



JAYASĪMHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

1924. By thus securing him a firm footing through high connections he repaid the unlimited authority he had received from him.

1925. Urged on by the new king who was often invited by the Dāmaras and others, he planned an invasion of Kāśmīr.

1926. In order to baffle his enemy who had got so far and had formed alliances with neighbouring princes, the son of *Sussala* employed a stratagem.

1927. In this enterprise the deep thinking *Udaya*, lord of the Gate, whose honesty was unswerving, earned the praise of discriminating persons.

1928. While stopping there in want of all resources and tempted by the enemy with money, honours and other [offers], he was ever bent on serving his lord.

1929. He stood at a place called *Vanaprastha*, not far from *Lohara*, and unweariedly harassed the enemy's force by continuous attacks.

1930. *Māñika*, *Indākara*, and the rest were rightly or wrongly afraid of King *Loṭhana* on account of an intention which he (*Sujji*) was hinting at.

1931. For they feared that the king who had put his trust in *Sujji*, was at the latter's instigation thinking of having them put out of the way as intriguers.

1932-1933. The thoughtful King *Jayasimha* then sent them word: "We shall, for your benefit, put *Mallārjuna*, King *Sussala*'s son, from the Queen *Sahajā*, on the throne at *Lohara*. Therefore you should suddenly overpower *Loṭhana* just as [you overpowered] *Premān*."

1934. This message the king sent in deceit, wishing to possess himself of the castle, and they agreed to it in the same way, without putting trust in him.

1935. When *Loṭhana* learned that *Mallārjuna* had entered into an intrigue, he threw him as well as the other intriguing nephews into prison.

1936. In his apprehension he allowed only *Vigraharāja*, who was a son of *Sussala* from a concubine, to act as his chamberlain.

1937. After making peace with his uncle (*Loṭhana*) for appearance's sake, the crafty king hastened to employ various stratagems to regain his lost kingdom.

1938. *Loṭhana*, firm on his throne through *Sujji*'s exertions, let *S'ura* depart and remained for some months undisturbed.

1939-1940. When he got news that *Tejalādīnā*, the powerful mother of that daughter of *Padmaratha*, which *Sujji* had previously brought [as a bride], had

1929. *Vanaprastha*, not otherwise mentioned, was probably, as its name ('forest-plateau') indicates, some alp in the mountains above *Lohara*.

1930. *Indākara*'s name must be restored here for A L *Indāraka*, with reference to viii. 1818, 2019.

1933. Compare for *abhisandhatta*, note vii. 1255.

1938. Regarding *S'ura*, chief of *Baksthala*, comp. viii. 1841 sqq.

1940. It is to be regretted that *Dar-pitapura* has not yet been identified, as its mention here might have enabled us to form an opinion as to the direction in which *Kāliñjara*, *Padmaratha*'s territory, is to be looked for. Compare iv. 183.

*Jayasimha's schemes
against Loṭhana.*



come to assist at the occasion of the marriage ceremony which had not yet been celebrated,—he proceeded to *Darpatapura* to meet her.

1941. Thereupon *Māṇika* and the rest having got their opportunity left their prison, and meeting together, crowned *Mallārjuna* as king of the [territory subject to the Lohara] castle.

JAYASINHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

Mallārjuna made king
at Lohara (A.D. 1131).

1942. Calling, as before, the Thakkuras to their help, they kept off the followers of King [*Jaya*]*sinha* who had reached the ground of the main road (*pratoli*) in the hope of effecting their entrance [into the castle].

1943. On the thirteenth day of the bright half of Phālguna in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand two hundred and] six (A.D. 1131), *Loṣhana* lost his throne as quickly as he had gained it.

1944. Simple-minded as he was, he regretted in his misfortune that the maid he had not yet wedded, and the wealth he had not yet used up, had got into the enemy's possession.

1945. Moving about helplessly he secured, through *Sujī's* power, some remnants of the treasures from *Aṭṭāhikā* and other places.

1946. *Māṇika* treated King [*Jaya*]*sinha's* followers, whom he had previously called in, with contempt, and put *Mallārjuna* in undisputed possession of the kingdom.

1947. The young king was most extravagant, and had once betel handed round for which pearls had been cut up instead of betel-nuts.

1948. As he showered gold on procurers and the like in his lust after sensual pleasures, sensible people reproached his liberality.

1949. The treasures which King *Sussala* had accumulated by tormenting the subjects were, by this extravagant [prince], put freely to uses which corresponded [to their manner of acquisition].

1950. For he, inflamed with wantonness and of a low mind, drove away honest people and fostered a host of courtezans, strolling players, rogues, parasites, slaves and the like.

1951. The wealth which lords of the earth acquire by oppressing the people, must fall a prey of rivals, or of enemies, or else of fire.

Retrospect regarding
royal treasures.

1952. The treasures which King *Jayāpīḍa* had amassed by oppressing his subjects, were squandered by *Utpala* and the other sons of a slave-woman who killed his grandson.

1953. *S'aṅkaravarman's* treasures which were obtained by maltreating the people, were freely used up by *Prabhākara* and the other paramours of his wife.

1942. Compare viii. 1831.

1952. Compare iv. 677 sqq.

1953. See v. 230 sqq.



JAYASIMHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

1954. The wives of *Paṅgu* (Nirjitavarman), subdued by love, gave away [their husband's] wickedly acquired riches to *Sugandhāditya*, who enjoyed their embraces.

1955. The great wealth which King *Yaśaskara* had accumulated, was used up by his wife who, compelled by love, had embraced a *Caṇḍāla*.

1956. The son of *Parragupta* (Kṣemagupta) left on his death, the riches he had inherited as the acquisitions of former kings, for *Tuṅga* and the rest, his wife's paramours.

1957. *Saṃgrāmarāja*, who was bent incessantly on amassing riches, was plundered by *Vyaḍḍasūha* and others who, bee-like, kissed the lotus-face of *S'rilekhā*.

1958. The treasures of King *Ananta* who ruined his subjects by his want of care, were reduced to ashes, though they had been swelled [by acquisitions] from the whole world.

1959. King *Kalaśa*'s treasures which had been acquired by skill in evil arts, were speedily squandered by his son on unworthy persons, and by his wife on paramours.

1960. The possessions of King *Harṣa*, who never ceased to thirst for acquisitions, were burned together with his palace, wives and sons.

1961. *Candrāpīḍa*, *Uccala*, *Avantivarman*, and other kings who were strict in observing the law, had never their lawfully acquired riches destroyed by improper [uses].

1962. While *Mallārjuna*'s fortune was yet young, thieves, intriguers, neighbouring chiefs, courtezans, parasites, and the rest began a plentiful plundering.

1963. The king, who felt annoyed at having his aims frustrated, though he had deceived his enemies, then despatched quickly *Citraratha* to make an attack.

1964. Having been raised to the simultaneous charge of the 'Gate' and the *Pādāgra* offices, he took up his position at *Phullapura*, accompanied by a host of nobles.

1965. His men were unable to overcome in battle the forces of *Mallārjuna*, which were numerous, and had also a support in the stronghold.

1966. His servant, *Saṃcardhana*, who was held in esteem by the king, had gone up to the castle to produce dissension [among the garrison], but was slain at night by *Mallārjuna*'s followers.

1954. Compare v. 281 sqq.

1955. Compare vi. 76 sqq.

1956. See vi. 318 sqq.

1957. The account of *S'rilekhā*'s amours, vii. 123 sq., does not mention *Vyaḍḍasūha*.

1958. See vii. 409 sqq.

1959. Compare vii. 503 sqq.

1960. Compare vii. 1571 sqq.

K.'s narrative knows only of two sons of *Harṣa* (*Bhoja* and *Salha*), whereas the plural is used in our passage.

1964. *Citraratha* has been mentioned before, viii. 1482, as in charge of the *Pādāgra* office. Regarding *Phullapura*, see viii. 1221.

Citraratha sent against
Lohara.



1967. When *Koṣṭheśvara* came up behind, the enemies, though holding a castle which could not be taken by fighting, became frightened.

JAYASIMHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

1968. *Mallārjuna* thereupon made peace, agreed to pay tribute, and despatched his mother to them in order to pay [them] attention.

1969. She, wearing a dress which, though without ornaments on account of her widowhood, yet showed royal splendour, captivated *Koṣṭheśvara* and the other fickle-minded [chiefs].

1970. When she had returned from them, *Mallārjuna* felt reassured and delivered to the lord of the Gate (*Citraratha*) the promised tribute.

Mallārjuna pays
tribute.

1971. *Koṣṭhaka* attracted by the pleasure of looking at the king's mother, came up with a few attendants to the castle under the pretence of wishing to see it.

1972. Then when he had descended, *Citraratha* in his company went before the king, carrying the presents.

1973. The king, however, took counsel with *Udaya*, the lord of the Gate, who was skilled in looking after gain (?), and employed fresh stratagems to defeat his enemies.

1974. When *Loṣṭhana*, too, had gone to *Padmaratha*, the young king (*Mallārjuna*), freed from attacks, found room to stretch his legs to some extent.

1975. After wedding *Padmaratha's* daughter *Somalā*, he married, owing to his extended influence, also the daughter of *Nāgapāla*.

1976. Deluded by his pride, he paid to *Somapāla* and other princes who were secretly intriguing [against him], subsidies as if they were his servants.

1977. Many rogues and [among them] also men of royal descent, plundered him by performing [before him] as poets, singers, talkers, fighters, and strolling players.

1978. He, whose intellect was defectively developed since his youth, and who shouted a great deal, was thought by blockheads to have a clever mind merely on account of his boldness in talking.

1979. His appearance was pleasant, but apart from his face, which was shining like that of an evil-bringing comet, he had nothing that was good.

1980. In the meantime, the king approached the valiant *Sujjī*, fearing that *Mallārjuna*, too, might get his support.

1981. The chamberlain who had the power to exile and to recall *Sujjī*,

1968. For *Mallārjuna's* mother *Sahajā*, see viii. 1932.

1969. See for *Koṣṭheśvara's* gallant propensities, viii. 1527, 1537.

1972. For A *sambhūta*° emend with Durgapr. *sambhṛta*°.

1973. The meaning of *āhṛtīśālīnā* is doubtful, and the first part of the word, perhaps, an error for *ādrī*°.

1975. Regarding *Somalā*, see viii. 1923, 1939; for *Nāgapāla*, *Somapāla's* brother, viii. 619.



JAYASINHA
(A.D. 1128-49)

Sujji recalled.

displayed particularly on that occasion a peculiar energy, which had an instant effect.

1982-1984. He had offered to *Sujji*, by the king's direction, the garland of office (*adhikārasraj*) for the commander-in-chiefship and the other [high posts], excepting, however, the garland for the post of chief-justice (*rājasthāna*), without thus satisfying him (*Sujji*). He (*Lakṣmaka*), then, yielding from regard for *Somapāla*, who had come to his house, tore off with his left hand in excitement his own hair-braid (*jūṭasraj*) and offered it. On receiving this, he (*Sujji*) felt gratified, and his looks became tender as if the tree of his fortune had been raised.

1985. *Rilhana* showed no opposition to the return of *Sujji*, and abandoned, for the king's benefit, his friendship for *Udaya* and *Dhanya*.

1986. The king recalled *Sujji* and honoured him by going to meet him. Upon his advice he exiled *Dhanya* and the others [of his party] from the land, yet not from his mind.

1987. The king having found his opportunity prepared to have the guilty *Koṣṭheśvara* killed by bravos, and the latter on hearing this news fled from his presence.

1988. When the king having won over *Manujēśvara*, proceeded to the attack, he (*Koṣṭheśvara*), being rendered helpless by the defection of his own party, fled abroad.

Loṭhana's enterprises.

1989. *Loṭhana* who had resided at a place called *Bappanīla*, secured the help of some *Thakkuras* and attacked *Mallārjuna*.

1990. Therein was seen indeed his incredible valour, that overthrown he yet always defeated him (*Mallārjuna*) who was in power.

1991. He carried off his horses, plundered the market of *Aṭṭalika*, and destroyed everywhere the watch-stations on the roads (*mārgadraṅga*) and other [fortified places].

1982-84. The obscure language of this passage offers some difficulty, and the translation of the last line, as given above, is only conjectural. As I understand the passage, *Lakṣmaka*, who is conducting the negotiations with *Sujji* in *Somapāla's* presence, offers to reinstate *Sujji* in all his former posts, except the *Rajasthāna*. In order to overcome *Sujji's* resistance to this arrangement, *Lakṣmaka* tears out his hair-braid and offers it as a kind of substitute for the withheld 'garland of office.' By this drastic display of his personal desire to bring every sacrifice, he moves the heart of *Sujji*, who then expresses himself satisfied.

In order to construe verse 1984, the emendation of *āpyāyān* for *A I āpyāya*^o seems necessary.

Regarding the 'garland of office,' see note vii. 1363.

1985. Read *praveśe prati*^o for *praveśe prati*^o.

1989. *Bappanīla* is mentioned only here and viii. 1993. The position of the locality is unknown. The second part of the name recalls *Nilapura* (see vii. 253), and the first the *Babbāpura* (?) discussed in note vii. 588.

1991. In Note E on *Lohara* (iv. 177), § 9, it has been shown that 'the market of *Aṭṭalika*' (text here *Aṭṭalikāpāna*) corresponds to the present *Maṇḍi*, 'the market,' close to



1992. Invited by a Dāmara of the name of *Rājārāja*, he then broke into *Kramarāja*, with a view to gaining the Kaśmīr throne.

JAYASINHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

1993. When that *Lavanya*, who was close by, had been executed by *Citraratha*, who had received news of this, he retired again to the territory of *Bappanā*.

1994. While he was repeatedly making his attacks, *Mallārjuna*, who resided in the castle [of Lohara], was unable to descend even to *Atīlīkā*.

1995. *Koṣṭheśvara*, who was preparing for an expedition [against Jayasinha], arranged for a peace [between Loṭhana and Mallārjuna] by getting the nephew to deliver a great amount of money to his uncle.

1996. After having secured a firm foothold at *Lohara*, he then in company with *Loṭhana* broke into *Kaśmīr* territory eager to fight the king.

Loṭhana breaks into
Kaśmīr.

1997-1998. Crossing the mountains he took up a position at the *Kārkoṭa-drāṅga* without having met with opposition on the way. He had not yet effected his junction with the other Dāmaras, when the king marched out in haste and using his full energy overpowered him at the very beginning.

1999. In the meantime, the chamberlain died by a sudden attack of illness. Men of small merits do not live long in their fortune.

2000. Alas, those whose minds are spoilt by luck, do not know that fate, irresistible in its course, will overtake them quickly, though they stop in their houses with all doors closed, hoping to keep it off and taking no notice of it.

2001. His wife, while continually clearing the house of people, did not know that death had fallen upon him while he was peacefully sleeping.

2002. They thought that, after having been attacked by fever, and having shaken it off, he was sleeping in comfort, and did not then know that he had died just while asleep.

2003. When *Koṣṭhaka* then, together with *Loṭhana*, had departed, neither *Mallārjuna* nor *Koṣṭhaka* nor *Loṭhana* was king [at Lohara].

Troubles at *Lohara*.

2004. *Mallārjuna* treacherously killed *Udayana* who was with him. [There-upon] *Koṣṭhaka*, whom he had named as surety [for Udayana's safety], became irritated against him.

Aṭṭī. This little town is still the commercial centre of the Lohrīn and neighbouring valleys; comp. note viii. 581.

For the significance of the term *drāṅga*, comp. notes iii. 227 (D); v. 39; and *Notes on the Pir Pāntāl Route*, pp. 382 sq.

The lacuna of two syllables in this line does not affect the sense.

1994. *Aṭṭī* (which name is written here as *Aṭṭalīkā* in A) is only about eight miles below the probable site of *Loharakoṭa*.

1997. For *Kārkoṭadrāṅga*, the frontier watch-station on the Toṣmaidan route, see note viii. 1596.

2003. K. seems to refer here to the subsequent troubles at Lohara, related in the next lines, during which nobody held full royal power there, until the territory fell again to Jayasinha.

2004. *Udayana*, last mentioned viii. 1850, seems to have kept by *Loṭhana*'s side.



JAYASINHA
(A.D. 1128-40).

Defeat of Mallārjuna
on the *Paroṣṇī*.

2005. He (Mallārjuna) did not conciliate the angry [Koṣṭhaka], whereupon the latter collected his force and taking *Loṭhana* with him, rushed on in fury to wage war upon him.

2006. *Koṣṭhaka*, though accompanied only by a few mounted men, among them *Mallakoṣṭha*, routed his inactive force after crossing the *Paroṣṇī*.

2007. *Khaśas*, men from the *Indus* (*Saindhavaka*), and others were slain in that battle, and King [Mallārjuna], himself, came near to annihilation, but was left alive from hatred against King *Jayasinha*.

2008. He ascended to the height of the castle, having fallen [himself] from the height of honour, and being curbed in his power conciliated *Koṣṭhaka* once more.

2009. The *Dāmara* (*Koṣṭheśvara*) abandoning *Loṭhana* kept peace [for some time], but fell again out with him (Mallārjuna), when he did not pay what he had promised.

2010. Imprisoning the officials he (*Koṣṭheśvara*) collected the customs at the watch-station (*draṅga*), and had his own name stamped in red-lead on the wares as if he were the king.

2011. At every moment the union between them broke, just as between two pieces of a glass jar which have been glued together with gum.

2012. The lord of *Lohara* estranged the *Lavanya* (*Koṣṭheśvara*) by his harsh words which had no issue, and he, again, the former by his unchecked rivalry.

2013. The *Dāmara* thereupon made an attack and weakened his force by carrying off the best weapons and most valuable horses.

2014. Thus the foolish *Koṣṭhaka*, by persistently making his strength felt in the wrong direction, undermined the fortune of [Jayasinha's] opponents for the future.

2006. The *Paroṣṇī* is evidently some river to the south of *Lohara*. Could it be the stream flowing from *Loharin* itself, or another name of the *Tohi* of *Prūṭis*, called *Tauṣī* vii. 53? *Tauṣī* is probably only a generic appellation for any perennial mountain stream.

Prof. BÜHLER, *Report*, p. 3, who has rightly pointed this out, observes: "Most, if not all, *Tohis* have special names which, however, are little used." Thus, in fact, we find *Palasta* marked on the Survey map as another designation of the *Prūṭis Tohi*.

The *Nilamata*, 155, 1398, twice mentions a river *Paroṣṇī*—in the second place in a list of rivers which join the *Vitasta* outside the *Kaśmir Valley*. But no further indications are furnished by these passages.

Mallakoṣṭha is the *Dāmara* chief of *Lahara*, first mentioned viii. 517.

2007. Regarding the *Saindhavakas*, see note viii. 1868.

2010. This passage is of interest, as it proves that the watch-stations or *Draṅgas* served also, as might *à priori* be supposed, as custom-stations in old times. In accordance herewith, we find customs-revenue from *Draṅgas* mentioned in the Fourth Chronicle, 258, and the *Draṅga* of *S'ūrapura* (*Hūrpōr*) spoken of as a *śulkaśthāna* by *S'rivara*, i. 408. Compare the notes on *draṅga*, iii. 227 (*D*); v. 39; and *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, pp. 382 sq.

It is still customary in *Jammu* territory, and probably elsewhere too in India, to mark goods for which octroi-duty has been paid, with seal-impressions in red-lead (*sindūra*).

2013-14. The text of these lines contains two small lacunae, but the general purport is clear.



2015. In the meanwhile, that prince (Mallārjuna) was planning the murder of Māñika, who was his chief minister, and by the daughter he had given him, his father-in-law.

2016. For he (Māñika) was of a restless disposition owing to his youthful vigour, and openly enjoyed the favours of his (Mallārjuna's) mother as her paramour.

2017. It was at meal-time that the murderers, upon a sign given by the king, struck down and killed him just as he was eating.

2018. Shaking his sword (? *asipata*), donning the hero's band (*vīrapatta*), and shouting a great deal, he performed various heroic exploits (*ārabhaṭi*) while plundering his (Māñika's) soldiers.

2019. Ah, *Indākara*, too, did not escape from among [those who were concerned in] the treason. That prince, himself, destroyed him by giving him poison.

2020. King [*Jaya*]*simha* then, when his enemies had been scattered by fate, got *Koṣṭhaka* over to his side and sent *Sujji* to effect the conquest [of Lohara].

2021-2023. When the latter had approached within a march of one watch (three hours), *Mallārjuna* whom *Koṣṭhaka* had thrown into confusion by carrying off his horses, and who was harassed by internal dissensions, abandoned the castle, not being able to offer resistance, and marched off with the treasures towards *Avanāha*. Fallen from his regal position he was plundered on the routes by robbers, yet preserved with difficulty a remnant of his treasures.

2024. Being in his eighteenth year, he lost his throne on the second day of the dark half of Vaisākha in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand two hundred and] eight (A.D. 1132).

*Mallārjuna dethroned,
Lohara retaken
(A.D. 1132).*

2025. He who was giving the Amṛta to him who carries the moon as his crest-ornament (S'iva), and had his head cut off in the fight. If this was done by S'iva, then who else would not listen to calumniators of his benefactor?

2026. That the drops of water clinging to the lotus-flowers are taken for pearls, and dulness sticking to kings is somehow taken for judgment, therein manifests itself the peculiar delusive power of the glory which adheres to [the lotus-flowers and kings].

2027. Some kill with mighty strokes in the forests, some by their nose, others

2015. Correct form *mantriṇāṁ* with Durgāpr. *mantriṇāṁ*.

2018. For *ārabhaṭi* compare *Harṣac.* pp. 55, 57.

2019. Compare viii. 1818.

2023. For *Avanāha*, see note vii. 1349.

2025. The meaning of this verse is rendered

obscure by the lacuna indicated above. The allusion is to the demon Rāhu, who had his head cut off by S'iva after partaking of the Amṛta; comp. *Mahābh.* i. xix. 1 sqq. But I am unable to trace the story as to the previous connection between the demon and S'iva.



JAYASIMHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

Intrigues against
Sujji.

by their eyes, and others again by their tongue. But there are also some mischievous people in royal palaces who cause disaster by their mere speech.

2028. The wicked cannot harm the servant of the king as long as he is before the latter, just as the sun-rays [cannot burn] the tinder which is placed before the crystal (? *jyotīrasāśman*). But when he is behind, they find their opportunity [and destroy him], just as the sun-rays reduce to ashes [the tinder behind the crystal].

2029-2031. While the commander-in-chief (*Sujji*), having brought *Harsafo*, *Kapila's* son, as governor to [*Lohara*]*kotta*, was collecting a garrison for the castle, and delaying there some days for the purpose of again securing for that territory peace with prosperity,—some rogues who bore him a grudge, irritated the king against him by denouncing him at a moment [when the king was] in a favourable mood.

2032. What other king would act firmly on his own judgment, if this [king], too, is made to dance like a child, [pulled about] by rogues?

2033. Or is it, perhaps, that the dulness imparted in early youth by an entourage chiefly composed of fools does not pass away even in mature age, just as the flaw [does not pass away] from the precious stone?

2034. By the rulers' mere inability to discriminate between their servants, there falls, alas, a thunderbolt on the innocent land.

2035. The king's advisers had got *Sujji* sent to the conquest of *Lohara* in the hope that by failing to carry out the enterprise he had undertaken, he would become ridiculous like *Lakṣmaka*.

2036. Then, when he executed that extraordinary task, those wicked [advisers] struck at him with skilful calumny which is as unfailing as the missile of Brahman.

2037. The commander-in-chief on his return did not recognize the king's irritation, as the latter hid his changed feelings profoundly under kind speeches.

2038. Or how could he (*Sujji*) have felt apprehension or distrust in his natural honesty and after he had done such good service?

2039. The king found no pleasure in his actions, right though they were, like a lover who has become estranged through the wanton talk of malicious persons.

2040. From the self-conscious thought that he had conquered and given back to the king two lost kingdoms, as well as from pride he (*Sujji*) proceeded just as it pleased him.

2041. His relations who were freely oppressing the citizens by taking away their houses and otherwise causing them trouble, created aversion [against him] among the people.



2042. *Koṣṭheśvara* in recollection of his own evil deeds did not trust the king nor his uncle (*Manuṣeśvara*) who, when the king was angry against him, had shown a hostile feeling.

2043. *Citraratha*, who was accumulating wealth by oppressing the subjects, and who had entered into [marriage] relationship with *Sujji*, was not in favour with his lord.

2044. The king secretly helped *Dhanya* and *Udaya* who were stopping at *Rājapurī*, with money, though he did not show his affection for them from regard for *Sujji*.

2045. These two, having lost their followers through the cold fever, were hanging on to *Mallārjuna* who retained great riches though he had lost his throne.

2046. At that time there arrived at *Rājapurī* *Sañjapāla*, whom *Lakṣmaka*, from hatred against *Sujji*, had previously called [back] through messengers.

2047. As the king, who was prevented by *Sujji* and *Citraratha* from acting [as *Lakṣmaka* had desired], did not grant him permission to return, *Mallārjuna* invited him through messengers.

2048. Having got, on this account, into a quarrel with some noble on the road, he was wounded and lost his property.

2049. Persons of judgment thought much of the fact that *Mallārjuna* could not lay hold of him, though he offered him much gold, and though he (*Sañjapāla*) was in such [reduced] circumstances.

2050. The king dependent as he was [on others], and *Rābhana* then invited him with kindness through secret messengers, and he arrived in haste.

Sañjapāla's return to
Kaśmīr.

2051. He came boldly to the City, thinking [ever] on the road which was infested by enemies: "If they do not kill me here, they may kill me there."

2052-2053. He whom the kings of *Kanyakubja*, *Gauḍa*, and other countries had honoured in rivalry, felt pained when in his own land he received no attention from the king, owing to the ministers preventing it, and the citizens near the palace looked at him with tears in their eyes.

2054. The king then, without heeding the ministers, gave him an audience and honoured him by offering him betel with his own hand.

2055. Though he had no means whatever, he was followed by people from mere regard for his fame, and by his frequent visits to the royal palace he made his enemies tremble.

2056. *Sujji*, who was a judge of men, trembled inwardly, when he noticed the

2042. Compare viii. 1988, and regarding the relationship between *Manuṣeśvara* and *Koṣṭheśvara*, note viii. 1524.

cāvalagatām, comp. the use of *ava-*√*lag*, v. 424; vii. 1232.

2046. Compare viii. 1639.

2045. In support of the emended reading

2053. Emend with *Durgapr. Santike*.



JAYASIMHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

conversation, behaviour, and the other [ways] of him whose appearance was [already] remarkable.

2057. He thought: "Surely, such an extraordinary, uncanny being, who is capable of dealing out universal ruin without limits, will not end thus in this country."

2058. He had seen in foreign lands various proud men of valour, but looking at him (Sañjapāla) he thought that the end had come for the proud ones.

2059. Overcome by destiny or his pride *Sujji* then committed various actions which deserved censure.

2060. When stopping in *Maḍavarājya* he killed a Brahman, who having been plundered by his followers had spoken harsh words in anger, by hitting him with darts as [if he were] a jackal.

2061. When, after agitating the minds of the people outside by this wicked action, he returned, the people in the City, too, became hostile to him on account of his acts of violence.

2062. About this time *Kamaliya* and the rest got in their arrogance the highest privileges bestowed upon a quite unimportant relation of theirs.

Discontent of *Sujji*.

2063. *Sujji* thought in his pride: "What, is there to be anyone else besides myself to bestow favours?" and had a person, not much better than a strolling player, placed on the same footing.

2064. *Rilhana*, too, who had established matrimonial connections with *Kamaliya* and the rest, then became particularly a thorn in his eye on account of his power.

2065. The enmity which had arisen between them and him from a small cause, quickly grew into a tree of a hundred branches nursed by the slander of rogues.

2066. *Ulhana*, *Sahadeva's* son, gave him who was arrogant by nature, bad counsels which increased his arrogance, and thus urged him on to give himself up wholly to this strife.

2067. He showed his wrath freely also against the king, thinking: "This ungrateful [prince] allows inferiors to conduct themselves as my equals."

2068. The king, on the other hand, being afraid of him, excluded *Rilhana* from [private] councils, familiar conversations, and other confidential occasions as if he had been one of the outer court (*bāhya*).

2069. He (*Rilhana*), however, cunningly hid such slights from his lord, and by his deception put courage into his own people and fear into his enemies.

2062. For *Kamaliya*, see viii. 1091.

2066. Regarding *Sahadeva*, see viii. 198.

2068. Comp. for *bāhya*, note viii. 426.



2070. By presents he secured the friendship of *Sañjapāla*, who was a man full of energy, and whose adherence was sought by both parties.

2071. The palace to which they both proceeded fully armed, became agitated at every moment by disturbances.

2072. *Sujji*, in order to insult those of the opposite party, together with the king, caused in his pugnacious mood a disturbance in the assembly [held in celebration] of the *Mahimāna* festival.

2073. When the door-keeper announced him (*Sujji*) with his hand placed on his neck, he abused him, and saying harsh words in his rage struck him with a stone.

2074-2075. While those [of the opposite party] were all motionless and thinking how they might protect their lord, the king directed them to assign a seat to him [close to himself], and after speaking to him conciliatory words, said to them, whether from deceit or in earnest: "There is nothing for me [to fear] from this faithful man." Inwardly, however, he reflected [over the case].

2076. The Brahmans of *Maḍavarājya* then began a solemn fast (*prāya*), and declared that they would not have *Sujji* as commander-in-chief.

2077. *Rilhana*, skilled in expedients, in order to intimidate the enemy, brought up at night *Pañcacandra* who had troops ready equipped, and who was his (*Sujji*'s) enemy.

2078. *Sujji* was afraid of *Sañjapāla* and of that [*Dāmara*] who had a large number of soldiers; of the rest he took no heed, and this was known to his opponent (*Rilhana*).

2079. He (*Sujji*) fearing an attack left his residence accompanied by horsemen, and after putting his troops in fighting array, passed the night on the road, without, however, being attacked.

2080. *Sujji* at that time made friendship and allied himself with *Koṣṭheśvara*, who was also in opposition to the king.

2081. The latter, who had been hated by the king [before], became for him an object of still greater hatred, on account of his killing *Manujēśvara* who had refrained from opposing [the king].

2072. The *mahimāna* festival, still observed in Kāśmir, is described in the *Nilamata*, vv. 523-533. According to this text, a fast is to be held on the eighth day of the bright half of Phālguna and lamps to be placed on the snow in honour of the gods and Pitr̥s. On the next day people are to feast, wine to be drunk by those who take it, Brahmans to be fed, etc.

At present only the custom of placing

lights on the snow and the fast is observed on Phālguna *śudhī* 8.

Another festival, called the 'small *Mahimāna*,' is placed by the *Nilamata*, vv. 506-513, on the eighth day of the bright half of Māgha. This festival is now entirely forgotten.

2073. Compare vii. 235 sqq.

2081. See regarding *Manujēśvara*'s conduct, viii. 1988; as to *Koṣṭheśvara*, comp. viii. 1640, 2042.



JAYASĪMHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

Intrigues against *Sujji*.

2032. Those measures which he (*Sujji*) had taken that night, his enemies attributed to a treacherous design against the king, whereas they were intended for his own protection.

2033. That king who with dull senses mistakes a falsehood for the truth and truth for a falsehood, foregoes his aims and is put to sufferings by misfortune.

2034. Persons without judgment abandon a glittering jewel because they take it for fire, and think that the glance of brown-eyed [maids] which is directed towards another, is [intended] for themselves. Why should they not then thus take everything here that is true for false, and that is false for true?

2035. The king thereupon seeing no other remedy for the troubles but his (*Sujji*'s) death, destined *Sañjapāla* to be the murderer (*tikṣṇa*) of that powerful man.

2036. He (*Sañjapāla*) being a man of courage and unable to kill him by treachery, like a miscreant, wished to kill him after attacking him [openly], and was looking out for an opportunity at various places.

2037. While the two were plotting deceitfully against each other, the country was disturbed every moment by panics.

2038. While *Sujji* kept awake as before, fearing an attempt at night, the royal palace, too, became filled with guards keeping attentive watch.

2039. When *Sujji* demanded the exile of *Rilhana*, the king, too, agreed, being unable to offer resistance.

2040. When he was about to depart after taking leave, the lord of the Gate (*Udaya*) pointed out to the king that the people were in commotion on account of the hardships [done] to him, and thus by cunning got him reinstated.

Overtures of *Sujji*.

2041. *Sañjapāla* took an oath by sacred libation with *Sujji*, who had asked him for his friendship, and after consulting with him came at night to the king and thus informed the latter.

2042. "O king, owing to the instigation of *Ulhana* and others, as well as from his own pride, *Sujji*, who is bent on having no rivals, has the following intentions:"

2043-2044. "If the king were of my opinion, who am his faithful servant and helper, I should, after exiling *Rilhana* and imprisoning the rich *Citraratha*, recover for the king the horses and treasure which have been lost at the *Lohara* expedition, and furnished with the [necessary] means also kill the wicked *Koṣṭhaka*."

2045. "I do not pay attention to family-relations if affairs [of state] are in

2032. For *tathā sthite*, which does not permit of a suitable construction, we have probably to read *tathāsthitam*.

2045. K. makes *Sujji* allude to his relation-

ship with *Lothana*, to whom he has given the daughter of his son (or nephew) *Bhāgika*; see viii. 1922.



their way. My attachment is to my lord, in whose service [I count] my life as grass."

2096. "While I thus take upon myself the task of overcoming the rival kings and other [enemies], the youthful [king] may enjoy the pleasures of the royal fortune with his mind at ease."

2097. "He (Sujji), in order [to assure himself] assistance, desires to ask from the sovereign that *Uthana* be made lord of the Gate, and that I be put in charge of the various offices of *Rilkana*."

2098. "He (Sujji) also says to me: 'If *Uthana*, you and I myself combine and are of one mind, then is there any necessity to take into account him who is on the throne?'"

2099. "If he (Jayasinha) should not agree to this, we being on the spot may call in some other rival kinsman and put him up as king in his place."

2100. The king replied after heaving a sigh, and as he spoke the flashes of his teeth (*dviṣa*) appeared like ropes stretched out to catch [something whose] escape might be feared.

2101. "It is thus as he (Sujji) has said it; no deceit, no incapacity, no apathy, can be supposed in that proud man."

2102. "The intention is to destroy him. Hence it need not be considered at the present moment how difficult it would be to break his undisputed predominance."

2103. "That, however, afflicts me that the murder of this guileless man which has been resolved upon whether under the first impulse of a touch of anger or with justice, must be carried out."

2104. "For we have discussed this plan before persons of little character. He would certainly find it out by bribing them with money."

2105. "Worthless persons find employ [with us] though we know them [as such], whether this be on account of their irrepressible merits [from a previous existence] or owing to the dulness of persons like myself."

2106. "That is the penalty paid by kings for their error in taking fools into their service, that they have to suffer from the result of the latter's foolishness."

2107. "For parasites the ways of kings are as difficult to follow, as for bazar-bulls the mountain-paths (*bhūmibhṛṇmārga*)"

2096. Emend for *māthyetha* of text *may-yatha*; 𑀓 and 𑀔 are very much alike in S'aradā writing. Read *yuvā vīśrānta*°.

2100. K. by this somewhat obscure simile wishes apparently to describe the cautious reserve with which the king indicates his intentions to Sañjapāla.

2107. The second half of this line is missing.

The allusion is to bulls set free in honour of S'iva (*ṛṣatsarya*), which stray about in the Bazars of Indian cities. Their idle life and ample loot makes them generally grow extremely fat, and climbing on hill-paths would, indeed, tax them severely. (Fat



JAYASĪMHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

2108. "Rogues and dogs show an aversion to proper conduct, are anxious never to let their tongues rest and live by the food of others."

2109. "This evil act which has been planned owing to the infliction of rogues, and which again cannot be abandoned from fear of them, will yet be regretted by us thereafter."

Plot for *Sujji's* death.

2110. Thus spoke the king, and resolved upon the death of *Sujji*, caused him often to keep awake, and himself passed sleepless nights.

2111. The servants told the king that *Sujji* was on the guard owing to the plan having been betrayed, and was preparing to kill him. The king believed them and felt alarmed.

2112. He then went himself to their houses and tried to put *Sujji* into friendly relations with *Rūhana*, by telling them to form a matrimonial alliance.

2113. When also after thus allaying his suspicions he could not find an opportunity to kill him, he felt distressed, and was tossing day and night on his couch in helplessness.

2114. When *Sanjapāla* did not come from his house as he was mourning over the loss of a relative, he was still more troubled by fear that the violent act would not succeed.

2115-2116. *Kularāja*, an officer in the army, who was famed for his skill in military exercises, and whose brothers, *Kalyāṇarāja*, and the rest, falling on the battle-field, had forgotten [to repay] the kindness of King *Sussala*, wished to repay his debt of gratitude at [the risk of] his life, and asked him for the cause of his grief.

2117. He told him of the irremediable danger from the commander-in-chief, who could neither be conciliated nor killed.

2118. "What is this, [a thing] to be accomplished at the mere [sacrifice of] one's life?" Thus he replied to the king, and took the firm resolve to carry out the bold act.

2119. The commander-in-chief did not come out of his apartments for two days, and thus did not let him (*Kularāja*) have the certainty of death or fortune.

2120. On the third day *S'ṛṅgāra*, a confidential servant of the king, reported to the latter that he had seen him alone on his couch.

2121. A king in the enjoyment of happiness has ever got servants. But a service in danger can be got only from an outsider.

people are facetiously called *dharmadānd* in Kāśmīr.)

bhūmibhṛt must be taken in its double meaning of 'king' and 'mountain.'

2115. See for *Kalyāṇarāja*, viii. 1071. For

Kularāja's subsequent career, comp. viii. 2190, 3334 sqq.

2118. Correct *mahibhujām* for *mahibhujām*.

2120. For the meaning of *avagāṇa*, compare viii. 2126 and *Harṣac.*, p. 20.



2122. The club is ever attached to the hand of Kāma's foe (Śiva) as a mark of beauty. But in the fight with Tripura, the Mandara mountain which had come just on that occasion, had to act as his bow.

2123. The king then despatched *Kularāja*, whose natural courage did not allow any agitation to be noticed in him, under the pretence of sending betel [through him].

2124. He did not take any betel in the golden dish, saying: "Death is certain. I am not to return. Then who will take it from this [dish]?"

2125. Other followers, too, endeavour thus to relieve their king's distress at the expense of their life; but they fail in the execution.

2126. "Whether he be in company or alone, he must for certain be killed by me. May your Majesty keep awake thereafter." With these words he left.

2127. One might have thought when he had gone, that flight was possible for him if he did not succeed in his bold enterprise

2128. Going to serve his lord he took behind him two soldiers with their swords hidden (?)

2129. After the doorkeeper had announced that he had been sent by the king himself with betel, he proceeded before *Sujji*, while those who followed him had to remain behind.

2130. He saw him surrounded by a few attendants of various sorts, as a lord of elephants is attended by small elephants.

2131. After he (*Sujji*) had taken and respectfully acknowledged the betel from his lord, he inquired with a smile what the king did, and the like, and then after a short time dismissed him in kindness.

2132-2133. Fearing that [more] people might enter, he (*Kularāja*) said quickly, pretending to use a natural opportunity: "A soldier of the Kaivarta (fishermen's) caste, who is under me, has committed a fault. Now you may show regard for us by ordering off your subordinates who are preparing to seize him."

2134. From conceit he refused this request as if [there had been] presumption in it, and said to him rudely: "I shall not do that."

2135. As he (*Kularāja*) was going away as if in anger, the attendants [of *Sujji*] said to the latter in a soothing way: "That man ought to be treated with esteem," and stopping him made him turn back.

2124. The last words put into *Kularāja*'s mouth are doubtful, and the text uncertain.

2127. The second half of this line is missing, and the translation of the first hence doubtful.

2128. I am unable to make out the meaning of the last words of the line which are

probably corrupt. For *pinah* we have evidently to emend *purah*.

2132-33. *Kularāja*'s request appears natural, as *Sujji* as commander-in-chief has disciplinary power over the soldier whose cause *Kularāja* pretends to plead.

JAYASIMHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

Kularāja sent to kill
Sujji.



JAYASIMHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

Murder of *Sujji*
(A.D. 1133).

2136. He then said: "Order my two servants who are present, to be admitted inside so that they may give an account of that matter."

2137. He (*Sujji*) then unwillingly had them admitted, and when the murderer saw that he had got his assistants [by his side], he prepared to strike him.

2138. *Sujji* said to them: "Go to-day. To-morrow I shall attend to your affair." Turning his back he then let himself down on a couch to sleep.

2139. After going a few steps [towards the door] *Kularāja* turned back, drew out his dagger in haste and struck him quickly on the left side.

2140. While he was passing his hand to the dagger, with the cry: "Fie, treason," they all struck at him.

2141. The onlookers had not yet comprehended that he was in danger, when he was dead already, as it were, for a long time.

2142. Among the followers [of *Sujji*] who from fear cast away their honour and took to flight, only the single *Pīṇcadeva* drew out his sword then.

2143. He rushed about striking, and being wounded by the three who equally gave back his strokes, and streaming with blood was forced out of that hall.

2144. While they kept inside the hall, which they bolted, they were surrounded by *Sujji's* servants who blocked the doors and windows, and were eager to slay them.

2145. Resisting at the windows (?) they drew away the cotton-couch from below the corpse, and raising the latter, put it into the door which their assailants were battering.

2146. The latter were pouring in showers of swords, arrows, spears, axes, daggers and stones, and by endeavouring to enter from various sides were throwing them into confusion.

2147. When hard pressed they then cut off the head of *Sujji*, and threw it into the courtyard behind their assailants in order to dishearten them.

2148-2152. When his followers saw the head they ran away anywhere, raising tumultuous cries. Its eye-holes and ears were intensely brilliant with the flowing blood; the depressed nostrils were covered with the hair of the upper lip; the pupils of the eyes were protruding, and owing to the reflection of the rushing people seemed to exhibit some slight movement; the flesh of the neck was rough owing to the uneven cutting, and in its folds were masses of coagulated fat which seemed as if moistened with turmeric; the hair of the beard was covered with dust. The saffron-drop on the forehead alone showed that it was really [the head of *Sujji*]; and owing to its having fallen sideways, the teeth showed breaks in their compact.

2142. For *Pīṇcadeva*, see viii. 1577 sqq.

2145. The words *tamoriṇpratikurvāṇā* at the commencement evidently contain some corruption.

ed, b The king, who after despatching the murderers had been in great
ment. anxiety, knew that the desperate act had been done when he saw outside
the commotion of the people.

2154. Thinking this measure necessary, whether *Sujji* was dead or
wounded, he quickly got the troops in readiness and ordered them to surround his
house.

2155. When the king heard from the people the false report, that *Sujji*
had escaped, he himself caught the excitement of a contest.

2156. The king's men when learning for certain that *Sujji* was killed, made
a prisoner of *S'ivaratha* who was hated by everybody, and was stopping there.

2157. This, my song, earns merit to-day by describing the distinguished
conduct of *Kalaśa*, the son of *Hilla*, who was the brother-in-law of *Sujji's* brother.

2158. *Bhikṣu* and the rest behaved like heroes at their end, when attacked.
He, however, clung to a noble conduct though in safety.

2159. For he, after hearing in the royal palace of that event, did not run
away, but proceeded to the slain master eager to leave his life there.

2160. As he was banging the door with kicks, he was driven away by the
murderous soldiers of the king, and only just saved from a miserable end.

2161. When he without having been wholly discomfited retired to another
hall, *Kularāja* and the others breathed again and proceeded before the king.

2162. After forcing an entrance, he (*Kalaśa*) killed there a strong soldier, and
was then with difficulty slain from afar by the opponents' arrows.

2163. While the land fell into an uproar, the king sent in haste *Sañjapāla*
who had arrived, and *Rilhana* to slay *Ulhana*.

Attack on *Sujji's*
partisans.

2164-2166. By the time that *Rilhana* arrived, after hurrying as far as the bank
of the *Kṣiptikā* in the belief that he (*Ulhana*) might have fled leaving the road,—
Sañjapāla having come earlier had been blocking the way before *Ulhana*, as he
was passing from the gate of his house, and had struck many in the fight. But
the sword of one cut through his (*Sañjapāla's*) right arm, so that the joints of the
bones and sinews were severed and only the skin remained.

2167-2168. After his family had fallen into insignificance, he by his eminent
qualities had again obtained renown abroad as well as in his own country. When the
time of the reward was at hand he was deprived of that arm which was the surety
of his valour. Shame upon the perverse will of fate!

2169. If, as before, he had remained uncrippled when he had attained the rise
of his fortune, the people might have learned by the result the astonishing [nature
of his] aspiration.

2157. For *Kalaśa*, see viii, 1090; for *Sujji's* brothers, *Prajji* and *Lakṣmika*, compare viii,
1043, 1046, 2177.



JAYASĪMHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

2170. If, indeed, Rāhu had not had his body crippled after he had drunk of the Amṛta, then the world would have learned the aspiration which that powerful [demon] had long fostered.

2171. The son of *Sahadeva* (Ulhaṇa) who suffered from a wound, saw with envy his old uncle *S'ila* slain

2172. As he was passing into the house in pain, there was killed *Jajjala*, a valued servant who had protected him, two soldiers and a Caṇḍāla watchman (*yāmika*).

2173. As he did not leave the house, but stopped there seated in the courtyard and looking at his young son, *Rilhaṇa* had it set on fire.

Murder of *Ulhaṇa*.

2174. Disabled by his wound and blinded by the smoke he was being carried [outside] in fetters by soldiers of note, when some low persons killed him in the gate of the house.

2175. The king's angry feelings were not appeased even when he saw the head of him (Ulhaṇa) who had caused the ruin of his chief ministers.

2176. Various followers of *Sujji* did noble deeds while attacked with fury by the soldiers the king had despatched.

2177. *Lakṣmaka*, the younger brother of *Sujji*, suffered the disgrace of being thrown into fetters, and after seeing the king was slain by some merciless persons in the palace courtyard.

2178. *Saṅgata*, his energetic cousin, the son of [Sujji's] paternal uncle, after rushing about in the royal courtyard as if on a stage, nobly gave up his life.

2179. The mad *Mummuni*, the brother [of Saṅgata], had fled for safety to his house, and was killed there by some wicked persons of the *Bāṇa* family.

2180. *Citrīya*, too, *Sujji's* brother-in-law, who was a man of high descent, found a noble death after living a frivolous life of amours.

2181. His doorkeeper *Saṅgika* was wounded and subsequently died. Also other followers of *Sujji* found their death in various places.

2182. Two or three like *Virapāla* owed their life to the swiftness of their good steeds, and escaped the danger of death by reaching *Koṣṭheśvara*.

2183. *S'aradiya*, *Saṅgata's* brother, on the way had his horse stopped at the *Subhaṭāmaṭha* by a concourse of vile people and fell into captivity.

2184. *Sajjala*, a son of *Sujji*, *S'vetika*, the son of his elder brother, and *Ulhaṇa's* son, were thrown into prison.

2170. Compare note viii. 2025.

2171. There is a lacuna of two syllables in the text of this line.

2175. Compare regarding Ulhaṇa's conduct, viii. 2066.

2178-79. Regarding *Saṅgata* and *Mummuni*, see note viii. 1090. For the *Bāṇa* family, comp. viii. 528.

2183. *Saradiya* is probably the same person as the *Saradbhāsin*, mentioned along with *Saṅgata* and *Mummuni*, viii. 1090.

Regarding the *Subhaṭāmaṭha*, see vii. 180.

2184. The elder brother of *Sujji* was *Prajji*, see viii. 1046, 1110.



JAYASIMHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

2185. Thus happened the catastrophe on the fifth day of the bright half of Āśāḍha in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand two hundred and] nine (A.D. 1133), owing to king and minister having fallen under the influence of calumnious persons.

2186. To this day even, the king, though surrounded by such [excellent] servants, remembers with regret that minister, whose energy had not failed before any task.

2187. In truth, the service of kings is more dangerous than the raising of a Vetāla, the leap over a precipice, the chewing of poison, or the fondling of a snake.

2188. Who does not come to grief if he stands unsuspectingly before sovereigns whose character (*guṇa*) is dependent on others, or before earts [whose ropes (*guṇa*) are attached to others]?

2189. The king thought *Sujī*'s murder a wrong act. But the subjects thought it right and saw in it the king's extraordinary energy.

2190. The king put *Saṅjapāla* in office as commander-in-chief, and gave to *Kularāja* the post of City-prefect.

2191. *Dhanya* and *Udaya* who had left *Mallārjuna* and returned to the City, were again as before prominent as the king's confidants

2192. Fortune abandoned its unsteadiness since deprived of other abodes and abided in all respects permanently with *Citraratha*.

2193. Though distinguished by exceptional power and unrestrained even by the king, he was not able to pacify the land which he oppressed by his inflictions.

2194. The commander of the fort (*koṭṭeśa*) at the village called *Gandharvāna*, killed *Tikka* and sent his head to the king at *Pārevisoka*.

2195-2196. Then King *Loṭhana* appeared suddenly at night in *Hāḍigrāma*, Incursion of Loṭhana. with a few followers. He had been repeatedly encouraged through messengers from *Koṭṭheśvara* who was by nature hostile to the king, and who at that time was still further mortified on account of the renown the latter had gained.

2197. As the king was on all sides in close union with the other [Dāmaras], the *Lavanya* (*Koṭṭheśvara*) made peace, and after telling him (*Loṭhana*) a great tissue of lies (*mahākathitakantha*) sent him away as he had come.

2186. Correct with Durgapr. *kvāpyaviparyasta*°.

2188. °*nistirṇa*° which does not seem to give any suitable sense has been left untranslated. Possibly it is a mistake for °*vistirṇa*°.

2190. For *Kularāja*'s administration of the City, see viii. 3335 sqq.

2191. Compare viii. 2045.

2192. Correct with Durgapr. *viechedāt*.

2194. The position of *Gandharvāna* can-

not be traced. For *Pārevisoka*, comp. note iv. 5; vi. 130.

Regarding *Tikka*, compare note viii. 522.

2195. For *Hāḍigrāma* (*Ār'gōm*), see note i. 340.

2197. The interpretation given above of *mahākathitakantha* is based on the passages viii. 2491, 2526, 2800, 2934. These prove clearly for the word *kantha*, the meaning 'patchwork of lies,' 'tissue of lies,'



JAYASIMHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

Koṣṭheśvara attacked
by the king.

2198. As he showed a foolish desire to gain the throne as *Uccala* and the rest, he was laughed at by the people when his persistence bore no result.

2199. The king then thought of destroying *Koṣṭhaka* by employing bravos, winning over his soldiers, and by various other devices.

2200. He (*Koṣṭheśvara*) in his anger had the bravos' eyes torn out and did not seek to conciliate the king, but prepared to fight him as if he were his equal antagonist.

2201. He (*Jayasimha*) then ordered the leaders of his army to move forward [against *Koṣṭheśvara*] from their respective positions while he himself attacked him with various troops.

2202. The powerful [*Lavanya*] drawing near to the king, of whom he knew that he had marched on impetuously with a small force, tried to outmanoeuvre him, but was not successful.

2203. *Citraratha*, though having a large force, was defeated, as fate willed, by a detachment of his (*Koṣṭheśvara's*) troops in an encounter which ensued.

2204. Owing to this defeat which acted like an un auspicious introductory word (*omkāra*), he lost henceforth every day [more and more of] his courage.

2205. After fighting *Rilhana* and others, the *Lavanya* spread out all his troops in battle array and fell in the evening on the force of the commander-in-chief (*Sañjapāla*).

2206. The latter with less than a hundred men,—the other soldiers having fled—withstood the onslaught of his troops, just as a rock [withstands] the rush of the elephants.

2207. What need be said of that tiger of men, whose body does not keep within his own mail and other armour, as the battle grows fiercer?

2208. While he thus broke the enemy's impetuosity by his firmness, there joined him *Trillaka* and other *Lavanyas*, accompanied by their troops.

2209. Though from regard for their relative they did not join in the fighting, yet they were of some small use to him in his difficult position, and by his own valour he repulsed the enemy.

2210-2211. Timely preparation, inducing by kind words his troops to keep watchful at night, judgment in using at the right time the various methods of

'intrigue.' This use of the word is easily derived from its usual meaning 'patched garment'; comp. the use of the root *grath* in connection with *kantā* in the passages quoted.

2200. *samprasādayat* for which the emendation *samprasādayat* has been proposed in Ed., may be an unaugmented form; comp. note i. 285.

2207. Add in footnote of Ed. the conjectural emendation *māti* for *māni*, omitted by misprint.

2209. *Trillaka* is named as a relative of *Koṣṭheśvara*, viii. 1707. From viii. 2746 sqq. it appears that he was the son-in-law of *Koṣṭheśvara's* younger brother *Cataska*.



occupying and abandoning [positions], retention of places once taken—these merits alone would [have sufficed to] put the enemies to flight before this victorious [leader]. What [need then of] praising his attack on the enemy?

2212. *Koṣṭhaka* feeling dispirited, betrayed by his followers, and shaken by such impetuosity, then descended from the hill and turned to flight.

2213. As the routes were blocked by an unseasonable fall of snow, the pursuing enemies defeated the effort of his horses to get away.

2214. Driven by the king from the country he proceeded with a few followers to bathe in the *Gaṅgā*, smarting with pain at his humiliation.

2215. *Somapāla*, who was troubled by his son *Bhūpāla*, and afflicted by the miseries of the long contest for the throne, came at that time to the king for protection.

2216. After he had given two sons of *Nāgapāla* as hostages, the king, kind to those who sought his protection, promised him safety.

2217. In view of his misfortune the king, whose character was distinguished by its guileless generosity, did not recall to his memory that this deceitful [prince] had been the cause of *Bṛhadrāja's* (*Lakṣmaka*) discomfiture.

2218. The king gave his own troops for his assistance, and after humbling the pride of the enemy restored him to power.

2219. In the meantime, however, *Koṣṭhaka* was on his way back after bathing in the celestial stream (*Gaṅgā*), and taking up [the cause of] *Mallārjuna* was endeavouring to raise a rebellion.

2220. The prince who had come to *Kurukṣetra* on occasion of the solar eclipse, met there the *Lavanya* and abandoned from necessity his former enmity [against him].

2221. *Loṭhana* who had arrived earlier upon the *Dāmarā's* invitation, felt distressed, and left as he had come, when he heard of the latter having allied himself with him (*Mallārjuna*).

2222. The base *Somapāla*, though he had taken an oath by sacred libation before the [Linga of Ś'iva] *Vijayaśa*, did not pay attention to the invasion prepared by the king's enemies.

2223. His son (*Bhūpāla*), on the other hand, in order to propitiate the king,

JAYASĪMHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

Koṣṭheśvara defeated
by *Saṅjapāla*.

Alliance of *Mallārjuna*
and *Koṣṭheśvara*.

2216. Regarding *Nāgapāla*, compare viii. 619.

2217. Compare regarding the name *Bṛhadrāja*, viii. 1893.

2220. Compare regarding the sacred district of *Kurukṣetra* near *Thānēśvar*, note viii. 540. The great pilgrimages to the Tirthas of *Kurukṣetra* take place on solar eclipses; see Mr. J. M. DODGE'S *Gazetteer of the Ambala District*, 1892, pp. 42, 139 sq.

From the date given, viii. 2185, we must conclude that the defeat of *Koṣṭheśvara*, and his subsequent departure for the *Gaṅgā*, fell in the autumn of A.D. 1133 (*Laukika* era 4209); comp. viii. 2213. The solar eclipse, on the occasion of which he met on his return *Mallārjuna* at *Kurukṣetra*, was probably the one, which according to Dr. Schram's *Eclipses of the Sun in India*, p. 122, took place on the 23rd July, 1134. It was visible at *Thānēśvar*.



JAYASIMHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

Exactions of
Citraratha.

induced the various Thakkuras to plunder *Koṣṭhaka* as he reached their respective territories.

2224. In the meantime the Brahmans at *Avantipura*, who did not like *Citraratha*, owing to the wicked obstinacy he showed in increasing the imposts, held a solemn fast.

2225. As this [minister] who, in his conceit did not care [even] about the king, paid no heed to them, many in their grief burned themselves in the flaming fire.

2226. When his servants confiscated even the grazing land (*caraka*) of the sacred cows, one cow-herd also overcome by compassion burned himself.

2227-2228. A youth called *Vijayarāja*, the son of *Prthivīrāja* from the family of *Bhaṭṭa Udbhata*, being in great straits, was preparing to go abroad along with his younger brother. Seeing that distress there he spoke thus to his younger brother, while shedding tears of compassion :

2229. "Look, how the subjects are ruined in their helplessness by a rogue of a minister, while the king, imperturbable in his kindness [to him], pays no regard to them."

2230. "Where the king from complaisance to the ministers takes no care of the subjects in their misery, who else is there to relieve their sufferings?"

2231. "Or, perhaps, that is the correct way that he who deserves to be chastised, should be punished by the chastiser, and the latter again, if he gets into trouble, by someone else in mutual emulation."

2232. "Sometimes in concussion the unwieldy stone is overcome by the thoroughly hard steel, sometimes, however, the steel by the stone."

2233. "The king who is distinguished by all good qualities, does not deserve hatred for one single fault. Nothing else appears to me indicated but the murder of *Citraratha*."

2234. "The destruction of one wicked person is called lawful when all are helped by it. Even the Jina (Buddha) slew a great snake which killed living beings."

2235. "If punishment has been meted out by us to that wicked man, then no official will again oppress the people, owing to the dread of [being punished by] a man of energy."

2236. "If by the sacrifice of this body numberless people may be rendered happy, then, O brother, is this not the greatest bargain?"

2224. Judging from viii. 1964, 2254, we must assume that *Citraratha* held at this time the double offices of *Pādāgra* and *Dvāra*. It was evidently in the first-named capacity that the complaints indicated were made against him.

2226. For *caraka*, see note viii. 674.

2227. Regarding *Bhaṭṭa Udbhata*, the *Sabhapati* of King *Jayapīḍa*, see iv. 495.

2234. I have not been able to trace the Buddhist legend here alluded to.



2237. When his younger brother had expressed his agreement, he made him take an oath by sacred libation, and then returning followed *Citraratha* in order to kill him.

2238. Even in this time of the Kali age which is sullied by the weakness of the sacred law, there manifests itself brilliantly to this very day the irrepressible power of the gods of the earth (Brahmans).

2239. No one, until all his merits [from a former existence] have been exhausted, enters upon an obstinate course against the Brahmans before whom the destructive arts of the wicked break down.

2240. *Sujji*, who had exasperated the twice-born, found his death from the hand of a twice-born, and *Citraratha*, who had slighted the Brahmans, was slain by a Brahman.

2241. Surely that [youth], sacrificing his own life without immediate cause, planned his death, because his mind was seized by a charm which the Brahmans had sent forth.

2242. When those Brahmans were burning themselves, just then he (*Citraratha*), the object of their hatred, had followers killed in a quarrel amongst themselves.

2243. His destroyer was kept awake for many a night as he was not able to get day or night at *Citraratha*, who was accompanied by a strong force.

2244. When he (*Citraratha*) was going about, the roads were covered far away with numberless great persons, and he in the midst of the crowd came in sight and disappeared [again in a moment].

2245. He (*Vijayarāja*) unshaken in his extraordinary persistence, on one occasion ran quickly after him when he had ascended the stairs in the royal palace.

Vijayarāja's attempt against Citraratha.

2246. As he was stopping before a pillar surrounded by nobles, he then in fierce boldness struck him with a dagger on the head.

2247. He thereupon, as if he were dying, lost consciousness from exhaustion, his eyes were rolling and his energy left him.

2248. In this state he was deserted by his frightened followers, who thinking that he had been murdered by the king's order, lost their courage.

2249. The murderer in the belief that he was dead, did not strike him again, and kept back his brother who had arrived by another staircase.

2250. Though the ways were open to him everywhere he did not flee, but shouted loudly and repeatedly: "*Citraratha* has been put to death by the king."

2241. Compare for *dvijotthāpitayā kriyayā* the legend told i. 136 sqq.

2242. The purport of the second half of this line is not certain.



JAYASIMHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

2251. Thereupon, all the wretched followers of *Citraratha* who had enjoyed [with him] the fried meat dishes and other pleasures of regal state, disappeared in fright.

2252. His elder brother *Lotharatha*, fled in his terror to a dancing girl for protection, and hid his face on her breasts.

2253. When *Citraratha* was brought in this condition before the king, the latter in person cheered him up, and said: "Have no fear. Who has struck you?"

2254. When the soldiers were searching by the king's order for the person who had wounded the lord of the Gate, the murderer presented himself, saying: "I am that person."

2255. He then bravely slew twenty or thirty soldiers, and after displaying a praiseworthy prowess in defying them through his resolute bearing, was struck in the leg and killed.

2256-2257. On his arm was found a leaf upon which was written the reason of his deed, in these words: "From Yuga to Yuga I come into existence to protect the righteous, to destroy the evil-doers, and to restore the sacred law." The desire [which he expressed] in his death by this verse, sanctifies him.

2258. *Citraratha* then, though his wound healed, fell, owing to the lesion of the joints of his forehead bones, into disgust [of food], madness and misery.

2259. For five or six months he lay day by day on his couch rolling his suffering and emaciated body about.

2260. In the meanwhile, *Koṣṭhaka* preparing for a rebellion betook himself together with *Mallārjuna* to a mountain-fastness [surrounded] by a dense forest.

2261. Roving about in his endeavour to collect those who belonged to his party, he caused excitement among the people. They had not yet forgotten their [former] sufferings, and were apprehending a fresh contest for the crown.

2262. The people quickly felt pained by the appearance of the hostile force, just as [if it had been] a chill produced by an untimely cloud, and became benumbed in their energy.

2263. He (*Jayasimha*) then had this forest-fastness which extended over many *Kōs* (*krośa*), surrounded on all sides by his ministers who occupied the neighbouring forest-hamlets.

2254. Compare for *Citraratha*'s official designation, viii. 1964.

2256. This verse is quoted from the *Bhagavadgītā*, iii. 8, where it is spoken by Kṛṣṇa.

2260. The 'mountain-fastness' (*giridurga*) here referred to was probably a high plateau, difficult of access, situated somewhere on the

northern slopes of the Pir Pansāl range. These are covered to this day with magnificent pine forests; see the map.

2261. The text of the first half of this line is corrupt. The translation is based on the conjectural emendation proposed in the Ed. For 'grasano', read perhaps 'grahano'.

Irruption of *Koṣṭhaka* and *Mallārjuna*.



2264. When *Sañjapāla* went into camp with the *Yavanas*, the enemy became motionless, as trees keeping still in a calm.

2265. *Dhanya*, too, threw his force into *S'īlikākotta*, and showed aversion even to the smell of the enemy, just as the lion to that of the elephant.

2266. *Rilhapa*, whose force was posted by the king at *Govāsa*, scoured the forests and made the enemies hide themselves before him as the owls [hide] before the sun.

2267. Checked by these measures of the energetic king, *Koṣṭheśvara* was for three or four months prevented from roving about.

2268-2269. He had been in distress abroad, and had been disregarded by the chiefs of the neighbouring territories. His own followers had fallen off, and the king's officers had baffled his efforts. Not comprehending from want of judgment the ways of kings, having lost his footing, and forgetting his guilt, he wished to conciliate the king.

2270. *Sañjapāla* in his thorough devotion thought it idle to reproach him (*Koṣṭheśvara*) now that he was eager to remove the king's anger, and agreed to his wish.

2271. In his eagerness to make peace with the king's enemy he (*Sañjapāla*) did not punish him, though he himself had thus suffered [from him]. That the sons of *Prthvīhara* showed good-will to [*Koṣṭheśvara*], is not astonishing.

Surrender of *Koṣṭheśvara*.

2272. When he sent the enemy of the king [before the latter], he could not appease the king's anger even by cutting off the finger of his own hand.

2273. He (*Sañjapāla*) was unable to allay the anger of the king though he bound his head-dress round his neck, carried a shoe on his head, and used [favourable] moments.

2274. He (*Koṣṭheśvara*) had refused [to recognize] two or three royal prerogatives (? *lāñchana*), opposed several royal orders, and in his conceit behaved altogether like a king.

2264. By the *Yavanas* are meant here undoubtedly Muhammadans. Such had found their way into the service of Kaśmir already under Harsa; see vii. 1149.

2265. For *S'īlikākotta*, a hill village, see viii. 1588.

2266. *Govāsa* is mentioned only in this passage. It can scarcely be the present *Gās* (the *Gusika* of *S'rin.* iv. 532, 592, etc.), about two miles to the north of Ramuh, as this place lies too far away from the mountains.

2270. It appears from this and the following lines that *Sañjapāla* accepted on the king's behalf *Koṣṭheśvara*'s proposals for peace. The king, however, was not prepared

to pardon the latter, and hence dissatisfied with the arrangement.

2271. K. evidently refers to the attack made upon *Sañjapāla* by *Koṣṭheśvara*; see above, viii. 2205 sqq.—By 'Prthvīhara's sons' must be meant *Catuska*, *Loṣṭhaka*, *Chudṇa*, and perhaps other brothers of *Koṣṭheśvara*, who had kept by the king's side, but were secretly sympathizing with their rebel brother; see regarding *Koṣṭheśvara*'s descent, note viii. 1261, 1524; for his brothers, viii. 2318, 2496, 2451.

2272. Compare regarding the cutting of a finger as a symbolic act, viii. 1594.

2273. The meaning of *bhuktaveta* is doubtful; comp., vii. 369; viii. 522.



JAYASINHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

Mallārjuna detained at
Sāvarṇika.

2275. In the meanwhile the king received the report that *Mallārjuna* who had got away, was captured. For fortunate persons one success follows the other.

2276-2278. He, not being quick on his feet and hence unable to bear the fatigues of marching, was being carried on the shoulders of his servants. When after escaping from various dangerous situations, he had reached the village of *Sāvarṇika* which belonged to [the territory of] *Lohara*, he had been stopped by the *Thakkura Jaggika* who put guards over him. The king now heard that this faithful servant had come before him.

2279. He (*Mallārjuna*) who had with difficulty escaped from the fastness and had nearly been caught, was now captured again by that opponent. Who is able to escape his destiny?

2280. The *Gaṅgā* rolling forth from her celestial course had scarcely escaped from the belly of one great *Rṣi* (*Jahnu*) who had caught her up, when she was swallowed up by another (*Agastya*) after she had filled the hollow of the ocean. Nobody can escape the inevitable.

2281. While *Jaggika* watched the neighbourhood until the captive [*Mallārjuna*] should reach [the king], the thoughtful king employed *Udaya*, the lord of the Gate [to fetch *Mallārjuna*].

2282. For the king did not believe that the other ministers would show resolution in a difficult situation, excepting him who was wise and distinguished by vigour, depth of thought and prowess.

2283. He (*Udaya*) after passing the routes which were made insecure by those who were drawing allowances from both sides, sighted the enemy of the king (*Mallārjuna*) standing at a window.

Surrender of *Mallārjuna*.

2284. When he had arrived outside, he (*Mallārjuna*) said to him various things, praising him and wishing to make a pretence of courage by a resolute bearing which was fictitious, and then again addressed him:

2285. "You, the foremost of the wise, who value above everything full devotion to one's master, have been brought [here] by persons who have succumbed to enticements."

2277. *Sāvarṇika* can be identified with the present *Sūran*, a large village situated in the upper valley of the *Prūṭi* Tohi, 74° 19' long. 33° 40' lat. Its distance from *Lohara*: *Loharīn* is about two marches.

2279. The *durga* here referred to is the mountain position which *Mallārjuna* had previously occupied with *Koṣṭheśvara*, viii. 2260.

2281. See regarding this *Udaya*, note viii. 1832.

2283. The hill regions, situated between

the southern frontier of *Kaśmīr* and *Rajapuri* territory, are evidently alluded to. These parts were occupied by *Khaṣas*, to whose reputation as great plunderers reference has already been made in note i. 317. Their strong position on the routes connecting *Kaśmīr* with *Rajapuri*, would allow them to levy subsidies or rather blackmail from both sides, even in times of peace. The position of the *Afridis* on the *Khyber* Pass has offered until quite recent times an exact parallel.



JAYASIMHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

2286. "Because I had not a supporter like you, who resemble a protecting gem, I have, as a bad ruler, suffered in my youthful reign by many intrigues."

2287. "Kings who are difficult to face [in their power], can ordinarily be examined by the eyes of the people at the fall of their fortune, just as the sun [can be easily examined] on a winter day."

2288-2289. "That king is to be praised who spreads lustre at his rise as well as at his end, just as the sun which puts forth its blood-red disc [at its rise as well as its setting]; [that king] whose appearance was rendered auspicious by the emotion of the citizens' wives at his access, and also by the violent love shown for him by the band of the Apsaras at his grand end."

2290. "After securing nobly a position (*pada*) and accomplishing something (*artha*) I have become perplexed at the end, like a great poet, [who has found his words (*pada*), has also got some subject-matter (*artha*), but finds himself perplexed about the completion of his verse]."

2291. "Now you should give assurance to my mind by promising me one wish which is not beyond what is feasible."

2292. After these words he had then a crystal Liṅga with its base (*pīṭha*) put before the lord of the Gate that he might touch it for the sake of assurance.

2293-2294. He (Udaya) thought: "Surely, this proud [prince] asks me [to grant] the wish that he may fight warriors who use their darts, spears and arrows in an honest contest," and touching the S'iva-liṅga promised the desired wish. Thereupon he (Mallārjuna) addressed him again thus:

2295. "I ask you that I may come before the king such as I am now, without my eyes being taken out, without being killed, without being wounded."

2296. On hearing these words demeaned by cowardice, all were benumbed with shame, and turned their heads to the ground like twigs dripping with rain.

2297. Then they thoughtfully remembered the last moments of *Bhikṣu*, and this made their hearts again expand in cheerfulness.

2298. As he was being taken away by him (Udaya) on a litter carried by men, he looked without shame and without emotion also on those people whom he had cared for.

2299. As he was being carried along on the way, wholly absorbed in eating abundantly, sleeping, etc., just like an animal, no reflection of any kind occupied his mind.

2293-94. Udaya thinks that Mallārjuna asks for the favour of being allowed a soldierly death in open combat.

2295. Emend with Durgapr. *ākṛṣṭa*° and *prāpnomi*.



JAYASĪMHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

2300. When the people saw him taken along in this condition by his guards, their hearts were moved by compassion, and they did not approve of the king's [action].

2301. And they said : "It is not right that the king, as the elder brother, should show such cruelty towards the younger brother who is deprived of his father and deserves compassion."

2302. "Who could be so cruel-minded as to disfigure by torments the charming body of this [youth] whose look is like that of a dark-blue lotus?"

2303. Thus the people, unable to connect the preceding facts and their consequences and forgetting his guilt, reproached the king in various ways as they saw him on the road.

2304. But what account need be taken of young boys, blockheads, and the like? Even the thoughts of great men do not ever keep the same direction.

2305. When the hearers listen to the [story of the] gambling, the dragging of the Pāñcāla princess (Draupadī) by the hair, etc., their anger against Dhṛtarāṣṭra's sons is greater than against the Pāṇḍu sons.

2306. When they hear of the drinking of the blood of the Kurus and the shattering of the head of him (Duryodhana) who had his thigh broken, one sees the very same people enraged against the Pāṇḍavas.

2307. Nobody but he who is in the midst of the events, can understand their cause and their result. How should not the sentiments of the onlooker change at various incidents?

2308. Carried in a litter he reached the City in the evening, moving the citizens to tears, and holding an earthen vessel in which lay his cut off finger.

Mallārjuna imprisoned
(A.D. 1135).

2309. On the fifteenth day of the bright half of Āśvina in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand two hundred and] eleven (A.D. 1135) the king placed him under guards in the *Navamaṭha*.

2310. When he had passed in distress five or six nights [and days] without taking food and was asking to be allowed to touch the feet of the king, the latter from compassion came to him.

2311. When the king had promised him the desired safety, he told him that *Citrarathā* and *Koṣṭhaka* were nothing but [embodiments of] perfidy and deserving to be killed.

2302. For the rare word *asecanaka*, compare *Harṣae*, p. 30.

2305-6. Compare *Mahābh.*, II. 1, lxvii.; VIII. lxxxiii.; IX. lvi.

2308. In note VIII. 1594 it has already been shown that the cutting-off of one's

finger was a sign of submission on the part of persons who acknowledge their guilt and ask for mercy; comp. also VIII. 1738, 2273, 3300.

2309. Regarding the *Navamaṭha*, compare VIII. 247, 1052.



2312. The king thereupon wished to imprison *Koṣṭhaka*, who had gone to his own place, and despatched [for this purpose] five or six councillors, among them *Rilhana*.

2313. When the courage of all drooped, the king took up the enterprise in person, whereupon *Rilhana* caught him (*Koṣṭhaka*) with his arms, as the shark [catches] the fish.

2314. Deprived of his sword he remained motionless in the net of that strong man's arms, as a person who, while blinded by sleep, is beset by a goblin.

2315. The fierce *Bhikkharāja*, *Kularāja*'s brother's son, in obedience to the king pierced his neck with a dagger.

2316. When the *Rājaputra* *Prthvīpāla* was hitting him with a hatchet on the head, the king angrily forbade him.

2317. Vitally wounded at the neck-bone and incapable of action, he rolled on the ground, covered with blood.

2318. *Kamaliya*, and other men of great strength threw also his (*Koṣṭheśvara*'s) brother *Catuska* to the ground, as elephants [throw down] a log of wood.

2319. When the Brahman *Mallaka* saw his two masters thus struck down in helplessness and captured, he stepped up with drawn sword.

2320. The king, himself, noticed him as he was rushing unexpectedly into the tumult and striking at several of the royal servants.

2321. While this man of great strength was cutting down several brave soldiers who were running towards him from near the king, *Kularāja* rushed at him with a dagger.

2322. He (*Kularāja*) skilled in the use of arms, pressed him against the wall, but was unable to kill him as his (*Mallaka*'s) hand was rapid at counter-strokes.

2323. He (*Kularāja*) was unable to get away, or to keep still, or to strike, but parrying frequently he kept him at his place without, [however,] wounding him.

2324. *Mallaka*, who made a great noise by dashing down his foot and throwing out his arms, then took a glance at *Padmarāja* who was running up.

2325. *Kularāja* at that moment got his opportunity and struck him in the breast, but as his hand withdrew after the stroke, he (*Mallaka*) cut off his thumb.

2326. While *Bijjarāja* full of hot conceit struck at him and he (*Mallaka*) was striking back, the two (*Kularāja* and *Padmarāja*) hit him rapidly.

2327. He (*Mallaka*) got away even from these three assailants and ran towards the king, whom he had sighted entering the door of the pavilion (*catuskikā*).

JAYASINHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

Capture of *Koṣṭhaka*
and *Catuska*.

2316. Regarding *Prthvīpāla*, compare viii. 1093.



JAYASĪMHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

2328. As he was striving to reach the king, *Kularāja* ran after him in haste and excitement and stopped his rush by wounding him in the bones of the buttocks.

2329. Then he was surrounded by all the soldiers, and after slaying cowards as well as brave men, fell down quickly upon the hero's couch, a stream of blood serving for its upper covering.

2330. He deserved to be counted among the heroes for having displayed a laudable prowess under the eyes of his masters who had fallen into misfortune, and were yet alive, and for having found a death worthy of envy.

2331. The servants of *Koṣṭhaka* had run away outside, and only the *Dāmara Janakacandra* showed that he was not lacking in courage.

2332. For he though unarmed, took from one of the royal servants his battle-axe, and fighting sent many into the presence of Yama to herald his [approach].

2333. The battle-axe which was in his hand while he endeavoured to make his way to the disc of the sun, was as eager to sever the carotid vein (*susumṇā*) of the enemy, as the crescent of the moon [is eager to receive its share of sunlight by the *Susumṇā*-ray].

*Koṣṭhaka's wife
becomes a Sati.*

2334. We have neither seen nor heard [of another such deed as done] then by *Koṣṭhaka's* wife, who, when her husband was thrown into prison, nobly followed him as a Sati.

2335. Not heeding the words of her relatives who said that she might yet get back her husband alive, she entered the fire.

2336. By the feet of her who was proceeding to the world of virtuous women, the fire was purified from the sin by which it had been sullied on account of its desire to embrace the wives of the Seven Rsis.

2337. She, a daughter of *Vasanta*, the brother of *Dhanya* and *Udaya*, and proud of her noble descent, did not cherish the customs of *Dāmara*-wives.

2338. Let the wives of *Lavanyas* yield up in widowhood their beautiful bodies from lust of money even to village officials, [common] householders, and the like.

2339. She and the two followers (*Mallaka* and *Janakacandra*) made *Koṣṭhaka* raise [again] proudly his head, after mental confusion had caused him to become despondent.

2340. *Koṣṭhaka*, though his wound healed, became a prey to worms owing to some sins, and after many nights died in his prison.

2333. The light of the sun is supposed to be carried to the moon by the ray called *Susumṇā*; see *Nirukta*, ii. 6, and *Viṣṇupur.*, ii. p. 297. Dead heroes go to the world of *Sūrya*.

2336. The legend here alluded to is found *Mahābh.*, III. ccxxiv. 30 sqq.

2337. *Dhanya* and *Udaya* are said, viii. 1083, to be descended from a *rājanya*, i.e. *Kṣātriya* family.



2341. *Citraratha* who was withered up and emaciated, became from fear most distressed, when he heard that the king had been incited against him by *Mallārjuna*.

2342. His beloved and only wife, the virtuous *Sūryamatī*, who was the surety of his power, had already before gone to the other world.

2343. As his body was broken in health by an incurable disease, his house without his consort and his lord rendered averse by enmity, he found no cheer whatever.

2344. Thinking that notwithstanding his guilt he would not suffer anything unkind from the king, if he stopped at a Tirtha, he went to *Sureśvari* under the pretence of wishing to die there.

2345. Thereupon the king confiscated in various places the great riches of all kinds which he, wealthier than *Kubera*, owned.

2346. His gold, clothes, equipment, horses, jewels, arms, and other [valuables] displayed, as [if it were] in rivalry, greater and greater splendour.

2347. The tree of the royal fortune which was withered up by the hot blast of the *Lohara* treason, was strengthened when watered by the hill-stream of his (*Citraratha's*) fortune.

2348-2350. In the residence of *Vijaya*, the son of *Bhava*, there was a regal fortune, imprisoned [as it were] and ever awake, which from the paleness of cares appeared as if touched by the glitter of white parasols. Though the troubles had long passed away, he, filled with apprehensions such as are natural for one living in the forest, did not leave the splendid *Kalyānapura*, as the *S'ālva*[-prince did not leave] *Saubha*. When he recognized the murderer sent by the king, a man called *Ananda*, he slew him and was himself killed by him.

2351. Thus passed for King *Jayasimha*, who was so anxious to protect his subjects, that time full of energetic enterprise.

2352. While *Citraratha* stopped at the Tirtha, his two servants *S'rṅgāra* and *Janaka*, well-known intriguers, were exerting themselves to secure the *Pādāgra* office.

2353. *S'rṅgāra* got the better of *Janaka* by winning over the king through the offer of abundant bribes, and obtained the enjoyment of his master's fortune.

2344. Regarding the holy site of *Sureśvari* (*Iśvar*), see note v. 37.

2348-50. *Vijaya*, son of *Bhava*, has already been referred to, viii. 1263 sqq., as a great noble resident at *Kalyānapura* (*Kalam-pōr*), and a supporter of *Bhikṣu*. As K. does not state any special reason for *Vijaya's* murder, we must suppose that it was caused

by the king's desire to confiscate the great property of this *Dānava*.

The *S'ālva* prince is *Hariscandra* who, according to the legend related in the *Mahābhārata* and elsewhere, rules the mythical city of *Saubha* which is suspended in the air; compare for references, *P. W.*, s.v. *Saubha*.

JAYASIMHA
(A.D. 1128-49).
End of *Citraratha*.



JAYASĪMHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

2354. The king restored to *Udaya* the long-lost charge of the 'Gate,' just as the rainy season [brings back] the water to the river banks.

2355. Then after eight months *Citraratha* died, having long suffered vital pains caused by his evil deeds which had by necessity to receive their punishment.

2356. Praise be to that familiarity inconceivable [in its effects], the power of which overcomes previous feelings and makes a ridiculously deformed person appear normal, also a bad smelling person an acceptable companion, and makes one take the advice even of a thorough fool.

S'ṛṅgāra made prime
minister.

2357-2360. *S'ṛṅgāra*, the son of *Sajjaka*, had, when the king was a young boy, spoiled and full of curiosity, gained his favour by gambling [with him] and by other reprehensible practices. Then when the king had obtained sovereign power, he had undergone fatigue owing to his having been sent by him day and night with betel to *Citraratha*. By the messages he had carried, he obtained a full knowledge of affairs and became a trusted adviser. When it came to [Citraratha's] end, he brought to the king those servants who showed [Citraratha's] treasures. Then, as the throne was devoid of all noble persons and all advisers, he obtained the position of prime minister.

2361. Though he was short-sighted in his narrow mind and displayed only a shallow liberality, yet his riches were not turned to evil use as his gifts went to worthy persons.

2362. He, indeed, was liberal to his Gurus in gifts of rice. [Before] he had thought himself rich, even [when he got what was needful] for the food and dress of his women-folk.

2363. He deserves final communion [with the deity], since he put up, with his own silver-pieces, a silver pedestal (*pīṭha*) at *Sureśvarī* which is still extant.

2364-2365. He spent great sums to make at *Nandiksetra* such ample provision for the [celebration of the] full-moon day of *Aśāḍha*, as in recent times even kings could not have imitated. He had been first directed there by *Caṇpaka* and others. Thereby he obtained subsequently prosperity for five or six years.

2354. We must assume that *Udaya*, already before mentioned as lord of the Gate (see note viii. 1832), had lost this charge when *Citraratha* received the two offices of *Pādāgra* and *Dvāra*; see viii. 1964.

2360. This *S'ṛṅgāra* must be distinguished from the *S'ṛṅgāra*, *Citraratha*'s servant, mentioned viii. 2352, 2368.

Two *Sajjakas* have been previously mentioned; see viii. 576, 1459.

2361. The translation of this line is based on conjectural emendations indicated in Ed.

2363. Probably a base for a *Linga* is meant; comp. note v. 46 on the term *pīṭha*.

2364-65. I have not been able to trace any special festival held at *Nandiksetra* (*Bhūtesvara*, see note i. 36) on the *Āśāḍhi* day.

Caṇpaka is *Kaḥana*'s father, whose connection with the shrines of *Nandiksetra* has been noted in vii. 954.

The *Nilamata*, 317-321, knows of a festival called *Devavāpana* celebrated during the last ten days of *Āśāḍha*.



2366. He who as a play-companion had been held a worthless person, did, while in office, extraordinary deeds through the strength of his lord's attachment.

2367. That snake (*Vāsuki*) of which the enemy of Tripura (*S'iva*) thought, when it formed his neck-ornament, that it might come to grief by the playful fingernails of his young consort (*Pārvatī*),—it did not break even when upon *S'iva's* order it stretched itself on the bow formed by the mountain [*Mandara*]. How should not another, too, display energy through the strength of his master's order?

2368. Attaching themselves to him (*S'rṅgāra*) on the one side and *Rilhana* and *Dhanya* on the other, *Janaka* and *S'rṅgāra* ousted each other from office by means of bribing.

2369. On one occasion *S'rṅgāra* had *Janaka* imprisoned along with his wife and children, and made him drop tears as well as the pearls of his jewelry.

2370. He (*Janaka*) again in disgust cast dishonour on him (*S'rṅgāra*) by putting money as a bribe into the hands of the rough jailors and asking them [to secure from *S'rṅgāra*] sexual indulgence.

2371-2372. When, again, one of the two was in office, he made the people laugh by rubbing and moving with the thumbnail the ring on the ring-finger, by talking with the left upper-lip drawn up and his eyes contracted, and by moving to and fro in frowns wrinkles which made his forehead [appear] low and [again] high.

2373. The other was seen in the time of his good fortune talking indistinctly, using harsh words, closing his eyes, shouting a great deal, laughing and clapping his hands.

2374. Is not the recollection of such fools sufficient to serve as an object of amusement, if one recalls their real nature in the imagination of one's mind?

2375. In this whole debased period which knows no fitness, and in which men are no better than straw, methinks, it is in reality [only] *S'rṅgāra* who does not deserve to be despised.

2376-2380. The king whose mind is all-pervading and steadfast, has obtained fore-rank among the virtuous by his pious actions. As if he possessed perfect enlightenment (*bodhi*) [like a Buddha], he has helped the enemy in distress, just as the sandal-tree while burning, gives delight to the person who has set the forest on

Pious acts of Jaya-
sinha.

2367. The Naga *Vāsuki* acted as string to the bow which Indra formed of the *Mandara* mountain, when fighting the demon *Tripura*; comp. viii. 2122.

2375. *S'rṅgāra*, the prime minister, viii. 2360, is meant.

2376-80. By *Gurus* are meant here in all probability Purohitas of various sorts.

Regarding restorations of *Kaśmīr* temples (*jirṇoddhāra*), see vi. 307; viii. 78, 3355, 3388; also note viii. 77.



JAYASIMHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

Conduct of King
Jayasimha.

fire. Paying proper regard to Gurus, scholars, Brahmans, the helpless and others, he has bestowed gifts on the households which deserved them. Being of pious thought and rich, he has raised the temples of [S'iva] *Vijayesa*, and of a host of gods to equality with *Kailāsa* by the stucco he put on them; and as he was passionately fond of restorations (*jīrṇoddhṛti*) his care was ever directed towards the putting into order of Mathas, temples, gardens, tanks, canals, and the like.

2381. Notwithstanding that he is of such character, yet, because he has once committed acts of enmity against persons equal [in respectability] to religious students (*brahmacārīn*), he is said by dull persons to be altogether an embodiment of cruelty.

2382. The noble deeds of the celestial river (*Gaṅgā*), such as the nourishing of the universe, the filling of the seven oceans, the delighting of Brahman and the other [gods], are reduced to irrelevance by the fault committed at one single occasion, when she touched the ashes of the host of Sagara's sons. Hereby she has become known to the people as fit for the deposition of bones, as [if she were] like a burning-ground.

2383. About that time there died by strangulation that rogue of an official (*kāyastha*), the Brahman *S'ivaratha*, who had been a great intriguer.

2384. By thus exterminating the various enemies, the king who was bent on doing good, freed the country from obstacles [to its prosperity].

2385. Kings obtain intense power chiefly by removing the obstructions of enemies, just as the sun-rays [attain power] on getting free of the clouds.

2386. This jewel of a king attained a pleasing character in the course of his development, just as the vine [attains] greater sweetness as it grows to maturity.

2387. He continually celebrated sacrifices at which considerable *Dakṣiṇās* were distributed, and gave splendour [by his presents] to marriages, pilgrimages, and other great festivals.

2388. He gave from his own the materials [required] for the sacrificial performances of pious persons, just as the moon [gives] her light to the herbs of the high mountains.

2389. With attentive mind he undertook to furnish the proper paraphernalia

2381. K. probably alludes to the murder of Sujji, and throws a veil over the other acts of violence of Jayasimha, which he may have considered justified by political necessity.

2382. The context requires necessarily the emendation proposed in the Ed., of *sagaraja*² for A L *saragaja*². The restoration of the following corrupt words °*sparsanā* . . . *tā yena janāḥ* into **sparsanāj jñātā yena janāḥ* is more doubtful.

The Purāṇa legend relates that the *Gaṅgā* was brought down from heaven by the prayer of Bhagiratha to purify the ashes of the sixty thousand sons of Sagara who had been burnt by the angry glance of the Rṣi Kapila.

2383. This *S'ivaratha* is probably the person referred to, viii. 2156.

2388. The powerful herbs of the mountains are supposed to give light at night; comp. iv. 169.



to the citizens at the marriages of their sons, consecrations [of images, etc.], and similar occasions.

JAYASIMHA
(A.D. 1128-49)

2390. The wood-supplies [the revenue from] which benefited the royal treasury, he placed at the free disposal [of the citizens] and thereby got the whole City built anew.

2391. Sensible persons notice with wonder the intentness with which he devotes himself, like a perfect Muni, to the worship of S'iva, though merged in affairs of state.

Piety of Jayasimha.

2392. From morning to evening one does not see him do one act for which men of experience do not give the direction.

2393. In the black darkness of ignorance, learning had shown forth at intervals in the passing lightning-flashes of fortune [coming] from such clouds as *Jayāpāda* and other [royal patrons].

2394. He, however, has given permanent brilliancy to the picture of his virtue which is of wondrous variety, by bestowing wealth which lasts like the radiant light of a jewel.

2395. He has made scholars and their descendants owners, as long as the planets, the sun and moon should last, of villages possessing an abundance of unimpaired fields

2396. The houses he has constructed for men of learning, raise their terraces to such height that the Seven R̥sis (the Great Bear) come to see them as they are towering above their heads.

2397. Safe is the journey for scholars who follow him as their caravan-leader on the path on which his intuition guides, and which has been found by his knowledge.

2398-2399. Just as *Āryarāja*, while lying on his bed, had chiefly found delight in [listening to] the sound arising from the flow of the water with which the *Līngas* were being washed, so he, when about to go to sleep, dispenses with flutes, lutes and other [music], and finds his pleasure in reflecting over the talk of guileless men of learning.

2400. What had not been accomplished in regard to the consecration [of

Consecration of temples, etc., under Jayasimha.

2390. This passage shows that the sale of wood from the great forests of Kāśmīr formed then, as at the present time, an important source of fiscal revenue. We also see from the passage that wood played that great part in the construction of private houses at S'rinagar which it does nowadays. Free distributions of wood for building purposes were resorted to also on recent occasions when great portions

of S'rinagar had been burned down by conflagrations.

2391. Connect in Ed. *kāsthāmūner* and compare *Harṣac.*, p. 84.

2395. Expressions similar to *āgrahārkendu* occur frequently in land-grants conveying permanent ownership; comp. the grant-formulas of the *Lokaprakāśa*. There is a lacuna of three syllables in this line.

2398. Compare for *Āryarāja*'s pious predilection, ii. 126.



JAYASIMHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

shrines, etc.], and other [pious works] during the time of the illustrious *Lalitāditya*, *Avantivarman* and other great monarchs, that has now been achieved.

2401. Thus he established for all *Maṭhas* and temples which were raised in his own time, a permanent endowment for their maintenance.

2402. First, the *Vihāra* of *Ratnādevī* who was the firmly-established object of her lord's love, attained pre-eminence among all foundations.

Pious acts of *Rilhāṇa*.

2403. *Rilhāṇa* then, a friend of many virtues, became the leader of the whole line of ministers on the road of piety.

2404. This pure-minded [minister] was unable to deprive himself of [the society of] ascetics, learned men and those versed in sacred law, even when he stopped in his private apartments.

2405. His whole life was employed in pious works, such as presenting [to Brahmins] skins of black antelopes, cows with calves, and the like, and in marrying out girls for the sake of religious merit.

2406. He, by providing large-mindedly the complete sacrificial apparatus, enabled all who maintained [sacred] fires, to carry out their rites without hindrance.

2407. He whose mind was never sullied by looking at evil, treated sixty-four castes to excellent food at a sacrificial feast which excited astonishment.

2408. He adorned the Cities of both *Pravarasenas* with great *Maṭhas* and bridges (or embankments) which were richly provided with numerous *Agrahāras* [for their maintenance].

2409. The [shrine of S'iva] *Rilhāṇeśvara* which he erected at the first town of King *Pravara[sena]*, excited wonder and became pre-eminent among pious foundations.

Foundation in honour
of *Sussalā*.

2410-2411. This man of merits had a *Vihāra* constructed at the place called *Bhalerakaprapā* ('fountain of Bhaleraka'), in honour of his deceased wife *Sussalā*. This [*Vihāra*] became known by the name of her cat which had followed her dead [mistress] into death, instead of forgetting her attachment as is the wont of animals.

2412. This pet cat would go before her to great distances and keep before her like a woman-friend, when her husband from jealousy had fallen out [with her].

2401. Regarding the term *vyayasthiti*, comp. note v. 37.

2405. Compare note vii. 955.

2407. Sixty-four is the conventional number indicated for caste-subdivisions; comp. e.g. *Kullūka* on *Mamasmṛti*, x. 31.

2408. As explained in note iii. 99, reference is made here to *Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna* (*Pāṇ-drēthan*), the residence of *Pravarasena* I., and to *Pravarapura* or *S'rinagar*, the capital

founded by *Pravarasena* II. Compare also the next verse.

2409. *Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna* is meant; see preceding note.

2410. The place here referred to is undoubtedly the same which is called *Balera-kaprapā* in vii. 1239. Regarding the confusion between aspirate and unaspirate sonants in the spelling of *Kāśmir* local names, compare note viii. 1861.



2413. From the day that she (*Sussalā*) had started for the Tīrtha [to die there], this cat had been wailing, and [subsequently] she died from grief refusing the food put before her.

2414. As *Diddā* among queens, so *Sussalā* among ministers' wives has secured the foremost rank by means of manifold religious foundations.

2415. She (*Sussalā*) had now built [afresh] the illustrious *Cankuṇavihāra* of which nothing but the name remained, by erecting a stone shrine (*prāsāda*), residences, and other [structures].

2416. She accomplished all kinds of pious works by constructing water-wheels, wells, halls for students, and the like.

2417. Her Vihāra, which covered the whole ground of the residence (*sthaṇḍila*) of former royal dynasties, made the whole City a joy to look at.

2418. As soon as she had consecrated [this Vihāra], she being attacked by consumption, found her death at the illustrious *Sureśvari*, whereby her full communion [with the gods] was indicated.

2419. The Maṭhas and Agrahāras which *Dhanya* established under the name of his wife, did not get [known by] the desired appellation. Whence should fame [come] without merits?

2420. *Udaya*, the commander-in-chief, who also established in this fashion Agrahāras and Maṭhas, heard ever his name [mentioned] in connection with them.

2421. The splendid Maṭha which *Udaya*, the lord of the Gate, constructed along with numerous Brahmapuris, embellished the shore of the *Padmasaras*.

2422. His elder brother, *S'ṛṅgāra*, too, who was a judge (*tantrapati*), and a man of virtue, constructed a Maṭha, a garden, and an oblong tank by [the hill of] *S'ṛidvāra*.

Foundations of
ministers.

2415. Regarding the *Cankuṇavihāra*, see note iv. 215. By the *prāsāda* possibly the Caitya attached to the Vihāra may be meant.

2416. Regarding the use of *araghaṭṭas*, compare note iv. 191. Correct with Calc. Ed. °*prakāra* for A L °*prakāra*.

2417. The site once occupied by the royal residence and abandoned on the construction of the new palace by Anantadeva, vii. 186 sq., is referred to. This site has already been mentioned as *purāṇarājadhāni*, viii. 837. For the meaning of *sthaṇḍila*, comp. viii. 243, 248.

2418. Correct *pratiṣṭhayaicāsu*.

2419. Compare viii. 247.

2420. *Udaya* might have received back his former charge as Kampanāpati (viii. 1624) from Sañjapāla, who is not mentioned with that title after viii. 2205. But it is more probable that K. gives him this his former title merely to distinguish him from the other

Udaya, the lord of the Gate, as viii. 3322 mentions in connection with Sañjapāla's death that his son Gayāpāla was appointed commander-in-chief. Compare note viii. 713.

2421. The *Padmasaras* is the Vulur lake, see note iv. 593; for *brahmapuri*, see note viii. 628.

2422. The name *S'ṛidvāra* is given in several passages of the *Sarvātātāra* to the hill-range which stretches along the E. shore of the Dal lake. In v. 46 the *Sureśvari* Tīrtha (i.e. *Is'bar*) is said to lie to the W. of *S'ṛidvāra*, and in iv. 91, Mount Mahādeva (see note v. 46) to face *S'ṛidvāra*. Other passages are iii. 14; iv. 68; v. 42. In all these *S'ṛidvāra* is spoken of as a hill (*parvata*, *giri*).

S'ṛṅgāra is undoubtedly the eldest brother of the poet Mañkha, who refers to him, *S'ṛikanthac.* iii. 45-51. Mañkha informs us that *S'ṛṅgāra* had received 'the garland of the



JAYASIMHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

Praise of *Alaṃkāra*.

2423. *Alaṃkāra*, the superintendent of the great treasury (*bṛhadgaṇja*), embellished the land by constructing bathing-huts (*snānakoṣṭha*), Maṭhas, Brahma-purīs, bridges, and the like.

2424. He, a man of wisdom (*budha*), was born from one who was versed in the arts, and was ever giving relief by medical herbs [*or*, he was like the planet Mercury (*Budha*) who was born from the moon which ever gives comfort to the herbs]; he known as a poet (*kavi*) surpassed all liberal persons by his liberality [*or*, he was famous like the planet Venus (*Kavi*), which has freed itself from connection with the demons (*dānavatva*) by renunciation].

2425. He, being a worshipper of Viṣṇu, like none before him, was attached to the king (*nṛsimha*), distributed gold, food and clothing which was without harm, and presented cows at the festival of [Viṣṇu Adi-]Varāha.

2426. The Maṭha which *Sṛṅgārabbhaṭṭa* erected by the side of the *Bhaṭṭārakamaṭha*, did not enjoy particular fame, being like a well by the side of the full ocean.

office of *Bṛhattantrapati* from King Sussala. Jonarāja, in his comments on iii. 50, explains the otherwise unknown term *Bṛhattantrapati* as *dharmādhikārin*, 'judge.' The single *tantrapati* of our passage is clearly the same title. Maṅkha praises in particular the learning of *Sṛṅgāra*.

2423. *Alaṃkāra* figures in the subsequent narrative in the high office of *Rājasthāniya* or Chief-justice; see viii. 2557, 2618, 2671, etc. As K. names Maṅkha as his brother, viii. 3354, it is certain that the *Alaṃkāra* of the Chronicle is identical with the third eldest brother of the poet, whom the latter frequently refers to in the *Sṛikaṇṭha*; comp. iii. 56-62; xxv. 37-61.

This identification was first made by Prof. BÜHLER, *Report*, p. 52. Maṅkha speaks of his brother as *Sāndhivigraha*, or minister of foreign affairs under Sussala and Jayasimha (iii. 62; xxv. 61). In this office Maṅkha himself seems subsequently to have succeeded him; comp. *Rajāt*, viii. 3354. When Maṅkha wrote his poem (according to Prof. Bühler about A.D. 1135-45) *Alaṃkāra* had not yet attained the higher office of *Rājasthāniya*. Maṅkha represents his brother as deeply versed in grammatical science, and gives his familiar name as *Lankaka*.

The term *snānakoṣṭha* corresponds to the present Kś. *śrāṇkūṭh*, the designation of the bathing-huts on the river. The latter have in viii. 706 been referred to as *śaritsnānagṛha*. The *Snānakoṣṭhakas* of Kāśmir are mentioned already by Kṣemendra, *Samayam*, ii. 38.

2424. The puns contained in this line necessitate the double renderings above indicated. The moon as King Soma protects the plants. It would appear from our passage that *Alaṃkāra*'s father practised also as a physician. Maṅkha in his *Sṛikaṇṭha*, iii. 35-44 does not mention this fact about his father *Viścavarta*, but describes him generally as a man of learning and devout worshipper of Śiva.

Alaṃkāra is praised by Maṅkha as a liberal patron of learned men, and the *Sabha* of scholars which is described in the xxv. Canto of the *Sṛikaṇṭha* carita, takes place in his house.

Of *Sukra*, the planet Venus, the Purāṇic legend holds that he was the Guru of the Daityas, and that after their destruction by the gods he accomplished a great penance. To the latter allusion is made in the text.

2425. A series of puns permits this line to be interpreted also as referring to *Viṣṇu*: "He before whom there were no Viṣṇu-worshippers (*apūrvavaiṣṇava*), taking the Avatāra of *Nṛsimha*, destroyed [the demon] *Hiranyakāśipu*, though averse to killing (*nṛkṛimśa*), and at the time of his Boar incarnation (*varāha-samaya*) recovered the earth (*dattagaṇa*)." The word *pradaḥ* must in this case be derived from *āda*, 'to cut,' with the preposition *pra*, i.e. *prakarṣaṇa*.

2426. The *Bhaṭṭārakamaṭha* which has left his name to the present quarter of *Bradmar* in *Srinagar*, was evidently a building of great size; compare note vi. 40.



2427. *Jatṭa*, the Sāṃdhivigrahika of the ruler of *Dārvābhisāra*, who was devoted to pious works, consecrated a [Līṅga] of S'iva.

2428. Singly among trees the *Karavīra* (fragrant oleander) enjoys that happy privilege of producing in abundance those flowers which are rendered blessed by that peculiar Līṅga of S'iva which has come to light by itself.

2429. *Bhūṭṭa*, the younger brother of *Jatṭa*, deserves alone the highest distinction among all the ministers whom the king has raised to power.

2430. The [Līṅga of] *Bālakeśvara* which is natural (*svayambhū*) and has come to light by itself, receives from him worship as the [Līṅga of] *Jyestharudra* [received worship] from *Vasiṣṭha*.

2431. There he founded a town called *Bhūṭṭapura*, which is adorned by great houses with *Vihāras* and *Maṭhas*.

2432. Also in the City he consecrated a [Līṅga of] S'iva called *Bhūṭṭeśvara*, and in *Maḍavāgrāma* a tank which was like the reflection of the beauty of piety.

2433. *Ratnādevī* invested her wealth to a great extent on the site of her own *Vihāra*, by establishing there the *Vaikunṭhamatṭha* and other [pious buildings].

Foundations of Queen
Ratnādevī.

2434. Her faultless *Maṭha* at *Ratnāpura*, which is a place of importance and has many gates, appears like an extensive cage for the swan of 'pious work.'

2435. Her [image of the] Death-vanquisher (S'iva) shines forth amidst buildings resplendent with stucco, and creates the illusion of a S'vetadvīpa [produced] for removing the transitoriness of human beings.

2427. By the ruler of *Dārvābhisāra* is evidently meant here the chief of *Rajapuri*; comp. note viii. 1531. *Maṅkha* mentions, *S'rikanṭha*, xxv. 75, *Jatṭana*, a minister of *Rajapuri* as one of the members of *Alanikāra*'s *Sabb*.

2428. A somewhat obscure reference is made here to the *svayambhū* or natural Līṅga named in viii. 2430 as *Bālakeśvara*. This mysterious stone might be supposed to have been first found or worshipped near a *Karavīra* bush.

Regarding the worship of natural stones which for pious eyes take the form of a Līṅga, see note i. 113.

2430. In note i. 113, it has already been shown that the *Jyestharudra* Līṅga here referred to is the emblem worshipped from early times close to *Bhūṭeśvara* or *Buthsēr*, above the village of *Vāṅgath*. The latter has received its ancient name *Vasiṣṭhāśrama* (given in the *Haramukutaṅgaṅgāmāh*. and *Nandikētramāh*.) from the Rṣi *Vasiṣṭha*, who is supposed to have resided here. In the *Nilamata*, vv. 1133 sqq., the consecration and first worship

of the *Jyestharudra* Līṅga is distinctly attributed to the Rṣi *Vasiṣṭha*.

2431. A village *Buṭṭapūr* which may correspond to *Bhūṭṭapura*, is said to exist in the *Machpūr* Pargana. I have, however, not been able to ascertain its exact position. It may possibly be the place shown as 'Bat-poorā' on the map, 74° 19' 30" long. 34° 26' 30" lat.

2432. *Maḍavāgrāma* can no longer be traced.

2433. Regarding the *Vihāra* of Queen *Ratnādevī*, see viii. 2402.

2434. *Ratnāpura*, the place named after the queen, is in all probability the present *Ratanpūr*, a large village in the *Chrāth* Pargana, 75° 1' long. 33° 55" lat. (map 'Ratimpoorā').

2435. *S'vetadvīpa* (literally 'the white isle') is a residence of blessed beings which know not death. It was created for King *S'veta*, who by a penance induced S'iva to vanquish and expel from his land the god of death. The legend is told at length in *Haracar*. ii.



JAYASIMHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

2436. When she had erected her Gokula, *S'ūravarman*, and others who had erected Gokulas [before], were held to be no better than those who eat [anything, even] grass.

2437. At that Gokula which is provided with meadows for the cows' unobstructed free grazing, and which has an abundant supply of water from the *Vitastā*, the cows' bodies rest free from sickness.

2438. The [image of] *Viṣṇu Govardhanadhara* [erected] there displayed the perfection of wonderful beauty, [and was such that] *Viśvakarman* could not have fashioned it (?).

+ 2439. She, after making a Maṭha resided at *Nandiksetra* and beautiful (Maṭhas?) at *Jayavana* and other places.

2440. She built also in *Dārvābhisāra* a town called after her, which was the home of kings' noble generosity, and which rivalled the City of Indra.

2441. This queen, who was kind to her attendants, made also various foundations in honour of her chamberlain and other worthy servants who had died.

2442. Then when the land had been embellished in all parts, the lord of kings built his own Maṭha which resembled the forehead mark [put on after affixing all other ornaments].

2443. This [Maṭha] which the modest king endowed with many villages, was raised by persons of intelligence to prominent celebrity under the name of *Simhapura*.

2444. The daughter's son of the lord of *Kārapatha* settled here Brahmans from the Indus-region and numerous *Dravīḍas* who lived before in *Siddhacchattra* (?).

2445. But what use is it to praise the construction of Maṭhas and other

2436. Regarding the *gokula* erected by *S'ūravarman*, and the significance of the term, see note v. 23.

2437. For *caraka*, compare note viii. 674.

2438. The text of the second half of this line is certainly corrupt, and is altogether missing in L. The above conjectural translation is based on the correction of *na* for *nā*. The word *akṣa*, which I am unable to bring into connection with the rest, I have left untranslated.

Viṣṇu is often represented in sculptures as the 'upholder of Mount Govardhana'; comp. also note iv. 198. *Viśvakarman* is the artist of the gods.

2439. This verse has been subsequently added in A in this mutilated form. It is not found in L. No certain restoration is possible. Regarding *Nandiksetra*, see note i. 36, and for *Jayavana*, note vii. 607.

2440. I have not been able to trace a locality bearing a name resembling *Ratnā-pura*, in the hills to the south of the *Pir Pāntāl*.

2443. The name *Simhapura* is based on the abbreviated form of the king's name, *Simhadeva*, used, e.g. viii. 1237, 1349, 1438, etc.

There is a village named *Simpūr* on the right bank of the *Vitastā*, 74° 58' long. 34° 2' lat., which possibly retains the name of this Maṭha of *Jayasimha*. It is close to *Jayavana*.

2444. A passage of the *Vāyupurāṇa* quoted by Wilson, *Viṣṇupur.*, iii. p. 319, places *Kārapatha* with its capital *Aṅgadi* in the Himalaya regions. The *Raghuvamśa*, xv. 90, gives this territorial name as *Kārapatha*. The local name *Siddhacchattra*, of which I am unable to trace any mention elsewhere, is doubtful.

Foundation of
Simhapura.



[buildings] by him who gave back again to the whole of *Kāśmīr* its villages and its City?

JAYASIMHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

2446. He restored to this land which owing to the baseness of the times was like a decayed forest, wealth, population and habitations.

2447. As the king from the beginning had prepared himself to grant whatever was desired, [it came about that] Mathas and temples were in many instances erected even by artisans and the like.

2448. The citizens celebrated all kinds of great festivals, the king willingly sharing with them his available treasure, clothing, jewelry and other [possessions].

2449. Abundance of food did never cease there, even when the rice-crops were destroyed by premature snowfall, floods and other calamities.

2450. And a wonder it was that at night were heard voices of demons, and that comets and other kinds of portents were seen, and yet the subjects did not perish.

2451. *Chudḍa*, a younger brother of *Koṣṭheśvara*, who had raised a rebellion, was driven by the king through [open] fights and secret persecutions into the presence of the god of death.

2452. The king uprooting King *Vikramarāja* at *Vallāpura* put in his place King *Gulhana*, and did thus with other rulers in other [territories].

Jayasimha's affairs
abroad.

2453. This sun of princes made the rulers in *Kānyakubja* and elsewhere who were powerful owing to the possession of excellent territories, proud by his friendship.

2454. While he ruled thus in glory without his resolutions meeting with opposition, there died at one time *Yaśodhara*, the ruler of the *Darads*.

2455. Though this neighbouring prince had shown discrimination [during his lifetime] and had been greatly attached to him, yet cares arose for the king on his death owing to his descendants falling under the power of ministers.

2456. *Viḍḍasiha*, [Yaśodhara's] own minister had gained the love-favours of his widow, and, as his son was not yet of mature age, possessed himself cunningly of the regal power.

Darad troubles.

2457-2458. While he was gradually making the territory subject to his will, and was endeavouring to destroy the boy who was the nominal king, in order to reign himself, another minister, *Paryuka* by name, raised opposition to him by putting up a second son of *Yaśodhara* [as a pretender].

2449. Compare ii. 18 sqq.

2453. We possess interesting evidence of the friendly political relations with distant foreign kingdoms here alluded to. Maṅkha in his description of *Alaṅkāra*'s *Sabhā* (see note viii. 2423), mentions among the persons

present, *Suhala*, the ambassador of *Govindacandra*, king of *Kānyakubja* or *Kanauj* (*Sri-kanthacar.* xxv. 102), and *Tejakaṇṭha*, the ambassador sent by *Aparāditya*, lord of *Koṅkana* (*ib.* xxv. 110 sq.). Both these rulers are known from inscriptions; comp. *Report*, p. 51.



JAYASĪMHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

Interference in Darad
affairs.

2459-2461. While the latter (*Paryuka*) was fighting for the throne with *Kāśmīr* at his back, the king whose mind was seized by a misconception which by another name may be called capriciousness, left aside *Sanjapāla* and others who were able to cope with all tasks, and though [himself] versed in counsel, followed the advice of *Sajja's* son [*S'ṛṅgāra*], who from regard to his friendship with *Paryuka* despatched his own younger brother of immature age. For [the king] believed that he (*S'ṛṅgāra*) on being raised to the position of prime minister (*sarvādhikāra*) and other [distinctions], had become proud of his own honour.

2462-2463. How [great a difference there is], at the first enterprise against a country, between men of experience who enjoy proud fame, and whose mind is undaunted under all conditions, and people who are like boys or fools, and whose actions are useless. Ah, that self-will of kings which is adverse to success!

2464. They wish to break [their enemies'] haughtiness through their own servants, who are opposed to their objects; they do not take into careful consideration the [state of the] army, country, strongholds, finances and other [factors].

2465. The rulers of adjacent territories accept advice [from their councillors] merely with regard to their precedence. Those who show the face of friends while they are [in reality] enemies, ought to be feared just by those to whom they give assistance.

2466. How [great a difference there is] between those who are fools and also rogues, and men who know the conduct of affairs, when it is [a matter of] gaining over the enemy's allies which can be accomplished only by a politic procedure.

2467. The *Darad* throne which had fallen through [the ministers'] mutual enmity, could not be seized by persons without strength, just as a tree which has fallen by the break of the river bank [cannot be carried away] by a weak current, in which it lies.

2468. Though *Paryuka* in the critical state of his affairs was prepared to take various bribes, yet he (*S'ṛṅgāra's* younger brother) was too slack in his actions to take from him even *Dugdhaghāta*.

2469. When the son of *Sajja* had gone as he had come, *Viḍḍasiha* became enraged against the king of *Kāśmīr* and made peace with *Paryuka*.

2470. At that time *S'ṛṅgāra* fell a prey to death, having enjoyed the post of

2461. The mention of the *Sarvādhikāra* in the preceding line shows that *S'ṛṅgāra*, son of *Sajjaka*, is meant; comp. viii. 2360.

2468. Regarding *Dugdhaghāta*, the frontier fort on the route to the *Darad* territory, see note vii. 1171.

2469. It appears from this line that the

Kāśmīr force had been sent with a view to or at least under the pretext of assisting *Viḍḍasiha*. The latter, when this auxiliary force retires without having rendered any help, makes peace with his former rival and turns against *Kāśmīr*.



prime-minister but for a short time, like a tree which a monkey [has visited only for a brief time].

2471. Up to the death of *Lakṣmaka* the office of prime-minister had been without a rival, but subsequently it became like the water of a cascade [which is divided] a hundredfold.

2472. Other ministers, too, who enjoyed power owing to their lord's esteem, died somehow about the same time through the will of fate.

2473. How should we [duly] praise that kindness of the king who puts in the place of the dead minister his boy-son?

2474. But the servants of the minister followed an extraordinary course. Without shame they took their master's fortune as if it were their own wife.

2475. After presenting their dead master's property before the king they stole it under the [pretext of] measures taken for the benefit of the children's position.

2476. Only *Sahaja* alone maintained the dignity of assistants upon the death of the treasury-superintendent *Viśva*.

2477. Though requested by the king he did not occupy his master's post, but helped to instruct the latter's son, *Tiṣṭa* by name, [in his duties].

2478. Alas, those in power raise servants higher and higher, one after the other, though they see that they do not keep steady in their position.

2479. That Gaṅgā-water which served in the creator's (Brahman's) cup to rinse his mouth, and which then relieved the fatigue of the foe of Asuras (Viṣṇu) when his foot was tired from striding over the universe,—S'ambhu (S'iva) received it on his head. If once one [master] has taken a liking for a person, though he be a fool (*jaḍa*), then all [his subsequent] masters too must needs feel deep attachment for him, one after the other.

2480. The tree of bad policy which had obtained growth from [the time of] *Sujjī*'s exile, and which had been fostered by the foolishness of *Sajja*'s son (*S'ringāra*), was in due time preparing to bear fruit.

2481. The angry *Vidḍasiha* was then for two or three years exciting through messengers *Loṭhana*'s desire for the throne and the rest.

2482-2483. He, unbroken in his aspirations, was together with his kinsmen living under the protection of King *S'ūra*, [maintaining himself] by agriculture, trade and other means. Full of energy he was from afar intriguing with *Alamkārācakra* and other *Dāmaras* who had formed relationships with the *Darad* ministers.

JAYASIMHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

Death of *S'ringāra*.

Fresh attempts of
Loṭhana.

2479. The Gaṅgā is represented in Purāṇic legends as having come forth from the Brahmanḍa or mundane egg, when Viṣṇu, after his strides over heaven and earth, touched it with his toe. Before descending to the earth the sacred stream passes over S'iva's head.

The word *jaḍa* contains an allusion to the water (*jala*), which forms the subject of the preceding simile; comp. vii. 1108, 1379.

2482. For *S'ūra*, lord of *Bahusthala*, *Loṭhana*'s father-in-law, see viii. 1844 sq.



JAYASIMHA
(A.D. 1128-43).

2484. When he was first setting out with a view to gaining the proximity of those who held fastnesses in the mountain regions, his friend, the base *Janaka-bhadra*, died.

2485. Everywhere in *Karnāḍha* and other [districts] where he was seen after he had set out, some were thinking of rebelling, some of keeping faithful.

2486. While this [foe] of great energy was preparing his invasion with cunning and calmness, the king from indolence remained inactive and paid no regard to him.

2487. When the rising had gained strength by the means supplied by those who were wishing for troubles, then the king sent *Udaya*, the lord of the Gate.

Lothana joins Alam-kāracakra.

2488. While the latter was collecting troops at the town of *Saṅkaravarman*, he received the news that *Lothana* had joined *Alamkāracakra*.

2489. He also heard that with him had come *Vigraharāja*, a son of King *Sussala*, and *Bhoja*, the son of *Salhana*.

2490. He thereupon made haste and got over the distance of many days in a single day.

2491. Checked in his activity by his (Udaya's) attack and not having succeeded in inveigling his class-fellows by his lies, the *Ḍamara* became helpless and fled.

Lothana goes to S'irahsilakoffa.

2492. Thereupon they betook themselves thence to the castle called *S'irahsilā*, which is situated between the *Sindhu* (*Kṛṣṇagaṅgā*) and the [streams of the] *Madhumatī* and *Muktāśrī*.

2485. *Karnāḍha*, or *Karnāha* (viii. 2525), is the present *Karnā*, a hill district which lies immediately to the W. of *Kamrāz*. It comprises a portion of the *Kiṣāṅgā* Valley above *Muzaffarābād*, and the several valleys drained by the *Karnā* River. The latter joins the *Kiṣāṅgā* from the south at 73° 50' long. 34° 23' lat.

The form *Karnāha* found in the second passage is, perhaps, preferable in view of the modern pronunciation; *ḥ* and *ṭ*, as written in *S'aradā*, do not differ much, see note viii. 2568. For an analogous phonetic change, comp. Skr. *Laulāha* > Kā. *Lālā*, vii. 1241.

The district seems to have been held in Hindu times by petty chiefs who were, at least nominally, subject to *Kāśmīr*. Its inhabitants were *Khaṣas*, see viii. 2756, 3006, 3088.

Lothana, who appears to have intended an invasion of *Kāśmīr* proper, by one of the easy passes which lead from *Karnā* into the *Uttar* or *Hamal* Parganas, is forced by *Udaya*'s energetic action to retire into the upper *Kiṣāṅgā* Valley; see viii. 2490 sqq., 2525.

2488. By '*Saṅkaravarman*'s town,' *Saṅkarapura* or *Patan* (*Pattana*) is meant, see v. 156.

2490. The lacuna of the text may be filled, as proposed in the Ed., by reading *athopahatyā utthāna eva* "in order to suppress them at the very rise"; comp. viii. 2513.

2491. For *kanthāgrathana*, comp. note viii. 2197.

2492. The site of the *S'irahsilā* castle has been traced by me on the *Kiṣāṅgā*, a short distance below the ancient shrine of *S'aradā* (see note i. 37), the modern *S'ardi*. For a full account of this identification, see note L.

There, too, the topographical details given by K. in his subsequent narrative of the siege, have been fully discussed.

For A L *madhumatimuktāśrīyaranta*° we have to read, with the slight addition of the superscribed *S'aradā* o vowel sign, °*śrīyor anta*°. The correction proposed in the Ed. was suggested before I had made, in September, 1892, the tour which led to the identification of *S'irahsilā*, and the elucidation of the topographical points connected with it.



2493. The lord of the Gate (Udaya) roaming about in distant tracts, did not ascertain whether he (Alanikāracakra) had hidden himself in the thicket of the forests or was keeping in the castle.

2494. Then when it became known that he had ascended to that stronghold, even fate did not believe that the king's power could escape a defeat.

2495. Upon this rebellion [breaking out] all the other enemies, too, showed themselves prepared for a rising, just as fishes when their pond is broken by the rain.

2496. Trillaka then and the others who were secretly disaffected, made Lothana (?), the son of Prthvīhara, use in intrigues his skill in deceit.

2497. The latter who was burning towns, villages, and the rest, could not be got at by his pursuers, and though he repeatedly got into sorry plights, those on his side saved him.

2498. Roving about in all directions and disappearing from the horizon as soon as seen, he seemed to be sent by fate like the comet Brahmaputra which rises at the end of the Kalpa.

2499. When the tired ministers were pressing for a compromise from time-serving motives, the people thought that the whole land of Maḍavarājya was as if lost.

2500. Then, in the meantime, when the enemy were rising in power without any counter-measures having been found, the king after holding counsel despatched Dhanya.

2501. When the task had been put on the latter's shoulders, the people said that the lord of the Gate (Udaya) would feel humiliated and would become indifferent and subsequently disaffected.

2502. "Bhikṣu had been alone, and so Mallārjuna. But these are three

JAYASIMHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

Rising in Kasmīr.

2494. The context shows clearly that *upālabdha* is here a mistake for *upalabdha*. For numerous instances of the identical error in MSS., see *P.W.*, s.v.

2496. It is doubtful whether *Lothana* is here not a mistake for *Lothaka*. From the epithet *Pārthvīhari* given to him, it is clear that the person meant is not the pretender Lothana, but the son of Prthvīhara, who is called *Loṣṭhaka*, in viii. 2912, and with a prakṛitized form of the name, *Loṣṭhaka*, in viii. 2799. We find, however, this son of Prthvīhara again named *Lothana*, in viii. 3313.

The possibility thus remains that the name *Lothana* was used side by side with the forms *Loṣṭhaka* and *Lothaka* for the designation of the identical person; comp. Gargacandra, Gaggacandra, Garga and

Gagga, and other variations of personal names.

That the defective *pā . . . hariḥ* of the text has to be restored into *pārthvīhariḥ*, as shown in Ed., cannot be doubted in view of viii. 2748, 2759, 2793, 2837.

Loṣṭhaka (*Lothaka*) appears to have taken up the part which his brother Koṣṭheśvara (*Koṣṭhaka*) had played as a rebel-leader. He seems to have operated chiefly in Maḍavarājya (see viii. 2499), while Lothana, the pretender, kept in Karmāha (viii. 2525).

2498. The same mysterious comet is meant as is mentioned in the *Bṛhatsamhita*, xi. 15, by the name of *Brahmadanda*. It is to appear at various points of the horizon, and to foretell the destruction of the world.

2499. Correct with Durgāpr. *nirbaddhe* for *A L nirbandhe*.



JAYASIMHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

in league and thus, indeed, difficult to dispose of." Thus thought all the subjects.

2503. The lord of the Gate, however, whose conduct knew no whims, was desirous of the king's success, though it might not serve his own renown, and heartily exerted himself.

2504. Only for a king whose merits [from previous births] are great, arises such a minister, who alone does not know confusion in his lord's business; who does not fall from anger into indifference when the latter allows himself to be influenced by many [others], and who, with a course of action free from all caprice, endeavours to carry out the set task.

Expedition against the
S'irahsila castle.

2505. *Saṣṭhacandra*, *Pañcacandra's* younger brother, whom the king had placed on the latter's death in the seat (*upaveśana*), also started for the expedition.

2506. *Dvibāhuka* and other followed with singers after *Dhanya*, and thus also other royal servants who belonged to the outer court.

2507. While *Dhanya* and the rest occupied *Tilagrāma*, [a place] situated on the *Sindhu* of the castle (*Kṛṣṇagaṅgā*), the lord of the Gate being posted at the *Dranga*, closed the routes at the back.

2505. For *Pañcacandra*, see viii. 1121; regarding *upaveśana*, note viii. 1070.

2506. The text shows here a lacuna of three Akṣaras.

2507. Regarding the probable position of *Tilagrāma*, Note L on *S'irahsila-kōṭṭa* (viii. 2492), should be consulted.

SINDHU 'the river,' as a designation of the *Kṛṣṇagaṅgā* or *Kṛṣṇā*, is found not only in viii. 2492, but also used regularly in the *S'aradā-māhātmya*, vv. 114, 118, etc., by the side of *Kṛṣṇagaṅgā*. This designation is evidently taken from the mouth of the people who, as I ascertained on my visit to the *S'aradā Tirtha* and *S'irahsila*, know the river only as the *Sind*, i.e. 'the river.' In our passage the word *kōṭṭa* has been prefixed to this designation, in order to distinguish the river meant from other 'Sindhus,' the *Sind* of *Kāśmīr*, the *Indus*, etc.

Of the term *DRANGA* it has been shown in Note D, iii. 227, that it designated in *Kāśmīr* any frontier watch-station closing a route through the mountains. The *Dranga* referred to in our passage, and subsequently viii. 2702, can be no other watch-station than the one which has left its name to the small village of *Drang*, situated on the direct route from the *Uttar Pargana* to the *S'aradā Tirtha* (*S'ardi*), on the *Kiṣangaṅgā*.

Drang, as marked on the larger Survey map,

lies about half a mile to the S.W. of *Hāyāhōm* (*Hāyāsrama*, viii. 2937), at 74° 18' 45" long. 34° 33' 30" lat. I have not been able to visit the place myself, but was informed in the neighbourhood that remains of old towers are found on the path, which leads up straight behind *Drang* to the mountain range in the north.

The route marked by these towers is also shown on the map, and is followed to this day by the pilgrims who proceed to the shrine of *S'aradā*. After ascending the range forming the watershed, the latter descend to the *Kiṣangaṅgā* by the Valley leading to *Tehajan* (*Māh. Tejavana*, map 'Thajain'). *Drang* is known to the local Brahmans as *Sun'drang*, 'the Gold-Drang,' and hence its name appears in the *Māhātmya* as *Suvarṇārdhāṅgaka*; compare Note B, i. 37, §2.

That *Drang* has retained its character as a guard-station until comparatively recent times, is curiously illustrated by the colony of *Afridis* settled at *Drang-Hāyāhōm* (see *LAWRENCE*, p. 309). These warlike hillmen were settled there during *Pathan* rule to guard the routes across the mountains from irruptions of the restless *Bombas* in the *Kiṣangaṅgā* Valley, and from possible raids of the *Cilasis*. A glance on the map will show that *Drang*, where several valleys, running down from the watershed towards the



2508. Avoiding reckless attacks, profitless encounters, and similar acts of caprice, he proceeded with firmness and discretion and harassed the enemy.

2509. By troops of woodcutters and other workmen *Dhanya* had rows of houses constructed resembling a town on the bank of the *Madhumatī*.

2510. He, strong and capable, cleared the thicket of trees of darkness, turned forest-land into habitations, and provided the camp with all supplies in abundance.

2511. Owing to the king's good fortune, the place to be assailed was over-spread with sunshine, [though situated] in a country the winter of which is terrible owing to the heavy snowfall.

2512. The supplies which the king sent in his eagerness to secure victory, astonished the world, and did not fail even at that time when the contest for the crown impaired his power.

2513. But while the danger was [destined] to be averted at its very rise, the wailing of the villagers who were oppressed by the [forced] carriage of loads, served as a kind of expiatory oblation (*kṣāntīcaru*).

JAYASIMHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

Camp formed on the
Madhumatī.

Kiṣangaṅgā meet, forms an excellent position for watching the various tracks by which the enemy at *S'irahsilakotṭa* could effect a retreat into *Kāśmīr*.

The purport of the verse is clear notwithstanding the lacuna of three syllables in the second half. The latter probably ran *śrayatsvabaddhā dvāreṣu draṅgasthaḥ prathapaddhatih*.

2509-13. The *Madhumatī* is the small sacred stream which joins the *Kiṣangaṅgā* from the south at the temple of *S'aradā* at *S'ardi*; see notes i. 37; viii. 2492 (*L*).

The details here given regarding the preparations for the siege of *S'irahsilakotṭa* are in full agreement with the actual climatic conditions of the *Kiṣangaṅgā* valley about *S'ardi*. The latter place lies approximately at an altitude of 6500 feet above the sea and is surrounded on all sides by thickly wooded mountains. The open ground of the valley is scarcely broader than half a mile at its widest, and generally much narrower. Close above *S'ardi* the *Kiṣangaṅgā* passes through almost inaccessible gorges which render the valley practically uninhabited for a considerable distance. The climate is, owing to the heavy rain and snowfall, the extensive forests and the close neighbourhood of numerous snowy peaks, colder than might be inferred from the elevation.

The precaution taken by *Dhanya* of building wooden huts for the besieging force was, therefore, most necessary. As *K*. places these huts on the bank of the *Madhumatī*, which

offers sufficient level ground only near *S'ardi*, it is clear that the camp occupied more or less the same position as the modern *Dogra* fort and the wooden barracks of its small garrison; compare Note *B*, i. 37, §11.

The *Kiṣangaṅgā* Valley below the *S'ardi* could have furnished at all times but very limited supplies, and above that place it is entirely uncultivated. The high praise which *K*. bestows on *Dhanya*'s commissariat arrangements, was, therefore, fully justified by the exceptional difficulties which the maintenance of even a small force in such a locality would imply.

The means by which this result was achieved is plainly indicated by viii. 2513. In note v. 172 sqq. it has already been pointed out that the system of forced carriage by villagers, or *Bēgār*, has in old days as up to the present time been the only means available for military transport in and about *Kāśmīr*. The system is not likely to have been worked with greater leniency in *Kaḥana*'s days than in modern times. We may safely conclude from the author's discreet allusion that the success of *Dhanya*'s commissariat arrangements was attained at an expense of human life and human suffering, perhaps not smaller than that which accompanied generally the annual transport of stores for the *Gilgit* garrison until the construction of the 'Gilgit Road' a few years ago. (Comp. LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 413.)

Regarding the *kṣāntīcaru* referred to in the simile of viii. 2513, see note vii. 15.



JAYASIMHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

Unrest in Kashmir.

2514. The king put firmness into his troops by showing his wrath to those who fled through fear of the long absence from their homes, and gratified those who held out, by presents.

2515. Though the troops thus stoutly kept their ground for three or four months, yet they were unable to seize those who were in the castle.

2516. Because no such acts of hostility, as the cutting off of food supplies by means of an investment were undertaken, which might have reduced those arrogant [opponents] to straits.

2517. The Dāmaras who were longing to display their power, when the snow had passed, stood like mountains upon which the fresh shoots are preparing to break out.

2518. Everywhere in the villages the cultivators left their work on the fields and the Brahmans their Veda-recitations, and took to the sword, eager for rebellion.

2519. The ambitious *Darads* were waiting for the snow to melt on the mountains over which [lay their] way, with their mounted troops in readiness.

2520. The men of the royal force trembled often from fear that the masses of snow might fall down [upon them] like the cotton-bed of death.

2521. Thus the king, who had in vain undertaken his enterprise without examining the real strength of the enemy, began to feel doubts as to his success.

2522. Deceitful fate likes [to employ] one special course of procedure against those whose minds are filled with acuteness; through it they may become uncertain in their minds as to their own power and through [over-much] deliberation fail in their enterprise even in the face of an enemy who is without resources.

2523. If a person trembles before the enemy's host which exists merely in report, his success is frustrated through his own mind becoming blind with care.

2524. If the elephant feels afraid of the lotus, owing to a false conception of the latter's resources, [thinking:] "It might quickly hit me with its bees (or arrows, *śilīmukhaiḥ*); it might assail me with its leaves (or chariots, *pattraḥ*); it might bind me with its threads (or ropes, *gunaiḥ*),"—then he may be prevented, owing to his limbs, enormous though they are, becoming benumbed with fear, from violently uprooting it.

2525. When *Loṭhana* and the rest after escaping with difficulty from *Karṇāha* got to *Alamkārachakra*, it was thought that the kingdom had been conquered by them.

2519. The Darad country in the upper Kishanganga Valley and the neighbouring hill-tracts still possesses an abundant supply of hardy ponies.

2520. Avalanches seem to be alluded to,

which in the narrow valleys about S'ardi may indeed be dangerous.

2525. Regarding *Karṇāha*, see note viii. 2485.



2526. Yet his associates had woven their intrigues to no purpose. How otherwise should the lord of the Gate have attacked him (Alaṅkāracakra) effectively and in haste?

JAYASĪMHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

2527. Unable to offer resistance he then sent the princes into the castle, and then followed them himself next day.

Alaṅkāracakra re-
treats to *S'irahsilākotṭa*.

2528. The castle-hill, narrow below [where it projects] into the stream and with a long stretched ridge, appeared to them like a heron bent on swallowing fishes.

2529. When they (Loṭhana, etc.) saw that there was no strength in it, as [there is none] in an elephant-shed without an elephant, they lost [all] hope of victory, and fear entered their hearts.

2530-2531. "From here the enemies should be harassed with arrows; from here by showers of stones; from here should the stream be guarded, and here the stones for the catapults." As the Dāmara was thus giving them explanations with firmness (?), they thought that he was only anxious about protecting himself, without a firm determination to fight [on their behalf].

2532. When then the opposing force at *Tilagrāma* proceeded to frequent attacks, and the robber (*dasyu*, i.e., Alaṅkāracakra) proved unable to meet [the latter], they became thin with care.

2533. *Loṭhana* whose suppleness of intellect was, however, openly reproaching the Dāmara who was fully taken up with the needful work (?).

2534. But *Bhoja* held back his excited uncle, saying: "We might be betrayed," and plied him (Alaṅkāracakra) continually to pretended eulogies.

2535. Towards *Loṭhana* who showed himself unfriendly, he (Alaṅkāracakra) maintained ever his deceitful conduct, while he trusted to some extent in his (*Bhoja's*) capacity for giving counsel owing to his conciliatory manners, and kept up a friendly understanding with him.

2536. He (*Bhoja*) kept back his uncle from asking [the Dāmara] for leave to go, saying: "He will not let us go, thinking that the king might kill him, if we are gone."

2537-2539. He (*Bhoja*) then represented to the Dāmaras: "If you and we are all besieged [together], then the enemies having no hostilities to fear from anywhere in the back, will be bold and firm in their endeavours. Whatever they would

2528. For an explanation of the description here given of the hill on which the *S'irahsilā* castle stood, see Note L (viii. 2492).

2531. The translation and text of the second Pāda is uncertain.

2532. For *dasyu* as a designation of a Dāmara, see note viii. 7.

2533. I am unable to give a satisfactory interpretation of the words *visravāṁśrūta*°.

2535. The text of this line seems defective, and the purport is not certain.



JAYASINHA
(A.D. 1128-49).

do, would succeed. Therefore, let me go hence alone. By quickly bringing up other *Javanyas* or the *Darads*, I shall raise the siege." By these reasonable representations he got him to assent, as it were, in a fashion.

2540. He (*Alamkārācakra*) preserved his outward kindness, yet imposed upon him continually by saying: "To-day, at night, or to-morrow, I shall let you go."

2541. As the communications had not yet been entirely cut off by the assailants who kept at a good distance [from the castle], they maintained themselves with the food-supply obtained from the outlying villages.

Diffidence of besiegers.

2542. *Dhanya* and the other [ministers] then apprehended a disastrous issue [of the expedition], and recommended the king to make peace with the enemy.

2543. The king thought the conclusion of peace impracticable for various reasons, and ordered them to lay siege to the walls of the castle.

2544. And he explained [to them]: "The *Ḍāmara* on receiving bribes [from them], would let my rival kinsmen go, and they would get off to their own place having acquired renown."

2545. "If we, even in this critical [state of affairs] show no persistent effort and no vigour, then we surely will come to regret it owing to the people reproaching us with lost opportunities."

2546. "Another [prince], too, feels mortified, when he hears it said: 'If King *Harṣa* had but held out for seven days, he might have got the stream of milk.'"

2547. "Everybody attains what is destined for him, by his acts, [be they] good or bad. But a lost opportunity (*kriyātipatti*) is held by the people equal to the three worlds (?)."

2548. "The winged ant, though it has feet as well as wings, cannot move about on the ground or in the air, but only in a hole, as if it were lame and blind. What is the use of attainments when the course is laid down by necessity?"

2549. "*Aruṇa*, though he has no thighs, guides the course of the sun (*sahasrapāda*). Could he have accomplished more, perhaps, if he had had two feet?"

2550. "Therefore cease to remain [mere] on-lookers, and lay siege to the whole castle. Let our lifetime pass, as well as theirs, in this [enterprise]."

2546. K. makes Jayasinha refer here clearly to the final struggle of Harṣa, in which that king could have saved his throne but for his want of decision.

In the expression *dugdhappravāham prāpsyat sa*, K. seems to produce a Kāśmiri proverb, similar to the present *sūry karihe dud hyu*, "he might have turned everything

into milk [if he had only done a certain thing]." The latter saying is often used in referring to lost opportunities.

2547. I cannot clearly construe the second half of this line, but the purport seems to be as indicated above. For A *loke* ... emend with *Dargapr. lokena*.