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Attempted Iconoclasm

Mahmud of Ghazna, King Yoga, and the Poet Dhanapāla

Andrew Ollett

SAMARPAṆAM

This article is an attempt to implement four major lessons that I have learned from Allison Busch's scholarship (among the many other important lessons I have 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 also ciphers for ethical and political ideals, in this case the obligation to protect religious sites; and, finally, reading premodern sources against the grain of modern ideologies, especially regarding the representation of Muslims.

In 1024 CE, Maḥmūd of Ghazna sacked the temple of Śiva at Somnath. Romila Thapar has very convincingly told the story of this occasion: 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.¹ The story of what happened in 1024 remains one of the most compelling examples of the politics of memory in India.

This article focuses on a small part of that story: a short Apabhramsha poem, composed by Dhanapāla shortly after Maḥmūd's raid, praising an image of Mahāvīra in the town of Sanchoe, in southwestern Rajasthan. This is the earliest testimony in an Indian language, indirect though it is, of Maḥmūd's raids, and perhaps one of the earliest works to mention them at all. This has been appreciated since Muni Jinavijaya published the poem in his journal *Jaina Sāhitya Samśōdhaka* in 1927, with a lengthy discussion in Gujarati.² 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 Sanchoe 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 Dhar during the reigns of both Muñja (973–95) and Bhōja (1010–55). 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 political significance. It is ostensibly about the failure of Maḥmūd's armies to destroy the Sanchoe 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 Cauḷukyās, 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 Cauḷukyās 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 Cauḷukyās.

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 article 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.³ But legends and stories about Dhanapāla also circulated in the Jain community, and were recorded in works like the *Prabhāvākacarita* (*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 *gāthās*, dated to 972/973 CE (1029 *vikrama*); *Tilakamañjarī*, a prose romance in Sanskrit, dated to the reign of Bhōja (1010–55); *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 eleven *gāthās* is in Sanskrit and the second is in Prakrit; another hymn in praise of Mahāvīra, in thirty Prakrit *gāthās*, featuring the literary device of apparent contradiction (*virōdhābhāsa*); *Śrāvakaividhi* (*Rules for Laypersons*), a short guide for lay Jains, in twenty-two Prakrit *gāthās*; 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 Uttar Pradesh), and that their father, Sarvadēva, was a learned man.⁴ One of Sarvadēva's sons, Śōbhana, was extremely learned in grammar, Buddhist and Jain doctrine, and literature. (Saṅghatīlakasūri says that Śōbhana's mother was named Sōmaśrī, but it also gives his father's name, incorrectly, as Sōmacandra.⁵) 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*.⁶ 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 Dhar for his younger sister, Sundarī, in the year 1029 *vikrama* (972/973 CE), when the king of Mālava raided Mānyakhēṭa.⁷ This probably refers to the attack made by the Paramāra king Sīyaka on the Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital, Mānyakhēṭa (modern Malkhed in northern Karnataka), when Khōṭṭiga was the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king.⁸ 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* might be an abridgement.⁹ His surviving works show that he had lived in Dhar, 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.¹⁰ 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's 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 do not know where they come from.¹¹

Mērutuṅga adds that Dhanapāla and Śōbhana belonged to the Kāśyapa *gōtra* (exogamous group). All accounts say that Śōbhana was given by his father to a visiting Jain teacher, variously named Mahēndra, Vardhamāna, Yaśōdēva, or Jinēśvara.¹² Dhanapāla bore some resentment for the Jains as a result of this. He held a position at the Paramāra court at Dhar. 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.¹³ 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 article. Still seething at Bhōja for burning his manuscript, Dhanapāla retired to the temple of Mahāvīra at Sanchore (vv. 224–25), 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 Dhar 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 addressed Dhanapāla as an older brother. Dhanapāla came back to Dhar and defeated Dharma in a verse-completion contest (*samasyāpūrṭi*). Dharma left town and studied 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 twenty when he wrote the *Pāiyalacchī*, he would have been in his seventies at the time of Maḥmūd's raid.¹⁴ This was probably one of his last works. If he had worked at Dhar 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 traveled.¹⁵ From this list we can gain a better idea of the space in which Dhanapāla moved.

Kōriṅṭā 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.¹⁶ 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.¹⁷ Narāṇau is probably Naraina (Narainā), a major town of the Cāhamānas, which had been invaded by Maḥmūd, probably in his campaign of 1008–9.¹⁸ 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.¹⁹ Kailash Chand Jain speculates that the ruins and sculpture currently in Naraina once belonged to a Jain temple that was destroyed in the twelfth century. Aṇahilavāḍau is of course Patan, and Pālittaṇau 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.²⁰

We can make a number of observations about this list of places (see fig. 1). First is that it broadly corroborates the date of the hymn. It mentions a number of places that declined in importance over the eleventh century, namely, Ahar and Naraina, and does not clearly mention any places that were founded after the eleventh century, such as Palanpur or Ajmer. (Firishta's remark that Maḥmūd sacked Ajmer on his way to Somnath is an anachronism.²¹) 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).²²

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,

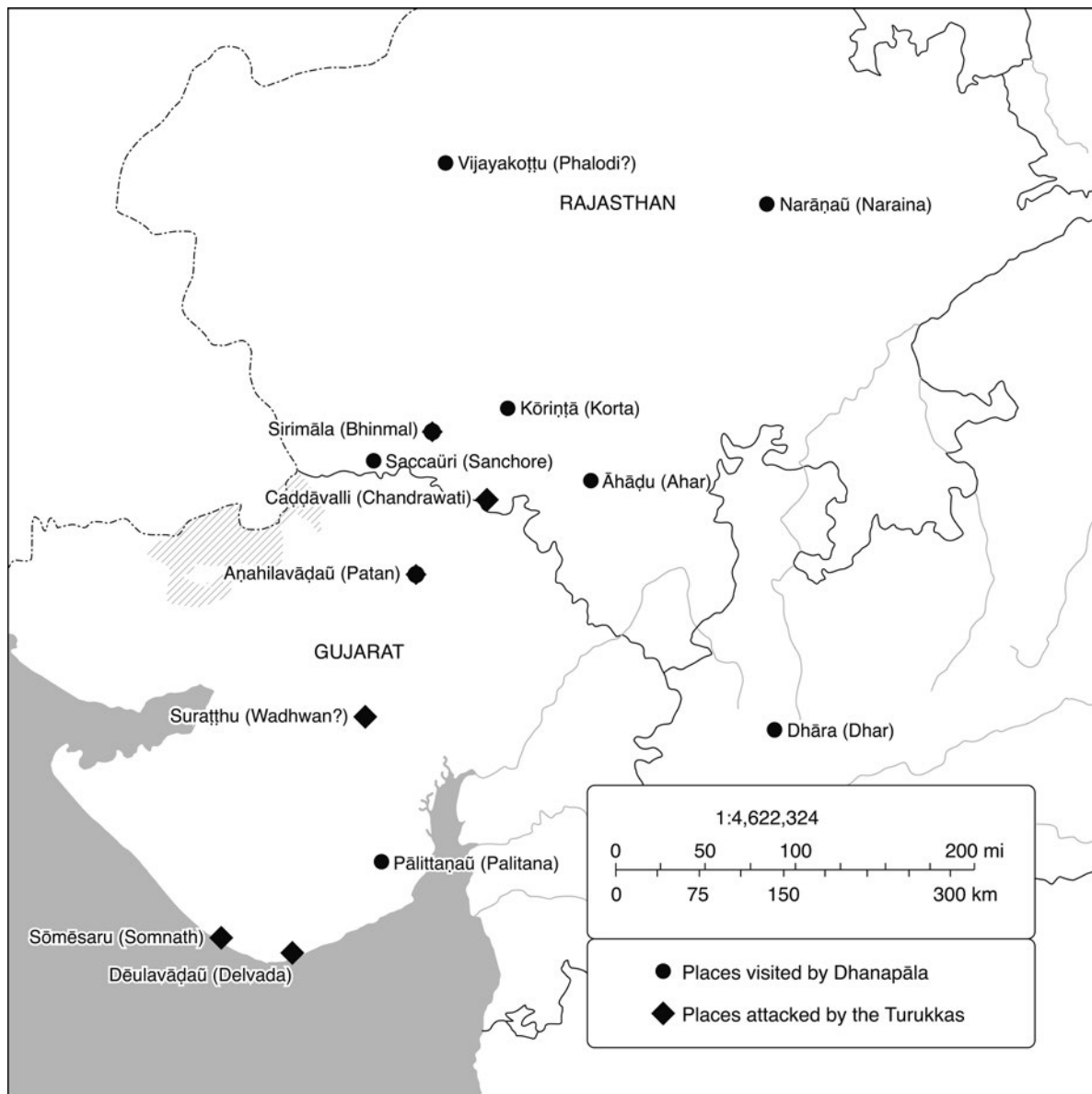


Figure 1. Map of the places mentioned in Dhanapāla's hymn. Created by the author.

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 otherwise. 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, third, to the question of what kind of geography this list represents, we might at first assume that these places all, like Sanchoṛe, had temples to Mahāvīra. In fact, Kailash Chand Jain took their mention in verse 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 Sanchoṛe itself are mentioned in Jinaprabha's collection of stories about pilgrimage sites (*Vividhatīrthakalpa*). Patan and Dhar were the principal cities of the Cauḷukyās and Paramāras, respectively, and while they certainly had Jain temples, their significance was largely political. This invites us to see a political message in verse 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 verse 13, were also listed as regions towns attacked by the Turukkas in verse 3 (see below). They also happen to have belonged to Bhōja's rivals, the Cāhamānas and the Cauḷukyās (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 Cauḷukyās and Cāhamānas.

Even aside from this implication, however, the lists of places in verse 3 and verse 13 suggest 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 Sanchore, 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* means "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 (fig. 1), 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 Gūrjara communities.²³ By the ninth century, however, it had spread beyond these communities 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 compose Apabhramsha verse.²⁴ Dhanapāla's patron, Bhōja, did recognize a number of "regional" varieties of Apabhramsha, and proba-

bly 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.²⁵ 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" (*mātrbhāṣā*).²⁶

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-śrutih*—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 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*.²⁷

Why did Dhanapāla compose this hymn in Apabhramsha, after using Sanskrit and Prakrit for his entire life? Dhanapāla and his brother Śōbhana 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 extempore 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.²⁸ 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 repeated mention of the deity in the last line, which is so common in *stutis* and *stōtras* in any language. Secondly, there is a long tradition of writing songs of praise for the *tīrthankaras*, prominent teachers, and temples in regional languages.²⁹ 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.³⁰ 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,³¹ 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 *karmas* and *kaṣāyas*, 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*, 2a) and killing Brahmins (*māhaṇa siri tōḍahi*, 2a). But when they set eyes on the Sanchore Vīra, they “did not strike him” (*paharanti na vīraha*, 2d). Verse 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 suggests it happened quite shortly before. 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 verse 3 to have been destroyed by the attackers (see fig. 1): Sirimāla (Bhinmal), Aṇahilavāḍaū (Patan), Caḍḍāvalli (Chandrawati), Suratṭhu (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 C. V. Vaidya.³² That account, however, only names Anilwad (Patan), Dabalwārḥ (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 Muḥammad Nāẓim.³³ Farrukhi was a contemporary of Maḥmūd and probably accompanied him on the raid. Nāẓim notes that, according to Farrukhi, Maḥmūd went to Ludrava (Lodrava), Chikūdar, Nahrwala (Patan), Mundher (Modhera), Dewalwara (Delvada), and finally Somnath. Sharma argued that the places mentioned by Dhanapāla largely corroborate the route given by Farrukhi. In particular, he noted that Dhanapāla's mention of Caḍḍāvalli (Chandrawati) supports Nāẓim's identification of Chikūdar with Chiklo-dar Mātā hill, seventeen miles north of Palanpur, and very close to Chandrawati. In fact, Dasharatha Sharma suggested that Chikūdar might be a corruption of a word for Caḍḍāvalli (I leave it to Persian scholars to judge whether this is possible).³⁴

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-Din entered Gujarat in later years.³⁵ 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 (*suratṭhu*), 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 Cauḷukyās were in retreat. Dhanapāla could well have meant that Maḥmūd's armies raided the region of Saurashtra on their way to Delvada. In fig. 1, 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 verse 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 (*gajjanavai*) came to Sancho in 1024 CE after devastating Gujarat.³⁶ 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 seventies 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.³⁷ 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 article), and the tradition about the author of the *Tilakamañjarī* becoming a pilgrim at Sancho, 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, verses 5–7, describes an attack on the Sancho Vira in the distant

past (*cirakāli āsi*, 5a). 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*, 5a).³⁸ The following verses make clear that Yōga was laying waste to Sancho and wanted to carry off the image of Mahāvira, which is described as golden (*cāmiyara*, 5c). He tied it to his horses, who were only able 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.³⁹ The fact that this king is described as "striking" the image (*tāḍiu*, 7a), while Dhanapāla had earlier said that the recent attackers did not attack it (*2d*), 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 verses 5–7, in Jinaprabha Sūri's *Vividhatīrthakalpa*.⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹ In the case of Sancho, 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 Mahāvira at Sancho under Nāgaḍa to the second or third century CE, M. A. 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 Gūrjara-Pratihāras (ca. 725–58 CE), and that Jajjiga might be Yakṣadatta Sūri, who is mentioned as a teacher in the area of Jalore around the seventh century.⁴² Jinaprabha also mentions that the superintending deity of Sancho was a *yakṣa* named Brahmaśānti, whom he identifies as

an incarnation of the *yakṣa* Śūlapāṇi. According to Jain lore, Śūlapāṇi attacked Mahāvīra when he was meditating in the village of Asthikagrāma and was won over by Mahāvīra's equanimity.⁴³

Here is Jinaprabha's account:

Then the king of Ghazna (*gajjanavāi*), a foreign king (*meccharāḍ*), 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.⁴⁴

Clearly elements of this story recall Dhanapāla's story of King Yōga: the immobile image, the attempt to move it with horses (or bullocks) 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 'Ala' ad-Dīn and "subjected to public humiliation" in 1310 CE.⁴⁵ 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 *Jivānuśāsana* (*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."⁴⁶ Jinaprabha might have also taken certain liberties with the stories he collected. In his account of Sanchore, he references Brahmaśānti repeatedly: he says, for example, that Maḥmūd was unable to move the image due to the *yakṣa*'s protection, but that 'Ala' 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-Akḥbār* 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."⁴⁷ 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."⁴⁸ 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 (verse 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."⁴⁹ 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 Vimāla 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.⁵⁰ 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 invincibility 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 verse 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.⁵¹

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 Dhandhuka, who was mentioned previously as taking refuge with Bhōja

when attacked by the forces of the Cauḷukya king Bhīma, and therefore lived about a generation after Dhanapāla. Another Yōgarāja, though not a king, was the local ruler (*talārakṣa*) of Nagda under the Guhila king Padmasimha, who ruled at the beginning of the thirteenth century.⁵²

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 Cāpōtkāṭa (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.⁵³ 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.⁵⁴ The son and successor of Vanarāja was called Yōgarāja. He is assigned a rule of twenty-five, thirty-two, and seventeen years by different texts; Mērutuṅga places him between 805 and 821 CE, although discrepancies in Mērutuṅga's accounts require us to take these dates with caution.⁵⁵ 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 carātarājyam ity upahasanti*), probably alluding to his father Vanarāja's reputation. He is said to have built a temple of Yōgīśvarī at Patan.⁵⁶

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.⁵⁷ This Yōgarāja has never been identified. D. B. Diskalkar guessed that he may have been one of the Cāpōtkāṭa rulers of Patan, hence a descendant of the Yōgarāja mentioned just above, and possibly the last ruler before Mūlarāja brought the dynasty to an end. D. C. Ganguly identifies Yōgarāja instead with Avanivarman II, who is known to have been ruling in 899.⁵⁸ Avanivarman, also known as Yōgarāja, belonged to a Cāḷukya family of Saurāṣṭra that served the Pratihāras of Kannauj, who were well-known enemies of Sīyaka's Rāṣṭrakūṭa mas-

ters. Ganguly admits that it is a bit unlikely, although not impossible, for Avaniarman to have ruled for fifty 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 Cāpōtkāṭa 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" (*capaṭarāḷyam*), according to Mērutuṅga's story. We do not know whether the historical Yōgarāja made an unsuccessful attempt to capture Sanchoe, but it is certainly plausible, given the proximity of Patan to Sanchoe (roughly 77 miles), and also in light of subsequent events. For the Cāpōtkāṭa dynasty was ended by Mūlarāja, allegedly the nephew of the last Cāpōtkāṭa king, in the middle of the tenth century. He took over their capital of Patan and started a new dynasty called the Cauḷukyās.⁵⁹ He proceeded to do what the earlier Cāpōtkāṭa kings could not—namely, expand the kingdom beyond the region of Patan. Mūlarāja was in possession of the region around Sanchoe by 995 CE, the last year of his reign, when the Bālērā plates record a gift of a village, Varaṇaka, in the Satyapura-maṇḍala.⁶⁰ Dhaky claims that the region had previously been controlled by the Paramāras.⁶¹ The region continued to be ruled by the Cauḷukyās, either directly or through their feudatories, the Bhinmal Paramāras, for several centuries, until it was taken by 'Ala' ad-Dīn around 1299. 'Ala' ad-Dīn, as noted above, is said to have carried off the image of Mahāvīra to Delhi.⁶²

If I am right, there might have been an ulterior motive in Dhanapāla's choice to illustrate the invincibility of the Sanchoe Vīra with a legend about Yōgarāja. It was another opportunity—like the list of conquered towns—for him to cast hidden aspersions on Bhōja's enemies. Since Sanchoe was under the control of the Cauḷukyās, 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 Sanchoe. Of course, neither Bhīma nor Mūlarāja, as far as we know, attacked the Sanchoe Mahāvīra with axes. But they, like 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 Sanchoe. But they might have concluded that Maḥmūd's raids, which bypassed Sanchoe, were a kind of retribution for the attacks of past kings and were allowed to happen because of the weakness and incompetence of the Cauḷukyās 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 Athīr, Maḥmūd raided Somnath in the middle of Dhū al-Qa'dah in year 414, which would correspond to January 1024 CE. The date is given as 1025 or 1026 in several sources, probably because the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* says that it took place after year 415.⁶³ Dhanapāla refers in verse 10 to worshipping the image with *vāisāha-*, which may be *punarnavā* flowers but in any case refers to something connected to the month of Vaiśākha in April/May. If Jinavijaya is right, and the hymn was composed on the occasion of a festival celebrating the survival of Sanchoe 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 nonmoraic nasalizations with a tilde (e.g., *ū*). 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 nuṁ 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*

μμ . μμμμ . μμ . μμ . μ . μμμ # μμ . μμ . μμ . μμ . μ . μ #	
⏟ ×××× ⏟⏟ ⏟⏟⏟ ⏟ ⏟⏟⏟ ⏟⏟⏟	
μ	one mora (<i>mātrā</i>)
.	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 2. Analysis of the metrical line. Created by the author.

Catalogorum or in Velankar's *Jinaratnakośa*. Jinavijaya says that the manuscript is from around 1300 CE and includes a number of hymns. The text was reprinted by Dhaky in 2005, 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-Gūṛjara Kavi Aura Unakī Racanāēm*, pp. 1–2.

The meter is the *vastuka* (sometimes also called *kāvya*), which has twenty-four morae per line, arranged into numbered groups (*gaṇas*) of syllables as shown in figure 2.⁶⁴

*jīṇavarēṇa*⁶⁵ *duṭṭhaṭṭha kamma balavantā mōḍiya*
caū-kasāya pasaranta jēṇa ummūla-vitōḍiya
tihuyāṇa-jagaḍaṇa-mayaṇa-saraha taṇu jāsu na bhijjāi
iyara-naraha saccaūri-vīru sō kima jagadījjāi ~ 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 Sanchoṛe
Vīra?⁶⁶

*varasuraha*⁶⁷ *pahāṛanta*⁶⁸ *khandha māhaṇa siri tōḍahi*
*pharasu hatthi*⁶⁹ *gabbharuya lēvi taruvārihi jhōḍahi*
tē tērisa pāvīṭṭha duṭṭha āruṭṭha sudhīraha
nayaṇīhi 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.⁷⁰

bhañjēviṇu sirimālādēsu anu aṇahilavāḍāi
*caḍḍāvalli suraṭṭhu*⁷¹ *bhaggu puṇu dēulavāḍāi*

sōmēsaru sō tēhi bhaggu jaṇa-maa-ānandaṇu
bhaggu na siri-saccaūri-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 Sanchoṛe Vīra,
delight of those who have reached their aims.⁷²

bahuēhi vi tāṛāyaṇēhi ravipasaru kī bhijjāi
*bahuēhi visaharēhi*⁷³ *milivi kiṃ guruḍu galijjāi*
bahu kuraṅga āruṭṭha karahi kiri kāi mayandaha
*pūṇahi*⁷⁴ *bahuya turukka kāi saccaūri-jīṇindaha ~ 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 Sanchoṛe Jina?

*kasaṇalēsu*⁷⁵ *cirakāli āsi kuvi jōga-narēsaru*
uvvasiyāi saccaūri diṭṭhu tahi vīru jīṇēsaru
ārambhiu āhuṭṭha raṅgu cāmīyara-vara-taṇu
vara-turaṅga-dōrahi nimittu naravāihi caliu maṇu ~ 5

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

He was laying waste to Sanchoṛe
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.⁷⁶

rāyāēsīhi duṭṭha-bhaḍīhi jīṇu jāva na nāmio
baddhu sāmi karivaraha khandhi rajjuhū 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 jīṇavarataṇu tāḍiu
*paccuttharavi*⁷⁷ *kuhāḍāēhi*⁷⁸ *sō siri ambāḍiu*
ajjavi ḍisahi aṅgi ghāya sōhiya tasu dhīraha
calaṇajuyalu saccaūri-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.
 Bow to the feet of that Vīra in the city of Sanchores.⁷⁹

gōsālā saṅgamaya-amara-uvasagga saḥēviṇu
jō na caliu jhāṇāi jīṇḍu siva-suha-tagḡaya-maṇu
tasu kittiya uvasagga saḥavi kiya naraha narindaha⁸⁰
namahu namahu saccaūri-vīru jō caramajīṇindaha ~ 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.
 Bow again and again to the Sanchores Vīra,
 the final Lord Jina.⁸¹

jasu virāijjāi⁸² samavasaraṇu caū-dēva-nikāyahi
jasu paṇamīu⁸³ calaṇāravindu sura-vara-saṅghāyahi
caūdasa-rajjaha bhuvana-nāhu jō jantu-hiyaṅkaru
sō paṇamahu saccaūri-nayari siri-vīru jīṇēsaru ~ 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 four-
 teen kingdoms—
 Do reverence to the holy Vīra, the great Jina, in the town
 of Sanchores.⁸⁴

kusuma-vuṭṭhi kiṅkilli camara kinnara-dēvajjhūṇi⁸⁵
chattacindha-dundahi-nighōsa saṅṭhiu sīhāsani
bhā-maṇḍalu dēhāṇulaggu jasu tihuyaṇi chajjāi
vaīsāhihi saccaūri-vīru sō kima paṇamijjāi ~ 10

There are showers of flowers, *aśōka* leaves, fly-whisks,
 the divine sound of Kinnaras,
 royal umbrellas, the sound of kettle drums, as he is
 seated on a lion-throne—
 since it is on his body that the orb of the sun shines in
 the three worlds,
 How is that Sanchores Vīra to be praised with springtime
 flowers?⁸⁶

jīma mahantu girivaraha mēru gaha-gaṇaha divāyaru
jīma mahantu susayambhu-ramaṇu uvahilī rayanaāyaru
jīma mahantu suravaraha majjhi suralōi surēsaru
tīma mahantu tiya-lōya-tilaū saccaūri-jīṇēsaru ~ 11

As great is Meru is among the best mountains,
 and the sun among celestial bodies,
 as great as the Svayambhūramaṇa⁸⁷ ocean
 among bodies of water,
 as great as Indra in heaven among the best gods,
 so great is the Lord Jina of Sanchores,

the forehead-ornament of the three worlds.

uddālavi diṇayaraha tēu gahavaī-sōmattaṇu
gambhīrima sāyaraḥa haravi mandiraḥa thirattaṇu
ghaḍīu vīru nam amīu lēvi saccaūri sunijjāi
tīhuaṇi tasu paḍibimbu natthi jasu uppama dijjāi ~ 12

In Sanchores 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.⁸⁸

kōriṇṭā⁸⁹-sirimāla dhāra āhāḍu narāṇaū
aṇahilavāḍaū vijayakoṭṭu puna pālittaṇaū⁹⁰
pikkhivi tāva bahutta thāma maṇi cojja paīsai
jam ajjavi saccaūri-vīru lōyaṇihi na ḍīsai ~ 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 Sanchores Vīra.

sahasēṇa⁹¹ vi lōyaṇaha titti⁹² nahu⁹³ hōi niyantaha
vayaṇasahassihī guṇa na tuṭṭhu niṭṭhiyahi thūṇantaha
ekka jīha dhaṇapālu bhaṇai ikku je⁹⁴ maha niya-taṇu
kiṁ vannaū saccaūri-vīru haū puṇu ikkāṇaṇu ~ 14

You would not be satisfied to look on him with a thou-
 sand 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 Sanchores
 Vīra?

rakkhi sāmi pasarantu mōhu nēhuṇḍuya tōḍahi
sammaddamsaṇi⁹⁵-nāṇa-caraṇi⁹⁶ bhaḍu kōhu vihāḍahi
kari pasāu saccaūri-vīru jāi tuhu maṇi bhāvai
tai tuṭṭhai⁹⁷ dhaṇapālu jāu jahi gayai na āvai ~ 15

Protect me, lord, from the encroaching illusion;
 tear apart the net of desire.⁹⁸

With right vision, right knowledge, and right conduct,
 destroy the enemy that is anger.

Be gracious, Sanchores Vīra. If this pleases your heart,
 then Dhanapāla will be satisfied.

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

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* (2*d*), *taruvārihi* (2*b*), *bhaḍihi* (6*a*), *lōyaṇihi* (13*d*) but not *narahi* (1*d*), *dōrahi* (5*d*). The ending-*ū* is used in 3*a* and 3*b*, and 13*a* and 13*b*. The ending -*o* (counted as short) for the masc. direct case appears in 6*a* and 6*b*; the ending -*ā*, also for the masc. direct case, a contraction of -*āū*, appears at 7*a* and 8*a*.

Morphology: The 3pl. is typically -*ahi* (2*d*, 4*c*, 7*c*), but once -*anti* (2*cd*); 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: *uvvasiyāi* (5*b*), *niṭṭhiyahi* (14*b*), *tutṭhāi* (15*d*).⁹⁹ 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 2*d*, *jiṇindaha* in 4*d*, *carama-jiṇindaha* in 8*d*, 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.¹⁰⁰

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 *ambāḍi* obscure (7*b*). Of the nouns only *gabbharuya* (2*b*) and *uṇḍuya* (15*a*), if they are the right readings, are notable.

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Notes

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1. Thapar, *Somanatha*.

2. Jinavijaya, "Mahākavi Dhanapālakṛta Satyapurīya-Śrīmahāvīra-Utsāha," and Jinavijaya, "Satyapurīya Śrīmahāvīra Utsāha Paricaya."

3. See Yadava, *Dhanapāla*, for details.

4. See Kapadia, *Śrī Śōbhana Stuti*, 34; and Hitavardhanavijaya, *Śōbhanastuti-Vṛttimālā*, 9–10.

5. Kapadia, *Śrī Śōbhana Stuti*, 35.

6. Kansara, *Tilakamañjarī*, p. 5, vv. 51–52.

7. Bühler, *Dhanapāla's Pāiyalachcchī*, 6.

8. Trivedi, *Inscriptions of the Paramāras*, part 1, 10.

9. Bhayani, *Deśya Lexicography*, 39.

10. Bühler, *Dhanapāla's Pāiyalachcchī*, 9; see also Kansara, *Tilakamañjarī*, p. 5, v. 53 (*viprah śrīdhanapālah*).

11. For a summary of Prabhācandra's account in the *Prabhāvākacārīta* (1278 CE, Jinavijaya, *Prabhāvaka Charita*, pp. 138–51), see Granoff, "Sarasvatī's Sons," 372–75; for Mērutuṅga's account in the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* (1306 CE, pp. 36–42 in the 1933 edition of Jinavijaya), see Tawney, *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, 52–62.

12. Kapadia, *Śrī Śōbhana Stuti*, 36.

13. Wiles, "Dating of the Jaina Councils," 68.

14. Yadava, *Dhanapāla*, 4–5.

15. Dōśī, *Pāia-lacchīnāmamālā*, 31; Yadava, *Dhanapāla*, 15.

16. Jain, *Ancient Cities*, 285–86.

17. Jain, *Ancient Cities*, 221, 223; Majumdar, *Chaulukyās*, 30.

18. Jain, *Ancient Cities*, 316; Devra, "Identification of 'Naraina,'" 153.

19. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, 202; Jain, *Ancient Cities*, 317–18.

20. Jain, *Ancient Cities*, 313, 425.

21. Bühler, "Origin of the Town of Ajmer," 55.

22. Jain, *Ancient Cities*, 450.

23. See Thakur and Jha, *Kāvyalakṣaṇa*, chapter 1 verse 36 (p. 25).

24. Bhayani, "Five Apabhramsa Verses."

25. For more on the Rāula-vēla, see Lenz, "New Interpretation."

26. Dōśī, *Pāia-lacchīnāmamālā*, 30.

27. The first language exemplified in this work, according to Lenz, "New Interpretation," might be Gujarati.

28. Jinavijaya, "Satyapurīya Śrīmahāvīra Utsāha Paricaya," 250: "Saṁbhav chē kē, ē j prabhāvanā prasaṅgē mahākavi dhanpāl tyām upsthit hōy anē pōtē paṇ ā gīt banāvī ē prabhāvnānā kāryamām sam-milit 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!")

29. Kōchaḍa, *Apabhramśa-sāhitya*, 364–71; Nāhaṭā, *Jaina Maru-Gūrjara Kavi*.

30. Nāhaṭā, *Jaina Maru-Gūrjara Kavi*.

31. Bangha, "Emergence of Hindi Literature."

32. Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, 89–91.

33. Nāzīm, *Life and Times*, 215–18.

34. Sharma, "Some New Light," 166. The identification was also supported by Minorsky in his review of Nāzīm's book: "This passage is corrupt, and for *chikūdar*, the meter requires - - - instead of - - -," so Minorsky suggests reading *chikuludra*. Minorsky, "Review of *The Life and Times*," 1026.

35. Sharma (“Some New Light,” 168) considers Bhinmal to have been raided on Maḥmūd’s return journey.
36. For the date of the text see Chojnacki, *Vividhatīrthakalpaḥ*, 35.
37. Dalal and Gune, *Bhavisayattakaha*, 2–3.
38. Jinavijaya, “Satyapuriya Śrīmahāvira Utsāha Paricaya,” 251: “Sācōrnā ē mahāvira upar turkō sivāy bijā paṇ ēk kaī rājāē karēlā ākramaṇnē nirdēś karēl chē . . . paṇ ē nirdēśa bahu spaṣṭ samjātuṁ nathī tēthī ē viṣē kānī ūhāpōh karī śākāy tēm nathī. kōi jōg nāmnā rājāē ā ākramaṇ karēluṁ hōy ēm lāgē chē.” (“He makes reference to an attack on the Sanchoire Vira 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.”)
39. See, e.g., verses 171–75 in Ollett, *Lilavai*, 50–51.
40. Jinavijaya, *Vividha Tīrtha Kalpa*, 29–30.
41. As Chojnacki says about the account of Sanchoire, “L’auteur mêle motifs légendaires et historiques qui doivent illustrer les pouvoirs miraculeux de la statue de Mahāvira” (“The author mixes legendary and historical motifs which should illustrate the miraculous powers of the Mahāvira statue”) (*Vividhatīrthakalpaḥ*, 379).
42. Dhaky, “Mahāvira of Satyapura,” 44–45.
43. Johnson, *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, 45–49.
44. *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, sec. 17 (Jinavijaya, *Vividha Tīrtha Kalpa*, 29–30): “Taō annayā annō gajjaṇavaī gujjaraṁ bhāñjittā taō valantō pattō saccaūrē dasa-saya-ikkāsīē (1081) vikkamavarisē meccharāō. diṭṭham tattha mañōharaṁ virabhavaṇaṁ. pavittā haṇa haṇa tti bhāñirā milakkhuṇō. taō gayavarē juttittā viraśāmi tāñiō. lēsamittāṁ pi na caliō saṭṭhāñāō. taō baillēsu juttiēsu puṁvabhavarāgēṇa bambhasantiṇā aṅgulacaukkāṁ caliō. sayāṁ hakkantē vi gajjaṇavaīmī niccalī hōum thīō jaganāhō. jāō vilakkhō milakkhunāhō. taō ghaṇaghāēhim tāḍiō sāmī. lagganti ghāyā ōrōhasundariṇaṁ. taō khaggapahārēsu vihalibhūēsu maccharēṇaṁ turukkēhim viraśa aṅgulī kaṭṭiā. taṁ gahiūṇa ya tē paṭṭhiā. taō laggā pajjalium turayāṇaṁ pucchā. laggā ya valium micchāṇaṁ mucchā. taō turaē chaḍḍittā pāyacāriṇō cēva payaṭṭā, ghasa tti dharaṇiē paḍiā. rahamaṇaṁ sumaraṇtā vilavantā diṇā khīṇasavvabalā nahaṅgaṇē adiṭṭhavāñiē bhāñiā ēvaṁ — viraśa aṅgulim āñittā tumhē jīvasaṁsāē paḍiā. taō gajjaṇāhivāi vimhiamaṇō sīsaṁ dhuṇantō sillārē āisai jahā — ēyam aṅgulim valiūṇa tattḥēva thāvēha. taō bhīēhim tēhim paccāñiyā. sā laggā ya jhaḍa tti sāmiṇō karē. tam accchēraṁ picchia puṇō vi saccaūraṁ paī saūṇaṁ pi na magganti turukkā. tuṭṭhō caūvviḥō vi samaṇasaṅghō. virabhavaṇē pūā-mahimā-gīya-naṭṭa-vāitta-daviṇa-dāñēhim pabhāvaṇaṁ karē.” This is translated into French in Chojnacki, *Vividhatīrthakalpaḥ*, 386–87, whose suggestions for difficult words I have largely adopted.
45. Chojnacki, *Vividhatīrthakalpaḥ*, 389–90.
46. Dhaky, “Mahāvira of Satyapura,” 46 (“Mlēccharāja-balabhadra-darpa-bhāñjana-labdhā-māhātmya-śrī-mahāvira-sadana-maṇḍitam”).
47. De, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 16, referred to by Sharma, “Some New Light,” 167–68.
48. Sharma, “Some New Light,” 168.
49. Jain, *Ancient Cities*, 342.
50. Ram, “Fragmentary Grant,” 136; Jain, *Ancient Cities*, 342.
51. See Flood, *Objects of Translation*, for a well-documented and perceptive critique of these tropes pertaining to Maḥmūd of Ghazna’s campaigns.
52. Halder, “Chirava Inscription,” 285–86; Jain, *Ancient Cities*, 216.
53. Cort, *Jains in the World*, 36; Forbes, “Ratna Mala,” 38. Note that the Prakrit original of Forbes’s translation has not been published and is probably now lost.
54. Burgess and Cousens, *Architectural Antiquities*, 5–6.
55. Tawney, *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, 19–20; Campbell, *History of Gujarat*, 153–54; Burgess and Cousens, *Architectural Antiquities*, 8.
56. Jinavijaya, *Prabandha Cintāmaṇi*, 14; Burgess and Cousens, *Architectural Antiquities*, 8.
57. Trivedi, *Inscriptions of the Paramāras*, part 2, pp. 4–5.
58. Diskalkar, “New Light,” 306; Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, 39; Kielhorn, “Two Copper-Plate Inscriptions.”
59. Majumdar, *Chaulukyās*, 23.
60. Konow, “Bālērā Plates.”
61. Dhaky, “Mahāvira of Satyapura,” 5.
62. Jain, *Ancient Towns*, 198–201.
63. See De, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 14–15.
64. This table synthesizes the data of the hymn with the descriptions of Alsdorf, *Kumārāpālapratibodha*, 74–75; Velankar, “Apabhraṁśa Metres,” 41–42; and Jinavijaya and Bhayani, *Samdeśa Rāsaka*, 58.
65. *jīnavarēṇa*] conj.; *jīnava jēṇa* J. I can make no sense of *jīnava*.
66. 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 *karmas* (determinative of *nāma* “body type,” *āyuh* “longevity,” *gōtra* “environmental circumstance,” and *vēdanīya* “mundane experience”). The four *kaṣāyas* are *krōdha* “anger,” *lōbha* “greed,” *māna* “pride,” and *māyā* “deceitful manipulation.” See Jaini, *Jaina Path*, 115, 118, from whom the translations for these terms are taken.
67. *varasuraha*] conj.; *varasurahi* J.
68. *pahāranta*] conj.; *paharanta* J.
69. *hatthi*] conj.; *atthi* J. See 7a.
70. I take *gabbharuya* as *garbharūpa*.
71. *suratṭhu*] conj.; *sōratṭhu* J.
72. See the map in fig. 1.
73. *visaharēhi*] conj.; *vi visaharēhi* J.
74. *pūṇahi*] conj.; *pūṇihi* J.
75. *kaśaṇālesu*] conj.; *kaśiṇāñiṇu* J, which I cannot make sense of.
76. *Kasiṇāñiṇu* is a problem. *Kasiṇa* (= *kaśaṇa*) “black” is perhaps to be read in compound. For *āhutṭha*, which I take as an infinitive going with *ārambhiu*, cf. Prakrit *āhōḍa* and Rajasthani *āhudaṇau* “break, attack.” Sheth, *Pāia-sadda-mahaṇṇavo*, s.v. *āhōḍa*; and Lālasa, *Rājasthāmnī Sabada Kōsa*, 236, s.v. *āhudaṇau*. It may, however, be an adjective, making *āhutṭha-raṅga* a qualifier of the Jīna’s body.
77. *paccuttharavi*] conj.; *pacchutthadavi* J.

78. *kuhāḍaēhī*] conj.; *kuhāḍēhim* J.

79. *Paccuttharavi* (ed. *paccutthadavi*) 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." *Ambāḍiū* 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.

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

81. Gōsāla (Makkaliputra Gōsāla) 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 Ājivika 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. On Gōsāla, see Jaini, *Jaina Path*, 21–25; and Hēmacandra's version of the story in Johnson, *Triṣaṣṭīśālākāpuruṣacaritra*, 64–65; 217–22. See Balcerowicz, *Early Asceticism*, for an analysis of the legends. On Saṅgamaka, see Johnson, *Triṣaṣṭīśālākāpuruṣacaritra*, 92–105.

82. *virāijjai*] conj.; *virajjai* J.

83. *paṇamiū*] conj. *paṇamijjai* J, certainly influenced by the preceding line.

84. *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). See Jaini, *Jaina Path*, 36, 129. 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.

85. *jḥhuṇi*] conj.; *jhuṇi* J.

86. Although *vāisāhihi* might be more naturally taken as an expression of time, the context requires an instrument by means of which Mahāvīra is praised.

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

88. *Gahavai* may be an endless genitive or may simply be in compound with *sōmattaṇu*. See Bhayani, "Endingless' Genitive."

89. *kōriṇṭā-*] conj.; *kōriṇṭa-* J.

90. *pālittaṇaū*] conj.; *pālittāṇuṇ* J.

91. *sahasēṇa*] conj.; *sahassēṇa* J.

92. *titti*] conj.; *tittu* J.

93. *nahu*] conj.; *na* J.

94. *je*] conj.; *jam* J.

95. *sammaddamsaṇa*] conj.; *sammadamsaṇi* J.

96. *nāṇa-caraṇi*] conj.; *nāṇu caraṇu* J.

97. *tutṭhai*] conj.; *tutṭhai* J.

98. *Nēh-unḍuya* is 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.

99. Tagare, *Historical Grammar*, 283, 290.

100. Sen, "Historical Syntax," 393.

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