In the note iii. 339-349 it has been shown that the *Mahāsarit* is the present *Mār* stream which flows from the *Dal* lake, and with its branch called *Tsūṇṭh Kūl* ('the apple-tree canal') reaches the *Vitastā* opposite to the *Shēr Gad* palace and a little below the first bridge. Between the *Mahāsarit* and the *Vitastā* lies the great island of *Māyāsum* (*Māksikasvāmin*, see note iv. 88). At the western end of this island, and a short distance above the first bridge, the river bank was used as a burning-ground for Hindus until some forty years ago. Close to it the Christian cemetery of the *Shāikh Bāgh* has been established. If K.'s reference, iii. 339, could be accepted as historical, we should have to assume that the site was used as a *S'māśāna* already before the foundation of *Pravarasena's* city.

343. The text has here a lacuna which must extend over more than the half-verse shown in the Ed. as missing. The lines now missing probably contained an account of the arrival of *Gargacandra* and his attack on the conspirators. From viii. 356 it is seen that *Raḍḍa*, who took the name of *S'āṅkharāja*, occupied the throne during the night which followed *Uccala's* murder, and during the next morning.

L. supplies with *sakakṣa* the three *Aksaras* missing in A at the commencement of the second half of verse 343, but the preceding lacuna makes it impossible to ascertain the meaning of this half-verse even when thus completed.

345. Regarding *śimhadvāra*, see vi. 244.



RADDA-S'ĀṆKHARĀJA
(8-9th December,
1111 A.D.).

Conspirators defeated
by Gargacandra.

348. *Garga*, whom the cruel struggle made exceed the [proper] limits, ordered in his fury that the punishment due for high treason be executed upon the dead [Radḍa].

349. *Vyadḍa* was killed near the *Diddāmaṭha* by the citizens, who poured ashes and stones [upon him], and his head was thrust into a privy-drain.

350. They who had betrayed their lord were dragged about by ropes [bound] to their ankles, and at once received everywhere from the people the honour of being spat upon, which they had deserved by their deed.

351. *Haṁsaratha* and others fled and joined *Sadḍa* somewhere, to suffer for some time yet pangs of misery worse than death.

352. *Bhogasena*, who had arrogantly thought that *Garga* had been defeated after his younger brother's death, then heard of these events which were [to him] like annihilation.

353. He turned back with the desire of offering resistance, but seeing the fleeing soldiers he retired in fear somewhere, followed by some of his own people.

354. Thus had *Gargacandra*, helped only by his arm, killed and scattered the leaders of the league of conspirators.

355. Of such bravery and skill in a desperate enterprise, as this illustrious [man] displayed, I have not heard anywhere, even in stories.

356. That traitor [Radḍa], who had taken the name of *S'āṅkharāja*, went the way of the evil-doers, after having reigned for one night and one watch of a day.

357. These traitors had boastfully claimed to be descended from *Yaśaskara*'s family, and, therefore, they held like King *Varṇaṭa* the royal power only for a moment.

358. The *Kirātās* in the forest, who destroy the lion and other [wild beasts] by raising jungle-fires and by constructing traps, find their end by the accidental fall of rocks. All people, indeed, rush forward by the one path of death. "I am the slayer and he the slain,"—this means a difference but for a brief time.

359. Those who hear with joy the auspicious acclamations of the women folk at their own wedding, listen with misery, as their end comes, to the lamentations of their wives. He who rejoiced but yesterday at slaying his enemy, he, too, beholds his slayer excited with joy. Fie over this delusion which produces blindness!

349. For *Diddāmaṭha*, now *Didmar*, see note vi. 300.

352. Events are here alluded to which must have been related in the verses now missing before viii. 343. A younger

brother of *Garga*, called *Sadḍa*, is named viii. 33.

357. See for *Varṇaṭa*, who was selected for a short time as *Yaśaskara*'s successor, vi. 91 sqq. For *A°bhajad* read with *L°bhajan*.



CSL

360. The traitors' desperate act resembled a tree which was only thought of in the evening, which bore fruit at night, and on which the evil fruit had ripened by the next day.

RADDA-S'ANKHARĀJA
(8-9th December,
1111 A.D.).

361. Garga, when he had accomplished his task and appeased his wrath, threw himself down on the throne and lamented long over his lord.

362. As he was shedding tears, all the citizens too, freed from fear, found occasion to bewail the king who was dear to everybody.

363. The cunning *Jayamati* who was eager to live, then gave her treasure to Garga in order to raise compassion in him and spoke to him :

Burning of Uccala's
queens.

364. "Brother, make an arrangement with me." He, however, in his honest nature, took these words to be purely conventional, and prepared her funeral pyre.

365. Nobody can understand these women of unscrutable mind, in whose heart there is found, as it were, combined the waviness of their ample locks, the excessive unsteadiness of their eyes and the firmness of their round breasts.

366. Though given to unfaithfulness and killing their husbands, yet they step with ease into the fire. In no manner can one be sure of women.

367. While she, proceeding in a litter, was delaying on the road, *Bijjalā* got in front of her and entered the pyre.

368. Then as she (*Jayamati*) was ascending the pyre her limbs were hurt by the pilferers who robbed her in eager desire of her ornaments.

369. When the people saw the two queens being consumed by the flames together with their Chowries and parasols, they, too, all raised lamentations, and their eyes were as if burning with pain.

370. He (*Garga*) then displayed his noble character in full purity, when, though requested by all, he did not seat himself on the throne.

371. He looked out eagerly for certain persons in whose arms he wished to place King *Uccala's* infant son, in order to have him consecrated as king.

372. Having seen the real character of some among these, the people, I know, nowadays laugh and do not think them fit even to go about as beggars.

360. Perhaps we ought to correct *phullito* for A *phalito*, 'which bore blossoms at night.'

uncle *Muñja*, as told at the commencement of the *Bhojaprabandha*.

371. It was customary, in case the heir to the throne was a young child, to place him in the arms of an elder relative, and to perform the *Abhiṣeka* ceremony for both jointly. This was to assure the safety of the heir during his infancy, and his subsequent accession to the actual power. Compare e.g. the story of *Bhoja's* *Abhiṣeka* along with his

The person in whose arms *Gargacandra* wished in particular to have *Uccala's* infant son consecrated is *Sahasramuchyala*; see viii. 500. The latter has been mentioned already, vii. 1018, but his origin is nowhere indicated. The name of *Uccala's* son is not given; comp. regarding him also, viii. 502, 516.



RAḌḌA-S'ĀṆKHARĀJA
(8.9th December,
1111 A.D.).

SALHANA
(A.D. 1111-12).

373-374. Of the three sons, *Salhana* and the other [two] who had been born to *Mallarāja* from the princess called *S'vetā*, the middle one had died. The eldest and youngest who remained, *Salhana* and *Lothana*, had from fear, when *S'āṅkharāja* searched for them in order to kill them, betaken themselves into the *Navamaṭha*.

375-376. The shameless intriguing *Tantrins*, mounted soldiers, and councillors collected again after abandoning the defeated conspirators, and brought up the elder of the two, *Salhana*. When *Garga*, who had not found anyone fit for the throne, saw this, he had him quickly consecrated as king.

377. O shame, there were in a [single] day and night within four watches, three kings who ought to have been seen within a generation.

378. There were seen royal attendants who served in the evening King *Uccala*, in the morning *Radḍa*, and at midday *Salhana*.

379. When King *Sussala*, who was at *Loharakoṭṭa*, heard of his brother's death after one-and-a-half days had passed, he fell into great emotion.

380. The messenger sent by *Garga* threw himself crying to the ground, which made him (*Sussala*) abandon all doubts [as to his brother's death], and break out in lamentation.

381. From the first messenger of *Garga* he did not hear the events up to *Salhana's* [coronation], but only his brother's death, and that he himself was requested to come.

382. For *Garga* had despatched that [messenger] when he left his house, to call him (*Sussala*), as he did not believe [that he could accomplish] quickly the suppression of the enemies, [which seemed] very difficult.

383. After passing the night in loud lamentations [*Sussala*] started at daybreak on the march towards *Kaśmīr*, without even having collected his troops.

384. Then another messenger of *Garga*, whom he met on the march, reported all that had happened, and spoke to him: "Assuredly, do not come."

385. "The conspiracy has been quickly crushed, and in your absence, your younger brother, *Salhana*, has been made king. What is the use of your coming?"

386. When the king had heard this message of *Garga*, he, impatient in his anger, spoke thus laughing to his followers, who did not wish to proceed.

387. "The crown does not come to us from the father. If [even it were so]

374. Regarding the *Navamaṭha*, see 177, § 5, that the distance between *Lohara* and *Srinagar* permits of news reaching within the time indicated by our passage.

379. It has been shown in Note E, iv.

*Sussala's march to
Kashmir.*



the next born is the heir. But [in truth] my elder brother and I have conquered it with our arms."

388. "We two took the kingdom, and nobody gave it to us. Are the means now gone by which we gained it before?"

389. After saying this he pushed on in unbroken marches, and sent many messengers to *Garga* to win him over.

390. He reached *Kāṣṭhavāta*, while *Gargacandra*, who was on *Salhana's* side, marched forth and took up a position at *Huṣkapura*.

391. When the evening came, his messengers who had gone and returned, declared that *Garga*, though he had displayed a conciliatory disposition, had evil intentions.

392. Notwithstanding this, King [Sussala] having once entered into the enterprise, sent to *Garga* his own foster-brother *Hitahita*.

393. At this time *Bhogasena*, whom fate had deluded, came into the presence of the king, having employed some *Khāśakas* from *Bilavana* as intercessors.

394. He sent the cavalier *Karṇabhūti* to the king, and endeavoured to entice him by informing him that he (*Bhogasena*) would defeat *Garga*.

395. The people thought it wrong [of Sussala] that he was waiting for an opportunity to slay the betrayer of his brother, who deserved [to be put to death] without temporizing.

396. *Garga*, too, reproached him by messengers saying: "How can I join you by whose side are the betrayers of your brother?"

397. He (Sussala), however, delayed [merely because he feared] that he (*Bhogasena*) would leave the road in the darkness [and escape]; he attacked and killed him together with his brother as soon as the night had passed.

Bhogasena killed by
Sussala.

398. *Karṇabhūti* rushed into the fight and distinguished himself by his bravery, and not less [did] his step-brother *Tejāsena*.

399. *Tejāsena* by the king's order was impaled and also *Marica*, the son of the commander of horse, *Lavarāja*.

400. [As far as] his courage went, the king had the power to punish and to reward. His force, however, was so [small] that he could not hope even to maintain his position with it.

390. The position of *Kāṣṭhavāta* has been fully discussed in note vi. 202. The route taken on this occasion by Sussala lay, on account of the advanced season, probably not over the Toṣamāidān Pass, but over one of the lower passes to the W.; see Note E on Lohara (iv. 177) § 7.

For *Huṣkapura* (Uṣkūr), comp. note i. 168.

393. The *Khāśaka* are the same as the *Khaśas*; see note i. 317.

Bilavana, otherwise unknown, was probably a locality in the Valley of the Vitastā, below Varāhamūla, where *Khaśas* are settled to the present day; comp. also note v. 214.

400. °*nigrahāvagraha*° of A L is evidently a clerical error for °*nigrahānugraha*°, as read by Durgāpr.



SALHANA
(A.D. 1111-12).

Sussala's fight with
Sūrya.

Escape of Sussala.

401. *Sañjapāla*, too, whom King [Sussala] had sent ahead, joined him later when the day was spent, bringing horses.

402. When these had arrived, and his force had been somewhat strengthened, there came up *Sūrya*, a commander of *Garga*, with numerous troops.

403. When [Sussala's] trusted advisers saw these bent on doing harm, with difficulty they got [the king], who was obstinate in his self-confidence, to mount his horse and to put on his armour.

404. Then there came from the opponents' force a shower of arrows which was everywhere of unbroken density, and which made the sky appear as if covered by a flight of locusts.

405. The enemies acknowledging [as it were] their treachery by the hissing of their arrows, struck down irresistibly all in the king's camp with all kinds of weapons.

406. The reckless king, when his soldiers were slain, wounded or dispersed, made his way singly out of the enemies' midst and fled in haste.

407. Then with his horse he crossed a bridge below which the river roared, which was ever swinging up and down, and which was difficult to pass, even for birds.

408. Two or three, among them *Sañjapāla*, managed to follow him, and keeping at his back held off the enemies at every step.

409. When the brave [king] had reached with twenty or thirty followers the *Khaśa* seat called *Virānaka*, the enemies left him.

410. While staying there with a few men who were destitute of clothes and food, he, O wonder, fearlessly attacked and punished the *Khaśas*.

401. Regarding *Sañjapāla*, see viii. 212.

403. I have translated according to the conjectural reading of the Cal. Ed. *dudhruk-ṣān* for *dudhrukṣar*.

407. K. refers here clearly to one of the rope bridges, or *Jhūlas*, which until a few years ago formed the only communication across the Vitastā in the Valley below Varāhamūla. These rope bridges are suspension bridges of the simplest construction, and generally formed of three cables made of twisted twigs. Owing to the swaying of these cables to and fro in the wind, and to the steep gradients on either side, the passage of a *Jhūla* of any great span is nervous work for those unused to it. Occasionally when there is a high wind, the crossing of such a *Jhūla* is dangerous even for those accustomed to the work from childhood. These bridges are quite impassable for four-footed beasts, unless carried on a man's back.

As the latter operation is impossible in the case even of a pony, we must assume that Sussala's horse in reality swam across the river. In cases where the condition of the river bed and the current permits of this expedient, ponies are generally aided in swimming by a rope which a man holds while crossing the rope bridge. Those who have had the doubtful pleasure of crossing some of the *Jhūlas* in the hills neighbouring on Kāśmīr will readily pardon K. for having slightly exaggerated the difficulties of such a crossing. Compare regarding *Jhūlas*, DREW, *Summo*, p. 122.

408. *Virānaka* has been identified with the present *Viran* in the Vitastā Valley opposite to Buliāsa-Bolyāsaka; comp. note v. 214.

410. Correct with Durgapr. *nirbhayo dandīyat Khaśān*.



411. And in time, after having escaped death by the will of fate, he reached *Lohara* again, though a heavy fall of snow had made the crossing of the pass. (*saṃkṛāṭa*) difficult.

412. Though he had faced death at every step and had been preserved [only because he was destined] to live longer, yet he planned [nothing else] but the conquest of *Kaśmīr*.

413. *Garga*, filled with enmity, had the poor *Hūṭahita*, bound hands and feet, thrown into the *Vitastā* from the head of the bridge at the 'Gate' (*dvārasetu*).

414. When he was being thrown into the water, *Kṣema*, a servant of his, threw himself down before him, and rose higher by his very fall.

415. When *Garga* then joined King *Salhana*, he obtained exceptional power [over him], having given him the crown and defeated his opponent.

416. This king who had secured the crown without possessing advisers or resolution, saw in his mental confusion everything revolving as it were [around him].

417. Neither political wisdom nor valour, neither cunning nor straightforwardness, neither liberality nor greed,—nothing was prominent in this king's [character].

418. During his reign robbers plundered the people in his very palace even at midday. What need to speak more, of the traffic on the roads?

419. On that [throne] on which even a lame woman (*Diddā*) had maintained herself for a long time in a spirited manner, he, though a man, had his mind distracted by fears.

420. The woman which *Salhana* enjoyed to-day, *Loṣṭhana* enjoyed the next day. Thus they shared in common the pleasures of the throne.

421. As this [king] had no knowledge of the character of men, and showed no concern [for his duties], all his actions were laughed at by thoughtful persons.

422. He put *Ūjasūha*, *Loṣṭhana*'s brother-in-law, who was fitted for assemblies of ascetics, into the office [of lord] of the Gate which required rude valour.

413. It is clear that the bridge near the 'Gate' of *Varāhamūla* is meant here. Regarding this watch-station, which was the best known of all the 'Gates' of *Kaśmīr*, see note i. 122, and my remarks, *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, p. 382. It has been noticed as the 'western gate' by *Hsien-tsiang* and *Ou-k'ong*; see my *Notes on Ou-k'ong*, p. 23. *Albēri* too, *India*, i. p. 207, tells us of "the watch-station *Dvār* on both sides of the river *Jailam*." The position of the watch-station on the right river bank is

marked in all probability by the old ruined gateway still known as *Drang*, which was guarded until some twenty years ago; comp. *MOORCROFT, Travels*, ii. p. 280.

420. The name of *Salhana*'s brother is given here by A and L as *Loṣṭhana*, which is probably a legitimate Sanskrit variant for the usual *Loṭhana*, a Prakrit form; comp. the forms *Garga* and *Gargacandra* for *Gagga* and *Gaggacandra*, note viii. 182.



SA LUHANA
(A.D. 1111-12).

Gargacandra's pre-
dominance.

423. He (Ūjasūha), at the time of holding counsel, declared that he would ward off the dangers from *Sussala* by muttering his own magic spell a hundred thousand [times] at his approach.

424. The deceitful king at *Garga's* order had *Bimba*, the Dāmara of *Nīlāsva*, who was hateful before the latter, thrown into the *Vitastā* with a stone bound [to him].

425. *Garga*, the king-maker, while destroying his various enemies, killed many Dāmaras of *Hālāha* by the poisoned food he gave them.

426. As the king was a mere shadow, [all] whether of the outer or inner [court], whether small or great, were dependent on *Garga* for life and death.

427. Once then when *Garga* had come from *Lahara* into the king's presence all the people in the City were agitated and distressed by fear.

428. Because at that time the report spread that *Garga* had arrived in anger to kill all in the king's employment by impaling them on boats.

429. For two or three days all the people appeared as if shaken by fever, in consequence of such a terrifying rumour which made pregnant women miscarry.

430. Thereupon *Tilakasimha* and others boldly attacked *Garga's* residence on a sudden, without asking for the king's orders.

431. The whole people in great excitement rushed on with raised weapons, but *Gargacandra* received them all without dismay.

432. *Dilhabhattāraka*, *Lakkaka* and others were seen riding about without shame in the streets near *Garga's* residence.

433. The king did not restrain them, but on the contrary sent *Loṭhana* to encourage the assailants, when their energy was failing.

434. As *Garga's* soldiers barred the road, he (*Loṭhana*), too, neither surrounded [*Garga's*] house nor could he burn it down, though he [attempted to] set it on fire.

435. Only one *Keśava* who was superintendent (*maṭheśa*) of the *Loṭhikāmaṭha* and skilled in the use of the bow, harassed his (*Garga's*) soldiers by shooting them with arrows.

436. In the evening when the king's men had become scarce with the [waning] light, *Garga* started on horseback together with his followers.

424. For *Bimba* and *Nīlāsva* compare vii. 1631.

425. The locality meant by *Hālāha* is unknown. The only other reference to it is contained in viii. 514, if our emendation there of *Halāha* for *Phalāha* is justified.

426. The distinction between *bāhya* ('outer') and *ābhyantara* ('inner') among the royal servants is repeatedly alluded to; comp. viii. 680, 1542, 1546, 2962, 3150. From the use made of the expression *bāhyabhr̥tya* in viii. 2068, it would appear that by *Ābhyan-*

tara are meant the officials who, owing to high position and direct connection with the court, could claim admittance into the royal presence on occasions when the 'Bāhya' were excluded; comp. also viii. 744. For a similar distinction observed at the Moghul court (*Diwān-i 'Am*, *Diwān-i Khās*), see BERNIER, *Travels*, p. 265. The term *bāhyālī*, discussed in note iv. 62, is probably connected with this use of the word *bāhya*.

435. Regarding the *Loṭhikāmaṭha*, see vii. 120.



SALHANA
(A.D. 1111-12).

437. Unopposed in encounters he marched to *Lahara*, and carried off as his prisoner *Ujasūha* who was staying in ill-health at *Tripuresvara*.

438. On the following day he set him free saying: "What is the use of this mendicant?" The king he did not dethrone, as *Sussala* was also [his] enemy.

439. Thereafter the townfolk everywhere in the land were again and again dreading the return of *Garga* and barricading their houses.

440. The king felt troubled and was anxious to conciliate *Garga*, and the Mahattama *Sahela* was acting as his envoy in *Lahara*.

441. He somehow persuaded *Garga* to agree to give his daughter [in marriage to the king], but [Garga's] followers did not wish that he should ally himself with a king who was like a [mere] ghost.

442. Thereupon he formed a league with King *Sussala*, and did not enter into that alliance [with *Salhana*], though he was pressed [for it] also subsequently.

443. While the kingdom was thus falling to pieces, the king killed *Saḍḍa*, *Hamsaratha* and *Nonaratha*, whom he had secured by spies.

444. By torturing them with sparks of fire, needles, and other [means] he . . . made them undergo terrible sufferings, before life fled from them.

445. The king was doing right when he permitted *Mallā*, *Bhogasena's* wife, who was living in hiding, to follow her husband to death.

446. The king who felt alarmed although he had seen such weakness [on his part], destroyed in the meanwhile *Dilhabhaṭṭāra* by having him poisoned.

447. He (*Dilhabhaṭṭāra*) was neither of royal blood nor of such fierce prowess that the wicked [king] should have had to put him out of the way thus by a secret execution.

448. His sister thereupon who had reviled him (*Dilhabhaṭṭāra*) for his want of manliness, followed the fitting course for a proud woman by entering the fire.

449. Short as his reign was, it was rendered unbearable by terrors, [so that it appeared] like a long evil dream, dreamt during a long night.

450. *Sussala* who knew the times, and who distrusted *Garga* notwithstanding their league, was then casting his eyes on *Kāśmīr* and sent *Saṅjapāla* ahead. *Sussala enters Kāśmīr.*

451. *Lakkaka* to whom King *Salha[na]* had given charge of the 'Gate' together with [ample] means, had set out on the march with some difficulty and had reached *Varāhamūla*.

437. For *Tripuresvara*, situated to the N.E. of the Dal lake, see note v. 46.

443. Compare regarding the flight of these conspirators, viii. 351.

444. The text has here a lacuna of three syllables.

445. Read with *L anunnartum* and *casantim*.

451. For *Salha*, an abbreviation of *Salhana*, see viii. 472.



SALHAṆA
(A.D. 1111-12).

452. *Garga* who remembered his (*Lakkaka*'s) assault, marched behind him, routed his troops and plundered them as well as [the town of] *Varāhamūla*.

453. He fled, while his soldiers embraced with their mortal bodies the earth, and with their heavenly bodies the band of the *Apsaras*.

454. When the leader (*nāyaka*) had disappeared, the earth was covered by *Uppa*, *Chudda* and other brave men of noble lineage, who had fallen, just as pearls [fall from a string, when the central pearl (*nāyaka*) is gone].

455. *Lakkaka* who had no support, joined the side of King *Sussala*, after having been relieved of his fear by the approach of *Saṅjapāla*.

456. King (*Sussala*) then, when *Saṅjapāla* had gone far [ahead] attacking the enemy, came closer, being urged on by the citizens and *Dāmaras* who had joined him.

457. *Sahelaka* came over to his side, after having told *Salhana* that he would make peace for him with King *Sussala*.

458. All except the king (*Salhana*) joined the younger brother of *Uccala*, whose advent the citizens longed for, as the *Cātaka* [birds long] for the cloud.

459. *Chuddā*, *Garga*'s wife, then came before him, bringing two daughters to give them in marriage.

460. One of the two, called *Rājalakṣmī*, the king chose for his own bride, and the younger, *Guṇalekhā* by name, he accepted as his daughter-in-law.

Salhana besieged in
the palace.

461. When *Saṅjapāla*, who had marched on, had surrounded *Salhana* and his younger brother, King [*Sussala*] too arrived at the main gate of the royal palace.

462. One of his opponent's followers let a gate fall before his very eyes, but it did not hit him, and proved as useless as his enemies' wishes.

463. While his opponent remained with his soldiers in the barricaded palace, *Sussala*'s troops were trembling from fear of an attack from *Garga*.

464. King [*Sussala*]'s soldiers did not trust *Garga*, though he had given his two daughters [in marriage], and stayed just because they had to stay, trembling whenever a leaf shook.

465-466. While the day was passing away, the soldiers thus struck with fear and the king prevented by family affection from setting fire to the strong building occupied by his enemies,—*Saṅjapāla* effected an entrance by breaking the shutters of a window with a stone, opened the door and attacked those in the courtyard.

452. I rightly *varāhamūla*.

460. *Guṇalekhā* is mentioned as King *Jayasimha*'s wife, viii. 1607.

462. A kind of portcullis seems to be referred to.



SALHANA
(A.D. 1111-12).

467. The foot-soldier *Lakkaka* followed him, feeling assured that [by rushing] into the great mass of the enemy he (*Sanjapala*) was acting like a moth [which flies into the fire].

468-469. This soldier who like him had been at the invasion of the *Darads*, and in the desperate contest of *Kaṣṭhavāṭa*, and who was as his very image,—he and the Maṭha-superintendent *Keśava*, followed him, just as the son of *S'ini* (*Sātyaki*) and the son of the wind (*Bhīmasena*) [followed] the son of *Prthā* (*Arjuna*) when he demanded the horse from the *Indus* region.

470. When they had got out of the hall, and had with difficulty opened the gate of the courtyard by their blows, the brave King [*Sussala*] entered in person.

471. While the fight of the two forces continued undecided in the courtyard, many soldiers found their death there.

472. The Brahman *Ajjaka*, a native of *Paṭaṃgagrāma*, who was King *Salha's* minister, won in the fight the embraces of the celestial maidens.

473. Also the *Kāyastha Rudra* who had been raised to the post of superintendent of the treasury, rewarded his lord's favour by sacrificing his body in the fight.

474-475. Just as a tree in the evening, resounding with the noise of the birds which have settled upon it, becomes [suddenly] silent when the birds fly up at a stone-throw,—thus the fighting ground which was filled with tumult became [silent], as [if merely] painted, when threatened by King *Sussala* on horseback.

476. Before he had ascended the throne, and while he was yet in the courtyard, there was heard the shout, "Victorious is [King] *Sussala*," and the sound of large drums.

477. Upon no one else in *Mallarāja's* house has fallen such humiliation as *Salhana* and *Lothana* suffered there.

478. *Sussala* embraced the two who were in armour and on horseback, and saying: "You are boys," cunningly made them give up their swords.

479. After ordering that the two should be kept under guard in another hall, the king who had now gained his throne proceeded to the assembly-hall.

480. After having reigned for four months less three days, he (*Salhana*) fell into captivity on the third day of the bright half of *Vaiśākha* in the year [of the *Laukika* era four thousand one hundred] eighty-eight (A.D. 1112).

481. When he (*Sussala*) ascended the throne, the agitation of all the

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468-469. See regarding *Sanjapala's* comp. *Mahābh.* VII., cxii.; see also below viii. exploits here referred to, viii. 210 sqq., 2789.

472. The position of *Paṭaṃgagrāma* is unknown.

For the story alluded to in the simile,



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Sussala's character.

people ceased at once, as that of the ocean [ceases] when the sun [mounts] the sky.

482. As he kept ever his sword unsheathed from an apprehensive expectation of treason, he resembled the king of the animals who keeps his mouth open in face of the hunters.

483. Firm in his policy he exterminated the families of those who had betrayed his brother, by searching them out one by one, not sparing even the children.

484. As he had seen the wickedness of the people he never showed himself lenient, though he displayed outward moderation when his objects demanded it.

485. But he was by nature gentle and assumed [merely] that appearance of cruelty, just as [if he had been] a snake [painted] on the wall, in order to restrain the people.

486. No one else was like him in knowing the [suitable] times, liberal on the [right] occasion, resolute, brilliant in his conceptions, a judge of signs and far-sighted.

487. Though his character was the same as that of his elder brother, yet some features were stronger, some less marked in him and some quite equal [in both].

488. Though their wrath was alike [in appearance], yet that of the elder brother resembled the poison of a mad dog and his own that of a bee.

489. He did not bear grudges on account of dress and such [matters], but would not tolerate improper arrogance on the part of his servants from fear of their exceeding their [proper] sphere.

490. He did not desire to kill proud men by inducing them to fight duels and the like, but [on the contrary] felt pity if such a thing happened through recklessness.

491. The roughness of speech in the former king caused unbearable anxieties; his (*Sussala's*) rather resembled familiarity and was not attended by death and other inflictions.

492. As he was eager after wealth, he collected greater treasures, whereas his liberality owing to the exigencies of concerns, circumstances and the rest was more limited.

493. Being fond of new works, and of possessing many horses, the artisans and foreign horse-dealers grew rich under him.

494. When great calamities arose he would leave nothing untouched in his anxiety to overcome and to allay them, and would pour forth his riches.

495. Correct with Durgāpr. *bhīmatvaṁ*.

498. For the interpretation of the term *daśīka*, 'foreign,' see note vi. 303 sq.



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495. The *Indradrāḍaśī* festival was celebrated by no other king so brilliantly as by him who gave away plenty of dresses and other [presents].

496. He was generally just as difficult to see for his servants, as King *Uccala* before had been easy to approach and affable to his attendants.

497. No other [king] was so passionately fond of riding as *Uccala*, and no one was more renowned for his skill in this respect than *Sussala*.

498. *Uccala* relieved the famine as soon as it appeared, but in King *Sussala*'s reign it was not seen even in dreams.

499. What [need be said] more? He surpassed his elder brother in all qualities, excepting only liberality, disregard of wealth and easy accessibility.

500. He exiled in anger *Sahasramaṅgala*, whom *Garga*, as the guardian of *Uccala*'s son, had wished to elevate to the throne.

501. While he (*Sahasramaṅgala*) stopped at *Bhadrāvakaśa*, his son *Prāsa* intrigued with the *Dāmaras* and bribed them with gold.

502. On that occasion *Garga*, too, showed disaffection, because he did not give up the young son of *Uccala* though his uncle demanded him. Rising of Gargacandra.

503. Numberless soldiers sent by the king were destroyed by *Garga*, as [if they had been] blades of grass burned down by the jungle-fire.

504. Also *Vijaya*, *Garga*'s brother-in-law, a native of *Devasarasa*, rebelled and slaughtered the king's troops.

505. The resolute king's mind was not disturbed by this rebellion, [though it arose] when only a month and some days had passed since his accession to the throne.

506. *Garga* made *Sureśvarī*, the site of *Amareśa* and the confluence of the *Vitastā* and *Sindhu* witness the defeat of the royal troops.

507. In the tumultuous fight the councillors *S'ṛṅāra* and *Kapila* were killed, as well as the brothers *Karna* and *S'ūdraka*, the Tantrins.

508. Nobody had the skill to draw forth [the bodies of] even such [important] men, as they could not be distinguished among the great multitude of good soldiers who were slain.

495. For this festival, see note viii. 182.

498. The emended reading *svapna* 'py' is actually found in L.

500. Compare viii. 371.

501. In *Bhadrāvakaśa* we have undoubtedly the old name of the hill district now known as *Bhadravāh*, which is situated to the south of the *Cināb* and adjoins *Kistvar*; comp. *Drew, Jummoa*, pp. 103 sqq. The *Skr.* form of the name is not found elsewhere.

For *Prāsa*, *Sahasramaṅgala*'s son, see viii. 556.

504. *Devasarasa* is the modern Pargana of *Diśsar*, situated in the south-east of the Valley on the upper course of the *Viśoka* (*Veśau*). The district is very frequently mentioned in the subsequent narrative; see Index. The name occurs already in the *Nilamata*, 1172, 1286 sq.

506. Compare regarding *Sureśvarī*, note v. 37; *Amareśa* (*Āmbuthēr*), note vii. 183.



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509. *Harṣamitra*, the son of the king's maternal uncle, who was commander-in-chief, was defeated by *Vijaya* at *Vijayeshvara*.

510. There fell *Tilha*, *Mangalarāja's* son, who was from a noble family, and *Tribbhakara* and other Tantrins.

511. In the king's army *Sañjapāla* proved the foremost of brave men, because, though his force was small, he was not defeated by *Garga* with his numerous troops.

512. The king after he had rallied at *Vijayaśetra* the defeated army by sending [there] *Lakkaka* and others, himself resolutely marched against *Garga*.

513. He collected the [bodies of the] many soldiers who were lying in rows slain by *Garga*, and had them burned the next day on numberless pyres.

Gargacandra defeated.

514. *Garga*, then pressed by the energetic king, gradually retired to *Halāha* (?) after burning his own mansions.

515. There he threw himself into a hill fort called *Ratnavarṣa* and, having been deprived of his horses and deserted by his followers, was invested from a distance by the king.

516. *Sañjapāla* having followed him up there too and besieged him, he surrendered to the king, and gave up the son of *Uccala*.

517. As the king restrained *Mallakoṣṭhaka*, *Karṇakoṣṭha's* son, who was [*Garga's*] enemy, and who was near at hand, *Garga* soon took confidence.

518. When *Vijaya* and the others had been worsted and the rebellion suppressed, the king proceeded slowly to the City, after accepting his (*Garga's*) submission.

519. He then marched to *Lohara*, and after imprisoning there *Salhana* and *Loṭhana*, gave himself up to rejoicings, while receiving the attentions of *Kalha*, *Somapāla* and the other [neighbouring] chiefs.

520. After he had returned to *Kāśmīr*, he elevated *Garga* by exceptional and ever increasing favours, in order to secure his services.

521. While he was like the summer sun [in his fierce splendour], his chief queen and his prince (*Jayasimha*) resembled by their refreshing [kindness] the shade of trees and the forest breeze.

509. The maternal uncle is probably *Ānanda*; see vii. 1317.

510. Correct with *L vijanyavamsa*°.

514. *Halāha* in the text is a doubtful emendation for *Phalāha* of A L, made with reference to the local name found in viii. 425. ठ and ङ closely resemble each other in

S'aradā. The name *Phalāha* is found nowhere else. From the mention of the hill fort in the following verse, it may be concluded that the district meant lay on the outskirts of the *Kāśmīr* Valley.

519. For *Kalha* of *Kālīnjara*, see note vii. 1256; for *Somapāla* of *Rājapuri*, viii. 288.



522. *Bṛhatṭikka* ('the great Ṭikka') and *Sūksmatṭikka* ('the little Ṭikka'), Dāmaras of *Devasarasa*, and *Vijaya's* relatives, were watching for their opportunity.

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Troubles in *Devasarasa*.

523. When the king came to *Lokapunya*, they went before him to ask his support, accompanied by shouting followers.

524. The king, while showing kindness to *Vijaya*, on account of his relationship to *Garga*, had the two beaten by his staff-bearers without regard for propriety.

525. They and their proud followers thereupon drew their swords and made a reckless attack upon the strong force of the king.

526. A *S'vapāka* of the name of *Abhogadeva* struck at the king with his dagger, and [so did] the resolute *Gajjaka* with his sword from behind.

527. As a longer life was destined to the king, the assailant's strokes did [him] no harm, but his charger was killed.

528. *S'rigarasīha*, from the family of *Bāṇa*, an excellent officer of horse, warded off from the king the assailants' strokes, and was [himself] killed there.

529. The 'Great' *Ṭikka*, *Abhogadeva* and others were slain by the soldiers, while the 'Little' *Ṭikka* escaped to become the cause of a future rebellion.

530. *Gajjaka* and others concerned in the treachery were impaled. Thus the king's life was imperilled since he showed partiality for *Garga*.

531. A man will not be killed even by a stroke of lightning without his time [having come]. But when he has reached the [allotted] period, even a flower may cause his death.

532. Those very pearls which do not fade even in the midst of the ocean, though ever [in contact] with the flames of the submarine fire, are destroyed on the breasts of young women by the warmth of their youth.

533. The king, who was unable to bear with pride in others, exiled *Sanjōpala* and others, forgetting even their former services.

534. *Yasorāja*, a relative of *Kaka's* family, on being exiled by the king, then joined *Sahasramāṅgala*.

Intrigues of *Sahasramāṅgala*.

535. The latter, who possessed ample means, received him and other refugees, and having thus secured a position, thought of opposing the king.

522. The 'Great' *Ṭikka's* death is mentioned below, viii. 529. The 'Little' *Ṭikka* figures frequently in the subsequent narrative under the simple name of *Ṭikka*; comp. viii. 663, 1136, 1255 sqq., 1319, etc.

523. For *Lokapunya*, now *Lokābavan*, which is close to the *Devasarasa* Pargana, see note iv. 193.

524. These staff-bearers (*vetrin*) are referred to as *yāstika* in vi. 203, 215, etc.

528. For the rare word *sasyaka*, 'excellent,' comp. *Pāṇini*, v. 2, 68.

529. *Ṭikka* had the chief share in *Sussala's* murder, see viii. 1255 sqq., and in *Bhikṣacara's* subsequent invasion, viii. 1455, etc.



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536. His son *Prāsa* endeavoured to enter [Kaśmir] by the route of *Kānda*, but turned back in fright when *Yaśorāja* had been wounded by the king's soldiers.

537-541. As also other servants whom the king had exiled, joined him, he (*Sahasramaṅgala*) obtained considerable renown. While this new trouble was preparing, three hill-chiefs, viz. *Jāsaṭa* of *Campā*, *Vajradhara*, the lord of *Babbāpura* (?), and *Rājā Sahajapāla*, the lord of *Vartula*, as well as the *Yuvarājas* of the chiefs of *Trigarta* and *Vallāpura*, [called] *Balha* and *Ānandarāja*, five in all, met in some place, and after making a compact for the journey visited *Kurukṣetra*. [There] they fell in with *Bhikṣācara* whom *Āsamati* had brought away from *Naravarman*, and who had come provided by the former with gold for the journey.

Bhikṣācara arrives in
Vallāpura.

542. Hospitably received by *Jāsaṭa* from a feeling of family attachment, and honoured by the other kings, he (*Bhikṣācara*) then proceeded to *Vallāpura*.

543. When he arrived, his fame was increased by *Bimba* and other exiles [joining him], and *Sahasra[maṅgala]* was reduced to insignificance.

544. The people then said: "He is King *Harṣa*'s grandson. What [right have] those to the throne?" and leaving *Sahasra*'s party joined him.

545. Also prince *Daryaka* joined him on being exiled by the king. Led away by family attachment he forgot gratitude.

546. For he, the son of *Kumārāpāla*, was the maternal uncle of his (*Bhikṣācara*'s) father, had previously been brought up by King *Sussala* like a son.

547. *Paḍmaka*, the lord of *Vallāpura*, then gave a daughter in marriage to *Bhikṣu*, at the instigation of the *Yuvarāja* (*Balha*) and of *Jāsaṭa*.

548. *Gayapāla*, a *Thakkura* of that territory, thereupon collected a large number of chiefs and endeavoured to replace him on his grandfather's seat.

536. Regarding *Kānda*, comp. note vii. 590.

537-541. Compare regarding *Bhikṣācara*'s removal to the court of *Naravarman* of *Mālava*, viii. 225 sqq. For *Campā* (*Cambā*), see note vii. 218; *Babbāpura* (a doubtful name), note vii. 588; *Vartula*, viii. 287; *Trigarta* (*Kāngra*), iii. 100; *Vallāpura* (*Bal-lāvar*), vii. 220.

Kurukṣetra, the traditional scene of the battle of the *Kurus* and *Pāṇḍavas*, is the plain stretching south of *Thāneśvar* towards *Paṇipat*. Owing to its very numerous *Tirthas* it has remained a favourite goal for pilgrimages to the present day. Though the point is not clearly mentioned in the text, it seems probable that the five hill-chiefs had proceeded to *Kurukṣetra* on a joint tour of pilgrimage.

The compact to which K. refers, may either

have been intended to guarantee mutually the safety of their respective territories during their absence, or to insure greater security for the chiefs on the journey. *Kurukṣetra* had then been for about a century in *Muhamadan* hands. For another reference to the *Kurukṣetra* pilgrimage, see viii. 2220.

542. *Jāsaṭa* was the son of *Harṣa*'s maternal uncle; comp. vii. 1512.

546. *Kumārāpāla* must have been the brother of the unnamed wife of *Harṣa* who was the mother of *Bhoja*, *Bhikṣācara*'s father. Names ending in *-pāla* were common in the *Sāhi* family to which *Harṣa*'s chief queens belonged; comp. notes vii. 144, 1470.

547. *Bhikṣu*, being the synonym of the name *Bhikṣācara*, is used indifferently with the latter in the subsequent narrative; comp. 791, 799 sqq., etc.



549. While the king felt troubled on hearing these reports, the powerful *Gayapāla* was treacherously murdered by his relatives.

550. When *Padmaka* advanced to fight them, *Daryaka*, too, who was foremost in *Bhikṣācara's* force, fell in the battle.

551. In consequence of the loss of these chief [adherents] *Bhikṣācara* was reduced to a helpless condition, as the cloud [when] restrained by the drought.

552. When *Āsamatī* had died, and the gold given for the expedition had been exhausted, his father-in-law too became in time slack in his attentions.

553. He then stayed for four or five years in the house of *Jāsaṭa*, securing with difficulty mere food and clothing.

554. Thereupon *Deṅgapāla*, a *Ṭhakkura* resident on the bank of the *Candrabhāgā*, gave him his daughter *Bappikū* [in marriage] and took him to himself.

555. While the prince stopped there for some time in comfort and without fear, he left behind misery and boyhood.

556. In the meanwhile the wild *Prāsa*, *Sahasra[māṅgala's]* son, was boldly moving to and fro and exciting the king's wrath.

557. He was preparing to march [into Kāśmīr] by the *Siddhapatha* route, with a view to [raising] a rebellion, when his wretched followers put him in fetters and delivered him to the king.

558. In these troubles *Sanjapāla's* high honesty displayed itself brilliantly, inasmuch as he, though injured, proceeded abroad and abstained from treason.

559. What [more] need be said of this brave and noble man? A wonder, however, it is that *Yaśorāja* became known abroad for his courage.

560. The king then removed the *Mahattama Sahela* and other [chief officers], and made the *Kāyastha Gauraka* prime minister.

Gauraka made prime minister.

561. The latter was the relative of an ascetic at *Vijayēśvara*, and had obtained the [king's] favour by the services he had rendered him while he was at *Lohara*.

562. Dismissing the former band of officials, the king had then raised him gradually to the prime ministership, and [in this position] he changed the administration.

563. He deprived royal servants of the living [they had found] in very numerous offices, and always kept the king's treasury filled.

557. By *Siddhapatha* is meant undoubtedly the present village of *Sidau*, situated on the upper course of the *Viśokū* (*Veśan*), 74° 51' long. 33° 41' lat. From there two well-known routes lead to the *Būdīl* and

Kōṁs'r Nāg Passes on the *Pir Pantāl* range. The former pass is often designated also as the *Sidau Pass*. P. Sahibram, in his *Tirthas*, calls the place *Siddharadeśa* (!)