Attempted Iconoclasm:

Mahmud of Ghazna, King Yoga, and the Poet Dhanapala

samarpaṇam

This paper is an attempt to implement four major lessons that I've learned from Allison Busch's scholarship (among the many other important lessons I've learned from her): first; the obvious but demanding necessity of reading sources in the original language; second, rather than looking for history in explicitly historiographic genres, attending to the complex engagement with the past found in a variety of literary genres; third, understanding kings not just as powerful men but ciphers for ethical and political ideals, in this case the obligation to protect religious sites; finally, reading premodern sources against the grain of modern ideologies, especially regarding the representation of Muslims.

Introduction

In 1024 CE, Maḥmūd of Ghazna sacked the temple of Śiva at Somnath. Romila Thapar has very convincingly told the story of this story: what was, at the time, a relatively routine raid was transformed by many generations of storytellers, poets, and historians, according to the categories and preoccupations of every subsequent present. The story of what happened in 1024 remains one of the most compelling examples of the politics of memory in India.

This paper will focus on a small part of that story: a short Apabhramsha poem, composed by Dhanapāla shortly after Maḥmūd's raid, praising an image of Mahavīra in the town of Sanchore, in southwestern Rajasthan. This is the earliest testimony, indirect though it is, of Maḥmūd's raids in an Indian language, and perhaps one of the earliest works to mention it at all. This has been appreciated since Muni Jinavijaya published the poem in his journal, *Jaina Sāhitya Saṁśōdhaka*, in 1927, with a

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lengthy discussion in Gujarati in 1927. Most historians, including Thapar, know of Dhanapāla's poem from Dasharatha Sharma's summary in an English article of 1969. Sharma argued that Dhanapāla depicts an act of attempted iconoclasm on the part of Maḥmūd of Ghazna — that, in his telling, Maḥmūd's soldiers tried to carry the image of Mahāvīra away by force, and attacked it with axes when their attempt failed. In fact, as Jinavijaya already appreciated, Dhanapāla says that Maḥmūd's army made no attempt at all to destroy or take away the Sanchore Vīra. The attempted iconoclasm that he describes was not Maḥmūd's, but rather a certain Yōgarāja's, whom Dhanapāla places in the distant past.

Dhanapāla's hymn is not just a part of the story of Somnath. It is also part of the story of Dhanapāla himself, which deserves to be much better known. Dhanapāla was one of the very few poets to write in all of the "big three" languages — Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhramsha — and his Sanskrit novel, *Tilakamañjarī*, places him in the highest ranks of Sanskrit authors. He was personally connected to the court of Dhārā during the reigns of both Muñja (973–995) and Bhōja (1010–1055). He therefore had a key role in the most legendary court in Indian literary history.

I argue here that Dhanapāla's hymn might have had a political significance. It is ostensibly about the failure of Maḥmūd's armies to destroy the Sanchore Vīra, and indeed Maḥmūd's armies are described rather negatively. But there were other political actors around 1024 who are not explicitly mentioned in the hymn, the most important of which were the Cauḷukyas, headed by king Bhīma of Patan, and the Paramāras, headed by Dhanapāla's erstwhile patron, king Bhōja of Dhar. There are several suggestions in the hymn that the Cauḷukyas are weak, incompetent, and possibly even maniacally violent, while the Paramāras alone are powerful and capable of protecting their subjects. Dhanapāla only suggests these meanings, however, because Sanchore itself was within the realm of the Cauḷukyas.

I discuss the poem in the context of Dhanapāla's career first, then in the context of the historical events of the preceding decades. This paper concludes with an improved edition and the first translation of the hymn, along with some brief linguistic and metrical notes.

The poet and his world

We know more about Dhanapāla than we do about almost any other major poet of premodern India. This is primarily because he has told us about himself in his works.[1] But legends and stories about Dhanapāla also circulated in the Jain community, and were recorded in works like the *Prabhāvakacarita* (*Deeds of the Promoters of Jainism*) and *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* (*Wishing-Stone of Narratives*). The works of his that survive are: *Pāiyalacchī* (*Prakrit Lakṣmī*), a lexicon of Prakrit in Prakrit *gāthā*s, dated to 972/973 CE (1029 *vikrama*); *Tilakamañjarī*, a prose romance in Sanskrit, dated to the reign of Bhōja (1010–1055); *Ṛṣabhapañcāśikā* (*Fifty for Ṛṣabha*), a hymn in praise of Ṛṣabha in fifty Sanskrit verses; a hymn in praise of Mahāvīra, in which the first line of each of its 11 *gāthā*s is Sanskrit and the second is in Prakrit; another hymn in praise of Mahāvīra, in 30 Prakrit *gāthā*s, featuring the literary device of apparent contradiction (*virōdhābhāsa*); *Śrāvakavidhi* (*Rules for Laypersons*), a short guide for lay Jains, in 22 Prakrit *gāthā*s; a Sanskrit commentary on his brother Śōbhana's hymn to the twenty-four tīrthaṅkaras (*Śōbhanastuti*); and the Apabhramsha hymn to the Mahāvīra of Sanchore above.

In the introduction to his commentary on his brother's hymn, Dhanapāla says that their grandfather, Dēvarṣi, was a Brahmin from Saṅkāśya (modern Sankissa in U.P.), and that their father, Sarvadēva, was a learned man.[2] One of Sarvadēva's sons, Śōbhana, was extremely learned in grammar, Buddhist and Jain doctrine, and literature. (Saṅghatilakasūri says that Śōbhana's mother was named Sōmaśrī, but it also gives his father's name, incorrectly, as Sōmacandra.[3]) At a young age Śōbhana vowed not to engage in any blameworthy conduct and refrained from killing any living beings — like Riṣṭanēmi, Dhanapāla says, who renounced the world when he heard animals being slaughtered at his wedding. Śōbhana was Dhanapāla's younger brother, but died before him. As he was dying he asked his older brother, Dhanapāla, to write a commentary on his hymn. The verses about Dēvarṣi and Sarvadēva are repeated in the introduction to Dhanapāla's *Tilakamañjarī*.[4] There Dhanapāla also tells us that he wrote the *Tilakamañjarī* for Bhōja, the Paramāra king (p. 5, v. 50), and that he had previously received the title of "Sarasvatī" from Bhōja's uncle, King Muñja (p. 5, v. 53). At the end of his *Pāiyalacchī*, he says that he wrote the work in the city of Dhārā for his younger sister, Sundarī, in the year 1029 vikrama (972/973 CE), when the king of Mālava raided Mānyakhēṭa.[5] This probably refers to the attack made by the Paramāra king Sīyaka attacked on the Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital, Mānyakhēṭa (modern Malkhed in northern

Karnataka), when Khōṭṭiga was the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king.[6] Hēmacandra refers to Dhanapāla as a Prakrit lexicographer, but his quotations are not found in the *Pāiyalacchī*, so it is likely that Dhanapāla wrote another Prakrit lexicon that does not survive, of which *Pāiyalacchī* may be an abridgement.[7] His surviving works show that he had lived in Dhārā, and at some point visited Satyapura (Sanchore), although the hymn to the Sanchore Vīra allows us to say a bit more (see below).

Dhanapāla was not a Jain when he composed the *Pāiyalacchī*, but the rest of his works are clearly those of a Jain layman, who however continues to identify himself as a Brahmin.[8] Thus it appears that he became a lay follower (*śrāvaka*) of Jainism somewhat later in life. Traditional stories about Dhanapāla attribute this change to the influence of his younger brother, Śōbhana, which is likely enough.

The traditional stories convey many of the details noted above. Interestingly they omit all mention of Dhanapāla and Śōbhana's sister, Sundarī, who was evidently educated enough and interested enough in Prakrit literature for Dhanapāla to write a work specifically for her. They add a number of other details, however, which should be taken with a grain of salt, given that we don't know where they come from.[9]

Mērutuṅga adds that Dhanapāla and Śōbhana belonged to the Kāśyapa *gōtra*. All accounts say that Śōbhana was given by his father to a visiting Jain teacher, variously named Mahēndra, Vardhamāna, Yaśōdēva, or Jinēśvara.[10] Dhanapāla bore some resentment for the Jains as a result of this. He held a position at the Paramāra court at Dhārā. On one occasion Śōbhana visited him and impressed him with his compassion for living beings, leading Dhanapāla to pursue Jainism. Dhanapāla composed the *Tilakamañjarī* in part to gratify Bhōja's curiosity about Jainism. Prabhācandra adds that the text was edited (*aśōdhayat*, v. 202) by Śāntisūri, who earned the strange title of Vādivētāla "Debate Zombie," a Jain monk who died in 1038/1039 CE.[11] The stories say that Bhōja, after hearing the story, suggested a number of changes: he wanted to be the protagonist, and he wanted it to be more Śaiva. Dhanapāla angrily refused, and Bhōja burned the manuscript of the work. Dhanapāla became depressed, but luckily his daughter had memorized most of the story, and he wrote it out again.

Prabhācandra adds another episode that is relevant to this essay. Still seething at Bhōja for burning his manuscript, Dhanapāla retired to the temple of Mahāvīra at Sanchore (vv. 224–225), where he composed a number of hymns, including the hymn of contradictions in Prakrit mentioned previously

(v. 226). He remained there as a pilgrim (*tīrthasēvī*, v. 268) until Bhōja urgently requested him to come back to Dhārā to defeat a pompous debater named Dharma who had arrived from Bharuch in Gujarat. Dhanapāla resisted until Bhōja invoked their kinship relation through Muñja, Bhōja's uncle and Dhanapāla's patron. Bhōja here addresses Dhanapāla as an older brother. Dhanapāla comes back to Dhārā and defeats Dharma in a verse-completion contest (*samasyāpūrti*). Dharma leaves town and studies Jainism under Śāntisūri in Aṇahillapura (Patan) at Dhanapāla's suggestion.

The account of Dhanapāla's trip to Sanchore, omitted by Mērutuṅga, could easily be based on his hymn to the Sanchore Vīra. It is strange, though, that Prabhācandra does not mention this hymn, while the hymn he does mention contains no reference to Sanchore or indeed any other place.

Now let us see what the hymn to the Sanchore Vīra can add to this account, assuming that it is in fact by the same Dhanapāla (a question that I will return to below). The reference to the destruction of Somnath in verse 3 places the poem after 1024 CE. Supposing that he was around 20 when he wrote the *Pāiyalacchī*, he would have been in his 70s at the time of Maḥmūd's raid.[12] This was probably one of his last works. If he had worked at Dhārā for most of his life, he may well have retired to visit temples by this time. Several scholars have noted the list of places mentioned in verse 14, concluding from it that Dhanapāla was well-travelled.[13] From this list we can gain a better idea of the space in which Dhanapāla moved.

Kōriṇṭā is Korta (Kōraṭā), north of Mt. Abu. An inscription on an image of Pārśvanātha confirms that there was a temple of Mahāvīra here in 1032, toward the end of Dhanapāla's lifetime.[14] Sirimāla is Bhinmal, an ancient city that was under the indirect control of the Cāhamānas in the early eleventh century. Dhāra is of course Dhar, Bhōja's capital. Āhāḍu is probably Ahar (Āhāra), now part of Udaipur, which had become the capital of the Guhila kings in the tenth century. It, too, had a Jain temple from at least 972, when an image of Pārśva was installed. It had been attacked by Muñja.[15] Narāṇaū is probably Naraina (Naraiṇā), a major town of the Cāhamānas, which had been invaded by Maḥmūd, probably in his campaign of 1008–1009.[16] Al-Biruni mentioned it as the "capital of Gujarat," but after Maḥmūd's raid the inhabitants left for another place. Naraina continued to be an important center of Jainism, however, and a Jain image of Sarasvatī has been found there, dated to 1042 CE.[17] Jain speculates that the ruins and sculpture currently in Naraina once belonged to a Jain temple that was destroyed in the twelfth century. Aṇahilavāḍaū is of course Patan, and Pālittaṇaū is Palitana, both major

centers of Jainism. Vijayakoṭṭu remains unidentified, but it may have been Phalodi (i.e., Pōkaraṇa Phalōdi, not Pārśvanātha Phalōdi, which was founded in the twelfth century), previously known as Vijayapura or Vijayanagara, which was settled from at least the later eleventh century.[18]

<FIGURE ONE GOES HERE>

Figure 1: Map of the places mentioned in Dhanapāla's hymn.

We can make a number of observations about this list of places. First is that it broadly corroborates the date of the hymn. It mentions a number of places that declined in importance over the 11th century, namely Ahar and Naraina, and does not clearly mention any places that were founded after the 11th century, such as Palanpur or Ajmer. (Firishta's remark that Maḥmūd sacked Ajmer on his way to Somnath is an anachronism.[19]) Dhanapāla does not mention Mt. Abu, which is surprising given its importance as a center of Jainism and its close proximity to Sanchore. That might suggest that the hymn was composed before Vimala built his famous Ādinātha temple there in 1032 CE, although there might have been other reasons for Dhanapāla to keep silent about a temple built by a minister of the Cauḷukya king (see below).[20]

Second, Sanchore is located in the center of these places. With the Thar desert to the west, there is a smaller quadrangle formed by Bhinmal, Korta, Ahar, and Patan, and Sanchore lies just to the west; this quadrangle lies in the center of a much larger one formed by Naraina, Dhar, Palitana, and possibly Phalodi. This suggests that Dhanapāla's "home base," by the time he composed the hymn, was in southern Rajasthan and northern Gujarat, around the "inner quadrangle" of Bhinmal, Korta, Ahar, and Patan. Dhar is somewhat of an outlier, suggesting that it was where he worked, but not where he chose to spend his time. Similarly the towns of Palitana and Naraina are quite far from the inner quadrangle, and he probably visited them in the course of a pilgrimage.

When we come, thirdly, to the question of what kind of geography this list represents, we might at first assume that these places all, like Sanchore, had temples to Mahāvīra. In fact Jain took their mention in v. 13 as evidence for such a temple in the eleventh century. There is, of course, archaeological evidence for Jain temples in many of these places, including Korta and Naraina, and Palitana has the highest density of Jain temples of almost anywhere. Of the nine places mentioned, however, only Patan and Sanchore itself are mentioned in Jinaprabha's collection of stories about

pilgrimage sites (*Vividhatīrthakalpa*). Patan and Dhar were the principal cities of the Cauḷukyas and Paramāras, respectively, and while they certainly had Jain temples, their significance was largely political. This invites us to see a political message in v. 13. Dhanapāla could simply have been emphasizing that the geography of Jain pilgrimage was larger and more interconnected than realms of individual kings. Prabhācandra's story about Dhanapāla is similar, in that Dhanapāla is a loyal friend of Bhōja but nevertheless maintains collegial relations with monks in the Cauḷukya capital of Patan.

Yet there may be a tinge of political partisanship. Bhinmal and Patan, listed in v. 13, were also listed as regions towns attacked by the Turukkas in v. 3 (see below). They also happen to have belonged to Bhōja's rivals, the Cāhamānas and the Cauḷukyas (the former, however, were based in Śākambharī and ruled Bhinmal through feudatories). Naraina, too, although not previously mentioned in the poem, was sacked by Maḥmūd in an earlier raid. Ahar, the chief town of the Guhila kings, was similarly destroyed — not by Maḥmūd, but by Bhōja's uncle, the Paramāra king Muñja. From this context we might be able to draw out the following implication. The many religiously and culturally significant towns in northwestern India could be classified into three groups. Those, like Sanchore, whose holy power protected them from harm. Those, like Dhar, which were protected by the political strength of the Paramāra kings. And those that were left entirely exposed to attack, including the principal cities of the Cauḷukyas and Cāhamānas.

Even aside from this implication, however, the parallelism between the lists of places in v. 3 and v. 13 suggests a surprising parallelism between the subjects of these verses, that is, between Maḥmūd's armies and Dhanapāla himself. But what kind of parallelism is it exactly? Maḥmūd's armies went from town to town to destroy, but they met their match at Sanchore, where they could not destroy the image of Mahāvīra. Dhanapāla, too, went from town to town, and when he finally reaches Dhanapāla, he marvels (*cojja*) that he had never previously seen the image there. There is perhaps an undertone of Dhanapāla being a "spiritual warrior," a concept which is deeply embedded in Jainism (*vīra*, after all, means "warrior," and *jina* a "victor"). More salient, at least to me, is the sense that the geographies of conquest and pilgrimage, already overlaid onto each other as the map shows, converge at Sanchore, where the fulfillment of Dhanapāla mirrors, and is amplified by, the disappointment of enemy kings.

We can now turn to the question of the hymn's language: in what language was it written, and why? Apabhramsha designated the literary language used first, it seems, by members of the Ābhīra and

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Gūrjara communities.[21] By the ninth century, however, it had spread beyond this community and was used throughout India. It was one of the literary languages, alongside Sanskrit and Prakrit, favored by the Paramāra court, and King Muñja was known to composed Apabhramsha verse.[22] Dhanapāla's patron, Bhōja, did recognize a number of "regional" varieties of Apabhramsha, and probably had something to do with the *Rāula-vēla*, one of the earliest documents of the North Indian vernaculars, which represents a beauty contest in six different forms of vernacular speech.[23] We might wonder whether Dhanapāla's Apabhramsha has any regional characteristics. Some scholars have even assumed that Dhanapāla wrote this hymn in his "mother tongue" (*mātṛbhāṣā*).[24]

Since the text is based on a single manuscript to which I do not have access, it would be unwise to draw any definite conclusions in this matter. Orthography in particular is not probative, since scribes followed different orthographies depending on their training and inclination. Nevertheless we can notice two features of the orthography of this hymn that accord exactly with the orthography of Dhanapāla's Prakrit works: the use of *ya-śrutiḥ* — the insertion of the consonant *y* between two vowels, the second of which is *a* or *ā* — and the use of *n* at the beginning of a word and when doubled, and *ṇ* elsewhere. But in his Prakrit works Dhanapāla always writes *i* and *u*, rather than *ē* and *ō*, before double consonants, and here we encounter both spellings.

In terms of its phonology, morphology, and syntax, the language of the hymn does not differ in any significant respect from the Apabhramsha known from contemporary works. Its lexicon, and in particular its verbs, poses a number of challenges. It is nevertheless just possible that some of the words (*āhuṭṭha* for "attack," *pūṇahi* for "damage," etc.) are from the spoken language of southern Rajasthan. The use of *anu* (written thus) for "and" might indicate an affinity with Gujarati/Rajasthani (cf. modern Gujarati *anē*). In general, however, the language is exactly what we would expect Apabhramsha of any region of India to look like, and it is not particularly close to any of the vernacular languages exemplified in the contemporary *Rāula-vēla*.[25]

Why did Dhanapāla compose this hymn in Apabhramsha, after using Sanskrit and Prakrit for his entire life? Dhanapāla and his brother Śōbhana, however, had an extensive education in Sanskrit, thanks to their learned father, and Dhanapāla appears to have taken a serious scholarly interest in Prakrit as well. Their strengths and interests were thus largely elsewhere. But the hymn to the Sanchore Vīra is a different type of composition. It was not intended for a courtly audience, as was the *Tilakamañjarī*, nor

was it intended for learned Jain monks or laypeople, as were the hymns that he and his brother wrote in Sanskrit and Prakrit, which almost always involved clever literary and linguistic devices. I note that familiarity with Apabhramsha may probably be assumed for members of the Paramāra court, and several *ex tempore* verses in Apabhramsha are also attributed to Dhanapāla by Prabhācandra.

Jinavijaya drew attention to the fact that in Jinaprabha Sūri's discussion (see below) the Jain community put on a festival on the occasion of Maḥmūd's retreat from the region, which left the image of Sanchore unscathed. He speculated that the hymn was written to be performed on such an occasion.[26] In support of Jinavijaya's suggestion, we can note first of all that the hymn probably was meant to be sung, as indicated by its metrical form, its rhyme scheme, and the repetition of the deity in the last line, which is so common in *stuti*s and *stōtra*s in any language. Secondly, there is a long tradition of writing songs of praise for the *tīrthaṅkara*s, prominent teachers, and temples in regional languages.[27] We can think of Dhanapāla as a forerunner of this tradition, as Nahta implicitly did by putting him at the head of an anthology of Old Gujarati poems.[28] The difference is that Dhanapāla was writing at a time when the regional languages — whether we conceive of them as regionalizations of Apabhramsha, or literary languages with an independent developmental trajectory, or some combination thereof[29] — were much less firmly established as literary idioms. Hence Apabhramsha would have been a natural choice for a popular devotional song.

The historical context

We have to understand the hymn's structure before discussing its historical context.

Verse 1 introduces the subject, the image of Mahāvīra at Sanchore, and the main conceit of the hymn: given that Mahāvīra already vanquished the *karma*s and *kaṣāya*s, is it possible that he (i.e., his image at Sanchore) could be vanquished by anyone else? Verses 2–4 then discuss an attack by "wicked people" (*pāviṭṭha*). They attacked several cities, discussed below, apparently destroying sacred images (*varasuraha pahāranta khanda*, 2*a*) and killing Brahmins (*māhaṇa siri tōḍahi*, 2*a*). But when they set eyes on the Sanchore Vīra, they "did not strike him" (*paharanti na vīraha*, 2*d*). V. 4 compares the relative strength of the "the Turks" (*turukka*) and Mahāvīra to a list of conventional examples: stars and the sun, snakes and Garuda, and deer and lions.

Dhanapāla does not say when this attack happened, but that suggests it happened quite recently. Jinavijaya was the first to suggest that the attack of the Turks mentioned in verse 4 was Maḥmūd of Ghazna's famous raid, in the year 1024, on the temple of Somnath. There are three interlocking pieces of evidence for this interpretation.

The first is the list of places that are said in v. 3 to have been destroyed by the attackers (see the map above): Sirimāla (Bhinmal), Aṇahilavāḍaū (Patan), Caḍḍāvalli (Chandrawati), Suraṭṭhu (Saurashtra), Dēulavāḍaū (Delwada), and Somēsaru (Somnath). Jinavijaya claimed that "all of these names but one are found in the Muslim accounts of Maḥmūd of Ghazni's raid," referring to ibn Athir's account in *al-Kāmil fi-Tārīkh* as summarized by Vaidya (pp. 89–91). That account, however, only names Anilwad (Patan), Dabalwárh (Dilwara), and Somnath. But Dasharatha Sharma complemented ibn Athir's account with another source, namely, Farrukhi Sistani's *qaṣīda* commemorating the raid on Somnath, which he quotes from Nāẓim (pp. 215–218). Farrukhi was a contemporary of Maḥmūd, and probably accompanied him on the raid. Nāẓim notes that, according to Farrukhi, Maḥmūd went to Ludrava (Lodrava), Chīkūdar, Nahrwala (Patan), Mundher (Modhera), Dewalwara (Delvada), and finally Somnath. Sharma argued that the places mentioned by Dhanapāla largely corroborate the route given by Sistani. In particular, he noted that Dhanapāla's mention of Caḍḍāvalli (Chandrawati) supports Nāẓim's identification of Chīkūdar with Chiklodar Mātā hill, seventeen miles north of Palanpur, and very close to Chandrawati. In fact Sharma suggested that Chīkūdar might be a corruption of a word for Caḍḍāvalli (I leave it to Persian scholars to judge whether this is possible).[30]

Sharma thus argued, putting the evidence from Farrukhi and Dhanapāla together, that Maḥmūd came from Multan to Lodrava, near Jaisalmer, and from there proceeded to the region of Bhinmal, then to Chandrawati, from where, Sharma adds, Muḥammad of Ghor and Qutb-ud-Dīn entered Gujarat in later years.[31] There he reached Patan, which was quickly abandoned by the Cauḷukya king Bhīma, and from there he proceeded to Modhera. It is puzzling, however, that Farrukhi mentions nothing between Modhera and Delvada, and similarly Dhanapāla, between Chandrawati and Delvada, only mentions Saurashtra (*suraṭṭhu*), which could refer to the entire Kathiawad peninsula. Nāẓim took this to mean that Maḥmūd went straight across the peninsula, which is possible, especially if the Cauḷukyas were in retreat. Dhanapāla could well have meant that Maḥmūd's armies raided the region of Saurashtra on

their way to Delvada. In the above map, I have provisionally identified Dhanapāla's Saurashtra with Wadhwan, one of the region's principal towns at the time.

The convergence between Farrukhi and Dhanapāla is quite striking, and in my view strongly supports Jinavijaya's hypothesis that the "Turks" referred to in v. 4 are indeed the armies of Maḥmūd of Ghazna. Even more striking is the fact that Dhanapāla mentions these places in exactly the order in which Maḥmūd's armies would have reached them, with one exception that is probably metrically motivated (the armies would have reached Chandrawati before Patan). It would not have escaped Allison Busch that literary sources — a Persian praise-poem and an Apabhramsha hymn — have yielded details of Maḥmūd's campaign that are absent in self-consciously historical writing of a later period, including *al-Kāmil fi Tārīkh*, which is vague about the route, and the *Tārīkh-i Firishta*, which contains some anachronisms (see above).

The second piece of evidence is that Jinaprabha's *Vividhatīrthakalpa* (*The Many Places of Pilgrimage*), completed in Delhi in 1332, states that the Sultan of Ghazna (*gajjaṇavaī*) came to Sanchore in 1024 CE after devastating Gujarat.[32] Jinaprabha probably used Dhanapāla's hymn as a source, as I will suggest below, so it is not entirely independent, but his account is at least based on other sources besides Dhanapāla.

The third piece of evidence is Dhanapāla's authorship of the poem. The last two verses tell us explicitly that a man named Dhanapāla was the author, using a device that is common in Prakrit, Apabhramsha, and vernacular poetry, variously called *cihna* or *chāp* ("trademark"). If this Dhanapāla is the same Dhanapāla who worked under the Paramāra kings Sīyaka, Muñja, and Bhōja, then he would have been in his 70s when Maḥmūd's raid on Somnath happened, as noted above. But what makes us so sure that it is the same person? After all, Dhanapāla is a common name, and at least one other Dhanapāla wrote Apabhramsha poetry, namely, the author of the *Bhavisattakaha*, a Digambara Jain who belonged to the Dhakkaḍa lineage of merchants, probably around the Mt. Abu area.[33] This Dhanapāla's date is not known with certainty, but he probably lived in the later tenth century at the earliest. In my view, the author's evident familiarity with the events of the 1020s, the mention of Dhar (along with the political subtexts I identify in this paper), and the tradition about the author of the *Tilakamañjarī* becoming a pilgrim at Sanchore, which may admittedly not be independent of this hymn, all tip the balance of evidence in favor of his identification with the author of the *Tilakamañjarī*.

The second major section of the poem, vv. 5–7, describes an attack on the Sanchore Vīra in the distant past (*cirakāli āsi*, 5*a*). Sharma and subsequent scholars failed to distinguish between this section and the previous one, which likely refers to events contemporary with Dhanapāla, and hence they took the hymn to be saying something about Maḥmūd of Ghazna that, in my reading, it does not say. The topic of this section, as Jinavijaya had already noted, is not Maḥmūd of Ghazna, but "a certain king Yōga" (*kuvi jōga-narēsaru*, 5*a*).[34] The following verses make clear that Yōga was laying waste to Sanchore and wanted to carry off the image of Mahāvīra, which is described as golden (*cāmīyara*, 5*c*). He tied it to his horses, who were only ably to move it slightly. His soldiers then tied it to elephants, but when they tried pulling it, the ropes broke and they fell to the ground. Finally someone — the king himself, it seems — hacked at the image with axes. It is not exactly clear what happens next, but it seems that the axes bounced back on him and struck him on the head (v. 7). Dhanapāla says that the marks from the axes are still visible on the image. This remark suggests, again, that these events happened in the distant past, since poets often use this language ("still today…") to refer to the visible evidence in the present of events that took place in legendary or mythological time.[35] The fact that this king is described as "striking" the image (*tāḍiu*, 7*a*), while Dhanapāla had earlier said that the recent attackers did not attack it (2*d*), should have indicated to Sharma that verses 5–7 do not describe Maḥmūd or the Turks.

Sharma found some justification for his interpretation, according to which it was Maḥmūd's armies that are described as attacking the image in vv. 5–7, in Jinaprabha Sūri's *Vividhatīrthakalpa*.[36] Before giving Jinaprabha's account of these events, we must bear in mind what kind of account it is. The *Vividhatīrthakalpa* collects stories, both historical and legendary, about important places of pilgrimage.[37] In the case of Sanchore, he begins by relating a legend about the foundation of the city and twenty-four Jain temples by a king named Nāgaḍa, who was guided by the Jain preceptor Jajjiga. Although Jinaprabha dates the consecration of a brass image of Mahāvīra at Sanchore under Nāhaḍa to the second or third century CE, Dhaky has argued, not very convincingly in my view, that Nāgaḍa is probably meant to refer to Nāgabhaṭṭa, the ruler of Bhinmal and Jalore under the Gurjara-Pratīhāras (ca. 725–758 CE), and that Jajjiga might be Yakṣadatta Sūri, who is mentioned as a teacher in the area of Jalore around the seventh century.[38] Jinaprabha also mentions that that the superintending deity of Sanchore was a *yakṣa* named Brahmaśānti, whom he identifies as an incarnation of the *yakṣa* Śūlapāṇi,

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who, according to Jain lore, had attacked Mahāvīra when he was meditating in the village of Asthikagrāma and was won over by Mahāvīra's equanimity.[39]

Here is Jinaprabha's account:

> Then the king of Ghazna (*gajjaṇavaī*), a foreign king (*meccharāō*), came to Sanchore on his way from devastating Gujarat in 1081 of the Vikrama era (1024 CE). There he saw a beautiful Jain temple. The foreigners went inside, saying they were going to destroy it. They tied the image of Mahāvīra to an elephant, but weren't able to move it an inch. They then tied it to bullocks, who only were able to move it four inches, thanks to the *yakṣa* Brahmaśānti, because of the love he had [for Mahāvīra] in a previous existence. Even as the king of Ghazna himself was directing them, the image remained motionless. The foreign king was upset. He started hitting the image with hard blows. But the blows landed instead on the women in his harem. When the blows of their swords proved to have no effect, the Turks, out of resentment, cut off one finger of the image and left with it. Then the tails of their horses began to blaze with fire, and their moustaches began to twirl up. They got off their horses and started walking on foot, but immediately fell on the ground. The poor soldiers were crying out to Rahmān, their forces entirely destroyed, when an incorporeal voice addressed them from the sky: "Your life hangs in the balance because you have taken the finger of Mahāvīra." The king of Ghazna shook his head in amazement and ordered his chiefs to go back and put the finger back in place. The soldiers, terrified, brought it back and put it back on the image's hand. After experiencing this miracle the Turks never again even sought the augurs for [attacking] Sanchore. The fourfold community of ascetics was delighted, and they held a celebration at the Jain temple with worship, hymns, dancing, music, and gifts.[40]

Clearly elements of this story recall Dhanapāla's story of King Yōga: the immobile image, the attempt to move it with horses and elephants, the assault on the image itself. But some details are slightly different (the soldiers' blows mysteriously land in the king's harem, rather than bouncing back onto themselves), and some elements, such as the protection of Brahmaśānti and the story of the finger, have

no parallel in Dhanapāla's hymn. He does not mention the marks that are "still there" on the image, because by his time, the image had already been taken away to Delhi by ʿAlaʾ ad-Dīn and "subjected to public humiliation" in 1310 CE.[41] Jinaprabha, like Sharma, has collapsed the stories of Maḥmūd and King Yōga. The fact that he did so suggests that he was familiar with both stories, perhaps from secondhand knowledge of Dhanapāla's hymn, or that he was relying on an account that had already collapsed them. There were certainly stories to this effect circulating already by the beginning of the twelfth century, since a passage from Dēvasūri's commentary on his own *Jīvānuśāsana* (*Teaching on the Soul,* 1105–6) describes Sanchore as "the seat of the Holy Mahāvīra, who is famous for destroying the powerful pride of the foreign king."[42] He might have also taken certain liberties with the stories he collected. In his account of Sanchore, he makes reference to Brahmaśānti repeatedly: he says, for example, that Maḥmūd was unable to move the image due to the *yakṣa*'s protection, but that ʿAlaʾ ad-Dīn was able to carry it away because the *yakṣa* had taken the day off.

Jinaprabha certainly had other sources besides Dhanapāla's hymn for the story of Maḥmūd's attack, since he mentions the date of Maḥmūd's attack, which neither Dhanapāla nor Dēvasūri does. But from Dhanapāla's hymn it does not appear that Maḥmūd's armies made any attack at all on Sanchore or the temple of Mahāvīra there. It does seem from both accounts, however, that the army did pass through the town, for otherwise there would have been no question of an attack. Sharma noted that, according to the *Zayn ul-Akhbār* of Gardīzī and the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of Niẓamuddīn Aḥmad, Maḥmūd's army returned by way of Sindh: "his troops suffered great privations *en route*, in some places, on account of scarcity of water, and in others, for want of fodder."[43] He therefore conjectured that Sanchore was where the army finally found its bearings after wandering through the Rann of Cutch: "Perhaps the army was too dispirited and too tired after its fatiguing march across the Rann to think of destroying each and every temple that lay on the way."[44] Since Maḥmūd was, according to the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, being pursued by "Param Deo" — probably Bhōja, the Paramāra king — he probably would have wanted to leave the region as quickly as possible.

The final detail suggests that the celebration of Maḥmūd's retreat might have been, in part, a celebration of the Paramāra counterattack. Bhōja is of course not named in Dhanapāla's hymn, but if the locals of Sanchore credited Bhōja with Maḥmūd's retreat as much as the Persian sources did, then he would certainly have been an "absent presence." The case for such a reading gets stronger when we

have a closer look at the towns that Dhanapāla says have been devastated by the Turks (v. 3). Almost all of them had been ruled by rivals of the Paramāras. Bhinmal, as noted above, was ruled indirectly by the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī. Patan was of course the capital of the Cauḷukyas. Bhīma had ascended to the throne sometime in the 1020s, just before Maḥmūd's raid. Saurashtra, including Delvada and Somnath, was probably under Bhīma's control.

The one exception would seem to be Chandrawati, which was ruled by a dynasty called the Paramāras. But they were not necessarily friendly with the dynasty in Malwa with whom they shared a name. Jain reports that they "often ruled as vassals of the Chālukyas of Gujarat."[45] In Dhanapāla's time, the Paramāras of Chandrawati had a tense relationship with the Cauḷukyas, who periodically invaded them. Dharaṇīvarāha of Chandrawati was deposed by Mūlarāja in the late tenth century, and several generations later, Bhīma deposed Dhandhuka, king of Chandrawati, shortly before Maḥmūd's invasion. Hence, at the time of Maḥmūd's raid, it was controlled by Bhōja's chief rival, Bhīma. Bhīma's general Vimala was put in charge, and he built the great Ādinātha temple at Mt. Abu in 1032. Dhandhuka, meanwhile, had taken refuge with Bhōja, but was eventually allowed to return to Chandrawati as a vassal of the Cauḷukyas.[46] The mention of Chandrawati in a list of conquered towns would have counted doubly in Bhōja's favor. Not only was it then controlled by the Cauḷukyas, but its erstwhile king had come to Bhōja for protection.

The list given by Dhanapāla thus includes *only* towns controlled by the Cauḷukyas or Cāhamānas, and no towns controlled by the Paramāras. Of course this may simply be because *no* Paramāra territory to speak of lay along the route between Multan and Somnath that Maḥmūd had taken. But Maḥmūd's invasion could only have strengthened Bhōja relative to his regional rivals. And Dhanapāla's hymn, by focusing on the vincibility of the Cauḷukyas and Cāhamānas, suggests the invincibility of his unnamed patron.

Let us now return to the question of the identity of "King Yōga" mentioned in v. 5. His name, and the fact that Dhanapāla assigns him to the distant past, suggests first of all that he was not a Muslim, which is inconvenient for a popular right-wing historiography that associates the destruction of Indian temples and religious images exclusively with Muslims.[47]

Who was this "King Yōga"? There were several historical persons in the region called Yōgarāja. A few of them can be excluded, since they lived after Dhanapāla's time. One Yōgarāja belonged to the

Chandrawati Paramāras. He was the grandson of Dhandhūka, who was mentioned previously as taking refuge with Bhōja when attacked by the forces of the Cauḷukya king Bhīma, and therefore lived a few generations after Dhanapāla. Another Yōgarāja, though not a king, was the local ruler (*talārakṣa*) of Nagda under the Guhila king Padmasiṁha, who ruled at the beginning of the thirteenth century.[48]

I know of three Yōgarājas who lived before Dhanapāla, and all of them were associated with Gujarat. One dynasty, associated with the older name of Cāpa or Cāpōtkaṭa (Cāvaḍa), was founded by Vanarāja, who built the city of Patan (then known as Aṇahilavāḍa) in the middle of the eighth century. The *Ratnamālā*, a Prakrit work from the time of Bhīma II (thirteenth century) says that Vanarāja was a "robber" before becoming a king.[49] Possibly this refers to an incident related by Mērutuṅga in which Vanarāja had stolen the tribute that he was meant to convey to the king of Kānyakubja on behalf of another king, and with this wealth established his own kingdom.[50] The son and successor of Vanarāja was called Yōgarāja. He is assigned a rule of 25, 32, and 17 years by different texts; Mērutuṅga places him between 805 and 821 CE, although there are some discrepancies in Mērutuṅga's accounts that require us to take these dates with caution.[51] We know very little about this Yōgarāja except for a brief story related by Mērutuṅga: when a storm had blown a convoy of ships ashore at Somnath, he ordered his son Kṣēmarāja to leave them be, but Kṣēmarāja disobeyed him and confiscated all of the goods from the ships. Yōgarāja was angry because his son's action confirmed the common belief that Gujarat was ruled by robbers (*gūrjaradēśē caraṭarājyam ity upahasanti*), probably alluding to his father Vanarāja's reputation. He is said to have built a temple of Yōgīśvarī at Patan.[52]

The Harsolā copper-plates were issued from the banks of the Māhī river in 949 CE, when Sīyaka, the Paramāra king and at the time a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, was returning from a successful campaign against Yōgarāja, upon the invitation of the ruler of Khēṭaka-maṇḍala, modern Kheda district in Gujarat.[53] This Yōgarāja has never been identified. Diskalkar guessed that he may have been one of the Cāpōtkaṭa rulers of Patan, hence a descendant of the Yōgarāja mentioned just above, and possibly the last ruler before the dynasty was brought to an end by Mūlarāja. Ganguly identifies Yōgarāja instead with Avanivarman II, who is known to have been ruling in 899.[54] Avanivarman, also known as Yōgarāja, belonged to a Cāḷukya family of Saurāṣṭra that served the Pratīhāras of Kannauj, who were well-known enemies of Sīyaka's Rāṣṭrakūṭa masters. Ganguly admits that it is a bit unlikely, although not impossible, for Avanivarman to have ruled for 50 years. Diskalkar's

view seems more likely to me. In any case all three (or, if Ganguly is right, both) Yōgarājas belonged to Gujarat. The last Yōgarāja was an outright enemy of the Paramāra king Sīyaka. The first Yōgarāja lived before the Paramāra dynasty came into existence, but he was the king of Patan, which was the seat of Bhōja's principal rival, Bhīma. Because Sīyaka's victory over Yōgarāja possibly took place in Dhanapāla's lifetime — although he would probably not have remembered it — it seems unlikely that he would have placed this king in the distant past, so the second king of the Cāpōtkaṭa dynasty seems a more likely candidate.

The mention of Yōgarāja in Dhanapāla's hymn, then, would probably have suggested to his audience the wickedness of the kings of Patan, a "kingdom of robbers." We do not know whether the historical Yōgarāja made an unsuccessful attempt to capture Sanchore. But it is certainly plausible, given the proximity of Patan to Sanchore (roughly 77 miles), and also in light of subsequent events. For the Cāpōtkaṭa dynasty was ended by Mūlarāja, allegedly the nephew of the last Cāpōtkaṭa king, in the middle of the tenth century. He took over their capital of Patan and started a new dynasty called the Cauḷukyas.[55] He proceeded to do what the earlier Cāpōtkaṭa kings could not — namely, expand the kingdom beyond the region of Patan. Mūlarāja was in possession of the region around Sanchore by 995 CE, the last year of his reign, when the Bālērā plates record a gift of a village, Varaṇaka, in the Satyapura-maṇḍala.[56] Dhaky claims that the region had previously been controlled by the Paramāras.[57] The region continued to be ruled by the Cauḷukyas, either directly or through their feudatories, the Bhinmal Paramāras, for several centuries, until it was taken by ʿAlaʾ ad-Dīn around 1299. ʿAlaʾ ad-Dīn, as noted above, is said to have carried off the image of Mahāvīra to Delhi.[58]

If I am right, there might have been an ulterior motive in Dhanapāla's choice to illustrate the invincibility of the Sanchore Vīra with a legend about Yōgarāja. It was another opportunity — like the list of conquered towns — for him to cast hidden asperions on Bhōja's enemies. Since Sanchore was under the control of the Cauḷukyas, he probably did not want to say anything negative about the reigning Cauḷukya king, Bhīma, or his immediate ancestors, apart from the obvious and unavoidable fact that Maḥmūd's armies had marched right through Bhīma's territories. But he relates a story about a king, probably from Bhīma's capital of Patan, who just happened to *attempt* to do what Bhīma's ancestor, Mūlarāja, succeeded in doing, namely conquering the region of Sanchore. Of course neither Bhīma nor Mūlarāja, as far as we know, attacked the Sanchore Mahāvīra with axes. But they, like

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Bhōja, are certainly "absent presences" in this hymn. Unlike Bhōja, they are associated, albeit only implicitly, with rapaciousness and defeat.

Someone who listened to or read Dhanapāla's hymn would therefore not have come to the conclusion of Jinaprabha, Sharma, and others that Maḥmūd personally attacked the image of Mahāvīra at Sanchore. But they might have come to the conclusion that Maḥmūd's raids, which bypassed Sanchore, were a kind of retribution for the attacks of past kings, and were allowed to happen because of the weakness and incompetence of the Cauḷukyas and their allies. To be completely clear, this is not an interpretation that I myself endorse, nor would I like to elevate this political subtext to the primary meaning of the hymn, which is, after all, a relatively conventional hymn of praise. I do, however, think that the historical and political context assists us in interpreting the hymn, especially the geography that Dhanapāla conjures up, and the legendary examples he turns to.

One final historical point: according to ibn Athir, Maḥmūd raided Somnath in the middle of Dhū al-Qaʿdah in year 414, which would correspond to January 1024 CE. The date is given as 1025 or 1026 in several sources, probably because *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* says that it took place after year 415.[59] Dhanapāla refers in v. 10 to worshiping the image with *vaïsāha-*, which may be *punarnavā* flowers, but in any case refers to something connected to the month of Vaiśākha in April/May. If Sharma is right, and the hymn was composed on the occasion of a festival celebrating the survival of Sanchore after Maḥmūd's raid, then the festival might have taken place in April/May 1024.

Text and translation

The text is that of Jinavijaya Muni (= J in the notes), with some slight corrections, mostly motivated by the meter. There are several instances in which Jinavijaya has written *anusvāra* and the meter requires a light syllable, and I have silently written such non-moraic nasalizations with a tilde (e.g., *ũ*). Jinavijaya distinguished long and short *o* in his edition, and I follow him in writing *ō* where a heavy syllable is required and *o* where a light syllable is required. Jinavijaya only says that the manuscript is from the "Pāṭan nā bhaṇḍār"; I have not been able to trace the work in any of the catalogues of the Patan libraries and it is not mentioned in Kunjunni Raja's *New Catalogus Catalogorum* or in Velankar's *Jinaratnakośa*. Jinavijaya says that the manuscript is from ca. 1300 CE, and includes a number of hymns. The text was reprinted by Dhaky in 2005 (= D), which is identical to Jinavijaya's text apart from

a few typographic errors. The beginning and end (vv. 1, 13–15) were also reprinted in Nāhaṭā's *Jaina Maru-Gūrjara Kavi Aura Unakī Racanāëṁ*, pp. 1–2.

The meter is the *vastuka* (sometimes also called *kāvya*), which has twenty-four moras per line, arranged into numbered groups (*gaṇa*s) of syllables as follows:[60]

[TABLE ONE GOES HERE]

Table 1: Analysis of the metrical line.

jiṇavarēṇa[61] *duṭṭhaṭṭha kamma balavantā mōḍiya*
        caü-kasāya pasaranta jēṇa ummūla-vitōḍiya
tihuyaṇa-jagaḍaṇa-mayaṇa-sarahi taṇu jāsu na bhijjaï
        iyara-narahi saccaüri-vīru sō kima jagaḍijjaï ~ 1

The great Jina destroyed the eight types of bad karmas,
        powerful as they were.
He completely uprooted the pervasive four kaṣāyas.
His body was not harmed by the arrows of the god of Love,
        who contends against the three worlds.
How could other kings contend with him, the Sanchore Vīra?

NOTE: The eight types of *karma* include the four destructive karmas (*darśanāvaraṇa* "perception-obscuring," *jñānāvaraṇa* "knowledge-obscuring," *vīryāntarāya* "energy-obstructing," and *mōhanīya* "bliss-defiling") and the four non-destructive *karma*s (determinative of nāma "body type," *āyuḥ* "longevity," *gōtra* "environmental circumstance," and *vēdanīya* "mundane experience"). The four *kaṣāya*s are krōdha "anger," *lōbha* "greed," *māna* "pride," and *māyā* "deceitful manipulation."[62]

        varasuraha[63] *pahāranta*[64] *khandha māhaṇa siri tōḍahi*
                pharasu hatthi[65] *gabbharuya lēvi taruvārihi jhōḍahi*
        tē tērisa pāviṭṭha duṭṭha āruṭṭha sudhīraha
                nayaṇihi pecchahi jāva tāva paharanti na vīraha ~ 2

Attacking the bodies of the great gods,

> they struck Brahmins on the head.

Young men took axes in their hands and thrashed them with swords.

Such people are wicked and base, seething at the wise.

When they saw him with their own eyes,

> however, they did not strike the Vīra.

NOTE: I take *gabbharuya* as *garbharūpa*.

> *bhañjēviṇu sirimāladēsu anu aṇahilavāḍaŭ*
>
> > *caḍḍāvalli suraṭṭhu*[66] *bhaggu puṇu dēulavāḍaŭ*
>
> *sōmēsaru sō tēhi bhaggu jaṇa-maa-āṇandaṇu*
>
> > *bhaggu na siri-saccaüri-vīru siddhatthaha nandaṇu ~ 3*

They devastated the region of Bhinmal and Anhilwad,

Chandrawati, Saurashtra, and Dilvada, devastated,

They devastated Somnath, which brought joy and delight to the people.

But they did not devastate the holy Sanchore Vīra,

delight of those who have reached their aims.

NOTE: See the map above.

> *bahuēhi vi tārāyaṇēhi ravipasaru kiṁ bhijjaï*
>
> > *bahuēhi visaharēhi*[67] *milivi kiṁ guruḍu galijjaï*
>
> *bahu kuraṅga āruṭṭha karahi kiri kāi mayandaha*
>
> > *pūṇahi*[68] *bahuya turukka kāĩ saccaüri-jiṇindaha ~ 4*

Can the stars, however numerous they may be, obstruct the sun's glow?

Can so many serpents come together and swallow Garuḍa?

Can so many antelopes menace the Lord of Beasts?

Can so many Turks damage the great Sanchore Jina?

kasaṇalēsu[69] *cirakāli āsi kuvi jōga-narēsaru*

      uvvasiyaï saccaüri diṭṭhu tahi vīru jiṇēsaru

ārambhiu āhuṭṭha raṅgu cāmīyara-vara-taṇu

      vara-turaṅga-dōrahi nimittu naravaïhi caliu maṇu ~ 5

There was in the distant past a king Yōga, whose soul was black (?).

He was laying waste to Sanchore

      when he saw Vīra, the Lord Jina, there.

He started to attack the platform, and having fastened

his golden body with ropes attached to horses,

the kings managed to move him only slightly.

NOTE: *Kasiṇāṇu* is a problem. *Kasiṇa* (= *kasaṇa*) "black" is perhaps to be read in compound. For *āhuṭṭha*, which I take as an infinitive going with *ārambhiu*, cf. Prakrit *āhōḍa* and Rajasthani *āhuḍaṇau* "break, attack."[70] It may, however, be an adjective, making *āhuṭṭha-raṅga* a qualifier of the Jina's body.

rāyāēsihi duṭṭha-bhaḍihi jiṇu jāva na nāmio

      baddhu sāmi karivaraha khandhi rajjuhũ sandāmio

kaḍḍhantaha tuṭṭēvi rajju haya gaya dharaṇīyali

      niviḍiya jima paricatta ruṇḍa pecchantaha parabali ~ 6

While the Jina could not be pulled down by those wicked soldiers,

      acting on their king's orders,

they tied the lord fast with ropes to the shoulders of great elephants.

But as they were dragging him, the ropes broke,

and the elephants and horses fell to the ground

      like headless bodies while the enemy army watched on.

puṇavi kuhāḍā hatthi lēvi jiṇavarataṇu tāḍiu

      paccuttharavi[71] *kuhāḍaēhī*[72] *sō siri ambāḍiu*

ajjavi dīsahi aṅgi ghāya sōhiya tasu dhīraha

      calaṇajuyalu saccaüri-nayari paṇamahu tasu vīraha ~ 7

Once again, taking axes in hand,

      he struck the body of the Jina.

The axes bounced back and struck him on the head.

Still today the shining wounds can be seen

      on the body of that wise man.

I bow to the feet of that Vīra in the city of Sanchore.

NOTE: *Paccuttharavi* (ed. *pacchutthaḍavi*) must be a converb from the verb *utthara* (given the meaning *ākram* in Sheth's *Pāia-sadda-mahaṇṇavo*) with the prefix *pacc-* (from *prati*), hence it means "having attacked [him] in response." *ambāḍiu* remains unclear to me: it is assigned the meanings "hidden" (*tiraskṛta*) and "reproached" (*upālabdha*) in the *Pāia-sadda-mahaṇṇavo*, but I wonder whether it is not a nonce word based on *amba* "mango," i.e., "he was mangoed on the head by the axes" = the axes smashed his head like a ripe mango.

> *gōsālā saṅgamaya-amara-uvasagga sahēviṇu*
>
>   *jō na caliu jhāṇaï jiṇindu siva-suha-taggaya-maṇu*
>
> *tasu kittiya uvasagga sahavi kiya naraha narindaha*
>
>   *namahu namahu saccaüri-vīru jō caramajiṇindaha ~ 8*

He put up with Gōsāla, and the assaults of the god Saṅgamaka,

and did not move, but meditated with his mind

      focused on auspicious bliss.

Men and kings alike have praised him for withstanding these assaults.

I bow again and again to the Sanchore Vīra,

      the final Lord Jina.

NOTE: Gōsāla (Makkaliputra Gōśāla) was one of the early associates of Mahāvīra. He was a contemporary of Vardhamāna and Siddhārtha Gautama, and was subsequently remembered as the founder of the Ājīvika community. Jain legends depict him as an eager although undisciplined follower of Vardhamāna, who eventually broke away from the community and called himself a Jina. Toward the end of both their lives they had an acrimonious confrontation which resulted in each of them cursing the other to death. Saṅgamaka was a deity who attacked Vardhamāna while he was meditating.[73] In line

22

c we would expect *narahi narindahi*, an instrumental case form, but the genitive has been used for the sake of the rhyme.

> *jasu viraïjjai*[74] *samavasaraṇu caü-dēva-nikāyahi*
>> *jasu paṇamiu*[75] *calaṇāravindu sura-vara-saṅghāyahi*
> *caüdasa-rajjaha bhuvaṇa-nāhu jō jantu-hiyaṅkaru*
>> *sō paṇamahu saccaüri-nayari siri-vīru jiṇēsaru ~ 9*

> His samavasaraṇa was constructed by the four orders of divine beings,
> and his lotus feet were honored by crowds of the greatest gods.
> The lord of the earth, who benefits beings of the fourteen kingdoms —
> I do reverence to the holy Vīra, the great Jina, in the town of Sanchore.

NOTE: *Samavasaraṇa*: The hall in which a newly omniscient Jina gives his first discourse. The four orders of divine beings are *bhavanavāsī* (those who reside in mansions), *vyantaravāsī* (peripatetic), *jyōtiṣka* (those who reside in the stars), and *vaimānika* (those who reside in heaven).[76] I do not know of a specific reference in Jain cosmology for the "fourteen kingdoms," but traditional Indian cosmology recognizes seven subterranean and seven celestial realms, and this expression could therefore refer to the entire universe.

> *kusuma-vuṭṭhi kiṅkilli camara kinnara-dēvajjhuṇi*[77]
>> *chattacindha-dundahi-nighōsa saṇṭhiu sīhāsaṇi*
> *bhā-maṇḍalu dēhāṇulaggu jasu tihuyaṇi chajjaï*
>> *vaïsāhihi saccaüri-vīru sō kima paṇamijjaï ~ 10*

> Showers of flowers, aśōka leaves, fly-whisks, the divine sound of Kinnaras,
> Royal umbrellas, the sound of kettle drums, placed on a lion-throne —
> since it is on his body that the orb of the sun shines in the three worlds,
> How is that Sanchore Vīra to be praised with springtime flowers?

NOTE: Althoug *vaïsāhihi* might be more naturally taken as an expression of time, the context requires an instrument by means of which Mahāvīra is praised.

23

jima mahantu girivaraha mēru gaha-gaṇaha divāyaru

      jima mahantu su sayambhu-ramaṇu uvahihĩ rayaṇāyaru

jima mahantu suravaraha majjhi suralōi surēsaru

      tima mahantu tiya-lōya-tilaü saccaüri-jiṇēsaru ~ 11

As great is Meru is among the best mountains,

 and the sun among celestial bodies,

as great as the Svayambhūramaṇa ocean among bodies of water,

as great as Indra in heaven among the best gods,

so great is the Lord Jina of Sanchore,

      the forehead-ornament of the three worlds.

NOTE: *Svayambhūramaṇa*: The ocean that encircles the world in Jain cosmology.

uddālavi diṇayaraha tēu gahavaï-sōmattaṇu

      gambhīrima sāyaraha haravi mandiraha thirattaṇu

ghaḍiu vīru naṁ amiu lēvi saccaüri suṇijjaï

      tihuaṇi tasu paḍibimbu natthi jasu uppama dijjaï ~ 12

In Sanchore it is said that this Vīra must indeed have been made

      by taking splendor from the sun, gentleness from the moon,

      depth from the ocean, stability from Mount Mandāra, and nectar.

There is no counterpart to it in the entire world

      with which it could be compared.

NOTE: *Gahavaï* may be an endingless genitive or may simply be in compound with *sōmattaṇu*.[78]

kōriṇṭā[79]*-sirimāla dhāra āhāḍu narāṇaũ*

      aṇahilavāḍaüṁ vijayakoṭṭu puṇa pālittaṇaũ[80]

pikkhivi tāva bahutta ṭhāma maṇi cojja païsaï

      jaṁ ajjavi saccaüri-vīru lōyaṇihi na dīsaï ~ 13

Although I have seen many places — Korta, Bhinmal,

Dhar, Ahar, Naraina, Anhilvad, Vijaykote, and Palitana —

it is truly amazing that to this day

my eyes have not seen the Sanchore Vīra.

sahasēṇa[81] vi lōyaṇaha titti[82] nahu[83] hōi niyantaha

        vayaṇasahassēhi guṇa na tuṭṭhu niṭṭhiyahi thuṇantaha

ekka jīha dhaṇapālu bhaṇaï ikku je[84] maha niya-taṇu

        kiṁ vannaü saccaüri-vīru haü puṇu ikkāṇaṇu ~ 14

You would not be satisfied to look on him with a thousand eyes.

A thousand mouths would not suffice to sing his praises.

Dhanapāla says: I have but one tongue, and just one body.

How can I, with just one mouth, describe the Sanchore Vīra?

rakkhi sāmi pasarantu mōhu nēhuṇḍuya tōḍahi

        sammadaṁsaṇi[85]-nāṇa-caraṇi[86] bhaḍu kōhu vihāḍahi

kari pasāu saccaüri-vīru jaï tuhu maṇi bhāvaï

        taï tuṭṭhaü[87] dhaṇapālu jāu jahi gayaü na āvaï ~ 15

Protect me, lord, from the enroaching illusion;

        tear apart the net of desire.

With right vision, right knowledge, and right conduct,

        destroy the enemy that is anger.

Be gracious, Sanchore Vīra. If this pleases your heart,

        then Dhanapāla will be pleased.

May he go to where, having gone, one does not return.

NOTE: *nēh'-uṇḍuya*: possibly the net of desire; in any case we expect a reference to desire, on the basis of the mention of delusion and anger in the verse.

Language

For reference I collect a few general observations about the language of the hymn, which in most respects is standard Apabhramsha.

Phonology: Assimilation of the final (stem) vowel to the vowel of the ending takes place in *nayaṇihi* (2d), *taruvārihi* (2b), *bhaḍihi* (6a), *lōyaṇihi* (13d) but not *narahi* (1d), dōrahi (5d). The ending *-uṁ* (or *-ū*) is used in 3a and 3b, and 13a and 13b. The ending *-o* (counted as short) for the masc. direct case appears in 6a and 6b; the ending *-ā*, also for the masc. direct case, a contraction of *-aü*, appears at 8a.

Morphology: The 3pl. is typically *-ahi* (2d, 4c, 7c), but once *-anti* (2cd); the frequency is what we would expect. A striking feature here, although somewhat common in Apabhramsha, is the use of the past participle stem as the stem of a finite verb: *uvvasiyaï* (5b), *niṭṭhiyahi* (14b), *tuṭṭhaü* (15d).[88] Of the possible converb endings, *-i*, *-vi* (including *-ēvi*, *-ivi* and *-avi*) and *-ēviṇu* occur. If I am right to take *nimittu* as a converb, then it displays the Prakritism *-ttu*, which is otherwise very rare in Apabhramsha.

Syntax: The oblique forms, specifically the inherited genitive, are sometimes used for the direct object (*vīraha* in 2d, *jiṇindaha* in 4d; *carama-jiṇindaha* in 8d, where it seems to be modified by the direct case form *jō*). This seems somewhat rare to me, but it is paralleled in other Middle Indic languages, and in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.[89]

Lexicon: Of the verbs, mention might be made of *jhōḍa* (no. 5414 in Turner's *Comparative Dictionary*), *jagaḍa* (no. 5321), and *chajja* (no. 4982); *pūṇahi* recalls *puṇṇau* "destroy" in Rajasthani. I still find *ambāḍiu* obscure (7b). Of the nouns only *gabbharuya* (2b) and *uṇḍuya* (15a), if they are the right readings, are notable.

Notes

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1   See Yadava, *Dhanapāla*, for details.
2   See Kapadia, *Śrī Śōbhana Stuti*, 34, and Hitavardhanavijaya (ed.), *Śōbhanastuti-Vṛttimālā*, 9–10.
3   Kapadia, *Śrī Śōbhana Stuti*, 35.
4   Kansara, *Tilakamañjarī*, 5, vv. 51–52.
5   Bühler, *Pâiyalachchî*, 6.
6   Trivedi, *Inscriptions of the Paramāras*, part I, 10.
7   Bhayani, *Deśya Lexicography*, 39.
8   Bühler, *Pâiyalachchî*, 9; see also Kansara, *Tilakamañjarī*, p. 5, v. 53 (*vipraḥ śrīdhanapālaḥ*).
9   For a summary of Prabhācandra's account in the *Prabhāvakacarita* (1278 CE, pp. 138–151 in the 1940 edition of Jinavijaya), see Granoff, "Sarasvatī's Sons," 372–375; for Mērutuṅga's account in the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* (1306 CE, pp. 36–42 in the 1933 edition of Jinavijaya), see Tawney, *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, 52–62.
10 Kapadia, *Śrī Śōbhana Stuti*, 36.
11 Wiles, "The Dating of the Jaina Councils," 68.
12 Yadava, *Dhanapāla*, 4–5.
13 Dōśī, *Pāia-lacchīnāmamālā*, 31; Yadava, *Dhanapāla*, 15.
14 Jain, *Ancient Cities*, 285–286.
15 Jain, *Ancient Cities*, 221, 223; Majumdar, *Chaulukyas*, 30.
16 Jain, *Ancient Cities*, 316; Devra, "Identification of 'Naraina,'" 153.
17 Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, 202; Jain, *Ancient Cities*, 317–318.
18 Jain, *Ancient Cities*, 313, 425.
19 Bühler, "The Origin of the Town of Ajmer," 55.
20 Jain, *Ancient Cities*, 450.
21 See Thakur and Jha, *Kāvyalakṣaṇa*, 1.36, p. 25.
22 Bhayani, "Five Apabhramsa Verses."
23 For more on the Rāula-vēla see Lenz, "New Interpretation."
24 Dōśī, *Pāia-lacchīnāmamālā*, 30.
25 The first language exemplified in this work, according to Lenz, "New Interpretation," might be Gujarati.
26 Jinavijaya, "Paricaya," 250: *saṁbhav chē kē, ē j prabhāvanā prasaṅgē mahākavi dhanpāla tyāṁ upsthit hōy anē pōtē paṇ ā gīt banāvī ē prabhāvnānā kāryamāṁ sammilit thayō hōy!* ("It's possible that the great poet Dhanapāla was present on the occasion of this very festival and that he participated in its proceedings by composing this song.")
27 Kochaḍ, *Apabhraṁś Sāhitya*, 364–371; Nāhaṭā, *Jaina Maru-Gūrjara Kavi*.
28 Nāhaṭā, *Jaina Maru-Gūrjara Kavi*.
29 Bangha, "Emergence of Hindi Literature."
30 The identification was also supported by Minorsky in his review of Nāẓim's book: this passage is corrupt, and for *chīkūdar*, the meter requires ‾˘‾˘ instead of ‾‾‾, so Minorksy suggests reading *chīkuludra*.
31 Sharma ("New Light," 168) considers Bhinmal to have been raided on Maḥmūd's return journey.
32 For the date of the text see Chojnacki, *Vividhatīrthakalpaḥ*, 35.
33 Dalal and Gune, *Bhavisayattakaha*, 2–3.
34 Jinavijaya, "Paricay," 251: … *sācōrnā ē mahāvīra upar turkō sivāy bījā paṇ ēk kaī rājāē karēlā ākramaṇṇē nirdēś karēl chē… paṇ ē nirdēśa bahu spaṣt samjātuṁ nathī tēthī ē viṣē kāṁī uhāpōh karī śakāy tēm nathī. kōī jōg nāmnā rājāē ē ākramaṇ karēluṁ hōy ēm lāgē chē.* ("He makes reference to an attack on the Sanchore Vīra by a certain king besides the Turks… but the reference is not very clear, so there is no point in making guesses about it. It seems that the attack was made by a certain king named Jōga.")
35 See, for instance, vv. 171–175 in Ollett, *Lilavai*, 50–51.
36 Jinavijaya, *Vividha Tīrtha Kalpa*, 29–30.
37 As Chojnacki says about the account of Sanchore, "[l]'auteur mêle motifs légendaires et historiques qui doivent illustrer les pouvoirs miraculeux de la statue de Mahāvīra" (*Vividhatīrthakalpa*, 379).
38 Dhaky, "Mahāvīra of Satyapura," 44–45.
39 Johnson, *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, 45–49.
40 *Vividhatīrthakalpa* §17 (Jinavijaya, *Vividha Tīrtha Kalpa*, 29–30): *taō annayā annō gajjaṇavaī gujjaraṁ bhañjittā taō valantō pattō saccaürē dasa-saya-ikkāsīē (1081) vikkamavarisē meccharāō. diṭṭhaṁ tattha maṇōharaṁ vīrabhavaṇaṁ. paviṭṭhā haṇa haṇa tti bhaṇirā milakkhuṇō. taō gayavarē juttittā vīrasāmī tāṇiō. lēsamittaṁ pi na caliō saṭṭhāṇāō. taō baïllēsu juttiēsu puvvabhavarāgēṇa bambhasantiṇā aṅgulacaükkaṁ cāliō. sayaṁ hakkantē vi gajjaṇavaïmmi niccalī hōuṁ ṭhiō jaganāhō. jāō vilakkhō milakkhunāhō. taō ghaṇaghāēhiṁ tāḍiō sāmī. lagganti ghāyā ōrōhasundarīṇaṁ. taō khaggapahārēsu vihalībhūēsu maccharēṇaṁ turukkēhiṁ vīrassa aṅgulī kaṭṭiā. taṁ gahiūṇa ya tē paṭṭhiā. taō laggā pajjaliuṁ turayāṇaṁ pucchā. laggā ya valiuṁ micchāṇaṁ mucchā. taō turaē chaḍḍittā pāyacāriṇō cēva payaṭṭā, ghasa*

tti dharaṇīē paḍiā. rahamāṇaṁ sumarantā vilavantā dīṇā khīṇasavvabalā nahaṅgaṇē adiṭṭhavāṇīē bhaṇiā ēvaṁ — vīrassa aṅguliṁ āṇittā tumhē jīvasaṁsaē paḍiā. taō gajjaṇāhivaī vimhiamaṇō sīsaṁ dhuṇantō sillārē āisaï jahā — ēyam aṅguliṁ valiūṇa tatthēva ṭhāvēha. taō bhīēhiṁ tēhiṁ paccāṇīyā. sā laggā ya jhaḍa tti sāmiṇō karē. tam acchēraṁ picchia puṇō vi saccaüraṁ paï saüṇaṁ pi na magganti turukkā. tuṭṭhō caüvvihō vi samaṇasaṅghō. vīrabhavaṇē pūā-mahimā-gīya-naṭṭa-vāïtta-daviṇa-dāṇēhiṁ pabhāvaṇaṁ karēi. This is translated into French in Chojnacki, *Vividhatīrthakalpaḥ*, 386–387, whose suggestions for difficult words I have largely adopted.

41 Chojnacki, *Vividhatīrthakalpaḥ*, 389–390.
42 Dhaky, "Mahāvīra of Satyapura," 46 (*mlēccharāja-balabhadra-darpa-bhañjana-labdha-māhātmya-śrī-mahāvīra-sadana-maṇḍitam*).
43 De, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 16.
44 Sharma, "New Light," 168.
45 Jain, *Ancient Cities*, 342.
46 Ram, "Fragmentary Grant," 136; Jain, *Ancient Cities*, 342.
47 See Flood, *Objects of Translation*, for a well-documented and perceptive critique of these tropes pertaining to Maḥmūd of Ghazna's campaigns.
48 Halder, "Chirava Inscription," 285–286; Jain, *Ancient Cities*, 216.
49 Cort, *Jains in the World*, 36; Forbes, "Ratna Mala," 38. Note that the Prakrit original of Forbes' translation has not been published and is probably now lost.
50 Burgess and Cousens, *Architectural Antiquities*, 5–6.
51 Tawney, *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, 19–20; Campbell, *History of Gujarat*, 153–154; Burgess and Cousens, *Architectural Antiquities*, 8.
52 Jinavijaya, *Prabandha Cintāmaṇi*, 14; Burgess and Cousens, *Architectural Antiquities*, 8.
53 Trivedi, *Inscriptions of the Paramāras*, Part II, 4–5.
54 Diskalkar, "New Light," 306; Ganguly, *History of the Paramâra Dynasty* 39; Kielhorn, "Two Copper-Plate Inscriptions."
55 Majumdar, *Chaulukyas*, 23.
56 Konow, "Bālērā Plates."
57 Dhaky, "Mahāvīra of Satyapuram," 5.
58 Jain, *Ancient Towns*, 198–201.
59 See De, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 14–15.
60 This table synthesizes the data of the hymn with the descriptions of Alsdorf, *Kumārapālapratibodha*, 74–75, Velankar, "Apabhraṁśa Metres," 41–42, and Jinavijaya and Bhayani, *Saṁdeśa Rāsaka*, 58.
61 *jiṇavarēṇa*] conj.; *jiṇava jēṇa* JD. I can make no sense of *jiṇava*.
62 See Jaini, *Jaina Path*, 115, 118, from whom the translations for these terms are taken.
63 *varasuraha*] conj.; *varasurahi* JD.
64 *pahāranta*] conj.; *paharanta* JD.
65 *hatthi*] conj.; *atthi* JD. See 7a.
66 *suraṭṭhu*] conj.; *sōraṭṭhu* JD.
67 *visaharēhi*] conj.; *vi visaharēhi* JD.
68 *pūṇahi*] conj.; *pūṇihi* JD.
69 *kasaṇalēsu*] conj.; *kasiṇāṇiṇu* JD, which I cannot make sense of.
70 Sheth, *Pāia-sadda-mahaṇṇavo*, s.v. *āhōḍa*, and Lālasa, *Rājasthāṁnī Sabada Kōsa*, 236, s.v. *āhuḍaṇau*.
71 *paccuttharavi*] conj.; *pacchutthaḍavi* JD.
72 *kuhāḍaēhī*] conj.; *kuhāḍēhiṁ* JD.
73 On Gōsāla, see Jaini, *Jaina Path*, 21–25, and Hēmacandra's version of the story in Johnson, *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, 64–65; 217–222; see Balcerowicz, *Early Asceticism*, for an analysis of the legends. On Saṅgamaka see Johnson, *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, 92–105.
74 *viraïjjaï*] conj.; *virajjaï* JD.
75 *paṇamiu*] conj. *paṇamijjaï* JD. Certainly influenced by the preceding line.
76 Jaini, *Jaina Path*, 36, 129.
77 *jjhuṇi*] conj.; *jhuṇi* JD.
78 See Bhayani, "Endingless Genitives."
79 *kōriṇṭā-*] conj.; *kōriṇṭa-* JD.
80 *pālittaṇaü*] conj.; *pālittāṇuṁ* JD.
81 *sahasēṇa*] conj.; *sahassēṇa* JD.
82 *titti*] conj. *titthu* JD.

83 *nahu*] conj.; *na* JD.
84 *je*] conj.; *jaṁ* JD.
85 *sammaddaṁsaṇa*] conj.; *sammadaṁsaṇi* JD.
86 *nāṇa-caraṇī*] conj.; *nāṇu caraṇu* JD.
87 *tuṭṭhaü*] conj.; *tuṭṭhaï* JD.
88 Tagare, *Historical Grammar*, 283, 290.
89 Sen, "Historical Syntax," 393.
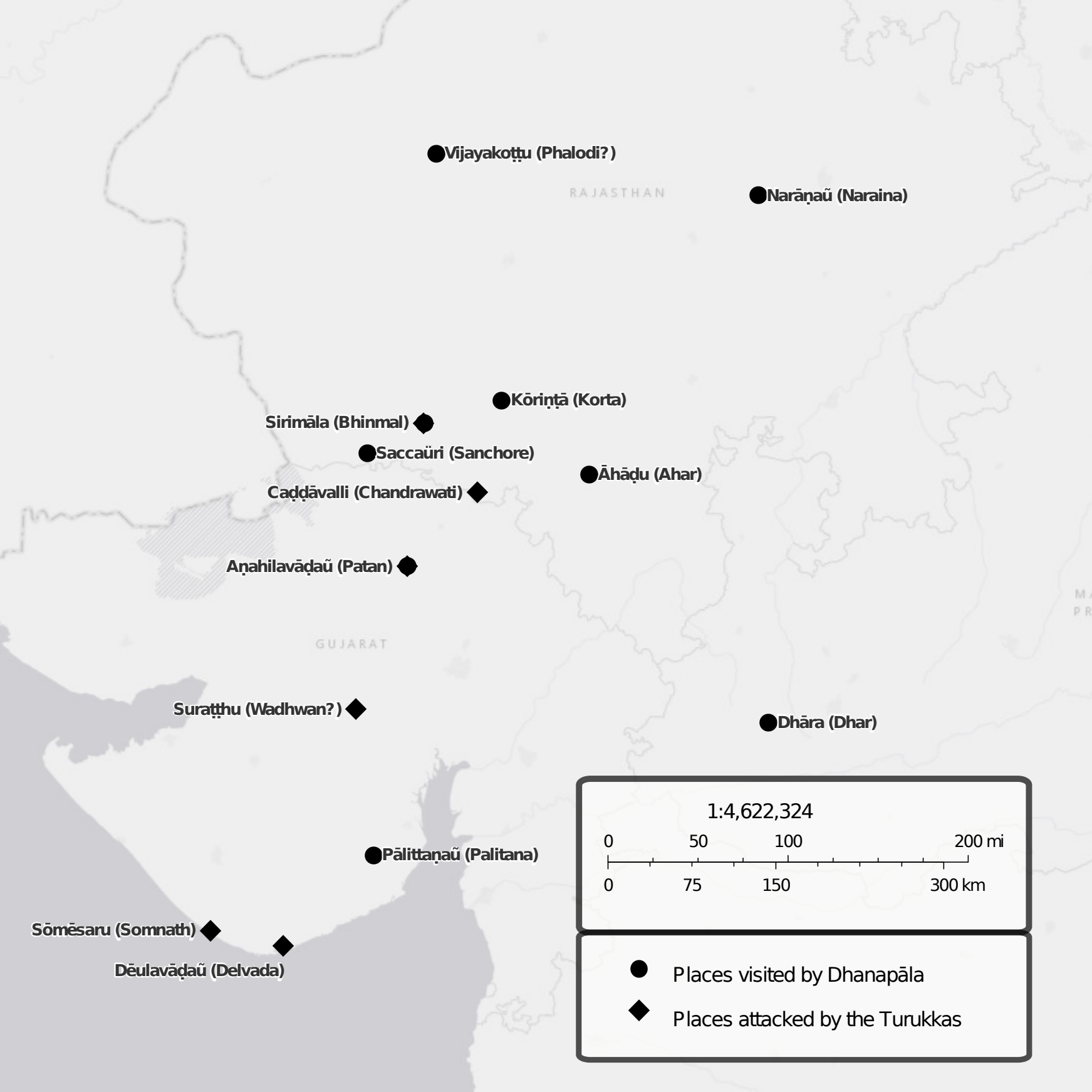
Vijayakoṭṭu (Phalodi?)

RAJASTHAN

●Narāṇaũ (Naraina)

Kōriṇṭā (Korta)

Sirimāla (Bhinmal) ◆

●Saccaüri (Sanchore)

●Āhāḍu (Ahar)

Caḍḍāvalli (Chandrawati) ◆

Aṇahilavāḍaũ (Patan) ◆

GUJARAT

Suraṭṭhu (Wadhwan?) ◆

●Dhāra (Dhar)

Pālittaṇaũ (Palitana)

1:4,622,324

0   50   100   200 mi

0   75   150   300 km

Sōmēsaru (Somnath) ◆

Dēulavāḍaũ (Delvada) ◆

● Places visited by Dhanapāla

◆ Places attacked by the Turukkas

μμ . μμμμ . μμ . μμ . μ . μμμ # μμ . μμ . μμ . μμ . μ . μ #

◡̆   ××××   ◡̆◡̆   ◡◡̆◡ | ◡̆   ◡̆◡̆   ◡̆◡◡ |

μ	one mora (*mātrā*)
.	obligatory syllable break
#	obligatory word break
◡	light syllable
–	heavy syllable
◡̆	two light syllables or one heavy syllable
××××	any combination of syllables equivalent to 4 moras
|	obligatory word break

Figure 1: Analysis of the metrical line