

CHRONOLOGY OF GUJARAT

HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL



General Editor
M. R. MAJMUDAR

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**Dr. Vasudeva Sharan Agrawal,
M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. Head, Department of Ancient Indian Culture,
Hindu University, Banaras.**

" This idea of historical stock-taking is excellent. It will provide a sure foundation for the accomplishment of a comprehensive regional history of Gujarat, which in its turn will serve as an indispensable stone in the edifice of a National History of India. Such invaluable aids would indeed be necessary for each area of our big country. The M. S. University is to be congratulated for planning such a work. I find the entries quite scientific in style and quite explicit. "

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**Prof. Dr. Vittore Pisani, Milano,
Via Boccaccio, 43.**

" I feel my duty of congratulating on the Chronology, as it does not restrict itself to Gujarat, but, owing also to the importance of this region, provides the reader with large information on the history of the whole of India. Particularly important is for me the interest which is attached to the history of culture, literature and art. "

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HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL CHRONOLOGY OF GUJARAT

[From Earliest Times to 942 A.D.]

With Illustrations and Maps



With Best Compliments from

The Vice-Chancellor,

The M. S. University of Baroda

સત્યં વિદ્યાં સુન્દરમ્

M. R. MAJMUDAR

M.A., Ph.D., LL.B.

GENERAL EDITOR

HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL CHRONOLOGY OF GUJARAT

(From Earliest Times to End of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa—Pratihāra period : *i.e.* upto 942 A.D.)

With Illustrations and Maps

With a Foreword by

Dr. J. M. Mehta, M.A., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law,
Vice-Chancellor, M. S. University of Baroda

Dr. M. R. MAJMUDAR

General Editor

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- (1) Dr. A. N. Jani
- (2) Prof. H. R. Kapadia
- (3) Shri Amrit Pandya
- (4) Dr. H. G. Shastri



Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda

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Respectfully Dedicated
To
DR. JIVRAJ N. MEHTA,
The First Chief Minister,
Gujarat State

सर्वं यस्य वशाद्गात् स्मृतिपदं कालाय तस्मै नमः ।

—भर्तृहरिः ।

[Bow to that Time Eternal, under whose control,
everything (in this world) is reduced to mere Memory !

—Bhartṛhari]

What is History ? History is another Universe,
a universe built by Man, with the help of Time and
Memory, in answer to the challenge of Death.

—‘ Dr. Zhivago ’, Boris Pasternak.

Historical and Cultural
CHRONOLOGY OF GUJARAT
(From Earliest times to 942 A.D.)

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MESSAGE

It is gratifying to me that the book on the Chronology of Gujarat is to be shortly out. The book which has taken so long has no doubt passed through a careful scrutiny and should prove an authentic publication on the subject. Such a publication would be of great value to those working in the field of research in the history of Gujarat.

With the advent of the new State of Gujarat it has become a timely publication. The new State needs a proper introduction to the world at large and even to its own people who are not fully aware of their rich heritage. The best way to introduce it is through its social and cultural history. Such a history has still to be written.

Socially, with its various tribes, castes and creeds, Gujarat presents a rich field for research. Culturally, too, Gujarat has much to show by way of its rich architecture; its rich arts and crafts; its folk-lore and literature; and its music, dance and drama.

I hope the 'Chronology of Gujarat' will serve as a prelude to the publication of a social and cultural history of Gujarat. I am sure the students of history, particularly the history of Gujarat, will find this book most helpful.

29th June, 1960.

"SIDDHASHRAMA"
CHIEF MINISTER'S RESIDENCE
1 SHAHI BAG,
AHMEDABAD. 4.

Jauhar Mehta



FOREWORD

It gives me very great pleasure in writing this 'Foreword' to the First Volume of the "Chronology of Gujarat", which is edited by Dr. Majmudar. The publication of this volume would not have been possible but for the untiring zeal and labour of Dr. Majmudar, assisted by a band of keen scholars like Dr. Jani, Prof. Kapadia, Shri A. Pandya and Dr. Shastri.

Dr. Majmudar, as he acknowledges in his 'Preface', was, from time to time, guided by Dr. Sankalia and Dr. Subbarao, the Head of the Archaeology Department of the M. S. University of Baroda. Dr. Sandesara and Dr. U. P. Shah of the Oriental Institute of the University of Baroda, and Dr. R. N. Mehta of the Archaeological Department of the University, also gave Dr. Majmudar the benefit of their great erudition and scholarship.

This work was started in 1954. It took nearly four to five years in collecting the necessary data. The data, collected by Dr. Majmudar and his colleagues on the Editorial Board, was scrutinized by Dr. Sankalia and Dr. Subbarao. The material in its final form was ready only last year and is now published.

It is needless for me to emphasise the importance of this publication. The chronological information collected in this way provides an important framework in which subsequent scholars can build up the history of Gujarat.

As Dr. Majmudar says in his 'Preface', that with the exception of the Historical Introduction to the Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I, edited by Mr. Cambell, no satisfactory and continuous history of Gujarat has so far been written. There have been some excellent works on specific Periods of the history of Gujarat; but no continuous history of Gujarat from the earliest times till today has yet been written. This chronological framework will be of great service to a future historian of the history of Gujarat.

The data collected is extremely comprehensive and throws light on the cultural, political and social history of Gujarat. Events in chronological order have been shown only with the beginning of the Mauryan Rule. It is difficult to assign a precise chronological order to data before that period. At the advice of Dr. Sankalia and myself, this earlier material has been shown under the caption of 'Prelude to History'. Reference has been made to the excavations in Lānghañaj in Mehsana District, North Gujarat, and at Lothal.

There is also a chapter on the Traditional history of Gujarat, where the material has been collected largely from the Purāṇas. The historicity of many of these events is debatable, and, therefore, they have also been excluded from the regular chronology.

I would here like to take the opportunity of congratulating Dr. Majmudar for this very bold venture to construct the Chronology of the History of Gujarat from the diffused and varied material available.

J. R. Mehta

Vice-Chancellor,
M. S. University of Baroda.

PREFACE

(i) History of the Undertaking :

The idea of compiling a 'Chronology of the Cultural History of Gujarat', shortly styled 'Chronology of Gujarat,' was primarily taken up by the M. S. University of Baroda, to further the cause of Historical Research in Gujarat, at the instance of Shrimati Hansaben Mehta. The publication of this Volume comes at an auspicious moment, when the new composite State of Gujarat, embracing all Gujarātī-speaking people, has come into existence for the first time in its political history.

Our knowledge of the History of Gujarat is based mostly on the 'Bombay Gazetteer' Vol. I (1896) compiled by Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji and other scholars. Since its publication, a good deal of research work has been done in various directions throwing new light on History (political, social, economic), Art, Architecture etc. But this is not available in an easy form. Hence the chief object of this work is to make an attempt to bring all these fragments of information together. These are now sufficiently numerous and well-established (in many cases), to enable us to construct a chronological and geographical framework for the political history of Gujarat. Into this framework may be fitted the history of social and religious institutions also. The scheme thus intends to organize some of the accumulated stores of information on the subject, which will present the material in a collective form, and consequently facilitate further research in the subject.

A number of scholars have welcomed this idea of 'Gujarat Chronology' as, "a concrete form of stock-taking which will provide a sure foundation for the accomplishment of a comprehensive Regional History of Gujarat, and in its turn, serve as an indispensable stone in the edifice of a National History of India".—(Dr. V. S. Agravala). It is urged that such chronological aids would be necessary for the historical sketch of each region of our big country, to which details could be filled in gradually as research advances.

(ii) Scope :

The extant works on Indian Chronology—like the "Chronology of India, up to the 15th Century A.D." by Miss C. Mabel Duff (Mrs. W.R. Rickmeres) published in 1899 ; the "Chronology of Modern India (A.D. 1494-1894)" by Dr. James Burgess, published in 1913 ; Dr. L.D. Barnett's Chapter on "Chronology of India, upto the year 1200 A.D." in his book "Antiquities of India" published in 1914 ; and the latest "Āndhra Chronology" (90 A.D.—1800 A.D.) by Sir V. Ramesham of Madras, being a chronological sketch of the Āndhra or Telugu country, published in 1946—had the purpose of enumerating briefly, in order of time, mostly the historical events connected primarily with political history ; whereas the present volume of "Gujarat Chronology" aims at collecting all relevant data bearing on the history and the culture of Gujarat. It is, thus, intended to be comprehensive in its scope.

In this volume it is proposed to collect events and dates from the political, literary and cultural history of Gujarat, and tabulate them in chronological sequence, with their corresponding dates given in the margin. These dates represent the years B.C. or A.D. If only approximate, they are marked 'Circa'. Original dates of the local Eras that were current through the ages are given in the body of the text. In cases where sufficient chronological data for certain events are not available, the approximate period is given. This approximate dating will often help the reader to trace their contemporaneity with known events and objects.

(iii) Periods in Political History :

The period covered by the present Volume is of a very wide range, spreading as it does, over more than a millenium. The Chronology of the Pre-historic and Proto-historic periods, is, by nature, vague and unsettled. Even for the historic period included in this volume, there still remain many lacunae and wide gaps, and opinions of scholars are widely divided over the chronology of a number of events during the extensive range from pre-history to history.

The dates and events in this work are, therefore, tabulated by dividing them into different "Periods" or "Sections", so as to bring the various dynasties of political history prominently before the readers. Each of these 'Periods' form, as it were, a Chapter with relation to the entire Volume of the Chronology. Each 'Period' is prefixed with an 'Introductory Historical Note', before the Chronological Years, which are followed by a 'Note on Antiquities'. The 'Art-Plates' that follow, illustrate the 'Antiquities'. The division in 'Periods' is as follows:—

Periods in Gujarat Chronology :

(From Early Times to 942 A.D.)

Section :

I	Prelude to Gujarat History	(Pre-and Proto-history).
II	Pre-Mauryan Period :	(—Pre 322 B.C.).
III	Mauryan Period :	(c. 322 B.C.—185 B.C.).
IV	Indo-Greek Period :	(c. 185 B.C.—78 A.D.).
V	Kṣatrapa Period :	(78 A.D.—397-8 A.D.).
VI	Gupta Period :	(c. 400 A.D.—470 A.D.).
VII	Maitraka-Gurjara Period :	(c. 470 A.D.—745 A.D.).
VIII	Rāṣṭrakūṭa-Pratihāra Period :	(c. 745—942 A.D.).

(iv) Term 'Gujarat' defined :

The term 'Gujarat' is used in two different senses: *firstly*, to denote the main land between the areas west of Mount Ābu and south of Damangaṅgā. It occupies an important part of the Western sea-board of India from Sindh to Bombay; and *secondly*, the much larger language field in which Gujarātī is spoken. On account of the political and cultural affinities of Gujarāt with Rājasthān and Mālhwā, during the period under review, it has been decided to incorporate certain historical data of these areas also, to give a comprehensive picture.

In terms of Human Geography, Gujarat may be described as a 'Provincial State' within a 'National State', thus accounting for the unity in diversity of Indian culture : "Gujarat is bounded by the desert of the Rājputānā and the Rann of Kaccha in the north, by the Sātpurās and the Vindhya, which join the Ārāvallis with small gaps in between, separating Gujarat from the Deccan and the plateau of Malwa in the west ; in the south the Deccan plateau abuts on the coast between Damaṇ and Dahāṇu. To the west is the Arabian sea. This whole cultural zone may be really divided into three natural zones, which also constitute the traditional sub-divisions of Gujarat from the earliest times : (1) Kathiawad peninsula called Saurāṣṭra, (2) North Gujarat, coinciding more or less with the semi-arid sandy zone called 'Ānarta', and (3) South Gujarat or 'Lāṭa'. The geographic unity of these three sub-divisions, was consolidated during the Solanki rule of Gujarat from 1000 A.D."—(Dr. B. Subbarao, 'Archaeology of Gujarat,' *Indian Science Congress Souvenir*, 1955, p. 45).

Gujarat consists of regions known in earlier period under different names, such as *Ānarta*, *Lāṭa*, *Saurāṣṭra*, *Kaccha*, *Aparānta*, etc. which are different from one another in some respects. In spite of different traits having developed in these various regions comprising Gujarat, it had an independent social and cultural entity from the earliest times, though it did not exist as a single political unit. As the boundaries of Gujarat have throughout been found to be changing, we have aimed at taking the area of Gujarat at its farthest extent, during the different 'periods' of its political history.

In the earliest times, the memory of which is preserved in traditional history, North Gujarat was called *Ānarta*, with its capital Ānartapura or Ānaṇḍapura, which formed part of the empires of the Mauryas, Greeks, of the Śaka Kṣatrapas and of the Guptas. On the decline of Gupta empire, Ānarta formed part of the kingdom of Valabhīpura. In the seventh Century, Saurāṣṭra, Ānarta and the region between the Sarasvatī and the Narmadā formed part, first of the kingdom of Valabhī, and later, that of Bhīllamāla or Śrīmāla, near Mount Ābu, which was the capital.

The country south of the Mahī or at times south of the Narmadā upto the Pūrṇā or as far as Damaṇ was called *Lāṭa*. It is first mentioned by that name in the *Mandasor Inscription* of Kumāragupta and Baṇḍhuvarman (437 A.D.). Bharu-kaccha in Lāṭa and Śūrpāraka in Koṅkan were both associated with Paraśurāma, the descendant of the Sage Bhṛṅgu.

Aparānta, generally identified with North Koṅkan, was known in different ages to indicate different geographical concepts. It was known in Buddhist times as a country on the western sea-board of India, of which the chief town was Śūrpāraka, now known as Sopārā. With intermittent short periods, North Koṅkan continued to be included in the kingdom of Gujarat till 1543 A.D., when by the treaty of Bassein, the Sultan of Gujarat ceded it to the Portuguese.

Kuśāvarta is the Puranic name of territory around Dwarka, of which no exact date can be given; whereas, the name *Saurāṣṭra* occurs in inscriptions, literature and tradi-

tion. It is also referred to by foreigners like Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, the *Periplus* and Hiuen Tsang.

When the empire of the Imperial Pratihāras broke up in 940 A.D., Mūlarāja established himself in the Sārasvata Maṇḍala in the principality of Anahilla-ṣaṭṭan. This territory, which came to be known by the word 'Gurjara-Maṇḍala', 'Gurjara-Bhūmi' or 'Gurjara-Deśa' was, after Siddharāja Jayasinhha, applied to whatever territory which the Cālukyas claimed as their domain. The Muslims that succeeded the Rājputs continued to call the region as 'Gujarat'. It is this 'Gujarat' which is the subject of our study.

In the early historic and the early mediaeval period, Gujarat has mostly been a political annex or an outlying province of bigger empires of Northern and Western India. During the rest of her political history, small local kingdoms flourished, of which Maṭrakas alone developed a sufficiently big kingdom which incorporated large areas of Modern Gujarat. Yet the cultural homogeneity of the three sub-divisions constituting Gujarat first asserted itself with the development of maritime trade with the Mediterranean world, in the early centuries of the Christian era. This unity was consolidated by the Solanki kings and the Sultāns of Gujarat, who brought a large part of modern Gujarat under their sway.

(v) Aim & Object :

This volume purports to be not a mere compilation of so far known material (first put together in 1896 as the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, *History of Gujarat*); but, also, aims at including fresh data collected from up-to-date historical discoveries and archaeological finds from excavations. The epoch-making new finds from Lothal throw a flood of light on the Saurāṣṭra-Harrapan Contacts, known recently for the first time. The Art-tradition in Elurā Cave-Paintings, Śāmalāji Sculptures and Akoṭa Bronzes of Western India, go to illustrate the existence of the 'Art-School of Ancient West', believed to have flourished at Maru in the 7th Century A.D., as noted by the Tibetan historian Tārānātha in 1608 A.D. The fresh discovery of the Buddhist Stūpa and Vihāra, with the terracotta Buddha statuery, of the late Kṣatrapa period, from the village Devani Mori, near Śāmalāji, Sābarkāṇṭhā District, is, equally epoch-making.

About that portion of history, mostly gathered from Brahmanical, Buddhistic and Jaina Literary Tradition—namely the Epics, the Purāṇas and the later literary works inspired by them,—there does not exist any recorded date. However, the geographical data,—consisting of references to villages, towns, rivers, mountains and places of pilgrimage and the various regions of colonisation and the settlements of various tribes, along with the dynastic lists of kings and families—afford rich material for interpretation. It is needless to say, against this general Epic and Puranic background, their account would bring into focus the geographic data on Gujarat. This section on Geographical data from Puranic Tradition has been relegated, for reference, to the end of the volume as an 'Appendix'.

(vi) Sources :

The sources of Gujarat Chronology have been, broadly speaking, the ancient and later Tradition as reflected in the works of Brahmanical, Jaina and Buddhist literatures, Coins, Inscriptions on stone and copper-plate, Records of Foreign Travellers and the antiquarian remains in the field of Art and Archaeology.

The compilation of this volume has been accomplished mainly source-wise by the co-operation of scholars as detailed below :—

Puranic Tradition and Sanskrit Literature : by Dr. A. N. Jani, M.A.; Ph.D., Kāvya-tīrtha.

Jaina Canonical Literature : by Prof. H. R. Kapadia, M.A.

Coins and Inscriptions : by Dr. H. G. Shastri, M.A., Ph.D.

Pre-History in Gujarat : by Shri Amrit Pandya.

Buddhist Literature, Records of Foreign Travellers, Cultural Data from Events, and Archaeological and Artistic Antiquities : by Dr. M. R. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., LL.B.

(vii) Co-operation of Scholars :

In spite of the token honorarium, the contributors have taken this task as their labour of love. I am grateful to them for their co-operation and help during all the different stages of compilation.

Drs. B. J. Sandesara, U. P. Shah, S. C. Misra, R. N. Mehta and Shri J. S. Pade Shastri deserve special mention for having willingly undertaken to scrutinise the source-wise slips of the Mss. referred to them.

It gives me great pleasure in referring to the contribution of Dr. B. Subbarao to Chapter I on "Prelude to History" (Pre and Proto-History of Gujarat), being a connected survey of the work done so far in this field of Pre-History.

When the book was passing through the final stages of printing, Excavations were carried on at Devani Mori, Śāmalāji area, by the Department of Archaeology, M. S. University, under the guidance of Dr. B. Subbarao, as a result of which, a Stūpa and a Vihāra of the late Kṣatrapa period were laid bare. It is through the warm cooperation and spontaneous consent of Dr. Subbarao that his "Preliminary Note on Excavations at Devani Mori" with illustrations, could be secured and included in the *Addenda*.

The 'Note' subscribed at the request of the General Editor, on "Extension of Harappa Culture in Gujarat" from Shri S. R. Rao, the brilliant excavator of the rich Harappan site at Lothal, has been very opportune for this Volume. I must refer to the permission given to Shri Rao by the Director-General of Archaeology, New Delhi, for subscribing this Note and also for arranging a loan of blocks to illustrate the same.

I am very much indebted to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra Shastri, formerly Government Epigraphist, Government of India, and now Joint-Director, Department of Archaeology,

New Delhi, for his warm response to the present work. His decipherment of the Seal of the Bīkṣu-Saṅgha of the Rudrasena Viṇāra, excavated from Inṭvā, on Girnar Hill in 1949, (See, p. 79), and of the inscription on the pedestal of the Buddha bronze from Bhuj, discovered in 1957, (See, p. 215) can well be remembered here.

His recent reading, from an ink-impression of the inscription on the back-side of the *prabhāvali* of the life-size bronze, discovered in 1935 from old Koṭyarka temple, Mahudi Village, Vijāpur Taluka (N. Guj.), still *in situ*, has settled, once for all, the identity of the bronze (Plate LIII) as having been Buddhistic, instead of being Jaina, as believed so far.—(See, p. 316.).

I cannot adequately thank Shri B. L. Mankad, Keeper, Art & History Sections, Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery, for selecting and designing, at my request, the various Illustrative Coin-Plates, entirely based on the rich Coins Collection of the Baroda Museum.

I have been laid under a great obligation by Shri Parameshwari Lal Gupta, Keeper of the Coins Gallery, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and Joint-Editor, Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, for having scrutinised the matter regarding coins, included in the Sections on ' Antiquities ', and for lending in advance his unpublished material on ' Coin-Hoards in the Bombay State ' for inclusion in this Volume.

(viii) Acknowledgments

The Standing Committee of Experts, comprising of Dr. Jyotindra M. Mehta, Chairman, the present Vice-Chancellor of the M. S. University of Baroda, Professor H. D. Sankalia, Director, Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, the author of ' Archaeology of Gujarat ' (1941) and Professor B. Subbarao, the author of ' The Personality of India ' (2nd ed. 1958), the Members, have laid me under a deep obligation by closely scrutinising the Mss. as a whole, and making valuable suggestions regarding its revision before it could be sent to the Press.

I am very much indebted to Dr. Jyotindra M. Mehta, the Vice-Chancellor and Chairman, Standing Committee of Experts, for giving the **Foreword** to this volume.

The interest shown in the entire scheme of Gujarat Chronology from its inception, by Dr. Shrimati Hansaben Mehta, the first Vice-Chancellor of the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, and the unstinted help given by her for furtherance of the object cannot be adequately thanked. The **Message** testifies to her unfailing interest in the cultural study of Gujarat, as a whole.

I thank the Pro-Vice-Chancellor Dr. C. S. Patel for promptly sanctioning my tour-programmes, whenever proposed in connection with the Chronology work.

I cannot adequately thank Dr. B. Subbarao, Professor of Archaeology and Ancient History, M. S. University, for the keen and constant interest he has evinced in the final revision and recasting of the MSS., even during all its stages of printing. The selection of representative Illustrations, and the preparation of Maps have obtained the stamp of his critical scholarship.

My erudite colleague Dr. H. G. Shastri's uniform interest and hearty co-operation in the work, cannot go unnoticed.

It gives me pleasure to put on record the expert co-operation of the Photographer-Artist Shri 'Dinabandhu' (Mohanlal Bhav-ar) of Kathlal, who accompanied me in most of the Research-tours, and took sharp photographs, some of which are reproduced in this volume.

I thank Shri Batukkumar (Chandramauli) Majmudar, a Post-graduate student, and Kumari Shraddhadevi Majmudar, my children, for materially helping me in the preparation of the **Index**, which includes names of Books and Articles also, given in *Italics*.

This project was, from the beginning, carried out under the auspices of the Oriental Institute. So I take this opportunity to thank the ex-Director Professor G. H. Bhatt, and the present Director Professor B. J. Sandesara, and other members of the Staff, who have helped me in various ways.

My special acknowledgment of hearty cooperation is due to Dr. P.M. Joshi, Director of Archives and Ancient Monuments, Bombay State, Bombay, to Dr. Moti Chandra, Director, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and President, Museums Association of India, to Shri V. L. Devkar, Director, Baroda Museum and Art Gallery, and Head, 'Museology Department' M. S. University, to Shri K. V. Saundara Rajan, Superintendent of Archaeology, Western Circle, Baroda, and to the late Shri P. P. Pandya, Government Archaeologist, Rajkot, of the former Bombay State.

Thanks are due to the Director, Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, to the Director, B.J. Research Institute, Gujarat Vidyāsabhā, Ahmedabad, to Shri P.G. Shah, Secretary, Gujarat Research Society, Khar, Bombay, and to the Hon. Curator, Shri Rājendra Surakāthā of Winchester Museum, Surat, for warm cooperation.

Thanks are due to many Institutions, Collaborators and Friends, besides, who have extended to me the loans of photographs, negatives, blocks etc., and have thus enabled me to present the work in this extant form. Their individual help and cooperation is explicitly acknowledged at the proper places.

To the Press-Management of the M. S. University Press, my sincere thanks are due for giving me every facility in printing work, and for offering their expert co-operation in the production of this work, as a whole.

Chronology of Gujarat
Section,
Oriental Institute,
Baroda
30th June, 1960

GENERAL EDITOR

ART-PLATES

Chapter I (Pre and Proto-History)

- Plate I** (A) Rangpur : Dist. Jhālāwār, Saurāṣṭra
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वसुनंदनिधौ वर्षे व्यतीते विक्रमाकृतः ।

मूलदेवनरेशस्तु चूडामणिरभूद् भुवि ॥

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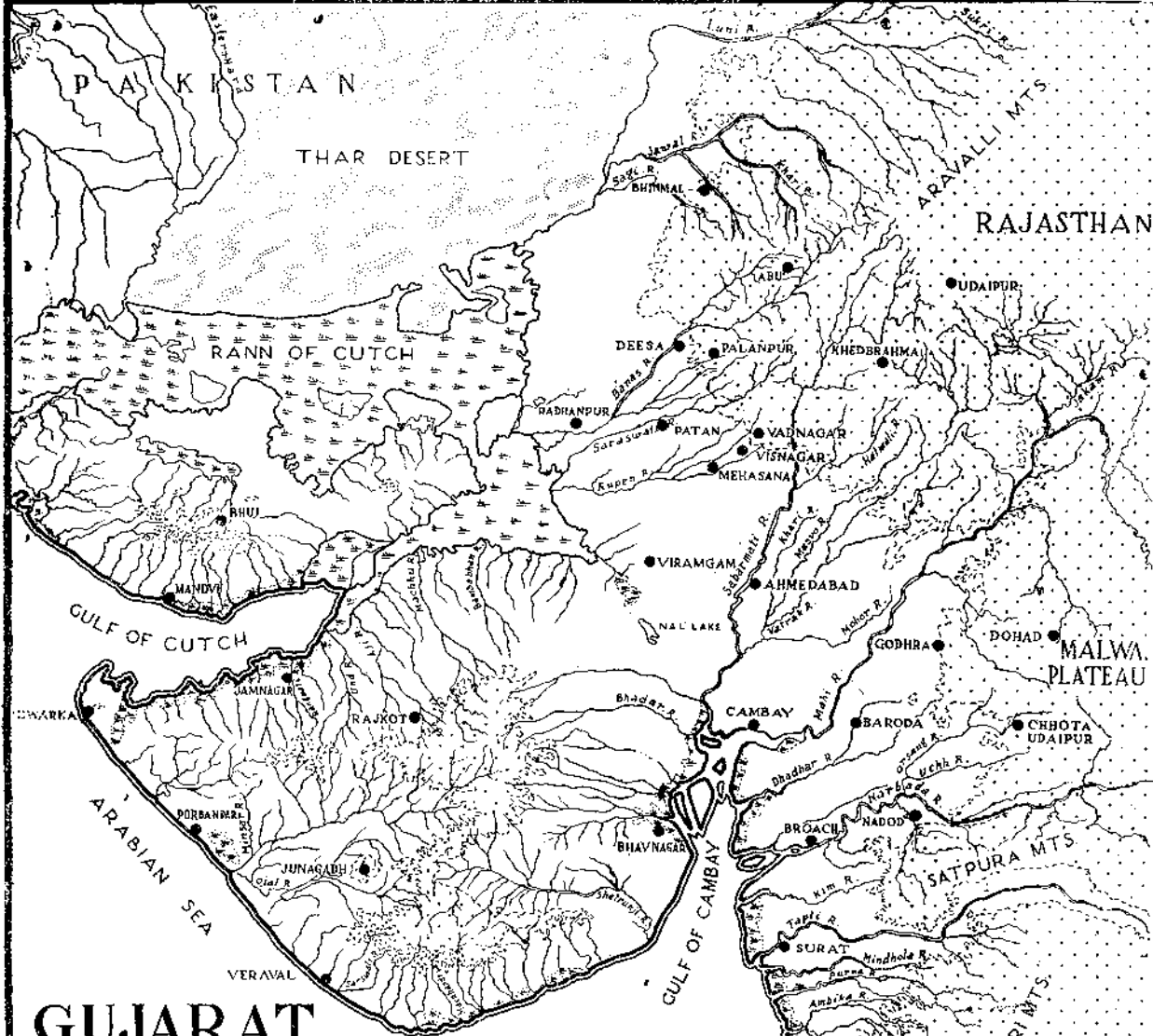
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CHAPTER I

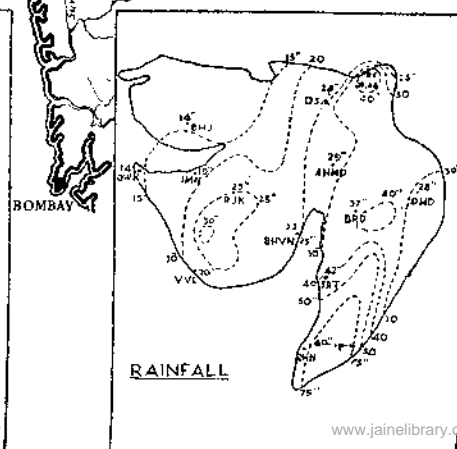
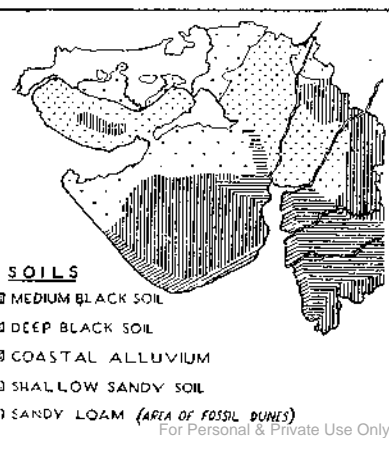
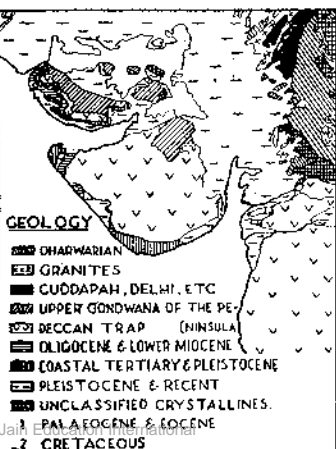
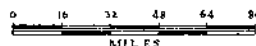
PRELUDE TO HISTORY

(Pre-and Proto-History of Gujarat)



GUJARAT AND THE ADJACENT AREAS PHYSICAL FEATURES

- Area above 500 feet
- Sand desert
- Rann & saline marshes
- Modern towns



PRELUDE TO HISTORY

The history of man enters on a very crucial phase with the invention of writing, which enabled him to record his intellectual heritage to posterity. But, let it be noted, that this so-called era of civilization is a minute fraction of the total span of time when man emerged on this planet of ours, nearly a million years ago. The existence of these literary records enable the historian to reconstruct a more complete story of our civilization in space, and more important thing, in time.

In this volume dealing with Chronology, naturally, the chronological history is being presented. Hence following the general definition of Pre-history—as the story of man before the advent of writing—the Pre-historic as well as the legendary periods are being treated as a 'Prelude to the Chronological History'.

Gujarat, like most of the outlying provinces of India begins its history—or historical chronology—with the advent of the Mauryan rule in Western India with Girinagara or Junagadh as the headquarters of a Vice-royalty. The other well-known phase of Indian culture is the civilization which spread from the Indus basin to the peninsula of Saurāṣṭra across the seas.

This Chalcolithic culture had a system of alphabets or script, which has not been satisfactorily deciphered yet. Hence this phase, like the one revealed by the Purāṇas and other Sanskrit literature, will be treated as 'Proto-history.' Yet, this too is, in a sense, a 'prelude to the chronological history of Gujarat.'

Pre-history of Gujarat :

The geologists call the age of man the 'Pleistocene'. This period was characterized by violent fluctuations of climate affecting the land-surfaces, sea-levels and the rivers, which are very sensitive instruments for recording these changes in environment. Besides, the rivers provided the water which attracted man and his prey, the animals whom he hunted and eked out a livelihood.

The Early Man of this period was not very different from the animals which surrounded him. Since he lived on the banks of these rivers, their history gives us an idea of the various vicissitudes through which man passed. Hence the rivers speak of the history of man that lived on their banks.

Gujarat can be divided into two large natural divisions—the plain of Gujarat from the south of the Aravallis upto Daman and the peninsula of Saurāṣṭra. Gujarat is drained by the rivers—(north to south) Sābarmatī, Mahī, Narmadā and Tāpī, besides a number

of smaller rivers. All these rivers except the Tāpī have been investigated in recent years by Foote, Zeuner, Sankalia, Subbarao, Pandya A. V., Mehta and Malik (see Bibliography). It is not proposed to go into their full details, but a short summary of the main trends upto date will be discussed here.

From the studies carried out by F. E. Zeuner—we know that Gujarat passed through a series of fluctuations varying from arid dry periods to more wet periods with greater precipitation. These are the results of the survey of portions of the valleys of rivers like Sābarmatī, Mahī and Narmadā.

The main phases may be described as follows :—

1. Formation of lateritic crusts—humid climate with hilly land-surface.
2. Mottled clay-deposition in the rivers—somewhat drier than the previous.
3. Cemented gravel phase—when the river spread large pebbles in the bed. *We have definite evidence of the Earliest Man in Gujarat : and his tools have been found in these gravel-beds in all the rivers.*
4. Beginning of a dry phase, when climate seems to have changed : The rivers aggrade or build up their deposits—*Human tools have been found in the lower levels of the silt.*
5. Return of the wet conditions resulting in the spread of vegetation and the resultant weathering of the surface of the silt.
6. Resumption of the dry conditions and acute wind-activity resulting in the wide-spread deposition of wind-blown dunes from North Gujarat, almost upto the Narmadā. But we have evidence of a declining wind-activity as we move southwards. There is, so far, no evidence of human habitation in this period. Probably northern Gujarat was uninhabitable, since we have evidence of human habitation in the South Gujarat and the Bombay area.
7. A wetter phase—particularly noticeable in the Mahī and the Karjan.
8. A drier phase when isolated dunes were blown about upto the river Narmadā.
9. Return to wet conditions indicated by the presence of the Microlithic man whose contemporary fauna included *Rhinoceros Unicornis*.
10. Another change towards a drier phase ; yet the men of this period were in a ' Stone Age ', but used better pottery.

Thus we see two main phases in the ' Stone Age ' of Gujarat—Palaeolithic and Microlithic periods.

Palaeolithic :

Gujarat shares with the other parts of peninsular India most of the features of its Palaeolithic culture. It consists of Abbevillo-Acheulean tools with some pebble-choppers.

The main tools made of Quartzite and Quarts (rarely) consist of choppers made of pebbles, hand-axes and cleavers, discoid cores and scrapers, and flakes with an occasional retouch.

In view of the various deposits discussed above, there is no doubt about the considerable antiquity of this culture. But since we have as yet no means of correlating with the known sequence in Kashmir with the Glacial periods, nor with the fossiliferous deposits of Narmadā and Godāvarī, the exact chronology of this culture remains vague. But on typological grounds it can be equated with the Sohan of Punjab and dated to the Penultimate glaciation. On the basis of the astronomical theory of Milankovitch and Zeuner it can be placed to about 150,000 to 200,000 years.

Microlithic :

We have already discussed the period when the dunes were blown about in Northern and Central Gujarat. When these dunes occur in clusters, blow-outs or depressions are formed in the middle, by the whirling action of the wind. Hence when the climate changed for the better, these blow-outs became the ponds which became the centres of attraction for the next Pre-historic culture of Gujarat, characterized by the use of microliths. These consist of small implements made of semi-precious stones like agate, chalcedony, chert, jasper etc.

These microlithic sites have a very wide distribution in Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra. All the river-valleys and the isolated clusters of dunes around ponds supported the hunting communities. Besides, there is a concentration of these sites along the eastern stretches of Gujarat flanking the hills. In the central hilly areas of Amreli and Dhāri *Prānts*, Foote had recorded a large number of sites.

One of the most important sites which has been investigated by Sankalia and later by Subbarao is Lānghñaj in the Mehasana District. Here on a high mound facing the pond lived one of these hunting settlements.

A very interesting evidence of the climate of North Gujarat is provided by the remains of animals discovered there : Rhinoceros, Hog Deer, Black Buck, Indian Buffalo, Nilgāi etc. None of these animals were domesticated, confirming that these people were wild hunters. They used the shoulder-blade of rhinoceros as anvil for making their stone-tools.

About twelve human skeletons have been discovered so far, and they are being studied. The capacity of the skulls compares with that of Europoid ; but "the slight prognathism of the one skull with smooth small rounded forehead suggests negroid affinities, which belief is strengthened by the smallness of the cross-section as compared to the length of the long bones of the upper and lower extremities."

About the age of this culture, we are not yet in a position to give an exact date ; but excavations at Rangpur and Baroda roughly provide the other limit. At the former site, it precedes the appearance of the "Kathiawad Harappan culture". At Baroda and Timbervā, it precedes the Mauryan and Kṣatrapa periods.

But the recent studies in the Indian Microlithic industries show that the typology of this industry is more or less homogenous throughout the country. In certain parts of the country it survived to later periods. In these late industries, we have evidence of pottery, as at Lānghñaj and in Central India. This proposition seems to be well-founded in view of the distribution of Microlithic culture along the Western Ghāts from Aravallis to Calicut, as the investigations of Todd have shown.

Proto-historic Period

Recent work in Saurāṣṭra is bringing to light the extent of the great urban civilization of the Indus basin. One of the most remarkable discoveries is that of Saragvālā—Lothal (Tālukā Dholkā) in the Ahmedabad District. At Lothal there is a fairly large settlement showing typical Indus valley seals of steatite and several sealings and extensive mud-brick platforms which seem to have supported large burnt-brick structures, the remnants of which have survived. However, it is on account of this, that the nature of some of these structures becomes enigmatic, to say the least. Large number of antiquities—beads of semi-precious stones, gold, gold ornaments, terracottas, bronze vessels etc., have been recovered. A fuller account of these excavations is given in the succeeding Note subscribed by Shri S. Ranganātha Rao, the Superintendent of Archaeology, Western Circle, on special duty, who first investigated this site.

The story of this civilization in Saurāṣṭra is one of the survival and slow deterioration in their ceramics and material culture. The sequence of Lothal is carried further by the excavations at Rangpur, started in 1934 by M. S. Vats and continued by Ghurye, Sankalia, Dikshit and S. R. Rao. With slight variation, Lothal evidence is carried through to a transitional phase.

Then we go into a phase characterized by the continuation of some of the older forms and the appearance of a new ceramic type, called for convenience, the 'Lustrous Red Ware'. The exact interrelation between the 'Kathiawad Harappan' of Lothal and the 'Lustrous Red Ware' culture is, as yet, not very clear, though the appearance of a new wave of people or culture is indicated here as well as at Somanāth more clearly.

The most important site in Saurāṣṭra from the point of stratigraphic evidence of culture-sequence, is Somanāth. The ancient site, probably identical with ancient Prabhāsa, is situated on the bank of Hiraṇyā to the N.E. of Prabhāsa Pāṭana. Here the story begins with a later phase of "Lothal-Rangpur", "Kathiawad Harappan" and continues without a break right into the 6th century A.D. The importance of this site lies in the fact that, for the first time, the sequence in Saurāṣṭra can be roughly equated in time with the Mauryan and Pre-Mauryan horizons all over the country, characterized by the presence of the famous Northern Black Polished Ware.

The Phases at Somanāth may be stated as follows :—

- I-a. Typical Kathiawad Harappan forms with incised decorations, sometimes—like loops—reminiscent of the paintings. Very characteristic cores and flakes with crested ridges suggest the continuity of blade technique.

- I-b. 'Transitional' and 'Late' wares of Rangpur (2-b and 2-c) occur with an entirely new ceramic fabric and forms in curved bowls with panelled decorations. The painting is done in black, or purple, over red and tan backgrounds or red greyish background. Some of the decorations occur at Maheśvar (Dist. Nimād, Madhya Bharat) and Ahar (Dist. Udaipur, Rajasthan).
- II. Lustrous red wares. This phase has been divided into two sub-periods on the basis of the changes in ceramic decorations and changes in fabrics in the upper levels. Here it seems to be an intrusion as there is a tendency for the earlier motifs on the new ware.
- III. This is very important on account of the occurrence of the Northern Black Polished ware which enables us to identify the Pre-Mauryan and Mauryan horizons. From other antiquities also, we can definitely date this phase to a period from 500 to 100 B.C.
- IV. A coarse gritty and thick Black-and-Red ware: this phase can be linked up with the rest of Gujarat from excavations at Vadnagar and Timbervā, and can be dated to about 100 B.C. to 100 A.D.
- V. The well-established era of contact with the Mediterranean region by the occurrence of the Red-Polished Ware, which can be dated to between 100 to 600 A.D.: The occurrence of large number of Gupta and Valabhi coins vouches for this date.

Thus the sequence at Somanāth begins to supply important data, which would ultimately help us in tackling the problems of Saurāṣṭra. These results are based on the joint work carried out by Dr. Subbarao and Shri P. P. Pandya in 1955, and continued by Pandya in 1956-57.

In conclusion, it is very interesting to note that in Gujarat, as in the other Littoral provinces, separated from the mainland, by difficult communications, the maritime influences have kept the window open and enabled a local or provincial development. Even the earlier Harappan element seems to have penetrated by sea from Kaccha and Sind. Finally the story of the sequence of cultures based on the excavations at Lothal, Rangpur, Somanāth, Āmrā and Lākhābāwal gives us a very fine sequence of cultures from about 1500 B.C. or earlier to about 700 A.D. The exact relation between the Harappan culture of Kathiawad to its parent culture in the Indus basin cannot be defined exactly at the present stage of our knowledge.

But a provisional chronology can be reconstructed on the basis of relative stratigraphy. The appearance of iron and the associated dominance of black-and-red ware over such an extensive region covering Central India and the Deccan peninsula, and now its extension into coastal Gujarat, as well as Kathiawad, is of great significance. Even if we assume the beginning of iron about 500 B.C., a reasonable time-scale would be to allot

about a thousand years to the whole range of Proto-historic cultures beginning with a Harappan. This would allow for the large number of inter-links or contacts between the Pre-N.B.P. Chalcolithic cultures of Central India and Deccan with Grey wares on the one hand, and the late Harappan sequence of Kathiawad. Recalling the dates suggested by Fairervis for the end of the Harappa in their peripheral zones (2100-1200 B.C.), we can at best treat the Harappan culture of Lothal and Kathiawad as a younger contemporary of that of the Cities of Harappa and Mohenjo Daro, if it does not represent a southward displacement of the culture, after the advent of the Aryans.

To sum up the position, the archaeological sequence in Kathiawad does not belie its history and its function in the historical geography of India. Hence this long story of survival and deterioration fits better into the geographic picture of Gujarat, as an area of relative isolation from the rest of the country, and a simultaneous window to the influences from across the seas. Further work will be necessary to confirm this hypothesis, and more than any, an independent absolute date for Lothal is a great desideratum.

Tradition and Archaeology

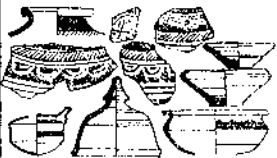
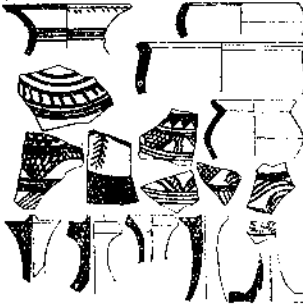
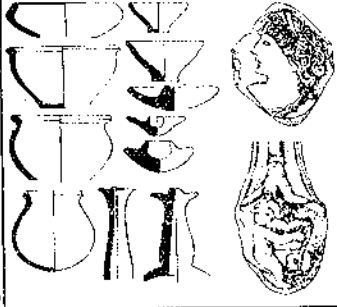

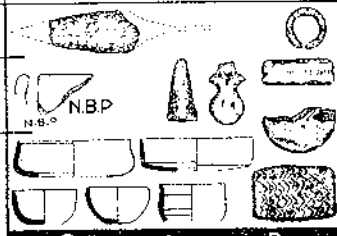
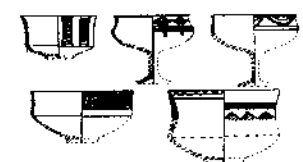


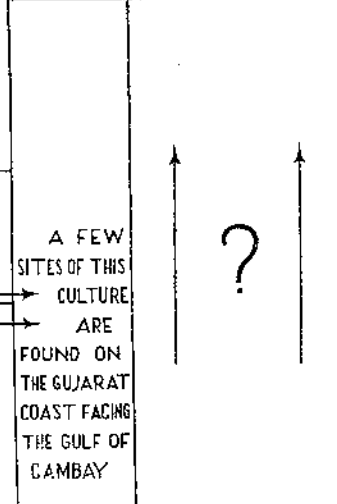
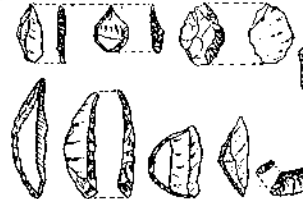



In view of the large amount of traditional material preserved in our Purāṇas and other literature about Saurāṣṭra, Lāṭa and Ānarta it is natural for any body to ask, what is the bearing of all this archaeological evidence on this story?

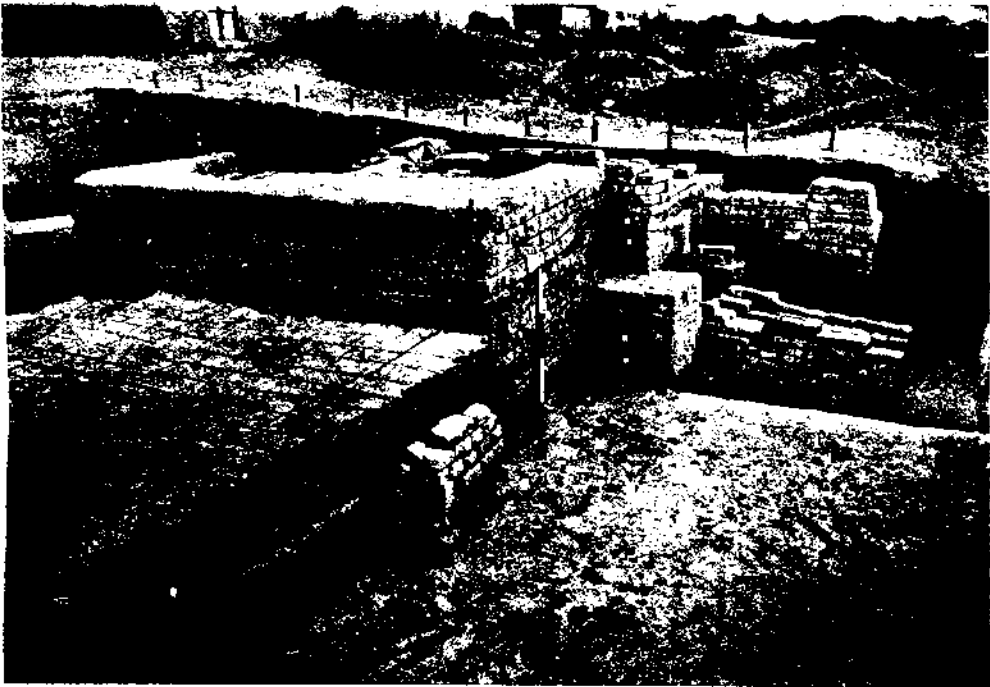
In reply to this, we should understand two important facts. As at present constituted, most of our literary tradition has been consolidated about the beginning of the Christian era. Worse still, on account of the religious sanctity and the function of the Purāṇas as a philosophy by examples, of the kings of the Kali age, we see either a crude repetition of the historical and geographical material of the consolidated texts or a deliberate interpolation to suit or glorify a particular region or religion. Hence one has to be on the guard while trying to interpret tradition and traditional history.

Yet, should we entirely abandon it? Here, a sober attempt is very badly needed. With the recent excavations at the hallowed sites of Hastināpur, Māhiṣmatī and Prabhāsa-Pāṭaṇ (Somanāth), the trends are very encouraging. For example, take Saurāṣṭra; according to literature, there are three main incidents: (1) the settlement of the Aryan colonists and the establishment of the kingdom of Ānarta by a son of Śaryāta in North Gujarat. (2) The second is the main story of Kṛiṣṇa and the migration of his people into Surāṣṭra. (3) The last is the establishment of the *āśrama* by Chyavana, the Bhrigu on the banks of Narmadā, giving rise to a number of Bhrigu-*tīrthas*, of which Bhrigu-kaccha was one.

These stories have been repeated at great length in various forms and periods by different authors of the Purāṇas. Taking Somanāth, the place where Kṛiṣṇa's mortal remains were cremated, it is possible to attempt a link. If Kṛiṣṇa's story has any validity, it speaks of extensive cultural contacts between Central India and the Gangetic basin with Surāṣṭra. Then this contact can be seen approximately at about 1400-1000 B.C.

CULTURE SEQUENCE IN GUJARAT

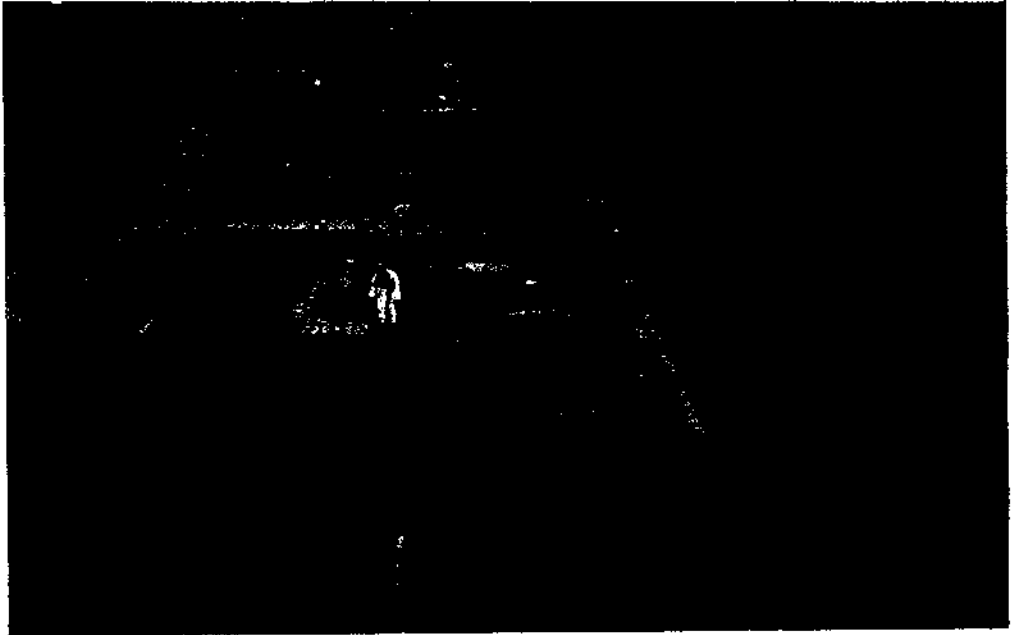
SAURASHTRA AND N. GUJARAT	SOUTH GUJARAT	PERIOD	SOUTH GUJARAT	SAURASHTRA AND N. GUJARAT
??		EARLY MEDIEVAL	MEDIEVAL PAINTED WARE (BLACK-ON-WHITE ON-RED) GADHIA AND VALABHI COINS	??
		EARLY HISTORIC II 100-600 A.D.	PLAIN BURNISHED AND RED SLIPPED WARES RED POLISHED WARE KSHATRAPA COINS AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES TIMBARVA II SOMNATH IV	BLACK-ON-RED PAINTED WARES. RED POLISHED WARE, KSHATRAPA AND LOCAL COINS-ROMAN ANTIQUITIES. VADNAGAR II AMRAQ LAKHABAWAL II
 BLACK-AND-RED WARE IRON N.B.P SOMNATH III	 G A P	EARLY HISTORIC PERIOD I 400 B.C. to 100 A.D.	BLACK-AND-RED WARES, N.B.P. IRON. TIMBARVA I	POSSIBLE CONTINUATION OF THE PAINTED TRADITION IN POTTERY. IN SOUTH KATHIAWAD SOMNATH III
  	 A FEW SITES OF THIS CULTURE ARE FOUND ON THE GUJARAT COAST FACING THE GULF OF CAMBAY	PROTO HISTORIC POST K. HARAPPAN LATE K. HARAPPAN KATHIAWAD HARAPPAN	A FEW OF THE HARAPPAN SETTLEMENTS OCCUR IN THE DELTAIC REGIONS OF TAPI AND NARMADA IN THE INTERIOR THERE SEEMS TO BE A SURVIVAL OF LATE STONE AGE HUNTING COMMUNITIES	RANGPUR II C III SOMNATH II AMRA I RANGPUR II B SOMNATH I A & B LAKHABAWAL I LOTAL RANGPUR II A HARAPPAN EXTENSION INTO GUJARAT
	 G A P	LATE STONE AGE	GEOMETRIC MICROLITHIC INDUSTRY	
	 G A P	EARLY STONE AGE	ABBEVILLO-ACHEULEAN HAND AXE AND CLEAVER INDUSTRY.	



(A) Rangpur : Dist. Jhālāwār, Saurāṣṭra : General view of excavated remains.



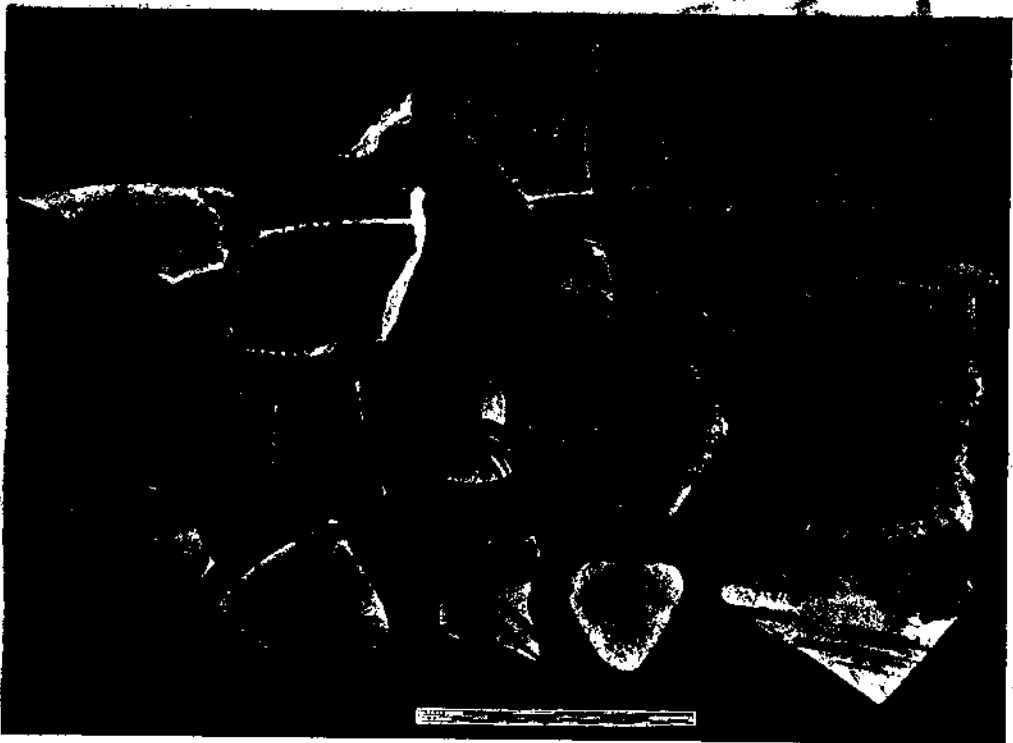
(B) Lothal : Clay fillings with structure above.



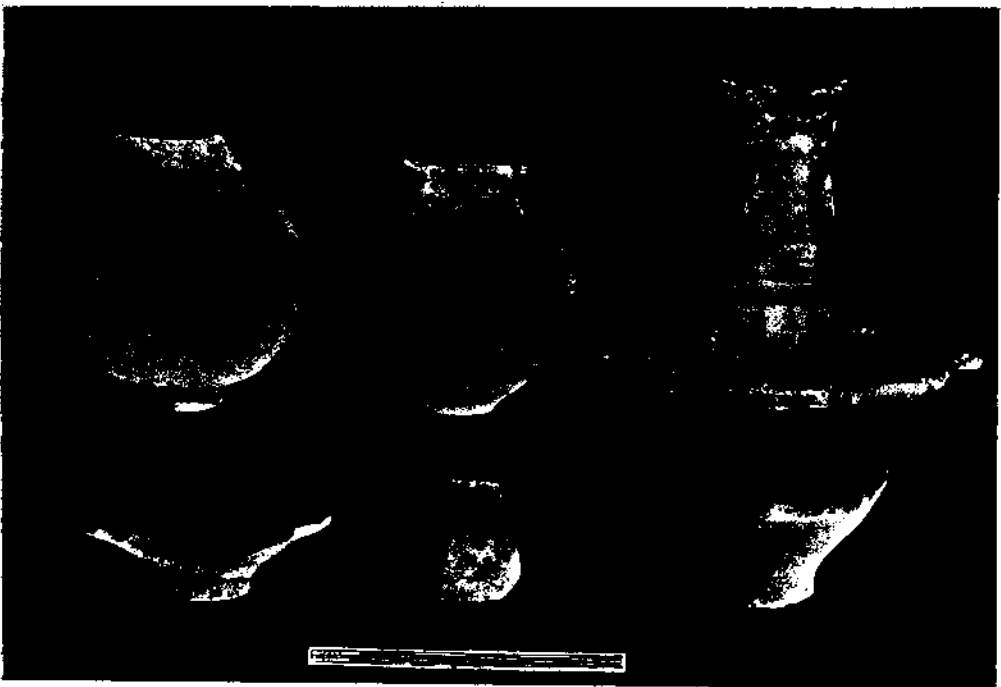
(A) Lothal: Row of Houses.



(B) Lothal: Burials.



(A) Rangpur: Pottery with Harappan affinity.



(B) Lothal: Pottery with Harappan affinity.

Plate IV



(A) Lothal: Copper and bronze objects.



(B) Lothal: Copper vessel.

Most of our orthodox historians are reconciling themselves to a date of the Mahābhārata War almost to this period of time. Hence it is a possible line of investigation which may yield ample results.

. The archaeologist can, however, only point out the shadows ; but, he is not yet in a position to designate the actors of this shadow-play. So, unless we solve the more complex problems of the Aryans and equally terse problems of archaeology, we can only plead for a little more patience.

Link with History :

Thus we have seen how from Pre-history and Proto-history of Gujarat, we come through Archaeology into History ; and the Pre-Mauryan and the Mauryan periods inaugurate the main chronology discussed in the succeeding chapters.

II

EXTENSION OF HARAPPA CULTURE IN GUJARAT*

Introduction :

The discovery of Harappa and Mohen-jo-Daro in the years 1921-22 revealed the existence of a highly developed urban civilization in the Indus Valley during 3rd and 2nd millenium B.C. The recent discovery of Lothal in the Peninsula of Saurāṣṭra has extended the zone of the Harappa culture as far south as the gulf of Cambay, and the excavations at Rangpur and Lothal have thrown new light on the circumstances leading to the disappearance of the Harappans. Secondly, it has been possible to narrow the gap between the supposed end of the Harappa culture in *circa* 1500 B.C. and the beginning of the Buddhist period in *circa* 6th century B.C. Lastly the vague Harappan affinities in the late chalcolithic cultures of the first millenium B.C. can be explained from the Harappan traditions found surviving at Rangpur, Lothal, Prabhāsa etc.

Rangpur :

Rangpur is a small village in Limdi Taluka of Zalawad District in the Bombay State, a reference to which has been made in previous pages. The cultural sequence arrived at as a result of the excavations (*Plate I a*) carried out by Shri S. R. Rao between 1953 and '56 may be summed up as follows :—

Long after the microlithic-using folk of Period I left Rangpur the Harappans came to settle down at the sight in *circa* 2000 B.C. and continued to live upto 1500 B.C. Their earthen-wares, tools, weapons, personal ornaments, toys and objects of domestic use were identical with those of their neighbours at Lothal. The first occupation by the Harappans is assigned to period II a. Owing to the total destruction of their township by a flood in *circa* 1500 B.C. they had to face many hardships.

The material equipment of the post-flood Harappans is in many respects poorer than that of the early Harappans. This degenerate phase of Harappa culture extending from *circa* 1500 B.C. to 1100 B.C. falls in period II b. Subsequently an attempt to revive painted traditions and to evolve new ceramic forms was made in period II c. Side by side certain Harappa ceramic forms such as dish-on-stand, jar, bowl and basin did continue to be in use. The Black and Red Ware emerged as a popular ware in period II c which is deemed to represent a Transition Phase of the Harappa culture. Locally available agate and jasper were preferred to imported chert for making lithic implements. Copper celts, pins and razors continued to be in use. Ceramic wares were frequently painted with geometric and animal motifs such as deer, peacock, bull and black buck. At the close of the 2nd millenium B.C., a new culture was being slowly evolved at Rangpur and several other

* The absolute chronology of the Harappan culture of Saurāṣṭra is yet in a fluid stage. The dates given in the text are those of the author.—Editor

late settlements of the Harappans in Saurāṣṭra. Period III of Rangpur which is approximately dated between 1000 B.C. and 800 B.C. is noted for the exuberance of the Lustrous Red Ware. Black and Red Ware is also a popular ceramic ware of the period. (*Plate-b*):

A village-to-village survey of the peninsulas of Kaccha and Saurāṣṭra was made during the years 1954 to 1958 when it was found that the early settlements of the Harappans were made on the coast-line only. They must have taken a sea-route from Sind to Saurāṣṭra. Curiously enough no Harappa settlement contemporary with Lothal or Rangpur II a, is encountered in region between Viramgam and Surendranagar or even further south until one reaches Lothal. Being a sea-faring people the Harappans preferred a sea-route to a land-route and settled themselves on the fertile coastal strip during their south-ward movement. Bhagatray in the Kim estuary near Surat is the Southernmost Harappa settlement known so far.

Lothal:

The discovery of the Lothal mound in Saragvala village of Dholka Taluka in Ahmedabad District of the Bombay State in November 1954 has not only extended the limits of the Harappa Empire but also added much to our knowledge about the maritime activities of the Harappans. Lothal has yielded seals and sealings and a distinct ceramic ware known as the Black and Red Ware in addition to the usual Harappan ceramic wares, tools, weapons and ornaments. The sealings have, for the first time, helped to understand the purpose with which seals were prepared. With a rich wheat and cotton-growing hinterland and easy access to the sea, Lothal occupied an important position for developing overseas trade.

The extent of the mound so far known is about half a mile in length and a quarter mile in width. It is 12 ft. high, from the surrounding area; but the total occupation deposit is 28 ft. Owing to sheet flooding the slopes of the mound are silted up. It is said that only 50 years ago, country crafts used to anchor at a distance of half a mile from Lothal. Through the Gulf of Cambay and the Sābarmati and Bhogāvo rivers they might have been able to reach Lothal, it is so surmised.

At present three main phases of occupation with five building periods can be distinguished. In the first phase the houses did not stand on any platform nor did they have a high plinth. But soon the township came to be destroyed by a flood.

In the second phase the inhabitants are found to have devised various measures of safety against inundation. One of the steps taken by them was to construct a protective wall of mud-bricks around the town and platforms of mud-bricks within the town to raise their dwellings over them. The habitation area was further extended; but once again a great flood destroyed the structures. There was an elaborate system of drainage. Clearance of manholes and soakage-jars must have also existed. Houses were built in rows on either side of the streets. (*Plate II*)

One of the most important structures uncovered at Lothal is what is supposed to be a kiln built on a platform in the south-east corner of the town. There are twelve solid cubical blocks built in three rows of four each with an intersecting channel between each

block. The channels are paved at the ends with kiln-burnt bricks. Ash, cinders, charcoal, baked lumps of clay, terracotta objects such as ovaloid balls, triangular "cakes" and sealings were found in the channels. The most important find was, however, a hoard of seventy-five terracotta sealings which carry the positive impressions of the Indus seals, bearing script and animal figures. It is surmised that this mud-brick structure with twelve blocks must have served the purpose of a kiln for baking small clay-objects like sealings, toys, etc. on a mass scale.

The third and last phase of occupation provisionally equated with the fifth period of constructional activity witnessed a decline in the prosperity of the town. The eroded face of the platforms in the main section gives an idea of the severity of floods. In this third phase houses and drains were shabbily constructed and soakage jars were placed at the end of the narrow drains to drain off water from the bathrooms.

From the foregoing description of the town-planning of Lothal and the nature of construction of houses, drains and platforms it should be evident that the Lothal folk closely followed their contemporaries at Harappa and Mohen-jo-daro in town-planning, and adopted identical safety measures against floods. The personal ornaments, tools, weapons, toys, ceramic wares, objects of domestic use and the products of the artists of Lothal bearing close resemblance to those found at Harappa and Mohen-jo-daro are mentioned below :—

Tools and Weapons :

Copper celts and arrow-heads (*Plate III*) and terracotta sling balls have been found at Lothal. (*Plate IV*) They might have been used for defensive purposes. Long blades of chert rarely retouched and occasionally polished were used as pen-knives with or without hafting. (*Plate V a*)

Arts and Crafts :

The gold and steatite beads of Lothal are the smallest in size ever found. A necklace made of such micro-beads gives an idea of the personal ornaments in use 4000 years ago. (*Plate V b*), Lothal is wellknown for a large variety and number of beads of topa, carnelian, agate, jasper, shell, ivory, faience and copper. Even etching was known in those days.

The art of modelling was widely practised. Animal and human figures were prepared to cater to popular taste. Torsos of male and female human figurines including a bust of a foreigner with a long beard, sharp nose and sunken eyes deserve special attention.

The art of painting on earthen vessels was also highly developed. The colour scheme is in black over red or chocolate over buff. Peacock, crane, deer, stag, sparrow, snake, *pipal*-leaf and palm-tree are some of the naturalistic designs painted on the Lothal vessels. Entire vessels' surface is often painted and the designs are repeated as in Harappa and Mohen-jo-daro. (*Plate VI*)

Figurines of swan and dog in copper are good examples of the art of metal-casting.

Occupations :

The chief occupations of the Lothal folk were fishing, agriculture and trade. A large number of fish-hooks of copper and vast quantities of fish-bones recovered in the excavations establish that fishing was an important occupation.

The prosperity of Lothal was primarily due to trade and commerce. Finished products like beads might have been processed at Lothal and exported, as is even now the case at Cambay. 'Bhāla' being a rich cotton-growing area, cloth might have been one of the goods exported. A standard of weights was stipulated. The sealings were used for sealing packages of goods exported. Bullock-carts and boats were in use as means of transport, and their terracotta representations are encountered at Lothal.

Script :

No clue has been found so far to enable scholars to decipher the Indus script. The seals and sealings of Lothal bear Indus script and animal figures. Unicorn, bull, goat, elephant, birds and *swastika* are some of the designs beautifully engraved on seals. (*Plates VII and VIII*)

The discovery of terracotta sealings bearing positive impressions of the seals has established that the seals were meant to be used for sealing packages and not merely as intaglios. In the graffiti marks on the pottery of Rangpur II c and III, Somanath II and Rozdi I, some of the Indus symbols can be seen. They suggest a survival of the script.

Religion :

In one place an enclosure of mud-bricks built on a small platform was found to contain ash, charred animal bones, a gold pendant with two holes, beads, etc. The altar appears to have been specially built for a ritualistic purpose. Secondly certain animals seem to have been held in veneration. When they died, their bones were deposited in earthen vessels. Such urn-burials containing animal bones were also found at Lothal.

Funerary Method :

Burial was the normal method of disposal of the dead. A cemetery was recently discovered in the north-western parts of the Lothal mound. Out of three burials opened up, two were greatly disturbed. As such, the burial urns were found missing. In Burial No. 2, however, two bodies were found placed close to each other. They were extended burials with head to the north.

Conclusion :

The discovery of a large number of proto-historic sites in Saurāṣṭra and Gujarat and the excavations conducted by the M. S. University, Baroda, and the Archaeological Department of the former Saurāṣṭra Government at Prabhāsa, Amra, Lakhabaval and Rozdi have confirmed the findings of Shri Rao at Lothal and Rangpur that the Harappa Culture survived in a degenerate form in the 2nd millennium B.C.

The bearing which the exploration and excavations of proto-historic sites in Gujarat, Saurāṣṭra and Kaccha has on the proto-history of India can be summarised as follows : —

The Harappans moved south of the Indus estuary and made settlements on the Western sea-board of India in the 3rd millennium B.C. Lothal was their earliest settlement in the peninsula of Saurāṣṭra. Desalpar in Kaccha and Bhagatrav near Surat in the Kim estuary in the south may be slightly later settlements. In due course, the Harappans mov-

ed further inland and settled down at Rangpur. An unprecedented flood destroyed all the early Harappan settlements in Gujarat, Saurāṣṭra and Kaccha, but they continued to live in poorer conditions.

A large number of small late Harappa settlements sprang around Jamnagar, Porbandar, Somanath, Kodinar and Mehgaum in the post-flood days as a sequel to an influx of panic-stricken Harappans from the Indus Valley. They had only a material equipment ; but most of the Harappan traditions still survived with them.

In the course of the five centuries following the devastation of the major cities and towns of the Harappans in the Indus Valley and in Saurāṣṭra, a gradual degeneration in the material equipment of these Harappans can be seen at Amra, Lakhabaval and Rozdi, Rangpur, Lothal, and Prabhāsa. But they revived their traditions of painting on earthen wares and even new motifs were introduced.

The lithic appendage of the surviving Harappans consisted of scrapers of agate and jasper instead of ribbon flakes of chert. Spheroid weights of sandstone came to be used instead of cubical weights of chert and agate. Copper celts and pins continued to be in use, but certain terracotta objects such as triangular cakes were given up. In the beginning of the first millenium B.C. they established contacts with other chalcolithic folk living in Mewad and Malwa plateau and in the Deccan.

Thus it is now possible to tell a continuous story of the expansion of the Harappa culture over space and time, and its survival in different parts in Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra for nearly eight centuries even after the destruction of Harappa and Mohen-jo-daro. It made substantial contributions to the physical and metaphysical aspects of Indian culture. A reappraisal of the evidence of survived Harappa culture in the Ghaggar Valley and in the East Punjab may reveal a parallel development.

This note does not go into the details of the discoveries made in recent days. Some of the statements made above may have to be modified in the light of further evidence, if any, coming up at Lothal. †

† Sir Mortimer Wheeler's impressions about a trip to Lothal in March 1959 are recorded by Uma Anand (*The Illustrated Weekly of India*, April 12, 1959) as under :—" It has been the most interesting and exciting of the new sites. Lothal belongs quite definitely at the earliest levels to the Harappa culture, about 2200 B.C., and, what is so much important, lasts well beyond the latest dates of the Indus civilisation as previously indicated by the excavations at Mohen-jo-daro and Harappa.

Did the forces that destroyed these northern cities compel the people to migrate to the south-west coast ? Or, did the Indus-valley civilisation originally have a two-pronged movement : one extending about 800 miles from the west up north-east towards the Himalayas, the other along the west coast ? Perhaps new sites will continue to follow these distant trails of the past.

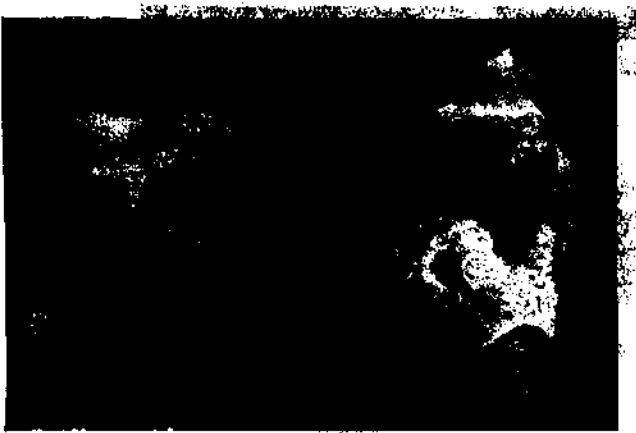
The digging at Lothal has revealed a rectangular construction like an artificial inlet or harbour for small ships. The trench that is now uncovered measures 716 feet North-south, and 116 ft., East-west. The total height of the walls is 12 ff. It has an inlet in the embankment and a spill channel in the southern embankment. Marine shells have been found from inside, of what can be called, the harbour.—General Editor.

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- * Special mention must be made of the very recent discovery of two sites Mehgam and Telod, both near the Narmadā estuary. A preliminary examination of their material indicates that both of them contain late Harappan pottery. Subject to confirmation by a detailed study, the sites would seem to represent the southernmost stations of the late Harappa culture till now known, and would be of great significance."—(*Indian Archaeology: 1956-57: A Review*, p. 1.)

* Since it is very difficult to be precise in chronology when we deal with Pre-history and Proto-history, our extant knowledge is summarised in a running account; and a Select Bibliography of Original Papers is given for reference.

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(A) Lothal: Terracotta Guerilla: front and side-views (ht. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.)



(B) Lothal: Terracotta mother goddess, (ht. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.)



(C) Lothal: Terracotta bearded figurine (ht. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

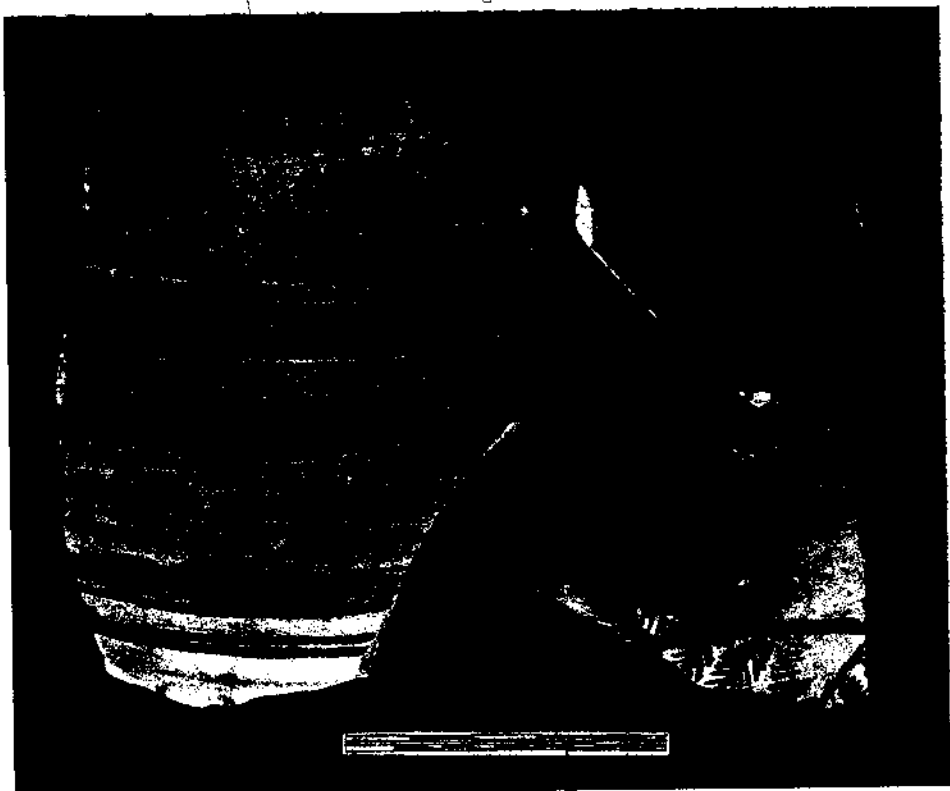


(D) Lothal: Terracotta animal figurine (ht. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

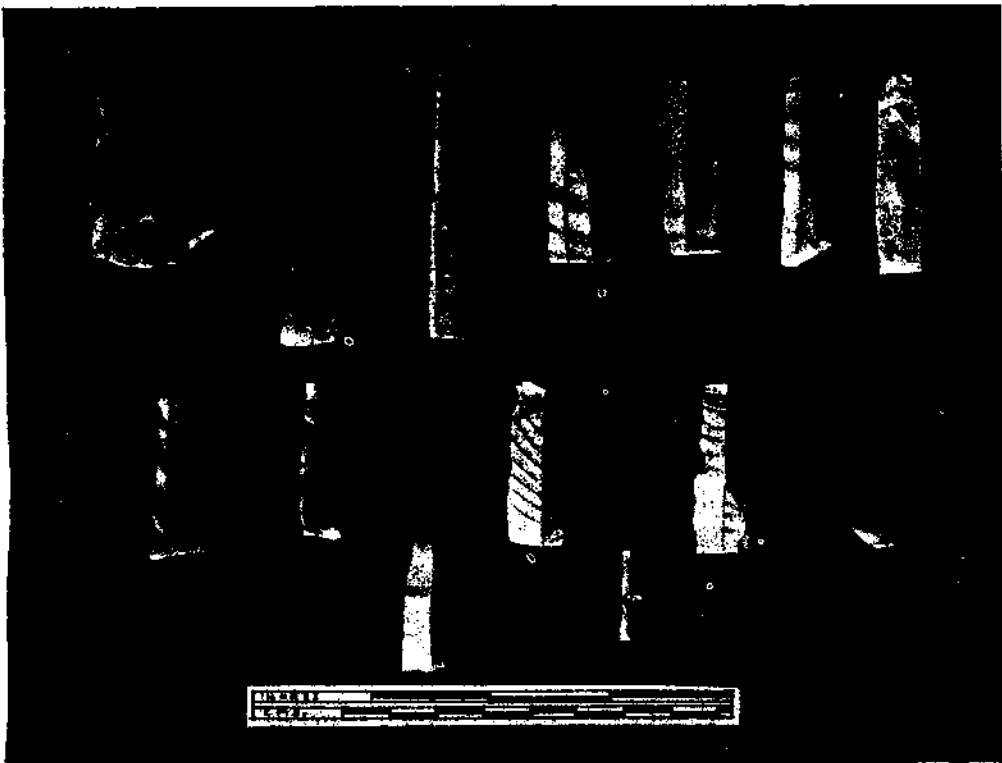
Plate VI



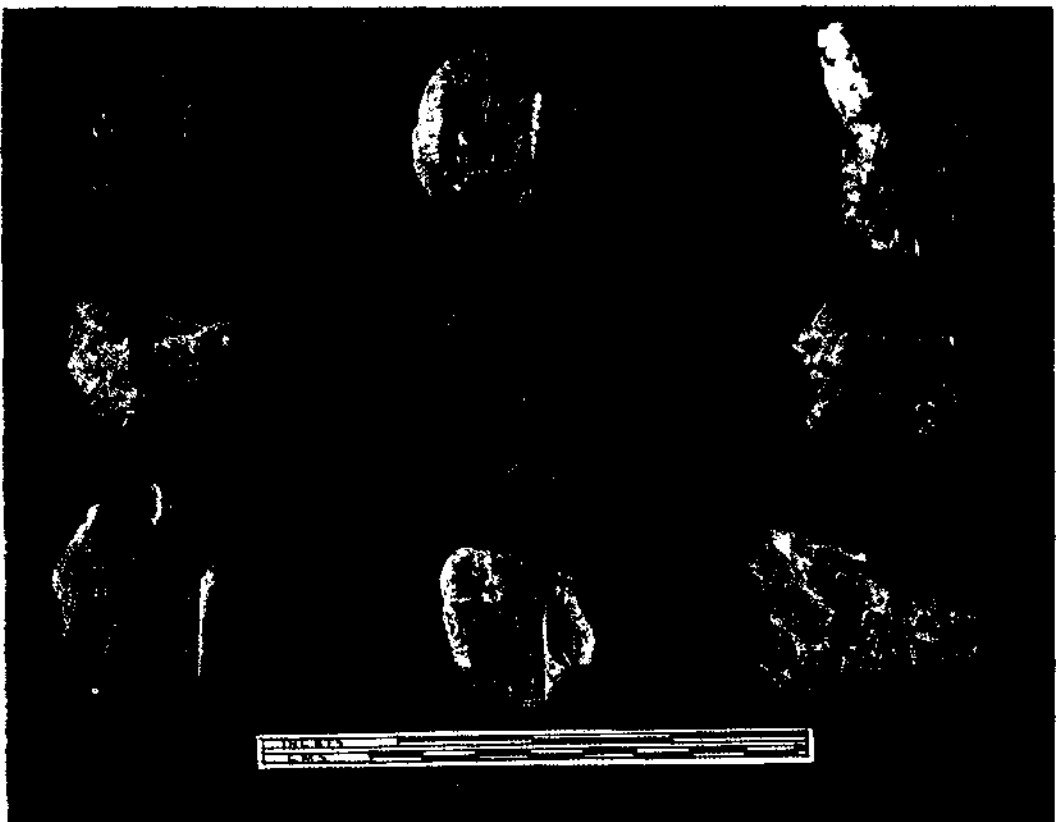
(A) Lothal: Painted pottery.



(B) Lothal: Painted and incised pottery.



(A) Lothal: Chert blades.



(B) Lothal: Terracotta sealings.

Plate VIII



A



B



C



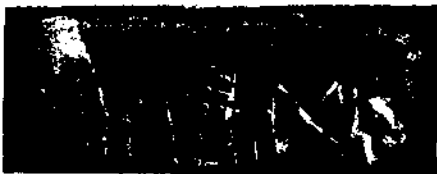
D



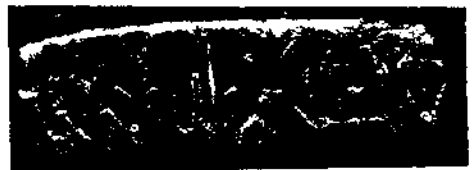
E



F



G



H

Lothal: Seals (slightly enlarged).

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CHAPTER II

PRE-MAURYAN PERIOD

(Traditional History :- Pre circa B.C. 322)

PRE-MAURYAN PERIOD

(Pre Circa B. C. 322)

The oldest Pauranic legend regarding Gujarat appears to be that of the holy king Ānarta, son of Śaryāti, and grand-son of Manu. The first reliable land-mark in the history of Gujarat, however, is the establishment of the Mauryan rule by Candragupta.

Before this event, we have to fall back on literary tradition, mostly gathered from Brahmanical, Buddhistic and Jaina works—the epics, the Purāṇas and later literary compositions inspired by them.

Most of these traditions, particularly of the Purāṇas refer to the advent of the Aryan tribes into Gujarat. These traditions have been carefully analysed by K. M. Munshi. (*Early Aryans in Gujarat*).

Accordingly, the bare facts have been summarised in this Section. A few references from Pāṇini regarding Western India have also been included.

I

The Purāṇas say nothing about the original home of the Aryans. The scene of traditional history opens in India with the division of the territory, comprising the whole of North India extending in the east upto Orissa, among the ten sons of Manu, the first King and Common Ancestor of the ruling families in India.

The traditional account of the expansion of the Aryans and Aryan culture is identical with the geographical background of the Aryan conquest of India given in the Purāṇas. From this starting point, the traditional history possibly enables us to trace the progress of Aryan advance during the four Ages—Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara, and Kali. Kings Sagara, Rāma, and Kṛṣṇa are said to have flourished respectively at the end of the Kṛta, Tretā and Dvāpara Ages, so that the Kṛta Age covers roughly 40 generations, Tretā 25 and Dvāpara 30. The Kali Age set in after the Bhārata War.

By the end of the Kṛta Age, we find the Aryans in occupation of the whole of North India including Sind and Kandahar in the west, and Bihar and West Bengal in the east. In the south, Gujarat, Saurāṣṭra, the Western Coast south of Bombay and Berar were colonized by the Aryans, and their southern limits had extended beyond the Vindhya and the Narmadā, down to the Taptī and the Sātpurās.

The Aryan occupation during the Tretā Age extended further east and south, embracing in addition the territories occupied in the Kṛta Age. The southern territories of Janasthāna, Kiṣkindhā, and also Laṅkā came under the sphere of Aryan influence during the days of Rāma. By the time of the Bhārata War, which marked the close of the Dvāpara Age, the Aryans had extended over the whole of India, and even beyond its frontiers in the west.

This traditional account of the Aryan expansion is, however, in conflict with the evidence of the Vedic texts, and also with that of the *Brāhmaṇas*. It is generally assumed that the Aryans had not advanced beyond the middle region of Northern India till all the traditional royal dynasties who ruled had ceased to exist.

The *Smṛti* texts quote verses defining Āryāvarta or the land of the Aryas as co-extensive with North India. As to the expansion of the Aryan culture to the Deccan and South India, the evidence of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and Kātyāyana's *Vārtikas* on Pāṇini, seem to be fairly conclusive. The only country in the Deccan south of the Narmadā mentioned by Pāṇini is Aśmaka, whereas Kātyāyana knows Pāṇḍya, Cola, and Kerala. This shows that the Aryans came into contact with the South Indian peoples during the time intervening between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, i.e., some time between the 6th and 4th centuries B.C. Yet the *Purāṇas* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* would have us believe that the whole of South India, including Ceylon, was colonized or brought under their sphere of influence by the time of Rāmacandra in the Tretā Age!—(*The Vedic Age*, pp. 311-313).

II

Śaryāta Mānava is the first Aryan associated with Gujarat, as his son (Ānarta) gave it its first Aryan name. Śaryāta occurs in the *Ṛgveda* as the name of a singer, and the *Brāhmaṇas* mention Śaryāta in connection with rejuvenation of Cyavana, proving the historicity of Cyavana's connection with Śaryāti. Cyavana is always connected with Gujarat; and the Bhṛguś (closely connected with Gujarat) were the descendants of Cyavana.

While Paraśurāma is generally associated with the Creation of Śūrpāraka, a stanza in the *Mahābhārata* [Mbh. (Cr. Ed.) III, 86.9] shows that it was colonized earlier by Jamadagni. Paraśurāma is credited with the Aryanization of the whole of the western coast of Bombay, especially the Konkan, the Karhāṭa, the Tulava and the Kerala. The traditions, at any rate, indicate the important rôle played by the Bhārgavas in the colonization of the Deccan.

Among the Aryan tribes, the Bhṛguś and the Śaryātas seem to be the earliest ones connected with Gujarat. Tradition ascribes that Ānarta, the son of Śaryāti, gave his name (Ānartadeśa) to Gujarat, and his son Revata founded Kuśasthali, the capital, on the ruins of which was erected later Dvarka, the capital of the Yādavas. Balarāma, the elder Yādava brother of Śrī Kṛṣṇa accepted in marriage the daughter of Kakudmin Raivata and the latter gave his kingdom of Kuśasthali to the Yādavas.

The Yādavas have a long history of their own, which goes back to the period of the *Ṛgveda*, as the word 'Yadu' occurs in the *Ṛgveda* as the name of a king and his tribe (*Vedic Index*, p. 185). The *Purāṇas* divide the family of Yadu or the Yādavas into many septs such as the Vītihotras, Haihayas, Sātvas, etc.; and the Sātvas have further been subdivided into general branches, viz.: Devayṛddhas, Āṇdhakas, Bhojas and Vṛṣṇis. —(*Matsya*, 43-44; *Vāyu*, 94-96). The Āṇdhakas and Vṛṣṇis are mentioned in the

Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini, (IV, 1. 114; VI, 2. 34) and the latter are described as a republican corporation (*Samgha*) by Kautilya (*Arthaśāstra* 1. 6, p. 12).

The migration of the Yādavas from the holy land of Kurupancālas had already begun since Vedic times, on account of the constant raids of the Blakatas; and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* actually refers to the defeat of the Sātvas by Bharata. (XIII, 5. 4. 21). So, the emigration of the Yādavas had commenced much earlier than the age of Kṛṣṇa, whose exodus to Dvārakā may be taken to represent a wholesale migration. Jarāsaṁdha, the Magadha king invaded Mathurā several times to avenge the death of Kāṁsa, his son-in-law. His invasions were resisted for some time, but finally the Yādavas decided to leave Mathurā in a body and settled in Dvārakā on the west coast.

III

Kṛṣṇa appears for the first time in the *Mahābhārata* story at the *svayamvara* of Draupadī. He was a friend and councillor of the Pāṇḍavas, and his sister Subhadrā was married to Arjuna. The coming of Arjuna to Aparānta, and the royal reception that Kṛṣṇa and other Yādavas gave him is described in the *Mahābhārata* (*Ādiparva*, Adh. 218-221).

King Jarāsaṁdha of Magadha was killed by Bhīma under Kṛṣṇa's directions. At the *rājasūya yajna* performed by the Pāṇḍavas, Kṛṣṇa was offered the first worship. This enraged the Cedi king Śiśupāla who heaped vile abuse upon Kṛṣṇa and was killed by him. This has been the theme of Māgha's *Śiśupāla-vadha-mahākāvya* (8th century A.D.). After the period of the Pāṇḍavas' exile was over, Kṛṣṇa acted as their emissary of peace to Duryodhana; but all his efforts at conciliation proved futile. In the great Bhārata War, Kṛṣṇa offered his personal help as a charioteer to Arjuna, while the army joined the Kauravas. Kṛṣṇa helped the Pāṇḍavas a number of times during the great war, and it was due to the part played by Kṛṣṇa in the great war that the Pāṇḍavas emerged victorious. Kṛṣṇa returned to Dvārakā after Yudhiṣṭhira was installed on the Hastināpura throne. He revived the stillborn child of Abhimanyu's widow Uttarā, later known as Parikṣita.

Towards the close of Kṛṣṇa's life there was a fratricidal struggle among the Yādavas in which practically the entire Yādava males were destroyed. Then Kṛṣṇa sent a messenger to Hastināpura inviting Arjuna to come to Dvarka and look after the women and children; and asking them to accompany Arjuna, Kṛṣṇa retired to the forest. Kṛṣṇa, when in deep meditation, was hit by the arrow of a hunter who mistook him for a deer. Thus passed away Kṛṣṇa of the *Purāṇas* and the *Mahābhārata*. Arjuna came to Dvarka, took with him the remnants of the Yadu family and installed Vajra, the only surviving grandson of Kṛṣṇa, on the throne.

IV

The deification of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa as an incarnation of Viṣṇu is dated before the period of the *Mahābhāṣya*, i.e. 2nd century B.C.—(*The Vedic Age*, pp. 298-299). Kṛṣṇa

is mentioned as 'Devakīputra' in the *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*; and the last two sources call him also Vāsudeva, i. e. the son of Vasudeva. Pāṇini refers to Vāsudeva and Arjuna as objects of worship, Kṣatriya heroes raised to divinity.

In the *Ghaṭa Jātaka* Vāsudeva is described as a scion of the royal family of 'Upper Madhura' and receives the epithet Kaṇha (Kṛṣṇa). The Jaina *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* (Lecture XXII) states that Vāsudeva was a Kṣatriya prince and its twelfth *Upāṅga* deals with Balarāma and Kaṇha (Kṛṣṇa) Vāsudeva of the Vṛṣṇi dynasty. Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador shows that Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva was already deified in the 4th Century among the people of Mathura, and that he was connected with the Pāṇḍavas.

V

The earliest historical record about Surāṣṭra is that of the Vṛṣṇis of the Yādava clan. These Vṛṣṇis, according to the *Mahābhārata* and the *Jātakakathā*, left Mathura and settled themselves in Dvarka when pressed by Jarāsandha, the Magadha king. The musical propensities of the Vṛṣṇis are a familiar feature in Sanskrit literature. The *Hari-Vamśa* describes their dancing sports such as the dance with accompaniment of sticks—the *Daṇḍarāsaka*; and the one with accompaniment of clapping of hands—the *Tāla(i)rāsaka*.

Bhāsa refers to *Hallisaka* dance in his drama *Bālacarita*, Act III. The *Bhāgavata purāṇa* (not later than 8th Century A.D.) has a section on *Rāsapañcādhyāyī* (Xth Skandha), wherein this sport of dancing is described at length.

VI

The contribution of the Yādavas in carrying the banner of Aryan culture over large tracts of land in the South-West and in Rajputana, Gujarat and Malwa, and the Deccan, which came under their occupation, needs special mention. It was due to the activities of the Yādavas that these regions were brought under the Aryan way of life.

The peculiar feature in the career of the Yādavas is the considerable mixture they had with the non-Aryans, though they trace their descent from Pururavas through Yadu. This fact coupled with the possible looseness in the observance of the Aryan *Dharma* led the Epics and Purāṇas to call the Yādava branches 'Asuras', and to class them with the tribes of the extreme north-west and west among the *Nichyas* and *Apācya*s. The fact that they mixed freely with the non-Aryans, with whom they had marital relations and some of whose customs they incorporated, facilitated the Aryanization of the so-called outsiders, and thus spread Aryan culture far and wide.

Kṛṣṇa of the Yādavas, well-known as a politician, warrior and religious teacher was a national hero, who was regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. He held liberal and catholic views, and his doctrines helped in the spread of Aryan ideas among the so-called Śūdras.—(*The Vedic Age*, pp. 311-315, abridged).

The Āraṇyaka-parva (Vanaparva) of the *Mahābhārata* contains a narrative of Yudhiṣṭhira's pilgrimage through Gujarat. (Mbh, III, Adh. 118-121). When this eldest

son of Pāṇḍu visited the land, he found Aparānta, the sea-board to the north of Bombay, studded with Aryan colonies. Mārkaṇḍeya had an *āśrama* or hermitage on the Payoṣṇī, identified with the river Tāpī by some and with the river Pūrṇā by others. The Bhṛguś had *āśramas* on the Narmadā.

VII

From tradition preserved in the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Dīpavamsa* it appears that Ceylon owes its name 'Sinhalaadvīpa', its language Sinhalese and its Aryanisation to a prince Vijaya of 'Lāḷa' or 'Lāṭa'—a name by which Gujarat was often referred to in early times. Prince Vijaya the son of Siṃhabāhu who ruled at Siṃhapura (modern 'Sihor' near Bhavnagar not far from the sea), having been banished for his lawlessness, departed from Siṃhapura, with a band of adventurers and sailed southwards. After stopping at 'Śūrparaka' (modern Sopara in Thana Dist., Bombay State) he continued his voyage to Ceylon, where he arrived very shortly before the death of Gautama Buddha in 483 B.C. On that basis the event is tentatively dated *circa* 443 B.C. (*Cambridge History of India, Vol. I*, pp. 605-607; *History of Bengali Language* (1924) pp. 72, 73, fn.: Suniti Kumar Chatterjee). Since then, Ceylon had a close maritime intercourse with Bharukaccha and Śūrparaka. According to *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, a princess from Ceylon built a Jaina temple known as *Śakunikā vihāra* at Broach.

VIII

Pāṇini in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* mentions Kaccha (Cf. *Kacchādibhyaśca*—IV. 2. 133). "Kaccha represented the water-logged portions in the south as against the dry desert area in the north. Kaccha was historically connected with Sindh forming its province in the seventh century when Yuan Chwang visited the country. Cunningham says that Kaccha and Parkar have always been linked together (*Ancient Geography*, p. 347)".—(V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, pp. 51-52).

Pāṇini also refers to the names of towns ending in Kaccha. (Cf. *Kacchāgnivaktra-gartottaraśpadāt*—IV. 2. 126). These were "mostly situated along the coast from *Bhṛgu-Kaccha* to the province of Kaccha" (Ibid., p. 52).

Pāṇini also instances places which have lent their names to persons as the places of their own residence, or of their ancestors (IV, 3. 90). Besides persons, commodities and animals were also called sometimes after the places of their origin. Thus the word *Kaccha* denoted a bull of Kaccha country (IV, 2. 134). The reference shows that the bull of Kaccha was famous for its strength and vitality and must be in wider use for many purposes.

There may also be other associations of names with places. "An assemblage of meanings can be seen in the word *Kacchaka* which used to denote (a) an inhabitant of Kaccha, (b) the turban (*Cāḍā*) peculiar to its people, (c) their mannerisms in speech (*Jalpita*), and (d) laughing (*Hasita*)"—(Ibid. p. 52)". Thus the word *Kacchaka* shows that people of Kaccha were putting on a peculiar type of turban and that their way of speaking and laughing were equally peculiar to them.

Pāṇini refers to the compound names *Kunli-Surāṣṭrah* and *Cinti-Surāṣṭrah* (IV, 2.37). The names indicate the period when the royal houses of Kunti and Cinti were tied to Surāṣṭra, (Ibid., p. 60). The *Gaṇa-pāṭha* enumerates *Anarta* country under *Dhūmādi* (IV, 2. 127); and the river *Mahī* under *Nadvādi* (IV, 2.97).

IX

The period B.C. 550-500 is lit up by the personality of two great reformers, Buddha (Traditional date of death B.C. 544-43) and Mahāvira (Traditional date of death B.C. 528). Both were Kṣatriyas; both organised wandering ascetics; both ignored God and denied the Vedas; and while admitting the fourfold order of society, both led a revolt against the superiority of Brāhmaṇas over the Kṣatriyas and derided the four stages of life, stressing only the life of an ascetic. Buddhism, for instance, was a protestant movement within the fold of Dharma; and its ready sympathy for suffering was its refreshing attraction.

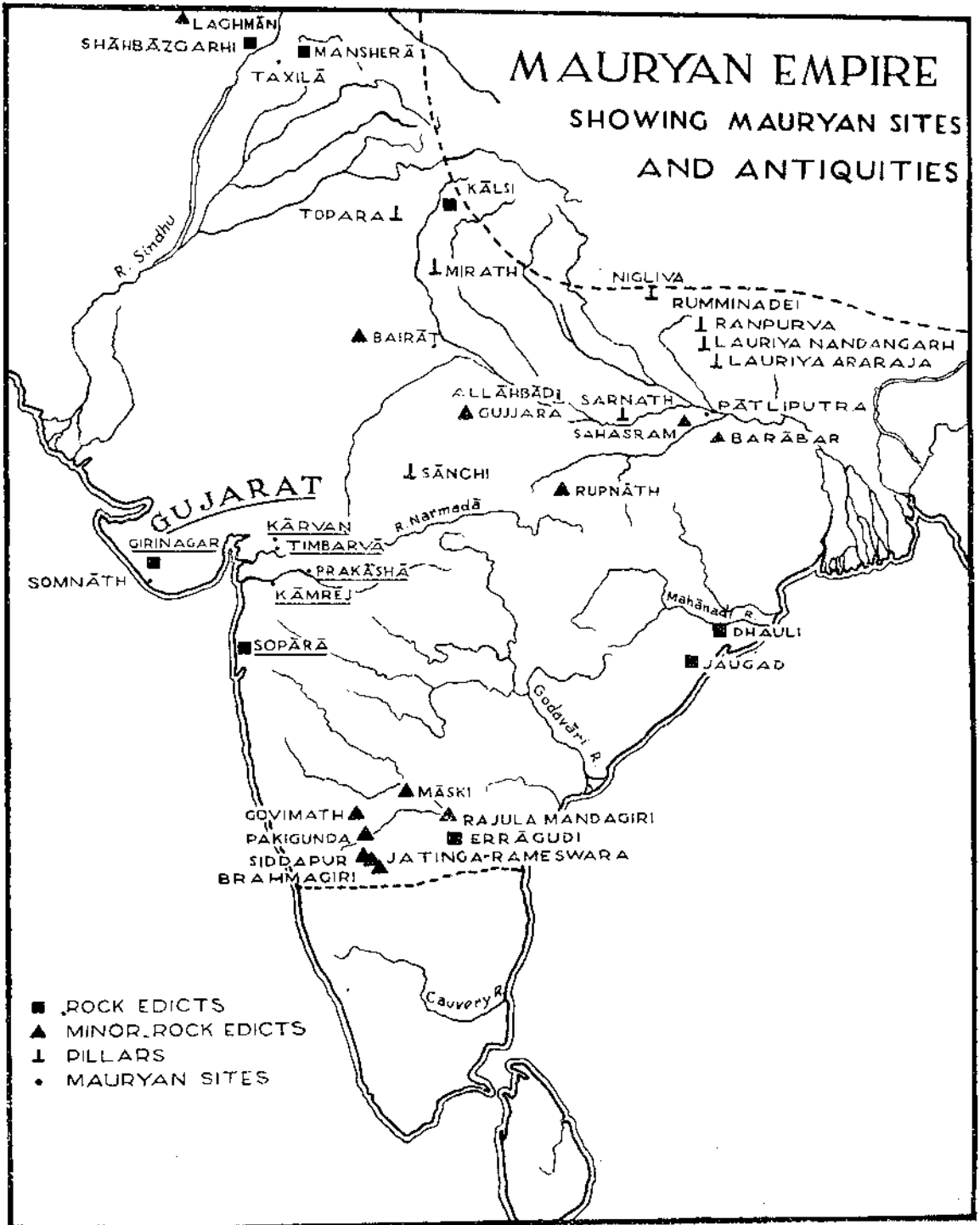
It is significant that the heterodox religious tenets of Buddhism and Jainism grew among the small non-monarchical states ruled by semi-independent or autonomous clans, like the Śākya and the Licchavis, and found in them their chief supporters and patrons. It illustrates the great principle that political freedom is the great nursery of freedom of thought.

According to the tradition preserved in *Āvaśyakacūṛṇi*, king Pradyota *alias* Caṇḍa-Pradyota of Ujjayini who ruled over Bhārata, was a contemporary and a devotee of Lord Mahāvira. The former died on the very night the latter attained salvation in B. C. 528—(*Abhidhāna Rājendra*, Vol. I, 494). Bharukaccha was under Pradyota's power.

CHAPTER III

MAURYAN PERIOD

(*Circa* 322 B. C.—185 B. C.)



MAURYAN PERIOD

(Circa 322 B. C.—185 B. C.)

I

After the destruction of the Yādavas a long blank occurs in the traditional history of Gujarat. It is probable that many foreigners settled in Saurāṣṭra and South Gujarat owing to the long sea-board suitable for trade ; and it is because of the foreign element that the Hindu *Dharma-sāstras* considered Gujarat a *mleccha* country and forbade visits to it except on pilgrimage.

The fact also that Aśoka, the Mauryan Emperor chose among the Buddhist *Sthaviras* sent to various parts of his kingdom a Yavana *Sthavira* (Thera) named Dhammakkhito as evangelist for the western sea-board, possibly indicates a preponderating foreign element in these parts.

It is possible that these foreign settlers may have been rulers. In spite of these possibilities, however, we have no traditions between the fall of the Yādavas and the rise of the Mauryas. (*Bom. Gaz.* I, p. 13).

Gujarat's political history dates from the rule of the Mauryan dynasty, the only early Indian dynasty, the record of whose rule has been preserved in the writings of the Brāhmaṇas, the Buddhists and the Jainas.

The supremacy of Candragupta Maurya (322-298 B.C.), extended over both Ānarta and Surāṣṭra. The Junagadh rock-inscription of Rudradāman not only specifically names the Maurya Emperor, but affords an interesting glimpse of the extent of his conquests and methods of administration.

The continuance of the Mauryan rule over Gujarat under Aśoka, the grandson of Candragupta (273-236 B.C.), who was previously the viceroy at Ujjayini and at other times at Takṣaśīlā during his father Bindusāra's reign is proved by his 14 edicts on Girnar. The Prince (Viceroy) of Ujjayini may have had the responsible control over Mālava, Gujarat and also over Surāṣṭra. Aśoka ruled over Surāṣṭra through an Ionian governor, Yavana-rāja Tuṣāśpha by name.

Since all the rock-edicts of Aśoka have been found on the frontiers of his empire, the Girnar and the Sopara edicts leave no doubt that Gujarat, Surāṣṭra and North Konkan sea-board were in Aśoka's possession.

A bilingual Greco-Aramico inscription of Aśoka, called ' Piodasses ' (Piyadas or Priyadarśī), engraved on a block, being part of the mountain at the entry to the old city of Kandahar is found in 1949 in the neighbourhood of Laghmān in Afghanistan and is now kept in Kabul Museum. Herein Aśoka announces his view on mercy, at the 10th year from

his consecration, an abstention from doing harm or injury to living beings, and asks even hunters and fishermen 'to cease their sinful activities,' and expresses the wish that 'his subjects comply with the rules and be obedient to their parents and old men'.

The good sentiments and ethical principles found enunciated in this Afghanistan record are in a way an echo of similar ideas found expressed in the Edicts discovered in India proper.—(Radhagovind Basak, *Aśoka's Inscriptions*, Introduction pp. xiv, xv, 1959)

The material achievements of the Mauryan rule, and particularly of the reign of Aśoka include the irrigation projects like the well-known Sudarśana lake which were carried out with great care. It was the construction of a reservoir by artificially damming up some of the streams flowing from Mt. Girnar, and equipping the lake 'with well-provided conduits, drains, and means to guard against foul matters'.

As regards cultural unity of India, the findspots of Aśoka's records prove that one language and one script were used, or at least understood, by common people all over India in the third century B.C. Since then, the Sanskrit language and literature have throughout been a common bond of culture in addition to religious and social ideas and institutions. —(*The Vedic Age*, p. 105-6 fn.)

II

B.C. C. 322-298 Surāṣṭra was under the sway of Candragupta Maurya (c. 322-298 B.C.) and was governed by his *rāṣṭriya* Vaiśya Puṣyagupta. He constructed a dam (*setu*) across Suvarṇasikātā, Palāśinī and other rivers of mount Urjayat, and built a beautiful reservoir named 'Sudarśana Taṭāka' in the vicinity of Girinagara. It was defended by embankments (*pālīkās*) and provided with well-arranged conduits (*prañālīs*), drains (*parivāhas*) etc. The waters of Suvarṇasikātā (Sonarekhā), Palāśinī (Palāṇsio) and other rivers were stored up in the reservoir. (EI, VIII, 44 ff.)

This information is recorded in the Junagadh rock-inscription of Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman, which deals with the accidental destruction and the reconstruction of the dam during the reign of that *Mahākṣatrapa*. (EI, VIII, pp. 36 ff.)

Girinagara, which seems to be the head-quarter of Surāṣṭra, probably stood at the foot of mount Urjayat represented by modern Girnar. The river Suvarṇasikātā is identified with modern Sonarekhā which flows by the rock, bearing the two inscriptions.

The proper regulation of irrigation was a matter of prime importance even during the Maurya period—(Vide, Vincent Smith, E H I. p. 132). The needs of the local farmers did not escape the notice of the Mauryan Government, though Surāṣṭra was a very remote province of the empire.

- B.C. 315** Candragupta established the Maurya dynasty of Pāṭaliputra. The chronology of this dynasty and that of Buddha's death are determined by the initial date assigned to this king.—(e.g. B.C. 477).

Candragupta's life-history is the subject of Viśākhadatta's play—the *Mudrārākṣasa*.

- 305** Seleukus Nikator, king of Syria, is said to have undertaken an expedition against Candragupta about this time in order to recover the Indian conquest of Alexander. The result was a treaty that the territories on the west bank of the Indus were to be retained by Candragupta in exchange for 500 elephants.

About this time, or a little later, Megasthenes was sent by Seleukus as ambassador to Candragupta at Palibothra (Pāṭaliputra). His *Indika*, of which a few fragments remain, gives a valuable picture of the life and customs of the Hindus at that date.—(M. Duff, *Chronology of India*, p. 11).

- C. 300** About the corporations or guilds of warriors (*Kṣatriyaśreṇī*), Kauṭilya says that the corporations of warriors of Kāamboja and Surāṣṭra etc. live by agriculture, trade and by wielding weapons :—

काम्बोज-सुराष्ट्र-क्षत्रियश्रेण्यादयो वार्ताश्लोपजीविनः । (Ch. 135, p. 378)

As early as the times of Mauryan supremacy, Kauṭilya mentions the Saurāṣṭriyans as a 'republic'—a *Rājanyagana*; and the republican people of Surāṣṭra are mostly known as a group of agriculturists, traders and warriors.

The names of republics actually mentioned by Kauṭilya fall into two groups: (i) one devoted to economic pursuits and subsisting by fighting with weapons, like the Kāambojas, Surāṣṭra, Kṣatriyaśreṇī and the like; (ii) the others who used the title of 'rāja', apparently for marking the status of the members of the executive body of the republic, such as Licchivika, Vrijjika, Mallaka, Madraka, Kukura, Kuru, Pāñchāla and others.—(K. A. Nilakantha Shastri, *Age of the Nāndas and Mauryas*, p. 173).

- C. 300** The *Arthaśāstra* certainly existed before Bāṇa (7th century A.D.), the *Nandisūtra* of the Jainas (not later than the 5th century A.D.), and possibly the *Jātakamālā* of Ārya Sura (3rd or 4th century A.D.). In the Junagadh rock-inscription of Skandagupta reference is made to the testing of officials by *upadhās*, as we find in the *Arthaśāstra*. Again verse 10 of the same record reminds us of *Arthaśāstra* I.

The prevalence of the study of *Arthavidyā* in still earlier days is proved by the Junagadh rock-inscription of Rudradāman I (2nd century A.D.), which mentions such technical terms as *pranaya*, *viṣṭi* etc. It is noteworthy that the *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, which purports to be a compendium of pre-existing *Arthaśāstras*, does not quote the views of previous writers in the chapter on

- B.C.** *Kośābhisaniharanam* which deals with *pranaya* (Book V, Chap. II). It is therefore, not unlikely that the knowledge of the term in the days of Rudradāman I was derived from the *Kauṭilya* itself, and not from any pre-existing treatises. An early date is also suggested for the absence of any reference to the *Denarius* (Bk II, chaps. 12 & 19) in the sections dealing with coins and weights.

Regarding the *terminus a quo* there are grave doubts as to whether, in its present shape, the famous book is as old as the time of the first Maurya (c. 300 B.C.). At least, the kernel of the book is contemporary with Candragupta Maurya—(K. A. Nilakantha Shastri, *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, pp. 190-201).

- C. 300** Kauṭilya informs us that the cotton of Madhura (Madura), of Aparānta (Konkana), of Western parts, of Kalinga, of Kāśī, of Vaṅga, of Vatsa (Kauśāmbi), and of Mahiṣa (Māhiṣmatī) is the best. (Ch. 32, p. 81)

Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, while speaking about the qualities of elephants from different countries remarks that the elephants of Surāṣṭra and Pañcajana (v. l. Pañcanada) countries are of low or middle quality, the best being those bred in Kalinga, Aṅga, Kuruṣa and the East, the elephants of the Aparānta being of middle quality. (Ch. 23, p. 50, Mysore Ed. of 1924).

While speaking on the quantity of rain in different countries Kauṭilya informs that the quantity of rain in Avanti is 23 *droṇas*, while it rains immensely in Aparānta regions (Ch. 45, p. 116), which denote the west-coast line.

- 273-236** Surāṣṭra continued to be under the Mauryan sway during the reign of Aśoka Maurya, the grandson of Candragupta Maurya. It was governed by his *rāṣṭriya* Tuṣāśpha, whose name is mentioned in the Junagadh rock-inscription of Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman. (Vide, EI, VIII, p. 43). In the record he is styled a *Yavanarāja*, but his name seems to be of Persian origin (*Bom. Gaz.* I, 1, 14). He adorned the lake with conduits (*pranālīs*) constructed in a manner worthy of the king.

Aśoka mentions in his Rock Edict No. 2, his importing and planting of medicinal herbs in those parts of his wide dominions where they did not exist, just to increase the medicinal stores. There is no reference, however, to physicians.

- 259** The Maurya Emperor Aśoka (c. 273 or 272-232 B.C.) ruled over a vast Indian dominion from the Maurya capital, Pāṭaliputra in Magadha (modern South Behar). The distribution of the hitherto known inscriptions of his is the best guide for forming an idea of the extent of his empire. If may briefly be said that his empire lay within the limits of modern Afghanistan in the North-west to Orissa (Kalinga) in the South-east, and again from the Himālayas in the north to Mysore in the south of India.

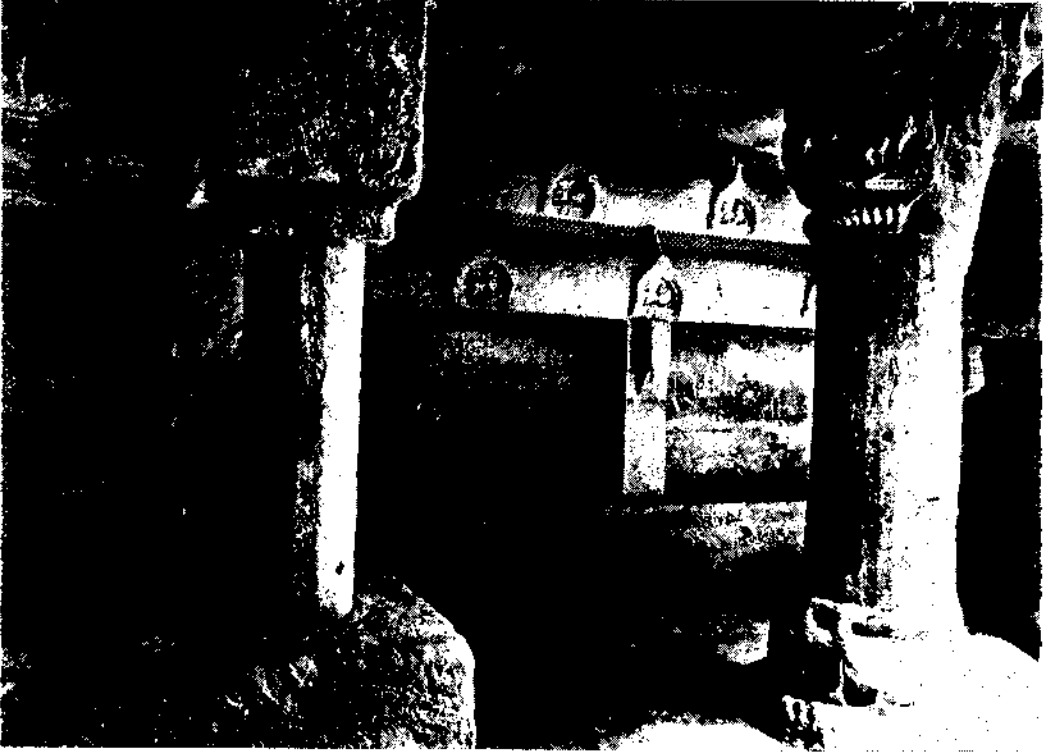


(A) Aśoka Inscription on Girnār-rock at the bottom. (p. 36)
Rudradāman's and Skandagupta's Inscriptions are on the sides.



(B) Sopārā : Aśoka Inscription, 9th Edict (p. 36)

Plate X



Uparkot Cave, at Girnār Hill, with Pillars and Caitya-window design. (p. 9)

**B.C.
252-1**

Junagadh Edicts : are a set of fourteen rock-edicts of Aśoka incised on a rock situated on the right-hand side leading to the hill, about a mile to the east of modern Junagadh, the headquarter of Surāṣṭra. It is the earliest epigraphic record as yet discovered in Gujarat which is unique for the history of India also, as it bears side by side inscriptions of kings of three dynasties—Aśoka Maurya, Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman and the Gupta Emperor Skandagūpta. It thus reveals a glimpse of the early history of Gujarat from the third century B.C. to the fifth century A.D.

These Aśokan edicts are incised on the eastern side of the rock. The characters of the edicts are clearly and deeply cut. They are about $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in height and uniform in size. A portion of the rock bearing parts of Edicts V and XIII had been blasted with gunpowder to furnish materials for the adjoining road. Two fragments of the missing portion which were discovered later on, are now preserved in the Junagadh Museum.

Since these edicts are inscribed in a form of 'Prākṛit' closely allied to Pāli, containing dialectical peculiarities of the province, and are recorded in the Brāhmī alphabet which is the prototype of almost all modern Indian Scripts unlike those at Shahbazgarhi which are inscribed in the Kharoṣṭhi script, it can be presumed that it was current in Gujarat as early as the Mauryan period. The language of this version differs from that of the other versions in using some peculiar forms, such as the locative singular in *mhi* instead of *si*. There are also differences in the forms of the letters, especially in that of *ṛ*, which is here formed by a wavy line instead of the rigidly straight upright stroke on the other rocks. (Cunningham, *CII, I*, pp. 14 f.)

Among the many inscriptions and minor edicts of Aśoka, the 14 Rock-Edicts are found in seven more or less complete versions at Gīrnār, Kālsi, Shāhbāzgarhi, Mansehra, Dhauli, Jaugaḍa and Yerragudi, not to speak of the small fragments of the 8th and the 9th rock-edicts found in Sopara. These were issued about the 14th year (252-1 B.C.) after his coronation.

Sopara Edicts were known through the discovery of a broken block of basalt bearing a fragment of Edict VIII also in Prakrit language and Brāhmī script from Sopara, the ancient Śūrpāraka, the headquarter of Aparānta. (D. R. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, pp. 270 f.).

Another fragment of Aśoka's IXth Edict was recently discovered (1956), (Impression published in *Indian Archaeology*, 1956-57, Plate LXXXIX and also in *Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 3-4, 1957, by S. N. Chakravarty). The two stones bearing fragmentary edicts at Sopara prove that a copy of the 14 Edicts existed there. These are now preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

**B.C.
252-1**

Herein the king says that men practise various ceremonies during illness, or at the marriage of a son or a daughter, or at the birth of a son, or when setting out on a journey. In the opinion of the king these ceremonies bear little fruit. But the following religious practices bear much fruit, *viz.* proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals and liberality to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas.

Śūrpāraka seems to be the headquarter of Aśoka's Western Provinces, Girinagar being the Northern one (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. II, pt. 1, p. 14). The form of the letters and the language of the inscription resemble those of the Junagadh Version. (Bhagvanlal Indraji, *Antiquarian Remains at Sopara*, p. 11).

The edicts, styled *dhammalipis* in the text, are intended to propagate *dhamma* (*dharma*) among people. This *dhamma* consisted in the highest common factors of all sects, *viz.*, self-control and purity of thought (R.E. VII). Aśoka enjoined his officials to instruct people in *dhamma* when they would go out on tours in districts (R.E. III). He also appointed special *Mahāmātras* (High State-functionaries) of *dhamma*, during the thirteenth year after his coronation (R.E.V.). He prohibited, as far as possible, animal-slaughter for sacrifices, festival meetings and meals in the royal kitchen (R.E.I.). He established medical treatment for men as well as animals, everywhere in his own dominions and also in the dominions of other kings like the Yona (Greek) king, and Antiyoka (Antiochus) of Syria (R.E. III).

Everywhere he sent envoys for instruction in *dhamma* (R.E. XIII) and exhibited representations of aerial cars, elephants and other divine objects that might lead people to the path of *dhamma* (R.E. IV). His instruction in *dhamma* mainly consisted in obedience to mother and father, liberality to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas as well as to friends, acquaintances and relatives, proper behaviour to slaves and servants, and abstention from killing animals. (R.E. III, IV, IX, XI).

In the reign of Aśoka the sound of drums became the sound of *dhamma*, pleasure-tours (*vihāra-yātrā*) were replaced by tours for *dhamma* (R.E. VIII); and the practice of *dhamma* was regarded to be the most fruitful ceremony (*maṅgala*) (R.E. IX). Glory in the propagation of *dhamma* was considered the gift *par excellence* (R.E. XI); the conquest by *dhamma* was regarded to be the real conquest to be desired. (R.E. XIII).

The king desired not only that all sects should reside everywhere (R.E. VII) but also that they should learn and respect each other (R.E. XII). The king was so much devoted to the welfare of the people that he gave access to the reporters everywhere and at all hours, in order to expedite the disposal of state business (R.E. VI). Aśoka got these edicts engraved on stone with a

B.C. view that they may last long and that his successor may conform to them for the welfare of all people. (R.E. IV, V, VI).

C. 400-200 In the *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtras* (I, 1-2-14) people staying in Surāṣṭra are mentioned as of mixed blood, owing, perhaps, to the influx of foreigners both by land and by sea :—

अवन्तयोऽङ्गमगधाः सुराष्ट्राः दक्षिणापथाः ।
उपावृत्तसिन्धुसैवीरा एते संकीर्णयोगिनः ॥

—(P. V. Kane : *History of the Dharmaśāstras*)

The *Baudhāyana Gṛhya Paribhāṣāsūtra* (I, 12, 6) gives a verse as a corollary to his 'Dharmasūtras', that having travelled among the people of the countries inhabited by people with non-Aryan ways of living, Brāhmins should undergo purification once more :—

सुराष्ट्रं सिन्धुसैवीरमवन्तीं दक्षिणापथम् ।
एतानि ब्राह्मणो गत्वा पुनः संस्कारमर्हति ॥

C 400-200 As Gujarat was away from Madhyadeśa, the home of the Aryans, the culture she received, suffered both in purity and vigour in the process of transplantation. The *Mahābhārata* (XIV, 23, 13-16) states that the *kṣatriyas* of this land had lost their status as they had no Brāhmins to perform their ritual, so very essential in the life of an Aryan. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (IV, 24) enjoined that those who visited Surāṣṭra should undergo purification.

C. 246 Events from the death of the Buddha were recorded in Ceylon by the Buddhist Church after its introduction in 246 B. C., and later incorporated into the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvamsa*, composed respectively in the 4th and 6th century A. D.

The earliest historical tradition that we have is of the colonisation of Ceylon by people from Bengal under the lead of Vijaya, as narrated in the *Mahāvamsa*. This colony is said to have started from the wellknown port of Tāmrālipti, the Tāmluk of modern times. The occasion for this emigration from Bengal was the banishment of prince Vijaya, for his evil conduct, by his father. Vijaya sailed with 700 companions and, after a long voyage, landed in the north coast of the island. They settled there, founding numerous towns such as Tambapanni, Anuradhagama, Ujjeni, Uruvela, etc.

According to the *Mahāvamsa*, prince Vijaya landed in Ceylon on the very day that the Buddha died. This would date the Aryan settlement back to the fourth or even the fifth century B. C.

Since these adventurers were all of the male sex, they felt the need of women-folk. As the story goes, they applied to the nearest kingdom across the sea, and had 1,000 families along with a number of maidens sent across.

- B.C.** They entered into marital relations with them; and thus both north and south Indian elements constitute, according to tradition, the more civilized elements in the population of Ceylon. From Simhabāhu or Simhala, the father of Vijaya, the island received the name 'Simhala-dvipa'.—(*The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 234-35)

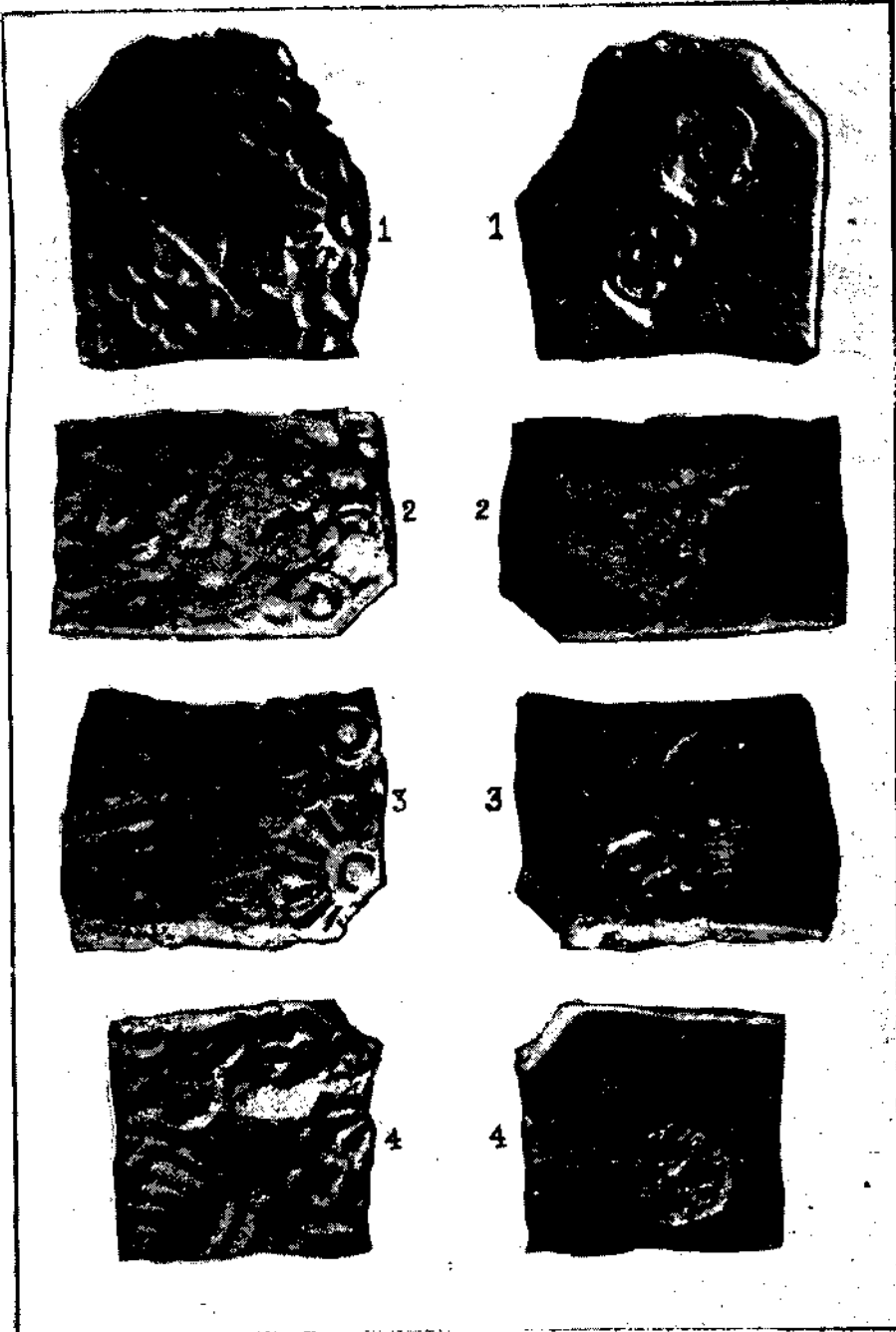
The other view shared by some scholars holds that Ceylon owes its name 'Simhaladvipa', its language Simhalese and its Aryanisation to a prince Vijaya of 'Lāḷa' or 'Lāṭa'—a name by which Gujarat was often referred to in early times. Prince Vijaya, the son of Simhabāhu who ruled at Simhapura (modern 'Sihor' near Bhavanagar, not far from the sea), having been banished for his lawlessness, departed from Simhapura, with a band of adventurers and sailed southwards. After stopping at 'Sūrpāraka' (modern Sopara in Thana Dist.: Bombay State), he continued his voyage to Ceylon, where he arrived very shortly before the death of Gautama Buddha, in C. 487 B.C. On that basis the event is tentatively dated *circa* 443 B.C. [*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 605-607; Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, *History of Bengali Language* (1924) pp. 72-73, fn.]

- 246** The so-called Third Buddhist Council was held at Pāṭalīputra in the 7th year of Aśoka's reign, under the presidency of Tiṣya Maudgalīputra.
- 241** The Buddhist Council sent Mahendra, a son of Emperor Aśoka, as missionary to Ceylon, where he introduced the Buddhist religion in the reign of Devānāmpiyatissa.
- C. 200** The *Jātakas* have preserved memories of voyages of daring Indian merchants voyaging from Campā or even Banaras to the mysterious land of 'Suvarṇa-bhūmi' which has been proved to be a generic title in those days for Burma, the Malay Peninsula and the Malay Archipelago. We hear of merchants voyaging from the great western sea-port Bharukaccha to the same destination, obviously by a Ceylonese port.—(K. A. Nilakantha Shastri, *Age of the Nandas and the Mauryas*, p. 270).

III

ANTIQUITIES

Of the Mauryan remains—pillars, caves and rocks—Gujarat has only rocks which bear the edicts of Aśoka: one at Girnar (*Plate IXa*) and the other found in fragment at Sopara (*Plate IXb*). The Sopara fragments include the remnants of the 8th and the 9th rock-edicts (the latter discovered in January 1956, and both deposited in the Epigraphical Section, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay).



Punch-marked Coins : Post-Mauryan (Enlarged)

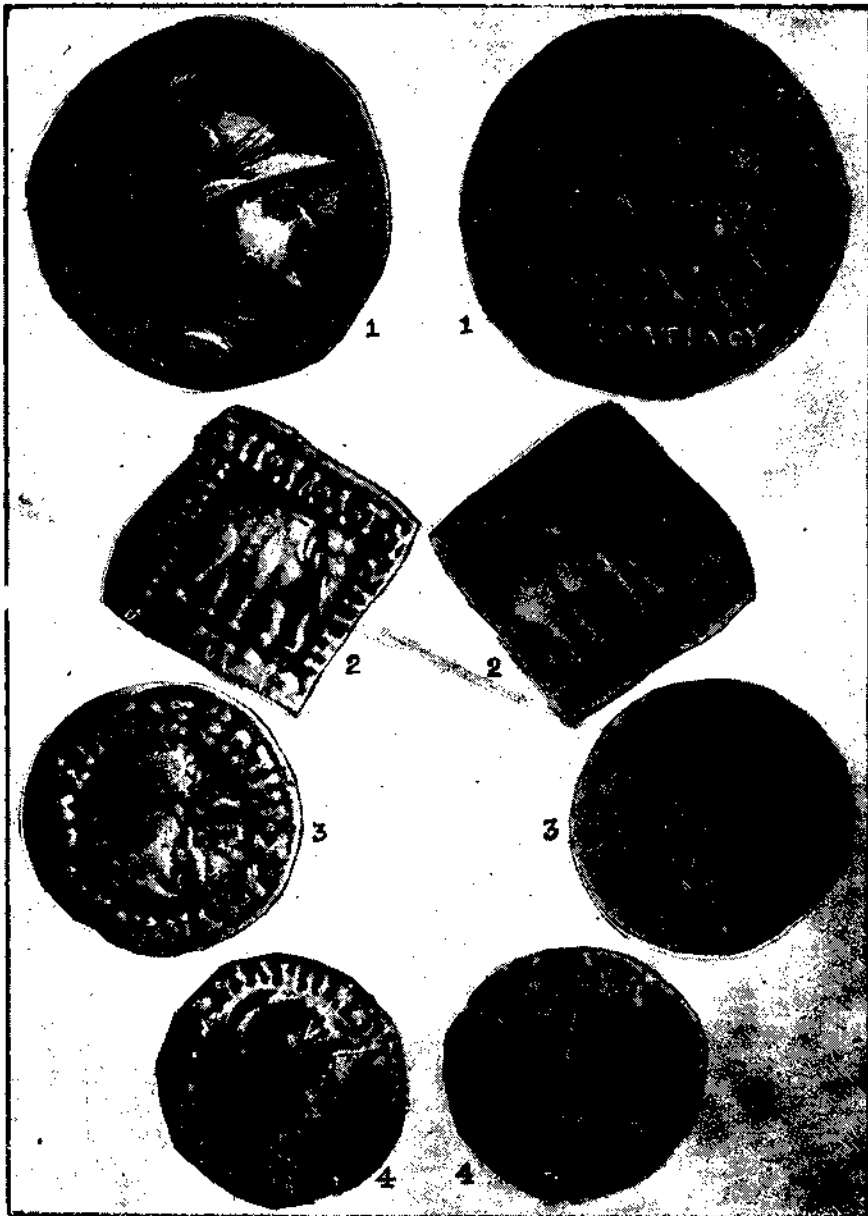
(p. 37)

Obverse : A group of five symbols.

Reverse : Minute symbols.

And no legend.

Plate XII



Indo-Greek (Enlarged) :

(p. 48)

(1-1) Silver coin : Eukratides (c. 175 B.C.)

Obverse and Reverse

(2-2) Silver coin : Apollodotus II

Obverse and Reverse

(3-3) Menander (in youth) : Obv. & Rev.

(4-4) Menander (advanced in age) : Obv. & Rev.

(Died c. 130 B.C.)

Of the two centuries preceding the Christian era, we have some more evidence. The first excavation of the earliest series of caves known as Bābā Pyārā's Maṭha at Juna-gadh is assigned by some to Aśokan times or to the end of the Mauryan age, as they exhibit the early simplicity and primitiveness associated with the first abodes of the Buddhist or Jaina monks. (H. D. Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujarat*, 1941, p. 49).

These caves show on the walls a *Caitya*-window ornament with a rail-design in the lower part, and two ladies in the upper one, looking out of the window. Female figures and couchant lions on the capitals of some of the pillars of this group are regarded as the earliest known sculptures in Saurāṣṭra and Gujarat. These pillars are unique with tastefully decorated bases. (Plate X)

No trace of the famous Sudarśana lake built by Candragupta, and improved with canals under Aśoka can be traced now.

The earliest coins, known in India before her contact with the Greeks were those, which are called 'punch-marked' coins, as they bear symbols, stamped from various punches separately, but have no legends. They are found mostly of silver and rarely in copper. The silver punch-marked coins that are found through-out India are of the weight standard of 32 *ratīs* or 57.8 grains and have uniformly a group of five symbols on the obverse. The reverse of these coins bear either minute symbols which are innumerable in most cases or have a bold symbol. In some cases they are found blank also.

These coins differ variously in size and thickness and are of irregular shapes. They originated during the ascendancy of the Magadha empire in the middle of the sixth century B.C. and spread all over India with the expansion of the empire; and they remained in currency till about second century B.C.

These were probably stamped by the issuing authorities in order to guarantee their genuineness. The authorities might have been kings or States, which also included individual merchants, trade-guilds, city-corporations and similar bodies; for, the idea of a State-monopoly of minting coins was yet unknown.

Only two hoards of silver punch-marked coins have so far been found in Gujarat. Of them one contained 58 coins and was found somewhere in the old State of Baroda during the last quarter of the last century and is now in the Baroda Museum (Gupta, P.L., "Punch-marked coins in Baroda Museum". *Baroda Museum Bulletin*, Vol. X-XI, 1953-55, pp. 63-72.)

The other was found in 1917 in the village Vadia in Depdar Taluka of Palanpur district (*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1917-18, Pt. I, p. 30). A few stray coins are also known from Kamrej and Navsari. (*Baroda Museum Bulletin*, 1953-55, p. 67). Stray punch-marked copper coins are known from Amreli (*ARADB* 1935-36, p. 18), Hathab (with S. C. Upadhyaya), Kamrej (*ARADB*, 1935-36, p. 45 and 1936-37, p. 9), Karvan (Antiquities from Karvan', *Bom. Uni. Journal*, 1941), Modhera (with A. V. Pandya), Prakasa (with Sivalal Das Desai of Nandurbar) and Vadnagar ('Excavations

at Vadnagar', *M. S. Uni. Journal*, Vol. IV, No. I, March 1955). These copper coins are of a single variety having five symbols on the obverse and are of the type that have been found at Ujjain, Bhilsa and Besanagar in the Madhya Pradesh. (*Plate XIa*). The symbols found on these coins are very interesting. (*Plate XIb*).

Uninscribed cast coins of copper bearing symbols similar to those found on the punch-marked coins were also issued in this country during the Mauryan period; and are found in many parts of India, but none is recorded so far from Gujarat.

The Northern Black Polished (N.B.P.) ware that was widely distributed in India during this period is discovered from Timbarva (Baroda Dist.) and Somanath (Dist. Sorath).

Associated with these ware have been discovered beads, conical terracotta objects and cylindrical cones, flesh-rubbers, mother-goddess figurines, arrow-heads and blades of iron and a copper ring. (Vide, R. N. Mehta, *Excavations at Timbarva*: p. 21, 23: 1955).

CHAPTER IV

INDO-GREEK PERIOD

(*Circa* 185 B.C.—78 A.D.)

INDO-GREEK PERIOD

(Circa 185 B.C.—78 A.D.)

I

Mauryan rule in Gujarat did not last after Samprati (c. B.C. 200), the grandson and successor of Aśoka. One of the factors that led to the extinction of the dynasty of the Imperial Mauryas was the advent of the Yavana invaders through the north-western gate of India. After the break-up of the Mauryan empire (c. 185 B.C.), the distant provinces of Western India were ruled by the Bactrian Greek generals.

The word *Yavana* was derived from the Old Persian form *Yauna*, signifying originally the Ionian Greek, but later, all people of the Greek nationality. The Greeks of Ionia in Asia Minor, between the Aegean Sea and Lydia and the people of North-western India came into contact with each other as subjects of the Achaemenian Emperors of Persia since the time of Darius I (522-486 B.C.).

The word was used in mediaeval Indian literature as a synonym of *mlecchha*, and indicated ' any foreigner '. The Muslim rulers of India were often called Yavana and sometimes also Śaka or Yavana-Śaka. The earliest use of the Sanskritized form *Yavana* can be traced in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini (c. Fifth century B.C.), and that of the Prākṛit form *Yona* in the inscriptions of Aśoka—(A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, Appendix I, pp. 165-9).

Although Alexander did not penetrate so far south as Surāṣṭra, this region came into contact with the Greeks as early as the time of Aśoka's Yavana governor Tuṣāṣṭra. The author of the *Periplus* also speaks of later Indo-Greek rulers such as Apollodotus and Menander, whose coins were in use in his time at Barygaza or Bharukaccha.

The belief of the Indo-Greek conquests in the Indus delta and Gujarat was, however, based mainly on the references in Strabo and the *Periplus*. The evidence relating to Barygaza in the *Periplus* does not, however, prove the rule of either Menander or Apollodotus II there ; the reference merely states that *some coins which bore Greek inscriptions and the devices of Apollodotus and Menander circulated in Barygaza, which was known to be a trading centre*. The passage clearly implies that these coins came from some outside area, probably from where the ' warlike nation of the Bactrians ' ruled.

Or, it may be that the author of the *Periplus* had seen the coins of a certain Apollodotus and Menander, and noticed similar coins in Barygaza not necessarily of their own minting. The name of Apollodotus mentioned in the *Periplus* evidently refers to the later king of that name whose coins are more numerous and widely spread than those of the hypothetical Apollodotus I, and who, like Menander was more closely in touch with India proper.

Apart from this, the silver coins of the later Śaka Satraps of Mahārāṣṭra and Ujjain are held to be inspired by the *drachms* of Apollodotus, that is, of Apollodotus II, who alone of the two put his portrait on his coins. The coins of these Śaka Satraps also bear traces of Greek legends. The author of the *Periplus*, who was a trader, may have noticed the similarity and mentioned the coins as a curiosity. Even if some coins of Menander and Apollodotus were actually found at Barygaza by the author of the *Periplus*, this gives no proof that they ruled there, since the coins are said to have been brought to Barygaza, almost certainly by way of trade.

Thus there is hardly any evidence that either Alexander (as suggested by some) or the Indo-Greeks conquered Gujarat, because the account of the *Periplus* is just a sailor's story. There is no evidence for the existence of an early Apollodotus I as a king of the Indo-Greeks, also. (A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, pp. 68-9, 93).

The representation of Menander in various poses on his silver coins reflects his vigorous career. He used two epithets, 'Soter' (*Saviour*) and 'Dikaios' (*Dhramika*) on his money. The fact that Menander appears on his coins both as a youth and as well advanced in middle age shows that he must have had a long reign (*Plate XIII*). Probably he died in C. 130 B.C. The Buddhist tradition would have us believe that he handed over his kingdom to his son and retired from the world; but it is more likely that he died in camp, as Plutarch says, (*Moralia*, 821 D-F); and, on the evidence of coins, that he left only a minor son to succeed him.—(A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, p. 100).

II

B.C. About 150-140 B.C. began the invasion of India by the Śakas from the North-west. A large part of the North and West came under their control; and they established Satrapies in the North and at Mathura, and in the West (Surāṣṭra), which were more or less under the suzerainty of the kings of Parthia.

C. 144 Menander, seems to have been one of the most powerful of the Graeco-Bactrian kings. The number of his coins, and the wide area over which they are found, point to a long reign and an extended sovereignty. Traditions of some of his conquests have been preserved by Strabo; and Plutarch mentions him as a Bactrian king; and states that, on his death (B.C. 130), several towns contended for his ashes. The passages in Patanjali's *Mahābhāṣya* recording the besieging of Sāketa (Ayodhya) and the conquest of Madhyamikā by the Yavanas, are supposed to refer to Menander's conquests. He is also identical with the *Milinda* of the famous Buddhist work, the *Milinda-panho*.

The work is a conversation between Milinda of Sagala (the Greek ruler Menander) and Therā Nāgasena on a number of problems and disputed points of Buddhism. In the arguments, the Buddhist doctrine of the impermanence

B.C. of the Ego is expounded and Milinda is converted. The *Milinda-panho* originated in north-west about the beginning of the Christian era, and was written probably in Sanskrit or some North-Indian Prākṛit. The original text is lost, and the present work is merely a Pāli translation of the original made at a very early date in Ceylon.

C. 140-20 Patañjali, the grammarian, author of the *Mahābhāṣya* flourished about B.C. 140-120. His date has been fixed by scholars from the passages in the *Mahābhāṣya* which show him to have been contemporary with Menander, and Puṣya-mitra, who founded the Śuṅga dynasty in Magadha by overthrowing Brāhadratha, the last of the Mauryas. Patañjali was a native of Goṇārda in Eastern India, and lived for a time in Kashmir. (JBRAS, xvi, 181, 199).

The *Mahābhāṣya* corroborates the statement of *Nirukta* (II.2) that the country of Kāmboja was outside the limits of the country of Āryas (Āryāvarta) and further adds that Surāṣṭra was not an Ārya country (vide, Vol. I, p. 9).

This shows that during the period of Patañjali Surāṣṭra might not have developed its culture, might have been inhabited mostly by the non-Āryans, and, as such, was considered to be outside the pale of Āryāvarta, which was situated to the north of Pāriyātra. This also shows that the Āryāvarta extended in south only upto the Pāriyātra mountain. (Vide, Vol. I, p. 475 on II 4.10; Vol. III, p. 174 on VI 3. 109.)

C. 100 In the first century B.C. we have a coin type with the legend *Vṛṣṇi-rajājānaṇasya tratarasya*. (Allan J., *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum, Ancient India*, Intro., p. clvi). Significantly the legend on these coins is both in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhi.

The legend means 'the coins of the *gaṇa* (republic) of Vṛṣṇi and Rājanya.' Vṛṣṇi were a well-known people, who according to *Mahābhārata* lived in Mathura; but went to Dvarka, when they were hard-pressed by Jarāsaṁdha. They were, according to the Pauranic traditions, an offshoot of the Aila race. Vṛṣṇi, the founder of the clan is supposed to be the brother of Āṇḍhaka, the founder of the clan of the same name. In the literary works, Āṇḍhaka and Vṛṣṇi are mentioned together, which shows that they had a federal organisation. Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa) is described as a *Samgha-mukhya*. Pāṇini also makes a mention of Āṇḍhaka-Vṛṣṇi league.

Rājanya, as a tribal republic is known from its coins, which may be dated to circa 200 B.C. Therefore, it can well be inferred from the coin that Vṛṣṇi and Rājanya had formed a confederation among themselves and issued coins in their joint name and called themselves a '*gaṇa*'. Kauṭilya refers to Vṛṣṇi as a Samgha (*Arthaśāstra*, p. 11). It is also found as a name of a tribe in the *Harṣacarita*.

B.C. The Ghosundi (Chitodgath District, Rajasthan) inscription of the first century B. C. refers to the construction of a *pūjā-śilā-prākāra* (a stone enclosure for the place of worship, or better, an enclosure for the sacred stone Śālagrāma) probably styled 'Nārāyaṇavaṭaka', by a Bhāgavata performer of the Aśvamedha sacrifice, in honour of Saṅkaraṣaṇa and Vāsudeva who are called *bhagavat, anihata* (unconquered or respected) and *sarveśvara* (supreme lord).— (*The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 438).

58 The traditional date for **Vikrama Era** is 58 B.C. The era is believed to have been founded by the Mālavagaṇa to commemorate its victory over the Śakas, whose expulsion from India freed the country from foreign invasion and inaugurated an era of peace and prosperity, which figuratively was also called *Kṛtayuga*. In the last decade of the ninth century the Mālavagaṇa was entirely merged into the luminous personality of Vikramāditya and the era was called after him. (R. B. Pandey : *Indian Palaeography*, 198 ff.).

This 'Vikrama Era' is current in Gujarat. Its year begins with Kārtika and its months are *amānta*. In Rajasthan its years are *Caitrādi* and months *pūrṇimānta*. In the early records of Gujarat the months seem to be *pūrṇimānta*. (H. G. Shastri, *Maitrakālīna Gujarat*, p. 598).

Thursday, September 18th : Commencement of the 'Sāṃvat era' is attributed to Vikramāditya, which is prevalent in Western India, and probably originated in Mālava. In Northern India it follows the *pūrṇimānta* reckoning, and the year begins with the full-moon of Caitra (instead of Kārtika), making the epoch Sunday, February 23rd, B.C. 57, or Kaliyuga 3044 expired. As the first year of the era is reckoned as corresponding to 57-56 B. C., the era seems to have commenced in 58 B. C.

Indian tradition ascribes the foundation of the 'Vikrama Sāṃvat' to the hero King Vikramāditya, around whose memory succeeding ages have woven a long string of legends and romances. The vitality of this tradition is vouched by the recent celebration of the bimillenary of the Vikrama era. Nevertheless, sober history still refuses to recognise the existence of a king Vikramāditya in 58 B. C. for lack of positive evidence. Even eminent scholars treat him as a myth and attribute the foundation of the so-called 'Vikrama era' to a foreign ruler. All agree, however, in denying the existence of a king Vikramāditya. (R. C. Majumdar, *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Preface, p. xlviii; and for different views on the subject, see *Ibid.*, 154 ff.)

21 An Indian embassy was received by Augustus at Samos. According to Strabo (c. 54 B.C.-A.D. 24) Nicolaus Damasceus met at Antioch Epidaphne, the survivors of an Indian embassy to Augustus, bearing a letter in Greek from a king named Pandion or Poros. With them was Zarmanochegao (Śramaṇācārya) a native of Bargoza (or Barygaza), who afterwards immortalised

B.C. himself according to the custom of his country. This epitaph is on his tomb (*Strabo*, III, 119.) at Athens. Allusions to this embassy are made by Horace in his 'Odes'.—(*Strabo*, XV, i. 73).

Orosius of Tarragona speaks of an Indian and a Scythian embassy reaching Caesar in Spain, B.C. 27. These various notices apparently refer to one and the same embassy, probably sent by some petty Indian king at the instigation, and in the interests of Greek traders.

C. 10 Veṇi-vatsarāja, a devotee of Lord Buddha according to a late Jaina tradition, got built in a city of Gujarat a temple of Tārā-devī. This city, therefore, came to be known as *Tārāura* (Sk. Tārāpura)¹. Later on, this very king who became a Jaina, on being enlightened by Ārya Khapuṭa Sūri got built here a temple of Siddhāyikā, the Śāsanā-devī of Lord Mahāvīra. Since then, this city became a Jaina tirtha².

¹. This city is identified with Taranga of Gujarat; Vide, JTSS (Vol. I, pt. I, p. 146).

². *Kumaravalapadiboha*, pp. 442-443.

A.D. Pādalipta Sūri¹ (c. V. S. 80) had once gone to Dhaṅkapurī (Dhāṅka) during his pilgrimage. There he met Nāgārjuna. This Nāgārjuna became his pupil, and in honour of his *guru*, he populated a city in the *taleti* (foot) of mount *Satruñjaya*, and named it Pādaliptapura (modern Palitana). This Nāgārjuna got built a temple on the mount and installed therein an image of Lord Mahāvīra and that of Pādalipta Sūri.² (For Jaina sculptures from Dhaṅkagiri or modern Dhāṅk, see H.D. Sankalia: *Archaeology of Gujarat*, pp. 167, 234)

This Pādalipta Sūri had been to Muṇḍa, king of Pāṭaliputra.³ He is the author of *Taraṅgavāṇī* etc. According to *Vīśeṣanīsiha-cunṇī* (pt. IV, p. 872) Pādalipta Sūri succeeded in removing pain in the head of King Muṇḍa, which he was suffering from since a long time, by a *mantra* (incantation).

From *Bhāsa*⁴ (v. 8915) on *Kappa* we learn that this Sūri prepared an image (*yantra-pratimā*) of the sister of Muṇḍa, exactly resembling her. This image which was kept standing had a fan in the hand, and it was winking.⁵

Bhīmarāja of Onkārapura in Lāṭa, was a devotee of Pādalipta Sūri.⁶

¹ For his life, see *Avassaya-cunṇī* (pt. I, p. 554), *Nīsihaviśiṣṭa-cunṇī* (pt. IV, p. 872), *Bhāsa* (v. 49-51) on *Kappa* etc.

² *Prabhavakacarita* (V. 247-306).

³ In Malayagiri Suri's Com. (pt. 141-142) Pratisthanapura is mentioned. This seems to be a slip; for this Suri in the Com., (pp. 524-5) on *Avassaya* and in the com., (p. 162-a) on *Nandi* has mentioned Pataliputra.

⁴ See *Kappa* (pt. V, p. 1315).

⁵ In the com. (pt. V, p. 1315-6) it is said that 'female' forms were constructed in plenty in the 'Yavana' country.

⁶ *JPI* (pt. I, p. 240).

A.D. Yakṣadeva III attained the status of 'Sūri' in Vīra Samvat 585 i.e. V. S.
 C. 39 115. When he was in Mahuvā, the *Mlecchas* plundered this city and took as prisoners this Sūri, 500 Jaina monks and Jāvaḍasāha. But one *Śrāvaka* who had become a *Mleccha*, got this Sūri released and sent him along with his men to Khaṭṭa-Kūpa (Khātu). Thinking that the Jaina church would perish if there were no Jaina monks, eleven boys were offered to this Sūri. He thereupon gave them Dikṣā. Later on, this Sūri went to Āhaḍa. There, too, he was offered some boys who renounced the world. This event took place in about V. S. 95. (A.D. 39)—(JPI, Pt. I, p. 22).

C. 50 The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* is the first Greek record of organised trading with the nations of the East, in vessels built and commanded by subjects of the Western World. 'Periplus' or 'Guide-book' was the name applied to a numerous class of writing in Roman times, which answered for sailing-charts and the traveller's hand-book. The notes give an exhaustive survey of the imports and exports, of its markets and of the conditions and alliances of its peoples of the inter-national trade between the great empires of Rome, Parthia, India and China, when human culture and commerce had centered in the countries bordering on the Persian Gulf. A commercial system was developed for the inter-change of products between Egypt and the nations of the Ancient India, having its centre of exchanges near the head of the Persian Gulf, the peoples of which region—the Arab tribes and the ancestors of the Phoenicians—were the carriers or intermediaries.

The muslins and spices of India were received from Indian traders in their ports on either side of the Gulf of Aden. Changes in topography of India, the westward shifting of the Indus delta, the shoaling of the harbours in the Kaccha region, and the disorder incidental to great invasions of Asiatic peoples, however, sapped the vigour of the Indian Sea-trade.—(*The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, Tr. by W. F. Schoff, 1912: Introduction).

C. 50 The earlier and the lower date and authorship of the 'Periplus of the Erythraean Sea' are fixed from internal evidence. The Scythians of the *Periplus* were the Śaka tribe, who having been driven from Eastern Turkestan by the *Yuechi* overran Baluchistan, the lower valley and the adjacent parts of the coast of India itself. In Para 38 of the text is mentioned 'the Sea-coast of Scythia' around the mouth of the Indus and the metropolis of Scythia, Minnagara, which was 'subject to Parthian princes at war among themselves'. The reference to the anarchy in the Indo-Parthian or Śaka region in Para 41, does not suggest the consolidated power of that king of Surāṣṭra and Ujjain who founded the so-called 'Śaka era' of 78 A.D.; and this indicated a date earlier than that era.—('Introduction', p. 10: *The Periplus*, Tr. by W. F. Schoff).

A.D. Murrhine (referred to in Para 6 of the 'Periplus') was probably agate and carnelian from the Gulf of Cambay; but was extensively imitated in glass by the Phoenicians and Egyptians. The murrhine mentioned in the 'Periplus' was evidently a cheap trading product, probably coloured glass.—(Notes to the 'Periplus', *ibid*, p. 68).

Ariaca, as mentioned in the 'Periplus' (Para 6) is the north-west coast of India, especially, around the Gulf of Cambay the modern Kaccha, Kathiawar and Gujarat.—(Notes to the 'Periplus', para 6, p. 70).

C. 53 Broach was the principal port of India doing business with the Occident in textile fabrics according to the 'Periplus of the Erythrean Sea'. In the list of presents brought to Yudhiṣṭhira on the occasion of his Imperial sacrifice (the *Rājasūya Yajña*) we find, according to one text of the 'Mahābhārata' (not included in the Critical Edition.) that Bharukaccha men are mentioned as bringing slave-girls clad in cotton clothes :

शतं यत्तु सहस्राणां कार्पासिकनिवेशिनाम् ।

बलिं च कुरुनमादाय भस्कुच्छनिवासिनः ॥—सभापर्व, 50, X.

Barygaza, as known to the Greeks, exported the best cloth of broad sort and a coarse cotton.

65 Once Vajrasena Sūri, pupil of Vajrasvāmi¹ (born in V. S. 26) came to Sopāraka. This city was experiencing a severe famine. So Jinadatta Śreṣṭhin had procured rice with great difficulty by spending, so to say, a *lac* (of rupees). But this quantity of rice was not sufficient to maintain his family. So he added poison when this quantity was cooked, with a view that on eating it, the whole family might die. Fortunately, Vajrasena Sūri came up there on that very day for alms. Jinadatta told the truth. Vajrasena Sūri, who was foretold the ending day of the famine by Vajrasvāmin, informed him that 'by to-morrow there would be plenty of corn and so the idea of taking poisoned rice should be given up'. Jinadatta replied: 'If so, I, along with all the members of my family will renounce the world and will become your pupils'.

The next day a number of ships filled with corn arrived in Sopāraka on the sea-shore. Jinadatta along with his wife Īśvari and their four sons Nāgendra, Candra, Nivṛiti and Vidyādhara took *dikṣā* at the hands of Vajrasvāmin as promised. This momentous event took place in Vīra Samvat 592 (A.D. 65). —(*JPI*, Pt. I, pp. 392-3).

¹ According to *JTSS* (Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 509) he had been to Srimala in the 1st cent. of the Vikrama era.

C. 75 Arab settlements existed in Gujarat at Cheul, Kalyāṇa and Sopārā before the rise of Islam. Abul Fida speaks of their having settled in Sopārā since early

times. In the time of Agatharcides, (B. C. 177-100) there were so many Arabs on the Malabar coast that the people had adopted the Arab religion. The Arabs were mostly Sabians at that time. It may, therefore, be safely presumed that Arab settlements existed in Gujarat parallel with this. (Reinaud's *Abul Fida* CCCL.—XXXIV; Vincent's *Periplus* 154; Bom. Gaz., Vol. IX, pt. II, p. 1, ff. 1.).

III

ANTIQUITIES

The coins of Eukratides have been found in different parts of Saurāṣṭra and at different times, suggesting that they were the currency of the province, and may be, were imported either for trade or for ornament.

These silver coins were very small, weighing five to seven *grams*, and bear the Buddhist symbols of the *svastika*, the *triśūla* and the *cakra*. Another small variety of coins, weighing four *grams*, with a misshapen elephant on the obverse and something like a circle on the reverse, were found from Gondal and Junagadh.—(*Bom. Gaz.*, I, p. 17, fn.)

The coins of Menander were discovered from near Broach and from Junagadh. The silver *Drachmae* of Apollodotus and two varieties of his copper-coins were found in Gujarat. The author of the 'Periplus' (A.D. 240) writes: "Upto the present day, old *drachmae* bearing the Greek inscriptions of Apollodotus and Menander are current in Barygaza (Broach)."—(*Bom. Gaz.* I, p. 17).

The silver coins are of only one variety, round *drachmae*. The obverse of Menander's coins has in the middle a helmeted bust of the king and round it the Greek legend: 'Of the King, the Saviour Menander'. On the reverse is the figure of Athene Promochos, surrounded by the Bactro-Pāli legend: *Mahārājasa Tradatasa Menandrasa*.

The silver *drachmae* of Apollodotus have on the obverse a diademed bust surrounded by the Greek legend (*Basileos Apollodotou Soteris*, meaning, 'of King Apollodotus, the Saviour'). The reverse bears the figure of the Goddess Pallas hurling thunderbolt and the Kharoṣṭhi legend: *Mahārājasa Tratarasa Apaladatasa*, of the great king Apaladata, the Saviour. (PMC. pl., IV, 263, 276).

The copper coins of Apollodotus (found from Junagadh) are of two varieties: square and round. The square coins, have on the obverse the standing Apollo facing, holding arrow and bow in right hand and the Greek legend around: *Basileos Soteris Kai philopatoros Apollodotou*: meaning: Of King Apollodotus the Saviour and Father-lover. The round coins are similar to the square coins, but they have the legend: *Basileos Apollodotou Soteris* on the reverse; and the Kharoṣṭhi legend *Mahārājasa Tratarasa Apaladatasa* on the reverse (PMC V, 322). On the reverse is the tripod of Appollo with two monograms and the Kharoṣṭhi legend *Mahārājasa Tratarasa Apaladatasa*. (*Bom. Gaz.* I, p. 18).

The coins of Eukratides bear on the obverse the bust of the king, diademed and with helmet adorned with ear and horn of bull and crest, surrounded by an inscription in Greek characters, which runs as follows: *Basileos Megaloy Eukretidoy*, meaning 'Of king

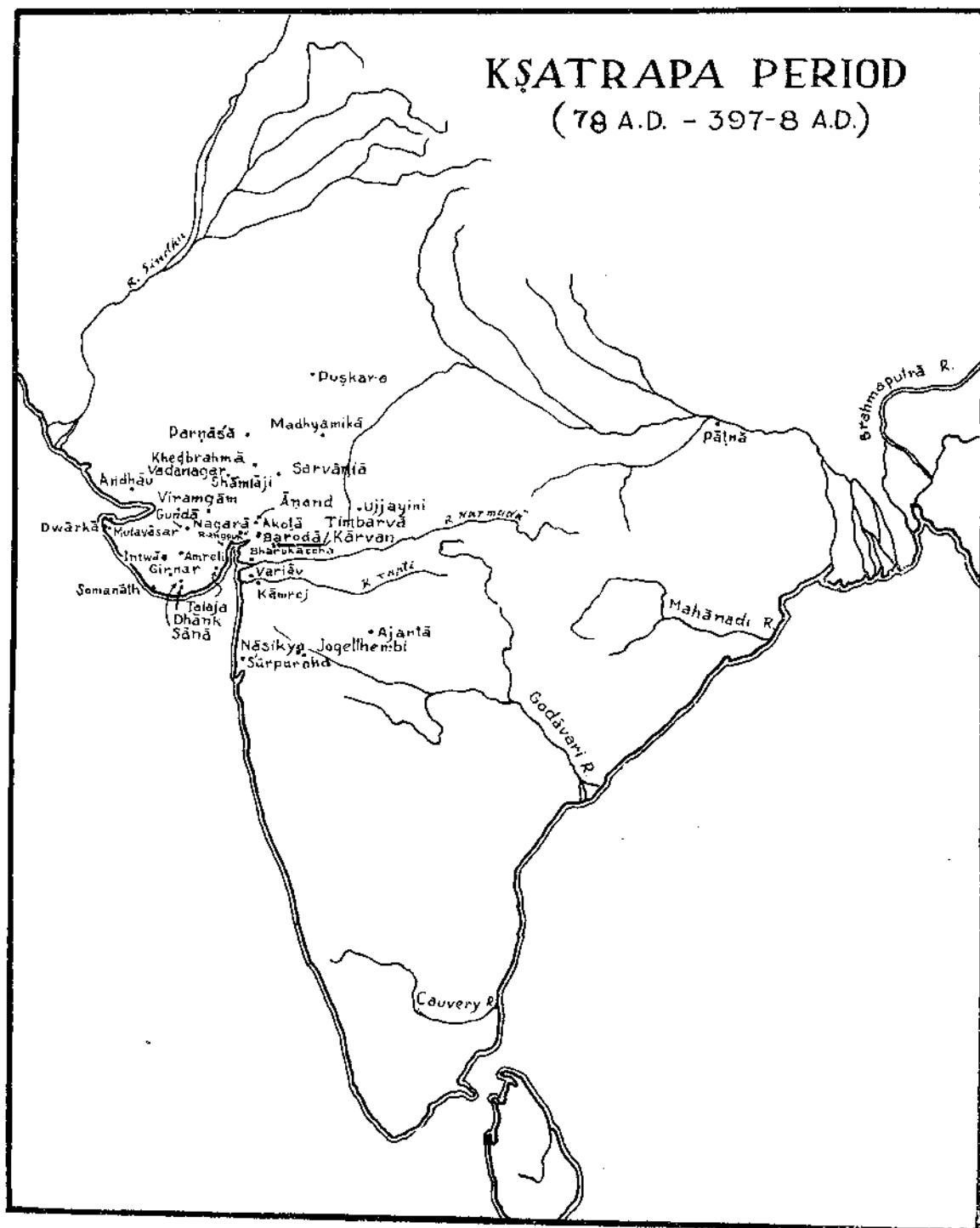
Eukratides, the Great'. The reverse has the figures of the Dioskuroi (the Greek twin-gods Kastor and Pollux) standing, each holding a long spear and wearing a sword. There is a monogram beside the figures and a Kharoṣṭhi inscription all around : *Rājasa Mahātana Eukratidasa*, conveying the same sense as the Greek legend. (BMC, p. xxx, 9; I.M.C., Pl. II, 9)

The coins of Menander are discovered in Saurāṣṭra and South Gujarat, from near Junagadh and Broach (*Bom. Gaz.*, I, pt. i : p. 1). His coins were current in Bharukaccha even upto the third century A.D. (McCrindle, *Periplus*, p. 121). The silver coins of Menander found in Gujarat are the round *drachmae*, similar to those of Apollodotus. They have on the obverse a helmeted bust of the king and round it the Greek legend (*Basileos Soteris Menandro*), which means 'Of king Menander, the Saviour.' On the reverse is the figure of Pallas Athene (the Greek goddess of prosperity, strength and wisdom) hurling thunderbolt, surrounded by the corresponding Kharoṣṭhi legend, *Mahā-rājasa Tratarasa Menandrasa*, and a monogram. (PMC, VI, 379; BG, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 18)—(Plate XII)

CHAPTER V

KSATRAPA PERIOD

(78 A.D.—397-8 A.D.)



KSATRAPA PERIOD

(78 A.D.—397-8 A.D.)

I

About the end of the first century A.D., the Kuṣāṇa Emperor Kaniṣka I seems to have extended his power over Central and Western India. The Kṣaharātas ruled Western India as Kṣatrapas of Kaniṣka I and his successors. Kṣaharāta is the earliest known Kṣatrapa in charge of the south-western part of the empire of the Kuṣāṇas of Kaniṣka's house. His coins have been found in the coastal regions of Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra and sometimes also in Malwa and the Ajmer region of Rajputana.

The use of both the Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī scripts in Bhūmaka's coin-legends probably points to the fact that the Kṣatrapa territories not only comprised such districts as Malwa, Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra where Brāhmī was prevalent, but also some regions about Western Rajputana and Sind, where Kharoṣṭhī appears to have been in use. Some writers are inclined to associate the use of Kharoṣṭhī on the earlier satrapal issues with the northern origin of the Kṣatrapas.

Traces of Greek legend on the coins of early Kṣatrapas of Western India point to the influence and popularity in Indo-Scythia of the Indo-Greek coinage to which the *Periplus* (c. 70-80 A.D.) bears witness.

Kṣatrapa Bhūmaka seems to have been succeeded by Nahapāna who belonged to the same Kṣaharāta family. The exact relation between the two Satrapas, however, is as yet unknown. Nahapāna is known not only from his coins (which have been discovered in the Ajmer region of Rajputana in the north and in the Nasik District in the South) but also from a number of inscriptions (all found outside Gujarat) bearing dates ranging between the years 41 and 46 of an era, which seems to be no other than Kaniṣka's reckoning i.e. the Śaka era of A.D. 78. Nahapāna flourished about the period A.D. 119-25, and the Kṣaharāta rule over Gujarat is fixed at the first quarter of the 2nd century A.D.

Nahapāna is invariably called *Rājan* on the coins ; but in the earlier records he is called a Kṣatrapa and on the epigraph of the year 46 he is called Mahākṣatrapa. No record of his refers to his overlord, although he was ruling practically as an independent king without openly disavowing his allegiance to the Kuṣāṇas. The Kārdamakas who succeeded the Kṣaharātas also enjoyed the title *Rājan*, together with a satrapal designation.

Nahapāna's relation with Gujarat rests only on the references to places in Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra in the inscriptions of his son-in-law Ṛṣabhadatta (Uṣavadāta)—(EI., VIII, p. 78). But his reference to the holy places, Prabhāsa etc., should not by itself imply the Kṣaharāta sway over them.—(H. D. Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujarat*, p. 10, fn.)

A number of inscriptions recording the pious gifts of the Hinduised Śaka chief Ṛṣabhadatta (Uṣavadāta), son of Dinika, have been discovered in the rock-cut caves at

Nasik and at Karle in the Poona District. R̥ṣabhadatta was the husband of Dakṣamitrā, daughter of Nahapāna, and was the Viceroy in the southern province of his father-in-law's dominions. There is no doubt that the *āhāras* (districts) of Govardhana (Nasik) and Māmāḷa (Poona) were in charge of R̥ṣabhadatta; but he may have ruled over southern Gujarat and the northern Konkan from Broach to Sopara.

In connection with R̥ṣabhadatta's benefactions, inscriptions refer to such localities as Kāpurāhāra (Kāpurā in the old Baroda District), Prabhāsa (in Southern Saurāṣṭra), Bharukaccha (Broach), Daśapura (Mandasor in Western Malwa), Śūrpāraka (Sopara in Thana District), and Puṣkara (near Ajmer), as well as to the rivers Tāpī, Barṇāsā (Banās, a tributary of the Chambal), Pārādā (Pār in the Surat District), Damana (Damangangā near Daman) and Dāhaṇukā (near Dahanu in the Thana District).

It is, however, likely, that R̥ṣabhadatta visited some of these holy places outside his viceregal state as a pious pilgrim; but it seems very probable that Malwa, Saurāṣṭra, Gujarat, the northern part of the Konkan and the Maratha country, and larger parts of Rajaputana, probably including a portion of the lower Sindhu valley, lay within the dominions of Nahapāna, his father-in-law.

In the Śaka year 46 (124-25 A.D.) which is the latest known date of Nahapāna, he seems to have been defeated and killed by the Sātavāhana Andhra king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī, who not only annexed the southern provinces of the Kṣaharāta dominions, but totally uprooted their dynasty, and exterminated the Śakas together with the Yavanas and the Pahlavas. Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra passed over into the hands of the Āndhras. (*Nasik Cave Inscription No. 2* of Siri Puḷumāyi Vāsiṣṭhiputta, E I., VIII, p. 60). Sātavāhana is also described as the lord of many countries including Saurāṣṭra, Kukura (in the Gujarat-Saurāṣṭra region), Anūpa (northern Konkan), Ākara (east Malwa) and Avantī (West Malwa).

Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī, who was the champion of Brahmanism as well as Buddhism, at one time held sway over the whole country watered by the Godavari, and also over Berar, Malwa, Gujarat and North Konkan. During this time South Gujarat came under the active influence of the Deccan.

The large hoard of Nahapāna's coins, discovered at Jogalthembi in the Nasik District, shows how the Sātavāhana king captured the Satrap's treasury and restruck the latter's coins for re-circulation.

Soon after Gautamīputra's death about 128 A.D., however, another dynasty of the Western Kṣatrapas known as the 'Kārdamakas' wrested Malwa and Gujarat from the hands of his son.

The Kṣaharāta family which became extinct with Nahapāna's death, was succeeded in the South-Western satrapy of the Kuṣāṇa empire by the Scythian family of the Kārdamakas. Caṣṭana, son of Ysāmotika, and of the family of Kārdamaka (which name has been derived by some from the Kārdama river in Bactria, PHAI, 363, fn. 3) seems to

have been appointed with instructions to recover the lost districts of the Satrapy from the Sātavāhanas.

A life-size inscribed portrait-statue of Caṣṭana (without head) which was excavated from the Portrait-Hall (*Devakula*) of the Kuṣāṇa Emperors at village Māṭa by Paṇḍit Radhakrishna, and which is now in the Mathura Museum, bearing No. 212 (Plate XIII), shows that this family was in some way connected with the Kuṣāṇas; but whether they were their Viceroys, as is believed by some, it is by no means certain.

When Caṣṭana, probably in old age, became a Mahākṣatrapa, he seems to have selected his son Jayadāman as Kṣatrapa, his subordinate associate in the administration. He, however, having died earlier was succeeded by his son Rudradāman I. The Āndhāu inscriptions of Ś. year 52 (130-31 A.D.) in Kaccha show that Rājan Caṣṭana was ruling jointly with his grandson Rājan Rudradāman. Thus the Kārdamakas were at least on the borders of the expanded empire of Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi within a few years after Nahapāna's death.

There is evidence to show that the Śakas under Caṣṭana and Rudradāman defeated the Sātavāhana king and recovered most of the northern districts conquered by the latter from Nahapāna.

After Caṣṭana's rule, the use of Kharoṣṭhī was discontinued, although the Graeco-Roman legend continued to appear as a sort of ornamental fringe around the obverse of the coins. The omission of Kharoṣṭhī legend may be a result of the transference of the Kārdamaka headquarters from the Kharoṣṭhī area to Ujjain.

The family of Kārmadakas reached the zenith of its power with Caṣṭana's grandson Rudradāman I (A.D. 143-158). Under him, the Kṣatrapa dominion extended, [as is attested by his inscription at Gīrnar (150 A.D.), and confirmed by the distribution of his coins and by the evidence of the Āndhra inscriptions] to the greatest part of South Rajputana, Malwa, including both Kaccha and Saurāṣṭra and North Konkan--the Anūpa, Kaccha, Saurāṣṭra, Avanti, Maru, Sindhu-Sauvīra and Aparānta (Vide, D. C. Sircar's *Select Inscriptions*, No. 67).

Rudradāman's capital was at Ujjain in Malwa, and Gujarat was ruled by a governor, Suviśākha. In the Gīrnar inscription, his victories over Śātakarṇi, the Lord of the Deccan, are specially mentioned, as also the fact that he won for himself the title of 'Mahākṣatrapa'. Rudradāman I was not only a great conqueror and administrator but was also learned and accomplished, and recorded his achievement in Sanskrit on the Gīrnar rock which already bore Aśoka's inscription. He was himself a past master of grammar, polity, music and logic and was reputed for the excellence of his compositions in Sanskrit, both prose and verse.

What happened to the extensive empire of Rudradāman under the subsequent reigns is not known. However, it is certain that the family of Caṣṭana ruled without a break till

Ś. year 226 *i.e.* 304 A.D., for about two hundred years, making a total of more than three hundred years for the entire Kṣatrapa period.

The Kṣatrapas continued to rule on; and a new family of Kṣatrapa Rudrasimha II, son of Jivadāman, perhaps some relative of the Kārdamaka Kṣatrapas, succeeded Kṣatrapa Viśvasena in Ś. 227 *i.e.* 305 A.D. This branch-line ended with Svāmi Rudrasimha III, when in or about 390 A.D. he was exterminated by the Guptas.

[The General Editor is indebted for this Introductory Note to Dr. D. C. Sircar's Chap. XII, "Saka Satrapas of Western India" in *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 178-190.]

II

- A.D. As regards the 'Sakabda' or 'Saka' era, modern authorities accept the
78 Indian tradition that it was founded by a Śaka king or that it commemorates the date of his accession; but there is no unanimity as to the foreign ruler who founded it. However, the view favoured by the majority is that the Śaka era commemorates the accession of the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka in 78 A.D., which is a landmark in the history of India.

As Kaniṣka started his era in the north, simultaneously Kṣatrapa Nahapāna, on his conquest of Gujarat and West Deccan began to use this Śaka era, which corresponds to 78 A.D. (*Bom. Gaz.* I, pp. 26-27).

The records of the Western Kṣatrapas are dated in years of this era, though they give only the 'Varṣe', without specifically naming the era. The Śaka years are *Caitrādi* throughout India. It commenced 135 years after the Vikrama era. In Gujarat its use is at present restricted to astrology and almanacs, but the same is current in the South as 'Śālivāhana Śaka'.

In the *Kālakācārya-Kathā* given in the *Prabhāvaka-carita*, it is stated that the Śakas founded their own era, having killed a descendant of Vikramāditya; but the identity of the Scythian king is a matter of dispute. The view that it was founded by Kaniṣka and was spread southward by the Western Kṣatrapas who were the vassals of Kaniṣka and his successors, is now widely accepted—(*The Scythian Period*, Chap. I and VII).

- 78 Kaniṣka Kuṣāṇa, the successor of Kadphises in North-Western India and the Kabul Valley, probably founded the Śaka era, which seems to date from his coronation in A.D. 78. Under him and his successors the Scythian power reached its zenith. Kaniṣka's kingdom extended from Kābulistān to Mathura, and perhaps farther. According to Hiuen Tsang, it included a considerable part of Central Asia, while some evidence exists for its having embraced Gujarat.

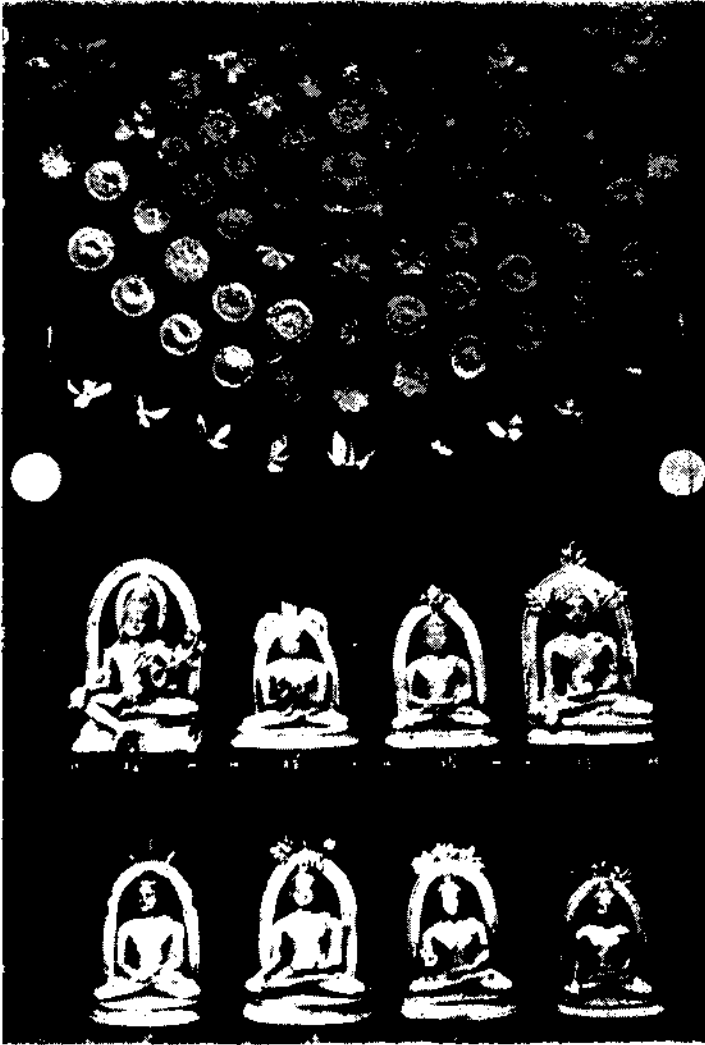
A Buddhist Council was held during Kaniṣka's reign under the presidency of Vasumitra (Shih-yu).

- 83 Vira Samvat 610: (*i.e.* B.C. 527 = A.D. 83) Rise of the Digambara sect of the Jains under Śivabhūti or Sahasramalla, according to Dharma-sāgara's *Pravacana parikṣā*—(BR.1883-4). B.C. 527 has been taken to be the date



Mahākṣatrapa Caṣṭana, with inscription : Mathura Museum (p. 96)

Plate XIV



Bronze Images and Gold Flowers from the Reliquary, Sopārā Stūpa. (p. 91)



Reliquaries from Sopārā Stūpa. (p. 91)

A.D. of the death of Mahāvīra Vardhamāna Jnātāputra, the founder of the Nirgrantha or Jaina sect. It was 470 years before the Vikrama era, according to the Śvetāmbara Jains, and 605 years before the Śaka era, according to the Digambaras. Jaina tradition gives also the dates B.C. 545 and B.C. 467 for this event ; but the latter year is at variance with Buddhist tradition which states that Mahāvīra died during Buddha's life-time.

C. 100 Bhūmaka, the earliest known member of the Kṣaharāta family of the Western Kṣatrapas, ruled over Western India including Gujarat, as may be inferred from the *provenance* of his coins. He struck coins of copper. The obverse bears ' the Arrow, Discus and Thunder-bolt type ', which is continued by Nahapāna as the reverse type, of both his silver and copper coinages, and which, therefore, seems to be the distinctive badge of the Kṣaharātas. The device on the reverse represents the capital of a pillar consisting of ' Wheel and Lion '.

The Kharoṣṭhī legend on the obverse runs as '*Chaharadasa Chatrapasa Bhumakasa*', and the Brāhmī¹ legend on the reverse is read as '*Kṣaharātas Kṣatrapasa Bhūmakasa*', both meaning 'Of Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapa Bhūmaka'.

Considerations of the type and fabric of the coins, and of the nature of the coin-legends, undoubtedly indicate that Bhūmaka preceded Nahapāna ; but there is no evidence to show the relationship between them. (Rapson, C.I.C.B.M., cvii f, 63, f ; D. C. Sircar, 'The Śaka Satraps of Western India', *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 178).

¹ In one instance the legend on the reverse is suspected to be in Greek, instead of Brahmi.

C. 100 In the first century A.D. or earlier than that, a group of Jaina nuns started from Sopāraka and came to Rājagṛiha for pilgrimage. Pūtigaṇḍhā, a fisherwoman (*dhīvari*) was in this group. In course of time she became a Jaina nun and died peacefully in Nīlaguphā (cave) of Rājagṛiha.²

² Vide, *Jaina Tirtha aur Unki Yatra* by Kamtaprasad Jain, as quoted in JTSS (Vol. II, p. 454).

100-20 Uṣavadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna who had married his daughter Dakṣamitrā has many charitable acts and works of public utility to his credit, which are mentioned in ' Nasik Inscriptions ', X, XII and XIV.

The charitable acts are the gift of 3,00,000 cows ; of gold, and of river-side steps at the Barṇāsa or Banāsa river near Mt. Abu in North Gujarat ; of 16 villages to Gods and Brāhmaṇas ; the feeding of hundreds of thousands of Brāhmaṇas every year ; the giving in marriage of eight wives to Brāhmaṇas at Prabhāsa in South Saurāṣṭra :

A.D. the bestowing of 32,000 coconut-trees in Nanaiṅgola or Nārgol village on the Thana sea-board on the Caraka priests of Piṇḍitakavāḍe, Govardhana near Nasik, Suvarṇamukha, and Rāma-tīrtha in Sopārāga or Sopara on the Thana coast ;

the giving of 300,000 cows and a village at Puṣkara or Pokhar near Ajmer in East Rajputana ;

making gifts to Brāhmaṇas at Cecina or Cican, near Kelvā-Māhim on the Thana coast ; and the gift of coconut trees and 70,000 *Kārṣāpaṇas* or 2,000 *suvarṇas* to gods and Brāhmaṇas at Dahanu in Thana.

The public works executed by Uṣavadāta include rest-houses and alms-houses at Bharukaccha, at Daśapura or Mandsor in North Malwa, and gardens and wells at Govardhana and Sopara ; free ferry-boats across the river Ibā or Ambikā, the Pārāda or Pār, the Daman or Damangangā, the Tāpi or Tāptī, the Karabeṇā or Kāverī, and the Dāhāpukā or Dāhanu. Waiting-places and steps were also built on both banks of each of these rivers. These charitable and public works of Uṣavadāta, the Hinduised Śaka prince, savour much of the Brahmanic religion—(*Bom. Gaz.* I, p. 25).

C.106-30 Gautamīputra extended his sway from Ujjain to the Kṛṣṇā and from sea to sea, claiming suzerainty over the whole trans-Vindhyan India. He vanquished the Scythians, the Indo-Greeks and the Parthians, and his descendant Yajñaśrī, completely eliminated the Śakas from Western India and Saurāṣṭra.

C.119-24 The Nasik cave-inscription incidentally records several benefactions (*dānas*) made by Uṣavadāta, son of Dinika, and son-in-law of the Kṣaharāta King, the Kṣatrapa Nahapāna (*E. I.*, VIII, 78).

The sacred places (*tīrthas*) and rivers mentioned therein in connection with the act of benefactions, were all in Western India within the domain of Nahapāna, the father-in-law of the Hinduised Śaka prince Uṣavadāta. These *tīrthas* included Prabhāsa, Bharukaccha, Sopārāga, Nanaiṅgola (Nārgol near Sanjan) and Daśapura. A post-script says that Uṣavadāta had gone to Puṣkara (near Ajmer) for consecration after his victory over the Mālavas ; and hence this place also seems to have lain within the dominions of his lord Nahapāna.—(*Rapson, op. cit.*, lvi f, cx, f).

In about 124 A.D., Nahapāna seems to have been defeated by the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī, who annexed the southern provinces of the Kṣaharāta dominions ; and also restruck the coins of Nahapāna for re-circulation.—(*The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 14).

C.119-24 An inscription engraved on the Nasik cave-wall which is in Prākṛit language but in Brāhmī script, refers to the investment of three thousand *Kārṣāpaṇas* (*i.e.* silver coins). The record appears to have been engraved from a grant

A.D. inscribed on plates of copper or cloth (D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 157, fn.)

Two thousand of the sum were invested at the rate of one per cent. (per month), and the remaining one thousand at the rate of $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. (per month) for the benevolent purpose of using the interest earned, for meeting the needs of the Bauddha Bhikṣus, staying in the *layana* (*Guhāvāsa*).

Considerable help in financing works of public utility was rendered by private charity, inspired by religious sentiment which emphasised the spiritual benefit arising from such works as wells, gardens and rest-houses.

Such a sentiment could influence even a foreigner like Uṣavadāta, as appears from the numerous benefactions of his, recorded in Karli and Nasik caves :—

(Cf. मरुकच्छे दशपुरे गोवर्धने सोपारगे च चतुःशालिवसथप्रतिश्रयप्रदेन आराम तडाग उदपानकरेण... एतासां नदीनां उभतौ तीरे सभाप्रवाकरेण... Nasik, No. 19; Karli, No. 19).

C. 119-24 The next known king of the Kṣaharāta family is Nahapāna. The dates in the inscriptions of his reign extend from the (Śaka) year 41 (119-120 A.D.) to the year 46 (124-125 A.D.).

C. 122 The Junnar cave-inscription of (Śaka) year 46 styles Nahapāna a 'Mahākṣatrapa', while a Nasik cave-inscription of year 42 represents him a 'Kṣatrapa'. So Nahapāna seems to have attained the status of Mahākṣatrapa in *circa* Śaka year 44 (c. 122 A.D.)—(*ASWI*, IV, 193).

C. 124 The Āndhira king Gautamīputra overcame, about 124 A.D., the Kṣaharāta king Nahapāna. His conquests included Gujarat, part of Malwa, Central India and Berar, the region north of Nasik and the Northern Konkan, most of which were taken from Nahapāna. Nahapāna's territories north of the Narmadā were soon after recovered by Caṣṭana, son of Ysāmotika, a Śaka, whose capital was in Ujjayini.

124-25 Caṣṭana, son of Ysāmotika, founded another royal family of the Western Kṣatrapas, known as the 'Kārdamaka' family. (*The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 182). His capital, according to Ptolemy, was Ujjain in West Malwa. Probably Caṣṭana began his career as the 'Satrap' of the Kuṣāṇas by recovering the territories lost by the Kṣaharātas to the Sātavāhana—(*Ibid*, p. 182). The upper limit of Caṣṭana's reign is limited by the (Śaka) year 46 (= 124-25 A.D.), the latest known date of Nahapāna's reign.

Caṣṭana struck coins in silver both as Kṣatrapa and as Mahākṣatrapa. On its *obverse* appears the bust of the king surrounded by Greek characters as on the *obverse* of Nahapāna's coins. On the *reverse* there are two varieties; in the earlier variety the Crescent and Star were adopted, evidently as symbols of the sun and moon, which were probably of Parthian origin; in the later

- A.D.** variety they, however, assume a subordinate position and eventually become mere adjuncts to large symbols added between them. The central symbol was taken to stand for the *cailya*; but now it is supposed to represent a mountain. The wavy line beneath this symbol, accordingly, stands for a river or the sea.

The device thus consists of symbols of several elements of nature (Moon, Sun, Mountain, Sea) that signify the enduring character of existence. The type thus completed remained the constant *reverse* type of the silver coins of the Western Kṣatrapas till the end of the dynasty, and was subsequently adopted by the Traikūṭakas. The central symbol is a common type of the Sātavāhanas and is found in the coinages issued by them in districts which at one time or another were included in the dominions of the Western Kṣatrapas.

- C. 125** When Nabhovāhana was the ruler of Bharukaccha, Sātavāhana, a king of Pratiṣṭhāna used to attack this city every year, and return to his native place during the rainy season. Nabhovāhana was very affluent; so he used to give as present thousands of rupees to those who could cut hands or heads of soldiers of Sātavāhana. On the other hand, Sātavāhana did not do so, even when his soldiers could show some prowess. So his army went on decreasing in number.

A minister of Sātavāhana at last suggested that Nabhovāhana should be deceived. For this he said: 'you should expel me by declaring that I have committed an offence.' The king did accordingly. The minister went to Bharukaccha. Nabhovāhana received him personally and appointed him his minister. He advised the king to spend money in religious activities so that merit might be acquired. He thereupon spent money in building temples, erecting *stūpas*, and constructing wells, reservoirs etc.¹ The ditch that was prepared was named as 'Nabhovāhana's ditch'. Nabhovāhana by spending in this way could not give presents as before, as his treasury was now not so much full. In the meanwhile, this minister sent a word to Sātavāhana to attack. When he did so, Nabhovāhana ran away for life; and thus Bharukaccha was conquered.—(*Āvassaya-cunṇī*, pt. II, pp. 220-201).

¹ JAG (p. 34)

- C. 126** Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī, the Āndhra king was contemporary with Nahapāna the Kṣaharāta, whom he overthrew shortly before the 14th year of his own reign and after the 16th year of the Kṣatrapa or Śaka era, probably therefore, in about 126 A.D.

The inscription, dated in the 19th year of his son Puṣumāyi, mentions Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī as the king of Asika, Asaka, Mulaka, *Saurāṣṭra*, Kukura, Aparānta, Anūpa, Vidarbha, Ākara and Avanti and lord of the mountains Vindhya, Rikṣavata, Pāriyātra, Sahya, Kṛṣṇagiri, Maccha, Siritana, Malaya,

A.D. Mahendra, Setāgiri, and Cakora. It also states that he humbled the pride of the Kṣatriyas, destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas, exterminated the Kṣaharāta race and restored the glory of the Sātavāhanas.

C. 126 Caṣṭana, who was the son of Ysāmotika, was contemporary and apparently successor of Nahapāna. Ptolemy mentions him as Tiasenes, the contemporary of the Āndhra king Puṣumāyi. To the Western Kṣatrapa dominions which included, generally speaking, Kaccha and Gujarat, Caṣṭana seems to have added the greater part of Western Rajputana and Malwa, making Ujjain his capital. His son Jayadāman succeeded him. (IA, XXI, 205).

The legend on the reverse of his coins appears in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī and seems to run as follows 'Rājno Kṣatrapasa Ysāmotikaputrasa Caṣṭanasa. (Of king Kṣatrapa Caṣṭana, son of Ysāmotika).

C. 128 As Caṣṭana was already reigning jointly with his grand-son Rudradāman I in Śaka year 72 (130 A.D.), the former's co-regency with his son Jayadāman may be dated at least a year or two earlier (*i.e. circa* 128 A.D.). The evidence of coins struck by Jayadāman as Kṣatrapa and those struck by Caṣṭana as Mahākṣatrapa evidently implies that Caṣṭana began his career as Mahākṣatrapa along with his son Jayadāman as Kṣatrapa—(*The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 183).

The silver coins struck by Caṣṭana as Mahākṣatrapa are of the same type as those of the later variety struck by him as Kṣatrapa. The full legend appears only in Brāhmī; while the Kharoṣṭhī legend consisted of only the king's name, the titles and patronymic being omitted. Thus Kharoṣṭhī was gradually falling into disuse; and it disappeared from the coins of the Western Kṣatrapas after the reign of Caṣṭana. In the struck legend, the old equivalent for 'Kṣatrapa' is retained and no attempt is made to represent the title 'Mahākṣatrapa' instead.—(Rapson, *op. cit.*, CXV, f; also refer to JNSI, S. IV, 20 ff.).

A single specimen of a coin in copper of square form is attributed with some probability to Caṣṭana. The reverse is of the usual type; but the obverse is of the Horse type, probably adopted from the Āndhras.

The coins struck by Jayadāman as Kṣatrapa are all of copper and square in form. The *obverse* is marked with the figure of a humped bull facing a combined trident and battle-axe, while the *reverse* contains the usual symbols along with the Brāhmī legend राज्ञो क्षत्रपस स्वामि जयदामस ।. The addition of the title 'Svāmi' deserves special notice. It is also to be noted that with Jayadāman the proper names of the Western Kṣatrapas begin to assume an Indian form.

A second variety of copper coinage, with 'Elephant' and 'Ujjain symbol' type, was assigned to Jayadāman by General Cunningham. But the legend is

A.D. not fully legible and hence the attribution requires a better preserved specimen—(Rapson, *ibid*, CXV f., CXVII f.).

Nahapāna struck coins of both silver and copper. The silver coins are apparently imitated, as regards size, weight and fabric, from the *hemi-drachms* of the Graeco-Indian kings; and in these respects they set a standard which was followed by the Western Kṣatrapas for some two hundred and seventy years, and afterwards by their successors the Guptas and the Traikūṭakas, from the same source too, and probably also partly from the Roman *denarii*, which were brought in the way of commerce to the Western ports of India, they derived their *obverse* type: 'Head of king', which became a permanent feature in these coinages.

The Graeco-Roman characters of their *obv.* inscriptions, which, after being used for a short period to transliterate the Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī coin-legend of the *rev.*, degenerated into a sort of ornament, traces of which remained even on the silver coins of the Guptas.

The *rev.* type of the silver coins is substantially the *obv.* type of the Bhūmaka's copper coins. The legend on the *rev.* is incised both in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī. It runs as follows: राज्ञो क्षह्रातस नह्पावस। in Brāhmī and, રાજો ક્ષહ્રાતસ નહ્પાવસ। in Kharoṣṭhī, i.e. 'Of king Kṣaharāta Nahapāna'.

- 131 In the four Andhāu Stone-inscriptions, dated Ś. 52, Fālgun ba. 2 (131 A.D.), Caṣṭana appears as reigning jointly with his grandson Rudradāman. Therein the titles 'Kṣatrapa' and 'Mahākṣatrapa' are not specified; but it is obvious that by this time Caṣṭana reigned as Mahākṣatrapa and Rudradāman as Kṣatrapa.

These inscriptions were originally found on a raised spot at village Andhāu is Khāvaḍā or Paccham Taluka in Kaccha, but were removed and brought to the Jhuj Museum by Diwan Bahadur Ranchhodbhai in 1906. These are the earliest dated inscriptions in Prākṛit, influenced by Sanskrit, in Brāhmī script, of the Western Kṣatrapas of Ujjain. They imply the system of joint rule in this dynasty, and the site indicates the Kṣatrapa rule over Kaccha.—(*Andhāu Stone-Inscriptions* : EI, XVI, 19).

These four *laṣṭis** (memorial pillars) of the same date, were raised during the joint reign of king Caṣṭana, son of Ysāmotika and king Rudradāman, the son of Jayadāman. Three of these *laṣṭis* were erected by Madana, son of Sihila in honour of his three deceased relatives, viz. : (1) Sister Jeṣṭavīrā of Opaśati

* The word *लष्टि* has been used as *यष्टि* (यष्टि) in the Suivihara (a ruined *Stupa*, near Bhawalpur) copper-plate inscription of Kaniska I (CII, II, 141), dated C. 89 A.D., and indicates monumental pillars, which are even now called *lathi*, from Prakrit *lathi*, and probably contained the corporeal relics of the persons named.

gotra, (2) Brother Rīṣabhadeva of Opaśati *gotra*, and (3) Wife Śāmnerī† Yasadata of Sonika *gotra*, (4) The fourth *laṣṭi* was raised in memory of Rīṣabhadeva of Opaśati *gotra* by his father Śrāmṇera Treṣṭadatta.

† *Samaneri*, is feminine of *Samanera*, meaning 'novice'. A person who has already been admitted into priesthood of the Buddhist church after going through the ceremony called *Pabbajja* but has not received the *Upasampada*, is called 'Samanera'. He becomes a fully-privileged monk after receiving the *Upasampada*. The interval may be short or long.

C. 149

The Nasik cave-inscription of Queen Gautamī Bālaśrī, the grandmother of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puṣumāyi expressly represents her son Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇī as having rooted out the Khakharāta (Kṣaharāta) family and restored the glory of the Sātavāhana race (EI, VIII, 60). A comparison of the provinces enumerated in this inscription with Nahapāna's dominions implied in the inscriptions of his son-in-law Uṣavadāta, corroborates this statement, as the list of Gautamīputra includes almost all territories possessed by Nahapāna; for Suratha (Surastra), Kukura, Aparānta, Ākara, Avantī and Kaṇhagiri (Kṛṣṇagiri, modern Kaneri) had now passed from the Kṣaharātas to the Sātavāhanas. (Rapson, op. cit., XXX ff.)

This is further corroborated by the evidence of a number of coins struck by Gautamīputra over types of Nahapāna.—(Rapson, op. cit., 68 ff.)

The large hoard of Nahapāna's coins discovered at Jogelthembi in Nasik District, shows how Gautamīputra captured the Satrap's treasury and re-struck the latter's coins for re-circulation (*The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 182). Coins of Sātavāhanas are obtained from Malwa on one side and South Gujarat (Karvan) on the other. A few coins are also reported to have been found further north, especially at Anand and Sidhpur.

150

The inscription on the western side of the Aśokan rock records that Rudradāman twice defeated Śātakarṇī, Lord of the Deccan, but did not destroy him on account of their near matrimonial relationship. This Śātakarṇī is identified with Vāsiṣṭhīputra Siri-Puṣumāyi, and Rudradāman seems to have recovered the territories from his son-in-law and successor of Gautamīputra who had wrested them from Nahapāna, the Kṣaharāta.—(Rapson, *Ibid*, XXXVI ff., CX f., CXVIII ff.)

His capital was at Ujjain which was described by Ptolemy (cir. 139 A.D.) as Ozene, the capital of Tiastanes (Caṣṭana). His victories won for him the title of *Mahākṣatrapa*.

150

(*Varṣe dvi-saptatittame 72, Mārگاśīrṣa-bahula-pratipadi*):

On account of excessive rainfall, high floods rose in Suvarṇa-sikāṭā (Sonarekh), Palāśinī (Palasio?) and other rivers from mount Urjayat (now known as Girnar) and consequently the embankment (*setu-bandha*) of Sudarśana lake at Girinagara burst on the above day during the reign of

Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman. The breach was 420 cubits long, just as many cubits broad and 75 cubits deep. The reservoir was laid open down to the bottom of the rivers. The 'Sudarśana' (beautiful) lake then appeared like a sandy desert and became 'durdarśana' (ugly to look at).

- 150 All the known coins of Rudradāmana I are of silver and they are all struck by him as 'Mahākṣatrapa'. The coins are of the usual type. The legend in Greek characters ceases to have any meaning and continues to appear as a sort of ornamental fringe round the bust. The Brāhmī legend on the reverse runs as राज्ञो क्षत्रपस जयदामपुत्रस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रदामस in the earlier variety, and as राज्ञो क्षत्रपस जयदामपुत्रस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रदामस in the later variety.

In contrast to the strictly classical Sanskrit of the Gīrnar inscription, Rudradāmana's coin-legends like the Brāhmī legends of Nahapāna, and indeed most of the coin-legends of the Western Kṣatrapas, are in a sort of mixed language with some Sanskrit and some Prākṛit features.—(Rapson, *ibid.* CXXI f.).

The coins struck by Dāmaghsāda or Dāmajādaśrī I, son of Rudradāman I as Kṣatrapa, suggest his co-regency with Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman I. The coins are of the usual type of this dynasty. Of these coins there are three varieties, distinguished by peculiarities in their legends. Variety A has *Rudradāmana—putra*, while Variety B has *Rudradāmasa putras*; and *Dāmajādaśrīya* and *Dāmaghsādas*. Both are in the usual Sanskritised Prākṛit, but the latter shows a further approximation to Sanskrit. The legend in Variety C is in correct Sanskrit—रुद्रदामनपुत्रस्य क्षत्रपस्य दम (घ....)।

The original name ended in *Ghsada* which seems to correspond to the Persian *Zāda*, 'a son'. The un-Indian combination of *gh* and *s* is therefore supplanted by the Indian *j*; and the resultant *Jāda* is further Indianised by the addition of *śrī*.—(Rapson, *ibid.* CXXII ff.)

- 150 The Gīrnar inscription of Rudradāman knows of *pranaya*, *viṣṭi* and other technical terms of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* in the sense in which they are employed by him.—(K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, *The Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, p. 192). This inscription provides a welcome peep into the provincial administration of Gujarat under the Mauryas.

- 150 Junagadh inscription of Ś. 72 describes Rudradāman I, Western Kṣatrapa, as grandson of Caṣṭana, the great Satrap under Kadphises II of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty, and son and successor of Jayadāman. He is described as destroying the Yaudheyas, twice conquering Śātakarṇī, Lord of the Deccan. Earning for himself the title of 'Mahākṣatrapa' he raised his house to the position of a leading power in the West. His son Damāzda or Dāmajāda succeeded him in 160 A.D.—(ASWI ii, 128; IA., VII, 257)..

The Girnar rock-inscription of Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman inscribed on the western side near the top of the rock, mentions practically the whole of the present Gujarat as the extent of his conquests. His rule extended over nearly the whole of Western India and included the country around Cambay and Saurashtra, Sindh and adjacent portion of Western Rajputana and the Northern Kōnkan. Ānarta-Surāṣṭra-Śvabhra-Marū-Kaccha-Aparānta are among the countries mentioned in order of contiguity.

This monument bears the only known epigraphic record containing the names of Candragupta and Aśoka Maurya.—(Smith, EHI, p. 133; EI, VIII, 42; IA, VII 257). It is the earliest known long inscription in Sanskrit prose.

150

The embankment of the Sudarśana dam burst on account of excessive rainfall and heavy floods in Girnar rivers, in Mārgaśīrṣa of Śaka year 72 (Nov., 150 A.D.). The damage was so great that the *Matī-sacivas* and the *Karma-sacivas* (Councillors and Executive Ministers) of King Rudradāman opposed the proposal of its repairs. But taking into consideration the despair of the local people, Suviśākha, the Pahlava Minister of Rudradāman I and Governor of Ānarta-Surāṣṭra, got it repaired within a short period, without levying any tax or forced labour on the subjects. (*Junagadh Rock-inscription of Rudradāman*, EI, VIII, 44 ff.)

Ante

100

Arab settlements existed in Gujarat at Cheul, Kalyana and Sopara before the rise of Islam. Abul Fida speaks of their having settled in Sopara since early times. In the time of Agatharcides (B.C. 177-100), there were so many Arabs on the Malabar coast that the people had adopted the Arab religion. The Arabs were mostly Sabians at that time. It may, therefore, be safely presumed that Arab settlements existed in Gujarat parallel with this. (Reinaud's 'Abul Fida' CCCL.-XXXIV; Vincent's 'Periplus' 154; Bom. Gaz. Vol. IX, pt. II, p. 1, ff. 1).

C. 100

-200

There is hardly any evidence to know, who were the rulers of Gujarat till the advent of the Śakas on this land. But a dynasty, which may be called by the name of 'Bodhi', was ruling during the first-second century A.D., somewhere in Western India—Gujarat or Saurashtra or some parts of it.

Their coins, are the only source of our knowledge about them, as known from the collection of Bhagwanlal Indraji (BMC. A.K., Intro. clxix). They were Śrī Bodhi, Vīra Bodhi or Vīra Bodhidatta, Śiva Bodhi and Caṇdra Bodhi.

C. 150-78

Dāmajādaśrī I, son of Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman I, struck coins of silver as Mahākṣatrapa between *cir.* 72 (150 A.D.) and *cir.* 100 (178 A.D.) of the Śaka era. So he seems to have succeeded Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman I in *cir.*, 160 A.D. The legend on his coins runs as follows : राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रदामनपुत्रस्य राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस दामजदश्रीयस (Of king Mahākṣatrapa Dāmajadaśrī, son of king Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman.—(Rapson, *ibid*, CXXIV).

- 151 Excepting the Asokan edicts at Girnar, and 200 to 300 years later, the short memorial inscriptions from Añdhāu and two or three later Kṣatrapa records, all other inscriptions, beginning with the famous Rudradāman inscription, are in Sanskrit.

This signifies that already in the 2nd Century A.D., fine, chaste, classical Sanskrit had become a court-language in Gujarat, and remained so, for well-nigh a 1000 years and more. If any part of India is to be considered Aryanized earliest on the strength of epigraphic evidence alone, it would be Gujarat or more strictly Surāṣṭra; for the Rudradāman inscription is the earliest long Sanskrit inscription in India—(H. D. Sankalia, *Historico-Cultural Ethno-Geography of Gujarat*, p. 163).

- 151 Rudradāman boasts that he had no recourse to forced labour or benefactions when he reconstructed the magnificent dam at Girnar. (अपीडयित्वा कर्तव्यप्रणयक्रियाभिः पौरजानपदं जनं स्वस्मात्कोषान्महता धनौघेन.....सेतुं विधाय... ।—Junagaḍh Inscription).

Sanskrit was no doubt known, but was probably confined to the Brāhmanas, who used it for purely religious purposes. But it was under the Kṣatrapas of Malwa and Surastra, as evidenced by the Rudradāman inscription, that the language began to be used for secular purposes.

Sylvain Levi, from the occurrence of certain words, e.g., *Svāmin*, *Sugrahita-nāman*, and *bhadramukha*, even thought that “it must be in the time and the court of the Kṣatrapas that the vocabulary, the technique and the first examples of the Sanskrit drama and everything connected with it, or in other words, those of the really literary Sanskrit literature, were established”. [IA, XXXIII (1904), 169; Sankalia, *Ibid*, p. 163, footnote].

- C. 160 Silver coins were struck by king Kṣatrapa Satyadāman, son of king Mahākṣatrapa Dāmajādaśrī I. (Rapson, *ibid*, 95). The date conjecturally assigned to the reign of Satyadāman as Kṣatrapa was years 119-120, when the coin was first published (R. JRAS. 1899, p. 379). But certain considerations, which were not then taken into account, seem to indicate an earlier date. This was probably concurrent with that of his father as Mahākṣatrapa. (Rapson, *op. cit.* cxxviii f.)

- C. 179-80 Ś. 10(1)—Date on coins of Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasimha I, suggested by D. R. Bhandarkar (ASI. AR. 1913-14, 227 ff.) is hardly acceptable, as he struck coins in year 102.—(Rapson, *ibid*, 86).

- 178 Ś. 100 (= 178 A.D.) Jivadāman, Western Kṣatrapa and Mahākṣatrapa, son and successor of Dāmazāda. He was the first of his dynasty to issue dated coins.

The Kṣatrapa dates, with a few exceptions of Stone-inscriptions, are derived exclusively from coins, it may be noted.

- 180 Rudrasimha I, son of Rudradāman I, began his career as Kṣatrapa not later than the Śaka year 102, which appears on his coins struck as 'Kṣatrapa' for the first time.—(Rapson, *ibid.* cxxv f.)

Rudrasimha I, Western Kṣatrapa, son of Rudradāman and uncle of Jivādāman whom he apparently succeeded is styled 'Kṣatrapa' in the Guṇḍā inscription, and 'Mahākṣatrapa' on his coins—(IA, X, 157; ASWI, ii, 140).

- C. 180-1 Rudrasimha I struck silver coins of the usual type as Kṣatrapa in the Śaka year 102 (180-1 A.D.). The legend on these coins is as follows: राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रसामुत्रस राज्ञो क्षत्रपस रुद्रसीहस। (Of King Kṣatrapa, Rudrasimha, son of King Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman)—(Rapson, *ibid.* cxxvii, 86).

- 181-2 An Ābhīra Senāpati Rudrabhūti, son of Senāpati Bappaka, who had the Kṣatrapa king Rudrasimha I, son of Rudradāman as his Overlord, dug and got built with stones a well (or a bund) at Rasāpadraka, for the benefit and happiness of all creatures (सर्वसत्त्वानां हितसुखार्थम्), in the Śaka year 103 (181-82 A.D.).

This record is known as the 'Guṇḍā Stone-Inscription' of the time of Rudrasimha I, which was rescued from an unused well at Guṇḍā (Hālār Dist., Saurashtra)—(EI. XVI, 235), and is now in the Watson Museum, Rajkot.

- 181-2 The influential position of the Ābhīras at the Śaka court apparently helped Ābhīra Īśvarasena in gaining the throne for himself.

The Ābhīras, like the Mālavas, Yaudheyas, Śibis and others migrated to the south and settled in Rajputana, Sindh and Mahārāṣṭra, when the Bactrian Greeks, Śakas and Kuṣāṇas invaded the north-western parts of India. The Ābhīras did not exclusively follow the profession of cowherds; they occupied high political position under the Kṣatrapa rulers of Western India, as is known from the Guṇḍā stone-inscription above referred to, purporting that Ābhīra Rudrabhūti was a general of Kṣatrapa king Rudrasimha.

The Ābhīras were an ancient race which, according to the *Mahābhārata*, *Harivaṃśa* and the *Purāṇas*, had spread in the western provinces of India from the Punjab in the north to Mahārāṣṭra in the south. They are, in many passages, conjoined with the Śūdras, with whom they appear to be conterminous in the north-western parts of India. They spoke a language which, according to Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaadarśa*, was called 'Apabhramśa'. The *Mahābhārata* and the *Vāyupurāṇa* call them *Mlecchas*, who were not necessarily foreigners. This term, according to Patañjali, signifies those who could not pronounce the Āryan language correctly. Like the Śūdras, therefore, the Ābhīras were probably the aboriginal inhabitants of the country who were gradually absorbed in the Hindu fold. They are not a subcaste included under the genus 'Śūdras', but they are a caste distinct from the Śūdras. (*Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. I, p. 25/pt. 2.72)

The *Mahābhārata* mentions three divisions of the Ābhīras dwelling in the north-west of India, viz., those who lived on the bank of the Sarasvatī, fishermen and mountaineers. (*Subhāparva*, adh. 32, v. 10). We are told that while Arjuna was encamped in that fertile country together with the women of the Vṛṣṇis and the Āndhakas, whom he was escorting from Dvarka to Hastinapur after the internecine fight amongst the Yādavas, he was attacked by the Ābhīras. All these references indicate the eastern part of the Punjab between the Satlej and the Yamunā as the original home of the Ābhīras. From there they appear to have spread beyond Mathura in the east and Saurashtra, Gujarat and Mahārāṣṭra in the south.

Ptolemy mentions Abiria, which was evidently the land of the Ābhīras, which was situated above Pattalene on the Siṁdhu. According to the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, the Śūdras and the Ābhīras inhabited the provinces of Saurashtra, Avanti (Western Mālava), Śūra (Mathura), Arbud (Aravali) and Marubhūmi (Marwad). [*Viṣṇu. Pu.*, aṁśā V, adh. 38, V. 12].

Parāśara, cited in the commentary of the *Bṛihatsamhitā*, groups the Śūdra-Ābhīra country with Saurāṣṭra, Mahārāṣṭra, Siṁdhu-Sauvīra and other countries of the south-west.

The *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* groups the Ābhīras with the people of Bhṛigukaccha, Koṅkana, Mahārāṣṭra, Karṇāṭa, the country on the banks of the Veṇī (Wain-gāṅgā), Nāsikya and others. (*Mark. Pu.*, adh. 58, verses 21 ff.). These seem to point to the modern district of Khandesh as their stronghold in the south, where the Ābhīras or Āhīras predominate.—(V. V. Mirashi: C I I, Vol. IV, Intro. pp. xxxi-iii).

[For the origin of the Ābhīras, and the rise of their power in Western India, see also *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 221-3.]

- 181-2 Silver coins were struck by Rudrasimha I as Mahākṣatrapa in the Śaka year 103—(Rapson, *ibid.* 87, f.). This indicates that he rose to the position of Mahākṣatrapa in Ś. 103, some time after Vaiśākha su. 5, the date when he is referred to as 'Kṣatrapa' in the Guṇḍā stone-inscription—(E I, XVI, 233).

The legend on the coins runs as follows :—राज्ञो महाक्षत्रप रुद्रदामपुत्रस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रसीहस ।—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 87 f.)

- 183-4 Ś. 105: Silver coins struck by Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasimha I—(D. R. Bhandarkar, ASI. A. R. 1913-14, 227 ff.)
- 184-5 Ś. 106: Silver coins struck by Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasimha I—(Rapson, *ibid.* 88).
- 185-6 Ś. 107: Silver coins struck by Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasimha I—(*ibid.* 88).
- 187-8 Ś. 109: Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasimha I struck coins in silver.—(*ibid.* 88).

188-9 Ś. 110: Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasimha I struck silver coins.

188-9 Ś. 110: The evidence of silver coins struck by Rudrasimha I as Kṣatrapa instead of Mahākṣatrapa indicates his degradation to the subordinate position of a Kṣatrapa. D. R. Bhandarkar assigns this degradation to the suzerainty of Mahākṣatrapa Īśvardatta—(ASI. AR. 1913-14, 227 ff.)

The legend on the coins is राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रसिमुत्त ।—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 90 f.)

188-90 A king named Īśvaradatta struck silver coins, which are dated in years 1 and 2 of his reign. The coins are of precisely the same style and type as those of Western Kṣatrapas in all respects, except that the legend contains no patronymic, and gives the date in words, and that the coins are dated in regnal years (Rapson, *ibid.*, 124 f.). It is, therefore, certain that he did not belong to the Kṣatrapa dynasty and that he was very probably an Ābhīra connected with the dynasty represented at Nasik by Īśvarasena—(Nasik cave-Inscription: EI, VIII, 88).

His appearance as Mahākṣatrapa on coins directly imitated from those of the Western Kṣatrapas would seem to bear testimony to a successful invasion of their dominions (Bhagvanlal, JRAS, 1890, p. 657). There is, however, a great controversy about his date. Bhagvanlal supposed that his reign would have commenced in 249 A.D. (*ibid.*); but this view rested on the belief that a break of continuity in the reigns of the Mahākṣatrapas of the regular dynasty was shown by the absence of dated coins between the Ś. years 171 (249 A.D.) and 176.

Further discoveries of coins have, however, proved that there was no such interregnum, but that the dates from 171 to 176 are continuous. (Rapson, *ibid.*, 136-9). Rapson, therefore, consigned his reign to the interval between 158, (the last recorded year of the MKS. Dāmasena, fn. iii), and 161, (the year in which his son Yaśodāman I appears as Mahākṣatrapa, pp. 127-8). —(Rapson, *ibid.*, cxxxvi).

The subsequent discovery of the Sarvānīā hoard has brought to light year 160 of MKS. Yaśodāman I; and hence, even Rapson's view is subject to re-examination. D. R. Bhandarkar re-examined this view in detail, and in conclusion was inclined to assign Īśvaradatta to the years 110-112, which was a period of MKS. Rudradāmana I's degradation to the subordinate position of a Kṣatrapa—(ASI, AR 1913-14, 227 ff.; A. S. Altekar: *The Vākāṭaka—Gupta age*, p. 48; R. C. Majumdar, *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 186).

190-1 Ś. 112—Silver coins struck by Rudrasimha I as Kṣatrapa—(*Ibid.*, 91).

191-2 Ś. 113—The evidence of silver coins struck by Rudrasimha I as Mahākṣatrapa since year 113 (Rapson, *ibid.*, 91, ff.) indicates that he succeeded in regaining his full power by this time.

- 192-3** Ś. 114—Silver coins struck by Rudrasimha I, as Mahākṣatrapa.—(Rapson, *ibid*, 92 ; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.)
- 193-4** Ś. 115—Rudrasimha I struck silver coins as Mahākṣatrapa.—(Rapson, *ibid*, 92).
- 194-5** Ś. 116—Silver coins were struck by Rudrasimha I as Mahākṣatrapa.—(Rapson, *ibid*, 93).
- 195-6** Ś. 117—Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasimha I—(G. V. Acharya, JRASB, NS, XLVII, 97).
- 196-7** Ś. 118—Silver coins were struck by Rudrasimha I as Mahākṣatrapa—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 93).
- 196** A fragmentary stone-inscription in Junagadh Museum records some events related to Vastradatta, Vastunandika, Vastuśarmaka and Rāmaka, and refers it to the reign of Kṣatrapa Svāmin Jivadāman.—(EI, XVIII, 339).
- As Jivadāman struck coins as Mahākṣatrapa (in years 119-120), his reign as Kṣatrapa should be dated not later than Ś. year 118.
- 198** Ś. 120—Silver coins were struck by Jivadāman, son of Dāmajāda I as Mahākṣatrapa. The coins are of the usual type. The legend is राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस दामनदस पुत्रस । राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस जीवदामन । राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य दामजातस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य जीवदामनः । —(Rapson, *op cit.*, 84)
- 197-98** Silver coins struck by Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasimha I (G. V. Acharya, *op.cit.*, 98) indicate that Rudrasimha I was succeeded by Jivadāman during this year.
- The reading of the year 1(00) on his coins led to the assumption of his two different reigns interrupted by the reign of MKS. Rudrasimha I, (Rapson, *ibid*. CXXIV f.) ; but the reading now seems doubtful, and Jivadāman seems to have been Mahākṣatrapa only in succession to Rudrasimha I.
- With the reign of Jivadāman, son of Dāmajādsri I, begins the series of dated coins. From this time onwards, the silver coins of the dynasty regularly have the year of their issue recorded in Brāhmī numerals on the obverse, behind the king's head.—(Rapson, loc. cit., p. cxxiv)*
- 197-8** Ś. 119—Jivadāman struck coins in potin also. The obverse bears a figure of a humped bull and the legend on the reverse is राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस जीवदामन.... । —(Rapson, *ibid*, 85).
- 197-8** Caitra śukla 5—The stone-inscription of Jayadāman's grandson in Sanskrit from the Bawa Pyara caves at Junagadh records a technical phrase connected with Jainism, meaning those who have acquired 'absolute knowledge' (केवल ज्ञान) and is dated during the reign of the grandson of Rājan Kṣatrapa Svāmin Jayadāman, whose name is lost in the missing fragment of the stone. The king may be either Dāmghsāda I or Rudrasimha I, son of Mahākṣatrapa Rudra-

dāman I.—(EI. XVI 241). The reconstructed relevant words are 'केवल[ज्ञान]-संप्राप्ता[न]ति(?) जितजरा or जरामरण...' etc.

The first wave of Jainism passed over Gujarat-Saurāṣṭra when Bhadrabāhu went to the south in the 4th century B.C. Evidence is available in this area from the Kṣatrapa period which consists of earliest reference to a Jaina technical term *Kevaliñāna* in the stone-inscription of Jayadāman's grandson, Dāmajaśrī I, which was found from the Bawa Pyara cave at Junagadh, above referred to. (Banerji and Sukthankar: "Three Kṣatrapa Inscriptions", EI., XVI., p. 239).

198-9 Ś. 120—Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Jivadāman. (*ibid.* 84).

199-200 Ś. 121—Rudrasena I, son of Rudrasimha I, struck coins as Kṣatrapa—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 96; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.* 227, ff.). The legend is *Rājno Mahākṣatrapasa Rudrasihasa putrasa Rājno Kṣatrapa Rudrasenasa*.

This is the earliest known date of his reign as Kṣatrapa.

C. 200 The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata (Ch. XVII, verses 59-62) supplies some information about the Prākṛit languages of this period to be used in a drama. The countries between the Gaṅgā and the sea have a language abounding in 'e'. Surāṣṭra, Avantī and the regions situated on the Vetravatī have a language abounding in 'cha'. People belonging to Himavat, Siṅdhu, Sauvira and others use a language abounding in 'u'. Those who reside between Viṇḍhya and the ocean should use a language abounding in 'na'.

C. 200 Durga, the commentator of *Nirukta*, who is said to be a resident of Jambumārgāśrama (Jambu-mārga in the Narmadā valley, according to the *Mahābhārata*, which is being identified with Jambusara in the Broach District) is assigned to 2nd century A.D.—(U. P. Shah, 'Gujarat nā Keṭalāk Prācīna Paṇḍito' *Buddhiprakāśa*, October, 1952, p. 302).

200 The Mūlavā-sara inscription, written in Sanskrit and in the Brāhmī script refers to the rule of Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi Rudrasena I. This stone-inscription, found on the banks of a large tank at Mūlavā-sara, a village about 10 miles from Dwarka, is since erected in the Dwarka Library compound. It measures 6' x 2'.

It was first noticed by Dr. Bhagavanlal Indraji in Bom. Gaz. I, p. 43. The inscription tells us that it is a sepulchral stele of 200 A.D. The single line engraved breadthwise contains the word *Vāṇijakasya* meaning 'of Vāṇijaka'. The four lines engraved lengthwise record that the stele was erected by the son of Vāṇijaka on the 5th day of the dark half of Vaiśākha in the year 122 (of the Śaka era), which was wrongly read as Śaka 232 in the *Bhavnagar Collection of Sanskrit and Prākṛit Inscriptions* (p. 23). This sepulchral stele (शिलालिपि) was erected for the son of Vāṇijaka, who sacrificed his own life for the sake of his own friend :—

इयं शिलालेखि [उत्थापिता] वाणिज्यस्य पुत्रेण प्रतिजीवितं दत्तं स्वमित्रे [त्राय] हि निजस्य ।
—(A. S. Gadre, *Important Sanskrit Inscriptions : Baroda State*, 1943., pp. 1-4).

Such *laṣṭis* or *yaṣṭis* were, it appears, frequently raised during the Kṣatrapa times, as can be seen from the Añdhāu inscriptions of Ś. 52 also.

A.D. 199-222 The only inscribed object found from the ancient site of Inṭwa (so-called, as it has been yielding bricks of extra size in abundance) was excavated by G. V. Acharya in 1949, who collected relics of a Buddhist monastery in the shape of tiles, terracotta, pottery and the like, and a backed clay-sealing. Inṭwa, is situated on a hill in the midst of thick jungle, about three miles from the famous rock at Junagadh in Surāṣṭra.

The Brāhmī legend of the clay-sealing reads महाराज-रुद्रसेन-विहारे भिक्षुसंघस्य । i.e., the sealing belongs to the congregation of mendicants, at the Mahārāja Rudrasena Monastery. This is one of the earliest Bhikṣu-Saṃgha sealings unearthed in ancient India, so far.

Rudrasena is taken as Rudrasena I, a descendant of Caṣṭana the Kṣatrapa, whose reign-period is known to be 199-222 A.D., on paleographic grounds. This sealing which is round in shape, about an inch in diameter and has a *caitya* symbol in the centre, is the only record that shows that this Rudrasena built a monastery (*viḥāra*) for Buddhist monks at Junagadh—(B. Ch. Chhabra : *Inṭwa Clay-sealing*, El. XXVIII, 174-5).

200-201 According to the Mulwa-sar inscription, above referred to dated in the month of Vaiśākha of the year 122 (A.D. 200-201) Rudrasena had assumed the dignity of Mahākṣatrapa by the beginning of this year.

Clay-seals belonging to *Mahādevī* Prabhudamā described as a daughter of Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasimha I, and a sister of Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena I, have been discovered at Basarh (ancient Vaiśālī) in the Muzaffarpur District of Bihar. It is not improbable that she was married to a chief of the Licchavis who appear to have flourished in that region before the rise of the Guptas.

Rudradāman is mentioned in Junagadh inscription to have attended several *Svayamvaras* ; and the matrimonial alliances of the Kārdamakas point to the gradual absorption of the Scythians into Indian society. There is evidence for the marriages of Kārdamaka girls in the families of the Sātavāhanas of Dakṣiṇāpatha, the Ikṣvākus of Āndhrapatha and probably also the Licchavis of Vaiśālī.
—(*The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 185, 187)

200-1 Ś. 122—Coins were struck by Rudrasena I either as Kṣatrapa or Mahākṣatrapa (Rapson, *ibid*, 97). The king seems to have attained the position of Mahākṣatrapa between Ś. year 121 and 125.

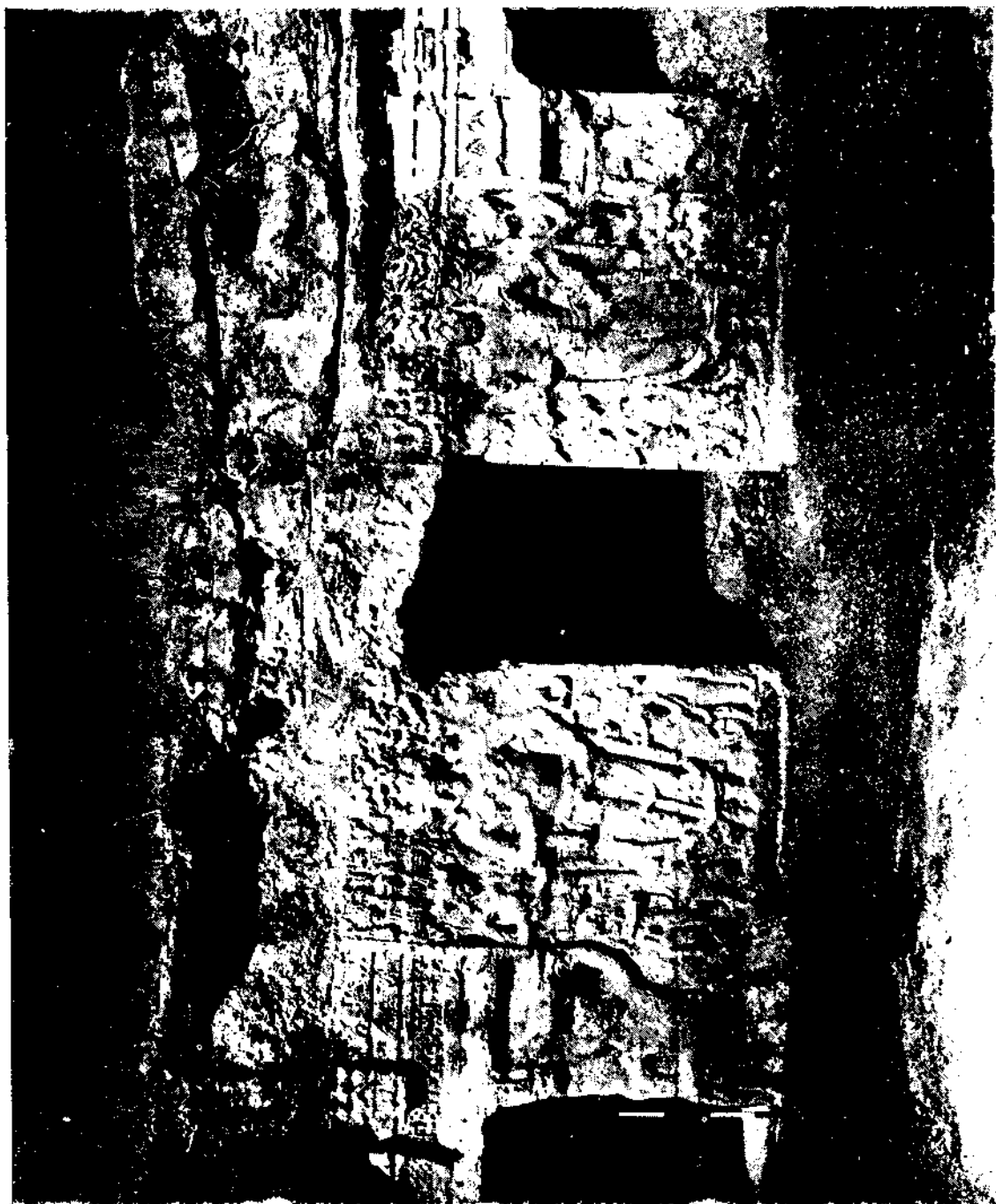
203-4 Ś. 125—Silver coins were struck by Rudrasena I as Mahākṣatrapa—(Rapson, *ibid*, 97 f.).



(A) Talājā-Cave Maṇḍapa, with Caitya-window design Gohilwāḍ, Saurāṣṭra. (p. 92)



(B) Boriā Stūpa Railing, Mt. Gīrnār (p. 90)



Khambhālīdā Cave Facade, Madhya Saurāstra. (pp. 93, 314)

204-5 Ś. 126—Rudrasena I struck silver coins as Mahākṣatrapa—(*ibid.*, 98).

205 A *satra* (alms-house) or a memorial was started (or raised, elevated and created इथाविनं) by the brothers of Kharapārtha, the son of the Pratyāśaka of Mānasa gotra, for getting the happiness of Svarga (स्वर्गमुत्पायेन्) during the reign of Rājan Mahākṣatrapa Svāmīn Rudramukha in Ś. Varṣa 127, Bhādrapada bahula 5, (205 A.D.)—*Gudhā* (near Jasdan, Saurashtra) *Stone-Inscription*, EI, XVI, 230.

As Sankalia has noted (JBBRAS, NS, XII, 104 f.), this meaning of *satra* is fully borne out by the phrase *satra-pracallanārtham* (for the continuation of the *satra*) in the Bagumra Plates of Dhruva III, dated Ś.E. 783, wherein 'satra' is explained by Bühler as '*Sadācrata*' alms-house. (IA, XII, 184 f.). Banerji, also connects the word श्राव्य (?) in the inscription, with स्रज; but the change of स into श्र is difficult to explain.

The word appears to indicate a *līṭh* (लिथ) raised in memory of Kharapārtha by his brothers.—(D. C. Sircar, *Selected Inscriptions*, p. 179, fn.).

In this inscription the word 'सद्रमुच' is found prefixed to all the names of the Mahākṣatrapas given in the genealogy. This is, perhaps, the longest pedigree of the Surāṣṭra and Mālava Kṣatrapas, preserved in an inscription.

206-7 Ś. 128—Silver coins were struck by Rudrasena I as Mahākṣatrapa.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 98).

208-9 Ś. 130—Silver coins were struck by Rudrasena I as Mahākṣatrapa—(*ibid.*, 98).

209-10 Ś. 131—Silver coins were struck by Rudrasena I as Mahākṣatrapa—(*ibid.*, 98).

A potin coin bearing the figure of an elephant on the *obv.* and the usual symbol of eternity on the *rev.* is dated year 131; and, therefore, belongs to the reign of MKS. Rudrasena I—(*ibid.*, cxxx, 105).

210-1 Ś. 132—Silver coins were struck by Rudrasena I as Mahākṣatrapa—(*ibid.*, 99).

211-2 Ś. 133—Rudrasena I struck silver coins as Mahākṣatrapa—(*ibid.*, 99).

A potin coin bearing the figure of an elephant on the *obv.* and the usual symbol of eternity on the *rev.* is to be assigned to the reign of Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena I, as it is dated in the year 133—(*ibid.*, 105).

212-3 Ś. 134—Rudrasena I struck silver coins as Mahākṣatrapa—(*ibid.*, 99 f.).

213-4 Ś. 135—Silver coins were struck by Rudrasena I as Mahākṣatrapa.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 100 f.; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 277 ff.).

214-5 Ś. 136—Silver coins were struck by Rudrasena I as Mahākṣatrapa—(*ibid.*, 101).

215-6 Ś. 137—Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena I—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 102).

216-7 Ś. 138—Silver coins were struck by Rudrasena I as Mahākṣatrapa—(*ibid.*, 102).

- 217-8 Ś. 139—Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena I struck coins in silver—(Rapsen, *ibid.*, 103; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.)
- 218-9 Ś. 140—Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena I—(*ibid.*, 103).
- 219-20 Ś. 141—Rudrasena I struck silver coins as Mahākṣatrapa—(*ibid.*, 104).
- 220-1 Ś. 142—Silver coins were struck by Rudrasena I as Mahākṣatrapa—(*ibid.*, 104; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.)

Square copper coins of the Bull-type were issued during this year and hence they belong to Rudrasena I.—(J. N. Nanavati, JNSI, XIII, 204).

- 222-3 Ś. 1(44)—Silver coins were struck by Rudrasena I as Mahākṣatrapa—(*ibid.*, 104; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.* 227 ff.).

In this year silver coins were also issued by Kṣatrapa Prithvisena, son of Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena I—(*ibid.*, 106). The legend in his coins is राजो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रसेनपुत्रस राजो क्षत्रपस पृथ्वीसेनस । This is the only known date of his reign.

Rudrasena I seems to have been succeeded by his brother Saṅghadāman during this year, as a coin struck by the latter as Mahākṣatrapa is dated 14(4)—(*ibid.*, 107).

The legend on the coins of Saṅghadāman is—राजो महाक्षत्रपस्य रुद्रसीईस पुत्रस राजो महाक्षत्रपस्य संघदात्मनः ।

- 223-4 Ś. 145—Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Saṅghadāman, son of Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasimha I—(*ibid.*, 107).

Saṅghadāmā was succeeded by his brother Dāmasena as Mahākṣatrapa in year 145, as is evident from the coins struck by the latter in this year—(*ibid.*, 108).

The legend on the coins of Dāmasena is *Rājno Mahākṣatrapasa Rudrasimhas putrasa Rājno Mahākṣatrapasa Dāmasenasa*—(*ibid.*, 108).

- 222-6 Mahākṣatrapa Saṅghadāman, the son of Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasimha is known from two of his coins, who seems to have reigned for four years. This Saṅghadāman is identified with the Sandanes, whom the *Periplus* describes as taking the regular mart Kalyan, near Bombay, from Saraganes *i.e.* the Deccan Śātakarṇis; and in order to prevent it again becoming a place of trade, had for bidden all Greek ships to visit Kalyan, and sent under a guard to Bharukaccha any Greek ships that entered its port even by accident.

The only possible Lord of Gujarat either in the second or third century who could have adopted such a policy was the Kṣatrapa of Ujjain in Malwa and Minnagara or Junagadh in Saurāṣṭra. He is the same ruler, who, to encourage foreign vessels to visit Bharukaccha, had stationed native fishermen with well-manned long boats off the Southern Saurāṣṭra coast to meet ships and pilot them through the tidal and other dangers up the Narmada to Bharukaccha. It is

surmised that the Sandanes of the *Periplus* and Ptolemy's North Koṅkan Sādans are the Gujarat Kṣatrapas—(*Bom. Gaz. I*, p. 44-45, footnote).

A.D. After the reign of Mahākṣatrapa Dāmasena (234-39 A.D.), the potin coinage of the Kārdamakas, which is usually attributed to Malwa or some district of that country, seems to have discontinued. This currency is associated with the Mahākṣatrapas. The Kṣatrapas, who probably held sway in Saurāṣṭra and Gujarat, and not in any part of Malwa, did not issue coins in potin. The discontinuance of this coinage is suggested to have denoted that about that time, part of Malwa was lost to the Kārdamaka Mahākṣatrapas, or that the potin currency previously circulating in that district was superseded by the widely used silver coinage.—(*The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 188).

C. 225 An inscription of King Īśvarasena, the son of *Abhira* Śivadatta and Māṭhari (i.e. whose mother was of the Māṭhara gotra) is found in the Nasik cave No. 15—(*Vide*, EI, VIII, p. 38).

Īśvarasena is put in the first half of the 3rd century A.D.—(*Vide*, *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 222).

225-6 Ś. 147—Potin coins bearing the figure of an elephant on the *obv.* and the usual symbols of eternity on the *rev.* which were struck in this year, apply to the reign of Dāmasena.—(*Ibid.*, 113).

The Sonpur hoard of silver coins contains year [1(4)7] on the coins struck by Mahākṣatrapa Dāmasena.—(G. V. Acharya, JRASB, NS. XLVII. 96).

228-9 Ś. 150—Coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Dāmasena.—(D. R. Bhandarkar, *op.cit.* 227 ff.).

229-30 Ś. 151—Dāmasena struck silver coins as Mahākṣatrapa.—(*Ibid.*, 109).

231-2 Ś. 153—Mahākṣatrapa Dāmasena struck coins in silver (*Ibid.*, 110) and in potin.—(*Ibid.*, 114).

232-3 Ś. 154 : Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Dāmasena.—(*Ibid.*, 110). Potin coins, struck during this year, also fall within the reign of Dāmasena.—(*Ibid.*, 114).

Silver coins were struck by Dāmajadaśrī II, son of Rudrasena I as Kṣatrapa. The legend is राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रसेनपुत्रस राज्ञ क्षत्रपस दामजदाश्रयः ।—(*Ibid.*, 115).

233-4 Ś. 155 : Silver coins were struck by Dāmasena as Mahākṣatrapa—(*Ibid.*, 111); and by Dāmajadaśrī II as Kṣatrapa.—(*Ibid.*, 116 ; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op.cit.* 227 ff.).

234-5 Ś. 156 : Silver coins were struck by Dāmasena as Mahākṣatrapa.—(*Ibid.*, 111) and by Viradāman as Kṣatrapa.—(*Ibid.*, 117). The legend on the coins of the latter is राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस दामसेनस पुत्रस राज्ञ क्षत्रपस वीरदाम्नः ।—(*Ibid.*, 117).

Viradāman, son of Dāmasena seems to have succeeded his cousin Dāmajadaśrī II as Kṣatrapa, either in this or in the previous year.

- A.D.** Ś. 157: Dāmasena struck coins in silver as Mahākṣatrapa.—(*Ibid.*, 111;
235-6 D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).
 Viradāman struck silver coins as Kṣatrapa.—(G. V. Acharya, *op. cit.*, 96).
- 236-7** Ś. 158: Mahākṣatrapa Dāmasena struck coins in silver.—(Rapson, *ibid.*,
 111). Potin coins, which bear the date 1(3)8, also belong to this king.—(*Ibid.*,
 114).
- Coins were struck by Viradāman as Kṣatrapa.—(*Ibid.*, 117, no. 2; D. R.
 Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).
- 238-9** Ś. 160: Silver coins were struck by Viradāman as Kṣatrapa.—(Rapson,
 ibid., 120 f.; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).
 Viradāman was succeeded by his brother, Kṣatrapa Yaśodāman, whose
 coins are dated in year 160.—(*Ibid.*, 126; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).
 The legend on his coins is राजा महाक्षत्रपस दामसेनस पुत्रस राज क्षत्रपस वज्रोदाम्नः ।
- In the same year Yaśodāman was in turn succeeded by his brother Vijaya-
 sena as Kṣatrapa. The legend on the coins of the latter runs as follows: राज्ञी
 महाक्षत्रपस दामसेनस पुत्रस राज क्षत्रपस विजयसेनस —(Rapson, *ibid.*, 129 ff., D. R. Bhandar-
 kar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).
- Yaśodāman rose to the position of Mahākṣatrapa in year 160, as known from
 the Sarvania hoard.—(D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).
- 239-40** Ś. 161: Silver coins were struck by king Mahākṣatrapa Yaśodāman, son
 of king Mahākṣatrapa Dāmasena. The legend is राजा महाक्षत्रपस दामसेनस पुत्रस राज्ञी
 महाक्षत्रपस वज्रोदाम्नः ।
- Vijayasena, son of Dāmasena struck coins as Kṣatrapa as well as Mahā-
 kṣatrapa.—(D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.). So he seems to have risen to
 the higher status of Mahākṣatrapa and succeeded Yaśodāman during this year.
- The date 16(1) read by G. V. Acharya on silver coins struck by Viradāman
 is (*op. cit.*, 98) unacceptable, as Viradāman was already succeeded by Yaśo-
 dāman in year 160.
- 240-1** Ś. 162: Silver coins were struck by king Vijayasena as Mahākṣatrapa. The
 legend is राज्ञी महाक्षत्रपस दामसेनपुत्रस राजा महाक्षत्रपस विजयसेनस । (Rapson, *ibid.*, 130 f.;
 D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).
- 241-2** Ś. 163: Silver coins were struck by king Mahākṣatrapa Vijayasena.—
 (Rapson, *ibid.*, 131 f.; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).
- 242-3** Ś. 164: Mahākṣatrapa Vijayasena struck coins in silver.—(Rapson, *ibid.*,
 132; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).
- 243-4** Ś. 165: Vijayasena struck silver coins as Mahākṣatrapa.—(Rapson, *ibid.*,
 133; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).
- 244-5** Ś. 166: Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Vijayasena.—(Rapson,
 ibid., 133; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).

- A.D.** Ś. 167 : Coins in silver were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Vijayasena.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 133 f. ; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).
- 245-6**
- 246-7** Ś. 168 : Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Vijayasena.—(*Ibid.*, 134 ; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).
- 247-8** Ś. 169 : Mahākṣatrapa Vijayasena struck coins in silver.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, f. ; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).
- 248-9** Ś. 170 : Vijayasena struck silver coins as Mahākṣatrapa.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 135. ; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).
- 248-9** Ś. 210 : Silver coins were struck by Bhartrdāman as Mahākṣatrapa.—(D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).

249 The **Kalacuri** or the **Traikutaka Era** must have originated South of the Narmada. Gujarat, Koṅkan and Mahārāṣṭra appear to be the original home of the era, as the earliest records dated in this era come from Central India, Gujarat, Koṅkan and Mahārāṣṭra, including the districts of Nagpur, Nasik and Khandesh. No certain dates of this era come from North India until the middle of the 9th century A.D., *i.e.* until after its introduction in the Cedi country by the Kalacuris. When the Kalacuris migrated to Central India and shifted their capitals to Kālañjara and Tripurī, they took with them the era which they had habitually used in their earlier kingdom, and made it current throughout their dominions.—(V. V. Mirashi, *CII*, Vol. IV, Introduction : Pp. xxiii, xxx).

The Kalacuri era : The dates of the Kalacuri era fall into two groups, *viz.*—(1) the earlier ones down to the year 490 which come from Gujarat and Mahārāṣṭra, where the era had its origin ; and (2) the later ones from the year 522 to the year 969 which come from Vindhya Pradesh, Uttara Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh including Chhattisgarh, where the era was introduced with the extension of the Kalacuri power.

The first group yields an equation *Kalacuri-Samvat 0 = 248-49 A.D.* ; while in regard to the second, the equation is *Kalacuri-Samvat 0 = 247-48 A.D.* In both the periods the Kalacuri year commenced on Kārtika śu. di. I ; but in the earlier period the months were generally *amānta*, while in the later one they were generally *pūrṇimānta*.

According to the testimony of the five early dates, which come from Gujarat and Mahārāṣṭra, the *Kalacuri era commenced on the amānta Kārtika śu. di. I (the 25th September) in 249 A.D.*—(V. V. Mirashi, *CII*, Vol. IV, *Inscriptions of the Kalacuri-Cedi Era, Part I*, 1955, Introduction Pp. xi, xii.)

The earliest known records dated in this era are those of the Traikutakas, beginning with the year 207. The theory that this Era was founded by the Vākāṭakas to mark the foundation of their power (Jayaswal, *History of India : 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.*, 108-11) is found untenable, (A. S. Altekar, *Vākāṭaka-*

Gupta Age, p. 94] ; while the theory of ascribing it to the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena (JRAS, 1905, p. 566) deserves special consideration.—(ABORI, xxvii, 1 ff.).

A.D. 249-50 Ś. 171—Mahākṣātrapa Vijayasena struck coins in silver.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 135 f.; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).

250-1 Ś. 172—Silver coins struck by Vijayasena as Mahākṣātrapa.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 136; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).

C. 249 The Ābhīra ruler Īśvarasena, who bore the title 'Rājan' in the Nāsik cave-inscription of *Circa* 249 A.D. had his father Śivadatta, with no title. He was probably the originator of the so-called 'Kalacuri—Cedi Era'.

Though the Ābhīras themselves spoke an Apabhraṃśa language, unlike the Śātavāhanas, they seem to have patronised Sanskrit. The Nāsik cave-inscription, which though not an official document, is written in a language which is predominantly Sanskrit.

Judging by the extent of his era, Īśvarasena seems to have ruled over a large territory comprising Gujarat, Koṅkan and Mahārāṣṭra. He was followed by nine more kings who ruled for 167 years, and were supplanted by their feudatories, the Traikūṭakas, in *Circa* 415 A.D. Several guilds were flourishing in their kingdom, in which people invested large amounts for making permanent endowments. This indicates that peace, order, and a general sense of security prevailed in the country during their rule.

Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* mentions the Ābhīra Kottarāja, who was murdered in another's house by a washerman at the instigation of his brother. The commentator Yaśodhara says that he was ruling at Kotta in Gujarat, identified with Kotah by some. Kottarāja was probably his personal name. He may have been a successor of Īśvarasena.—(V. V. Mirashi, *CII*, Vol. IV, Intro. : Pp. xxxiii-iv).

C. 250 Īśvardatta, a Mahākṣātrapa, whose coins dated in 'first' and 'second' year, were found with those of the Kṣātrapas, seems to have partially overthrown the Kṣātrapa power about this date. According to Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji, Īśvardatta was the founder of the 'Traikūṭaka', (known later as the 'Kalacuri' or 'Cedi') era originating probably with establishment of his power in the Koṅkan, with Traikūṭa as the capital.

Under Rudrasena, son of Viradāman, the Kṣātrapas appear to have re-established their sovereignty by driving out the Traikūṭakas, who thus dispossessed, retired to Central India, assuming the name 'Haihaya' or 'Kalacuri'. On the final destruction of the Kṣātrapa rule, the Traikūṭakas apparently regained Traikūṭa, about which time Dahrasena (A.D. 456) succeeded to the throne.—(Bom. Gāz. I, 294 ff.).

- 250-2** Ś. 17(2), or 17(3)—Silver coins were struck by king Mahākṣatrapa Dāmajadaśrī III, son of king Mahākṣatrapa Dāmasena—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 137). The legend is राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपसु दामयेनपुत्रसु राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपसु दामजदश्रियः ।

In the Sarvania hoard, D. R. Bhandarkar has read 17(2) and 17(3) on the coins struck by this king (*op. cit.*, 227 ff.). So it is certain that Vijayasena was succeeded by Dāmajadaśrī III during this year.

- A.D. 252-3** Ś. 174—Mahākṣatrapa Dāmajadaśrī III struck coins in silver.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 137 f.; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).

- 253-4** Ś. 175—Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Dāmajadaśrī III.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 138; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).

- 254-5** Ś. 176—Dāmajadaśrī III struck silver coins as Mahākṣatrapa.—(Rapson, 139; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).

- 255-6** Ś. 177—Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Dāmajadaśrī III (D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.) as well as by his successor Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena II.—(*Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, 186 ff.). So it is certain that Dāmajadaśrī III was succeeded by Rudrasena II during this year.

- 256-7** Ś. 178—King Rudrasena II, son of Viradāman struck silver coins as Mahākṣatrapa.—(D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).

- 256** Ś. 17(6) or 17(7) or 17(8) or 17(9)—Silver coins struck by king Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena II, son of king Kṣatrapa Viradāman.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 141).

The legend is राज्ञो क्षत्रप वीरदामपुत्रसु राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपसु रुद्रयेनसु ।

The discovery of the year 178 on the coins struck by his successor (D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.) removes the possibility of the year 17(9).

- 257-8** Ś. 179—Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena II.—(D. R. Bhandarkar *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).

- 258-9** Ś. 180—Rudrasena II struck coins in silver as Mahākṣatrapa.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 142; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).

- 259-60** Ś. 18(1)—Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena II.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 142; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).

- 260-1** Ś. 182—Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena II.—(D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).

- 261-2** Ś. 183—Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena II struck coins in silver.—(Rapson *op. cit.*, 142).

- 262-3** Ś. 184—Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena II.—(*ibid.*, 142).

- 263-4** Ś. 185—Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena II.—(D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).

A D. **Ś. 18(6)**—Rudrasena II struck silver coins as Mahākṣatrapa.—(Rapson, 264-5 *op. cit.*, 143).

The date is definitely read in the Sarvania hoard.—(D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).

265-6 **Ś. 18(7)**—Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena II struck coins in silver.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 143).

The date is definitely read in the Sarvania hoard.—(D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).

266-7 **Ś. 188**—Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena II.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 143 ff. ; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, ff.).

267-8 **Ś. 189**—Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena II.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 144)

268-9 **Ś. 19(0) or 19(x)**—Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena II.—(D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).

269-70 **Ś. 19(1)**—Rudrasena II struck silver coins as Mahākṣatrapa.—(Rapson, *op. cit.*, 144).

The date is definite in the Sarvania hoard.—(D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).

270-2 **Ś. 19(2) or 19(3)**—Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena II.—(*Ibid.*, 144 ff.).

272-3 **Ś. 124**—Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena II.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 145 ; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).

273-4 **Ś. 195**—Silver coins were struck by Rudrasena II as Mahākṣatrapa.—(G. V. Acharya, JRASN. NS XLVII, 96).

274-5 **Ś. 196**—Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena II.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 145).

275-6 **Ś. 197**—Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena II.—(D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff ; G. V. Acharya *op. cit.*, 97).

275-6 **Ś. 197**—Silver coins were struck by Viśvasimha, son of Rudrasena II as Kṣatrapa.—(D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).

Until the time of Viśvasimha no coins struck by Kṣatrapas have been known for nearly 36 years.

276-7 **Ś. 198**—Kṣatrapa Viśvasimha struck coins in silver.—(*Ibid.*)

276-8 **Ś. 198 or 199**—Silver coins were struck by Rudrasena II as a Mahākṣatrapa.—(D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).

277-8 **Ś. 199**—Silver coins were struck by king Kṣatrapa Viśvasimha, son of king Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena II.—(Rapson, *op. cit.*, 147 ff.). The legend is राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रसेन पुत्रस विश्वसिंहस ।—(D. R. Bhandarkar, *ibid.*, 227 ff.).



(A) Pot-sherd from Beṭ Saikhoddhāra (pp. 93-94)
Reads न न्द क स ।



(C) Inṭvā Seal (p. 91)
Reads महाराजस्त्रसेनविहारे भिक्षुसंप्रय ।

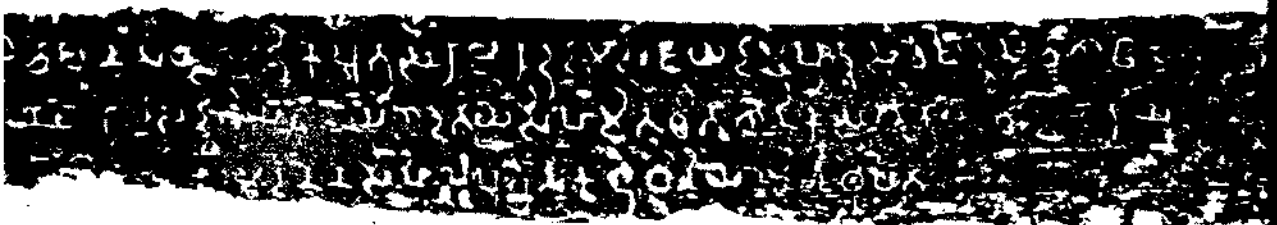


(B) Somanātha Pot-sherd (pp. 94, 314)
Reads द स म पु सि ती ।



(D) Ghosunḍi Inscription (Chitodgaḍh Dist, Rājasthān)
(p. 44)

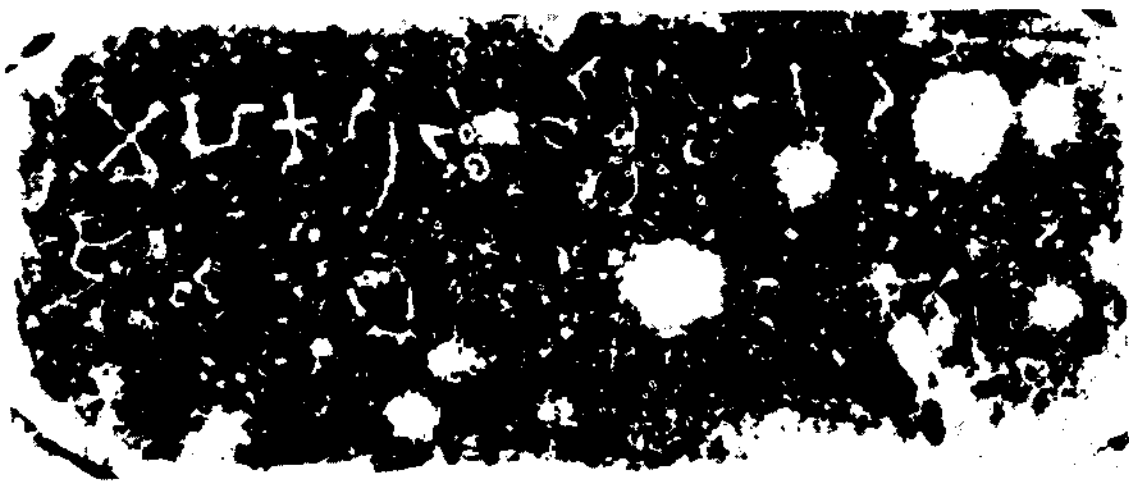
- Reads (1) ...न...गजयनेन पराशरपुत्रेण स...
(2) ...जिना भगवद्भ्यां संकीर्णवासुदेवाभ्यां
(3) ...भ्यां पूजा-शिला-प्राकारो नारायणवटे का[रितः]



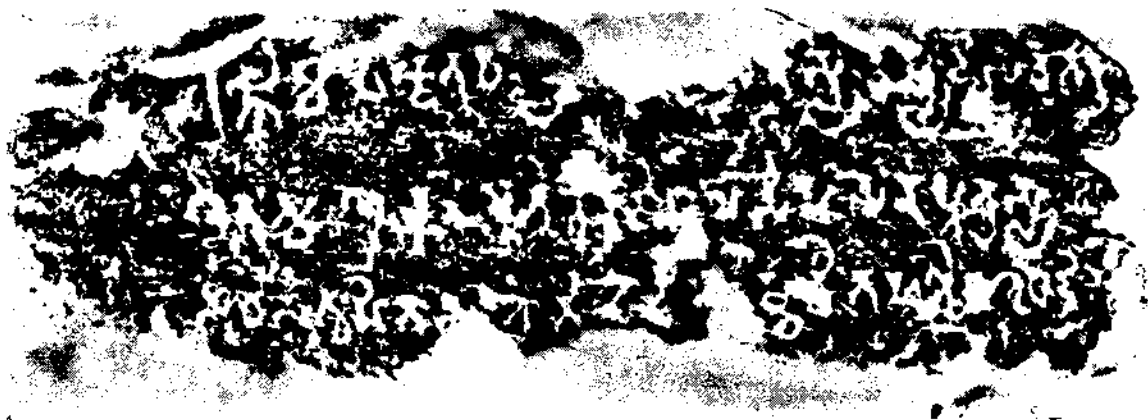
2) Anđhāu Stone-Inscription of the Joint Rule of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman, dated Ś. 52, 130 A.D. Bluj Museum, (p. 62)

The three lines read :—

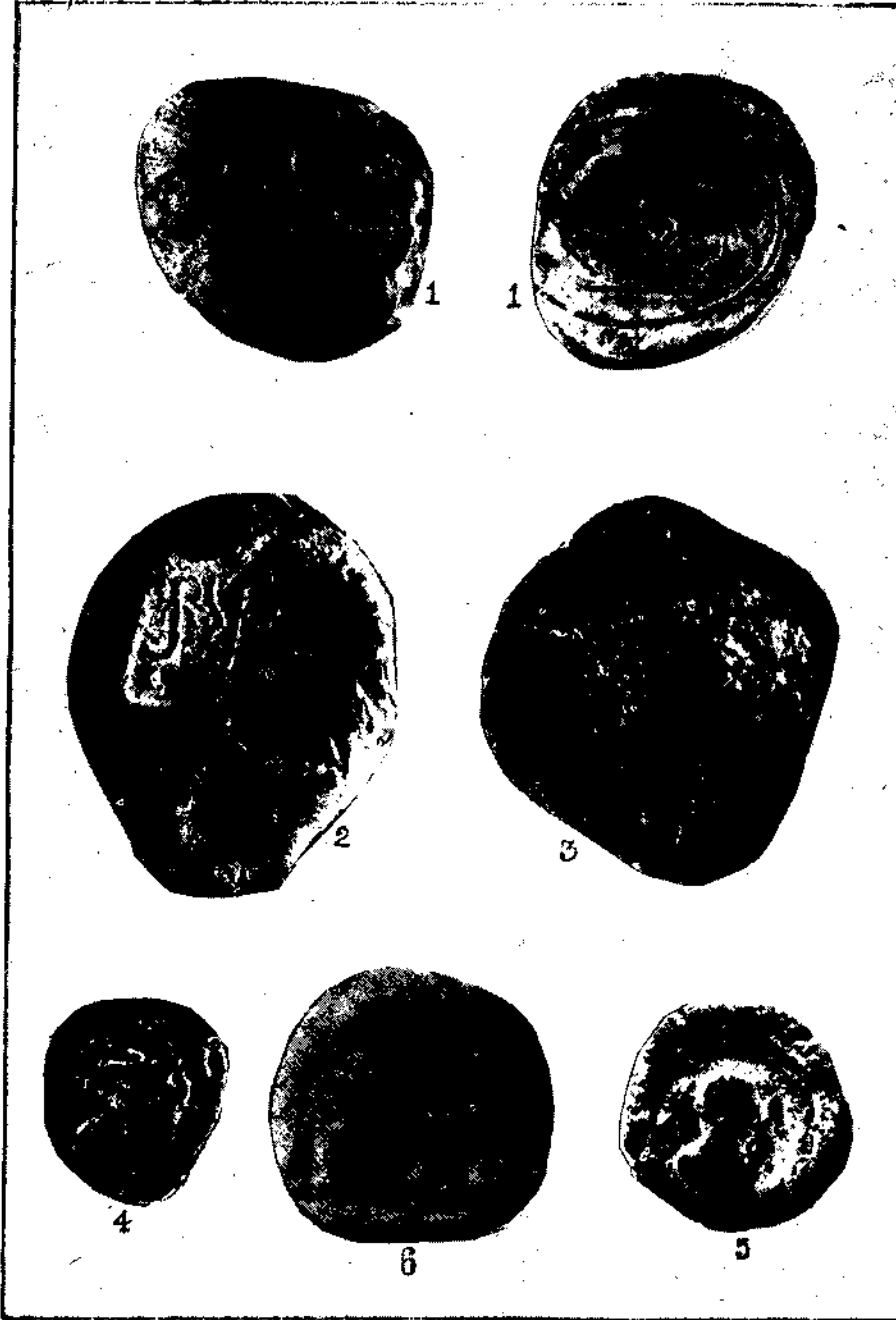
- (1) राज्ञो चाष्टनस्य [मो]निकपुत्रस्य राज्ञो रुद्रदामस्य जयदामपुत्रस्य वर्षे दिपंचात्रे ५०, २
- (2) फगुणवहुलस्य द्वितियं वा २ वशादत्राये सीहमितथिता मेनिकगोत्राण शामणस्ये
- (3) मदनेन सीहिलपुत्रेन कुटुम्बिनिये [लट्टि] उथापिता ।



3) Fragmentary Kṣatrapa Stone-Inscription from Lāṭhi, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (p. 94)
Reads only महाक्षत्र स्वामीरुद्र...नी..... ।

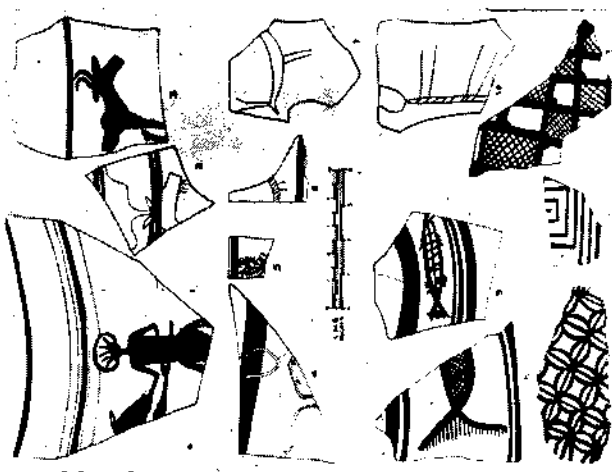


4) Fragmentary Kṣatrapa Stone-Inscription, Rajkot Museum, (pp. 94, 314)
Reads clearly only : राज्ञो महाक्षत्रस्य...स्य .दस... ।



Seals

(1-1) Akoṭā Seal and Sealing: show Prancing horses. p. 95; (2) Tīmervā Inscribed Seal, seems to read कालिकेयस । p. 94; (3) Vadnagar Terracotta Inscribed Seal: Reads शुभनपुत्रस व्रतारस । p. 94; (4) Navsāri Lead Seal, with an Iranian horse and Dragon-tail. p. 95; (5) Vadnagar Uninscribed Seal, shows a woman with a flower in hand p. 94; (6) Elephant Seal, excavated by Rev. Father Heras, from Valā (Valabhī Period), p. 197.



(A) Painted and Incised pottery
from Rosaḍi, Aṭkoṭ, Prabhāsa
(p. 315)



(B) A Head from the Kuṇḍa at Sojitrā,
near Cambay: (p. 315)
(Vallabha Vidyanagar Museum)



Rāṣṭrakūṭa Seal of a Garuḍa,
the Vāhana of Viṣṇu.
[See Plate XXVIII (B) *Infra*]

Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasēna II also.—(G. V. Acharya, *op.cit.*, 96)

- A.D.** Ś. 200—Kṣatrapa Viśvasimha struck coins in silver.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 148 f.;
278-9 D. R. Bhandarkar, *op.cit.*, 227 ff.).

The evidence of coins struck by Viśvasimha as Mahākṣatrapa as well as by Bhartṛdāman as Kṣatrapa (D. R. Bhandarkar, *ibid.*) indicates that the former as Kṣatrapa was succeeded by Bhartṛdāman as Kṣatrapa. And Viśvasimha rose to the status of Mahākṣatrapa during this year.

- 279-80** Ś. 201—Silver coins were struck by Kṣatrapa Viśvasimha (Rapson, *ibid.*, 149). The date is doubtful, for the king had already risen to the status of Mahākṣatrapa in year 200.

Ś. 201—Silver coins were struck by Bhartṛdāman, son of Rudrasena II, as Kṣatrapa. The legend is राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य राज्ञः क्षत्रपस्य भर्तृदामनः ।—(Rapson, 153; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).

- 280-2** Ś. 20(2) or 20(3)—Silver coins were struck by Kṣatrapa Bhartṛdāman.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 154).

In the Sarvania hoard, the year 202 is definitely read.—(D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).

- 281-2** Ś. 203—Silver coins were struck by Bhartṛdāman as Kṣatrapa.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 154).

- 282** Between Ś. 201 and Ś. 211—Silver coins were struck by Viśvasimha as Mahākṣatrapa. The legend is राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य रुद्रसेनपुत्रस्य राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य विश्वसीदस ।—(*Ibid.*, 152).

The Sarvania hoard indicates that Viśvasimha's career of Mahākṣatrapa can be assigned to years 200 to 204—(cf. D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).

- 282-3** Ś. 204—Kṣatrapa Bhartṛdāman struck coins in silver.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 154; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).

In the same year Bhartṛdāman struck coins as Mahākṣatrapa.—(*Ibid.*). Therefore, it is certain that he rose to the status of Mahākṣatrapa during this year.

- 283-4** Ś. 205—Silver coins were struck by Bhartṛdāman as Mahākṣatrapa.—(D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).

- 284-5** Ś. 206—Mahākṣatrapa Bhartṛdāman struck coins in silver.—(Rapson, *ibid.*).

D. R. Bhandarkar read year 20(6) on coins struck by Viśvasena, son of Bhartṛdāman, as Kṣatrapa.—(*op. cit.*, 227 ff.).

- 285-6** Ś. 207—Bhartṛdāman struck silver coins as Mahākṣatrapa.—(Rapson, *ibid.*).

- A.D. 209—Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Bhartṛdāman.—
 287-8 (*Ibid.*).
 287 Ś. 20(5) or 20(6) or 20(7) or 20(8) or 20(9)—Silver coins were struck by Bhartṛdāman as Mahākṣatrapa. The legend on the coins is राजो महाक्षत्रपः भर्तृदामनः ।—(*Ibid.*, 155 ff.).
 289-90 Ś. 211—Bhartṛdāman struck coins as Mahākṣatrapa.—(Rapson, *op. cit.*, 156; D. R. Bhandarkar, *ibid.*).

This date is read by G. V. Acharya on silver coins struck by Viśvasimha as Mahākṣatrapa (JRASB. NS. XLVII, 96, ff.); but the reading is unacceptable, as Viśvasimha was already succeeded by Bhartṛdāman in or before year 204.

- 290 Rise of the Gupta dynasty founded by the feudatory Mahārājas Gupta and Ghaṭotkaca. It became supreme under Candragupta I (A.D. 319), whose empire extended under his successors over the greater part of Northern India, from Nepal to Narmadā and from Kaccha to Western Bengal. The Guptas maintained their sway until the early part of the sixth century A.D., when their power, broken at first by invasions of the Hūnas under Toramāṇa and Mihirkula, appears to have been finally overthrown by a feudatory king, Yaśodharman during the reign of Narasimhagupta Bālāditya.—(CI, iii; Int. 17).
 290-1 Ś. 212—Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Bhartṛdāman.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 157; D. R. Bhandarkar, *ibid.*).
 291-2 Ś. 213—Silver coins were struck by Bhartṛdāman as Mahākṣatrapa.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 157 f.; D. R. Bhandarkar, *ibid.*).
 292-3 Ś. 214—Mahākṣatrapa Bhartṛdāman struck silver coins.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 158; D. R. Bhandarkar, *ibid.*).
 293-4 Ś. 215 (?)—Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Bhartṛdāman.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 158.)

The year is definitely read in the Sarvania hoard.—(D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).

In the same year Viśvasena struck coins as Kṣatrapa.—(*Ibid.*).

- 294-5 Ś. 216—Silver coins were struck by king Kṣatrapa Viśvasena, son of king Mahākṣatrapa Bhartṛdāman. The legend is राजो महाक्षत्रपः भर्तृदामपुत्रः राजो क्षत्रपः विश्वसेनः ।—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 162; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).

Silver coins were struck by Bhartṛdāman as Mahākṣatrapa.—(G. V. Acharya, *op. cit.*, 96).

- 295-6 Ś. 217—Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Bhartṛdāman (Rapson, *ibid.*, 158) and Kṣatrapa Viśvasena.—(*Ibid.*, 162; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).

The office of Mahākṣatrapa seems to have been in abeyance for about 50 years after this year.

- A.D. 296-7** Ś. 218—Silver coins were struck by Kṣatrapa Viśvasena.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 169).
- 297-8** Ś. 219—Silver coins were struck by Kṣatrapa Viśvasena.—(*Ibid.*, 162).
- 298-9** Ś. 220—Kṣatrapa Viśvasena struck silver coins.—(*Ibid.*, 164). The date is definite in the Sarvania hoard.—(D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).
- 299-300** Ś. 221—Kṣatrapa Viśvasena struck coins in silver.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 165 ; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).

C. 300 Vātsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtra*, the famous work on Erotics, gives an account of several of the customs of its people ; and describes the ladies of Aparānta and Lāṭa country as capable of enduring the nail and other marks in erotic sports.—(*चण्डोग्ये मन्दसीकृत आपरान्तिवयलदयश्च* II, 5.26)

C. 301-313 At the Council at Valabhi under Devardhi Gaṇi, not only the work written at Mathura and Valabhi were rewritten and codified, but some more were added to the previous list. A serious attempt was made to reconcile the differences in the two versions pertaining to the two councils held by Skandil Sūri at Mathura and by Nāgārjuna at Valabhi. In cases where this failed, one of the variants was noted in the original *Āgamas* and the other in the *Commentary*.

Practically in the Jaina council, the literature was written according to the version of Mathura council as a connected link, while the *Joisa-Karaṇḍaga* (treating of astronomical knowledge) is based on the Valabhi version. The practice of referring to a third party for a controversial question was set aside, and codified works were looked upon as the final authorities. The codification acted as a preventive from further modernization of the sacred works. Several *Vannaas* (descriptions) occurring in more than one *Āgama* and which were written only once at full length but were not reproduced *ad verbatim* a second time, were referred to merely by writing the word *Vanna* and indicating the source of the parallel description. Thus the result of the Jaina council at Valabhi was the enshrining of the sacred lore in a Mss form.

300-1 Ś. 222—Silver coins were struck by Viśvasena as Kṣatrapa.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 65 ; D. R. Bhandarkar, *ibid.*)

Jinadāsa Gaṇi, in his *Cārṇi* (p. 38) on *Nandisutta*, refers to the *Māthuri Vācanā* of the Jaina canons ; but he does not mention the date of this restoration. It took place under the guidance of Skandila and can be assigned to a date sometime between Vira Saṃ. 827 (A.D. 300) and 840 (A.D. 313).

Strange to say, he is silent about a similar attempt made almost simultaneously by Nāgārjuna Sūri at Valabhi (modern Vala in Surāstra) known as *Valabhi Vācanā*.

Fortunately, both these attempts are noted by Bhadrēśvara Sūri in his *Kahāvali* (so far unpublished). Hemacandra Sūri in his commentary on

Yogaśāstra (III, 120) says that the Jaina canon was got written by Sūris, such as Nāgārjuna and Skandila.—(H. R. Kapadia, *A History of Canonical Literature of the Jains*, pp. 61-62).

- A.D.** Ś. 223—Viśvasena struck coins in silver as Kṣatrapa.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 165;
301-2 D. R. Bhandarkar, *ibid.*)
302-3 Ś. 224—Silver coins were struck by Kṣatrapa Viśvasena.—(Rapson, *ibid.*,
 165; D. R. Bhandarkar, *ibid.*)
303-4 Ś. 225—Silver coins were struck by Viśvasena as Kṣatrapa.—(Rapson, *ibid.*,
 165 f.; D. R. Bhandarkar, *ibid.*)
304-5 Ś. 226—Kṣatrapa Viśvasena struck coins in silver.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 166;
 D. R. Bhandarkar, *ibid.*)

In the same year silver coins were also struck by Rudrasimha II, son of Svāmi-Jivadāman (*Ibid.*). Hence Viśvasena appears to have been succeeded by Rudrasimha II during this year.

With Viśvasena the line of Caṣṭana seems to have come to an end. Svāmi-Jivadāman seems to have belonged to a younger branch of the royal family (JRAS, 1896, p. 660). For, he bears none of the titles which may be regarded as distinctively royal in character.—(Rapson, *cf. cit.*, cxli).

The history of this royal family is marked by the conspicuous absence of any coins struck by Mahākṣatrapa. The office of Mahākṣatrapa, therefore, seems to have been in abeyance during the rule of this family.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, cxli f.).

- 305** Ś. 227—Coins were struck in silver by Kṣatrapa Rudrasimha II, son of Svāmi Jivadāman. The legend on the coins is स्वामी जीवदामनवपुस राजा क्षत्रपस रुद्रसीहस । —(Rapson, *ibid.*, 170; D. R. Bhandarkar, *ibid.*).

The date read by G. V. Acharya as 22(2) or 22(7) on coins of Viśvasena (*op. cit.*, 98) is unacceptable, as Viśvasena was already succeeded by Rudrasimha II in year 226.

- 306** Ś. Varṣa 228. *Vaiśākha śuddha saptaṃś*: The Junagadh Museum inscription discovered from excavations in the Bava Pyara Caves refers to the date of the reign of Rājān Kṣatrapa Rudrasimha II, son of Jivadāman. The inscription, however, contains no reference to any event.—(WMR, AR. 1929-20, 7).
306-7 Ś. 228—Silver coins were struck by Rudrasimha II as Kṣatrapa.—(D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).
307-8 Ś. 229—Silver coins were struck by Rudrasimha II as Kṣatrapa.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, *op. cit.*, 170; D. R. Bhandarkar, *ibid.*).
308-9 Ś. 230—Kṣatrapa Rudrasimha II struck coins in silver.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 171; D. R. Bhandarkar, *ibid.*).
309-10 Ś. 231—Silver coins were struck by Kṣatrapa Rudrasimha II.—(*Ibid.*, 171; D. R. Bhandarkar, *ibid.*).

- A.D.** Ś. 232—Silver coins were struck by Rudrasimha II as Kṣatrapa.—(D. R. Bhandarkar, *op.cit.*, 227 ff.)
- 310-1**
- 310-2** Ś. 23(2)—Silver coins were struck by Rudrasimha II as Kṣatrapa.—(Rapson, *op. cit.* 171).
- 312-3** Ś. 234—Silver coins were struck by Kṣatrapa Rudrasimha II.—(D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.)
- 313-4** Ś. 235—Kṣatrapa Rudrasimha II struck coins in silver.—(D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*).
- 314-5** Ś. 236—Rudrasimha II struck silver coins as Kṣatrapa.—(*Ibid*).
- 315-6** Ś. 237—Kṣatrapa Rudrasimha II struck coins in silver.—(*Ibid*).
- 316-7** Ś. 238—Silver coins were struck by Kṣatrapa Rudrasimha II.—(*Ibid*).
- 317** Ś. 23(9)—Silver coins were struck by Kṣatrapa Rudrasimha II.—(Rapson, *op. cit.*, 172).
- 316-7** Ś. 238—Silver coins were struck by Yaśodāman II, son of Rudrasimha II, as Kṣatrapa.—(D. R. Bhandarkar, *op.cit.*, 227 ff.)
- 317-8** Ś. 239—Yaśodāman II struck silver coins as Kṣatrapa. The legend on the coins is राज्ञो भवपस रुद्रसीधुवस राज्ञो भवपस यशोदामनः ।—(Rapson, *op cit*, 175; D. R. Bhandarkar, *ibid*).

C. 319 From *Daśakumāracarita* we learn that in the historical age, Valabhī was the capital of Surāṣṭra, and prior to it, Girinagara was so. It was destroyed in Vira Saṁvat 845 i.e. V. S. 375. (= 319 A.D.). This is according to *Tiṭhogaṭiś : Prabandha Cintāmaṇi* (V), *Purātana-prabandha-saṁgraha* (XXXVII, p. 83) etc. A similar event took place in V. S. 845, (= 789 A.D.) and this gave a fatal blow to this city, from which it could not regain its original prosperity.—(JPI, Pt. I, p. 399).

319-20 The epoch of the **Gupta Era** is 318-19 A.D., and its first year was 319-20 A.D. It probably dates from the coronation of Candragupta I, Vikramāditya, son and successor of Ghaṭotkaca, who had married a Licchavi princess of Pāṭaliputra. This Candragupta, chief of a small principality near Pāṭaliputra, and first of the Gupta dynasty, became independent; and founded the 'Gupta Era' beginning at 320 A.D.

The *Valabhī Era*, it appears, was adopted by the Maitrakas, who were the feudatories of the Guptas. The latter introduced the 'Era of the Guptas' in Surāṣṭra. Their subjects, however, consequently gave it the name of their masters, and referred to it as the 'Valabhī era'.

320-1 Ś. 242—Coins of silver were struck by Kṣatrapa Yaśodāman II.—(Rapson, *op. cit.*, 177; D. R. Bhandarkar, *ibid*).

- A.D.** **Ś.** 243—Silver coins were struck by Kṣātrapa Yaśodāman II.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 177; D. R. Bhandarkar, *ibid.*).
- 321-2** **Ś.** 244—Yaśodāman II, struck coins in silver as Kṣātrapa.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 177; D. R. Bhandarkar, *ibid.*).
- 322-3** **Ś.** 245—Silver coins were struck by Kṣātrapa Yaśodāman II.—(D. R. Bhandarkar, *ibid.*).
- 323-4** **Ś.** 24(6)—Silver coins were struck by Kṣātrapa Yaśodāman II.—(*Ibid.*, 177).
- 324-5** **Ś.** 24(7) Silver coins were struck by Kṣātrapa Yaśodāman II.—(D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).
- 325-6** **Ś.** 249—Kṣātrapa Yaśodāman II struck silver coins.—(*Ibid.*, 177).
- 327-8** **Ś.** 252—Silver coins were struck by Kṣātrapa Yaśodāman II.—(*Ibid.*, 177).
- 330-1** **Ś.** 253—Silver coins were struck by Kṣātrapa Yaśodāman II.—(*Ibid.*, 177).
- 331-2** **Ś.** 254—Kṣātrapa Yaśodāman II struck coins in silver.—(*Ibid.*, 177; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).
- 332-3** **Ś.** 254—Kṣātrapa Yaśodāman II struck coins in silver.—(*Ibid.*, 177; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).
- 340** Mahākṣātrapa Rudradāman II is known only from the coins of his son Svāmi-Rudrasena III. He appears as the first 'Mahākṣātrapa' to reign, since the time of Bhartṛdāman (last known date Ś. 217). His relationship to his predecessors is quite unknown.
- From this period all the princes of this dynasty assume on their coinage the title 'Svāmi' prefixed to the proper name.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, cxi iii).
- 348-9** **Ś.** 270—King Mahākṣātrapa Svāmi-Rudrasena III, son of king Mahākṣātrapa Svāmi-Rudradāman II struck coins in silver. The legend on his coins is *महाराजाधिराजः स्वामी रुद्रसेनः* (Ibid., 179; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).
- This is the earliest known date on his coins. Between years 254 and 270 there remains a long interval during which no coins of Mahākṣātrapas or Kṣātrapas are known to have existed.
- 349-50** **Ś.** 271—Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣātrapa Svāmi Rudrasena III.—(*Ibid.*, 179).
- C. 350-1** **Ś.** 272—Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣātrapa Svāmi-Rudrasena III.—(Rapson, *op. cit.*, 179; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).
- 351-2** **Ś.** 273—Svāmi-Rudrasena III struck coins in silver as Mahākṣātrapa.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 179; D. R. Bhandarkar, *ibid.*).
- 356** Some of the Jaina monks who could not act up to the conduct prescribed for them in the Jaina Scriptures, began to stay in Jaina temples of Gujarat etc. in Vira Samvat 882 (A.D. 356). Thus *ratiya-vāsa* started from this date.¹

¹ See, Upadhyaya, Kaviardhana Gaṇi's *Pattavali-sarodhara*, (p. 151) published in *Pattavali-samuccaya* (pl. I). *Jaina Tatvadarśa*, and SHJH (p. 137).

A.D. Between Ś. 27(4) and 27(9)—Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena III.—(D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.).

358 Kṣamāśramaṇa Mallavādin Sūri, the author of *Dhāraṇī Nityakro*, defeated the Bauddhas in debate which took place in the assembly of Śilāditya, a ruler of Valabhī in Vira saṃvat 884 (358 A.D.); and conquered their Vyañtara. Thereupon Śilāditya expelled the Bauddhas from Śrāṣṭra.¹

¹ *Caturāṃśatīprabandha* (VII, V, 47-56).

For his various episodes, see the Sanskrit Introduction (pp. 19-29) to *Nityakro* (G.O.S., No. XCVI).

358-64 Ś. 280 to Ś. 284—Square coins of lead were struck, which belong to Svāmi-Rudrasena III. The obverse bears the figure of a humped bull and the reverse is marked with the usual symbols of eternity. The date is incised on the reverse, which contains no legend.—(Rapson, *op. cit.*, 187).

These coins range for five years from Ś. 280 to Ś. 284.

362-3 Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi-Rudrasena III.—(G. V. Acharya, JRASB, NS, XLVII, 96).

363-4 Year 28(5) has been read on silver coins struck by Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi-Rudrasena III.—(G. V. Acharya, *ibid.*, 96 and 98).

364-5 Ś. 286—Silver coins were struck by Svāmi-Rudrasena III as Mahākṣatrapa.—(Rapson *ibid.*, 189).

Lead coins bearing this date belong to his regime.—(*Ibid.*, 188).

365-6 Ś. 287—Silver coins were struck by Svāmi-Rudrasena III as Mahākṣatrapa.—(G. V. Acharya, *op. cit.*, 96).

366-7 Ś. 288—Lead coins of the same type were struck by Svāmi-Rudrasena III.—(Rapson, *op. cit.*, 188).

367 Ś. 28(4) or 28(6) or 28(7) or 28(8) or 28(9)—Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi-Rudrasena III.—(*Ibid.*, 181).

367-8 Ś. 2(9)0—Silver coins were struck by Svāmi-Rudrasena III as Mahākṣatrapa.—(*Ibid.*, 181).

368-9 (?) Ś. 29(9)—Silver coins were struck by Svāmi-Rudrasena III as Mahākṣatrapa.—(*Ibid.*, 182).

370-1 Ś. 292—Svāmi-Rudrasena III issued silver coins as Mahākṣatrapa.—(*Ibid.*, 182 ff.).

380 Lakulīśa or Lakuleśa, the founder of the specialised form of the Pāśupata system, is believed to have hailed from Kāroḥaṇa or Kāvāyīroḥaṇa (modern Kārvan) in the Lāṭa-maṇḍala, in about the 2nd Century A.D. Dr. Bhandarkar equates the Lakulīśa sect with the Pāśupatās, of which Lakulīśa was the first Pāśupata, later on known as Lakulīśa-Pāśupatas.—(Sri R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and other Sects*, p. 162).

A definite reference to 'Daṇḍadhara' Lakuliśa is obtained (जयति च भगवान् दण्डः रुद्रपण्डः अग्रनायकः निखम् ।) from the Mathura Pillar Inscription of Candragupta II. of the Gupta year 61 (= 380 A.D.). This inscription records the installation of two images of the Pāsupata Ācāryas: one who is tenth from Kauśika, and the other is fourth from Parāśara. Their names, however, end in 'Vimala' (Kapilavimala and Upamitavimala), unlike the later names which end in 'Rāśi' and 'Śiva'.

The preponderance of Śaiva cult in Gujarat was due to the influence of Lakuliśa, who was deified before the fourth century. Evidence of Lakuliśa—worship has been found at many places in India; at Mathura; in Karnāṭaka, Gujarat, Rajputana, and at Bhuvaneśvara. In his *Survaḍarśanasamgraha*, Mādhavācārya recognised Lakuliśa-Pāsupata doctrine as one of the sixteen important philosophical systems of India. Later, the Pāsupata sect was associated with the great resurgence which began from the 7th century, and spread over the whole country. 'Gaṇakārikā' (G.O.S., No. 11) records the traditional history of Lakuliśa, which says that it was the twenty-eighth incarnation of Maheśvara, that took place at Kāyāvarohaṇa. Fifth century sculptures of Lakuliśa have been traced from Gujarat.

In the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, (Ch. 23, verses 210-213) Maheśvara is represented to have declared to Brahmā that in the 28th *Mahāyuga*, when Viṣṇu would be born as Vāsudeva, he would incarnate himself as a Brahmacārin, by name Nakulin, after entering a dead body in the burial ground of Kāyārohaṇa, a land of the *Siddhas*.

In the inscription dated A.D. 971 in the temple of Nāthadvārā, near that of Ekaliṅgajī, a few miles north of Udaipur, it is stated that Śiva became incarnate as a man bearing a club (*lakula*) in his hand, in the country of Bhṛgukaccha. There is another inscription of the 13th century A.D. (the 'Cintra Prasasti') which records that Śiva became incarnate in the form of Bhaṭṭāraka Śrī Lakuliśa and dwelt at Kārohaṇa in the Lāṭa country.

The Pāsupata Ācāryas from Western India were very much respected, as is known from the Badaun inscription (in Lucknow Museum) of Lakkhanpāla (C. 12th century), where Dharmasīva, an ācārya who hailed from Anahilpaṭṭan was placed in charge of a temple at Badaun.—(Dr. Keilhorn, El. I, p. 61-66, 1888).

371-2 Ś. 293—Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi-Rudrasena III.—(*Ibid.*, 183).

372-3 Ś. 294—Silver coins were struck by Svāmi-Rudrasena III as Mahākṣatrapa.—(*Ibid.*, 183 ff.).

Lead coins struck in this year, also, belong to his regime.—(*Ibid.*, 188).

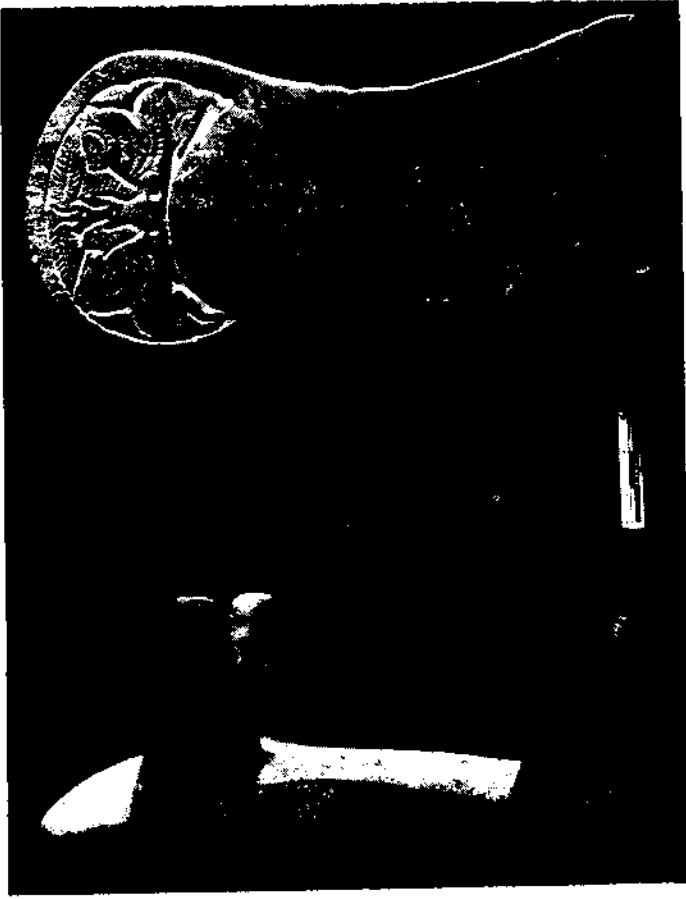




A Kṣatrapa Male Head from Tāpi river, Surat Museum. (p. 315)
(Front view) (Back view)



(A) Legged quern from Salaḍ, Baroda Dist.,
Baroda Museum (p. 97)



(B) Legged quern from Kārvaṇ, Ramanlal Desai's collection.
(p. 97)

Plate XXI A



(A) Stone Lion-capital, from Baroda (p. 96)



(B) Stone Lion-capital, from Baroda (p. 96)



(C) Roman handle
from Akotā.
(p. 98)



(D) Figure of Eros on the
Roman handle from Akotā.
(p. 98)



(E) A Cameo from Kārvaṇ
(p. 98)

C. 375 If the Śakas mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta be identified with the Western Kṣatrapas, the Kṣatrapas of Western India were subjugated by Samudragupta, who had subdued almost all kings of India. Could Rudradeva, mentioned among the subdued kings of Āryāvarta, be Svāmi-Rudrasena III of this dynasty?—(Fleet, CII, III 6 ff.).

376-7 Ś. 298—Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi-Rudrasena III.—(Rapson, *op. cit.*, 184).

378-9 Ś. 300—Silver coins were struck by Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi-Rudrasena III.—(*Ibid.*, 185).

379-80 Ś. 301—Silver coins were struck by Svāmi-Rudrasena III as Mahākṣatrapa.—(G. V. Acharya, *op. cit.* 96).

382-3 Ś. 304—Silver coins were struck by king Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi-Simhasena, sister's son (*śasrīya*) of king Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi-Rudrasena III. The legend is : (a) राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस स्वामी रुद्रसेन राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस स्वसीयस्य स्वामी सिहसेनस, or (b) महाराज क्षत्रप स्वामी रुद्रसेन स्वसीय राज्ञा महाक्षत्रपस स्वामी सिहसेनस्य ।—(Rapson, *op. cit.*, 189 f.).

384-5 Ś. 30(6)—The date on a coin struck by Svāmi-Simhasena is possibly, Ś. 306.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, 189 n. 2).

386 Between Ś. 304 or 30(6) and 310 or 31(x)—Silver coins were struck by king Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi-Rudrasena IV, son of king Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi-Simhasena : The legend on the coins is राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस स्वामी सिहसेनपुत्रस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस स्वामी रुद्रसेनस । (*Ibid.*, 191).

Only a single coin of this king is known and the date cannot be read on this specimen. The reign of this king is, therefore, to be included in the earlier part of the period limited by the region of Svāmi-Simhasena and Svāmi-Rudrasimha III.—(*Ibid.*, cxlix).

388 Ś. 310—Rudrasimha III, Western Kṣatrapa, son of Satyasimha : Satyasimha is known only from his son's coins ; his date cannot, therefore, be fixed. As the Western Kṣatrapas were conquered by Candragupta Vikramāditya about Gupta Sam. 90 = A.D. 409, Rudrasimha may have been the last of the dynasty.

C. 388 Ś. *Varṣa* 3(-) *Kārtika* Śu. 5—A memorial monolith was raised in honour of Ābhīra Vasurāka of Harihavaka *gotra*. The date has referred to the reign of Rājan Mahākṣatrapa, whose name is untraced. The record makes a reference to Caṣṭana and Bhartṛdāman, but the expression for their relationship is not read satisfactorily.—(WMR, 1923-24, 12).

C. 388 Between Ś. 304 or 30(6) and 310 or 31(x)—Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi-Satyasimha is at present known only from the coins of his son, Svāmi-Rudrasimha III. His relation with his predecessors is unknown. He may perhaps have been a brother of Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi-Simhasena. The reign of this king, is, therefore,

to be included in the latter part of the period limited by the reigns of Svāmi-Siṃhasena and Svāmi-Rudrasimha III.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, cxlix).

- C. 389** Ś. 31(0) or 31(x)—Silver coins were struck by King Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi-Rudrasimha III, son of King Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi-Satyasimha. The legend on the coins is राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस स्वामी सत्यसिंहपुत्रस राज्ञ महाक्षत्रपस ।—(*Ibid.*, 192).

The date which is the last known of the Western Kṣatrapas, is uncertain, as it is impossible to ascertain whether there was a unit figure in the date or not. It is more possibly 31(x).

- C. 390-1** Ś. 312—G. V. Acharya read this date on coins struck by Svāmi-Rudrasena III (*op. cit.*, 96); but the reading is hardly acceptable, as Rudrasena III was already succeeded by Siṃhasena in or before year 304. Possibly the coins may belong to Svāmi-Rudrasena IV. In that case the date on the coins of Rudrasimha III must be 31(x) and not 310.

- C. 400** Skaṇḍasvāmi, the author of a portion of a *Rigveda Bhāṣya*, and a commentary on *Nirukta*, was the teacher of Harisvāmi, the commentator of *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, who hailed from Puṣkara; and called himself a 'Dharmādhyakṣa' of the king Vikramāditya, who is very probably Candragupta II.—(U. P. Shah, 'Gujarātnā Keṭalāk Prācīna Paṇḍito, *Buddhiprakasa*, October, 1952, p. 302).

- C 400** In about the 4th century A.D., we find the grandson of a merchant from Surāṣṭra, recording the establishment of a Stone umbrella in honour of the Lord Buddha in Kośām (ancient Kauśāmbi.)—(R. C. Majumdar: 'Kośām Inscription of the reign of Mahārāja Vaiśravaṇa'; *Epi. Ind.* XXIV, p. 146).

III

ANTIQUITIES

Vihāras and Stūpas : During the Kṣatrapa rule in Saurāṣṭra in the 2nd century A.D., several *Vihara*-caves seem to have been carved. The most notable amongst these excavations are the Caves at Junagadh, Sana, Talaja, Dhank, Jhinjhurijhara (Siddhasar), and those newly discovered at Khambhalia. Not all of them are Buddhistic, as it was formerly supposed; and from their simple architectural forms, it is not always very easy to determine their exact period. But there is reason to believe that many of them belong to the Kṣatrapa period.

Boria Stūpa : As remains of architecture, the *Stūpas* that have upto now been found or uncovered in Western India are of brick. The great Boriā Stūpa in the jungles on the Girnar Mt. at Junagadh had a solid burnt-brick core. The relics were imbedded in this brick-structure at a considerable depth above ground level. The find of a few sculptured marble-slabs, however, showed that some stone-work existed, probably as railing and the crowning umbrella. The relics are on view at the Junagadh Museum.—(Plate XIV a)

Sopara Stūpa : The relics from Sopara Stūpa, which are assigned to the middle of the 2nd Century A.D. were discovered by Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji in 1882 at a depth of 12 feet from the top of the mound at Sopara in a regularly built chamber of bricks of the early centuries of the Christian era. They consisted of a large stone-casket with a lid, which when opened disclosed copper-casket; around which, eight bronze images of Buddha were arranged. These images which belong to the 7th or 8th centuries will be referred to in the Maitraka Period of Antiquities.

A coin of Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi found inside the silver casket is the only type of Western Kṣatrapa fabric issued by the Āndhra king; and this happens to be the only coin of this type discovered in the Aparānta or the Konkan country, the two other specimens, which were found in Saurāṣṭra and Baroda and now lay in the British Museum, are not so well preserved as this. Yajñaśrī was a younger contemporary of Rudradāman, and his occupation of the Kṣatrapa territories may account for the gap between the earlier and the later reigns of Rudradāman I as Mahākṣatrapa. The date of the present coin can then would be Śaka 110-112 (188-190 A.D.).—(K. N. Dikshit, *Dr. Bhagvanlal Commemoration Volume*, JGRS, 1939)—(Plate XIV b)

Rudrasena Vihāra : The remains of a Buddhist monastery (*Vihāra*) of the time of Rudrasena I (199-222 A.D.) were excavated at Iñṭwā on the Girnar hill, about three miles from the famous rock at Junagadh in 1949 by Shri G. V. Acharya. Tiles, terracottas, pottery etc. were found in the excavation; but the most remarkable object that was unearthed was the baked clay-sealing, round in shape, 1.1" in diameter, with a *cailya* symbol in the centre and a Brāhmī legend which states that the seal belonged to the Bhikṣusamgha of the Mahārāja Rudrasena Monastery. This is said to be one of the earliest Bhikṣu-samgha seals unearthed in ancient India so far. (B. Ch. Chhabra, *El.*, XXVIII, 174-5)—(Plate XVII C).

The first trial pit at the depth of 3 feet disclosed a wall 2 or 3 feet deep, built with the bricks 18" × 12" × 3". Ultimately a rectangle measuring 66" × 58" was dug out which exposed brick-flooring of the same size bricks. On clearing the main courtyard upto the floor-level, two steps each on all the four sides were found. The floor was paved with two layers of bricks. A platform 5½' × 8½' was also traced touching the western wall, probably meant as a seat for the preacher.

Excavation on the eastern outer structure brought to light six rooms (10' × 10' each) with a verandah in front, 5 ft. wide, in very good condition; the rooms on all sides were then unearthed which were almost of the same dimensions. Among the eastern rooms the fourth from the south turned out to be a double room 26' in length. This peculiarity was noticed also in the eastern rooms of one of the Vihāras excavated at Taxila. The verandah opened out into a big room 16' × 3' which contained two water-closets 7' × 5' on the south. Touching the outer wall of the northern rooms, a *puccā* gutter 10" in breadth ran upto 37" in length.

Of the antiquities found there, mention may be made of a complete tile reconstructed by piecing together the broken pieces, measuring 10" × 7", with two holes. It was probably used for roofing or covering the gutter. Two silver coins were unearthed. A few rusted tiny copper-coins were also picked up at the excavation. An iron dovetail with one nail intact, indicates the existence of a wooden roof. Parts of earthen jugs, cups, bowls, drain-cover tiles, stone weights, four-legged rectangular grinding stone with pestle, pieces of mica etc. were found in large number, which proves the existence of a well-populated ancient Vihāra of the Buddhist monks.—(G. V. Acharya : 'Excavation of a Buddhist Vihāra at Intācā Hill in Gīrnar at Junagadh' : Gujarat Samachar (Daily), October 1949).

Uparkot Caves : The caves at Uparkot in Junagadh are cut into two floors, with a frieze ornamented with *caitya*-windows and chequer carvings.—(Plate X). Majority of the smaller caves in this group are rectangular halls with a verandah in their front, supported by square or octagonal pillars. This plan of the early *vihāras* is often met with in the caves of the 2nd century in Mahārāṣṭra. In one of them we come across a pillar with a pot-shaped capital which can easily be compared with such capitals of pillars in the caves of the Sātavāhana period in the Deccan.—(M. G. Dikshit, 'History of Buddhism in Gujarat,' *Journal of Guj. Res. Soc.*, 1946, Nos. 2 and 3).

In these caves are found certain religious symbols, identified as *Svastika*, *Bhadrāsana*, *Nāndi-pada*, *Minayugala* and *Kalaśa*, which, however, are common to both the Buddhist and the Jaina. From other architectural features, the caves appear to be Buddhist. The form of these caves is later than that of the earlier caves of Western India; it shows some features of wooden construction, as wooden frames are copied here. But they are earlier than that of the almost identical *caitya*-window at the Gop temple; and others at Elura and Cave I at Ajanta.

It is, however, difficult to date these caves with ornamentation so little, but so varied and rich on the pillars and the *Caitya*-window. Several phases of the Uparkot caves seem to extend for about seven centuries (100-700 A.D.). These caves, most probably were Buddhistic, Jaina, and then converted to Buddhism as in the 7th century, when Hiuen Tsiang went to Junagadh, he found there convents and monks of the Sthavira sect of the Mahāyāna.—(Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujarat*, pp. 49-51).

Talājā Caves : The caves at Talājā in the south-east of the peninsula of Surāṣṭra, and at Dhānk in the once Gondal State, seem to belong to two or three periods. The 'Caitya'-cave and the plain cells belong to pre-Christian period, when the Buddhist *Bhikṣus* first came over to Gujarat in C. 200 B.C. The cells and halls which have the Jaina symbols and advanced type of pillar-forms, belong to the second period *i.e.* the period of the later Kṣatrapas (Circa A.D. 200-300).

Out of the 30 caves at Talājā, which are definitely Buddhistic near the mouth of the river Śetruñjī, on the north-west of the solitary rock, only one needs description and

comment. It is a large hall (75 feet × 67 feet and 17 feet high) known as Ebhal Maṇḍapa, with no cells, nor any partition walls dividing the verandah and the cells within. On the facade, there are large *caitya*-windows, with a broad band of *Vedikā* (rail-pattern) below them. The *stūpa* in the Caitya has its capital attached to the roof. This characteristic feature is noticed in many Caityas in Mahārāṣṭra such as at Karad, Kuda, Mahad and Junnar. (M. G. Dikshit, *Ibid*, p. 104). The cave appears to have been carved in the early Christian era.—(Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujarat*, p. 51-52)—(Plate XV A).

Sāpā Caves : The caves at Sāpā, near the village Vāṅkiā, are 62 in number, assigned to this period. Of them, the largest is similar to the hall at Talājā. The pillars supporting the roof have bulging water-jar shaped capitals and bases resembling those in the Nahapāna's cave at Nasik. By the side of this is a *Caitya*-cave, known as 'Blīma ni Corī', 18 ft. wide, 31 ft. deep, and 13 ft. high. The *Caitya* or the votive *Stūpa* is 8 feet in diameter, very plain and without ornament. There is no ambulatory passage in the cave. The caves are Buddhistic and not Jaina as suggested by some.—(Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujarat*, p. 52).

Ḍhāṅk Caves : The Ḍhāṅk caves from the old name 'Ḍhāṅkagiri' in old Gondal State, 30 miles from Junagadh have indications of early Jaina settlements. Out of the many Buddhist caves near Siddhasar in a ravine called Jhinjhirijhar in Saurāṣṭra one is in good condition, containing a *Vedikā* of the early type, with broad bands. Inscriptions noticed on some stones in these caves, assign them a date of 2nd century A.D. (Burgess, A.S.W.I., II, p. 152). The central figure in the first niche in the cave is identified as being that of Ādinātha, and each side-niche has a nude figure seated in a *padmāsana*, its body erect and motionless. The sculpture carved in low relief on the face of the rock higher up the ravine is also of Ādinātha. Here, adjoining Śāntinātha is a figure standing in *Kāyotsarga* pose. It has long ear-lobes, and ringlets of hair on the shoulders, resembling a few images from Mathura. On the *śiṅhāsana* with a wheel and a deer in the centre, and a lion at each end is found a figure of Pārśvanātha, with a triple umbrella shown by three strokes. These Ḍhāṅk sculptures are the earliest Jaina images in Gujarāt and Saurāṣṭra.—(H. D. Sankalia, *The Ḍhāṅk Caves*, J.R.A.S., 1938, p. 426-30)—(Plate XVb).

Khambhālī Caves : The group of five caves at Khabhalia, a village near Gondal, newly discovered by P. P. Pandya in 1959, belongs to the same or to a later age of the Kṣatrapa period. All the caves from Saurāṣṭra have generally no sculptural ornamentation, excepting the religious symbols in the Bava Pyara Math cave. One of these caves from the Khambhālī group has, however, an imposing facade to the entrance of an assembly hall with life-size human sculptures on both the sides.—(Plate XVI a).

Mauryan Inscriptions : Excepting the Aśokan inscription at Girnar during the Mauryan period, no other inscribed object has come to light so far from Gujarat. The inscribed potsherd discovered by Hiranand Shastri in 1938 from Beṭ Śāṅkhoddhāra near

Dwarka, is written in letters of the early Brāhmī script of about the 200 B.C., and reads नन्दकस [Of Nandaka],—(ARDAB, 1938, pp. 13-14)—(Plate XVII a).

The other potsherd of the Mauryan period is discovered from excavations at Somanath, conducted by P. P. Pandya in 1955. It appears to be a fragment of a water pot.

These inscribed objects, though belonging to the Mauryan period, are, for facilities of reference, treated with similar inscribed objects of the Kṣatrapa period.

Ksatrapa Inscriptions : The stone-inscription from Mulavād-sar near Dwarka and the set of four inscribed stones found from Añdhān in Kaccha (now in the Fergusson Museum, Bhuj) are memorial stones called *Laṣṭis*. These are the first examples of inscribed hero-memorial stones, later so common in Rajasthan and the Deccan.

The fragmentary stone-inscription from Lāthi (Saurashtra), now exhibited in the Epigraphical Gallery, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, has only a few letters which can be made out; the others are beyond decipherment: The first line reads like महाक्षत्रा स्वामी ... जी ... ।—(XVII b).

In the Bava Pyara group of caves, one inscription of Kṣatrapa Jayadāman has been found on an isolated stone, which seems to have been brought there from outside. From the expression 'केवलद्विज्ञान संप्राप्तानाम्', which is particularly used by the Jaina sect, it seems likely that the caves were occupied by the members of that sect at a subsequent date.

The other stone-inscription discovered only recently by P. P. Pandya adds to the small group of Kṣatrapa epigraphical antiquities, which otherwise are in ample evidence in form of the numerous coin-legends.

Inscribed Seals : The Iṭwā Sealing discovered from excavations at Iṭwā, on Mt. Girnar, reads महाराजसदसेनविहारे भिक्षुसंघस्य, and is assigned to 199-222 A.D. period—(B. Ch. Chhabra Shastri, El. XXVIII, pp. 174-5)—(Plate XVII c)

The terracotta seal from Timberva near Karvan, from the collection of the late Rājaratna Ramanlal Desai, though tentatively deciphered has letters in Brāhmī characters of the later period of the Kṣatrapa rule. It may be कानिकेयकस ।—(R. N. Mehta, JOI—). It was first published in Bom. Univ. Jour., 1950 by M. R. Majumdar—(Plate XVII a)

The clay-seal found from the levels dating 200-600 A.D., from Vadnagar excavations undertaken by Dr. B. Subbarao in 1953, is inscribed in characters of the 2nd-3rd centuries which resemble the writings on the early Kṣatrapa coins. The words are read as अभूत पुत्रस त्रानास । —('Of protector—the son of Śabhūta'). It appears to be a sealing of some local governor.—(B. Subbarao & R. N. Mehta, *M. S. Univ. Journal*, March 1955, pp. 21-35)—(Plate XVIII a)

Impressed Seals : The other sealing from Vadnagar is an impression of the right profile of some individual with rather plain coiffeur, gathered up in a bun at the back; aquiline nose and almost triangular bust. The figure holds in its hand possibly a flower

with visible petals, held near the nose, as if smelling it. The motif on it which may be a wine-glass held to drink, looks like an imitation of some Roman figure.—(*Ibid*, p. 32) —(Plate XVIII b)

The excavations at Akota, the site of old Añkoṭṭaka, near Baroda, conducted by Dr. B. Subbarao in 1951-52, laid bare two clay-seals struck from the same die, probably made of stone, with prancing horses either fighting or in a romantic posture with a star of a typical Graeco-Roman style. The great vigour and the realistic representations speak highly of the art. One of these seals actually bears the string-marks at the back, showing that the seal was affixed on a lump of clay put on the string.—(*Baroda Through the Ages*, 1953, pp. 87, 109) —(Plate XVIII c).

A lead seal from Navsari (in the Baroda Museum) is in a mixed style (the Iranian horse, but with an Iranian dragon tail), engraved by a Hellenistic Artist.—(H. Goetz, *Handbook of Baroda Museum Collections*, 1952, p. 16)—(Plate XVIII d).

Terracottas : The terracottas which reveal the complex cultural and ethnic set-up of the age are the different types of clay figures which were made for definite *vratas*, *pūjās* and socio-religious festivities, and were, according to custom, immersed in ponds and rivers immediately afterwards. Terracotta figurines have been found from Junagadh, Amreli, Vala, Rangpur, Prabhasa, Vadnagar, Karvan, Baroda and Kamrej. Terracottas of Gaṇeśa, the Buddha and figures of animals like the ram, the elephant, the dog and the camel were found from Gohilvad Timbo, Amreli, the latter of which appears to have been inhabited about the early centuries of the Christian era.

Excavations in 1935-36 at Gohilvad Timbo, outside the town of Amreli, situated between two rivulets, the Thebi and Vaḍi, yielded two fragmentary terracotta figurines of Buddha and a Bodhisattva, which have been assigned to the beginning of the Christian era.—(ARADBS. 1935-36, p. 21 : Pl. VII, fig. 3-4) —(Plate XIX)

Conch-shells : Conch-shell ornaments have been found in abundance from Gohilvad Timbo, which is outside the town of Amreli; and it appears, a factory of cutting, polishing and decorating conch-shells was in evidence in this area, the supply of the best conches being from the sea near Beṭ Śaṅkhoddhāra. Pieces of shell-bangles of various type and design are found from all the ancient sites, to which may be added the names of Koṭyarka-Mahuḍi, Vadnagar, Karvan, Nagarā and other places—(ARDABS. for 1935-36, 1936-37, 1938 and 1939).

In the Kṣatrapa levels at Vadnagar were found large number of *śaṅkha*-conches in various stages of manufacture. The varieties of decorations and designs found here have not yet been recovered from any site in India so far.

Red Polished Ware : The Red Polished Ware, the crude red, red and black ware and painted red ware with designs in black are found from layers of the Kṣatrapa period at Baroda, Timberva, Vadnagar, Vala and other places which suggests the import and successful imitation of the technique of making a fine pottery resembling the Roman Samian ware. Red polished ware sites in Saurāṣṭra were discovered at Kālavad (Dist.

Halar) and at Arenā, Borichā, Sutrāpādā and Bhaṇḍāriā, all in Sorath District—(A. Ghosh, *Indian Archaeology, 1954-55—A Review*). Red Polished Ware has been discovered from more than 32 sites in Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra.—(B. Subbarao, *Baroda through the Ages*, p. 6; *Personality of India*, p. 40, 2nd Ed.). The Roman affinity of Red Polished Ware at Vadnagar was confirmed by the associated find of an imitative intaglio in clay depicting a woman with flower in hand—(A. Ghosh, *Indian Archaeology: A Review: 1953-54*).

Crystal Reliquary: A crystal reliquary, which is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ " high and 3" in diameter and consists of two parts, a body and a lid (now in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay) was discovered by Pandit Bhagvanlal from the Sopara Stūpa (JBBRAS, 1881-82, p. 307). The Stūpa from which it was recovered along with other sacred relics could be assigned to the period of Yajñaśrī, the Śātavāhana king of the 2nd Century A.D. Another crystal reliquary was excavated at Mirpur-khas now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay). This points out that the art of cutting hard stones is very ancient. Egypt, Chaldea, Ninevah, Babylon, ancient Iran and India produced gems and beads, cameos and engraved seals in hard stone, which must have been held in great demand by the ancient world.—(Moti Chandra, 'Art of Cutting Hard Stone Ware in Ancient India', *JGRS*, Vol. I No. 4, 1939, p. 73).

Sculptures: No sculptures of the Kṣatrapa period have so far been published. A small figure of a lion seated on its hind legs with its face partly mutilated, was obtained from the foundation-trench of the Indumati Mahal at Baroda by V. R. Talwalkar, the State Engineer. It was probably once the top-piece of a free standing column. Three more small but beautiful lions, now in the Baroda Museum, were found from Navsari.—(Plate XX a). The lion-motif was probably the royal symbol of the Kṣatrapas just as the boar was of the Cālukyas. The motif of a lion trampling over an elephant seen in early sculptures was possibly introduced by the Kṣatrapas or the Śakas, in commemoration of the victory of the foreign *Simha-dhvaja* over the native *Gaja-dhvaja* of the Śātavāhanas.

The life-size portrait statues of the Śaka-Kuṣāna kings—Wema Kadphises, Kanīṣka, and Caṣṭana (See p. 55 *infra*)—all belonging to the last quarter of the first century, and clad in Central Asian Scythic dress—in the Mathura Museum, are in a class and style apart. The dress and footwear of the Kanīṣka statue and the inscription across the surface of the lower part of the enormous heavy and angular robe at once indicate that the artist was not an Indian but most probably a Scythic national. The solid and compact drapery is treated in harsh angles and flat lines sharply chiselled. This tradition of angularity was perhaps passed on in the *composition* of the seated or standing Buddha-Bodhisattva images of Mathura.—(*The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 523).

The torso of the youthful portrait of Caṣṭana, (Plate XIII) was discovered from the Devakula of the Kuṣāna emperors, unearthed by Pandit Radhakrishna in 1911 from the side of Tokri Tilā in Māt village, situated about 8 miles north of Mathura.

The life-size sculpture is clad in a long tunic held by a beautiful belt and long trousers. The figure evidently carried a sword fastened by means of a strap. The Brāhmī

inscription on this figure reads *Śaṣṭana*, which is understood as only a different form of the name Caṣṭana, founder of the Śakā dynasty of Western India with its capital at Ujjain. The statue having been found with others of the Kusāṇas is suggestive of some relationship with Kanīṣka (A.D. 78-101), who seems to have wielded authority over Western India through Mahākṣatrapa Caṣṭana.—(V. S. Agrawala, *Handbook of Sculptures in Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Mathura, 1939*, p. 14).

A head from Sojitra, now in the Vallabhavidyanagar Museum, may be assigned to c. 200.-300 A.D. i.e. to the Kṣatrapa period from its headdress and other peculiarities.—(A. V. Pandya, *Vallabhavidyanagar Bulletin* No. II, 1958).—(Plate XX b)

Stone Querns : Beads, stoppers, terracotta figurines, querns, bone and ivory objects, pieces of conch-shell bangles, rings etc. and metallic objects of iron, copper, lead and gold of this period have been found in excavations in Gujarat.—(A. Ghosh, *Indian Archaeology : 1953-54—A Review*).

A few legged querns with the design of two composite animals facing a tree or a taurine symbol are generally attributed to the Indo-Greek period, because this motif is believed to have developed in the Achaemenian period and was current after that in the distant parts of the Iranian Empire. The elements of this motif are seen on the rhyton from Kuban and the armlet of the Oxus treasure, now preserved in the Leningrad Museum. These affinities suggest that this motif was brought to India by some of the inhabitants of the Oxus area or of the Western Iranian Steppe. The Indo-Scythian stone quern with Achaemenian leographs, having ibex-horns and flanking the sides of a tree was obtained from Salad, a village not far from Baroda.—(H. Goetz, 'An Early Indo-Scythian Monument', *Baroda Museum Bulletin*, Vol. III, Pt. I, 1947).—(Plate XXI a).

A four-legged stone quern with hornless gryphons and with a taurine symbol replacing the tree was found from Karvan, since forming the late Rājaratna Ramanlal Desai's Collection.—(M. R. Majumdar, 'Antiquities from Karvan', *Bom. Uni. Journal*, January 1950).—(Plate XXI b)

Another complete quern of sandstone with a similar, but Indian motifs from Karvan is acquired by the Department of Archaeology, M. S. University of Baroda.

Legged querns are found from Vadnagar and Amreli in Gujarat and from Karad, Kolhapur, Nasik, Ujjain, Maheśvara and Taxila also. Dr. Sankalia has ascribed a 'Maurya-Guptan Age' to such querns, as they come from the early historic periods.—('Cultural Significance of Saddle Querns', *Journal Anthropological Society of Bombay*, 1950, Ns; Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 35-37 and Plates I to IV).

Roman Contacts : The Indo-Greek period in Gujarat history marks the beginning of the trade-relations between Rome and India, which continued during the Kṣatrapa period also. A handle of a Roman bronze jug, along with fragments of trefoil-shaped neck of the amphora to which the handle was fitted, was discovered from the site of old Añkottāka (Akota) near Baroda. The Roman identity of the handle is known from the

figure of Eros, the God of Love, who as an oarsman is plying with an oar, pointing to the aspect of the Aphrodite taking the rôle of his mother, the protectress of the Roman and Greek navigators coming to distant India. It is an important material evidence of the Roman trade in Gujarat which once passed through Bharukaccha to Ujjain and Mathura by way of Karvan and Baroda. According to the *Periplus*, the imports from Barygaza included wine, porcelain, perfumes, vessels of copper and brass.—(M. D. Desai, *Baroda Museum Bulletin*, Vol. VII, Pts. I-II, 1949-50)—(Plate XXI c). Such handles and similar Roman bronze vessels were found from Brahmapuri excavations near Kolhapur, with a typical Hellenistic art-tradition.

The beautiful Roman Stone Cameo of some patrician woman was discovered from Karvan, the place of Lakuliśa fame.—(R. N. Mehta, *M. S. Univ. Journal*, 1954)—(Plate XXI d, enlarged)

Coins*: The coins of the Kṣaharāta, Āndhra and Kārdamaka *i.e.* the Western Kṣatrapas are obtained from various places in Saurāṣṭra and Gujarat, mostly from Junagadh and Bharukaccha. In the absence of more details regarding the mode of government, the coins of the Western Kṣatrapas form an excellent series; because each coin gives the name of the king, from the legends on which, a connected account and a complete geneology of the dynasty is supplied. These coins are of silver, copper and occasionally of lead; because the coins of Caṣṭana's successors bear dates, and each coin gives the name of the king and his father.—(Plates XXII, XXIII)

Bodhi Dynasty: The coins of Bodhi dynasty are of lead, hardly half an inch in diameter. They are known so far exclusively from the collection of Bhagvanlal Indraji, which is now in British Museum. Provanance is unknown; but most likely they were found in some region of Western India connected with the Western Kṣatrapas, *i.e.* Saurāṣṭra and Gujarat.

Of the four rulers known of this dynasty, the coins of three Śribodhi, Śivabodhi and Caṇdrabodhi are of one and the same type. They are blank on one side and on the other they bear a three-arched hill and the legend bearing simply their names *viz.*, *Śiribodhisa*, *Śivabodhisa* and *Siri Candabodhisa*.

The coins of the fourth ruler fall distinctly in three varieties: (i) tree in railing, man standing to its right on obverse, and on reverse three-arched hill surmounted by crescent; on either side waved line represented vertically and the legend *Virabodhisa* on the reverse; (ii) obverse is uncertain, reverse same as (i), but the legend *Virabodhidatasa*; (iii) Tree in railing on obverse, three-arched hill surmounted by crescent and legend *Virabodhisa* on the reverse.

Kṣaharāta Dynasty: The coins of Bhūmaka are known exclusively in copper and they have on one side 'arrow pointing upward, thunderbolt to its right and in between a

* This detailed Note on Ksatrapa Coins is subscribed by Sri Paramesvari Lal Gupta, Keeper of the Coins Gallery, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay at the request of the General Editor.

pellet, probably representing discus with Kharoṣṭhi legend *Chaharadasa Chatrapasa Bhūmakas* ; and on the other capital of a pillar, consisting of a lion with upraised paw facing right and a wheel and legend in Brāhmī, *Kṣaharātasa Kṣatrapasa Bhūmakasa*. On some coins the legend is supposed to be in Greek, but it is by no means certain. These coins may be distinguished into two varieties on the basis of the reverse. On one the lion-capital is placed to left and the wheel to right ; and in the other, the position of the two is interchanged *i.e.* wheel is to the left and lion-capital to the right. Again, this second variety has another peculiarity. On some coins the lion is facing right and on some to left.

Nahapāna, issued silver coins, which are believed to be on the patterns of Indo-Greek or Roman coins and weigh 34 to 36 grains. They have the portrait of the king on one side with legend in Graeco-Roman characters in which the Prākṛit legend *Rāño Kṣaharātasa Nahapānasa* is rendered. On the reverse is arrow to the left and thunderbolt to the right and a pellet in between, as is found on the coins of Bhūmaka and legend around as above in Brāhmī. This coin type was later adopted by the succeeding Śaka family of the Kārdamakas.

A copper coin with an imperfect legend (*na*) *hapānasa* was obtained at Ajmer and is now in British Museum. If the attribution is correct, then, it may be said that he issued copper coins also. This coin has on one side thunderbolt to left and arrow to the right, with the above inscription and the other side bears a tree with broad leaves within railing.

Kārdamaka Ksatrapa Dynasty : The numismatic record of the family of Caṣṭana is confined, to a great extent, to silver coinage on the pattern of Nahapāna and once it had its beginning in the coinage of Caṣṭana, it continued till the end of the reign. Not only that, it was followed by their successors, the Guptas in this region and it remained the currency of a few other dynasties which followed them.

The silver coins of Caṣṭana are distinguished into two varieties, on the basis of their reverse motifs. On the obverse of all the coins we have the bust of the king and the Graeco-Roman legend *Rāño Kṣatrapasa Caṣṭanasa* ; but on these coins these are found with less completeness. On the reverse, in type (i), we have crescent to left and star to right and inscription in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhi around, as *Rājño Kṣatrapasa Ghāsmotikaputrasa Caṣṭanasa*. This type has so far been known from a electro-type prepared from a *cliche* in lead, kept in British Museum. No original coin was known till recently. The Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay has obtained only recently a coin of this type from Surat.

The reverse of the second type has a three-arched hill (which has been called *caitya* by earlier scholars) surmounted with a crescent ; beneath wavy line ; crescent to left and a star (or sun) to right. The legend on these coins may be distinguished in two types (a) *Rājño Kṣatrapasa Ghāsmotikaputrasa Caṣṭanasa* in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhi both. (b) *Rājño Mahākṣatrapasa Ghāsmotikaputrasa Caṣṭanasa*, in Brāhmī and *Cathanasa* in Kharoṣṭhi.

No silver coin of Jayadāman is known ; but from Rudradaman I onwards, this coin

type was profusely issued by the Western Kṣatrapas, with some variations from that of the coins of Caṣṭana. They began to give date on the back of the king's head, and the Greek legend became meaningless. It was more or less a conventionalised decoration, now gradually degenerating. On the reverse, Brāhmī legend was used exclusively and it had the name of the father as well as of the son with their full titles, viz., *Rājño Kṣatrapasa Jayadāmputrasa Rājño Mahākṣatrapasa Rudradāmasa*.

These coins were issued by their issuers either as Kṣatrapa or as Mahākṣatrapa and accordingly they have either the title Kṣatrapa or Mahākṣatrapa, as the case may be, on their coins. The coins with the Kṣatrapa title are exclusively found issued by the succeeding ruler in the time of the preceding ruler, towards the end of his reign, thereby suggesting that he was nominated as heir-apparent.

Rudrasīmha I is known as Kṣatrapa just before his rise to Mahākṣatrapaship. His only known coin as Kṣatrapa is dated in the year 101 and the same date is found on his earliest coins as Mahākṣatrapa. No Kṣatrapa is known during the eighteen years of his Mahākṣatrapaship. Satyadāman in all probability, was Kṣatrapa for a while towards the end of his reign. Again Rudrasena I was Kṣatrapa only for about two years, during the Mahākṣatrapaship of Jivadāman and before his own promotion to Mahākṣatrapaship. No Kṣatrapa is known during his reign of 22 years. It is only in the last year of his reign (year 144) and before the beginning of the reign of Saṁghadāman that we find Prithvisena as Kṣatrapa just for a while. Nothing is heard of him later. During the reign of Saṁghadāman and the early part of Dāmasena, we find no Kṣatrapa.

It is only in the latter part of Dāmasena's reign that we have a chain of Kṣatrapas for about seven years from 154 to 161, viz. Dāmajadaśrī II, Viradāman, Yaśodāman and Vijayasena; but all of them retained that status for a short period. While the first two are not known as Mahākṣatrapa, the latter two rose to that rank.

Then again we find Vijayasena ruling for about 12 years, Dāmajadaśrī III for about 5 years and Rudrasena II for 22 or 23 years. During these 40 years we have no Kṣatrapa. It is only at the end of the reign of Rudrasena II that we have Viśvasīmha as Kṣatrapa and during the latter's Mahākṣatrapaship, Bhartrdāman as Kṣatrapa. Viśvasena was Kṣatrapa towards the end of the Mahākṣatrapaship of his father Bhartrdāman.

But from Viśvasena onwards, we find that the title of Mahākṣatrapa was abandoned. Only Kṣatrapa title was retained; and this title was used by the ruler and his heir-apparent simultaneously for short period. Viśvasena and Rudrasīmha II, both issued coins as Kṣatrapa during the years 225 and 226; again Rudrasīmha II and his successor Yaśodāman II issued concurrently the coins under the title Kṣatrapa during the years 237 and 238.

The title of Mahākṣatrapa was revived during the reign of the 'Svāmī' rulers, and they dispensed with the title of Kṣatrapa. They do not seem to have the practice of concurrent issue of the coins by the ruler and the heir-apparent.

The dates begin to appear from the time of Rudrasimha I on the coins; but it is not unlikely that the earlier rulers also might have the dates on their coins. Very few of their coins are known; and those known, miss the portion where the date could be. Any way, from this date, we find that the coins were issued, every year, without any break till the year, 254. During this period we have not come across the coins only of the following years :—

Rudrasimha I	107, 111
Jīvadāman	121
Rudrasena I	122, 123, 143
Dāmasena	148, 149
Rudrasena II	192, 193
Bhartṛdāman	218, 219
Rudrasimha II	233, 239
Yaśodāman II	246, 248, 250, 251.

After the year 254, we do not get any coin till the year 270. In between this period, quite possibly Īśvaradatta intruded, whose coins are described below. From the year 270 we have the coins of Svāmī Rudrasena III till 274.

Thereafter again till 282 we have no coins. In 282 the coins of this ruler re-appear and continue till 301. During this period only the coins for the years 283 and 295 are not known so far. Then we have the coins of Svāmī Simhasena for the years 304, 305, 306 and 310. The coins of his successors do not disclose any date.

Coin Hoards : The Kṣatrapa coins of the Kārdamaka family and the later families are known in a number of hoards found in Gujarat, Saurāṣṭra, Malwa and former Central provinces, but only the following hoards found in Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra are on record :—

1. *Junagadh hoard*. 520 coins—Rudradāman I, 3; Dāmajadaśrī I, 1; Rudrasimha, 5; Rudrasena I, 8; Dāmasena, 3; Viradāman 9; Yaśodāman, 2; Vijayasena, 34; Dāmajadaśrī III, 9; Rudrasena II, 86; Viśvasimha, 56; Bhartṛdāman, 286; unassignable, 86. (N.S., XLVII, p. 97-99).

2. *Kaccha hoard* (found in 1862). 142 coins—Dāmasena, 1; Vijayasena, 4; Dāmajadaśrī III, 4; Ashadāma (?) son of Rudrasena, 5; Rudrasena II, 17; Viśvasimha, 20; Bhartṛdāman, 48; Viśvasena, 21; Rudrasimha II, 11. [JBBRAS., (Old Series), VII, p. 16].

3. *Uparkot (Junagadh) hoard* (found in 1897). 1114 coins—Rudrasena I (MK), 7; Dāmasena (MK), 5; Viradāman (K), 10; Vijayasena (K), 1, (M.K.), 35; Dāmajadaśrī III (MK), 9; Rudrasena II (MK), 109; Viśvasimha (K), 51; Bhartṛdāman (K and MK), 207; Viśvasena (K), 179; Rudrasena II (K), 83; Yaśodāman II (K), 108; Rudrasena III (MK), 111; Īśvaradatta (MK), 3; unassigned 226. [JBBRAS., (O.S.), XX, 201-210].

4. *Vasoj (Junagadh) hoard.* (found in 1933). 591 coins—Rudrasimha I (MK), 1; Rudrasena I (MK), 2; Dāmasena (MK), 2; Dāmajadsrī II (K), 2; Viradāman (K), 4; Vijayasena (MK), 8; Dāmajadsrī III (MK), 2; Rudrasena II, 37; Viśvasimha 13; Bhartṛdāman, 69; Viśvasena 44; Rudrasimha II, 10; Yaśodāman II, 18; Rudrasena III, 370; unassigned 2. (N.S., XLVII, p. 98-99).

In the year 1878, coins of Western Ksatrapas were recovered from the foundation trenches of the Central Jail and the Baroda College area.—(A. S. Gadre, 'Important Coins from Baroda State', JNSI, Vol. I, p. 20).

Besides these, the hoards of Western Ksatrapa coins have been found at Amaravati (Berar, M. P.) (Bom. Gaz. I, i, p. 49, 57); Sonapur (Dist. Chhindwara) (N.S., XLVII, p. 95-99); Seoni (JNSI, XII, p. 167-68; XVI, p. 207); Arvi (District Wardha) (unpublished; T.T. No. 5 of 1918); Chhindwara (Proc. ASB, 1882, p. 114); Kamptee (Nagpur) (J.R.A.S., XII, 1850, p. 2); Gondarmau (Bhopal) (Indian Archaeology, 1954-55); Sanchi (Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Sanchi, p. 61-64); Sarvania (Bansawara) in Rajasthan (ASI, AR, 1913-14); Karad (Satara) (Bom. Gaz. I, i, 48-49); Shirwal (Junnar), (J.B.B.R.S., (O.S.) II, p. 374-80) and Pethuripalem in Andhra (I.H.Q. XXXIII, p. 270-71). Some stray coins have also been found in excavations at Kondāpur, Maski and Ranigrahi in Andhra Pradesh (JNSI, XV, p. 163-69) and Brahmapuri (Kolhapur) in Mahrāstra.

Potin Coins: A potin series of coins is known to have been issued by Jivadāman, Rudrasimha I, Rudrasena I and Dāmasena. The coins of Jivadāman and Rudrasimha I have on the obverse humped bull standing to right above date; and traces of Greek characters; and on the reverse, similar device as on the silver coins, but with the shortened form of the legend: *Rājño Mahākṣatrapasa Jivadamasā* on Jivadāmana's coins and *Rājño Mahākṣatrapasa Rudrasihasa* on the coins of Rudrasimha I. The date 119 is known on the coins of the first ruler; and the known coins of the second do not bear the unit figure. These coins are few, and were obtained at Puslikar in Ajmer and Ujjain. So they are believed to be Malwa issues.

The potin coins of Rudrasena I and Dāmasena have an elephant standing to right, with star and crescent above on the obverse and on the reverse three-arched hill with crescent, and crescent on left and star on right, wavy line below. Below the device the date is given in numerals. These do not bear the name of the kings and are attributed to these rulers on the basis of their dates. The known dates on these coins are 131, 133, 147, 153, and there are some coins on which the dates 154 and 158 may be read.

Copper Coins: Some copper coins are also known to have been issued by these rulers. The earliest copper coins are believed to have been issued by Caṣṭana. A single square copper coin is published in the *B.M.C., A.K.* (p. 75), which is doubtfully assigned to him. This coin bears on the obverse a horse standing to right facing a post, above an inscription in Greek letters which could not be properly deciphered. On the reverse is a three-arched hill surmounted by crescent, crescent to left and star to right, inscription in

Brāhmī, of which a few letters have been read as —*s-ikkpu—caṣṭanaka*, of which the reading *caṣṭana* is not certain.

The next ruler to issue copper coins is his son, Jivadāman, no silver coins of whose are known. His coins bear on the obverse humped bull to right, facing trident with battle-axe : above the inscription in Greek characters, not intelligible. On the reverse is the hill of six arches surmounted by crescent ; left crescent, right star. Inscription in Brāhmī *Rājño Ksatrapasa Svāmī-Javadāmasa*. Another coin is attributed to him which has an elephant to right and an inscription in Brāhmī, of which only the letter *ya* is readable on the obverse and Ujjain symbol on the reverse. But this attribution is doubtful.

There is another variety of *square copper coins*, which have a humped bull facing within square border of dots on the obverse and three-arched hill surmounted with crescent and crescent to left, and star to right in a dotted square border. They have neither name nor date. They have been attributed to Śaka years 70-125 (148-203 A.D.) by Rapson, on the basis of the motif bull, which is noticed on the potin coins of some earlier rulers. Here it may be pointed out that the seals of the Śaka princess Prabhudāmā, who was the daughter of Rudrasimha and the sister of Rudrasena, bear the figure of bull, exactly as on these coins (A.S.I.A.R., 1913-14, pl. XLVII, no 248 ; pl. XLVIII, no 347). So, it is not unlikely that these coins may either belong to Rudrasimha I or his son Rudrasena I.

Lead Coins : Some lead coins are also known to have been issued in this period. They are square coins and have humped bull standing right within square border of dots and the three-arched hill with crescent at top and crescent on left and star on right, and wavy line below, and below it the date as on potin coins. These coins are dated 280, 281, 283, 284, 285, 288 and 294, and may be attributed to Svāmī Rudrasena III.

Traikūṭaka Coins : These are found in Southern Gujarat, Konkan and Maratha country. Coins of the Traikūṭaka Dahrasena, son of Indradatta, and Vyāghrasena, son of Dahrasena are known. The names of Dahrasena and Vyāghrasena are mentined also in copper plates of 456 and 480 A.D., respectively.

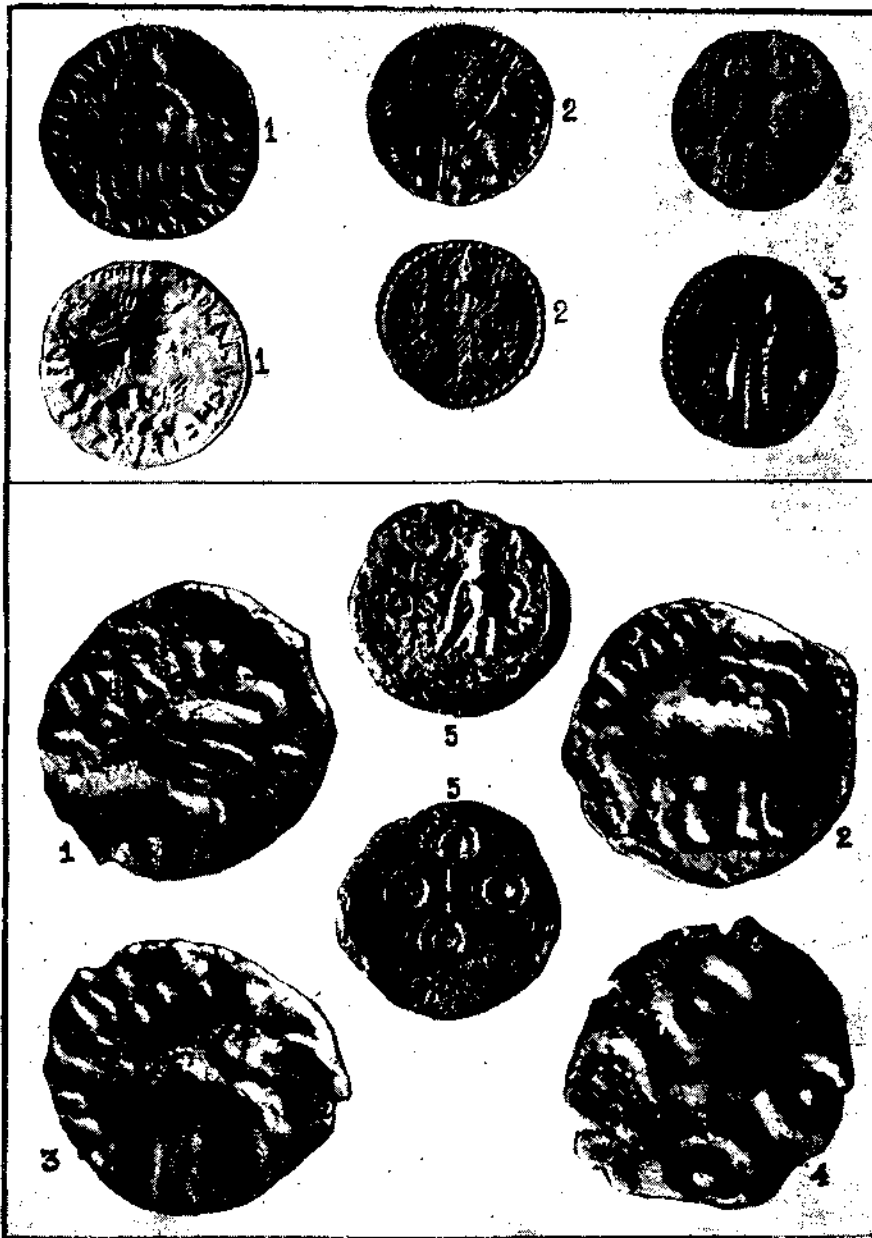
Coins of Śśvaradatta : Coins of Śśvaradatta are similar to the coins of Western Kšatrapas, with bust of the king and probably dates in numerals (not visible on known specimens) on the obverse and three-arched hill surmounted by crescent ; left crescent, right star or sun ; beneath wavy line ; legend arround *Rājño Mahākṣatrapasa Śśvaradattasa narse prathame* or *dvitiye*. These coins are known along with the coins of the Western Kšatrapas in the hoards found at Uparkot (Junagadh) (*JBRS*, XX (O.S.), p. 201 ff), Sarvania (*ASI, AR*, 1913-14, p. 227 ff), Sonapur (*N.S.*, XLVII, p. 95-97), Shirwal (*JBRS*, II. (O.S.), p. 374-80) and Petluripalem (*I.H.Q.*, XXXIII, p. 269-74).

The discovery of two hundred and thirty-eight silver coins of the Western Kšatrapa dynasty, found at Petluripalem, Dist. Guntur, Āndhra Pradesh, far away from the home province of the rulers is interesting, and shows how coins travelled far and wide.—(*Indian Archaeology*, 1956-57, p. 77).

Stray coins : A coin of Lucius Virus was found at Nāgdhārā (Surat district). This suggests that Roman trade continued in this period.

A coin of Wema Kadphises, (C. 40-78 A.D.) who was known as a Māheśvara, was found from Karvan, the ancient seat of Pāśupata sect (M. R. Majmudar, ' Antiquities from Karvan ', *BUJ*, 1950 January. p. 49).

A coin of Siri Sātakarṇi with Bull-mark was secured from the same site. A hoard of lead coins of the Āndhras, recovered from Karvan, now in the collection of the late Rājaraṭna Ramanlal Desai has been described by Dr. M. G. Dikshit (*JNSI*, 1952.)



Kusana Coins

(1-1) Wema Kadphises (85 A.D.).
Obverse and Reverse

(2-2) Huviška (150 A.D.).
Obv. & Rev.

(3-3) Vāsudeva (180)
Obv. & Rev.

Andhra and Tribal Coins

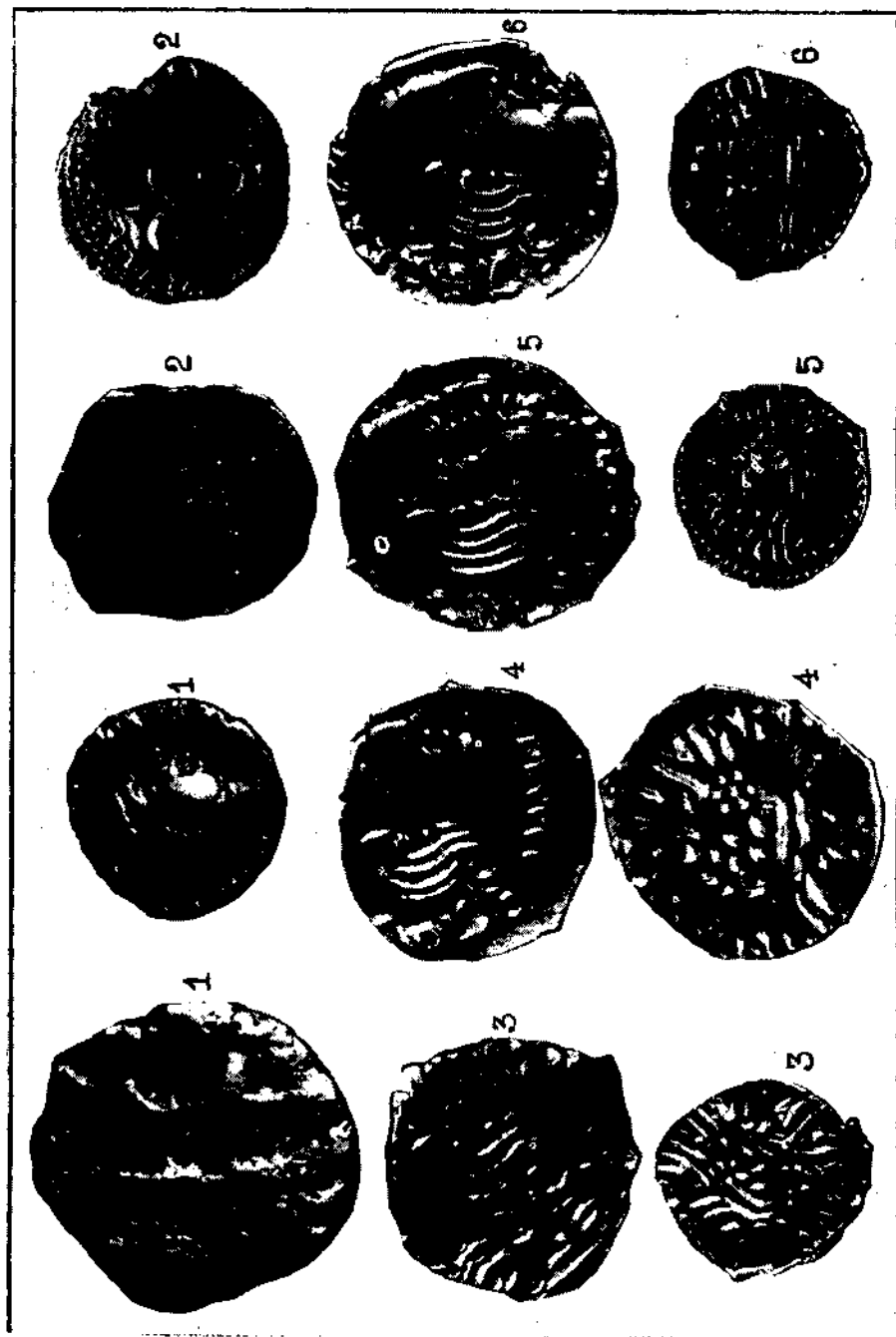
(1) Pulumāvi.
Obverse

(2) Yajna Sātakarṇi.
Obverse

(3) Siri Sātakarṇi.
Obverse

(4) Ujjain Symbol :
Reverse of Āndhra coins

(5-5) A Tribal coin, with Ujjain symbol
on the reverse.



Ksatrapa Coins

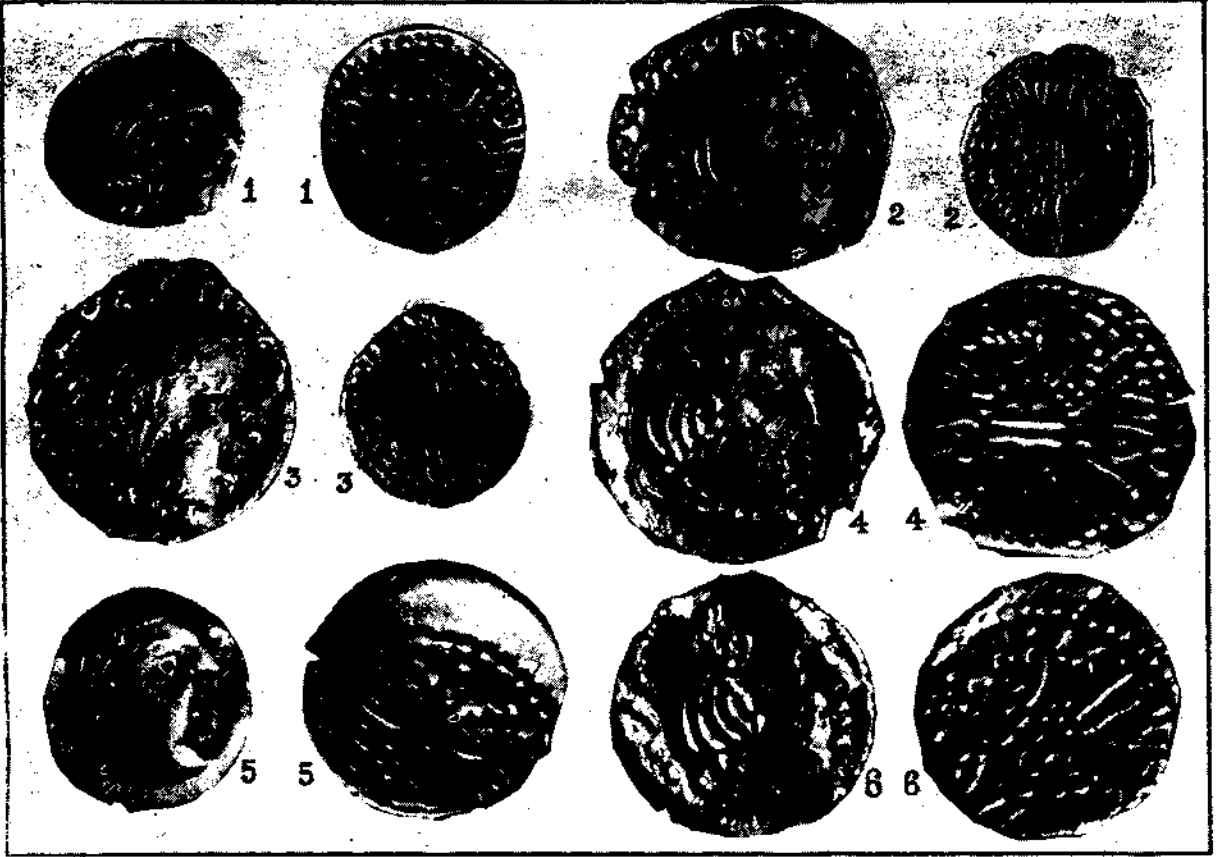
Top Row : Bhūmaka's coin : 1 Obverse : Arrow pointing upwards and a thunderbolt.

Nahapāna's coin : 2 Obverse : Bust. 3 Reverse : Capital of a pillar, consisting of a lion with an upraised paw and *dharmacakra*. 4 Reverse : Arrow and thunderbolt with a legend.

Family of Kṣatrapa Rudrasimha II :

(3-3) (4-4) (5-5) (6-6) : Coins of Svāmi Rudrasena III :

Obverse : Bust. Reverse : Three-arched hill, surmounted by a crescent.



Ksatrapa Coins

Obverse-Bust, Reverse : Three-arched hill, surmounted by a crescent.

Family of Caṣṭana :

(1-1) Dāmasena
Obv. & Rev.

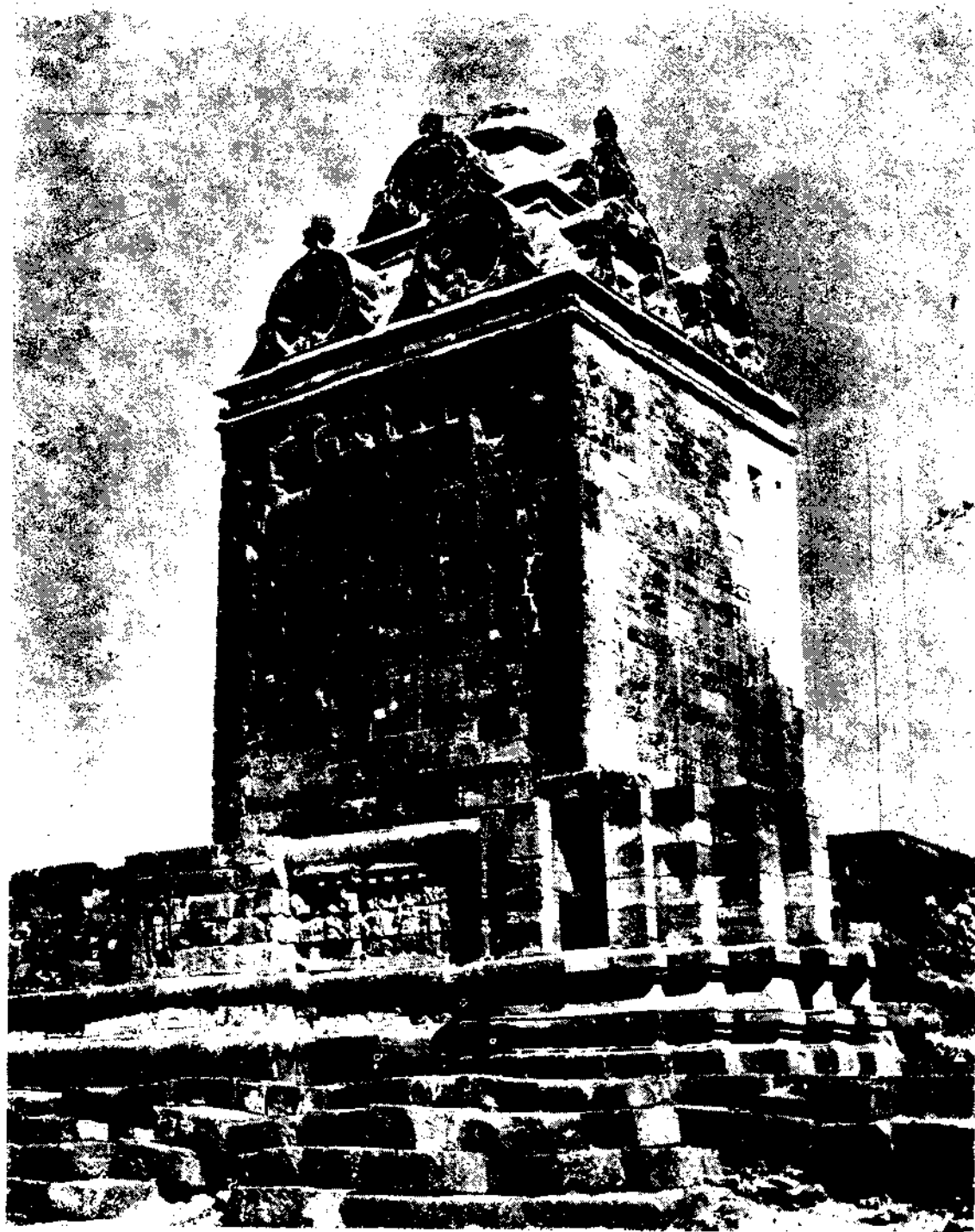
(4-4) Rudrasena II
Obv. & Rev.

(2-2) Viradāman,
Obv. & Rev.

(5-5) Bhartṛdāman
Obv. & Rev.

(3-3) Vijayasena
Obv. & Rev.

(6-6) Viśvasena
Obv. & Rev.



Temple at Gop, (Hālār Dist., Saurāṣṭra) :
After conservation in 1959. (p. 126)

CHAPTER VI

GUPTA PERIOD

(Circa 400 A.D.—470 A.D.)



GUPTA PERIOD (Circa 400 A.D.—470 A.D.)

I

The political disintegration which followed the dissolution of the Kaṣāpa empire continued right up to the beginning of the fourth century A.D. The Śaka Kṣatrapas ruled long over Gujarat and a part of Malwa ; but their power was rapidly on the decline. Rudrasimha III was not only defeated but his kingdom was annexed by Candragupta II, (C. 376-414) the Gupta emperor of Magadha, who made a prolonged stay in Malwa for this campaign with his feudatory chiefs and ministers. Thus after more than three hundred years' rule, the line of the Western Kṣatrapas came to an end, and the last vestige of foreign rule disappeared from Western India.

The term ' Gupta dynasty ' is given to the house founded by Śrīgupta in C. 270 A. D. in Magadha, primarily because the names of most of its rulers ended with the term *Gupta*. The Gupta-Licchavi matrimonial alliance during Candragupta I's reign (C. 305-325 A. D.) consolidated the sphere of influence and activity of the Guptas. The ' Gupta Era ', it is believed, marks the assumption by him of the imperial title, at his formal Coronation in 320 A. D., when he probably started his gold coinage. The practice of issuing gold coins was started by foreign Greek and Kuṣāṇa rulers. Candragupta is the earliest Hindu ruler whose inscribed gold coins have been handed down to us.

In about 370 A.D. the Western Kṣatrapas are described in Allahabad pillar inscription as paying homage to Samudragupta (C. 330-370 A.D.) who changed his capital from Pāṭalīputra to Ayodhyā ; but actual annexation of Malwa and Saurāṣṭra to the Gupta empire took place in the reign of Candragupta II (Vikramāditya). The latest dated coin of the Western Kṣatrapa Svāmi-Rudrasimha III, son of Svāmi-Satyasimha is dated Ś. 31 i.e. 388-89 A.D., and the earliest coin of Candragupta II bears the date 409-10 A.D.

Candragupta II (C. 375-414 A.D.) launched an attack against the Śaka Kṣatrapas of Western India when encamped at Bhilsa in Malwa. In the campaign he not only defeated the Western Kṣatrapas, but completely annihilated their power, and annexed to his empire their dominion consisting of Malwa, Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra. This conquest necessitated the issue of silver currency, which was confined to the new provinces of the empire; for, the residents of this area were accustomed to it for more than three hundred years during the Kṣatrapa rule.

" The empire of Candragupta II who had a long reign of about 36 years was in a prosperous condition, as is shown by the account of the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hien. The addition of the maritime provinces of Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra, with the new trade openings they secured, must have added immensely to the resources of the empire. Literature and art also flourished under his enlightened patronage. Most probably the famous poet

Kālidāsa flourished in his court ; and the gold coins issued from his mint are remarkable for their artistic beauty and variety.”—(A. S. Altekar, *Catalogue of the Bayana Hoard of Gupta Gold Coins*, Introduction, xxviii, 1954).

Candragupta II ruled Gujarat, probably, from Ujjayini, the seat of an intensely fostered Sanskrit literature. From Ujjain by the way of Bāgh and Taṇḍā in the province of Rāṭh, he might have entered Gujarat, and would have gone from Broach coast to Saurāṣṭra and then wrested the peninsula from its Kṣatrapa rulers. The Gupta emperor extended the direct sway of Pāṭaliputra from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea. Having added the rich provinces of Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra to his empire, he controlled to a large extent the Indian commerce with the Western world.

Candragupta II bore the proud title of ‘ *Vikramāditya* ’ (‘ the Sun of Prowess ’) which appears on his coins. And his exploits naturally recalled those of Vikramāditya of Ujjayini, who is described in Indian legend as having expelled the first Śaka conquerors of India more than four hundred years ago.

After Candragupta II, his son Kumāragupta I (C. 414-455 A.D.) born of his chief queen Dhruvadevī, ascended the throne. Kumāragupta I who had a long reign of more than 40 years, is noted for his performance of an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice to establish his sovereign position. By this he gave great prominence to the God Kārtikeya, whose name (Kumāra) he bore. He issued a new type of gold coins depicting Kārtikeya riding on a peacock on one side, and the king feeding a peacock on the other. He also substituted the peacock for Garuḍa on the silver coins.

There was tranquillity and prosperity in his empire which is reflected in his coinage. His gold coinage is extensive and shows as many as 14 types. Their artistic merit is high, and many of their metrical legends have considerable poetical merit as well—(A. S. Altekar, *Ibid.*, Introduction p. XXX, 1954). Kumāragupta died in G.E. 136 (455-6 A.D.)

The Guptas rose to the Imperial position by their alliance with the republican Licchavis, who had survived the Maurya and Śunga times, and had grown highly powerful. They had outlived their ancient contemporaries in power and glory, and remained the single and sole representative of ancient republicans. There seems to be a strange fatality in the history of the Guptas that they rose to power with the help of a republic, and they abolished the ancient republicanism ! But they in turn were shaken off their foundation by a republic—the Puṣyamitras.

The defeat inflicted by those who had ‘ developed great power and wealth ’ (समुदित बलक्रोशान् पुष्यमित्रान् ‘ Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta ’, Fleet, *Gupta Inscription*, pp. 53-54) on the Imperial forces under Kumāragupta made the Gupta dynasty, to quote the language of his son Skandagupta, ‘ totter to its fall ’ (*Ibid.*, विचलितकुल-लक्ष्मी स्तम्भनायोद्यतेन । क्षितितलशयनीये येन नीता त्रियामा । I.II ; विपुतां वंशलक्ष्मी . . . I.I3 ; प्रचलितं वंशम् . . I.I4). Evidently Kumāragupta himself was killed [भिनने दिवमुपे (ते) etc.].

In the second war Skandagupta remained in the battle-field the whole night, and slept on the bare ground. The next morning when the battle-field continued he succeeded

in forcing a decision, which entitled him, as the inscription says, to plant his foot on the royal foot-stool, *i.e.* became entitled to sovereignty. Thus the invading Puṣyamitras were stemmed back, and they retired; but the glory of the Guptas never returned. The course of the weakness and decline of the Guptas, consequent on the Puṣyamitra and Hūṇa wars could not be checked.—(K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, 3rd Ed., 1955; p. 157).

India began to be invaded by the Hūṇas at about the middle of the 5th Century and their hordes soon penetrated within the boundaries of the Gupta empire; and Skandagupta was called upon to face the new menace soon after his accession. The Junagadh inscription, dated in the year 458 A. D., refers to the fame of Skandagupta being sung in the land of the Mlechhas as well, the latter being identified with the Hūṇas. His empire continued undiminished down to his death; for, he continued to hold effectively even its out-lying provinces like Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra.

Gupta mints were fairly active during his reign; silver coinage was as copious as that of his father; but his gold coinage is much less copious and shows only three certain types. The financial strain of the Hūṇa war had told upon the treasury; for, many of his gold coins are heavily adulterated. He, however, introduced the national *suvarṇa* standard of 144 grains in the gold currency.—(A. S. Altekar, *Ibid.* p. xxxiv).

Skandagupta's arduous military campaigns against the Hūṇas, heavily taxed the resources of the empire; and this is reflected in his coinage. His gold coins are comparatively few and belong mostly to a single type; and the deterioration in the purity of gold is also responsible for the financial drain caused by the stress of wars during his reign.

The aged emperor Kumāragupta died before Skandagupta (455-467 A. D.) return from his victorious campaign against the Hūṇas. This heroic feat of Skandagupta that saved India for at least half a century from the scourge of a cruel and barbaric foe, fully justifies his assumption of the title 'Vikramāditya' in imitation of his grand-father.

Happily we have also evidence of great works of public utility executed by his officers even in distant parts of the empire, in the very first year of his reign. The Girnar rock-inscription of 456-57 A. D. refers in detail to such an achievement by his governor Parnadatta and his son Cakrapālita, the local magistrate, who took prompt steps to repair the damage and restore the embankment.

Another record in the same place tells us how a similar catastrophe had occurred three hundred years before, when the embankment was repaired by the Śaka chief Rudradāman. Two records on the spot thus give us an interesting history of this great irrigation reservoir over a period of more than seven hundred and fifty years. On the very rock near Girnar, which have the inscriptions of Aśoka and Rudradāman, Parnadatta has recorded his master Skandagupta's victory over the Hūṇas (456 A.D.).

The inscription of Parnadatta is a beautiful composition and holds out before us the picture of a strong united empire under the vigorous administration of a benevolent and popular ruler.—(R. C. Majumdar, *The Classical Age*, Ch. III, pp. 18-28).

Thus Gujarat, for nearly a century remained an integral part of an empire which stood for Aryan culture at its best. The Imperial Guptas were great, not only as conquerors and statesmen, but as patrons of all cultural activities. Their strong and just administration, more than their conquests, brought about the political consolidation of India north of the Narmadā. Architecture, sculpture and painting reached a high level of artistic expression.

"It is difficult to say what was the exact extent of the Gupta rule in Gujarat. However, Kaccha seems to form the north-west frontier of the Gupta empire. The northern as well as the eastern parts of Gujarat would have been under the Guptas, as most likely from there they had entered the province. But if the Southern Gujarat was under them is doubtful. The Traikūṭaka ruler Dahrasena, the son of Indradatta, was ruling the south of the Tāptī contemporaneously with Skandagupta (450-495). This Dahrasena appears to have been independent of the Guptas, as he claims of having performed an *Aśvamedha*. Furthermore, he, as well as his successor, date inscriptions in his own era, known as the 'Traikūṭaka', later as 'Cedi' or 'Kalacuri' era, commencing on Āśvin Sudi I in A.D. 248."—(H. D. Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujarat*, p. 11-12).

Skandagupta died about 467 A.D., and after a decade of disorder, Budhagupta came to the throne of the Imperial Guptas, and ruled for twenty years or more. Bhaṭṭārka, a general of the emperor was appointed a governor of Saurāṣṭra, who stayed at Valabhī. His younger son Droṇasiṃha assumed the title of 'Mahārāja'; and it is claimed that the paramount ruler, possibly Budhagupta, in person installed him in royalty by a regular ceremony at about 500 A.D. This may suggest the continuance of Gupta overlordship over Saurāṣṭra, down to the beginning of the 6th Century A.D. But the allegiance was only a nominal formality, for neither the personal name of the emperor nor the name of the dynasty is mentioned in their records.

It appears almost certain that the Guptas lost all effective control over Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra, and also probably over Malwa soon after 470 A.D. Later on the Valabhī rulers set up an independent kingdom; and the provinces of Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra were permanently lost to the Guptas.

II

- A.D. C. 400 A fragmentary copper-plate grant of the 4th Century A.D., from its palaeography and wording, discovered at Kalacchala near Chhota Udaipur in Central Gujarat, mentions one *Īśvararāta*, who meditated on the feet of a lord paramount (*parama bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyāta*) i.e., who was a feudatory of some imperial power, probably the Ābhīras, was ruling over a fairly extensive territory; for, among the persons to whom he addressed his order are included such high officials of the State as *Kumārāmātya* and *Uparika*, meaning 'the Councillor of a Prince' and 'the head of a *bhukti* or Commissioner or a Magistrate', respectively.

The grant was made at Pracakāśā, identified with Prakasa on the Tāpī in North Khandesh. The village Kupikā granted by the charter cannot now be traced; but Vañkikā, the head-quarters of the territorial divisions in which it was situated may be represented by the modern village Vānkaḍ, about 20 miles from Chhota Udaipur. Īśvararāta, therefore, appears to have held Central Gujarat and some portion of the Khandesh District.

Īśvaradatta's family seems to have been ousted by Śarva Bhaṭṭāraka (C. 348-378 A.D.), who appears to have risen to power in Circa 400 A.D. The latter's coins, imitated from those of the Western Kṣatrapas are found in abundance in Central Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra.—(V. V. Mirashi, *CII*, Vol. IV, Intro., xxxvii).

- C. 400** The legendary accounts contained in the various *Jātakakathās*, which can be roughly assigned to the Gupta period at the latest, suggest the antiquity of the introduction of Buddhism in Gujarat. Still their trustworthiness is doubtful. Buddha's preachings during his early days mainly extended to the country of his origin, namely Magadha. Such references as credit Buddha's visit to Western India have to be rejected, as Buddha is never known to have crossed the Narmadā. However, the repeated mention of the centres Śūrpāraka and Bharukaccha in early Buddhist literature suggests that these two must have been the earliest in Gujarat to receive it.
- C. 400** The mention of *Surattha* (Surāṣṭra) as a *jānapada-deśa* is found in the *Milinda-panha* (S.B.E. XXXVI, pp. 211, 311, 359), in the *Peta-vatthu* (P.T.S., II, p. 359), in the *Apadāna*, (P.T.S. II, p. 359) and in the *Niddesa* (P.T.S.I, pp. 154-55). According to the *Peta-vatthu Commentary* (P.T.S. p. 244), hundred years after the death of Buddha, the king of Surattha was Piṅgalaka, the tawny-eyed ruler, who was known to have ruled in the times of the Moriyas, (*Petavatthu* pp. 57-61) and its commentary *Paramatthadīpanī* (P.T.S., pp. 244-57), and who was converted by Aśoka himself, when he went to Pāṭaliputra for converting Aśoka to his own faith.—(M. G. Dikshit, 'History of Buddhism in Gujarat', *Guj. Res. Soc. Journal*, Vol. VIII, 2 and 3, 1946).
- C. 400** *Sovira*, associated with the Siṁdhū country, which obviously refers to parts of modern Sindh adjoining Saurāṣṭra is mentioned in early Buddhist literature. In the *Aditttha Jātaka* (No. 424), the capital of the Sovira country is mentioned as Roruva or Roruka as mentioned in the *Digha-Nikāya* (II, 235; XIX, 36), a place to be visited by the sea.
- C. 400** In the Ceylonese Chronicles (Geiger, *Mahāvamsa*, p. 60; *Dīpavamsa*, p. 54) mention of a place like *Lāla-rattha* is made, which indicates Lāṭa, the ancient name for Gujarat. According to the *Dīpavamsa* (p. 54), Sīhapura is stated to be the capital of this country. According to the Ceylonese Chronicles (*Mahāvamsa*, Ch. VI; *Dīpavamsa*, Ch. IX), Sīhabāhu, a King of Lāla-rattha is said to

have banished his son Vijaya, the latter of whom heard of Buddha's death on his reaching Laṅkā (Ceylon) from Bharukaccha. Vijaya is said to have landed and stayed for three months in Bharukaccha, while on his way to Ceylon.

C. 400

By far the most important place mentioned by the early Buddhist literature is **Bharukaccha**, modern Broach.

In the *Vinaya Piṭaka* (Oldenberg, III, p. 39) a story of a Buddhist Bhikṣu from Bharukaccha is told, who in a dream saw himself sleeping with another woman, and who accordingly thought himself to be guilty of the *Parajika* sin. Upali ruled out that he was blameless. (Buddha-ghoṣa, *Samanta paśādika*. I, p. 283). In subsequent literature, this incident is referred to as ' Bharukaccha Vatthu '.

In the *Jātaka* literature, at least three references to Bharukaccha as a sea-port are met with. In the *Bharu Jātaka* (Fonsball, p. 169, No. 213) it is told that Bodhisattva once went to the land of Bharu, with a caravan of merchants to buy salt and vinegar, from the Himva region. The *Suppāraka Jātaka* (No. 463, IV, p. 137-393) tells us that Bodhisattva was once born as a master-mariner of Bharukaccha. In the *Sussondi Jātaka* (No. 360, Jataka III, p. 188) regular trade between Suvarṇna Bhūmi and Bharukaccha is mentioned ; it also mentions a caravan-route starting from Benares and passing through the deserts of Rajputana, which terminated at Bharukaccha. Frequent trading activities between Suvarṇna Bhūmi, Sopāraka and Bharukaccha are mentioned in *Apadāna* (II, p. 476), *Mahā-Nidessa* (I, p. 155), and *Manoratha Pūram* (I, p. 156). In the *Suppāraka Jātaka* (IV, p. 137-39), Bharukaccha is stated to be within one night's journey by sea from Sopara.

The geographical interpretation of the word ' Bharukaccha ' whose component parts *Bharu* and *Kaccha* mean a ' marshy land ', according to Pāṇini (*Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 4. 2. 126, and 4. 2. 133), is suggested by a story in the *Bharu-Jātaka* to justify the geographic features which refers to the faction between two parties of merchants who came to reside in this city. They sought the help of king Bharu to settle their dispute. The king having decided in favour of the wrong party, the whole land of Bharu, about 300 leagues in length, submerged into the sea by the wrath of gods. According to Hindu Purāṇas, the name of Bhrigu (and, or) Jāmadagnya is said to have been associated with Bharukaccha, which is said to have been sunk into the sea with the arrows of Paraśurāma. (*Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, III. 57, Vv. 47).

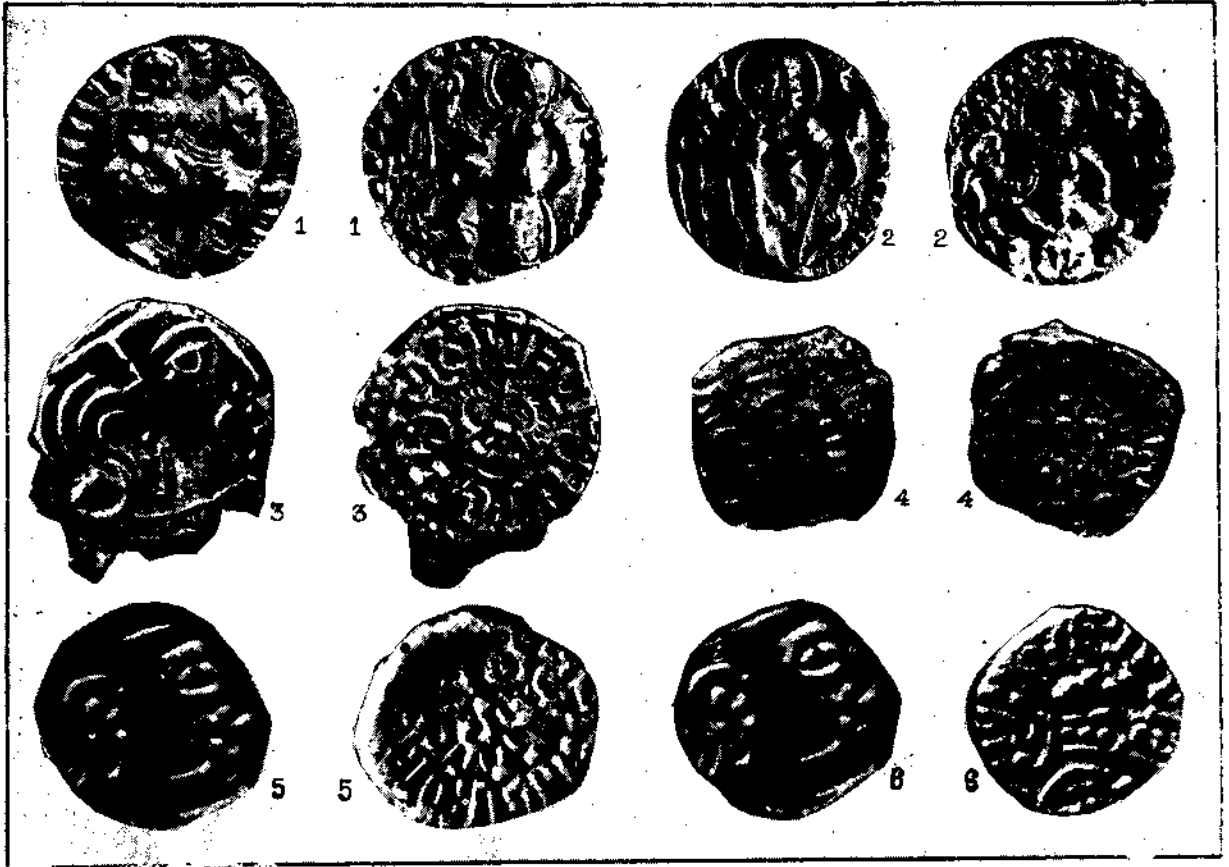
People from Bharukaccha are referred to in *Atthasālini* (p. 305) and *Milinda-Panha* (S. B. E., p. 211).

C. 400

Connected with Bharukaccha, in the same context, we find the name of another sea-port in Western India, **Supparaka**, which also belonged to



Bagh Cave Fresco of *Daṇḍa Rāsaka*, showing six ladies with *daṇḍa* held in either hand, and other six with cymbals.
At the Fourth Cave called 'Rāṅga Mahāl' (p. 122)

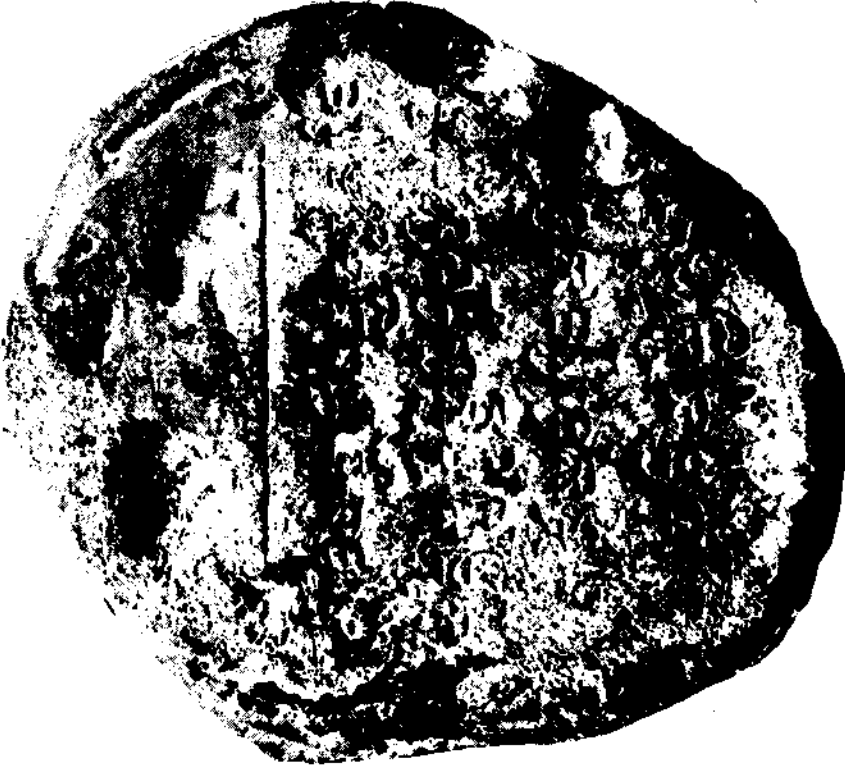


Gupta Coins

- (1-1) Gold coin of Candragupta II (c. 375-414 A.D.) :
Obv.—Horseman type ; Rev.—Goddess seated on a stool.
- (2-2) Gold coin of Kumāragupta I (c. 414-455 A.D.) :
Obv.—Archer type ; Rev.—Seated Lakṣmī.
- (3-3) Silver coins of Kumāragupta I :
Obv. & Rev.—Winged Pea-cock type.
- (4-4) Folded Wings Pea-cock type—First variety.
- (5-5) „ „ „ „ —Second variety.
- (6-6) Silver coin of Skandagupta, (455-467 A.D.) :
Obv. & Rev. Known as 'Naṇḍi type'.

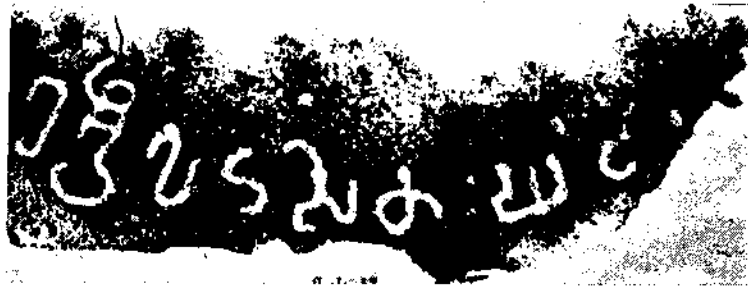


(A) Valā Seal of Pusyeṇa



(B) Valā Seal of Pusyeṇa, showing the letters of the seal. (p. 195)

Reads : (1) आजवद्राष्ट्र अयवच्छिन्नराज-
 (2) वंशस्य श्रीमहाराजादिवर्म-
 (3) सरोमहाराज महा...
 (4) पति पुण्येणस्य ।



(A) Valā Pot sherd of Gūhasena, dated Valabhi
year (2)47 = c. 566 A.D. (pp. 151, 197)
Reads [२००] ४० ७ श्री गुहसेन घटः ।



(C) Clay-Seal of Śīlāditya, excavated
from Gohilwād Tīmbo, Amreli.
(p. 195)
Reads श्री शी ला दि त्य ।



(B) Inscribed pot-sherds from Gohilwād Tīmbo, Amreli, Baroda Museum.
(For Readings, See p. 197.)

Aparāntaka, in the latter of which the Southern Gujarat was included. According to a legend in the *Divyāvadāna* (Cowell and Neil, p. 42), Punna Therā from Sopara is said to have visited Sāvatti with a caravan of merchants, where Buddha preached him the *Punna-Vāda Sutta*. At his request Lord Buddha is said to have visited Sopāraka, where, according to some accounts, he was staying in a *Gaṇḍha-Kuṭi* built for him.

Aśoka is said to have sent Yona Dharmarakṣita Therā to Aparāntaka, a tradition which is narrated in the Ceylonese Chronicles (*Mahāvamsa*, p. 34; *Dīpavamsa* VIII, 7), and in several places in literature such as *Milinda-panha* (S.B.E., p. 331), *Thupavamsa* (J. Pali. Soc., 1898), and *Saddhamma-Saṅgraha* (J. Pali. Soc., 1890), one of which mentions that about 37,000 people were converted in Aparānta by Yonaka Dharmarakṣita. The consecration of Aparāntaka is believed to have been complete only after the Third Council (*Mahāvamsa* XII and *Dīpavamsa* VII), under the patronage of Aśoka, at Pāṭaliputra, which took place in 248 B.C. (Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*). Mogaliputta Tissa, the Head of the Buddhist Church after the Third Council is said to have done independent preaching in Aparānta.

C. 400 Chandragupta II (Vikramāditya II), son and successor of Samudragupta married Dhruvadevi. The extension of the Gupta Empire to Saurāṣṭra and Gujarat seems to have taken place during his reign.—(CI, III, 21-36).

Malwa and Surāṣṭra were conquered by Candragupta II Vikramāditya of Magadha, and were annexed to the Gupta empire. Evidence of the Gupta occupation of Malwa is afforded by two inscriptions (dated G. E. 82 and 93 or 401 and 412 A.D.) found in caves on the Udayagiri hill (Fleet, CII, III, 25, 31, f. 35); and evidence of the conquest of Saurāṣṭra during the reign of Candragupta II is to be seen in his rare silver coins which are directly imitated from those of the Western Kṣatrapas.—(Rapson, *ibid.*, cl. f.)

When Candragupta II extended his power over Western India, he began to strike silver coins for that region, modelled on those of his predecessors. The conventional head continued to appear as the king's portrait; the date retained its place behind the head on the left, with the letter 'va', a contraction for *varṣe*, although the Śaka era was replaced by the Gupta era. Traces of the Greek legend were also retained. But the symbol on the *reverse* was replaced by a figure of Garuḍa—standing and facing with outspread wings,—the characteristic emblem of the Guptas.—(Allan, C.I.C.B.M.-G.D., XXXVI, f.)

C. 400 Skandasvāmī, the author of a portion of *Rigveda Bhāṣya* and the commentary on *Nirukta* and the teacher of Harisvāmī, the commentator of *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, was in all probability during this period, as he called himself a *dharmādhyaṅkṣa* of the king Vikramāditya. He hailed from Puṣkara. (U. P. Shah, *Buddhiprakash*, 1951).

CI5

A.D. 409 Candragupta II (Vikramāditya) in about 380 A.D. succeeded his father Samudragupta. He crossed the delta of the Indus, defeated the Vālhikas, marched through Malwa and Gujarat to the Arabian Sea, and annexed Malwa and Saurashtra, overthrowing the Western Kṣatrapas.—(Barnett L. D., 'Antiquities of India', Ch. II, 'Chronology of India', p. 47).

409-10 The earliest date on the silver coins of Candragupta II is year 409-10 A.D. or 90 + x (i.e. 409-13, since the king died in about 413 A.D.). The legend on the reverse has two varieties:—

(a) परमभागवत महाराजाधिराज श्री. चन्द्रगुप्त विक्रमादित्य (:), and

(b) श्री. गुप्तकुलस्य महाराजाधिराज श्री. चन्द्रगुप्त विक्रमादित्य । —(Allan, *ibid.*, 49 ff.).

413 Kumāragupta I succeeded his father Candragupta II of Magadha. A hoard of 2000 silver coins of Kumāragupta was found from Amreli excavations.—(Hiranand Shastri, ARADB, 1936-37, p. 8).

413-14 Candragupta II was succeeded by his son Kumāragupta I. *Mahendra* and *Mahendrāditya* are his favourite titles corresponding to the *Vikrama* and *Vikramāditya* of his father. In his reign the silver coinage was considerably extended and introduced to his central dominions, where the Garuḍa of the reverse was replaced by a peacock.—(Allan, *ibid.*, XL, iii).

The great variety in the silver coins of Kumāragupta I forms a striking contrast to the scarcity of his father's silver coinage. The silver coins of the Garuḍa type which belong to Western India, fall into three main classes:—

Class I—Coins which bear close similarity to the silver coins struck by Candragupta II. The legend on these coins is परमभागवत महाराजाधिराज श्री. कुमारगुप्त महेंद्रादित्य (:).

Class II—Coins which bear no trace of Greek letters, the head and the Garuḍa on which are very rudely executed, and the inscription thereon is in the square-headed alphabet. The legend is the same as those on *Class I*, except that the initial word 'Parama' seems omitted on a sub-variety of this class.

Class III—The coins are all of small thick fabric, which resembles that of the Traikūṭaka coins and hence they may have been struck in Southern Gujarat. The legend is the same as on that of *Class I*, except that in a sub-variety, the word *Mahāvājādhirāja* is replaced by *Rājādhirāja*. The obverse of all these classes bears the word *varṣe* on the left, but the figures of the date cannot be traced.—(Allan, *ibid.*, xciii, ff., 89 ff.).

413-14 A large hoard of silver coins of Kumāragupta I was accidentally unearthed at Anand (Kaira Dist.) during the excavation of a private building in 1952. The hoard lay in a *kulḍi* (small earthen pot) and contained about two hundred

coins. They all belong to *Class I*.^{*} The diameter of the coins is about 0.5" or 12 mm. Their weight varies from 25 to 41 grains.—(A. V. Pandya, *Annual Report of the Bombay Secretariat Record Office and its Subordinate Offices*, for the year 1952-53, p. 17).

* A. V. Pandya notes that the reverse bears the emblem of a Peacock, but the photographs clearly indicate that the emblem is of Garuda, which is the usual emblem of his silver coins in Western India—(H. G. Shastri).

413-14 A large series of silver-plated coins with a copper core have been found around the site of the ancient Valabhī. They are a debased issue of the silver coinage probably struck during a period of financial pressure.—(JRAS, 1893, 137 ff.).

They bear no date. The legend on them is परमभगवत राजधिराज श्री कुमारगुप्त महेन्द्रादित्य ॥—(Allan, *ibid*, xcvi, III f.)

C. 426-50 Mahārāja Indradatta's reign is known through the coins of his son Dahrasena.—(Rapson, B.M.C. 198, ff.)

He is the earliest known king of the Traikūṭaka dynasty. The Traikūṭakas seem to have originally belonged to Aparānta. The extension of their power over South Gujarat may be dated in the second quarter of the fifth century.—(H. G. Shastri, MG, p. 249).

430 About this time lived Indradatta, of the Traikūṭaka dynasty, reigning in Southern Gujarat and the Koṅkan.

430 Dadḍa I was the Gurjara king of Bharukaccha.

The Gurjaras apparently entered Western India from the north, about the first century A.D. They founded two kingdoms—a Northern in the region of Southern Mārvād, the 'Kiu-chi-lo' of Hiuen Tsang, with its capital *Pi-lo-mi-lo* i.e. Bhīllamāla (Bhīṇamāla or Śrīmāla).

A Southern kingdom was established at Bharukaccha, which included the whole of Central Gujarat and the northern part of Southern Gujarat, i.e. the present Broach District, the Talukas of Olpād, Chorāsi and Bārdoli of the Surat District, as well as the adjoining parts of the Baroda State, of the Revākāṇṭhā and of Sachin; its boundaries in all probability, being the Mahī river on the North and the Ambikā on the south. The Gurjaras of Broach seem to have been feudatories of some larger power, and may have started as vassals of the Northern kingdom of which they were probably an offshoot.

During the 7th century, Bharukaccha was attacked by the kings of Valabhī on the one hand, and by the Cālukyas of Badami on the other, to the latter of whom a portion of its southern dominions was lost. After being invaded by the Tājikas or Arabs in the 8th century, the Bharukaccha kingdom was finally conquered about 800 A.D. by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III, who made over

Central Gujarāt or Lāṭa to his brother Indra, first of the Gujarat Branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty which held that part of the country for more than 100 years.—(IA, XVII, 191; Bom. Gaz. I 312, n. 7).

A.D. 437 Baṇḍhuvarman, son and successor of Viśvavarman, was ruling in Daśapura (Mandasor, in Western Mālava) as feudatory of Kumāragupta I.

A guild of silk-weavers from Lāṭa (Navasari-Broach region) came to Daśapura (modern Dasor or Man-Dasor in Malwa) and built a temple of the Sun in the Mālava year 494 i.e. 437 A.D. Sections of the people who were originally silk-weavers in the Lāṭa country (Southern Gujarat) when they settled at Daśapura, adopted different professions such as that of an archer, a story-teller, an exponent of religious problems, an astrologer, warrior and an ascetic showing that caste-restrictions had not become rigid at least in Western India about the time of this record.—(‘Mandsor stone-inscription of Kumāragupta I and Baṇḍhuvarman’: D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I., p. 288-297).

Although Western coast of India produces no silk of its own, silks manufactured in this region, then known as Lāṭadeśa, were known even in the beginning of the Christian era.—(*Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, Trans. by W. H. Schoff, 1932, p. 45). The region has been mentioned as the original home of the silk-weavers who migrated to Mandisor in Malwa. The artistic silk-weaving has been mentioned as a matter of legitimate pride in the Mandisor inscription, even though the word is not specifically mentioned.—(IA., XV, p. 197).

The Sanskrit word ‘*paṭṭolikā*’ meaning a colour-box as used in the *Kāmasūtras* (III, 3, 14) is traceable in the word ‘*paṭolu*’ or the special form of silk-clothing with variegated colours in its texture, so well-known in Gujarat.

Owing to the demands of the ruling princes, silk-weavers who have settled in South India trace their origin from Saurāṣṭra, and still use Saurāṣṭri language called ‘*Paṭnuli*’ or ‘*Khatri*’, who first migrated to Deogiri in A.D. 1187-8, then to Vijayanagar, and finally to Tanjore, Dindigal, Madura and other places, as a result of Muslim oppression in Saurāṣṭra. These silk-weavers can well be linked up with the weavers of Mandisor.—(Randle H. H.; “The Saurāṣṭrans of South India”, *JRAS.*, 1944, pp. 151-156).

437 and 473 The benevolent efficiency of Candragupta II’s administrative organization of the several guilds and commercial corporations finds support in the fact recorded in the Mandisor inscriptions of 437 and 473 A.D., that a guild of silk-weavers belonging originally to Lāṭa found it necessary to migrate owing to disorder prevailing in their native land, and settled down within the Gupta empire with a view to ply their trade of silk-weaving over there, and attain prosperity thereby.

That a guild of weavers should in the course of a generation prosper so well that a considerable section of them could devote themselves to the leisurely pursuit of the study of astronomy, testifies to the fostering care of their trade of silk-fabrics, internally and perhaps even overseas.—(R. N. Dandekar, *A History of the Guptas*, p. 92).

This shows, also, that the profession of silk-weaving was one of the well-known professions of the Lāṭa people and that these people were the devotees of the Sun.—(Vide, IA, XV, p. 194).

451 Mahārāja Indradatta of the Traikūṭaka dynasty was succeeded by his son Dahrasena. The type of the Traikūṭaka coins set by him evidently seems to have been adopted from the Kṣatrapa coins which were current in Western India since long.

The diameter of these coins varies from 0.45" to 0.55" and it weighs 28 to 35.5 grains. The *obverse* bears the bust of the king facing right and is surrounded by Graeco-Roman characters which are obscure, as on the Kṣatrapa coins.

The Traikūṭaka coins, however, bear no dates. The emblem on the reverse consists of a three-peaked hill, the moon on its summit, a star on the right, a river below and a legend surrounding it. In the legend Dahrasena is styled *Mahārāja* as well as *Parāma-Vaiṣṇava*.—(Rapson, B.M.C. § 136, 145, 151 ff., 198 ff.).

453-466 The *Māthurī Vācanā* of the Jaina canons that took place under the presidentship of Skandila Sūri did not tally with the *Valabhī Vācanā* presided over by Nāgārjuna Sūri in its entirety, as the two leaders Nāgārjuna and Skandila could not meet to settle the differences. So a worthy attempt to improve this situation was later on made by Devarddhi Gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa of Valabhī, who called a Council at Valabhī in Vīra Samvat 980 or 993. He got written the scriptures. The first Council had, however, met at Pāṭaliputra.

This momentous event is known as '*pusthārohaṇa*' or the 'Redaction of the Jaina Āgamas (Canons)'. This was the third council that tried to restore and carefully preserve the Jaina Scriptures. It is dated as Vīra Sam. 980 (A.D. 453) by the followers of Skandila Sūri, and Vīra Sam. 993 (A.D. 466) by those of Nāgārjuna.—(H. R. Kapadia, *History of the Canonical Literature of the Jains*, pp. 62-67).

454 or 467 Kālaka Sūri who was a '*Yuga-pradhāna*' from Vīra Samvat 983 to 994, once came to Ānandapura (modern Vādnagar) and stayed there for the rainy season in Vīra Samvat 980 or 993. At that time Dhruvasena, the third son of Bhaṭṭārka Senāpati, came to this city and stayed there. After some time, Vīrasena, his eldest son died. So, to allay his sorrow, this Kālaka Sūri read *Ṇajjosavaṇā-kappa* in the presence of the Jaina Church, on the 4th day of

Bhādrapada in Vira Samvat 980 or 993.¹ (V. S. 510 or 523=454 or 467 A.D.). *Pajjosavanā-kappa* used to be formerly recited at night in the presence of Jaina monks. But it was publicly read as noted above. Some attribute this event to Dhaneśvara Sūri, the author of *Śaṭyujaya-Māhātmya*.²

¹ *Sandehavisausadhi* (pp. 118-119), *Kalpa-hiranavali* (pp. 129-132), '*Dipika*' of Jaya-vijaya (pp. 113-115), JAC (p. 20) and JPI (pt. I, p. 439). *Sandehavisausadhi* is a com. on *Pajjosavanakappa*, by Jinaprabha Suri, composed in V. S. 1364. From this com. (p. 119) we learn that 'Anandapura' was known as 'Kalanagara' in the days of Jinaprabha Suri.

² See SHJL, (p. 146). Here, the other date Vira Samvat 933, too, is mentioned.

455 Skandagupta ('Kramāditya', 'Vikramāditya'), son and successor of Kumāragupta I, is said to have restored the fallen fortunes of his family, to have conquered the Puṣyamitras and fought with the Hūṇas.

455 Kumāragupta I who was succeeded by his son Skandagupta had 'Kramāditya' as his 'Āditya' title; but on some of his silver coins he has also the more famous title 'Vikramāditya', which had been borne by his grandfather.

The silver coins of Skandagupta fall into two classes: (i) those issued in the Western provinces of the empire and (ii) those issued in the Central provinces of the empire. The former class presents three different reverse types viz. Garuḍa, Bull and Altar.

The Garuḍa type corresponds exactly in fabric to Candragupta II's silver coins and Class I (a) of Kumāragupta I. The coins of this type are scarce, in comparison with those of the preceding reign. The legend on these coins is परमभागवत-महाराजधिराज-श्री-स्कन्दगुप्त-विक्रमादित्य (:) ।

From this it is inferred that Skandagupta did not retain the territories throughout his reign.

455 The Bull type coin, which is a new type, consists of a small series of coins of very base metal, having the usual bust on the obverse but without traces of Greek legend; the reverse type is a bull, presumably Śiva's Nāṇḍī, *couchant* to right. The coins are all found in Saurāṣṭra and probably belonged to the region around Valabhī. The legend is the same as on the Garuḍa type.

The Altar type represents the commonest type of Skandagupta's silver coinage. It is of rude fabric, bearing the usual bust with traces of a degraded Greek inscription on the obverse and an altar on the reverse. The legend on these coins is of three varieties: (a) परमभागवत श्री विक्रमादित्य स्कन्दगुप्तः । (b) परमभागवत श्री स्कन्दगुप्त क्रमादित्यः । and (c) परमभागवत श्री स्कन्दगुप्तः ।—(Allan, *Ibid.*, c ff. 119 ff.).

456-57 The earliest known Traikūṭaka king was Indradatta. The mention of Trikūṭa in the description of Raghu's *digvijaya* suggests that Kālidāsa, who flourished about 400 A.D. during the reign of the Gupta king Candragupta II—Vikramāditya, knew of a Traikūṭa kingdom on the Western coast. The known inscriptions of the Traikūṭas, however, belong to a later date.—(CIL, IV, XL ii).

Indradatta flourished about 415-440 A.D., as his son Dahrasena's Pārḍi grant is dated in Kalacuri year 207 (456-57 A.D.). Dahrasena is known to have performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice (*aśvamedhaharta*, 1.2 of the plate); he is known to be a Vaiṣṇava from his silver coins found at Daman in South Gujarat.

The legend on the coins is *Mahārāja Endradatta—putra—paramavaiṣṇava—Śrī Mahārāja Dahrasena*. In his copper-plate he calls himself *Bhagavat-pāda-karmakara*, a servant of the feet of Bhagavat.—(CII, IV, XL ii).

457-58

The Junagadh inscription of Skandagupta is seen on the hundred square feet of uneven surface of a large rounded and somewhat conical granite boulder, which records (1) his appointment of Parṇadatta as Governor of Surāṣṭra and (2) Parṇadatta's appointment of his own son Cakrapālita as Governor of Junagadh, (3) the bursting of the embankment of the Sudarśana lake in the Gupta year 136, (4) its repairs by Cakrapālita in the following year, and (5) the erection by him of a temple to Viṣṇu in the G. year 138.—(CI, iii, 47-68).

The Girnar rock-inscription of Skandagupta is the only known inscription of the Gupta rule in Gujarat. It records that Skandagupta had, after long deliberation, appointed Parṇadatta as the Governor of Saurāṣṭra and that the latter put his worthy son Cakrapālita in charge of Girinagara.

The embankment (*setu*) of the Sudarśana dam at Girinagara, which was reconstructed in Ś. E. 72 (150 A.D.) in the time of Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman, again burst in Bhādrapada of G.E. 136 (455 A.D.) during the reign of the Gupta Emperor Skandagupta; and Cakrapālita, the administrator and the son of Parṇadatta, the Governor of Saurāṣṭra, got it promptly rebuilt within two months in the summer of the next year, i.e. G.E. 137 (456 A.D.). The new dam was 100 *hastas* in length, 68 *hastas* in breadth, and 7 *puruṣas* in height. The inscription is styled *सुदर्शनतटाक-संस्कार-ग्रन्थरचना* (Composition on the repairing of the Sudarśana lake).

Copper-plate from Pārḍi, (fifty miles south of Surat) shows that Dahrasena, Traikūṭaka was reigning in (Traikūṭaka or Cedi Sam. 207) 456 A.D.—(JBRAS., xvi, 346; Bom. Gaz. 294-5).

456-57

The Pārḍi plates (Kalacuri Samvat 207 = 456-57 A.D.) were issued from the victorious royal camp at Amraka which record the donation of a village in the Antarmaṇḍali *viṣaya*, which on the analogy on the Antar-Narmadā *viṣaya* in the Sunaokala plates of Saṃgamasimha (K. year 292), seems to have comprised the territory on both the banks of the Maṇḍalī or modern Miṇḍholā river. The places mentioned in the grant can be identified in the country between the Purnā and the Miṇḍholā in South Gujarat. Dahrasena may have ruled from Cīnca 440 A.D. to 463 A.D.

457-58 The reference in the Junagadh rock-inscription स्फुट मधुर चित्र कान्त शब्द समयोदारा-
लंकृत points unmistakably to the acquaintance of the author with the Science of
Poetics (*sāhitya śāstra*) as well as to his knowledge of traditional literary
Figures of Speech (*Alaṅkāras*). The use of compounds in ornamental epithets,
also, appears to have been much in favour.—(R. N. Dandekar, *A History of
the Guptas*, p. 192-3).

457-58 As Saurāṣṭra was considered one of the most important provinces of the
Gupta empire on account of its ports which greatly facilitated foreign trade,
Skandagupta had to 'deliberate considerably for nights and days' over the
appointment of its viceroy, and he found a worthy official in Paṇḍadatta to fill
the post.

The statement in the inscription 'सर्वेषु देशेषु निधाय गोपद्वन्' throws light on the
political administration in Skandagupta's time, and indicates that the Gupta
sovereign was at special pains to appoint a series of responsible " Wardens of
the Marches " to protect his dominions from impending Hūṇa invasions, the
danger of which had not been then over.—(R. N. Dandekar, *Ibid.*)

457-58 The latter part of the Girnar inscription mentions that Cakrapālita, the
administrator of Girinagara, and son of Paṇḍadatta, the viceroy of Saurāṣṭra
built a temple of *Cakrabhrī* (Viṣṇu) on the new dam that was built of masonry
at the top of the city in G. E. 138 (457-58 A.D.).

He spent plenty of money and plenty of time for the erection of the temple,
which seemed as if rising from the Mountain Urjayat. It is noteworthy that
Cakrapālita was an ardent devotee of Viṣṇu (गोविन्दपादाश्रितजीवितेन।); and his
Emperor Skandagupta also was a *Parama Bhāgavata* (great devotee of Viṣṇu)—
(*Junagadha Rock-Inscription of Skandagupta*, CII, III, 136).

462 Bhaṭṭārka the founder of the so-called 'Valabhī dynasty', was originally a
military commandant—'Senāpati' sent by Skandagupta to reinforce the civil
defence of Saurāṣṭra against the possible Hūṇa invasions, who had accordingly
scrupulously arranged for the defence of his territories by selecting Viceroys,
Governors and Commandants of army.

Bhaṭṭārka may have been placed in Saurāṣṭra in about 462 A.D. [i. e. about
two generations (40 years) before Dronasimha, whose date is 502 A. D.] which
roughly corresponds with the date of Paṇḍadatta of the Junagadh rock-inscrip-
tion, who possibly looked after the civil administration of Saurāṣṭra. Bhaṭṭārka
was possibly later deputed there as a military commandant to reinforce the
defence of the province. Later on, the military officer must have been obliged
by circumstances to enforce absolute control over the province. And Bhaṭṭārka
thus ultimately became both Senāpati and Governor of Saurāṣṭra. In one of
the Valabhī copper-plates Bhaṭṭārka is referred to as मौलभूतमित्रश्रेणीबलावापराज्यश्रीः
which fact seems to support the above assumption.

The high posts in the administration of territories were, under the Gupta regime, hereditary. Consequently, Senāpati Bhaṭṭārka was succeeded in the same office by Dharasena I and the latter by Droṇasimha. Droṇasimha, however, assumed the title 'Mahārāja' under Gupta suzerainty.—(R. N. Dandekar, *A History of the Guptas*, p. 146-47).

The original capital of Surāṣṭra was Girinagara, and Parṇadatta (and also Bhaṭṭārka) for some time governed the province from that place. An ingenious suggestion has been made by Jagan Nath (*Indian Culture*, April 1939) that the capital of the province was later on transferred to Valabhī. The Junagadh rock-inscription shows how great a source of danger the Sudarśana lake was to the city of Girinagar. The later governors found it necessary to remove to a 'lofty place': and Valabhī was such a place.

457 Traikūṭaka Mahārāja Dahrasena issued the grant of the village *Taḍākasārikā* situated within Antar-maṇḍali Viṣaya, to Brāhmaṇa Nannasvāmin, resident of Kāpura in the (Kalacuri) year 207, Vaiśākha śuddha 13 (457 A.D.). The Dūtaka of the grant was Buddhagupta. The grant was issued from the victorious camp at Āmrakā.—(*Pārśī Plates*, EI., X, 51 ff.)

c. 467-68 Skandagupta seems to have died in circa 467-468 A.D., the last known date of his reign being G.E. 148 (467-68 A.D.).—(V.A. Smith, JRAS, 1889, p. 134).

His death was followed by a rapid disintegration of the Gupta empire.—(Dandekar, *History of the Guptas*, pp. 121 ff.).

479 The 'Caves of Bāgh', so called from the neighbouring village and the river of that name, are situated among the southern slopes of the Viṇḍhya hills and are on the ancient road connecting Gujarat and Malwa. They are nearly 70 miles from Dohad. "It is interesting to note that the country between Broach and Dhār in Malwa in which are the towns of Bāgh and Taṇḍā, is still called Rāṭha."—(Bom. Gaz. I, p. 7).

The caves which are nine in number extend over a frontage of about 750 yards but are not all contiguous. Out of these, the Fourth cave, known as 'Raṅga Mahāl' is the finest of the group for the paintings which still adorn its walls.

Architecture of the Bāgh Caves constitutes an integral and inseparable part of the scheme of decoration. The caves are the work of the Mahāyāna Buddhists. At Bāgh, as at Ajañṭā, paintings are done in *tempera*, not in *fresco*. The best preserved portion of the Bāgh paintings is found on the outer surface of the front wall of Caves Nos. 5 and 6. The rock which formed the roof of the continuous verandah supported by pillars in front of the Caves has collapsed, with the result that the upper half of the wall on which the paintings are found has become exposed to the weather, except where protected by the over-hanging

rock. As a result of this, the extant paintings are in very fragmentary state and cannot be identified or related to any story.

A.D.
C. 470

The Fourth Scene (published as Plate D in *The Bāgh Caves*) consists of a delightful double group of female dancers and musicians. The left hand group comprises seven women standing around an eighth figure, evidently a central dancer, who wears a peculiar kind of costume. Out of the seven female-musicians one plays a hand-drum, three have each two little sticks—*daṇḍas*, (so well-known in the *daṇḍa-rāsaka*) and three hold cymbals. The palms of the hands are turned upwards in the position assumed in the *tāla* or the *tāla-rāsaka*, by the dancers. The second group of female musicians is likewise arrayed round a dancer with long black locks. Of the six women, one beats a hand-drum, two handle small-sized cymbals, and three each a pair of sticks (*daṇḍas*).

Plates D and E (*Bāgh Caves*) show the bevy of girl-musicians with the two male dancers in their midst, forming, a complete group or a *maṇḍala* of the 'Hallisaka' type, referred to in the '*Harivaṃśa*' when writing about the propensities of the Vṛiṣṇis for this circular dance. "The dancers express in a wreath of interwoven line and form the rhythm and music of the dance."—(E. B. Havell, *The Bāgh Caves*, The India Society, London, 1927).

"In this painting in the Bāgh Caves, situated on an ancient road connecting Gujarat with Malwa, depicting a music party, is to be observed a typical scene from the life of mediæval and modern Gujarat. Probably nowhere else in India are women to be seen going round in a dance keeping time with small sticks '*daṇḍaka*' or '*daṇḍa*' held in either hand. The peculiarity of this dance is that the women sing while they move round and dance. The Bāgh picture is unique in the pictorial history of India, as is also Gujarat in its preservation of an old rite and custom, chiefly observed during the Navarātra festival at the end of the monsoon"—(N. C. Mehta : *Gujarati Painting in the 15th Century*, 1931, p. 26).

470

Western India seems to have thrown off the suzerainty of the Gupta emperors of Magadha shortly after the death of Skandagupta (468 A.D.), as no silver coins of his successors are available from this territory.

Gujarat attained political independence under the leadership of Senāpati (General) Bhaṭakka or Bhaṭārka, who, with the support of the devout forces of *kaula* (hereditary), *bhṛta* (mercenary), *mītra* (allies) and *śrenī* (guilds) types, secured sovereignty ; (Cf : 'मौलभूतमित्रश्रेणीबलवात् राज्यश्रीः ।'). And he founded a royal dynasty at Valabhī, a well-known city on the eastern coast of Saurāṣṭra.

He belonged to the lineage of the mighty Maitrakas. All the royal sealings of the Maitraka dynasty bear the name of Śrī Bhaṭakka or Bhaṭārka, the founder of the dynasty. He was a *Parama Māheśvara* (a great devotee of Maheśvara or Śiva). A Buddhist *vihāra* in Saurāṣṭra was named ' Bhaṭārka-Vihāra '.

A.D. 470 The Maitrakas continued the use of the 'Gupta era' in their edicts; but its years were now adjusted to the Kārtikādi system instead of the Caitrādi system. The name of the modified era is left unspecified in the records of the Maitrakas, but from the nomenclature used in the post-Maitraka records, the era seems to have been known as the 'Valabhi Era'.

473 The Sun-temple at Daśapura, built in 437 A.D. but which had fallen into decay during the reign of Kumāragupta I and Baṇḍhuvarman, was restored in the Mālava year (473 A.D.) by the members of the same guild.

500 Skandagupta's inscription opens with an invocation to the Vāmana incarnation, and mentions a temple of Viṣṇu (*Cakrabhṛta*) as built by Cakrapālita at Girinagar. Clear indications of the prevalence of Vaiṣṇavism in Gujarat are found after the advent of the Guptas in the fourth and the fifth centuries.

The Traikūṭakas in Lāṭa, who were the contemporaries of the Guptas styled themselves as *Parama Bhāgavata*, and *Parama Vaiṣṇava*.—(Hultzs, *Surat Plates of Vyāghrasena*, EI, XI, p. 219).

The title of Dhruvasena I of Valabhi has been a *Parama Bhāgavata*, as is known from the Mālī Copper plates Inscription of Dharasena II.—(Fleet, C II, III, p. 168).

According to the Pālītānā Plates of Simhāditya, dated 574 A.D. (Hultzs, EI, XI, p. 18), of the Gārulaka family, a feudatory ruler to the Maitrakas, there is a record which says that Kṛṣṇa lived in Dwarka, which was his capital on the Western coast. This is the first and perhaps the only epigraphical reference to Kṛṣṇa's Dwarka and its supposed survival upto the beginning of the 7th century A.D.

Mention of the word ' Kṛṣṇa ' in one of the ' Ten Fragments of the Stone-inscriptions from Valā ' suggests a probability of the existence of Vaiṣṇavism during this time.—(Diskalkar, ' Ten Fragments of the Stone-Inscription and a Clay-Seal from Valā ', ABORI, XX, pp. 1-8, No. 1).

490-91 From the victorious Aniruddhapura, the Traikūṭaka Mahārāja Vyāghrasena, son and successor of Dahrasena (C. 465-492) issued the grant of Purohita-pallikā in Iksarki *āhāra*, which may be identified with Achehhāran, about 9 miles north of Surat, to Brāhmaṇa Nāgaśarman of Bhāradvāja *gotra*.

The grant was issued on Kārttika Sudi. 15 of Kalacuri year 241 (490-91 A.D.), and composed by Karka, Minister of Peace and War. The Dūtaka of the grant was Halāhala.—(Surat Plates, EI, XI, 219 ff).

Traikūṭaka coins are found from Kamrej, near Surat.—(ABIA for 1935, p. 34).

494-5 An inscription dated in the Kalacuri year 245 (494-5 A.D.), consisting of a single plate, was found inside a Buddhist monastery at Kṛṣṇagiri (modern Kanheri) in North Koṅkan. It records the construction of a *Caitya* (*i.e.*, the

Stūpa in which the inscription together with some relics was found), dedicated by a pilgrim from Sindh to the venerable Śāradvatīputra, the famous disciple of the Buddha.

The inscription mentions only the increasingly victorious reign of the Traikūtakas, but does not name any reigning king. It appears to have been issued towards the close of Vyāghrasena's reign by a successor of his. During his reign the Traikūta country was invaded by Harisena, the last known Vākāṭaka king who flourished in *Circa* 475-500 A.D.

After the Vākāṭakas, the Kalacuris became supreme in Gujarat, North Konkan and Mahārāṣṭra. The coins of Kṛṣṇarāja, the earliest known king of the Kalacuri dynasty have been found in the islands of Bombay and Śāṣṭi, and copper-plates recording the grants of villages in South Gujarat have also been discovered. Śaṅkaragaṇa, the son of Kṛṣṇarāja is described as 'the lord of the countries between the eastern and western seas'.—(*Abhona Plates*, K. year 347=596 A.D.).

The Traikūṭaka kingdom at its largest extent seems to have extended from the Kim in the north to the Kṛṣṇā in the south, and to have comprised South Gujarat, North Konkan, and the Nasik, Poona and Satara Districts of Mahārāṣṭra.

It is interesting to note that the Traikūṭakas maintained a fleet for the protection of their maritime provinces. During their regime Traikūta seems to have been famous as an emporium of salt. Aniruddhapura seems to have been their capital at least during the reign of Vyāghrasena. It is mentioned as the place of issue in the Surat plates, and is probably identical with the victorious Aniruddhapurī, a Brāhmaṇa resident of which received a grant of land in the Surat District from the Sendraka king Allaśakti.

- c. 500 The tendency to add a nasalised intonation in speech by people, especially by ladies of Saurāṣṭra has been noted in the '*Śikṣā*', a work on Phonetics known as '*Pāṇinīya Śikṣā*' (c. 500 A.D. at the latest), and is illustrated with the word '*takra*' uttered with a twang as '*takrāṇga*' by a Saurāṣṭra lady:—

यथा सौराष्ट्रिका नारी तर्के इत्यभिभाषते ।

एवं रङ्गाः प्रयोक्तव्याः स्वे अरौ इव स्वेदया ।

—पाणिनीय शिक्षा, स्तो. २६

- c. 500-510 In the '*Padatāḍilaka Bhāṇa*', one of the four Bhāṇas published as '*Caturbhāṇī*' of Śyāmilaka, the son of Viśveśvaradatta, an Udicya poet, a chief courtesan of the Surāṣṭras, Madanasenikā by name, is said to have graced a Brahmin called Viṣṇunāga Taṇḍikoki by placing her lotus-like foot on his head!—(*Sivapuri ed. of 1922 by M. R. Kavi and S. K. Ramanatha Sastri, p. 3*).

'*Calurbhāṇi*' is the collection of four *Bhāṇas*, meaning one-act farces composed during this period. Dr. Dasarath Sharma gives C. 500-510 as the date of Śyāmilaka's *Pādatāḍitaka* (*Proceedings IHC Calcutta*, 1955, p. 73:) and corrects the hypothetical date C. 410 A.D. (*JRAS.* 1946, pp. 46-53).

c.500-10 While describing the capital, called, '*Sārvabhaumanagara*', Śyāmilaka the author of *Calurbhāṇi*, speaks of kings of Kaccha and Maru along with others as having assembled there.—(*op. cit.*, p. 8).

Among the *viṣas* enumerated, one called Kumāra Makhavarmā from Ānandapura and one Jayānaḍaka from Surāṣṭra are mentioned.—(*op. cit.*, p. 7).

c. 500-10 Śyāmilaka denounces, in his *Bhāṇa* called '*Pādatāḍitaka*', the customs and manners of the Lāṭa people in general as follows :—

"He bathes naked in water, despite the presence of great persons; washes clothes himself; disturbs his hair; ascends the bed without washing his feet; eats whatsoever even while going along a path; puts on torn clothes and brags even after striking all-of-a-sudden (someone) in his difficulties".—(Stanza 39, p. 167).

c. 500-10 Lāṭa people are, also, described as speaking Jakāra (syllable 'J') in their speech.—(Stanza 51, p. 20).

In the next stanza the peculiar manner of dressing and speaking of the Lāṭas is described :—

"Covering both the hands by the upper garment, tying the waist by a cloth-string, receiving people by uttering the *Śakāra* (syllable S), (the Lāṭa) walks with his shoulders drooped down owing to the fall of his feet."—(St. 52).

"Moreover, keeping his hands on his chest as a dove (*i.e. kapotahasta* which is a peculiar position of hands), he speaks loudly 'Ja' 'Ja' devoid of 'Ya' (*i.e.* speaks 'Ja' instead of 'Ya'); he, with his waist tied properly, walks as if he is touching the mud by the tips of his hands."—(St. 53, p. 20-21).

c 500-10 The heroism of a Lāṭa prince Bhadrāyudha, 'the walking *Tirtha* of the Viṣas, and the Lord of Udīcya, Bālḥika, Kārūṣa and Mālava countries,' is described in the *Bhāṇa* thus :—

"He, who has put both his feet on the heads of the kings of Aparānta, Śaka, and Mālava countries, went at proper time to the mother Ganges like the mother, and captured (?) the prosperity of the family of the Magadha king. Moreover his adventures are sung by the love-sick Aparānta damsels whose locks of hair are distributed by the gentle breezes on the coasts of the great ocean, where there are rows of the Hintāla trees (the marshy date-trees), after supporting themselves by the creepers of the trees."—(Sts. 54-56, p. 21).

This probably suggests that the Lāṭa prince had under his sway not only the countries of Aparānta, Śaka and Mālava, but that the political boundaries of his kingdom went far beyond up the Magadha country.

c. 500-10 A Lāṭa prostitute is described in the *Caturbhāṇī* as one who has put on golden *tālapatra* (ear-rings), hanging in both the ears; having bunch of jewels, pearls and gold at the end of her braid; whose breasts and arm-pits are visible through her bodice having short sleeves, and whose skirt has the end turning over her hips, is dressed in *sakaccha* fashion.—(St. 103, p. 39).

The style of Western Miniature Paintings, which had its origin from the frescoes at Ajanta and Elura, shares common traits re : the dress, hair-dressing and ornaments of ladies of Southern Gujarat as found to have been described in this Sankrit Farce.

III

ANTIQUITIES

Gupta Monuments: Of the Gupta monuments—caves, temples, memorial stones, and stray sculptures and bronzes found in such abundance in Central India, United Provinces, Bihar and Bengal—unfortunately, very few have been found from Gujarat.

Temples: That the Guptas built temples in Gujarat is beyond doubt. Skandagupta's inscription at Junagadh regarding the reconstruction of the Sudarśana lake, explicitly mentions the construction of the temple of *Cakrabhṛt* (Viṣṇu) in G. S. 138 (457 A.D.) of which, however, few remains—the old black granite images in the temple and the pilaster—are believed to be at the extant Dāmodara Maṇḍira, as pointed out by Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji.—(*Bom. Gaz.* I, p. 70).

Along the southern shore of Saurāṣṭra peninsula are found a few early structural temples, the oldest of which is that at Gop, in the Barda Hills, since conserved by the Western Circle of the Department of Archaeology, India. Gop consists of a square shrine surrounded by a double courtyard, and roofed by a peculiar *Śikhara*. It has the *caitya*-window ornament motif, found also at the earlier Uparkot caves at Junagadh; but has not retained the *vedikā* (wooden railing) motif. It is dated to the end of the Gupta supremacy in Western India.—(Plate XXIV)

Bricks: Bricks measuring 15" × 9" × 3" are assignable to the Gupta period, and such bricks have been discovered from several old sites like Khedabrahma, Samalaji, Modhera, Nagara, Sojitra, Akota, Amreli, Prabhasa, Vala, Vadnagar and Variav.

Frescoes: The frescoes in some of the caves in Ajanta and those in the Bagh caves (the scene depicting the *daṇḍa-rāsaka* : Plate XXV) are dateable to the later period of Gupta rule in Western and Southern India.

Sculptures: Some sculptures from Samalaji and a few bronzes from Akota, especially the small head of Ādinātha, are believed to have been executed during the end of this period, and will be noticed in the next chapter.

Coins : The Gupta coinage adopted many of the existing details of the Kṣatrapa coins, with slight modification. Of the existing features, the Guptas kept the bust, bearing, their personality. The symbols of the Gupta coins are Garuḍa, cluster of dots, wavy line beneath border of dots, bull couchant to right (on the base-metal coins of Skandagupta).

The symbols of Bull and Garuḍa etc. are new to Gujarat. The Garuḍa is found on early Greek coins, and Bull on those of the Kuṣāṇas. The Bull has survived through Valabhī coins and copper-plates, right down to the time of Mūlarāja, the Caulukya king.

“For the first time, the Gupta rulers proclaimed their Vaiṣṇava faith on the coins, thus introducing Gujarat by more ways than one, to their pursuit of the old cults perhaps fallen in abeyance”. On Candragupta II's Saurāṣṭra coins, the legend runs: परमभागवत महाराजधिराज श्री चन्द्रगुप्त विक्रमाङ्कस्य।

A large series of silver-plated Gupta coins with a copper core have been found around the site of the ancient Valabhī. The Bull type coins are found in Saurāṣṭra, and probably belonged to the region around Valabhī.

Candragupta II's coins : Candragupta II's several gold coins show a young male figure behind the king, with his right hand laid on the king's shoulders. This youthful figure is Candragupta's son Kumāragupta, who may have acted as the Yuvarāja during the conquest of Malwa. The rareness of Candragupta's coins in Saurāṣṭra, together with the date 90 G.E. (A.D. 409) on some of Kumāragupta's coins make it probable that on their conquest his father appointed Kumāragupta, Viceroy of Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra. (Plate XXVI).

The discovery of nine gold coins of Candragupta II at the village Kumarkhan in Viramgam taluka (Ahmedabad District) is significant (JNSI, XV, 1955). A single coin of Candragupta II's from Karvan is discussed by M. G. Dikshit.

Kumāragupta's coins : Large numbers of Kumāragupta's coins of gold, silver and copper have been found. The silver coins have on the obverse the royal bust in the Kṣatrapa style of dress. The bust is a copy of the moustached Kṣatrapa face with the only difference that the date is in Gupta, instead of in the Kṣatrapa, era. On the reverse is an ill-formed peacock facing from the right as in Candragupta II's coins.

Skandagupta's coins : Skandagupta's Western coins are of three varieties : (i) the same as Western coins of Kumāragupta, (ii) with a bull instead of a peacock on the reverse, and (iii) with a plate (with very small leaves) and basin. Coins of the first two varieties are found both in Gujarat and in Saurāṣṭra. The third water-jet variety is peculiar to Kaccha, and is an entirely new feature in the Western Gupta coinage.

Coins-Hoards : A hoard of 2,000 silver coins of Kumāragupta I was found from Amreli excavations.—(Hirananda Shastri, ARADB, 1936-37, p. 8); and another hoard of 200 silver coins was accidentally unearthed at Anand, now in Vallabh Vidyanagar Museum.

Silver coins: The following hoards of Silver Gupta coins are known to have been found in Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra area* :—

- (i) Ahmedabad, (found in 1856) 65, Kumāragupta [*JBBRAS*, VI (O. S.), Proceedings, p. XXXIX-XI ; XLV-VI.]
- (ii) Sāpūrā, Ahmedabad (found in 1856) Kumāragupta, 1103 along with 283 Valabbī and 9 (?) Western Kṣhatrapa coins. [*JBBRAS*, VI (O.S.), LI ; LXXII.]
- (iii) Kaccha (probably found in 1856). 236, Skandagupta (fire-altar type) : [*JBBRAS*, VI (O. S.) LXVIII.]
- (iv) Bhuj, Kumāragupta : number not known, found some time before 1915. 43 of them are in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- (v) Bhāvanagar, Kumāragupta : number not known, found in 1914-15. 13 of them are in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- (vi) Vala, Kumāragupta : number not known, found in 1914-15. 5 of them are in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- (vii) Amreli, about 2000, Kumāragupta, 1936-37. (*ARADB*, 1936-37, p. 8).
- (viii) Ānand, Dist Kaira, about 200, Kumāragupta (Garuḍa type) : (*Annual report of the Bombay Secretariat Record Office and its Sub-offices*, 1952-53, p. 17.) Here it is wrongly described as peacock type.

Gold coins: The Guptas had issued gold coins profusely ; but they are extremely rare in Gujarat and its adjoining area. So far they are known by only one hoard of 9 coins found in the village Kumarkhan in Viramgaon taluka of Ahmedabad District in about 1953. It contained one coin of Samudragupta (Battle-axe type), two coins of Kācagupta and six coins of Candragupta II (Archer type). Since this hoard has no coin of Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta, it shows that the hoard was buried during the reign of Candragupta II and he had his sway over this part of the country.

Coins of the Traikūṭakas: The Traikūṭakas issued silver coins of the type of the Western Kṣatrapas. They bear on the obverse the bust of the king facing right, surrounded by Graeco-Roman characters which are obscure, as on later Western Kṣhatrapa coins. These coins differ from them in having no date. On the reverse is the three-arched hill, with crescent on the right (some time seen on the top of the hill) and star on the left and a wavy line below. Legend around these coins is as follows :—

The Mahārājendra-dattaputra Parama-Vaiṣṇava Śrī Mahārāja Dahrasena on the coins of Daharasena ;

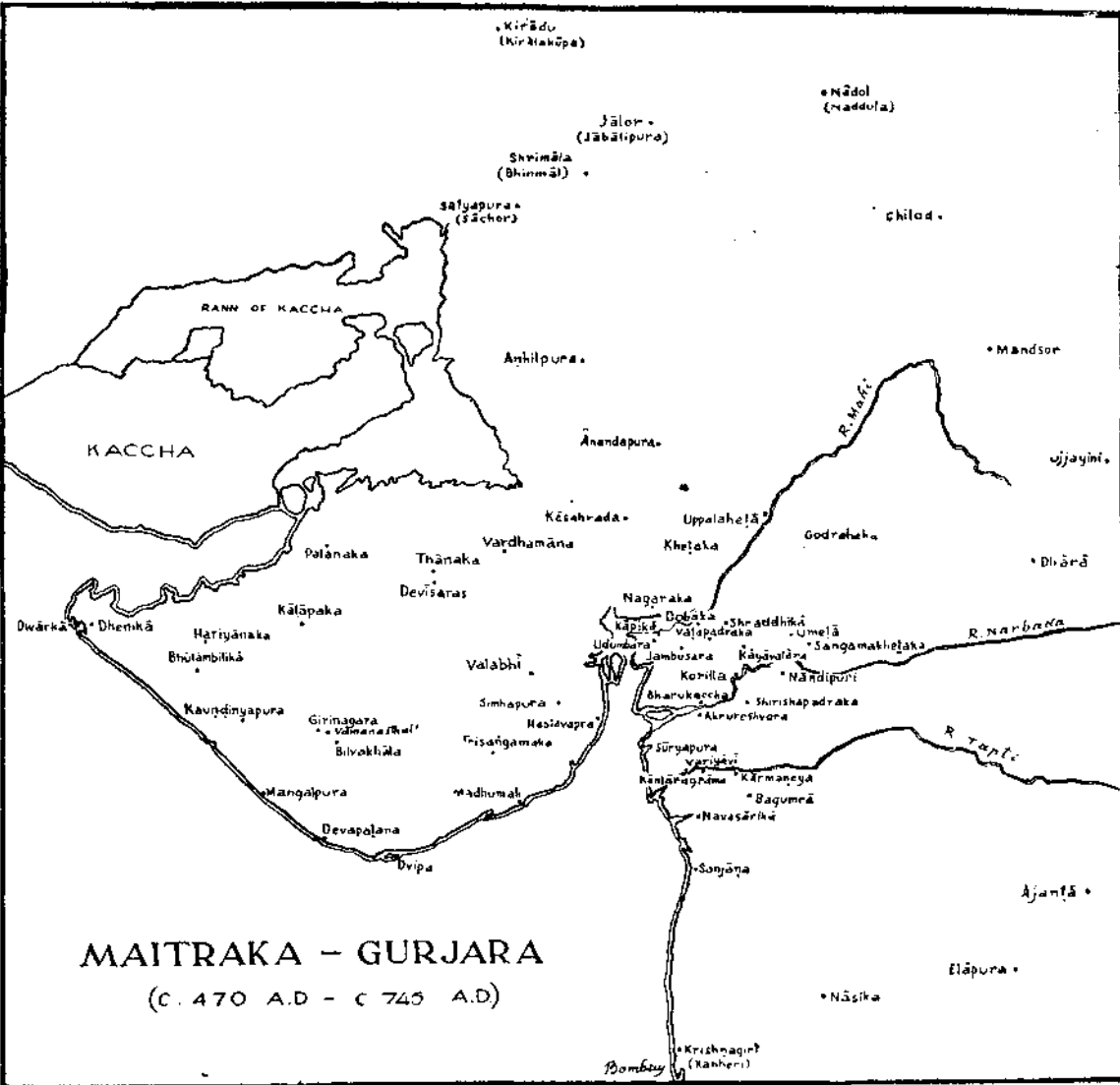
Mahārāja Dahrasena (or *gaṇa*) *putra Parama Vaiṣṇava Śrī Mahārāja Vyāghrasena* (or *gaṇa*) on the coins of Vyāghrasena. Only one hoard is known to have been found at Poona in 1908, of these coins ;* though stray coins were found from various places and are lying in various Museums.

* This note is based on the *Bibliography of Hoards of Coins found in Bombay State*, compiled by Sjt. Paramesvari Lal Gupta, for a Monograph of the Numismatic Society of India, made so kindly available to the General Editor in advance.

CHAPTER VII

MAITRAKA-GURJARA PERIOD

(C. 470 A.D.—745 A.D.)



Maitraka and Gurjara Empires

MAITRAKA-GURJARA PERIOD

(C. 470 A.D.—745 A.D.)

I

The Maitrakas: The Gupta emperor Budhagupta was on the throne in A.D. 477, after a decade of disorder subsequent to Skandagupta's death ; and he ruled for about twenty years or more. Records of his governors in Malwa and Bengal testify to the continued solidarity of the Gupta empire, at least to a considerable extent.

Of all the states that arose out of the break-up of the Gupta empire in the West, the kingdom of Valabhī proved to be the most durable. Bhaṭārka, a Gupta general (*senāpati*) of the Maitraka clan was appointed by Skandagupta to help governor Parṇadatta in maintaining peace and order against the impending Hūṇa invasions. Bhaṭārka ruled the province comprising of Saurāṣṭra and a part of Ānarta from the new head-quarters at Valabhīpur. His descendants gradually made themselves powerful towards the end of the fifth century A.D.

Bhaṭārka was succeeded by his son Dharasena. Both of them called themselves *Senāpati* ; but the next governor Droṇasiṃha, a younger son of Bhaṭārka assumed the title *Mahārāja* ; and it is claimed in the official records of the family that the paramount ruler in person installed him in royalty by a regular ceremony. The paramount ruler, referred to, was most probably the Emperor Budhagupta.

Thus Droṇasiṃha became a feudal chief rather than a governor, and though the family still paid nominal homage to the Gupta Emperor, the Maitrakas of Valabhī were well on the way to setting up an independent kingdom.

With the death of Budhagupta in C. 500, the power and glory of the Gupta Empire vanished. Whatever was left of it was split into two sectors, viz. the Western, consisting of Malwa and Avanti, and the Eastern, comprising Magadha and North Bengal. A considerable part of modern Gujarat formed part of the Western Section. The Gupta emperors maintained a military governor for Ānartapura (Vadnagar) in North Gujarat and at Bharukachha (Broach), which then included parts of modern North Konkan.

About 465 the Hūṇas under Toramāṇa entered India, and finally reached Ujjayini (C. 500). The then ruler of Malwa, whose sway extended over Central Gujarat, was forced to retire to Bengal. About 512 A.D., Mihirakula, the son of Toramāṇa, was the most powerful ruler in North-West India. But in C. 520 he was defeated by Yaśodharman Viṣṇuwardhana ; and in 533, Malwa was governed by his governor. In 550 Īśānavarman overthrew the descendants of Viṣṇuwardhana, made Kanauj the Imperial capital, and became the unchallenged master of North India.

The Hūṇa inroads under Toramāṇa and Mihirakula must have contributed further to the disintegration of the Gupta empire, which had begun after the death of Budhagupta. In addition to the Hūṇas, we know of at least one other foreign invasion. Hariṣeṇa, the Vākātaka ruler of the Deccan invaded Malwa, and established his authority over Malwa and Gujarat.

The earliest land-grant of the Maitraka family, so far discovered, is the one issued by Mahārāja Droṇasimha in 502 A.D. (Valabhī Saṃvat 183).

The most important and definite sources of information for ascertaining the initial year of the *Valabhī Era* are the two inscriptions found at Verawal, in Saurāṣṭra dated respectively in the years 927 and 945 of the Valabhī Saṃvat (Hultzsch, 'A Grant of Arjunadeva of Gujarat dated 1264', IA, XI, pp. 241-45; Keithorn, 'The Verawal Image Inscription', EI, III, p. 303). The second of these is also dated according to three other well-established eras, giving three different dates equivalent to the Valabhī Saṃvat 945. These years are, the Hijari 662, the Vikrama 1320, and the Śiṃha 151. From a comparison of these dates it is clear that the Valabhī era comes 375 years later than the well-known Vikrama era, or in other words, it commenced in the 375th year of the *Vikrama Saṃvat-sara*, i.e., in about 319 A.D., and was still in current usage during the 13th Century of the Christian era, at least in this part of India.—(Vide, 470 A.D., infra : p. 123)

The Maitrakas do not specify the era in dating their records, perhaps owing to its having been well-established in country-wide usage. The earliest known of their grants bears the date Saṃvat 183 ('Bhāmodrā Moṭā. Plate of Valabhī king Droṇasimha', EI, XVI, p. 18), and was issued by king Droṇasimha, who was the third in succession, but the first *de jure* ruler of that line. The last, dated 477 (Fleet, 'The Alinā Copper-plates of king Śīlāditya VII', CII, III, p. 182) belongs to king Śīlāditya VI (VII) who was probably also the last of the Maitrakas. The conclusion seems to be inevitable that the Maitrakas may have adopted an era started by some other ruling family and already current in Saurāṣṭra at the time when they established their rule. The Junagadh rock-inscription of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman offers a clue to this problem, as it is dated in the year 72 of the Śaka era, which was then current in Saurāṣṭra during the Kṣatrapa period, i.e., from the 2nd to the 4th Century A.D. After this, the country passed into the hands of the Guptas, and the inscription of Skandagupta found on the same rock, and dated in Gupta Saṃvat 138, is evidence enough that the Gupta era was current during the period. After the death of Skandagupta the Gupta power over this part of the country declined, as the last date of the Guptas recorded in Saurāṣṭra is G.S. 138 (= 457 A.D.), and the earliest known date of the Maitraka king, as given above, is 183 (i.e., 502 A.D.). The interval of 45 years between the two dates is long enough to fit in the two predecessors of Droṇasimha, Bhaṭārka and Dharasena I. Accordingly, we may take it that the era used by the Maitraka kings was the Gupta era—the initial year of both the eras being 319 A.D.—(K. Virji, *Ancient History of Saurāṣṭra*, 1955, pp. 106-109).

All the royal grants were issued from Valabhī, which must have been the capital

city. When or under what circumstances the capital was removed from Girinagar, where Paṇḍadatta, the Gupta governor evidently had his head-quarters, it is difficult to say. It has been suggested that the capital was removed as the bursting of the Sudarśana lake was a standing menace to its safety, as shown by two previous records thereto; one in 150 A.D. and the other in 455 A.D. But this is not sufficiently convincing.

After asserting his independence, Bhaṭārka seems to have transferred his capital from Girinagar to Valabhī. This is confirmed by the epigraphical records, which suggest that Girinagar had lost its importance. We get references of the Brāhmaṇas who migrated from Girinagar and settled down at various places round about Valabhī. One of such examples from the Valabhī grants is found in the Aṇastu Plates (EI, XXII, p. 114) where the donee had migrated from Girinagar and resided at Śraddhikā. According to the *Bombay Gazetteer* (I, Pt. I, p. 96) "its (Valabhī's) choice as a capital was probably due to its being a harbour on the Bhavnagar creek. The place was not so much inland as it is now. Since the days of Valabhī kings the silt which thickly covers the ruins, has also filled and choked the channel which once united it with the Bhavnagar creek when Ghālā was probably a fair-sized river."

An unusually large number of records (copper-plates) of this family have come to light which enable us to reconstruct the geneology and chronology of the kings with a fair degree of certainty; but these records contain little else of historical value.

The final overthrow of the Imperial Gupta dynasty between A.D. 550 and 570, fully explains the absence of all references to its suzerainty in Valabhī records since the time of Guhasena. It is probably for this reason that in later records of the family, since the time of Śīlāditya I (606 A.D.), the conventional geneology of the royal family as given in the land-grants begins with Guhasena, descended from Bhaṭārka, the names of all the intervening rulers being omitted altogether.—(R. C. Majumdar, *The Classical Age*, pp. 60-63).

Towards the close of the sixth century A.D., Valabhī had become the most powerful kingdom in Western India. Hiuen Tsang pays high compliments to king Śīlāditya of Mo-la-po, i.e. of Western Malwa as "a monarch of great administrative ability and of rare kindness and compassion." At the time of the Chinese pilgrim's visit in 640 A.D., Dhruvasena II, the nephew of Śīlāditya, was the king of Valabhī.

It was during the reign of Dhruvasena II, Bālāditya, who was the son-in-law of Harṣavardhana of Kanauj that Hiuen Tsang visited India. The Valabhī king was a sincere believer in Buddhism, and he attended the religious assembly convoked by Śrī Harṣavardhana at Prayāga and probably also at Kanauj, early in 643 A.D. During the greater part of the reign of Harṣavardhana, Valabhī was a powerful and independent kingdom and exercised supremacy over Northern Gujarat and a part of Malwa.

Valabhīpura was a city of power, wealth and culture. It had a large library of sacred books. Sthiramati and Guṇamati, two Buddhist monks, had composed their

treatises in its University. Their fame had reached even China, and in consequence they had been invited there. The country was happy and prosperous and its merchants carried on extensive commercial activity. More than a hundred merchants were worth over a *lakh*.

Dharasena IV, who ascended the throne of Valabhī about 644 A.D., assumed Imperial titles and called himself a *Cakravarti*, though his reign was of a short duration (died c. 653). Whether this led to hostility between him and Harṣavardhana, which forced him to take refuge with king Dadda II of Nāndīpurī, we do not definitely know. But two of his land-grants were issued from the victorious camp at Bharukaccha, within the dominion of the Gurjaras, where he possibly reached in the course of a victorious military campaign.

Dharasena's reign thus marks an important epoch in the history of Valabhī, whose power and prestige were increased by him. The great poet Bhaṭṭi lived at his court.

Śilāditya III (662-684 A.D.) was another powerful ruler, who granted some lands in the *Bharukaccha-viṣava* (district), having temporarily conquered the Gurjaras.

It was probably during the reign of Śilāditya V that Valabhī was first invaded by the Arabs, (sometime between 725 to 735 A.D.) who, starting from their base in Sindh, overran a great part of Rajputana, Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra, and advanced as far as Ujjayinī. Although they obtained considerable success at first, their incursions led to no permanent results, and they were ultimately repulsed by the Cālukya king of Lāṭa and the Pratihāra king of Kanauj.

This is learnt from a record of the Gurjara king Jayabhaṭa IV of Broach, that in the city of the Lord of Valabhī he inflicted a defeat on the Tājjikas (Arabs) who had caused immense suffering to numerous people.--(EI., XXIII, 151, fn. 7; 154 fn. 1). At this crisis, as in the past, the Gurjaras came to the rescue of the Valabhī king. Though the Arabs retired from Saurāṣṭra, the Valabhī king was not destined to rule in peace. A record dated 738 A.D. refers to one Jaikadeva of the Saiūdhava family as the lord of *Surāṣṭra-maṇḍala* with Imperial titles, ruling at Bhūmilikā (modern Bhumli or Gumli in Porbandar State).

The gradual advance, first of the Cālukyas and later of the Pratihāras of Avanti and of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas constituted a constant menace to the Valabhī State; and with Śilāditya VII, the rule of the Maitraka family came to an end on the second attack of the Arabs in 776 A.D.

The general belief is that Valabhīpura was destroyed by the Arabs, as noted by Alberuni (*Alberuni's India*, Tr. by Sachau, I, 192). The Arab historian of Sindh records that in 758 A.D. Caliph Mansur sent Amru-bin-Jamāl with a fleet to the coast of Baraḍā—a name applied to the Porbandar range of hills. About 776 A.D. a second expedition succeeded in taking the town. Some scholars find corroboration of Alberuni's story by taking Baraḍā as a mistaken form of Balaba or Valabhī.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar, disbelieving the above general belief, suggests: "It would not be unreasonable to conclude that the Pratihāra king destroyed the kingdom of Valabhī, and set up one or more feudatory families like the Cāpas and the Cālukyās, referred to above, to rule over the kingdom. This seems to be the most reasonable explanation of the downfall of the Maitraka kings."--(*The Classical Age*, p. 151).

It has been also suggested that the rival kingdom of Bhūmilikā in South-western Saurāṣṭra, fought with the Maitrakas and even assisted the Arabs against them, precipitating the final collapse of the Maitraka power.

The main contribution of the Maitrakas appears to have been in the field of administration, in which, adopting the machinery as well as the administrative terms of their predecessors, the Mauryas, the Kṣatrapas and the Guptas, they moulded it to fit a system which is very near like that of our own times.

At their capital, again, flourished that great Buddhist centre of learning, the University of Valabhī, the memory of which has escaped the oblivion to which its patrons and their deeds of bravery are sunk.

In other spheres of life, too, they made their contribution, albeit modest, aiding religion and furthering the social life of their people by their generosity and encouragement to learning, among both the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas.

The Gurjaras :—During the downfall of the Gupta Empire about the second half of the 6th century A.D., the Gurjaras established their political authority in the heart of Rajputana at Māṇḍavyapura (Maṇḍor) near Jodhpur; and this region came to be called after them 'Gurjaratrā', a variant of 'Gujarat'. The province, now known as Gujarat, was not called by that name till a much later period. The term 'Gurjara' primarily denoted a people, and the countries derived their names from them; yet there is no definite evidence that they were foreigners, who came to India in historical times in the wake of the Hūṇas, the Kuṣāṇas or other foreign hordes.

The origin of the Pratihāras and of related dynasties, can be traced back to a period immediately succeeding the massive inroads of Hūṇas (C. 550 A.D.). This period constitutes in many ways, a second dividing line in the history of this part of India. Earlier, in Rajputana and the Punjab the local scene was dominated by a series of oligarchic tribal republics—Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas, Yaudheyas, Puṣyamitras etc., which were able enough to retain their identity and status for many centuries. This system we know to have prevailed at least from the time of Pāṇini to the Gupta. As far as great power politics were concerned, it was the foreign invaders who dominated—Yavanas, Śakas, Kuṣāṇas; but whether beneath their way, or from time to time independent, the tribal republics maintained their identity and way of life.

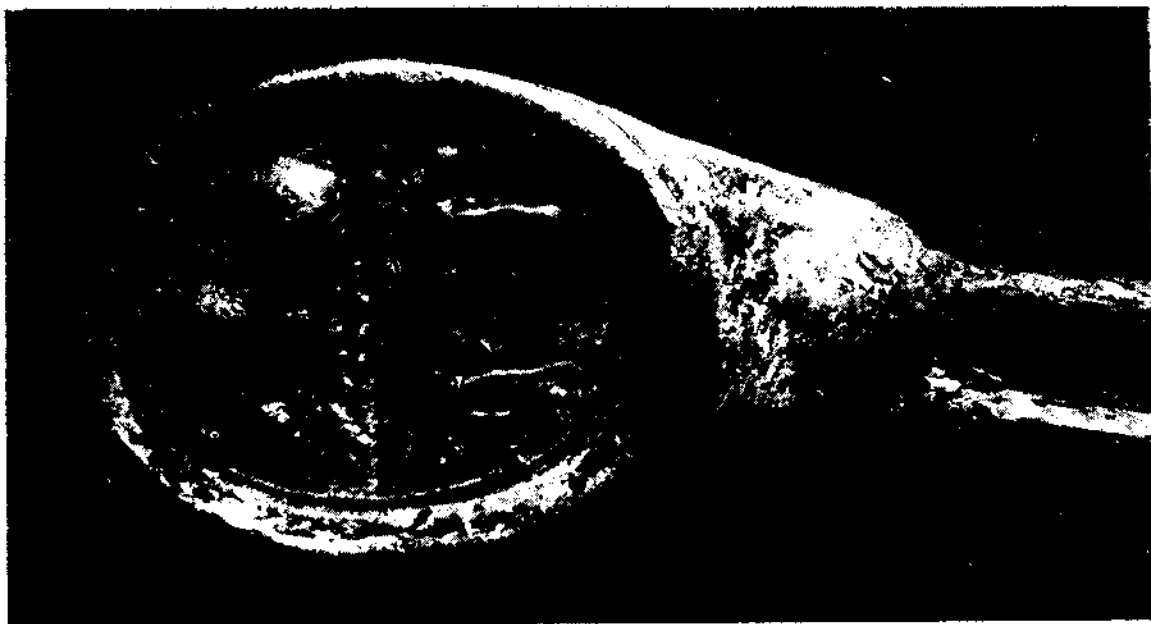
After the great war of Hūṇa invasion had receded to the northern Punjab, the situation in Rajputana and adjoining regions underwent a marked transformation. In place of the tribal republics there arose the many clans of Rajputs—Pratihāras, Cāhamānas, Guhīlots, Paramāras and others. The Gurjaras appeared on the scene as if from no-where

about this time ; and this led to the theory that they were foreigners, who entered India in company with or about the same time as the Hūṇas, settled in the areas which they were later found occupying, and became rapidly Hinduised.—(T. Burrow, *The History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras*, 1959 ; Foreword, p. v, vi).

The foreign origin theory of the Gurjaras has received support from many scholars who on the evidence of similar endings—Khazar and Gujar, are supposed to be foreigners, associated with the Hūṇas in their march towards India. Other scholars have suggested the Indian origin of the Gurjaras ; but it has not been possible for them to locate their original home nor to account for the absence of their names in Indian literature. Some even have doubted the Gurjara origin of the Pratihāra rulers of Kanauj.

The foreign origin theory, however, has been considered afresh ; and the probable home of the Gurjaras in the region round about Mount Ābu, which is connected with the origin of several other families as well, has been suggested as the probable home of the Gurjaras. Regarding the association of the Gurjaras with the Hūṇas, as supposed by Hoernle and others, it must not be forgotten that the Hūṇas, could not be assimilated into Hindu society till the 11th Century A.D., but, for the Gurjaras, it is rather strange that the dust raised by their inroad took no time to settle down, and they were easily absorbed, as we find references to Gurjara Brāhmaṇas in the 6th Century A.D. ; such a thing would have been an utter impossibility if they had been foreigners. In fact, they were very probably tribal people who remained in obscurity for long and were formerly known as the Ārbuḍas. The absence of their name in early Indian chronicles is no ground for doubting their Indian origin. Here an analogy is suggested. The Kharaparikas and Sanakānikas—the tribal peoples mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta—would have been unknown to Indian history except for this solitary reference.—(Baija Nath Puri, *The History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras*, 1959, Preface, p. vii).

The earliest Gurjara kingdom, known so far, is that founded by Haricaṇḍra in the modern Jodhpur State in Rajputana, about the middle of the 6th century A.D. Haricaṇḍra was a Brāhmin, versed in the Vedas and other Śāstras. He had two wives. The sons born of the Brāhmin wife became Pratihāra Brāhmins, while those born of his Kṣatriya wife became the founders of the royal line of the Pratihāras. Though a man of peaceful pursuits in his early life, when after the fall of the Gupta empire and the empires of Mihirakula and Yaśodharman, Northern India presented a favourable field for military enterprise, Haricaṇḍra gave up Śāstras (scriptures) for the Śastras (arms) and founded a kingdom. He had four sons by queen Bhadrā, viz. : Bhogabhaṭ, Kakka, Rājñila and Dadda. They conquered and fortified Māṇḍavyapura (Maṇḍor, five miles north to Jodhpur) which became their capital. The third son (there is no information about his first two sons) Rājñila who ruled from here, was succeeded by his son Narabhaṭa and latter by his son Nāgabhaṭa, who fixed his permanent capital at Meḍāntaka (Mertā, 70 miles NE of Jodhpur). Hericaṇḍra and his three successors, probably ruled between C. 550 and 640 A.D.—(' Jodhpur Inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka ', EI. XVIII, 87 ff.).



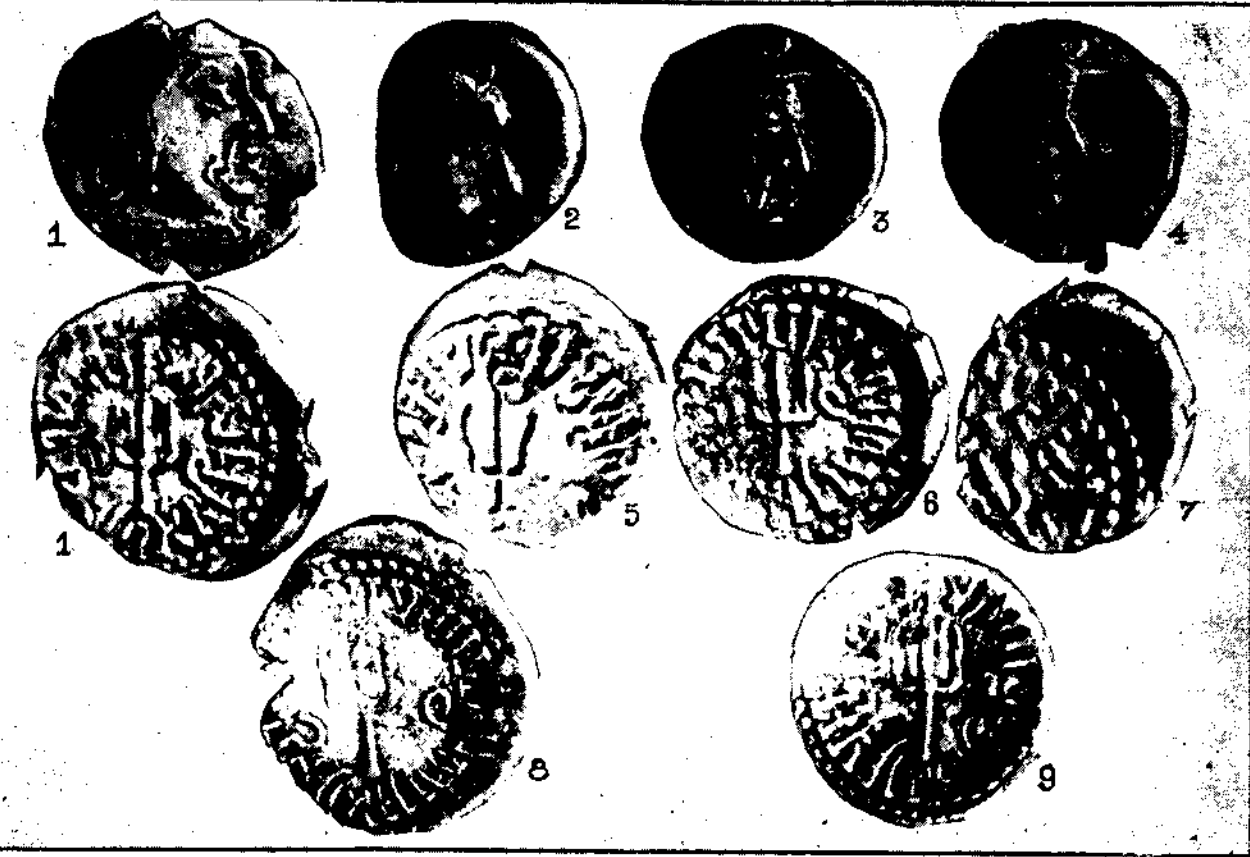
(A) Maitraka Copper-plate Seal of a Nandī, with the legend *Bhaṭṭakkaḥ* (p. 197)



(C) Cālukya and Pratibāra Seal of Ādi-Varāha, Viṣṇu.

(B) Rāṣṭrakūṭa Seal of a Garuḍa, the Vāhana of Viṣṇu.
(See Plate XVIII A, *Supra*).

Plate XXIX



Valabhi Coins

- (1-) Obverse : Śri Bhaṭṭārka (Bust)
Reverse : Trident (Triśūla) with a long handle.
- (2-3-4) Busts of different Valabhī kings. Types of faces, and especially noses, differ :
Resemble Indo-Greek head-dress.
- (5) Śarva Bhaṭṭārka : Trident with short handle and curved ends.
The legend reads क्षत्ररादित्यमक्तश्रीशुर्वभ....
- (6-8-9) Legend similar, with slight variants.
- (7) Fabric like those of Gupta coins.

In addition to the kingdom in Rajputana, there was another principality in the region round Bharukaccha which was ruled over by Gurjara chiefs. The four earliest records of the family, dated between 629 and 641 A.D., were issued by a king named Dadda II Praśāntarāga, son of Vitarāga Jayabhaṭa I, and grandson of Dadda I. It appears from these records that this principality extended from the river Mahī in the north to the Kīm in the south, and from the sea-coast in the west to the borders of Malwa and Khāṇḍesh on the east. As all the grants were issued from Nāṇḍipurī, that was probably the capital of the family, which has been identified with Nāṇḍod, situated on the Karjan river in the old Rajpipla State.

As Dadda I is expressly said to have been born in the family of the Gurjara kings, and must have flourished in the last quarter of the sixth century A.D., he may reasonably be identified with Dadda, the youngest son of Haricaṇḍra, the founder of the main Gurjara family.

In addition to the kingdom of Bharukaccha we hear of another Gurjara kingdom in Mālwa, with its capital at Avanti, at a somewhat later date, where the rulers called themselves 'Pratihāras', suggesting their descent from one of the sons of Haricaṇḍra.

The inscriptions of the Gurjaras of Broach exultingly mention the fact that Dadda II obtained great glory by protecting (or rescuing) the lord of Valabhī who had been overpowered by Harṣavardhana (IA, XIII, 77-79). The Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gurjaras are referred to as feudatories of Pulakeśin in the Aihole Inscription, as they never submitted to Harṣavardhana.

The territory over which the Gurjaras of Nāṇḍipurī ruled was included in the dominions of the Kalacuri kings Śaṅkaragaṇa and Buddharāja. It appears, Dadda I founded a principality somewhere in Southern Rajputana; and it was only after the collapse of the Kalacuri power that he or his son occupied Broach and the district around it. Possibly the Gurjaras sought the aid of Pulakeśin and voluntarily submitted to him in order to overpower the Kalacuris. The Nāṇḍipurī Gurjaras, Dadda and his successors, are called *Sāmañtas* or feudatories, as they owed allegiance either to the main Gurjara ruling family in Rajputana or to the Cālukyas.

II

- A.D. Traikūṭaka Mahārāja Dharaśena was succeeded by his son Vyāghraśena.
 476 His coins are almost similar to those issued by his father. In the legend he is also represented as a *Parama-Vaiṣṇava Mahārāja*.—(Rapon, B.M.C. 202-3).
 478 Ś. 400, 415, 417: Copper-plates from Umeṭā, Bagumrā and Ilās are considered to be spurious by some scholars.

Dadda II, Praśāntarāga, Gurjara of Bharukaccha, was the son and successor of Jayabhaṭ I.

- c. 480 The kingdom of the Gārulakas seems to have been founded by Śūra I, shortly after the decline and fall of the Gupta supremacy over Saurāṣṭra. In
 c18

the copper-edict of Varāhadāsa II (A.D. 549), Śūra I is represented as having acquired royal power by the prowess of his troops, and styled a 'Mahārāja'. Possibly Rājasthāniya Śūra who had repaired Bhaṭārka-Vihāra may be identified with this king, who seems to be a contemporary and ally of Senāpati Bhaṭārka.—(H. G. Shastri, *Maitrakakālina Gujarat*, 217 ff.)

490 From Vijayāniruddhapura, Traikūṭaka Mahārāja Vyāghrasena issued the grant of Purohita-pallikā in Iksaraki Āhāra to Brāhmaṇa Nāgaśarman of Bhāradvāja gotra. The grant was issued on Kārtika su. 15 of (Kalacuri) year 241 (490 A.D.) and composed by Karka, Minister of Peace and War. The Dūtaka of the grant was Hālāhala.—(*Surat Plates*, EI; XI 219 ff.).

490 Rise of the Cālukya dynasty of Bādāmi. According to later tradition, the Cālukyas were of northern origin. The establishment of their power in the south is ascribed to Jayasīṃha I, the earliest named prince of the line. In the 6th century A.D. the Cālukyas established themselves at the expense of the Pallavas, founding there a kingdom, which in its palmiest days embraced the greater part of Southern India.

495 Senāpati Bhaṭārka is the accredited founder of the Valabhi dynasty of the Maitrakas. The princes of Valabhi started as feudatories of the Gupta empire, Dharasena IV (641-650 A.D.) being the first of their line to become a Supreme Sovereign.

From the time of Dharasena II, the Valabhi rule embraced continental Gujarat as far as the Mahi, and later it extended at least to the Narmadā, Bharukaccha being temporarily wrested from the Gurjaras by Dharasena IV.

Some of the Valabhi princes, though following Brahmanism patronised Buddhism. Dhruvasena I granted a village to a monastery founded by his sister's daughter Duddā, and his nephew Guhasena gave four villages to the same monastery. Guhasena's mention of the 18 schools represented in the monastery refers to the Hīnayāna sect of Buddhism, and thus confirms Hiuen Tsang's statement as to the Hīnayāna doctrine being chiefly studied in the Convents of Valabhi.

492-499 Bhaṭārka was succeeded by his eldest son Dharasena I (492-499 A.D.), who, like his father, did not assume any royal titles, and retained the hereditary title of 'Senāpati'. He is said to have subdued his opponents and had been liberal in donations.

494-5 The Kaṇheri inscription commemorates the erection of a *caitya* in the great monastery of Kīṣṇagiri (Kaṇheri). It is dated in the year 245 of the increasing rule of the Traikūṭakas.—(Burgess and Bhagavanlal, *Cave-temples*, ASWI, Misc. Rep. No. 10, p. 57). This is the latest known date of the Traikūṭakas,

C. 495 Toramāṇa, a Hūṇa chief of Śākala in the Punjab, established himself in Eastern Mālava probably succeeding Budhagupta. His reign at Śākala may have begun about 460 A.D., and the death of Skandagupta very likely enabled him to invade and hold Central India. He seems, however, to have been defeated, and the Gupta power was temporarily restored by Narasimhagupta, with the aid of the Valabhi ruler in C. 510 A.D. (Cf. III, Int. II: text, 158). An inscription of Toramāṇa at Eran is dated in the first year of his reign in Mālava, and a coin bears the date 52 of an unknown era.

C. 495 A great invasion of White Huns under Toramāṇa took place about 495, by which time the Gupta empire was overthrown. Toramāṇa became master of Mālava, etc.

C. 498 An authority on astronomy called Lāṭa, who is also known as Lāṭadeva, Lāṭācārya etc., is mentioned in the *Pañcasiddhāntikā* of Varāhamihira (505-587 A.D.), as the commentator of *Pauliṣa* and *Romaka Siddhānta*.—(I. 3).

In the same work it is further said that Lāṭācārya believed that Abargana should be measured from the sun-set in the Yavanapura (which corresponds to the mid-night of Laṅkā) (14. 44).

Some calculations of Lāṭa are accepted by Śrīṣeṇa in his *Romaka-siddhānta* (505 A.D.)—(Cf. Brahmagupta: '*Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta*'; 11. 48).

This Lāṭa seems to have written an independent work also, over and above the two commentaries mentioned above, as is clear from references to him in astronomical works. Alberuni says that *Sūrya Siddhānta* was a work of Lāṭa. But this '*Sūrya Siddhānta*' written by Lāṭa cannot be the original one, enumerated in the '*Pañcasiddhāntikā*' of Varāhamihira.—(Cf. S. B. Dikshit: *Bhāratiya Jyotiḥśāstra*, p. 180).

If the name Lāṭācārya is a name from the country, then it shows how much active interest the Lāṭa scholar showed in astronomy.

C.500-900 Apart from the Mauryan period, which was an Age of Imperialism *par-excellence*, the village was a regular unit of the State and no republic, under the Valabhai, Cālukya and Rāṣṭraūṭa kings. The fixed order of officials invariably mentioned in the grants shows that there was a real control from the Central Government.—(Altekar, *History of Village Communities in Western India*, p. 126).

500-900 Valabhi copper-plate inscriptions from Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra of the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions of the succeeding two centuries mention the Headman (ग्रामकूट) as the most important officer of the village, to whom all others were subordinate.

The plates mention the officers according to their grades; and their usual order is राष्ट्र-विषयपति-ग्रामकूट-आयुक्त-नियुक्ताधिकारिक-महसरादीन् (समाज्ञापयति)।

Payment of taxes continued to be in kind under the Valabhis, Cālukyas and Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Their grants distinctly refer to a grainshare in kind : (Cf. the expression *सधान्यहिरण्यदेयः* ; i). This system continued to be the order of the day in India, while Todar Mall, the Revenue Minister of Akbar, introduced for the first time, the cash payment system in Northern India.—(Altekar, *ibid.*, p. 64).

Many of the village grants of the kings of the Valabhī, Gurjara, Cālukya and Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasties mention officers called ' चौररोद्धरणिकाः ' and ' दण्डपाशिकाः ' who were obviously, as their names clearly show, police and detective officers appointed to arrest and chastise robbers and desperate characters.

Cf. (i) सर्वानेव स्वाम्यहासामन्तसेनावतिवलयिकृत चोरोद्धरणिकभोगिक...दीन् आज्ञापयति—Antroli Chharoli grant of Karkarāja A.D. 450 ;

(ii) द्रागिक शौकित्तचौररोद्धरणिक. —Valabhī plate of Śīlāditya I, A. D. 615

(iii) भुवस्थानाधिकर दंडपाशिक—Valabhī plate of Dharasena, A.D. 526 and Ganeśagadh plate of Dhruvasena I.—(Altekar, *ibid.*, p. 62).

[Vide, for example the Kāvi (Broach Dist.), Radhanpur and Wani (Nasik Dist.) plates of Govinda III, Alas (Khandesa) plates of Kakkaraja II, etc.].

The kings were anxious to warn all those officers who might be in a position to disturb the enjoyment of rent-free land or village ; i.e. those who were connected with the collection of taxes ; and these are mentioned in the grants. —(Altekar, *History of Village Communities in Western India*, p. 6).

C.500-900 In the numerous temple or monastery grants at Nasik, Karli, Kavi, Valabhī etc. extensive properties that were granted for the management of temples and monasteries for their repairs, etc. were conveyed directly and never to any temple committee or village council in trust.—(Altekar, *History of Village Communities in Western India*, p. 25).

Most of the village grants of the Valabhī and Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarchs contain an exhortation that the villages granted away were not to be entered into by regular or irregular troops. The precise significance of the expression *अचादभट-प्रवेश्यः* can be understood only when we remember that in ancient times, when troops or sepoys were required for any purely local purpose, the inhabitants of the locality had to pay for their help. Villages mentioned in the grants were exempted from this liability. It appears that the visits of such regular and irregular troops must have been frequent enough for the purpose of detection of crime or the chastisement of robbers.—(Altekar, *History of Village Communities in Western India* p. 56).

500 Śūra I in the Gārulaka lineage was succeeded by Varāhadāsa I, who like Dharasena I, is simply styled ' Senāpati '. He was a *Parama Bhāgavata*.—(H. G. Shastri, MG, 220 f.).

G. 500 Dharasena I was succeeded by his younger brother Droṇasimha (C. 500-519 A.D.) in *circa* A.D. 499 as borne out by the date of his first grant (502 A.D.), as well as by the dates of the grants (525-44 A.D.) issued by his successor.

He was the first Maitraka ruler who received the formal ceremony of *rājyā-bhīṣeka* (coronation), which was personally attended by the *Parama-Svāmin* (Overlord), most probably the then reigning Gupta Sovereign Budhagupta. He assumed the royal title 'Mahārāja' and issued grants of land to religious institutions.

502 From Valabhī, Mahārāja Droṇasimha issued the grant of the village Trisaṅgamaka for the maintenance and upkeep of the temple of Bhagavatī Pāṇḍurāja in Hastavapra Āharaṇī in (Valabhī) year 183, Śrāvaṇa śuddha 15 (502 A.D.). The grant was composed by Kumārilapatika, son of Śaṣṭhīdatta. —(*Bhāmodrā Motā Plates*, EI; XVI 17 ff.) This shows that as early as the end of the fifth century, temples of goddesses existed in Hastavapra, near Bhavnagar.

502 Varāhadāsa I of the Gārulaka family was succeeded by his elder son Śūra II. In the copper-edicts of his successors he is styled *Sāmanta*, *Mahārāja* and *Bhaṭṭi*. He also was a *Parama-Bhōgavata*.—(H. G. Shastri, MG, 221 ff.)

502-526 The Maitrakas are seen to have assumed the sovereign right of issuing independent grants of land between 502 and 526 A.D. The mask of loyalty was thus later on openly cast aside, and the later Maitraka Mahārājas issued grants of land without even referring to the ruling Gupta emperors.

Saurāṣṭra remained loyal to the Gupta sovereigns during the life-time of Budhagupta and Vainyagupta. During the last days of Budhagupta's regime and the period that followed, the distant provinces of the Gupta empire gradually became independent. Droṇasimha, the third Maitraka general of Valabhī, assumed the title of 'Mahārāja' and presumably held independent sway over the provinces of Saurāṣṭra and Gujarat.

G.515-30 Mihirakula, a Hūṇa chief of Śākala in the Puṇjab, succeeded his father, Toramāṇa. Mihirakula overthrew the Gupta power in Western and Central India, but was finally defeated at Kahrur, about 530 A.D. by Yaśodharman, feudatory of Narasiṃhagupta.

He is mentioned by Hiuen Tsang as a king of Śākala who was attacked, on account of his persecution of the Buddhists by Bālāditya of Magadha, and defeated; his life was spared by the intervention of the Queen-mother, after which he retired to Kashmir and founded a kingdom.

G. 520 Mahārāja Droṇasimha seems to have issued a grant to the temple of goddess Koṭṭammahikā at Trisaṅgamaka, as is known from the subsequent grant

issued by King Dhruvasena II in 639 A.D. i.e. 119 years after, renewing the previous grant to the goddess of the temple.—(*Mota Bhamodra Plates*, JBBRAS, XX, 8).

C. 520 The Māliyā Copper-plate states that Droṇasimha, son of Bhaṭārka, brother and successor of Dharasena I was “annointed in the kingship by his paramount sovereign in person”; (अखिलभुवनमंडलैकस्वामिना परमस्वामिना स्वयं उपहित राज्याभिषेकः etc.), this sovereign being possibly identical either with Budhagupta or Yaśodharman.—(CI, iii, 168; Vide, References under C. 496 A.D.)

C. 520 Dhruvasena I (C. 519-549) succeeded his elder brother Droṇasimha in cir. 520 A.D., as borne out by his copper-plate grants dated 525 to 544 A.D. Like his predecessor, he also owed allegiance to some over-lord (*Paramabhaṭṭāraka*). In his grants his name is preceded by five titles in all, viz. *Mahāsāmanā*, *Mahāpratihāra*, *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, *Mahākārtākritika* and *Mahārāja*. Unlike his predecessors who were all Māheśvaras, he professed to be a *Parama Bhāgavata* (a great devotee of Viṣṇu). He took keen interest in the scriptures and was very liberal in endowments. His patronage extended to Brāhmaṇas of Nagaraka and Ānandapura as well as to Buddhist *viḥāras*. The Jaina tradition represents him, as having been consoled by the public recitation of the *Kalpasūtra* at Ānandapura, when he was in grief caused by the demise of his son.

c. 520 Naravardhana, with whom begins the pedigree of Harṣavardhana of Thāṇeśvara and Kanauj, reigned about this time in Thāṇeśvara. He was followed by his son Rājyavardhana I, his son Ādityavardhana, and the latter's son Prabhākaravardhana (C. 580 A.D.).

525 Mahārāja Dhruvasena I (C. 519-549), the younger brother and successor of Droṇasimha, issued a grant of lands in the villages Madkaṇā, Tāpasīya and Timśaka (or Atimśaka) in Hastavapra Āharaṇī, to Brāhmaṇa Kumāraśarman and Jarabhajya, residents of Śaṅkaravāṭaka. The grant was issued in the (Valabhī) year 206, Bhādrapada Śū. 5 (525 A.D.) and composed by Kikkaka. The Dūtaka was Pratihāra Mammaka.—(*Palitana Plates*; EI, XI, 105 ff.)

525 Maitraka Mahārāja Dhruvasena I issued a grant of land to Brāhmaṇa Rotghamitra (Rogghamitra) resident of Simhapura and belonging to Vrajagaṇa gotra. It was issued in the (Valabhī) year 206, Āśvayuja Śū 3 (525 A.D.), and composed by Kikkaka. The Dūtaka was Pratihāra Mammaka.—(*Cambay Plates*; EI, XVII, 109 ff.).

Maitraka Mahārāja Dhruvasena I made grant of land to three Brāhmaṇas of Bhāradvāja gotra residents of Akroṭaka. The land was situated in Akṣasarakā maṇḍalī in Hastavapra Āharaṇī. The grant was issued from Valabhī, in Valabhī Saṁvat 207, Kārtika Śū 3 (525 A.D.), and executed by Mammaka. It was composed by Kikkaka.—(*Palitana Plates*, EI, 105).

- 525 Maitraka Mahārāja Dhruvasena I issued from Valabhī a grant of land situated in the village Kukkuta of Hastakavapra Āharaṇī to Brāhmaṇa Sacitiśarman, resident of Hastakavapra, of Droṇāyana *gotra* and a student of Atharva-veda. The grant was composed by Kikkaka and issued in Kārtika Śu. 7 of the (Valabhī) year 207 (525 A.D.). The Dūtaka was Pratihāra Mammaka.—(*Bhāvanagar Plates : IA ; V, 204 ff.*).
- 525 Maitraka Mahārāja Dhruvasena I issued a grant of land from the village Jyeṣṭhānaka (near Akṣasaraṇa) in Hastavapra Āharaṇī, to Brāhmaṇa Mādhava, who had been holding it since long. The grant was issued in the (Valabhī) year 207, Vaiśākha ba. 5 (525 A.D.) and composed by Kikkaka. The Dūtaka was Pratihāra Mammaka.—(*Palitana Plates, EI., XVII, 105 ff.*)
- 526 Maitraka Mahārāja Dhruvasena I issued a grant of land to Brāhmaṇa Dhammīla of Darbha *gotra*, resident of Hariyānaka in the village Hariyānaka (near Akṣasaraṇa) in Hastavapra Āharaṇī. The grant was composed by Kikkaka and issued from Valabhī in Vaiśākha of the (Valabhī) year 207 (526 A.D.). The Dūtaka was Pratihāra Mammaka.—(*Gaṇeśagadh Plates, EI., III, 318 ff.*)
- 529 Maitraka Mahārāja Dhruvasena I issued a grant of land situated at Cedakapadraka in Hastavapra Āharaṇī, to Brāhmaṇa Nanna of Mānava *gotra*, resident of Valāpadra. The grant was composed by Kikkaka and was issued from Valabhī in the (Valabhī) year 210, Śrāvaṇa bahula 13 (529 A.D.). The Dūtaka was Pratihāra Mammaka.—(*Bhāvanagar Plates : LI., XV, 255 ff.*).
- 529 Maitraka Mahārāja Dhruvasena I issued from Valabhī, a grant of land situated at Bhallara and Vasukiya in Hastavapra Āharaṇī, to Brāhmaṇa Viṣṇuśarman of Jyāvāla *gotra*, resident of Siṃhapura in the (Valabhī) year 210, Śrāvaṇa Śu. 15 (529 A.D.). It was executed by Pratihāra Mammaka, and composed by Kikkaka.—(*Palitana Plates : EI ; XI, 109 f.*).
- c. 529 Mahārāja Dhruvasena I issued from Valabhī a grant of the village Kalahāṭaka in Hastavapra Āharaṇī to Brāhmaṇas Viśvādatta and Vasudatta of Bhāradvāja *gotra*. The Dūtaka of the edict was Pratihāra Mammaka and it was composed by Kikkaka.
- The date is illegible ; but from the names of the Dūtaka and the Lekhaka the grant seems to have been issued not later than the (Valabhī) year 210 (529 A.D.).
- 529 Śāntiśarman and Devaśarman of Ātreya *gotra*, residents of Nagaraka (represented by modern Nagarā near Cambay) received a grant of land from Maitraka Mahārāja Dhruvasena I in the (Valabhī) year 210, Bhādrapada ba 9 (529 A.D.), situated near the village Bhadrēṇika in Saurāṣṭra. The edict was executed by Rudradhara and composed by Kikkaka.—(*Palitana-Iyavaj Plates : EI., XVII 108 ; and EI., XIX 125*).

- 529 Maitraka Mahārāja Dhruvasena issued from Valabhī a grant of land, near the village Bhadrenikā in Hastavapra Āharaṇī. The recipients of the grants were Brāhmaṇa Bhaṭṭi and Guhabhaṭṭi, both of Bhārgava *gotra*, and residents of Hastavapra. The *Dūtaka* of the edict was Rudradhara, which was composed by Kikkaka and issued in the (Valabhī) year 210, Bhādrapada ba 13 (529 A.D.).—[*JBBRAS*, (NS) I, 65].
- 529 Maitraka Mahārāja Dhruvasena I renewed from Valabhī a grant of land in Akrolaka to Brāhmaṇa Skanda, who had been holding it since long. It was executed by Rudradhara, composed by Kikkaka, and was issued in the (Valabhī) year 210, Āsvayuja Va. 5 (529 A.D.).—(*Palitana Plates*, EI., XI, 112).
- C. 530 Kumāragupta II succeeded his father Narasimhagupta of Magadha in about 530 A.D.
- C. 533 Siddhasena Divākara, whose principal literary activities were confined to Gujarat was a Brāhmaṇa by birth and a Jaina by conversion. He was the author of several *prakaraṇas*, i.e., treatises, in which the subject is dealt with in a systematic and scientific form, as distinguished from the diffused or episodical treatment of events favoured by the canonical works. He wrote a well-known textbook on Logic. He headed the revolt in favour of using Sanskrit as against Prākṛit, which was liked by the orthodox Sādhus moving among the illiterate, due to the intellectual upheaval which was bringing about a cultural unity in the country through Sanskrit.
- C. 534 Mānadeva, a pupil of Samudra Sūri, became 'Sūri' in V.S. 582.¹ Owing to illness he forgot *Sūri-mantra*. He thereupon went to Ujjayanta (mount Girnar) and practised penance.² Āmbikādevī was pleased. She went to Simaṇdharasvāmin and got the *Sūri-mantra* from this Tirthaṅkara, and gave it to Mānadeva Sūri in about 534 A.D. This *mantra* was thereafter named as "Āmbikā-mantra".³
- ¹ Vide, a colophon of *Surividyapatha* of Brihad gaccha. JPI (pt I, p. 446).
² See, *Gurvavali*. (v. 40).
³ See, *Surividyapatha* noted above.
- 534 From the victorious camp at Khuddavedīya, Maitraka Mahārāja Dhruvasena I issued the grant of the village Pippalarunkharī to the Buddhist *vihāra* erected by Duddā at Valabhī. The *Dūtaka* of the edict was Bhogika Vaikuṇṭha; it was composed by Kikkaka, and was issued in the Valabhī year 216, Māgha vadi 3 (534 A.D.).—(*Vala Plates*, IA; IV, 104 ff.).
- 535 Maitraka Mahārāja Dhruvasena I's copper-plate dated Valabhī S. 216 (i.e. 535 A.D.) records the gift of a village, issued to a *Vihāra* built by his niece (Sister's daughter) Duddā, 'Paramopāsikā' or 'the Great Devotee (of the Buddha)'. The grant was specifically made for providing Buddhist *bhikṣus*



(A) Ekamukha Liṅga from Khedbrahmā, p. 201



(B) Lakuliṣa from Kārvaṇ (p. 204)



(C) Bhairava from Baroda Museum, p. 275



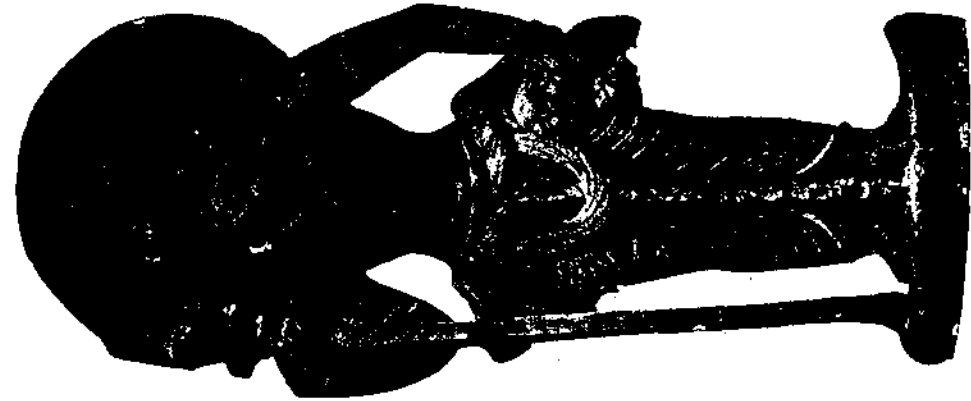
(D) Bhairava, from Viśvāmitri river,
Baroda (p. 275)



Virabhadra Śiva from Śāmālāji, (p. 203)



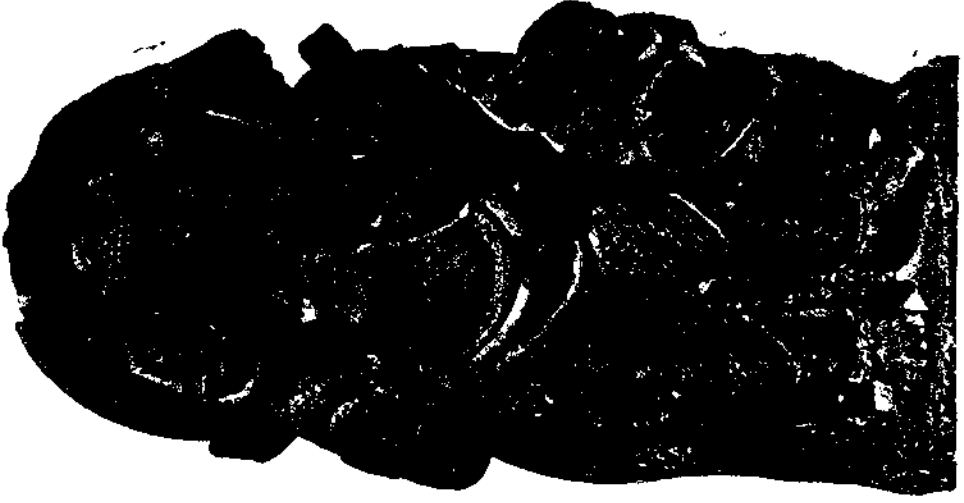
Kṣetrapāla Śiva from Śāmalāji (p. 204)



(A) Kārtikeya from Śāmalāji
(p. 204)



(B) Śiva from Śāmalāji



(C) Standing Gaṇeśa, Śāmalāji
(p. 204)

with the necessities of life, as well as (mendicants) for worshipping (the idols of) the Buddhas.—(Bühler, IA, IV, 104-7). In course of time, ' Duddā Vihāra ' formed the nucleus of an important *Vihāra-Maṇḍala* at Valabhī.—(G. V. Acarya, *Gujarat Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 36-38).

- 536 A grant of the village Vaṭaprajyaka was issued by Maitraka Mahārāja Dhruvasena I from a military camp in the (Valabhī) year 217, Aśvayuja ba 13 (536 A.D.) to a *vihāra* erected by Ācārya Bhadanta Buddhādāsa in the vicinity of the *vihāra* built by Duddā, the daughter of the sister of the grantor. The Dūtaka of the edict was Rājasthānīya Bhaṭṭi, and was composed by Kikkaka.—(*JRAS.*, 1895, 379).

- 540 From Valabhī, Maitraka Mahārāja Dhruvasena I issued to Brāhmaṇas Skandatrāta and Guhatrāta of Bhāradvāja *gotra*, residents of Ānandapura a grant of land which was situated at Śamiharmora and Sarasvatīvaṭa. The Dūtaka of the edict was Sūpakarapati Bhaṭṭi, which was composed by Kikkaka, and issued in the (Valabhī) year 221, Aśvayuja ba 1 (540 A.D.).—(*Vāṇḍī Jōḡiyā Plates*, VOJ, VII, 297).

- 540 Varāhadāsa II succeeded his elder brother Śura II in the Gārulaka lineage. He was a contemporary of the Maitraka king Dhruvasena I. By means of prowess he took possession of Dvārakā and styled himself ' *Dvārakādhipati* ' (Lord of Dvārakā). In his *praśasti* (eulogy) he is said to have built a number of temples, orchards, monasteries, inns, wells, halls and abodes.—(H. G. Shastri, MG, 223 ff.).

- 541 Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Saṅgamasimha, of an unknown dynasty, issued from Bharukaccha (Broach) a grant of the village Sonavva (Sunao) situated in Antar-Narmadā Viṣaya. The grant was received by Brāhmaṇas Anaṇṭadatta, Prajāpatiśarman, Śivadeva, Bhānudeva and Bhavaruci. The Dūtaka of the edict was Sāndhivigrahika Reva. The grant which was composed by Viṣṇusena was issued in Kalacuri era 292, Kārtika su. 15 (541 A.D.).—(*Sunao Kala Plates*, EI., X, 72).

Saṅgamasimha, was probably a feudatory of Kṛṣṇarāja (Circa 550-575 A.D.)'s father, whose name unfortunately has not come down to us. In the place of the patronymic which occurs in the legend on Traikūṭaka coins Kṛṣṇarāja substituted *mātāpitri-pād-ānudhyāta* ' he who meditates on the feet of his mother and father '. His father's name does not occur even on his coins.

- 544 Maitraka Mahārāja Dhruvasena I issued from Valabhī a grant of land to a Brāhmaṇa of Ānartapura in the (Valabhī) year 226, Kārtika su. 15. (544 A.D.).—[*Vala Plates*, JBBRAS, (NS) I, 16].

- 549 From Phaṅkaprasravaṇa, Gārulaka ruler Varāhadāsa II issued a grant of land to the Nuns' *vihāra* built by merchant Ajīta, which seems to have been

included in the *Yakṣaśuravihāra-maṇḍala* at Valabhī. The land was situated at Bhaṭṭipadra which the donor had received from Mahārāja Dhruvasena I in Valabhī Sarnvat 230, Māgha su. 1 (549 A.D.).—(*Vala Plates, JBU, III. 1. 77 ff.*)

C. 550 Mahārāja Dharapaṭṭa, the youngest known son of Senāpati Bhaṭārka (c. 550-553 A.D.), succeeded his elder brother Dhruvasena I in *circa* 550 A.D. He professed to be a great devotee of Āditya (Sūrya). The omission of his name and eulogy in the copper-plate grant issued by his successor in 559 A.D. is, in all probability, an error or oversight; as he is regularly represented as a ruler in another grant of his successor dated 567 A.D., as well as in the grants of the subsequent successors.—(H. G. Shastri, *MG*, 67 ff.)

C. 550 The origin of the Gurjara-Pratihāras, and of related dynasties, is traced back to a period immediately preceeding the massive inroads of Hūnas (C. 550 A.D.). That 'Gurjara' was the name of a tribe of foreigners who came in 1st Century A.D. has been the view of some scholars. [D.R. Bhandarkar: *JBBRAS.*, XXII, 1905; I.A. XL, 1911, Vincent Smith: *E.H.I.* 3rd Edn. p. 322; W. Crooke: Ed. Tod's 'Annals of Rajasthan'] This tribe of foreigners (Khazars and Scythians) who migrated to India in the 1st Century A.D. with Huns (Hūnas) during the reign of Skandagupta, gave their name to the different regions where they settled. The Gurjaras later claimed Kṣatriya origin, especially in Rajputana where they founded a kingdom, of which the capital was Bhinmal, some 50 miles N.W. of Mount Abu.

Other scholars maintain that Gurjaras of India were distinctly Aryan. [References: Mm. Gaurishankar Ojha, *History of Rajputana*, Vol. I, pp. 155; C. V. Vaidya: *History of Mediaeval Hindu India* (1934), Vol. II, pp. 32; D. C. Ganguly, *IHQ*, Vol. X, pp. 337 (Contra B. Ghosh, *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, pp. 510); Dasharath Sharma, *IHQ* Vol. X, 582; D. R. Mankad, *Ibid*, p. 584; and K. M. Munshi: *The Glory that was Gurjaradeśa*, Part I (1955), p. 4; S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, quoted in *Journal of the Dept. of Letters*, Vol. X, p. 3. For a detailed discussion of the various theories connected with the 'Origin of Gurjaras', Vide R. C. Majumdar, *Bharatiya Vidya: K. M. Munshi Commemoration Vol. II*, p. 1-18; and Appendix I, 'Glory that was Gurjaradeśa' Vol. I.]

C. 550 From examination of certain personal names Dr. H. D. Sankalia has, however, come to the conclusion that a part of the population of the old and new Gujarat, was, probably, of foreign extraction. The fact that no allusion to Gurjara Country in the pre-5th Century historical land-marks is found, and a crop of references in the post-6th Century records is visible, makes the presumption natural and strong that the Gurjara country and people came into the forefront of Indian politics during this interval.

As the Śāka Rudradāman in the 2nd Century A.D., and the Kuṣāṇa Kaniṣka and his descendants Huviṣka and Vāsudeva were Hinduised, so the Gurjaras appear in the 7th Century, as Aryans, Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas or Vaiśyas, and promoters of the *Varṇāśrama dharma*. Just as Buddhism claimed a number of converts among the Śakas and Indo-Greeks, and now Christianity claims among Kolis and other aboriginal tribes, so Jainism could claim a large share of these foreigners. Some of these became reconverts to Hinduism like the Porvāds, who were Jainas 700 years ago, and became Vaiṣṇavas later on.

In the earliest epigraphical records of the Gurjaras of Broach, viz., Dadda is described as belonging to the *Gurjara-nṛpati-vamśa*, which, as *Cālukya-vamśa* or *Raghuvamśa*, refers not to the country, but to the family or the people; i.e., it stands for the Gurjara family and not the country. Expressions like *Gurjaratrā* or *Gurjara-bhūmi* or *maṇḍala* would thus only mean 'land or *maṇḍala* belonging to or occupied by the Gurjara people'.—(H. D. Sankalia, 'On the Origin of Gurjaras', *JGRS*, 1946, Nos. 2-3).

The foreign origin theory of the Gurjaras has, however, been considered afresh by Dr. Baij Nath Puri (*The History of the Gurjara-Pratiharas*, 1959, pp. 6-7) who points out that the Gurjaras formed a group or tribe representing people of different castes (who were) living in Rajputana, from where they migrated and established themselves at different places. In fact, they were very probably tribal people who remained in obscurity for long, and were formerly known as the *Arbudās*. Moreover, references to Gurjara Brāhmaṇas are found in the 6th Century A.D., which would have been impossible if they had been foreigners.—(*Ibid*, Preface, vii).

- C. 550 Reference to the maritime activities of the people of Valabhī are given in the Buddhist work *Mañju-Śrī-Mūlakaṭpa*.—(Jayaswal, Patna, 1934, p. 25). It says that the people of Valabhī reached Śūrā by crossing the sea, which probably refers to their trade ventures to, and regular commerce with, Assyria. This information of the Buddhist work is further corroborated by Daṇḍin who, in his *Daśakumāra-Carita*, says that there lived in the city of Valabhī a ship's captain (*Nāvikaṭpati*), who seems to have been as rich as the god of wealth himself.—(K. Virji, *Ancient History of Saurāṣṭra*, p. 221).

- C. 550 The *Arbudās* are mentioned in the Purāṇas. (*Bhāgavata*, Vol. XII, I. 36; *Viṣṇu*, Book II, Chap. III; *Brahma*, Chap. XIX, p. 17). The Rāmāyaṇa locates the tribe in the West. (*Kiṣkiṇḍhā Kāṇḍa*, Canto, XLII). They must have been the people dwelling on and around the Arbuda Mount, which is generally identified with Mt. Abu. The Gurjaras appear to be one of such peoples who later on migrated to other places, known after them.

The Jainad inscription (*Bhandarkar's List*; No. 2084; Cf. *Ibid*, p. 399, note 10) from Haiderabad State refers to the wives of the Gurjara warriors shedding

tears in the caves of Arbuda, as a result of the conquest of the Paramāra Jagaddeva, who is placed in V.S. 1151.

The association of the Gurjaras with the Arbuda mountain is also noticed in the *Tilakamañjari* of Dhanapāla :—

अथाप्युदयतद्दुर्गदरादगिरो गायन्ति यस्यार्बुदे ।

विश्वामित्रजयोऽञ्जितस्सुजयो विस्फूजितं गुर्जरः ॥

(Kāvya-māla Series No. 85, I 39)

An early inscription of Varmalāta dated in the V.S. 682 from Vasantgarh refers to his feudatory Vajrabhaṭa Satyāśraya protecting Arbuda, which is associated with the origin of other ruling families also.

The earliest reference to the *Gurjara* country and its people is noticed in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*, and the account left by Hiuen Tsang. (Beal, Vol. II, p. 269). Bāṇabhaṭṭa's account credits Prabhākaravardhana with keeping the *Gurjara* (evidently the king of the country or tribe) awake. Hiuen Tsang distinguishes the *Gurjara* country from neighbouring kingdoms like Bharukaccha, Mālava, Valabhi, Saurāṣṭra and Ujjayini, which shows that the *Gurjara* kingdom at that time comprised Rajputana. It further suggests that there were, at least, two kingdoms in this period, the other one being at Broach.

The Aihole inscription (dated Śaka Samvat 566 = 634 A.D.) of Palakeśin II, the Cālukya king (EI, VI, p. 1), mentions the submission of the Lāṭas, Mālavas, and the Gurjaras to the Cālukya emperor, with a view to seeking his protection. The Gurjaras referred to in this record must be those of Broach.

The Rāṣtrakūṭa inscriptions refer to the term 'Gurjara' implying the Pratihāra king of Kanauj, and the *Gurjara* country establishing the *Gurjara* nationality of the Pratihāras.

The Radhanpur plates of Govind III (EI, VI, 239) refer to the Rāṣtrakūṭa ruler, defeating a coalition of twelve princes, releasing but imprisoning the Gaṅga, defeating the *Gurjara*, and subduing the Mālava. Here the names of countries definitely signify their kings.

The Deoli plate inscription of Kṛṣṇa III (EI, V, 235) mentions Kṛṣṇa II frightening the *Gurjara*, destroying the pride of Lāṭa, teaching humility to the Gaṇḍa, Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Gaṅga and Magadha, where the names of countries are with reference to their kings.

The Baroda Copper plate of the Rāṣtrakūṭa Karka (IA, XII, 160) mentions two terms: *Gurjareśvarapati* and *Gurjareśvara*—both being used here in the same sense.

In the Sanjan copper plate of Amoghavarṣa (EI, XVIII, p. 243, V. 9), the Rāṣtrakūṭa ruler Daṇṭidurga is described as being waited upon by kings led by

the king of Gurjaradeśa, at the *Hiranyagarbha-mahādāna* ceremony performed by him at Ujjayini.

The Broach kingdom of the Gurjaras included, according to the testimony of the inscriptions, the whole of the Central Gujarat and the northern parts of Southern Gujarat, the talukas of Orpad, as well as the adjoining parts of the Baroda State, of the Revakantha, and of Sachin. Its northern frontier was probably the river Mahī, and the Southern one the river Ambikā. The demarcation of the boundaries of this Gurjara feudatory kingdom made it contiguous to the main Gurjara kingdom in the north, Valabhī in the West, Lāṭa in the South and the Cālukyas in the east.

Jinadatta Sūri in his *Gaṇadharasāśataka* mentions *Gujarattā* (*Gurjarattā*) with its capital Anahillavāḍa (*Anahillapātaka*) and with Durlabharāja reigning there.—(Weber, *The Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss. in the Berlin Library*, II 900).

In Dharmasāgara Gaṇi's *Gurvāvali Sūtra*, Śrī Devendrasūri is represented to have gone to *Gurjarāṣṭra* from Ujjayini in Mālavaka. In the inscriptions, the Caulukyas are styled as Gurjaras, and the country ruled by them is named *Gurjaradeśa*. Thus we find reference to king Bhīma (EI, IX, p. 74; EI, VIII, p. 99), identified with the Caulukya Bhīmadeva I, and his son the Gurjara king Karṇa (Karṇa Trailokyamalla) of Anahillapātaka, and Mahārājādhirāja Caulukya Kumārapāla as the lord of the *Gurjara* country—(IA, X, p. 150). The Dohad inscription (EI, XI, p. 55) speaks of the Caulukya king Jayasīma ruling over the *Gurjara-maṇḍala* from Anahillapātaka. Similarly the Somanāth Pāṭan Praśasti (V. O. J. Vol. III, p. 9) of the Valabhī Era 850 (1170 A.D.) mentions the Caulukya prince Kumārapāla, who is called the king of the *Gurjjaramaṇḍala*.

c. 550

According to Pāṇini Sūtra-Śāstrānām = *Anirvasitānām* (II. 4. 10; Keilhorn; *Mahābhāṣya* Vol. I, p. 475) with Patañjali's gloss over it, the Yavanas and Śakas were included in the category of Śūdras with this much of concession that they were not ostracised, and the plate touched by them was not polluted. There was also no restriction on their residence in the Aryan localities. It is, therefore, clear that all foreigners were accorded the fourth grade in Hindu society, except, of course, the noble ones who were classed as Kṣatriyas later on. There is not one instance of a Yavana Brāhmaṇa or a Śake Vaiśya or a Hūṇa Brāhmaṇa, but there are references to 'Gurjara Brāhmaṇas' which would have been a sheer impossibility, if they were foreigners. The only exception of any foreign tribe being straight way admitted into the Brahmanical class seems to be that of the Māgas, but this was probably done under very extraordinary circumstances.

The *Kṛṣṇā-treya kula* or *gotra* assigned to the Gurjara Brāhmaṇas has its association with the Brāhmaṇas only; and there are about half a dozen records

from different parts of India, mentioning this *gotra* for them. As its earliest reference can be dated in the 5th Century A.D., it is highly improbable that it could have any association with the Gurjaras as a Society. This earlier reference to the Gurjara Brāhmaṇas rules out the foreign origin of the Gurjaras. —(Baij Nath Puri, *The History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras*, 1959, p. 4-5; and Fn. on p. 5).

Both the Gurjara-Pratihāra families of Mandor and Kanauj trace their origin to Lakṣmaṇa, brother of Rāma of the epic fame, which is construed by Scholars as a characteristic of foreign races settling in India. If that be the criterion for assessing foreign origin, many other tribes, including the Candellas and the Kalacuris who trace their pedigree to epic or mythic heroes, would not be able to assert their indigenous origin.

The probability is that the Gurjaras, like so many other Indian tribes, were living in obscurity, somewhere in Rajputana, and it was only when lust for power impelled them to rush head-long that they came into contact with others, and carved out a number of kingdoms which ultimately formed the nucleus of the big Gurjara empire.

- 553 Ajita and Ratna, the two Jaina Śreṣṭhins of Kāśmīra, came to Girnar in V. S. 609 (553 A.D.). On finding that the *lepyamaya* image of Lord Nemi had melted, they restored the temple and got installed another image of stone.

This he did according to the order of Kuṣmāṇḍī. This is according to JTSS (Vol. I, pt. I, pp. 117 & 121) which is said to be the summary from *Vividha-tīrtha-Kalpa* (III, V.6); but neither in this work the name of Ajita nor the date 609 is found.

- 555 According to an inscription on the image in the temple of Lord Rṣabha in Tālanapura,¹ Caṇḍrasimha, a rich person and his wife Jamunā, got prepared an image of Lord Caṇḍraprabha for the temple of Lord Pārśva situated in Tārāpura, lying in the centre of Maṇḍapa-durga, in V. S. 612 (555 A.D.); and this image was installed by Jagaccandra Sūri.²

¹ This city is 73 miles from Dohad and two and a quarter from Kuksi. Its old name is Tūngiyapattana or Taranapura. Vide JTSS (Vol. II, p. 320).

² *Ibid.*, 320

- C. 555 Maitraka Mahārāja Dharapaṭṭa was succeeded by his son Guhasena (circa 553-569 A.D.), one of the greatest kings of the dynasty. In his grants he is eulogized as a virile warrior, popular ruler (*rājan*) and peerless patron. His all known grants were issued to Buddhist *viḥāras*.

- 559 Maitraka Mahārāja Guhasena issued a grant of land to the Buddhist *viḥāras* erected by Duddā at Valabhī. The grant was composed by Viṣṇusimha and issued in the (Valabhī) year 240, Śrāvaṇa su. (559 A.D.).—(IA, VII, 66).

564 A grant of land was issued by Maitraka Mahārāja Guhasena in the (Valabhī) year 246, Māgha ba, (564 A.D.). The land was donated to the *Samgha* (Congregation) of the Buddhist *bhikṣus* (mendicants) at Duddā-Mahāvihāra erected by Duddā in the locality of Valabhī; and it consisted of four villages—Śamipadravātaka in the vicinity of Ānumaṇji and Pippalaruṅkharī, Saṅga-manaka in Maṇḍalī Draṅga and Naddiya and Chossarī in Khetaka Āhāra. The grant was composed by Skandabhāṭa, the Officer in charge of *Sandhi* (Peace) and *Vigraha* (War).—(*Valā Plate*, EI, XIII, 338).

C. 559-567 The language of Ābhīras must have grown in importance along with their political power and influence. Besides the testimony of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, we find a copper-plate inscription praising the proficiency of King Guhasena of Valabhī (A.D. 559-567) in Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Apabhraṁśa poetry :—

संस्कृतप्राकृतपञ्चभाषात्रयप्रतिबद्धप्रबन्धरचनानिपुणान्तःकरणाः ।—(*Bom. Gaz.*, I, p. 90)

Rudraṭa in his *Kāvya-lāṅkāra* (9th century),—not only includes Apabhraṁśa among his six languages of poetry, but also says that Apabhraṁśa has several varieties according to countries.

C. 566 On a pot-sherd of a clay-pot (*ghaṭa*) discovered from Valā, the name of ' Śrī Guhasena ' (553-569 A.D.) and the [Valabhī year (2) 40 (= C. 566 A.D.) are found inscribed. It reads श्री गुहसेनस्य घटः । This *ghaṭa* may have been a pot for water-clock, as suggested by Dr. R. A. Saletore.—(*IA* ; XIV, March, 1885, p. 75).

A fragmentary stone-inscription discovered at the village Baṅkoḍī in the Rāval District of the former Navānagar State, also records the name of Guhasena; and it is assigned on paleographic grounds, to this Maitraka king.—(*Bhavnagar Sanskrit and Prakrit Inscriptions*).

567 A grant of land situated in the village Bahumūla near Vaṭasthalikā was issued from Valabhī in the (Valabhī) year 248, Āśvayuja vadi 14 (567 A.D.) by Maitraka Mahārāja Guhasena to the *Samgha* (Congregation) of the Buddhist *bhikṣus* (mendicants) in ' Ābhyaṅtarikā Vihāra ' erected by Mimma in the vicinity of ' Bhaṭārka-vihāra ' given to Rājasthāniya Śūra as a token of favour. The grant was composed by Skandabhāṭa in charge of the Department of *Sandhi* (Peace) and *Vigraha* (War). The grant represents king Guhasena as a *Parama-Upāsaka* (great devotee of the Buddha).—(*Bhavanagar Plates* : *IA.*, V, 206).

C. 570 King Dharasena II (c. 570-589-90 A.D.) succeeded his father Maitraka Mahārāja Guhasena in *circa*. 570 A.D. He was proficient in archery and liberal in donation.

The two grants represented as issued by this king in Śaka year 400 are obviously forged records.—(*IA*, X, 277 ff.; Manilal Dvivedi, *Purātana Dakṣiṇa Gujarāta*, 194 f.)

571 Maitraka Mahārāja Dharasena II issued from Valabhī a grant of land from Bilvakhāta Sthali and Jhāri Sthali to Brāhmaṇa Chacchara of Bhārgava *gotra*, resident of Brahmapura. The grant was composed by Skandabhaṭa and issued in the (Valabhī) year 252, ba. 5 (571 A.D.). The Dūtaka of the edict was Cirbira.—(*Jhār Plates: IA, XV, 187*).

571 From the victorious camp at Bhadrappaṭṭana a grant of land, situated near Dāmaripāṭaka of Vaṭapallikā Sthali was issued by Maitraka Mahārāja Dharasena II to Viśākha and Bappa of Kāśyapa *gotra*, on Sam. 252, Vaiśākha bahu 5 (571 A.D.).—(*Kaṭpur Plates, BPSI., 35 ff.*).

The following five grants were also issued by him on (Valabhī) year 252, Vaiśākha ba. 15 (571 A.D.). All of them record religious endowments of land made on the *Amāvāsyā* day, which was held especially sacred for the purpose. The royal edicts of all these grants were executed by Cirbira and the grants were composed by Skandabhaṭa:—

(1) Brāhmaṇa Rudragopa of Ānartapura received the grant of the village Iṣikānaka of Ambareṇu Sthali.—(*Bhāḍvā Plates, ABORI, IV, 33 ff.*).

(2) Lands situated in Jambuvāṇaka Sthali, Nimbakūpa Sthali and Kadambapadra Sthali were given to Rogha and Śyena of Kauśika *gotra*.—(*Palitana Plates. EI, XI, 80*).

(3) Land situated in Antaratra was given to Brāhmaṇa Rudrabhūti of Kaṇva—Vatsa *gotra*, resident of Unnata.—(*Māliā Plates: CII, III, 104 f.*).

(4) A land—grant was issued to Brāhmaṇa Duśa and Śaṣṭhi of Śāṇḍilya *gotra* from Valabhī.—(*Sorath Plates: IA, VII 68*).

(5) A grant of land was given to Brāhmaṇa Ludra of Kerādi *gotra* and to Dasila of Ālambāyana *gotra* in the (Valabhī) year 252 (571 A.D.).—(*IA, VIII 301*).

571-589 Dharasena II, of Valabhī, son and successor of Guhasena was reigning from 571-589 A.D. (G. Sam. 252-272 on copper-plates). He ruled over continental Gujarat as far as the river Mahī.—(*IA, I; 17, 60 ff*)

573 A grant of land was issued by Maitraka Mahārāja Dharasena II from Valabhī on the occasion of the solar eclipse (*Sūryoparāga*) in the (Valabhī) year 254, Vaiśākha ba. 15 (573 A.D.). The recipient of the grant was Brāhmaṇa Devadatta of Śāṇḍilya *gotra* and the land received by him was situated near Bhaṭṭakapadra in the North Paṭṭa of Kaundinyapura (Viśaya) in Surāṣṭra. The royal edict was executed by Skandabhaṭa.—(*Bāṇṭiā Plates: EI., XXI, 179 ff.*).

The year was first read 257, but later on corrected into 254. The reference to the solar eclipse on the day of the grant applies to the Pūrṇimānta Vaiśākha of the Valabhī year 254 (573 A.D.).—(*H. G. Shastri, MG, 578*).



Umā-Maheśvara from Kapurī, Baroda Dist., (p. 204)



(A) Mother and Child, Kofiyarka-
Mahudi (N. Gujarat), (p. 206)



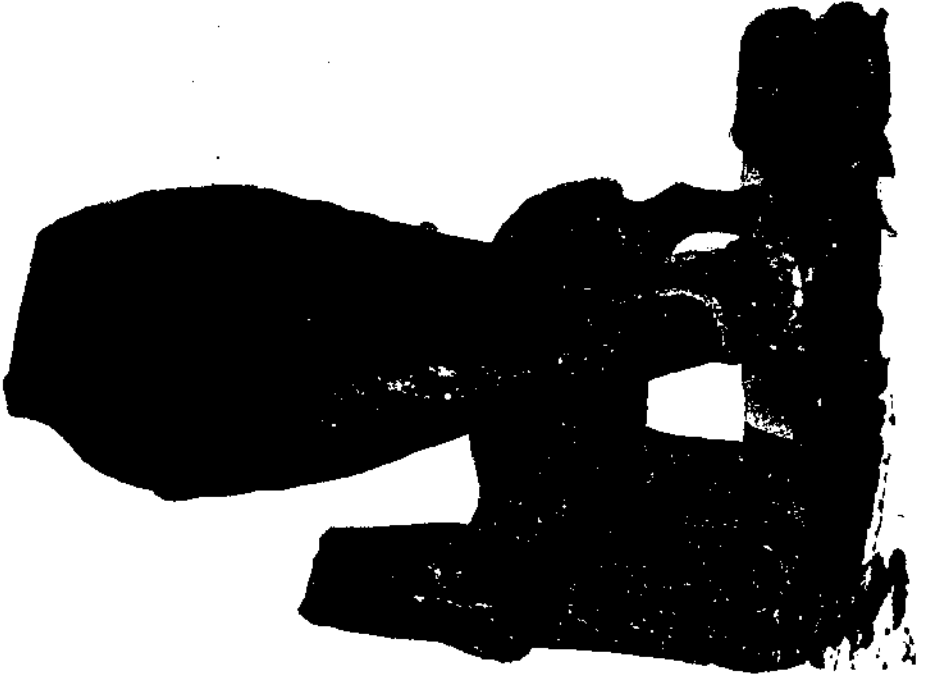
(C) Mâhesvari (p. 205)



(B) Mother & Child
Kofiyarka, (p. 206)



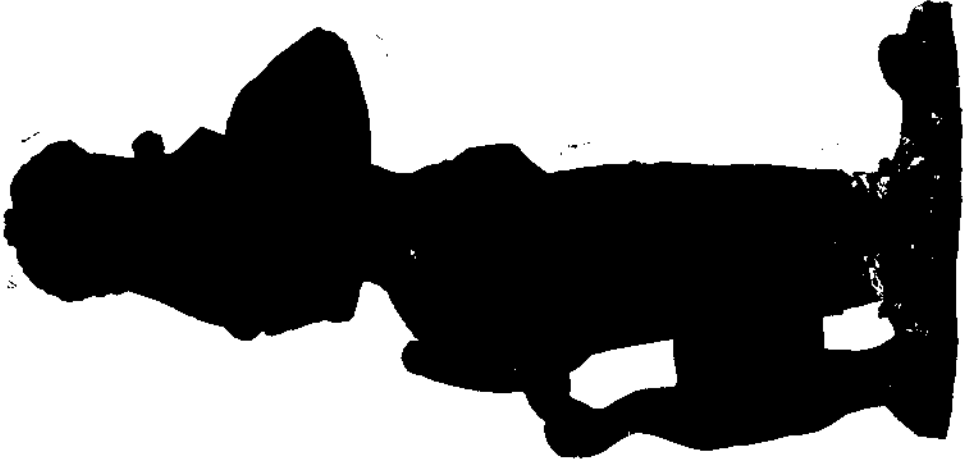
(A) Vārāhī from Śāmalāji (p. 205)



(a) Āgneyī (p. 205)



(B) Kaumārī (seated) from Mt. Ābu.



(A) Kaumārī (standing) from
Śāmalāji, (p. 206)



(C) Kaumārī (dancing) from Kārvaṇ
(p. 276)

574 From Phaṅkaprasavaṇa, Maitraka Mahārāja Śimhāditya issued a grant of land to Brāhmaṇa Bappasvāmin of Kṛṣṇātreyā *gotra* resident of Elāpadra in the Valabhī year 255, Āśvayuja śu 13, (574 A.D.). The land was situated at the village of Darbhacāra.—(*Palitana Plates* : EI., XI, 16).

574 A single copper-plate reveals the existence of a family (called Gārulaka) of feudatory chiefs consisting of *Senāpati* Varāhadāsa I, his two sons Bhaṭṭiśūra and Varāhadāsa II, and the latter's son Śimhāditya, the last three having the title *Sāmanta-Mahārāja*. The change in titles is analogous to that of the Maitraka chiefs themselves. The Grant was issued by Senāpati Śimhāditya in 574 A.D. ; and he was, therefore, a feudatory of Dharasena II.

The Grant mentions that Varāhadāsa II defeated a ruler of Dwarka, which is on the west coast of Saurāṣṭra Peninsula. It tells us that Kṛṣṇa lived in Dwarka, and at that period (c. 600 A.D.), Dwarka was the capital of the western coast of Surāṣṭra.

This is the first and perhaps the only epigraphical reference to the Dwarka of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and its supposed survival upto the 7th century.—(R. C. Majumdar, *The Classical Age*, p. 62).

C. 575 From the Saṅkheḍā copper-plate we learn that Nirihullaka was ruling over the lower Narmadā valley, later, in the heart of the Gurjara kingdom, as a feudatory of the Kalacuri Śaṅkaragaṇa. The Gurjaras came into its possession after the Kalacuris.

The sign-manuals of the Gurjara princes are in the northern characters, though their grants are written in the Southern script. This clearly indicates their northern origin.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar has shown that Dadda I was probably identical with the homonymous son of the Brāhmaṇa Haricandra, from his Kṣatriya wife Bhadrā, who is mentioned in the Jodhpur inscription of the Pratihāra Bāuka, and who probably flourished about 575 A.D. He was apparently ruling somewhere in the vicinity of Maṇḍavyapura (modern Mandor near Jodhpur) which he and his brothers are said to have conquered.

C. 580 Sāmanta Dadda I, with whom begins the pedigree of the Gurjaras of Gujarat, ruled about 580 A.D. He was followed by his son Jayabhaṭa, Dadda II (628 A.D.).

This 'Gurjara kingdom' had its capital at Bharukaccha and included Central Gujarat, and the northern territories of Southern Gujarat.

C. 580 Subaṇḍhu, author of the *Vāsavadattā*, may have flourished about this date, being mentioned by Bāṇa (A.D. 600).—(JBBRAS, XVIII, 147, 159).

C20

- 585 Prabhākaravardhana of Thāṇeśvara, son and successor of Ādityavardhana, and probably the first paramount sovereign of his dynasty, married Yaśomati-devī. According to Bāṇa (*Harṣacarita*), he fought with the king of Gandhāra and the Hūṇas in the Himalayas, against the king of Sindh in west, with the Bhinnāl and Bharukaccha branches of the Gurjaras, and with the king of Mālava.

He sent his son Rājyavardhana, shortly before his own death, against the Hūṇas. Prabhākaravardhana's daughter Rājyaśrī married the Maukarī king Grahavarman, who, shortly after his father-in-law's death, was attacked and slain by the king of Mālava.—(EI, I, 68).

- C. 587 Varāhamihira, the astronomer died, according to Āmarāja's commentary on Brahmagupta's *Khaṇḍakhādya*: author of the *Pañcasiddhāntikā*.—(JRAS, NS, i, 497).

- 588 From the victorious camp at Bhadrapaṭṭana, Mahārāja Dharasena II issued a grant of Maheśvaradāsenaka in Hastavapra Āharaṇī and Devabhadrapallikā in Dhārākheṭa Sthali to the Bappapadiya Vihāra erected by Ācārya Bhadanta Sthiramati at Valabhī. The royal edict was executed by Sāmanta Śīlāditya, and was issued in the Valabhī year 269, Caitra ba. 2 (588 A.D.). It was composed by Skandabhāṭa, the officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War and the Head of the *Dīviras* (Scribes).—(*Valā Plates*, IA, VI, 11 f.).

- 589 A grant of land was issued by Maitraka Mahārāja Dharasena II to the Buddhist *Vihāra* erected by merchant Kakka Māṅkila within the *Duddā Vihāra Maṇḍala*. The grant was issued in the (Valabhī) year 270, Māgha su. 10 (589 A.D.). The grant was executed by Sāmanta Śīlāditya and was composed by Skandabhāṭa.—(JBBRAS, I, 66 f.)

The name of the merchant was deciphered later on—(IHQ, XVI-816). This shows the munificence of the Vaiśyas in society.

- 589 From the victorious camp at Bhadrapaṭṭana, Maitraka Mahārāja Dharasena II issued a grant of the village Aśilāpallikā in Baddarijidri Pathaka of Khetaka Āhāra-Viśaya, in the (Valabhī) year 270, Fālguna ba. 10 (589 A.D.) to Brāhmaṇa Viṣṇumitra of Śārkarākṣi *gotra*, resident of Khetaka and an emigrant from Ānartapura. The grant was executed by Sāmanta Śīlāditya and was composed by Skandabhāṭa.—(*Alinā Plates*: IA, VII, 70 f.).

- 589 From the victorious camp at Bhadrapaṭṭana, Maitraka Mahārāja Dharasena II issued a grant of the village Thānaka (Thān) to two Brāhmaṇas of Gāhuṇāyana *gotra*, on Saṁ. 270, Bhādrapada va. 2 (?) (589 A.D.). Sāmanta Śīlāditya was the Dūtaka of the edict, which was composed by Skandabhāṭa.—(IHQ, XV, 284 ff.).

590 According to the Chinese sources, Dharmagupta, a scholar from Lāṭa (Gujarat), is said to have left his native place, and travelling through Central India, reached the capital of China in 590 A.D.—(Cf. B.E.F.E.O., II pp. 439-40, cited by Nilakaṇṭha Śāstri, *Foreign Notices of South India*, p. 14).

C. 590-615 Dhaneśvarasūri, the author of the famous *Śatruñjaya Māhātmya*, describes himself in this work as a tutor of King Śīlāditya I of Valabhīpura. Here, we are told, he euchred the colours of the Buddhists who were puffed up with pride on account of their knowledge; and the ground he took for defeating them was 'Syād-vāda' i.e. 'May Be' or the Science of Logic.

595 Derabhata, the son of Śīlāditya I, seems to have inherited from his father the Viñdhya territory about the same time when the latter ascended the throne at Valabhī.

595 The Maitraka Mahārāja Dharasena II issued a grant of land situated at Hariyāpaka. The grant was dedicated to a Buddhist *vihāra* at Valabhī. Sāmanta Śīlāditya officiated as the Dūtaka of the royal edict and Skandabhata composed the grant.—[*Valā Plates*, JBBRAS. (NS) I, 22 f.]

C. 595 King Śīlāditya I *alias* ' Dharmāditya ', son and successor of Dharasena II, (c. 590-615 A.D.) acceded to the throne of Valabhī in *circa* 595 A.D. He devoted himself to the practice of Dharma and issued liberal grants of land to Brāhmaṇas, temples and *vihāras*. His sway extended over Mālava (Malwa).

During his visit to Mālava in 641, Hiuen Tsang got information about the righteous career of this past king, who convoked a ' *Mohṣa Pariṣad* ' every year, and gave liberal donations to mendicants assembled on that occasion.

King Śīla *alias* Dharmarāja mentioned in the *Āryamañjūśrīmūlakalpa* is identified with this king. He had erected a Buddhist *vihāra* by the side of his palace, installed the images of the Seven Buddhas therein, and exhausted the skill of the artisans in its decoration.

595-96 The ' Māṅkaṇi (Saṅkheḍā Taluka) Copper-Plate ' grant, supplemented with the other half in Baroda Museum, purports to record the gift of a field of rice (श्रीहिमिदकराण क्षेत्र) in the north of the village of Maṅkaṇikā, made to the learned Brāhmaṇa Jyeṣṭhavarmā of the Jātukaṇṇa *gotra*, a student of the Vājasneya Śākhā of the Śukla Yajurveda, to enable him to perform his षड्वयज्ञ for the meritorious gratification of his parents and of himself.

The grant was made by Taralasvāmi, probably a local ruler, son of Śrī Mahārāja Nanna and Daddha, of the Kalacuris, who established sway in the Lāṭa-deśa under Śaṅkaragaṇa in the 6th century after Christ. Taralasvāmi was the sister's husband (*Bhāvaka*) of the illustrious Sūrya, and he held local sway. The *lethaka* of the grant in Cedi Samvat 346 (= 595-6 A.D.) was

Ādityabhogika, who was the *Sāndhivigrahika* also.—(A. S. Gadre : *Important Sanskrit Inscriptions, Baroda State*, 1943, p. 4-6).

596 Kalacuri King Śaṅkaragaṇa issued a grant of land in the Bhogasardhana Viṣaya, which may have been another name of the ancient Govardhana (Nasik Dist.), from his victorious camp at Ujjayini.—(*Abhona Plates*, EI., IX, 297 f.). It indicates his military expedition across Avanti in Cedi Sam. 347, Śrāvaṇa su. 15 (596 A.D.).

596-97 The earliest dated record of the Kalacuris is Śaṅkaragaṇa's ' Abhona grant ' of C. 347 (596-97 A.D.) of a land, in a village in the northern part of the Hyderabad State, which was issued from his camp at Ujjayini. It also shows that he ruled over a vast empire which extended from Malwa in the north to Mahārāṣṭra in the South. That it comprised Gujarat is shown by the Saṅkheḍā plate of the General Śāntilla, which mentions Nirihullaka as his governor in Central Gujarat. Śaṅkaragaṇa is assigned approximately to the period 575-600 A.D., as his son Buddharāja was defeated by Maṅgalarāja in circa 601 A.D.

C. 596 Śāntilla, the *balādhikṛita* (Minister for the Army) of Nirihullaka, the head of the Bhogikas and the great lord of Palla (Pala) issued a grant of land at Paṇākā (Paniu) situated in Taṇḍulapadraka (Tāṇḍalajā), to Anantasvāmin of Kautsa gotra, resident of Pāṣaṇihṛada. Nirihullaka owed allegiance to Śaṅkargaṇa, son of Kṛṣṇarāja. The grant was issued from the victorious camp at Nigundipadraka. The date of the grant is missing on the plates, the lower corners of which are broken and lost.—(*Saṅkheḍā Plates* : EI, II, 21).

C. 600 Dadda I of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty founded a new Kingdom at Nāṇḍipūrī (Nāṇḍod) in South Gujarat. He is probably to be identified with Dadda, son of Haricandra of the Pratihāra dynasty of Gurjaradeśa. In the edicts of Dadda II he is styled ' Sāmanta ' and represented as holding sway over the Revā (Narmadā) river and the Viṇḍhya Valley. He was a devotee of the Sun-god.—(H. G. Shastri, MG, 275 ff.).

C. 600 Bhānuśakti, of the Sendraka dynasty ruling in the neighbourhood of Bagumrā (Southern Gujarat), lived about 600 A.D. He was followed by his son Ādityaśakti and his son Nikumbhallaśakti (A.D. 654). This dynasty seems to have been at first feudatories of the Kalacuris, and later, of the Western Cālukyas.

C. 600 Daṇḍin says that the Apabhramśa is, in poetry, an appellation of the speech of the Ābhīras and the like, [असीरादिभिः कान्येष्वपभ्रंश इति स्मृतः । (I. 36)].

He also speaks of Lāṭī as one of the Prākṛita languages : Cf.

शौरसेनी च गौडी च लाटी चान्या च तादशी ।

याति प्राकृतमित्येवं व्यवहारेषु सन्निधिम् ॥ (I. 35) .

C. 600 Grabhavarman, Maukharī, governor of Kanauj, son and successor of Avañti-varman, married Rājyaśrī, daughter of Prabhākaravardhana of Thāṇeśvara—(JBA, LVIII, pt. 1).

C. 600 To this period belong: the poet Bāṇa, author of the *Śrī Harṣacarita*, *Kādambarī*, and the *Caṇḍīsataka*; Mayūra, author of the *Sūryaśataka*; Daṇḍin, author of the *Daśakumāracarita* and the *Kāvyaḍarṣa*, as the contemporaries of Harṣavardhana of Kanauj. To the same period belongs Mānatuṅga, author of the *Bhaktāmara-Stotra*. The Jaina tradition makes Mayūra, the father-in-law of Bāṇa.

C. 600 The objects excavated at the site of Valabhī contain a variety of clay-seals with the Buddhist formula *ये धर्महेतुप्रभवः* etc. imprinted on them. The references to *Ratnatraya* (frag. 1), *Samgha* (frag. 4), and *Tathāgata* (frag. 5) occurring in the fragmentary Stone-inscriptions discovered from Valā (Diskalkar, ABORI, XX, pp. 1-8, No. 1), show the further influence of Buddhism in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. There are references even to fields belonging to Buddhist monks or to the *Samgha* in the copper-plates.

The earliest reference is found in a grant of the Maitraka king Dhruvasena I (Valabhī S. 216, C. 535 A.D.) wherein he donated villages to the *Vihāra* built by his niece ('Sister's daughter') Duddā, who laid the temporal foundation of Buddhism in or near Valabhī. This *Vihāra* gradually developed into a *Vihāramanḍala*, containing a number of *Vihāras* within its precincts.

Buddhism set its foot in Surāṣṭra through the efforts of Aśoka; it might have enjoyed some popularity during the days of Miliṇḍa, and may have taken firm root in the region of the early Āndhra Kings. But it certainly reached the height of its glory during the rule of the Maitraka kings of Valabhī.

We know from Hiuen Tsang's account that most of the *bhikṣus* in Mālava, Valabhī, and Ānandapura studied Hīnayāna according to the Sammatīya School, while the *Bhikṣus* of Bharukaccha and Surāṣṭra followed the Mahāyāna, according to the Sthavira school and the *bhikṣus* of Kheṭaka and Ujjayinī studied both the Yānas.

The Bappapadiya *Vihāra* was constructed by Ācārya Bhikṣu Sthirmati at Valabhī and was meant for monks from foreign countries, belonging to the Hīnayāna Sect. It is identified with the *vihāra* referred to by Hiuen Tsang in the account of Valabhī. This Sthirmati Sthavira was one of the famous disciples of Vasubaṇḍhu, the 21st patriarch who wrote commentaries on all the works of his master. Guṇamati was also a disciple of Vasubaṇḍhu who wrote a commentary on Vasubaṇḍhu's *Abhidharma Kośa* (An Introduction to Mahāyāna).

C. 600 Jinadeva, a Jaina Ācārya, had defeated in disputation, in Bharukaccha, two Buddhist monks who were brothers named as Bhadañtamitra and Kuṇāla who thereupon had become his pupils.—(JAG, p. 110).

As this event is mentioned in *Āvassaya-cunni* (pt. II, p. 201) it must have occurred, not later than the sixth century A.D.

- C. 600 There was a temple of Koṇḍalameṇḍha¹ (Kuṇḍameṇḍha²), a *Vyantara*, near Bharukaccha. People staying in surrounding places, used to visit it and enjoy there a *saṅkhaḍī* (picnic-party).

¹ *Bhasa, Cunni and Visacunni on Kappa.*

² JAG, p. 44, pp. 110-111.

- C. 600 Aṭṭana was an invincible wrestler (Malla) of Ujjayini. Simhagiri, a ruler of Sopāraka, used to arrange wrestling, and pay a great sum to the victor. Aṭṭana went every year to Sopāraka and came victorious. Thereupon Simhagiri engaged a young fisherman after testing his strength. This fisherman succeeded in defeating Aṭṭana who was older than he.

Aṭṭana started for Surāṣṭra as he had come to know that there was a very powerful wrestler. On the way he came across a ploughman in Bharukaccha. He was ploughing with one hand and by the other he was picking up cotton (*phalahī*). Taking him to be a fit rival for that fisherman, he induced him to learn wrestling. He agreed and became a wrestler. Aṭṭana took him to Sopāraka. Wrestling took place between this ploughman known as ' Phalahi-malla ' and the fisherman (*Mātsyāyika-malla*). But it ended in a draw. In the evening Aṭṭana inquired of Phalahī-Malla if any limb or limbs of his body were aching. This wrestler pointed out the limbs, and they were properly attended to.

The Mātsyāyika-malla gave an arrogant reply when a similar question was put to him by Simhagiri, with the result that the next day he got defeated and died.—(*Āvassaya-cunni*, pt. II, p. 152-53).

- C. 600 A reference to the Gurjara in the South is noticed in the Tamil poem, *Maṇimekhalāi*, composed in the 6th century A.D., which mentions one ' *Kucharakudihai* ', a temple of Gurjara workmanship. This reference suggests the improbability of a foreign architect of Gurjara Nationality being imported into Southern India as early as the sixth century A.D. ; while we have hardly any reference to the Gurjaras before the time of Prabhākaravardhana ; who is eulogized as ' a lion to the Hūṇa deer, a burning fever to the king of the Indus land, a troubler of the sleep of Gujarat (or ' of the Gurjaras '), a bilious plague to lawlessness of the Lāṭas (' Lāṭa ' in text), an axe to the creeper of Mālava's glory '.—(Baij Nath Puri, *The History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras*, p. 5).

- c. 603 According to Javanese tradition, the colonisation of Java by a prince of Gujarat in the beginning of the 7th century A.D. has been generally accepted. In Gujarat also, the wealth brought from Java to Gujarat by its enterprising sons has passed into a proverb.

However, the tradition requires further corroboration by more tangible evidence of culture-contacts.

- 605 From Valabhī, Maitraka Śīlāditya I issued a grant of land to Buddhist *vihāra* erected by Queen Duddā at Valabhī. It was issued in the (Valabhī) year 286 Jyestha ba 6 (605 A.D.). The land consisted in a village along with three fields, two step-wells, and four garden-wells. The Dūtaka of the grant was Bhaṭṭa Ādityayaśas. The grant was composed by Vatrabhāṭṭi, designated *Sandhivigrahādhikṛita* (Minister of Peace and War) and *Divirapati* (Head of Scribes).—(*Valā Plates*, IA, XIV 327).
- 605 A grant of land was issued from Valabhī by Maitraka King Śīlāditya I, Dharmāditya, in the (Valabhī) year 286, Vaiśākha ba. 6 (605 A.D.). It was dedicated to the *Samgha* (Congregation) of the *Bhikṣus* at a Buddhist *vihāra*. The Dūtaka of the order was Bhaṭṭa Ādityayaśas.—(*Palitana-Valā Plates*, IA, I, 46).
- 605 In the (Valabhī) year 286, Āṣāḍha ba 8 (605 A.D.) King Śīlāditya I, Dharmāditya, dedicated the village Bhoṇḍānaka in Vaṭanagara Sthali to forty-four Brāhmaṇas of various *gotras* who emigrated from Saṃgapurī. The Dūtaka of the royal order was Bhaṭṭa Ādityayaśas. The grant was composed by Vatrabhāṭṭi mentioned above.—(*Navalakhī Plates* : EI ; XI 174).
- 605 A grant of land was issued by Maitraka King Śīlāditya I to a Buddhist *vihāra* at Vaṇśakaṭa. The Dūtaka of the royal edict was Bhaṭṭa Ādityayaśas. The grant was issued in the (Valabhī) year 286 Śrāvaṇa ba 7 (605 A.D.). The *vihāra* seems to be identical with the *vihāra* mentioned in another grant (JBBRAS I 31 f.) as erected by the donor at Vaṇśakaṭa.—(*Valā Plates*, JBBRAS, I, 26).
- 605 In the (Valabhī) year 287, Mārgaśīra ba 7 (605 A.D.) Maitraka King Śīlāditya I, Dharmāditya, issued from Valabhī a grant of land to Brāhmaṇa Bhaṭṭi of Bhāradvāja *gotra*, residing at Valabhī, an emigrant from Ānartapura. The royal edict was executed by Bhaṭṭa Ādityayaśas and was composed by Vatrabhāṭṭi.—(*Valā Plates* : JBBRAS, I 28).
- 606 From Valabhī, King Śīlāditya I dedicated the village Nirguḍaka in Ghāsarakā Pathaka to the *Samgha* (Congregation) of the *Bhikṣuṇīs* (nuns) of Yakṣaśūra *vihāra* at Valabhī. The Dūtaka of the royal edict was Bhaṭṭa Ādityayaśas. The grant was composed by Divirapati Vatrabhāṭṭi and issued in the (Valabhī) year 287, Kārttika va. 7, (606 A.D.).—(*Valā Plates* : JUB ; III I, 80).
- 606 Harṣavardhana Śīlāditya of Thāṇeśvara, succeeded his brother Rājyavardhana II. He extended his sovereignty over the whole of Northern India. Inscriptions record his invasion of Valabhī between A.D. 633 and 640, in the

reign of Dhruvasena II, who fled for refuge to Dadda IV of Bharukaccha, from whence he submitted to Harṣa and married his grand-daughter.

He is the hero of Bāṇa's *Śrī Harṣacarita*, and was himself a poet and the reputed author of several poems. Hiuen Tsang visited his court, and was present at the religious convocation held by him at Prayāga (C.A.D. 643). The pilgrim represents him as an ardent Buddhist; but Harṣa, in his Madhuvan grant, calls himself a Śaiva.

Cālukya inscriptions record Harṣa's defeat at the hands of Pulakeśin II, when striving to extend his dominion beyond the Narmadā.

- C. 609 Pulakeśin II, Satyāśraya, Śrī Prithvivallabha, Early Cālukya, succeeded his uncle Maṅgalīśa till about 642 A.D. After repulsing Appāyika and Goviṇḍa, perhaps of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa race, Pulakeśin subdued the Kādambas, and reduced their capital Banavāsi. He himself attacked and reduced the city of Purī, conquered the kings of Lāṭa, Mālava and Gurjara, and repelled Harṣavardhana. He then took the title of *Paramēśvara*.

Kośala and Kaliṅga submitted to him, and later, he attacked and besieged Mahendravarman I, the Pallava king in his capital Kāñcīpuram, and, crossing the Kāverī invaded the country of the Colas, Pāṇḍyas and Keralas. These victories were gained, according to the Haidarabad grant of Ś. 535, before 612 A.D.; probably about 608-9.

Towards the close of his reign, Pulakeśin suffered reverses at the hands of the Pallavas under Narasiṃhavarman I.—(IA, vi, 72; *Bom. Gaz.* I, 349).

- C. 609 Buddharāja's power was uprooted by the Cālukya King Maṅgalarāja—(*Nerur Plates of Maṅgalarāja*, IA, VII, 161; Mahekuṭ Pillar Inscription of Mangaleśa; IA; XIX 7).

- 609 From the victorious camp at Bhadreśvara, the Gate of Valabhī, Maitraka King Śilāditya I in the Valabhī year 290, Bhādrapada bahula 7, (609 A.D.), issued a grant of village Amadāsaputra near Vaṭādraha in Ghāsaraka Pathaka, to the 'Bhikṣuṇī-vihāra' erected by Yakṣaśūra at Valabhī. The Dūtaka of the royal edict was Kharagraha. The grant was composed by Divirapatī Vatra-bhaṭṭi.—(*Valā Plates*, JUB, III, 1, 82).

- 609 A grant of land was issued by Maitraka king Śilāditya I, Dharmāditya, in the (Valabhī) year 290, Bhādrapada ba. 8 (609 A.D.). It was dedicated to the temple (*devakula*) of Mahādeva (Śiva) erected by Harinātha and situated in the locality of Balavarmāṇaka-Vaṭapadra. The Dūtaka was Kharagraha. The grant was composed by Vatrabhaṭṭi.—(*Dhāṅk Plates*; IA, IX, 237 ff.)

This is the only known Maitraka grant issued to a Śiva temple, though almost all the Maitraka kings professed Śaivism.

609 From Valabhī, Maitraka king Śīlāditya I issued a grant, of village Dañturā-putra in Maṇḍalī Draṅga to Brāhmaṇas Mitraśarman and Gaṇeśvara of Audareṣaṇī *gotra*, who had emigrated in the (Valabhī) year 290, Bhādrapada su 10 (609 A.D.) from Daśapura and settled at Valabhī. Kharagraha executed the royal edict and Divirapati Vatrabhaṭṭi composed the grant.—(*Valā Plates*: JUB, III, 1, 85).

610 King Bhānuśakti founded the Saiṇdraka power in South Gujarat.—(H. G. Shastri, MG, 311 f.).

C. 610 About 610 A.D. the Western Cālukya Pulakeśin II, son of Kīrtivarman I, succeeded Mangaliśa. He is recorded to have defeated the Gaṅgas, Maurayas of Koṅkan, Lāṭas (of Southern Gujarat), Gurjaras of North Gujarat, Mālavas, Kalingas, Kośalas, Pallavas of Conjevaram, besides his great victory over Harṣavardhana of Thāṇeśvara.

C. 610 Buddhavarman, Cālukya king of Southern Gujarat, reigned about 610, in succession to his father Jayasimha.

610 Gurjara king Jayabhaṭa I *alias* 'Vitarāga' succeeded his father Dadda I.

C 600-650 A School of Painting and Sculpture was founded by Śrīṅgadhara of Marū (Marwar), who was an accomplished artist and painter, and worked under Harṣavardhan (610-650 A.D.), according to the Tibetan historian Taranath (1608 A.D.).

Śrīṅgadhara's 'School of the Art of Ancient West' was not confined to Western India; but its traditions seem to have travelled as far as Nepal and Burma (wall-paintings at Pagān), where, according to Tārānāth, the Earlier School of Art resembled the 'Old Western School'.

The distinguishing features of this School founded in Mārwar cannot be surmised, as no painting from Mārwar or Western India from this early period has survived. But if sculpture be the index of art-conventions of those times, then the angularity in the treatment of human figures may be counted as the distinguishing features of the Western Indian art of Bundelkhand, Malwa, Rajputana and Gujarat.

The migration of the art-conventions of this school to the Deccan and the South cannot be studied, as no wall-paintings of the 7th or 8th century have survived from Western India. In the middle layer of the wall-paintings at Kailāśa, Elurā (9th century), however, the angularity of human figures, pinching of the farther cheek, and the consequent protrusion of the farther eye into empty space are met with. As these conventions are still in embryonic stage in the later cave-paintings of Ajañṭa, they may be attributed to the extraneous influence, probably of Gujarat and Rajputana.

The influence of Western Indian art at a somewhat later period is marked in the Viṣṇu temple at Madanpur in Lalitpur Dist. (U.P.), adjoining Malwa. The

battle scenes in the Western porch of Kailāsanātha temple, Elurā, depicting rows of horsemen and the inscriptional evidence indicating their connection with the Paramāras of Malwa, also show Rajput or Western Indian influence. In the 10th century or even a little earlier, the conventions of the Western Indian style left their homeland and travelled to the remotest corners of India, influencing the contemporary Pāla paintings in Eastern India, and penetrated as far as Pagān and Nepal.—(Moti Chandra, '*Jaina Paintings of Western India*', p. 17).

- C. 610** In Jesalmer there is a MS. of *Visesāvassayabhāsa*. In its colophon,¹ dated² Śaka Samvat 531,³ there is mention of Valabhī-nagarī and Śīlāditya (?). The missing letters after *mahavi* may be supplying the name of a Jaina temple at Valabhī wherein this MSS. was then deposited.

¹ In *JTSS* (Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 115) these verses are quoted.

² This is the date of the MS. and not that of the work, as suggested by Jinavijayaji. *Vide* Intro. p. 32 of "*Ganadharavada*" by Pt. Dalsukh Malvaniya.

³ In *JTSS* (Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 113) this samvat is mentioned along with Valabhī Samvat 291.

- C. 610** From the above MSS we learn that Kheḍā and Moḍheraka (Modhera) along with Mathura are each spoken of as *āhāra*. They are examples for *kṣetrāhāra*. The latter can be interpreted in two ways: (1) the *Kṣetra* (region) where *āhāra* (food?) is done produced and (2) the region which is made enjoyable for (?) a city by means of corn, fuel etc.

In the *cunhi* noted above, *āhāra* is equated to *visaya* (Sk. Viṣaya), a country.

- 611** From the victorious camp at Devisaras, Maitraka king Śīlāditya I issued a grant of land to the temple of Āditya (Sun) situated at Bhadrēṇiyaka in Bāravana Sthali. The land was situated in the same place. The royal edict was executed by Kharagraha and the grant was composed by Divirapati Vatrabhaṭṭi. It was issued in the Valabhī year 291, Caitra su 14, (611 A.D.). —(EI, XXI, 116).

- 611** From the royal camp fixed at Ānandpura (Vadnagar) in the North Gujarat the Kataccuri king Buddharāja issued a grant of land to a Brāhmaṇa of Pārāśara *gotra*, resident of Dabhaka (Dabkā near Padra in Baroda). The grant consisted in a village situated in Gorajjā (Goraj) *bhoga* of Bharukuccha (Broach) *viṣaya*. The Dūtaka of the edict was Mahābalādhikṛita Prasahya-vigraha. The grant was composed by Śivarāja, the head of the Department of Saṁdhi (Peace) and Vigraha (War), on Sam. 362 Kārttika ba 15, 611 A.D. —(*Sarsavaṇī Plates*: EI, VI, 294 ff.).

- C. 615** King Śīlāditya I, Dharmāditya, granted two villages (one probably of Ghāsaraka Pathaka and the other possibly of Kālāpaka Pathaka) to the Buddhist *vihāra* built by himself at Vaṁśakaṭa. This reminds us of Hinen

Tsang's reference to his having built a monastery by the side of his palace.— [Beal, *Records II* 261 f; *Valā Plates*; (NS) I, 33 f.].

615 Maitraka king Śīlāditya I was succeeded by his younger brother Kharagraha I (c. 615-621 A.D.), in accordance with the express will of his elder brother. In his eulogy he is said to have topped the list of heroic persons on account of his renowned valour and proficiency in warfare. Dr. K. P. Jayaswāl identified him with Capala, mentioned in the *Āryamañjāsīmūlakalpa*; but the wantonness of the latter can hardly fit in with the former's noble character delineated in the copper-plate grants.

616 From the victorious camp at Ujjayani, Maitraka King Kharagraha I issued a grant of land to a Brāhmaṇa of Bhāguri *gotra*, residing at Cīncānaka. The land was situated at Cincanaka which was located in Maṇḍalī draṅga. The Dūtaka of the grant was Dharasena and was composed by Divirapati Vatra-bhaṭṭi, on Sam. 297 Vaiśākha su. 12 (616 A.D.).—(*Vīrdī Plates*: AIOC, VII, Pro.; pp. 659-676).

C. 616-7 A grant, of two field-wells with usual privileges, was issued by Maitraka king Kharagraha I from Valabhī for the increase of the religious merit of his parents. The recipient of the grant was a Brāhmaṇa named Gupta, son of Āpta of Kauṇḍinya *gotra*, and a student of Vājasneya Śākhā of Yajurveda who belonged to Kāsahṛada, but had settled at Tramadī. The land was situated in Ānumaṇji Sthālī: (very probably an ancient name of Amreli, as suggested by A.S. Gadre; as it is also mentioned in the grants of V.S. 216 and V.S. 248).

The grant was executed by Dharasena and composed by Divirapati Vatra-bhaṭṭi: in Valabhī S. 297, Śrāvaṇa Su. 10 (616 A.D.).—(*Amreli Plates*: A. S. Gadre, *Important Sanskrit Inscriptions Baroda State*, pp. 7-15).

The word "Saurāṣṭra" is found used in the Valabhī grants for the first time here. The usual word for the whole country is "Surāṣṭra", being used only twice.—(JBU, Vol. III, pt. I, p. 78, n. 4; EI, XVII, p. 109).

C. 620 Harṣavardhana of Kanauj was defeated about 620 A.D. by the Cālukya Pulakeśin II, and his southern frontier was limited to the Narmadā.

623 Maitraka King Dharasena III (C. 621-627 A.D.) issued, from his victorious camp at Kheṭaka (Kheḍa), a grant of land in Surāṣṭra. The grant was received by a Brāhmaṇa of Ātreya *gotra*, a resident of Hastavapra (Hāthab). The grant was composed by Divirapati Vatra-bhaṭṭi. Prince Sāmanta Śīlāditya was the Dūtaka of the edict. It is dated Valabhī Sam. 304 Māgha su. 7 (623 A.D.).—(*Bhavnagar Plates*: EI, XXI 183).

624 The village of Ādrotaka (Adroḍā) situated in Kāsahṛada Viṣaya was given as religious gift by Maitraka King Dharasena III to a Brāhmaṇa of Gāṅgāyana *gotra*, resident of Ānandapura, on Sam. 305 Śrāvaṇa su. 15 (624 A.D.). The

Dūtaka of the edict was Prince Sāmanta Śīlāditya. The grant was composed by Rogghabhaṭa, official in charge of Peace and War.—(*Kāśīndrā Plates* : JUB, XIX, 4 1 ff.)

- C. 625** Derabhaṭa seems to have been succeeded by his son Śīlāditya II in C. 625 A.D. He is most probably identical with Prince Sāmanta Śīlāditya officiating as the Dūtaka of the grants issued by Dharasena III in 623-624 A.D., and Sāmanta Śīlāditya officiating as the Dūtaka of the grants issued by Dhruvasena II in 629-638 A.D. In the grants of his successors he is represented as 'King' (*Kṣonīpati*) of the Viñdhya territory.

- 625** The Gurjara king Dadda II *alias* Praśāntarāga (one whose passion has subsided) who succeeded his father Jayabhāṭa-Vitarāga and flourished from 620 A.D. to 645 A.D. gave protection to the Valabhī ruler Dhruvabhāṭa I *alias* Bālāditya against Paramēśvara Harṣadeva of Kanauj. His earliest grant is dated in Gupta year 310 (629-30 A.D.) From Hiuen Tsang's account we learn that Harṣa, later, made peace with the Valabhī ruler and cemented the alliance by giving his daughter in marriage to him.

The grants of Dadda II are the earliest Gurjara records so far discovered in Gujarat. Kielhorn has shown (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 6) that both in their eulogistic and formal parts, they were drafted on the model of the earlier Kalacuri grants; and from this he rightly conjectured that 'the family of these chiefs (*i.e.* the Gurjaras) rose to independence only after the time of the Kalacuri Buddharāja.'

The copper-plate inscriptions of the Gurjaras, dated in the Kalacuri era, have been discovered in Western India between the rivers Kim and Mahī.

- C. 625** Varmalāta, possibly king of Śrī-māla (Bhinmāla), was reigning in Rajputana during this period. His fedatory Vajra-bhaṭa governed Mount Arbuda (Ābu).

- 628** Dhruvasena II, *alias* Bālāditya, younger son of Kharagraha I, succeeded his elder brother Maitraka king Dharasena III. In his eulogy he is represented as 'proficient in Polity as well as Grammar'.

- C. 628** From the copper-plate inscriptions of the successors of King Dadda II, Dhruvasena II is known to have been subjugated by Emperor Harṣa and protected by Dadda II. From the records of Hiuen Tsang it is gathered that Dhruvasena II had been the son-in-law of Harṣa. According to the identification of his successor's Ajjaka with Harṣa, this event seems to have taken place in not later than 628 A.D.

- 629** August 1st. The Chinese Buddhist, Hiuen Tsang, left China for India. He returned to China in 645 A.D., and between this year and that of his death in 664 A.D., translated 75 Buddhist works into Chinese.—(Beal's '*Si-yu-ki*').

- 629 The Navasāri grant of Jayabhaṭa IV states that Dadda IV protected the lord of Valabhī (probably Dhruvasena II), from Harṣadeva *i.e.* Harṣavardhana, of Thāṇeśvara.

It was perhaps during this reign that Dharasena IV, son and successor of Dhruvasena occupied Bharukaccha, one of his copper-plates of the year 648 A.D. being dated from "the victorious camp situated at Bharukaccha". About the same time, or perhaps a little earlier, the Cālukyas seized Bharukaccha, and established their rule in the southern half of the Gujarat dominions.—(IA, xiii, 81-88 *Kaira Copper Plates* : EI., II., 20 ; *Saṅkheḍā grant* ; *Bomb. Gaz.* I, 314).

- 629 In the (Valabhī) year 310, Āśvayuja bahu. 5 (629 A.D.), a grant of land was issued from Valabhī by Maitraka king Dhruvasena II, Bālāditya, to the Buddhist *vihāra* erected by Gohaka within the *vihāra-maṇḍala* built by Queen Duddā at Valabhī. The grant records the endowment of the village Bhasanta in Kālāpaka Pathaka in Surāṣṭra. The Dūtaka was Sāmanta Śilāditya. The grant was composed by Vatrabhāṭṭi who is already mentioned in the edicts of his predecessors.—(*Boṭād Plates* : IA, VI, 12 f.).

- 629 The Gurjara King Dadda II, Praśāntarāga, issued from Nāndīpuri the grant of the village Śīrīṣapadraka in Akrūreśvara Viṣaya to forty Brāhmaṇas of Vatsa, Kāśyapa, Daundakiya, Dhūmrāyaṇa, Kauṇḍinya, Māthara, Bhāradvāja and Caulīśa *gotras*. The grant was composed by Reva, Minister of Peace and War, and issued in the Cedi year 380, Kārttika su. 15 (629 A.D.).—(*Kaira Plates* : IA, XIII, 82 ff.).

- 629-30 Dadda II was the real founder of the Gurjara kingdom in the Lāṭa country. His *Kaira Plates* (two sets) are dated in K. 380 (629-30 A.D.) and K. 385 (634-35 A.D.) and record the grant of Śīrīṣapadraka (modern Sisodrā, 11 miles from Anḱlesvar in the Broach District) to certain Brāhmaṇas.

Two other sets of plates, issued on the same day in K. 392 (641-42 A.D.), register the grant of two fields in the village Kṣīrasara in the *viṣaya* (district) of Saṅgama Kheṭaka (modern Saṅkheḍā). He is also mentioned in a fragmentary Saṅkheḍā grant of his brother Raṇagraha, dated K. 391.

Dadda II was obliged to acknowledge the suzerainty of Pulakeśin II, soon after he carved out a kingdom for himself in the lower Narmadā valley. On the seals of his plates, he is styled *Sāmanta* or a feudal lord, while in his grants he is said to have won the *Pañcamahāśabda* (the right to use the five great sounds). Like his grand-father, he was a devotee of the Sun.

Dadda II heads the genealogy in all later records. His descendants took pride in describing him as one ' who had a canopy of glory, possessing the grace of a moving large and white cloud, which sprung from his protection of the king of Valabhī when he was attacked by the Emperor, the illustrious Harṣadeva.—(परमेस्वर श्री हर्षदेवासिम्बुवर्धनमीपति पटिआणोपआरअसुअविज्जनयशोवितानश्रीदाः ।)

The Gurjara capital till the end of Dadda II's reign was Nāndīpurī, as all the four grants of his reign are issued from that city. The capital was shifted to Bharukaccha sometime before K. 427 (675 A.D.), the date of the Prince of Wales Museum plates of Dadda III.

- 629 Dhruvasena II (Bālāditya), Maitraka king of Valabhī, was reigning (629-640 A.D.) in succession to his brother Dharasena III.
- 630 Sendraka king Bhānuśakti was succeeded by his son Ādityaśakti.—(*Bagumra Plates of Nikumbha-Allaśakti*: IA., XVIII 265 ff.)
- 631 Maitraka King Dhruvasena II, Bālāditya, issued from Valabhī a grant of land situated in Konaka Pathaka of Khetaka-Āhāraṇiṣaya in the (Valabhī) year 312, Jyēṣṭha su. 4 (631 A.D.) to Brāhmaṇa Mātrākāla of Bhāradvāja gotra who emigrated from Girinagara and was residing at Khetaka. The Dūtaka was Sāmanta Śīlāditya. The grant was composed by Vatrabhaṭṭi.—(JBBRAS, NS, I, 69).
- 631 (H. 10) The Brāhmaṇa Caca usurped the throne of Sindh on the death of Rāya Sāhasī II. Shortly after his accession he slew Maḥrat Rāna of Citor (or Jaipur).
- Caca is said to have reigned forty years and to have been succeeded by his brother Candar, who died in H. 59, after a reign of eight years and was succeeded by Dāhir.—(EHI, i 131 ff., and 406, 414).
- 632 From Valabhī, Maitraka king Dhruvasena II Bālāditya, issued a grant of land situated in the village Bahumūla located in Vatapallikā Sthali in Saurāṣṭra to Brāhmaṇa Devakula and his nephew Bhāda in the (Valabhī) Śrāvaṇa su. 14 (632 A.D.). Sāmanta Śīlāditya executed the royal edict and Vatrabhaṭṭi composed the grant.—(*Goras Plates*; JBBRAS, NS, I, 50 ff.).
- 634 Kings of Lāṭa, Mālava and Gurjara succumbed to Pulakeśi II, Lord of South India.—(IA; VIII, 242).
- 634 King Dadda II, Praśāntarāga, re-issued a grant of the village Śriṣapadraka in the Cedi year 385 (634 A.D.). It makes certain omissions and additions in the list of the donees mentioned in the grant of the year 380, Kārttika su. 15 (634 A.D.), the total number being reduced to thirty-four. It was issued from the same place and composed by the same official.—(*Kairā Plates*, IA, XIII, 88).
- 634 The Aihole inscription dated Ś. 556 (634 A.D.) (EI, I, p. 1) refers to the submission of the Gurjaras, Lāṭas and Mālavas to the Cālukya king Pulkaśin II. It is clear from Verse 22 of this record that they were not conquered by force but submitted to, or sought the protection of Pulakeśin of their own accord (प्रतापेनता वश्य लाटमालवगुर्जराः V. 5); and in poetic expression, they became, as it were, teachers of how feudatories submitted by force ought to behave

(दण्डोपनत सामन्तचर्या आचार्य इव अभवन्। v. 22). It is also noticed in this record that Harṣa, the Emperor, from the north did not succeed in penetrating to the south of the Revā i.e. the Narmadā, where Pulakeśin's armies were encamped.

C 635 Dhruvasena II of Valabhī, about 635 A.D. was defeated by Harṣavardhana and became his feudatory and son-in-law. Harṣa apparently became master of Ānandapura (Vadnagar), Kaccha and Southern Surāṣṭra and finally extended his empire to include the basin of the Ganges from the Himalayas to the Narmadā, Malwa, Gujarat and Surāṣṭra.

636 An expedition was sent in the reign of the second Khalifa Umar bin Khattab, but without his sanction. When he heard that Uthman-ath-Thakafi, his governor of Behrein had returned successful from Hind, the Khalifa wrote to Uthman: "Brother of Thakif! thou hast placed the worm in the wood, but by Allah! had any of my men been lost, I should have killed an equal number from thy tribe." This is mentioned by the Arab historian Al-Bilazuri in his history, "Futuh-u'l-buldan".

This indicates two things: first, Umar had gauged more or less correctly, the possibilities inherent in similar ventures; but, secondly, he considered the risks, in his time, to be above the undertaking of similar expeditions.—(Bom. Gaz. IX. 1 ff. 1).

638 From a victorious camp (the name of the place not read satisfactorily; possibly it is Bhadrapaṭṭana), Maitraka King Dhruvasena II dedicated the village Nagadinnānaka in Rohāṇaka Pathaka in Surāṣṭra to a *Bhikṣuṇī-vihāra* erected by Pūrṇabhaṭṭa within the *Yakṣaśūra-Vihāra-Manḍala* at Valabhī. The Dūtaka of the royal edict was Sāmanta Śilāditya and the grant was composed by Divirapati Skandabhaṭa and issued in the Valabhī year 319, Jyēṣṭha su. 7 (638 A.D.).—(Valā Plates, JUB, III, 88).

C. 636 H. 15. Usman Ibn Asi Saqafi, governor of Bahra'n and Uman, under the Khalifah Umar, appointed his brother Hakim to Bahrain, and proceeding himself to Uman, sent an expedition to pillage the coasts of India. About the same time Hakim sent a force against Broach, and despatched his brother Mughirah Abu-l-Asi to Dibal where he defeated the enemy. The *Cacanāmā* represents him as being slain.—(EHI, i, 415-16).

639 A grant of land which was originally issued by Maitraka Mahārāja Droṇa-simha in the form of a copper-edict (*tāmraśāsana*) and which had been in abeyance in the intervening period, was renewed by king Dhruvasena II, Bālāditya, in (Valabhī) year 320, Āśāḍha su.—(639 A.D.). The grant was dedicated to (the image of) Goddess Koṭṭammahikā installed at Trisaṅgamaka. The Dūtaka of the royal edict was Prince Kharagraha. The grant was issued from Valabhī and composed by Divirapati Skandabhaṭa, son of Divirapati Vatrabhaṭṭi.—(Jackson, 'The Two New Valabhī Plates', JBBRAS, XX, pp. 2).

- 639 In the (Valabhī) year 320, Bhādrapada ba. 5 (639 A.D.), Maitraka king Dhruvasena II, Bālāditya, issued a grant from Valabhī, granting land situated in Mālavaka Bhukti to Brāhmaṇa Agniśvāmin of Pārāsara *gotra* resident of Agastikā-*agrahāra*, an emigrant from Udumbara-gahvara, and to Brāhmaṇa Saṅgaravi of Kauśika *gotra*, resident of Ayānaka-*agrahāra*, and an emigrant from Jambūsara. The grant was composed by Divirapati Skandabhāṭa and executed by prince Kharagraha.—[*Nogāvā Plates* : from Navagrāma (Nogāvā), ten miles north of Ratlam; EI; VIII, 188].

C. 640 The period synchronising with the Gupta rule in Saurāṣṭra and North India, and the Vākāṭakas in Central India and the Deccan, was marked by an important development in the history of Buddhism in the country. With the spread of Buddhism in foreign countries, China was getting more and more into touch with India, when a number of Chinese pilgrims visited India with a view to see the Mother Country of Buddhism, and to collect books of the religion which they had adopted as their own.

Fa-Hian, the first to visit India in 399 A.D. refers to the countries in Dakṣiṇāpatha only, in a general way. But the two travellers who followed him have left ample notes about their visit. Huiyen Tsang who came to India in the middle of the 7th century A.D., when the Cālukya king Pulakeśin II was ruling over Mahārāṣṭra, has left his account, known as 'SI-YU-KI', since translated into English as '*Buddhist Records of the Western World*' by S. Beal.

Buddhism in Valabhī owed much to the numerous donations by the Maitraka kings, majority of whom were Śaivites, and to the liberality of the members of the Royal Family, and to the munificent gifts made by the feudatories and officers of the State under the Maitraka rulers. Many of these donations provided for the daily necessities of the monks in the monasteries such as *Piṇḍa-pata* (alms), and *Śayanāsana* (beds), *Bhṛṣajya* (medicine), *Civara* (clothes) etc. for the worship of the Buddha images and current repairs to the monasteries. Some important variations are met with when the anointing of images [Dhruvasena III's undated Plate, JBBRAS, (NS.), I, p. 35], performance of dance and music, (Śilāditya I's grant), or the covering of the floor with grass (EI, XIII, p. 339; IA, IV, p. 174) is referred to in their copper-plate grants. One grant provides for the purchase of religious books for a monastery.—(Guhasena's grant of G.E. 240; IA., VII, p. 67). In some others the fortifications (Śilāditya's grant of G.E. 290; IA., IX, p. 237), and the well-laid gardens around the *Vihāras* are mentioned.

The Buddhist element in the population of Valabhī is further indicated by references to fields in the grants. Two *Kṣetras*—Saṅgha Kṣetra and Sthaviraka Brahmadeya Kṣetras—which were evidently Buddhistic are mentioned in Dhruvasena II's grant of 313 G.E. Another field belonging to a Sthaviraka (teacher) by name Bavya is mentioned in Dharasena IV's grant of 326 G.E.



A Standing lady, Śāmalāji



Mother and Child, Śāmalāji



Standing Mother Bhadrā, Śāmalāji

Plate XXXIX



Pārvatī as Śabarakanyā, Śāmalāji

Buddhism preached at Valabhī, though mentioned as *Hīna Yāna* by Hiuen-Tsang, it is evident that the Mahāyāna sect had also its share in the development of Buddhism at Valabhī. There are direct references to bathing and anointing of Buddha images, and the occurrence of expressions like Buddha Bhaṭṭaraka. In the grant of Dharasena IV, we find that the gifts donated to the Yodhāvaka monastery were meant for Mahāyāna monks staying in it.

Ārya-Manju-śrī-mūla-Kalpa refers to a famous monk from Valabhī, besides Guṇamati, called Piṇḍacārika, during the days of Śīladitya, who is described as follows:—

तत्र देशे समाख्यातो भिक्षुः पिण्डचारिकाः ॥ ५९० ॥

शीलवान् बुद्धिसंपन्नो बुद्धानां शासने रतः ।

कालचारि महारमाऽसौ प्रविष्टो पिण्डचारिकम् ॥ ५९२ ॥ ३५ पटल ॥

—(K. P. Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, p. 24)

640

From the victorious camp at Vanditappali, a grant of land was issued in the (Valabhī) year 321, Caitra ba. 3 (640 A.D.) by the Maitraka King Dhruvasena II, Bālāditya, granting land in Mālavaka *Viṣaya* to Brāhmaṇas Dattasvāmin and Kumārasvāmin, of Pārāśara *gotra*, emigrants from Uduṃbarāgahvara. The former resided at Ayānaka-*agrahāra* and the latter at Agastikā-*agrahāra*. The royal edict was executed by Prince Kharagraha and it was composed by Divirapati Skandabhaṭa.—(*Nogava Plates* ; EI, VIII, 194).

640-41

Gujarat was visited by the Chinese pilgrim and scholar Hiuen Tsang, who travelled in India with a view to study Buddhism, and collect Buddhist manuscripts and images. From the South, he first came to Bharukaccha, Mālava, Atalī, Kheṭa, Valabhī, Ānadapura and Surāṣṭra; and then proceeded to Gurjara-deśa in North.—(Beal, *Records* II). This part of his travel is dated circa 640 A.D. The account of his travel throws much light on the life and culture of the people in general and on the state of Buddhism in particular.—(Watters, *Travels*, II).

640-41

Po-lu-kie-ch'e-p'o (BHARUKACCHA) Barygaza or Broach:—This kingdom is 2400 or 2500 *li* in circuit. Its capital is 20 *li* round. The soil is impregnated with salt. Trees and shrubs are scarce and scattered. They boil the sea-water to get the salt; and *their sole profit is from the sea*. The climate is warm. The air is always agitated with gusts of wind. Their ways are cold and indifferent; the disposition of the people, crooked and perverse. They do not cultivate study, and are wedded to error and true doctrine alike. There are some ten *saṃghārāmas*, with about 300 believers. They adhere to the Great Vehicle and the Sthavira school. There are about ten Deva temples, in which sectaries of various kinds congregate.—(*Buddhist Record of the Western World*, Book XI. Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsang, S. Beal, pp. 259-260).

C22

640-41

Fa-la-pi (VALABHI):—This country is 6000 *li* or so in circuit, the capital about 30. The character of the soil, the climate, and manners of the people are like those of the kingdom of Mālava. The population is very dense; the establishments rich. There are some hundred houses (families) or so, who possess a hundred *lakhs*. The rare and valuable products of distant regions are here stored in great quantities.

There are some hundred *saṃghārāmas*, with about 6,000 priests. Most of them study the *Little Vehicle* (Hinayāna), according to the Sammatīya school. There are several hundred Deva temples with very many sectaries of different sorts.

When Tathāgata lived in the world, he often travelled through this country. Hence Aśoka-rāja raised monuments or built *stūpas* in all those places where Buddha rested. Scattered among these are spots where the three past Buddhas sat down, or walked, or preached the law. The present ruler is of the Kṣattriya caste, as they all are. He is the nephew of Śīlāditya-rāja of Mālava, and son-in-law of the son of Śīlāditya, the present king of Kānyakubja. His name is Dhruvapaṭa (Tu-lu-ho-po-tu). He is of a lively and hasty disposition, his wisdom and statecraft are shallow.

Quite recently he has attached himself sincerely to faith in the "three precious ones". Yearly he summons a great assembly, and for seven days gives away most valuable gems, exquisite meats, and on the priests he bestows in charity the three garments and medicaments, or their equivalent in value, and precious articles made of rare and costly gems of the seven sorts. Having given these in charity, he redeems them at twice their price.

He esteems virtue (or *the virtuous*) and honours the good; he reverences those who are noted for their wisdom. The great priests who come from distant regions he particularly honours and respects.

Not far from the city is a great *saṃghārāma* which was built by the Arhat Acara (O-che-lo); here the Bodhisattvas Guṇamati and Sthiramati (Kien-hwui) fixed their residences during their travels and composed treatises which have gained a high renown.—(*Ibid.*, pp. 266-268).

640-41

O-man-to-pu-lo (ANANDAPURA):—This country is about 2000 *li* in circuit, the capital about 20. The population is dense; the establishments rich. There is no chief ruler; but it is an appanage of Mālava. The produce, climate and literature and laws are the same as those of Mālava. There are some ten *saṃghārāmas* with less than 1,000 priests; they study the *Little Vehicle* (Hinayāna) of the Sammatīya school. There are several tens of Deva temples, and sectaries of different kinds frequent them.—(*Ibid.*, pp. 268).

640-41

Su-la-ch'a (SURASTRA):—This country is 4000 *li* or so in circuit, the capital about 30 *li*. On the west, the chief town borders on the Mahī river; the

population is dense, and the various establishments (*families*) are rich. The country is dependent on Valabhi. The soil is impregnated with salt; flowers and fruit are rare. Although the climate is equable yet there is no cessation of tempests. The manners of the people are careless and indifferent; their disposition light and frivolous. They do not love learning and are attached both to the true faith and also to heretical doctrine. There are some fifty *saṃghārāmas* in this kingdom, with about 3000 priests; they mostly belong to the Sthavira school of the *Great Vehicle* (*Mahāyāna*). There are a hundred or so Deva temples, occupied by sectaries of all sorts.

As this country is on the western sea-route, the men all derive their livelihood from the sea and engage in commerce and exchange of commodities.

Not far from the city is a mountain called Yuh-chen-to (*Ujjayanta-Girnar*), on the top of which is a *saṃghārāma*. The cells and galleries have mostly been excavated from the mountain-side. The mountain is covered with thick jungle and forest trees, whilst streams flow round its limits. Here saints and sages roam and rest, and Rishis endued with spiritual faculties congregate here and stay.—(*Ibid.*, pp. 268-269).

640-41 **Kiu-che-lo-(GURJJARA):**—Going north from the country of Valabhi 1800 *li* or so, we come to this kingdom. This country is 5000 *li* or so in circuit; the capital, which is called Pi-Lo-mo-lo (*Bhillamāla* or *Bhinnamāla*), is 30 *li* or so round. The produce of the soil and the manners of the people resemble those of Saurāṣṭra. The population is dense; the establishments are rich and well supplied with materials (*wealth*). They mostly are unbelievers; a few are attached to the law of Buddha. There is one *saṃghārāma*, with about a hundred priests; they are attached to the teaching of the *Little Vehicle* (*Hinayāna*) and the school of the *Sarvāstivādins*. There are several tens of Deva temples, in which sectaries of various denominations dwell. The king is of the Kṣātriya caste. He is just twenty years old; he is distinguished for wisdom, and he is courageous. He is a deep believer in the law of Buddha; and highly honours men of distinguished ability.—(*Ibid.*, pp. 269-270).

A.D. 640-41 When Hiuen Tsang visited **Valabhipura** in 640 A.D., it was a city of power, wealth and culture, and contained a large library of sacred books. The fame of its University had reached China; for Sthiramati, a Buddhist monk, in the beginning of the sixth century, and another Guṇamati, at the end of the same century, were invited to China. Śaivism and Buddhism were the favoured religions, and the temples of these faiths were richly endowed.

641 Born in 600 A.D. of an orthodox Confucien family, Hiuen Tsang became a Buddhist Monk at the age of 20. Not being content with the existing translations of Buddhist books in Chinese, he decided to visit India. He started in 629 A.D. by the northern route in Central Asia. He reached Kapiśā (*Kāfiristān*)

in 630 A.D.; and during the next fourteen years travelled all over India. He was highly honoured by the great Indian rulers Harṣavardhana and Bhāskara-varman. He visited Western India in 641; and left India early in 644 A.D., with a large number of books and images, and returned to China in 645 A.D.

641 The picture of the 7th century Gujarat has survived in the diary of this eye-witness. The traveller went from Nasik to the region called Bharukaccha, the name by which evidently South Gujarat was then known. As in all international ports, so in Broach, the residents were found by this Pious Pilgrim mean, deceitful, ignorant, orthodox and heterodox.

C. 641 Maitraka king Dharasena (c. 641-650 A.D.)'s grants point to his having temporarily captured Bharukaccha about G. Sam. 330 (648-9 A.D.), apparently during the reign of the Gurjara king Dadda IV. His own reign must have ended shortly afterwards. He was succeeded by Dhruvasena III, his cousin, twice removed, and the grand-son of Śīlāditya I. The fact, that the imperial titles of Dharasena IV are not assumed by his immediate successors Dhruvasena III and Kharagraha II, though they are revived by Śīlāditya II and his successors, suggests Dharasena's power having met with some temporary reverses.—(IA, i, 14 and 45; IA, xvii, 196).

C. 641 According to Hiuen Tsang, the first Chinese traveller to visit the Valabhi Vidyāpīṭha, the number of students at the *Vihāras* was very great. "It had about 100 Buddhist monasteries with 6000 Brethren adherents of the Hinayāna Sammatīya School".—(Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 246, Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 266). Each of the monasteries of the Valabhi Vidyāpīṭha was like a separate college. There was equality of opportunities made available both to rich and poor to attend these Institutions as the students were not required to pay any fees.

We have epigraphical references to show that both the kings and the rich citizens made benefactions for the *Vihāras* either from the foundations of the *Vihāras* or by supporting the *Vihāras* built by the monks and named after them.—(K. Virji, *Ancient History of Saurāṣṭra*, p. 195, fn.).

In I-Tsing's time there were two Universities one at Nālandā in the East and other at Valabhi in the West, which the students generally attended to acquire the stamp of culture and refinement, after finishing the usual secondary education. These Universities were large brotherhoods of monks who went in for congregational education, the method of teaching being tutorial as well as professorial.

"Thus instructed by their teachers and instructing others, they (the students) pass two or three years, generally in the Nālanda Monastery in Central India or in the country of Valabhi (Valā) in Western India".—(Iakakusu, I-Tsing's, '*Records of the Buddhist Religion*', p. 177).

Valabhī had acquired prominence as a seat of learning, universal in spirit, without any leaning towards any particular sect only. Accordingly, Valabhī could be a nursery of Brāhmins, which supplied learned priests to different parts of India, (Fleet, 'Baroda Grant of Karka I, Rāṣṭrakūṭa', IA, XII, p. 160), as the religious emphasis was put on the educational system.

The tradition of Valabhī as a centre of Hindu studies is probably preserved in the *Kathā-Sarīt-Sāgara* (*Taraṅga*, 32), a work of the eleventh century by Somadeva, which narrates a story of Viṣṇudatta, a Brāhmin youth from Āntarvedī, who went up to Valabhī for prosecuting higher studies, eventhough centres like Banāras and Taxilā were nearer to his home on the banks of the Ganges.

The existence of a library at Valabhī similar to the one mentioned for Nālanda, may be inferred from the grants of the Maitrakas, which record donations made for the collection of books.—(Bühler, *Additional Valabhī Grants*: IA, VII, p. 67, ff; M. G. Dikshit, 'Valabhī, the Ancient Buddhistic University', *Historical and Economical Studies*, p. 59).

Fa-Hian, an early Chinese traveller, says that "the kings of various countries and the head of the Vaiśyas built *Vihāras* for the priests and endowed them with fields, houses, gardens and orchards, along with the resident population and cattle, the grants being engraved on plates of metal, so that they were handed down from king to king."—(Legge, 'Fa-Hian's Record of Buddhistic Kingdom', p. 43).

641 Brāhmaṇa Ādityaśarman received a grant of land from Raṇagraha the son of Vitarāga Jayabhaṭṭa II in the Cedi year 391, Vaiśākha va. 15 (641 A.D.) with the approval of Gurjara king Dadda II. The edict was composed by Mātṛibhaṭṭa, Minister of Peace and War. The other details are not known as the first plate is missing.—(*San̄kheḍā Plates*, EI, II, 20).

642 Gurjara king Dadda II, Praśāntarāga, issued from Nāndipura two grants of land in the Cedi year 392 (642 A.D.), to one Brāhmaṇa Sūrya of Bhāradvāja *gotra*, who had emigrated from Daśapura and settled at Kṣīrasara. The land mentioned in one grant was situated at Suvarṇārapalli and that mentioned in the other was situated at Kṣīrasara. Both the places were located in Saṅgama-kheṭaka (San̄kheḍā) Viṣaya. The edicts were composed by Reva, Minister of Peace and War.—(*San̄kheḍā Plates*, EI; V 37-41).

643 Vijayavarmanarāja, Cālukya, son and successor of Buddhavarman, was governing Gujarat. According to Fleet, there were three Gujarat branches of the Cālukya dynasty, the *first* consisting of Jayasīṃha, his son Buddhavarman and grandson, the above-named Vijayarāja; the *second* of Jayasīṃha Dharāśraya, brother of Pulkeṣin II and his son Nāgavardhana (Nirpaṇ grant); and the *third* of Jayasīṃha Dharāśraya II (brother of Vikramāditya I) and his

sons.—(9th April Cedi Sam. 394, Vaiśākha, = 643 A.D.)—(*Kairā copper-plate* : IA., vii, 241 ff ; IA, ix, 1233 ; FI, iii, 2).

- 643 Maitraka king Dhruvasena II was succeeded by his son Dharasena IV, who assumed the Imperial titles *Paramabhattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramesvara* and *Cakravartin*. He seems to be the son of the daughter of Harṣa who may probably be identified with his *ajjaka* (maternal grand-father) referred to in his earlier grants.

- 644 Raviprabha Sūri installed a Jaina temple and an image of Lord Nemi¹ in V. S. 700 (644 A.D.) in Naḍḍulapura² (Nāḍola).

¹ Dharmasagara's Com. (p. 41-42) on his own work '*Guruparivadi*' (v. 10) and JTSS (Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 155, p. 223).

² This is 8 miles from the station of Rani. *Vide*, JTSS (Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 225).

- 648 Two land-grants were issued by Maitraka Mahārājādhirāja Dharasena IV from the victorious camp at Bharukaccha in the (Valabhī) year 330. One was issued on Mārgaśīra su. 2 in favour of Āditiśarman of Parāśara gotra, resident of Khetaka, granting him a field in the vicinity of Vaddasomalika in Kolamba in Khetaka Āhāra and two fields in the vicinity of Duhuduhu in Nagaraka Pathaka.—(IA, XV, p. 335). The other grant was issued next day *i.e.* Mārgaśīra su. 3 granting land in the village Desurakṣitijja in Sirṇhapallika Pathaka in Khetaka Āhāra to Brāhmaṇa Nārāyaṇamitra of Śārkarakṣi gotra, who had migrated from Ānartapura and was residing at Kasara.—(I.A. VII, 73). Both the grants were composed by Divirapati Skandabhaṭṭa and their *dūtaka* was Princess Bhūpā. The date in these grants applies to the intercalary month calculated according to the old system of mean intercalation.

Since these grants were issued from the victorious camp of the Emperor at Bharukaccha, within the dominion of the Gurjaras, it is believed that he temporarily occupied Broach, the Gurjara capital —(IA, XVII, p. 196). But as the donated lands lay in Khetaka *viṣaya* (Kaira district) outside the territories of the Gurjaras, these grants do not conclusively prove that Dharasena had conquered the Gurjara kingdom. It is quite possible that he was enjoying the hospitality of the friendly Gurjara king in the latter's territory when these grants were issued.

- 650 The Maitraka Emperor Dharasena IV, in all probability died without any son to succeed him. So the line of succession passed to the family of Dera-bhaṭṭa, the second son of Śīlāditya I, Dharmāditya. The choice fell on his youngest son Dhruvasena III (650-654-5 A.D.), who succeeded Dharasena IV, as he had acted as *dūtaka* in some of the royal grants issued by Dharasena IV. He did not assume the Imperial titles of his predecessor. So it is suggested that his powers met with some reverses.

A.D. 644 A grant of land was issued by Maitraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Dharasena IV donating the revenues of the village Yodhāvaka to a Buddhist *vihāra* erected by Divirapati Skandabhaṭa at Yodhāvaka in Hastavapra Āhāra in Surāṣṭra. The Dūtaka of the royal edict was Prince Dhruvasena, and it was issued in the (Valabhī) year 326 (644 A.D.) and composed by Divirapati Skandabhaṭa.—(*Bhavanagar Plate*; IA., I, 45).

645 From Valabhī, Maitraka Mahārājādhirāja Dharasena IV granted to Brāhmaṇa Arjuna of Bhāradvāja *gotra*, an emigrant from Sindhapura, a land situated near Śarkarāpadraka in Kālāpaka Pathak in Surāṣṭra, and to Brāhmaṇa Maṅkasvāmin of Bhāradvāja *gotra*, an emigrant from Sindhapura, a land situated near villages Kikkaṭāputra and Śarkarāpadraka. The royal edict was executed by Prince Dhruvasena, and issued in the (Valabhī) year 326, Āṣāḍha su. 10 (645 A.D.). It was composed by Divirapati Skandabhaṭa.—(*JBBRAS*; X 66; IA; I 14).

C. 650 The Gurjara king Dadda II Praśāntarāga was succeeded by his son Jayabhāṭa II at about this time.

646-650 *Rāvaṇa-Vadha* by Bhaṭṭi, popularly known as *Bhaṭṭi-Kāvya*, the story being drawn from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, was composed at Valabhī, the capital of the Maitraka kingdom, during the regime of King Dharasena who was, in all probability, Dharasena IV (641-650 A.D.). The *Bhaṭṭi-Kāvya* has 22 cantos narrating the story of the Rāmāyaṇa and at the same time supplying illustrations on grammar, figures of speech and other rhetorical devices. It has, therefore, justifiably been honoured by being commented upon by Mallinātha, the reputed commentator of the *Pāṇcha Mahākāvya*.

It is most probably the earliest known specimen of this type wherein the threads of the plot of a story and illustrations on grammar and rhetorics are interwoven. On this model Hemachandra modelled his *Dvāśraya Kāvya*. It was composed with the two-fold purpose of illustrating the rules of Sanskrit grammar and rhetoric, and of providing literary entertainment. In such a work naturally the poet is smothered by the grammarian. Tradition gives a great position to Bhaṭṭi, for his skill in achieving this dual purpose of dubious literary value.

The list of Alaṅkāras given by Bhaṭṭi is in a certain measure original, when compared with those of Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha. Its source is still unknown. It is said of this poem that "it is a lamp in the hands of those whose eye is Grammar, but a mirror in the hands of the blind, for others".—(*Bhaṭṭikāvya*, Vol. II, verse 33, p. 310):—

दीपतुल्यः प्रबन्धोऽयं शब्दलक्षणचक्षुषाम्।

इस्तादृशं इवान्धानां भवेद व्याकरणादृते ॥ ३३ ॥

In the colophon it is said : (*Bhaṭṭikāvya*, *sarga* 32, pp. 42-43) : that the poem was composed when king Dharasena was ruling at Valabhī :—

काव्यमिदं रचितं मया बलभ्यां
श्रीधरसेननरेन्द्रपालितायाम् ।
कीर्तिरतो भवता नृपस्य तस्य
प्रेमकरः क्षितीलो यतः प्रजानाम् ॥ ३६ ॥

650 About 650 A.D. : the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty began with Daṇṭivarman I, of the Sātyaki race of Yādavas, who was succeeded by his son Indrarāja I.

650 Maheśvaradāman founded the Cāhamāna power in South Gujarat.—(H. G. Shastri, MG, 306, 310).

C. 650 Jayabhaṭa II succeeded his father Dadda Praśāntarāga.

C. 650 Bāṇa in his *Kādambarī*, informs that the religious works like the Mahābhārata etc. were read in the afternoon in the Māhākāla temple of Ujjayinī where the people of higher rank such as queens etc. also came to hear it.

Bāṇa speaks of the queen Vilāsavatī having gone to the Mahākāla temple on the Caturdaśī day, when the Mahābhārata was being read and that she was dejected when she heard therefrom that the sonless do not reach heaven. —(I., para 54).

651 Dhruvasena III of Valabhī, successor of Dharasena IV—(Unpublished copper-plate of Sam. 332, IA, XVIII, 197 note 50 ; copper-plate Sam. 334, EI, i, 85) is known to have issued a copper-plate grant of land in Valabhī S. 332 (650-51 A.D.).—(BG ; 11, 92).

653 From the victorious camp at Sirisimmiṇikā, king Dhruvasena III issued a grant of land to Brāhmaṇa Bhaṭṭi of Kauśika *gotra* resident of Mahichaka, in Māgha of the (Valabhī) year 334 (653 A.D.). The subject of donation was the village Paṭṭapadraka situated in south Paṭṭa of Śivabhāgapura viṣaya. The Dūtaka of the royal edict was Pramātri Śrīnāga, which was composed by Divirapati Anahila, the son of Divirapati Skandabhaṭa.—(*Kapadavanj Plates* : EI., I, 85)

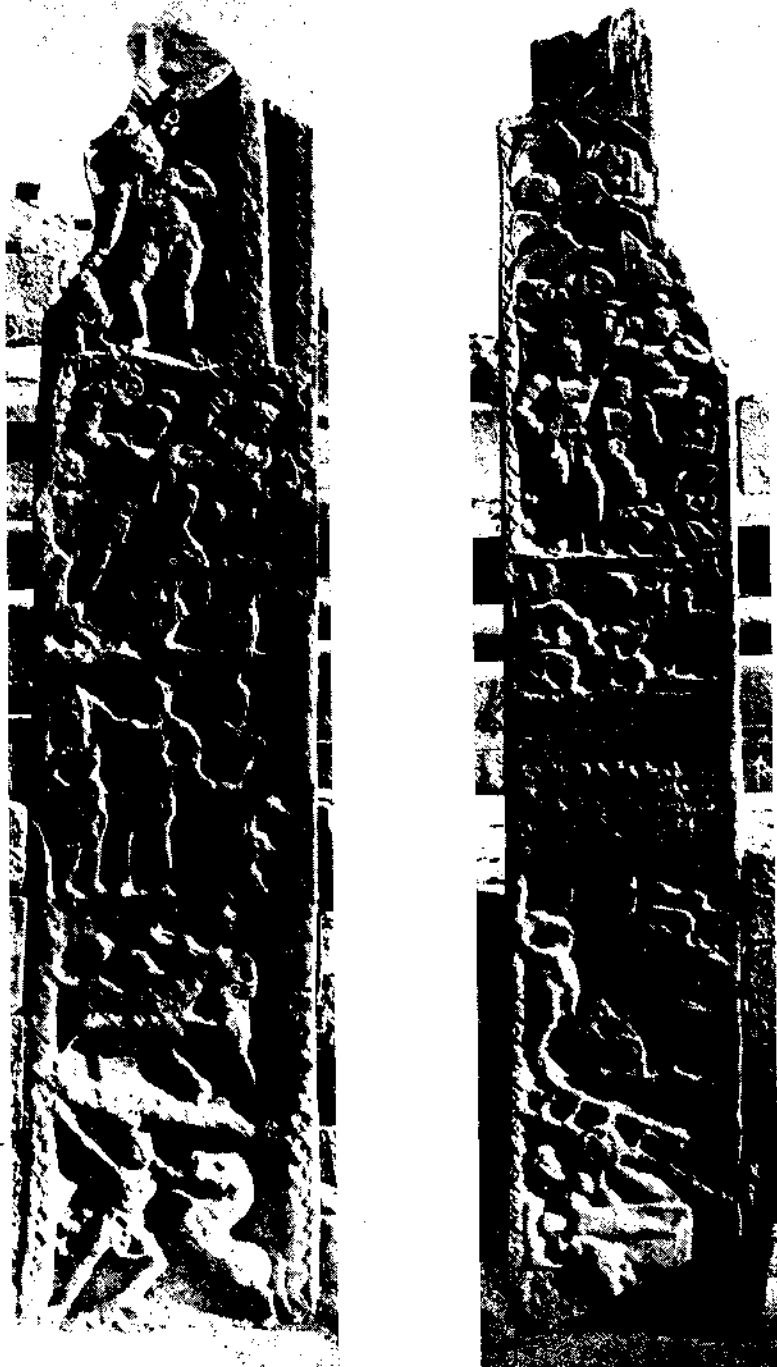
C. 653 Māgha wrote his *Śiśupālavadha*, a *mahā kāvya* of 20 cantos, under the literary influence of Bhaṭṭi and Bhāravi which relates the episode in the Mahābhārata, of Kṛṣṇa's slaying of Śiśupāla at the Rājasūya sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira, where Śiśupāla's misbehaviour became the immediate cause of the conflict. He was the son of Dattaka Sarvāśraya and the grandson of Suprabhadeva, the minister of Varmalāta, of Bhinnamāla (called Bhinnamālava) on the boundary line between Gujarat and Marwar, whose inscription dated Vikrama S. 682 (C. 625 A.D.) has been recovered.

The Jaina *Prabandhas* make him a resident of Bhillamāla or Śrīmāla. His association with Bhoja is clearly legendary ; for the great Mihira Bhoja lived in



Gaṅgā on makara, Śāmalāji

Plate XLI



Stone Plates of Kṛṣṇalīlā from Maṇḍor, Jodhpur Museum, (p. 208)



Viṣṇu from Bhinmāl, Baroda Museum



Viṣṇu on lotus, Mt. Ābu

the middle of the 9th Century and the Paramāra Bhoja in the 11th Century. The poet was rich and liberal, and his wife Malhanādevī also shared the generous instincts of her husband. Poet Māgha is placed in the latter half of the 7th century A.D.—(M. Kṛṣṇamachārī, *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 154-57).

C. 653-54 The word 'agrahāra' has been applied to the grant of lands or villages to Brāhmanas, from very ancient times.—(EI, i, 88 : grant of the Valabhī king Dhruvasena III in G. S. 334 i.e. 653-654 A.D.).

C. 654 The Seṇḍraka Nikumbhalla-śakti, son of Āditya-śakti, was, reigning in the neighbourhood of Bagumrā (Southern Gujarat). He was a great devotee of the Sun-God.—(*Bagumrā Plates*, IA, XVIII, 265 ff.).

C. 655 Dharaśraya Jayasimhavarman, younger brother of the W. Cālukya Vikramāditya I, ruled as his feudatory in Gujarat about this time, or somewhat later.

655 Prithivivallabha-Nikumbhalla-śakti of the Seṇḍraka family was ruling in the province of Lāṭa. (8th Aug. Cedi Sam. 406 = 655 A.D.)—(*Bagumrā Copperplate* : IA., xviii, 265).

655 Maitraka King Dhruvasena III granted to a Buddhist *vihāra* at Valabhī a village in Kāsahrada division of Kheṭaka Āhāra. The details about the *vihāra*, the *Dātaka*, the *Lekhaka* and the date are not legible.—[*Valā Plates*, JBBRAS, (NS) I 36 f.]

655 Maitraka king Kharagraha II (655-658 A.D.) succeeded his younger brother Dhruvasena III. Like Śīlāditya I, he was ardently devoted to the practice of *Dharma* and had won the 'second name' (*apara-nāma*) of *Dharmāditya*.

After the overthrow of the Kalacuris, Pulakeśin II divided their extensive kingdom among his relatives and trusted chiefs. Southern Gujarat extending from the Kim in the north to the Damangaṅgā in the south was placed in charge of a Seṇḍraka chief. The Seṇḍrakas ruled over this country for three generations.

655 Sendraka King Nikumbha Allaśakti of the Sendraka dynasty gave a religious grant of the village Balisā situated in Treyanna Āhāra, on the Full-Moon day of Bhādrapada in K. E. 406, (655 A.D.), *Samvatsara-ṣaṭa-catuṣṭaye ṣaḍuttara Bhādrapada śuddha Pañcadasyām*, to Dikṣita Bappasvāmin of Bhāradvāja gotra, resident of Vijayāniruddha-purī. The royal edict was executed by Māsambha and composed by his younger brother Devadinna, the Officer in charge of Peace and War.—(*Bagumrā Plates* ; IA ; XVII 265).

'Nikumbha' was only a *biruda* prefixed to the name of Allaśakti as well as to his son Jayaśakti also.—(V. V. Mirashi, CII, Vol. IV, Intro., lviii, fn.).

655-58 The writer of the Maitraka king Kharagraha II (655-658 A.D.)'s grant has praised him very much by the *Vyatiṛeka* (excellence) figure of speech (in which

a comparison is made) wherein the king is represented to excel Viṣṇu through a number of *Sleṣas* (puns), e.g., it is said that this "king has distributed 'Lakṣmī' (here it means wealth) among his *praṇayinas* (suppliants), has turned out 'gada' (disease), has raised up the *chakra* (whole number) of 'Sudarśanas' (good scriptures), has given up sports of a child, has not cast down (*aḍhah*) the *Dvijātis* (Brāhmaṇas) has conquered the world by a single 'vikrama' (exploit), has not taken to a *jala* (dull) bed, and thus has been an extraordinary *Puruṣottama* (the best of men); while the traditional *Puruṣottam* (Viṣṇu) has not imparted *Lakṣmī* (his wife) to the *Praṇayins* (suitsors), has not turned out the 'gaḍā' (mace), has not raised up the *Sudarśana cakra* (wheel), has not given up sports of a child, has not cast the *dvijāti* (bird) beneath him, has conquered the world not by one *Vikrama* (stride) and has taken to a *jala* (water's) bed.

What the passage implies is generally to show that the king was liberal, healthy, learned, respectful towards the Brāhmaṇas, valiant and active, and all the qualities of a great king, according to the description, were found in him.—(Fleet, C II, III, p. 185).

656

From the victorious camp at Puleṇḍaka, a grant of land was issued by the Maitraka king Kharagraha II in the (Valabhī) year 337 Āṣāḍha ba. 5 (656 A.D.), giving land situated in the village Paṅgulapallikā in Ghrītalaya *Bhūmi* of Śivabhāgapura *viṣaya* to Brāhmaṇa Nārāyaṇa of Śārkarakṣi *gotra*, who had emigrated from Ānandapura and was residing at Kheṭaka. The grantee seems to be the same as the recipient of a grant issued by Dhruvasena IV in 648 A.D. The *Dūlaka* and the *Lekhaka* are the same as mentioned in the grant of the previous king Dhruvasena III.—(IA, VII, 76).

C. 660-665

In the time of the fourth Khalifah, Ali, an officer was appointed to superintend Sind-Gujarat coasts regularly; but he was killed. (AH 39/660 AD-AH 42/663 A.D.). In AH 44/665 A.D., Amir Muawiya appointed an officer known as Muhallib to guard the eastern frontier of the Caliphate; and subsequently this appointment was given a permanent character.—[Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, *Arab aur Bhārat ke Sambandha*, (in Hindi), Allahabad 1936; p. 13].

C. 660

From Kharagraha II the throne of Valabhī passed to Śīlāditya III, son of his elder brother Śīlāditya II who was probably dead and gone by this time. As the Viṇḍhya branch of Derabhāṭa's line can no longer be traced after the reign of Śīlāditya II, it seems that it now probably merged into the main line at Valabhī. In that case the merger may be dated along with Śīlāditya III's accession to the throne of Valabhī; since, as the son of Śīlāditya II, he would also have inherited the Viṇḍhya territory.

All kings of the Maitraka dynasty henceforth uninterruptedly continue to assume the popular name of 'Śīlāditya'.

- 661 Aparājita, the earliest known king of the dynasty of Guhils of Mevād, was reigning. The next on record in this family is Bappa (C. 661 A.D.). Sam. 718 : Udaipur Inscription of the Guhila king Aparājita, and of the commander of his troops, the Maharaja Varāhasimha.—(EI, iv, 29).
- 662 A village named Sīhāṇaka in Surāṣṭra was dedicated to two Buddhist *viḥāras* by king Śīlāditya II (C. 658-685 A.D.) in Second Āṣāḍha of the (Valabhī) year 343, Dvi. Āṣāḍha ba. (662 A.D.). One *viḥāra* was erected by Ācārya Bhikṣu Sthiramati and the other by Ācārya Bhikṣu Vimalagupta, resident of Kukurāṇaka. Both were situated within *Duddāvīhāra maṇḍala* at Valabhī. The grant was composed by Aṇahila. The name of the *Dūtaka* is illegible.—(JBBRAS, NS, I 37). The intercalation of the month applies to the old system of mean.—(H. G. Shastri, MG, 578, f. 7).
- 664 A grant of land was issued by Maitraka king Śīlāditya III from the victorious camp, the name of which is illegible, in the (Valabhī) year 346, Mārgaśīra ba. 3 (664 A.D.), to Brāhmaṇa Yajñadatta of Gārgya *gotra*, resident of Valabhī. The land consisted of two fields and two step-wells in Saurāṣṭra. The *Dūtaka* of the royal edict was Prince Dhruvasena. The grant was composed by Divirapati Aṇahila.—[JBBRAS, (NS) I, 71].
- 664 A grant of land was issued by Maitraka king Śīlāditya III in the (Valabhī) year 346, Pauṣa su. 7 (664 A.D.), to three Brāhmaṇas : (i) Soma of Bhārādvaḥ *gotra* and an emigrant from Kāśahrada, (ii) Brāhmaṇa Pittaleśvara and (iii) his son Nāga, of Vatsa *gotra*, emigrants from Girinagara (Junagadh) and residents of Simhapura (Sihor). The land was situated near Daccanaka in Hastavapra Āhāra in Surāṣṭra. Prince Dhruvasena was the *Dūtaka* of the royal edict. The grant was composed by Divirapati Aṇahila.—[JBBRAS, (NS), I 73].
- 665 The *Kheḍā (Kaira) Plates* record the grant of land issued by king Śīlāditya II in Vaiśākha of the (Valabhī) year 346, Vaiśākha Su. I, (665 A.D.). The year was originally read 365, but the numerals indicate that it is 346. (H. G. Shastri).
- The grant was received by Brāhmaṇa Nādhulla who had emigrated from Girinagara and settled at Khetaka, of a field (divided into six pieces) situated at Deyāpalli in Nagaraka Pathaka in Khetaka Āhāra and another field at Jambuvānaka in Kālāpaka Pathaka in Surāṣṭra. The edict was executed by Prince Dhruvasena and the grant was composed by Divirapati Aṇahila.—(JBAS, VII, 968).
- 666 From the victorious camp at Puṇḍhikānaka, the Maitraka king Śīlāditya II issued a grant of land situated at Kakkapadra in Kālāpaka Pathaka in Surāṣṭra to a Brāhmaṇa of Kauśika *gotra*, an emigrant of Puṣyasāmbapura and resident of Valabhī. Prince Dhruvasena officiated as the *Dūtaka*. The grant was composed by Divirapati Aṇahila.—(EI, XXI, 208 ff.).

667 (G. Sam. 348-356) Śīlāditya II of Valabhī, nephew and successor of Kharagraha II, and son of a Śīlāditya who according to the grants, did not reign at Valabhī.—(IA, V, 208, n; EI, iv, 74).

G. 669 Śrīyāśraya Śīlāditya, son of the Cālukya Dharāśraya Jayasīmhavarman, was ruling in Gujarat (669-691), as heir-apparent.

669 Vikramāditya I, successor of Pulakeśi II, extended his sway over South Gujarat and put it under the charge of his younger brother Jayasīmhavaraman *alias* Dharāśraya.—(Nasuri Plates; EI; VIII, 229 ff.).

669 The Lunsāḍi Plates record a grant of land, issued by the Maitraka king Śīlāditya III in the (Valabhī) year 350, Phālguna ba. 3 (669 A.D.), from his victorious camp at Khetaka, to Brāhmaṇa Bhaṭṭi and Īśvara of Daṇḍavya (?) *gotra*, who were emigrants from Dvīpa (Div). The land consisted in three pieces of fields and one step-well, situated in Desenaka near Madhumatī (Mahuvā) in Surāṣṭra. The *Dūtaka* was prince Dhruvasena. The grant was composed by Divirpati Aṇhila.—(Lunsāḍi Plates, EI, IV 74).

670 The Cāhamāna ruler Maheśvaradāman was succeeded by his son Bhīmadāman.—(Hānsof Plates of Bhartṛivaddha II: EI; XII 197 ff.).

670 The Gurjara ruler Jayabhata II was succeeded by his son Dadda III *alias* 'Bāhusāhaya'. He was a 'Parama Māheśvara' (great devotee of Maheśvara or Śiva).

671 I-Tsing was another Chinese traveller, who following in the wake of Fa-Hian and Hsien Tsang, came to India, early in 671 A.D. Unlike both these pilgrims who were Mahāyānists, I-Tsing belonged to the *Mūla-sarvāsti-vāda* school of *Hīna Yāna*. Though he did not actually visit the Western sea-board of India, he has left important notes for the study of two important Buddhist centres of his time, *viz.*, Nālanda in Bihar and Valabhī in Saurāṣṭra.

I-Tsing records in his book '*A Record of the Buddhist Religion*' (translated by Takakusu, Introduction, p. XXII) that the Āryya Sammatīya sect was the most flourishing in Lāṭa (Gujarat) and Sindh, during his days. He asserts that there were a few monks belonging to the Āryya Mahāsaṃghika, Āryya Sthavira and Mūla Sarvāstivādī sects in these two countries.

671 I-Tsing, recognised the real merit of Valabhī as an educational centre of Buddhism, when he tells us that "during his life-time (671-695 A.D.) Valabhī and Nālanda were the only two monasteries which compared favourably with the universities like Chin-ma, Shin-chu, Lung-men and Chine-li in China. Eminent scholars and accomplished men used to gather there in crowds to discuss possible and impossible doctrines. They proceeded to the Royal Court to try the sharpness of their wits, to present their schemes and to show their

political talent with a view to be appointed in the Government political services," (Takakusu, *Records of the Western World*, 1890, p. 177), only after they were assured of the excellence and correctness of their opinions from the learned in Valabhī, and after having spent at least two years in their monasteries.

The name of Valabhī, which in later times became one of the most important centres of Buddhism worthy to be called a Buddhist University, is not heard of till the beginning of the 6th Century A. D. From the copperplate grants of the Maitraka kings of Valabhī, we know of at least 14 *Vihāras* in the neighbourhood of Valabhī, which may be enumerated as under:—

(1) Duddā Vihāra, (2) Buddha-Dāsa Vihāra, (3) Bhaṭṭārka Vihāra, (4) Ābhayāntarikā Vihāra, (5) Kakka Vihāra, (6) Gohaka Vihāra, (7) Vimala-gupta Vihāra, (8) Sthiramati Vihāra, (9) Yakṣa Śūra Vihāra, (10) Purnna Bhaṭṭa Vihāra, (11) Ajita Vihāra, (12) Bappa-padiya Vihāra, (13) Vaṃśakata Vihāra, and (14) Yodhāvaka Vihāra.

Of these, the most conspicuous one seems to be the one built by Duddā, wife's sister of the Maitraka king Dhruvasena. It was the head of a *Vihāra-Manḍala*. Duddā-Mahā-Vihāra, as it later on came to be called, included in it many others built by several devotees, (*Vide*, Nos. 2-8 above). This Dudda-Vihāra seems to have received numerous grants from the Maitraka kings, at least for 140 years (from G.E. 216 to 356) since its foundation, and must have been, therefore, the most active centre of Buddhism in Valabhī.

Another 'Vihāra-Manḍala' known from the Valabhī grants is that built by Yakṣa Śūra, which included in it the Vihāras built by Purnna Bhaṭṭa and Ajit. This Vihāra-Manḍala was meant for the use of Buddhist nuns, and like the Duddā Vihāra was situated in the *svatāla* of Valabhī. In one of the copperplate grants referring to this monastery, we find that some nuns had come to stay in it, for want of accommodation in another.—(A. S. Gadre, '*Five Vala Plates*', BUJ., p. 79).

The Yodhāvaka and the Vaṃśakata Vihāras were situated in the villages of their respective names near Valabhī.—[M. G. Dikshit, 'Valabhī, the Ancient Buddhist University', *Historical and Economic Studies*, Silver Jubilee Volume, Fergusson College, Poona. 1947; (IHQ. XVI, p. 816-18)].

On the scholastic and educational activities in Valabhī, the accounts of the Chinese travellers are an important source of information. Hiuen Tsang, who visited Valabhī in 640 A.D., describes that there were over 100 monasteries in Valabhī with 6000 Sammatiya adherents. He refers to the famous Ācārya Sthiramati and Gunamati, who resided in a monastery outside the town. Sthiramati was the pupil of Vasubaṇḍhu, a well-known Paṇḍit from Nālandā, and had written a treatise called *Abhidharma-kośa*, which was already translated into Chinese when Hiuen Tsang visited India. The *Vihāra* mentioned by

the traveller has been identified with the Bappa-paḍiḃa Vihāra mentioned above, and constructed by Sthiramati. It has been suggested that it might be located in the group of the Buddhist caves at Talājā, in the neighbourhood of Valabhī. Hiuen-Tsang's references to monks from foreign countries and belonging to the *Hina yāna* sect visiting Valabhī are borne out from the expression like अष्टादश-निकायभ्यन्तर, occurring in Maitraka copperplates.—(M. G. Dikshit, 'History of Buddhism in Gujarat' *Journal Gujarat Research Society*, 1946, pp. 95-113).

- C. 670 The Sanjān plates of Salukika Budhavarṣa (c. 670 A.D.) mention कुलमहत्तरा-धिकारिणः officers of the elders of the families, immediately after the Grāmakūṭa or the Village Headman. The gentlemen who constituted the village assemblies in Southern Gujarat were known as महत्तराः. These Mahattaras or their executive (अधिकारिणः) are referred to in inscriptions from the 8th to the 12th century A.D., which indicated, the house-holders or the heads of families residing in the village.—(Altekar, *The Raṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 205).
- 671 A grant of land was issued by Cālukya Crown-prince Śryāśraya Śilāditya from Navasārikā in the (Cedi) year 421, Māgha śuddha 13 (671 A.D.), during the reign of his father Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman, in the village Āsaṭṭi in Kaṇhavalā Āhāra in Bāhirikā Viṣaya, to Bhogikka-svāmin of Kāśyapa gotra, resident of Navasārikā. The grant was composed by Dhanañjaya, the Minister of Peace and War.—(*Navsari Plates* : EI, VIII 229).
- 671 From the victorious camp at Meghavana, Maitraka king Śilāditya II issued a grant of land situated at Lūṣā in Surāṣṭra, to Brāhmaṇa Maga *alias* Upadatta of Gārgya gotra, an emigrant from Ānandapura and resident of Valabhī. Prince Dhruvasena executed the royal edict. The grant was issued in the (Valabhī) year 352, Bhādrapada su. 1 (671 A.D.) and composed by Divirapati Anahila.—(*Lunsadi Plates* : IA, XI, 305).
- C. 671 Śilāditya Śryāśraya, Cālukya of the third Gujarat branch, governed Gujarat as Yuvarāja, under his father Jayasimha Dharāśraya.—(JBRAS, XVI, 1 ff.). (30th January, Cedi Sam. 421, 443—*Grants from Navsari and Surat*).
- 675 Mānadeva Sūri composed *Laghu-Śānti-stava* in Naḍola,¹ near Nadulāi, a village in Marwar, who died in V. S. 731 (675 A.D.), on mount Gīrnar.²
- In Naḍol there are four Jaina temples. One of them pertaining to Lord Padma is very old. There is a *bhūmigriha* (subterranean cell) in it. It is very long and very deep.³
- ¹ JPI (pt. I, p. 656). ² *Ibid.* (p. 361). ³ *Ibid.* (p. 606).
- 675 In the (Valabhī) year 356, Jyēṣṭha-7 (?), (675 A.D.) Maitraka king Śilāditya III issued a grant of land in village Kasaka in Surāṣṭra, to a Buddhist Vihāra erected by Ācārya Bhikṣu Vimalagupta (resident of Kukku-rāṇaka) near *Duddā-Vihāra* at Valabhī. The royal edict was executed by

prince Kharagraha and the grant was composed by Divirapati Anahila. The king was then at some military camp, the name of which is read as Picchi (Paji).—(*JBBRAS*, NS, I, 57).

- 675 From the victorious camp at Meghavana, Maitraka king Śīlāditya II issued a grant of a step-well and a field of five pieces situated at Madasara in Madasara Sthali in Saurāṣṭra, to Brāhmaṇa Dikṣita of Kuśika *gotra*, an emigrant from Puṣyasāmbapura. The *Dātaka* of the edict was prince Kharagraha. The grant was composed by Divirapati Mammaka.—(*Jesar Plates* ; EI, XXII 114).

It was issued in the second (intercalary) Pauṣa of the Valabhī year 35, Dvi. Pauṣa va. 4 (675 A.D.). The date applies to the system of mean intercalation. —(H. G. Shastri, MG, p. 57, ff.).

- 676 From Bharukaccha, the Gurjara king Dadda III, Bāhusahāya, granted to Gaṅgāditya, son of Duṇḍubhibhaṭṭa of Bhāradvāja *gotra*, land in the village of Uvarivadra in Korillā Caturaśīti (a district consisting of eighty-four villages) in K. Samvat 427, Māgha-suddha-Rathasaptamī (676 A.D.).—(EI ; XXVII 199 f.).

- 676 From Dhānandā, Maitraka King Śīlāditya III (son of Śīlāditya II who never ascended the throne) issued a grant of land to a Brāhmaṇa Balaśarman, of Upamanyu *gotra*, son of Ādityaśarman who migrated from Giginagara and settled at Śraddhikā (Sādhī near Pādrā) as a member of the Caturvedis, studying Yajurveda in order to enhance the religious merit of his parents. The grant consisted of a rice-field in two pieces, and a deserted orchard which lay near the village Āntika (Anti) in the vicinity of Śraddhikā in the Bharukaccha district. Prince Dhruvasena officiated as the *Dātaka* of the grant, which was composed by Anahil, a minister of Peace and War and son of Skandabhaṭ, who preceded him in that office.—G.S. 357, Māgha su. 7 (676 A.D.).—(A. S. Gadre, *Important Sanskrit Inscriptions, Baroda State*, p. 16).

- 676-77 The Gurjara-Pratihāra king Bhojadeva, son of Rāmabhadra from Appādevī, possibly the greatest Emperor of Northern India in the early Mediaeval period, is known to history by several names—*Prabhāsa*, *Śrīmad Ādivarāha*, *Paramēśvara* and *Mihira*. The two *birudas*—*Ādivarāha* and *Mihira*, if interpreted literally, might signify that he was a devotee of Viṣṇu, and of Sun ; but, unlike his father Rāmabhadra, who was a votary of Sun, or his great grand-father Devaśakti who was a devotee of Viṣṇu, this king was a Śākta, attached to Bhagavatī. The *birudas* thus appear to be formal.

- 679 Diva¹ (Sk. *Dvīpa*) is mentioned in *Visesanīsiha cuṇṇi* (pt. II, p. 225), where it is said that it was situated inside the sea at a distance of one *yojana*,

¹ The modern city of Diva is 8 miles from Una, 6 from Ajara and 3 from Deivada. *Vide JTSS— Vol. I, pt. I, p. 136.*

to the south of Saurāstra. In the *Bhāsa* (v. 952) on *Nisiha*, there is a reference to a silver coin of Diva (*diviccaga*)². This coin, current in those days, is named as 'Sābhāraka'. Further, in this *Bhāsa* it is said :—

2 Sābhārakas = 1 Rūpaka of Uttarāpatha, and 2 Rūpakas of Uttarāpatha = 1 of Pāṭalīputra.

Moreover, Sābhāraka is compared with other coins as under :—

2 Rūpakas of Dakṣiṇāpatha = 1 Nelaka of Kāñcīpura in the Dravida country.
2 Nelakes = 1 Rūpaka of Pāṭalīputra.³

² In *visesa-nisiha-cvnni* (pt. II, p. 125—we have *Sagaraḥo nama rupakah*; so it is taken to be a silver coin.

³ See *Bhasa* (v. 3891-92) on *Kappa* and its Sk. Com. (pt. IV, p. 1069).

C. 685 A village in Surāṣṭra was given as gift to *Duddā-Vihāra* at Valabhī by Maitraka king Śīlāditya III, son and successor of Śīlāditya II. The information about the *Dūtaka*, the *Lekhaka* and the date is illegible.—(JBBRAS, I, 40).

685 According to a Cālukya record dated 685 A.D., Dharaśraya-Jayasirṃha, a son of Pulakeśin II, defeated and exterminated the whole army of Vajjada of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records, in the country between the Mahī and the Narmadā. He was probably the Valabhi king Śīlāditya III who had occupied this Gurjara territory.—(R. C. Majumdar, *The Classical Age*, p. 149).

C. 685 Śīlāditya IV, the son and successor of Śīlāditya III, seems to have begun his reign in *circa* 685 A. D. In the copper-plate edicts of the Maitrakas it is henceforth found that every king regularly and expressly, affixes the imperial titles P. M. P. (*Paramabhhṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara*) to his name, and also adds the suffix 'deva' to it.

688 The Vasantagadha Jaina bronze image was cast by an artist Śivanāga by name, and installed in the Saṃvat 744 (688 A.D.) according to the inscription on its pedestal.

This bronze, cast by wax-process with heavy black core inside, was first discussed by Muni Kalyāṇavijayaji.—[*Nāgari Prachārīṇi Patrikā* (Hindi), Banaras, New Series, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, pp. 221-231].

690 The Cāhamāna king Bhartṛivaṇḍha I succeeded his father Bhimadāman.—(*Hānsot Plates of Bhartṛivaṇḍha II* : EI, XII, 197 ff.).

690 The Gurjara king Dadda Bāhusabāya was succeeded by his son Jayabhaṭa III, who was a ' *Parama Māheśvara* '.

690 The poet Bhavabhūti flourished under Yaśovarman of Kanauj, author of the *Mahāvīracarita*, *Mālatīmādhava*, and the *Uttararāmacarita* : Contemporary with Vākpatirāja, author of the *Gauḍavaho*.—(Prof. Bhandarkar, *Mālatī-Mādhava* edition, Preface, ix).

C. 690 From I-Tsing who visited India just before the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period, we learn that towards the end of the 7th century A.D., the scholars of the Valabhī University used to proceed to the royal courts after their education was over, in order to show their abilities and talents with a view to be appointed to practical government. These scholars used to receive grants of land or government service. Distinguished scholars used to be appointed by the Valabhī administration to responsible posts. (EI, IV, p. 181).—(Elliot, I, p. 176; Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 325).

691 From the victorious camp at Balāditya-taṭāka, Brāhmaṇa Bhūtakumāra of Bhāradvāja *gotra*, who had migrated from Gomutrika and settled at Valabhī, the headquarters of Loṇāpadraka Sthali in Surāṣṭra, received the grant of the village Loṇāpadraka, from P.M.P. Śilādityadeva IV. The *Dātaka* of the royal edict was prince Kharagraha. The grant was composed by Divirapati Haragaṇa, son of Bappa Bhogika, who officiated as *Balādhiḥṛita* (Minister in charge of the Army). The grant is dated the (Valabhī) year 372, Śrāvaṇa ba. 9 (691 A.D.). The year was read 342 and the grant was ascribed to Śilāditya III. But the grant belongs to Śilāditya IV and the correct date is 372.—(H. G. Shastri, IA., V, 207).

693 The Cālukya Crown-prince Śrīyāśraya Śilāditya, son of Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman, issued a grant of land from Osumbhalā Kārmaṇeya Āhāra, in Śrāvaṇa of the (Cedi) year 443, Śrāvaṇa su. 15 (693 A.D.).—(*Sural Plates*, VOC, Aryan Section, 225).

694 From the victorious camp at Purṇikā, P.M.P. Śilāditya IV issued a grant of land in the village Maraṇjijja in Antaratrā in Surāṣṭra to Brāhmaṇa Devila of Śāṇḍila *gotra*, an emigrant from Daśapura and resident of Vaṇśakaṭa. The *Dātaka* of the edict was prince Kharagraha. The grant was composed by Divirapati Haragaṇa, son of Bappabhogika, minister in charge of the Army. It was issued in the (Valabhī) year 375, Jyēṣṭha ba. 5 (694 A.D.).—(*Devali Plates*; BPSI 54).

694 A set of two copper-plates inscribed on the inner sides and joined with a ring and the Valabhī Seal of Bhaṭakka and Nandī on it, of the time of Śilāditya IV, has been accidentally discovered while tilling a field in Kunkāvā in Central Saurāṣṭra in 1957, and is made known through the courtesy of Mr. Tekchandani, the Gir Forest Officer.

The donee is a learned Brāhmaṇa Śaṅkara coming from Ānandapura, and the grant is of the field comprised in the village Ikollā in the Kālāpaka *pathaka*. The *dātaka* was prince Kharagraha and the *divirapati* was Śaṅkaragaṇa, the son of Haragaṇa. The grant is dated Valabhī year 376 (V. S. 751 Pauṣa Suda 1; 694 A.D.). The donor is Śilāditya IV.

Five copper-plates of Śīlāditya IV have so far been published, executed in the Valabhī years (1) 372, (2) 375, (3) 376, (4) 381 and (5) 382. This is the sixth.—(H. G. Shastri, *Buddhiprakasha*, January 1958, pp. 9-11).

695 P.M.P. Śīlāditya IV is known to have issued from Valabhī a copper-plate grant on Sam. 376 Mārgaśira su. 15 (695 A.D.). The *Dātaka* of the grant was Prince Kharagraha.—(EI, V, App. 69).

695 (V. Sam. 752) Bhūrāja, Bhūyaḍa or Bhūvaḍa, of Kalyāṇakaṭaka in Kanauj, according to the Gujarat Chroniclers, held Gujarat and destroyed Jayaśekhara of Pañcāsara. His successors in Kalyāṇa were Karṇāditya, Candrāditya, Somāditya, and Bhuvanāditya, the latter being the father of Rāji whose son Mūlarāja, in 942 A.D., conquered Gujarat and founded the Caulukya dynasty.—(IA, 182).

696 Vijayāditya Satyāśraya, Western Cālukya, succeeded his father Vinayāditya.—(IA, 112; *Bom. Gaz.*; 370).

C. 696 Rūpasundarī, wife of Jayasikharī,¹ ruler of Pañcāsara and sister of Surapāla, gave birth to a son named 'Vanarāja' in V. S. 752² (696 A.D.). He died in V.S. 862³ at the age of 110.

¹ He was killed by Bhuvada, ruler of Kanauj in a battle.

² JPL., pt. I p. 493.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 456.

C. 700 Dhaneśvarasūri, the author of *Śatruñjaya Māhātmya*, who describes himself in this work as a 'tutor of king Śīlāditya', defeated the Buddhists by taking the *Syād-vāda* i.e. 'may be' or the Science of Logic as his ground.—(*Śatruñjaya-māhātmya*, p. 769).

700 Buddhist monk Guṇamati was invited to China. He belonged to the Valabhī University.

700 Mallavādin was one of the greatest Jaina dialecticians and the author of *Nayacakra*. The title of 'Vādin' was conferred on him when, according to tradition, he defeated a Buddhist monk in a controversy on the superiority of a religious question at Valabhī.

Three different stories have been current for Mallavādin at Valabhī. According to *Prathāvakacarita* (Śrīṅga X, V, 10) Malla was the youngest of the three brothers. They lived at Valabhī with their mother Durlabhādevī. Their maternal uncle was a Śvetāmbara monk Jinānandasūri. When defeated by a Buddhist monk Buddhānanda in a public disputation at Bhrigukaccha, he left that city and came to Valabhī, where he made his nephews his disciples. All the three received high education at Valabhī. Malla wrote his famous treatise on Jaina philosophy known as *Nayacakra*. Malla went to Bhrigukaccha and defeated his uncle's opponent Buddhānanda in a public debate in token of which he was given the title of 'Vādin'.

The other stories about Malla given by Merutuṅga in *Prabāṇḍha Cintāmaṇi* and by Rājaśekharaśūri in *Prabāṇḍhaśoṣa* agree on the main point.—(K. Virji, *Ancient History of Saurāṣṭra*, pp. 181-82).

Existence of Mallavādin sect in Western India is recorded in an inscription.—(Altekar, 'Surat Plates of Karkharāja Suvarṇavarṣa, Śaka 743', EI, XXI, p. 135).

C. 700 Moḍheraka (modern Modhera¹) is a small town of northern Gujarat. It is referred to in *Suyagaḍa-Cuṇṇi* (p. 348) Śīlāṅka Sūri mentions this city as Moherakāhāra in his *com.* pt. II, p. 87 a) on *Viṣṇukṛti* (v. 170) on *Suyagaḍa* (II, 3). In some of the Purāṇas we come across the word *Moheraka*.

¹ For its history, see 'Modhera' by Manilal M. Mistry (1937); JAG. (p. 149).

C. 700 Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govindarāja I succeeded his father Indrarāja I about 700 A.D. He was followed by his son Kakkarāja I, who was succeeded by his son Indrarāja II.

C. 700 Daṇḍin says that the Apabhraṁśa is in poetry, an appellation of the speech of the Ābhīras and the like, [Cf. आभीरादिगिरः काव्येष्वपभ्रंश इति स्मृतः॥..... (I, 36)]

He also speaks of Lāṭa as one of the Lovers of Prākṛita languages:—

औरमेनी च गौडी च लाटी चान्या च ताडुशी ।

याति प्रकृतमित्येषां व्यवहारेषु सन्निधिम् ॥ (I, 36)

Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāra carita* (a work almost contemporaneous with the Maitraka dynasty, p. 225) refers to Valabhī as a prosperous centre of trade and commerce where even private individuals possessed ships of their own: "There is a city named Valabhī in Surāṣṭra. In it there is an owner of ships (Nāvikapati) named Gṛihagupta who can vie with Kubera in riches. He had a daughter named Ratnamatī. A merchant-prince named Balabhadra from Madhumatī (Mahuva) comes to Valabhī and marries her."—(*Ibid.*, p. 173).

706 Gurjara king Jayabhāṭa III (706-736 A.D.) was reigning in Gujarat, in succession to his father Dadda III.

706 A grant of land at Śamipadraka in Korillā (Koral) Pathaka was issued by the Gurjara king Jayabhāṭa III to Brāhmaṇa Devasvāmin who emigrated from Girinagara (Junagadh) and settled at the Agrahāra of Śraddhikā (Sādhi). The royal order was issued from Kāyāvatāra (*i.e.* Kāyavarohāṇa, represented by modern Karvan) and executed by Balādhikṛita Bāvull. The grant was composed by Mahābalādhikṛita Keśava and issued on the occasion of a lunar eclipse (*Cāndroparāga*) in the Cedi year 456, Māgha su. 15 Bhaumavāra.* (706 A.D.)—(*Navsari Plates*; IA, XIII 70).

* The initial letter of this word is illegible and is supposed to be either सो or मौ. The specified day actually falls on Tuesday and hence the word should be restored as (Bhau)mavara.

- 709 Maitraka king Śilāditya IV issued from Valabhī, a grant of land to a Brāhmaṇa who had emigrated from Ānandapura and settled at Valabhī. The details of the donee and the land are not clear. Prince Dharasena was the *Dūtaka*. The grant was issued in the (Valabhī) year 381, Mārgaśīra su. 6 (709 A.D.). It was composed by Divirapati Ādityāla, the adopted son of Divirapati Haragaṇa.—(JBBRAS, NS, I, 75).
- 710 The Cāhamāna ruler Bhartṛivaḍḍha I was succeeded by his son Haradāman. He was a 'Parama Māheśvara'.—(*Hansot Plates of Bhartṛivaḍḍha II* : EI, XII, 197 ff.).
- 710 The Cālukya Viceroy Jayasīmhavaraman was succeeded by his son Maṅgalarāja. It seems that the Crown—prince Śrīyāśraya Śilāditya had predeceased his father. Maṅgalarāja was known as 'Jayāśraya Vinayāditya' and 'Yuddhamalla' also.
- 710 From Valabhī, P. M. P. Śilāditya IV issued an edict of a grant of land, which was executed by Prince Dharasena in Sam. 382 Mārgaśīra su. 6 (710 A. D.).—(EI, V, Appendix 69).
- 710 P. M. P. Śilāditya IV was succeeded by his son P. M. P. Śilāditya V.
- 710 Gurjara king Jayabhāṭa III was succeeded by his son Ahirola.
- 712 (H. 93) Campaign of Muhammad ibn Qāsim in Sindh. Fall of Dibal early in Rajab (April). Muhammad defeats and slays Dahir, the Hindu king of Sindh at Rawar, 10th Ramjān (20th June) and takes Alor, the capital in the same month. After this, according to the *Caca-nāmā* he reduced Multan, and sent a force towards Kanauj under Abū Hakim Shaibānī.—(EHI, 309).
- 714 Rāval Bhartṛbhāṭa I, son of Khumāṇa, and a great-grand-son of Bāpā Rāval (Gupta Samvat 191- i.e. V. S. 566) of the Sūrya Vamśa of Mewar, was a Jaina King. [*Vide*, an inscription of Trailokya-dīpakaprāsāda of Rāṇakapura, a Note of Mm Pt. Gaurishankar Oza to *Tod Rajasthan* in Hindi, JPI-pt. I, p. 389].
- He built a fort of Bhartṛbhāṭa (Bhāṭeśvara). In this fort he got constructed *Guhila-vihāra* and got installed an image of Lord Rīṣabha, by Budha Gaṇi of Caitrapuriya *gaccha*, a contemporary of Śīlaguṇa Sūri. This Gaṇi was a religious teacher of the rulers of Chitoḍ.—(JPI-pt. I, pp. 471 & 496).
- 716 Settlement of the Iranians at Sanjān is believed to have been accomplished in 716 A.D., according to Dastur Aspandirāji Kāmdin, who gives a specific date Samvat 772 (= A.D. 716) in a book published in A.D. 1826, relying upon a much older tradition.
- However, this date seems to be too early, if one were to believe in the Iranian tradition that the emigrants wandered for a considerable period in Iran before leaving for India. The details about month and *tithi*, given along with this date, do not fit in with this year.

Prof. S. H. Hodiwala (*Studies in Parsi History*, 1920) suggests that the figure for the year is really 992, the figures 9 and 7 being written very much alike, and the details of the date given, fit in with the *Samvat* year 992. So the date of the first Parsi settlement in India (at Sanjān) may, therefore, be provisionally fixed at Samvat 992 (= 936 A.D.).

721 From the victorious camp at Khetaka, P.M.P. Śīlāditya IV issued the grant of the village Añtarapallikā to Bhaṭṭa Vāsudevabhūti of Gārgya gotra, who had emigrated from Vardhamāna Bhukti and settled at Liptikhaṇḍa. The village was situated near Dinnāputra in Saurāṣṭra. The Dūtaka of the grant was prince Śīlāditya. The grant was composed by Balādhikṛita Gillaka, son of Buddhabhata and issued in the (Valabhī) year 403, Māgha ba. 12 (721 A.D.).—(*Gondal Plates*, JBBRAS, XI, 335).

722 The grant of the village Kaṇḍhajja near Uasiṅgha in Saurāṣṭra was issued by P. M. P. Śīlāditya IV on Vaiśākha śuddha 13, (Valabhī) year 403, (722 A.D.). The donee, the dūtaka and the lekha are the same as those mentioned in the grant issued a few months earlier in the month of Māgha by this king. The king was still encamped at Khetaka.—(*Gondal plates*: JBBRAS, XI, 335).

722 Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indrarāja, son of Kakkarāja, carried off the Cālukya princess Bhavanāgā from Khetaka-maṇḍapa and married her under Rākṣasa form of marriage (*EI*, XVIII, 243, ff. 1A, 112 ff. and *EI*, XIV, 121 ff.). This Khetaka is generally identified with Khetaka (Kheda) in Central Gujarat (A.S. Altekar, '*The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*', 31); but it is hardly possible to conceive that a Cālukya royal family had settled at Khetaka at this time, as it was still under the Maitrakas. 'Maṇḍapa' may probably be 'Maṇḍala', and Khetaka Maṇḍala should be better looked for in the Deccan, the home of the Cālukyas.—(H. G. Shastri's paper on '*The Rise of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Rule in Gujarat*,' XVIIth *Indian History Congress*).

724 (H. 106) Junaid ibn 'Abdu-r-Rahman of al Marri, who had succeeded 'Amru in the command of the Indian frontier under 'Umar', governor of 'Iraq', and was confirmed by the Khalifah Hasim, sent expeditions against Broach, Ujjain and other places,—(*EHI*, i, 441) and attacked Kaccha from Sindh.—(Syed S. Nadvi, op. cit. p. 15).

C. 725 Vākpati wrote probably about 750 A.D., the *Gauḍa-vaho*, a poem commemorative of the exploits of his patron Yaśovarman of Kanauj, a contemporary of Lalitāditya-Muktāpiḍa of Kashmir.—(726-760 A.D.).

The poet Bhavabhūti, is stated by *Rājatarāṅginī* to have been patronized by Yaśovarman. He, must, therefore, have been a contemporary of Vākpati's, though possibly a generation older.—(See 690 A.D.).

- 730 The Cāhamāna ruler Dhrubhaṭa succeeded his father Haradāman.—(*Hansot Plates of Bharṭṛvaddha II* ; EI, XII 197 ff.).

The invasion of Gujarat by the Tājikas or Arabs seems to have occurred in his reign. It is mentioned in the grant of the Gujarat Cālukya Pulikeśin (738 A.D.), which states that Sindh, Kaccha, Saurāṣṭra and the whole of Gujarat as far as Nausari were subdued, and that the Gurjara king was one of the conquered princes.—(IA, V, 110, *Kāvi copper-plate* ; xiii, 70 ; *Nausāri copper-plate*).

After being invaded by the Tājikas or Arabs in the 8th century, the Bharukaccha kingdom was finally conquered about 800 A.D. by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III, who made over Central Gujarat or Lāṭa to his brother Indra, first of the Gujarat Branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty, which held that part of the country for more than 100 years.—(IA, XVII, 191 ; *Bom. Gaz.* I 312, n. 7).

- 730 The Gurjara ruler Ahirola was succeeded by his son Jayabhaṭa IV.

- 730 Jayabhaṭ IV, latest known Gurjara of Bharukaccha, son and successor of Dadda V, is represented in Kāvi grant (V.S. 486) as quieting the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhī (Śīlāditya V or VI).

- C. 731 The Cālukya king Jayāśraya Maṅgalaras, younger son of the Cālukya Dharāśraya Jayasīmhavarman, was ruling in Gujarat as feudatory of the W. Cālukyas.

- 731 King Jayāśraya Maṅgalaras, was the donor of a grant of four villages dated Śaka year 653 (731 A.D.) who was the son and successor of Dharāśraya-Jayasīmha, progenitor of the Cālukyan branch, established to rule over South Gujarat, North Koṅkan and the Nāsik Dist.

The donee was Bhaṭṭa Śrīdhara Gupta, a resident of Kāñcīpura. The grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in Āśvayuja of Śaka year 653 (731 A.D.) Jayasīmha himself ruled over the Nāsik district from about 671 to 695 A.D. The Yuvarāja (crown-prince) Śrāśraya-Śīlāditya ruled over South Gujarat, at least upto 693 A. D., while his younger brother Jayāśraya—Maṅgalarasa ruled over North Koṅkan upto at least 731 A.D. In South Gujarat Śrāśraya-Śīlāditya predeceased his father and was succeeded by his younger brother Avanijanāśraya-Pulakeśin.

Mangalarasa is already known to have issued two grants of land—one in the Śaka year 613 (691 A. D.), and the other in the Śaka year 653 (731 A. D.). The earlier grant which is published in detail (EI, XXVIII, 17) records the grant of land, situated in the Kurata viṣaya (in North Koṅkan). Dr. Bhagvanlal's notice in JBBRAS, Vol. XVI, p. 5 mentions it as issued from Mangalapuri, while this grant was issued from Śūpura.—(H. G. Shastri, " Kaccha Plates of Jaysīmha-Mangalarasa of Ś. 653 "—*Summary of Papers, XXth All India Oriental Conference, 1951*, p. 118.).

- 731-32** The Cālukya Viceroy Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla Jayāśraya Maṅgalarasa and not Mangalarāja, son of Jayasimhavarman, issued a grant of land from Maṅgalapura in the Śaka year 653 (731-32 A.D.).—(*Balsār Plates*: JBBRAS, XVI 5).
- 733** The Cālukya Viceroy Maṅgalarāja Jayāśraya was succeeded by his younger brother Pulakeśi Avanijanāśraya. He distinguished himself by vanquishing the Tājika army which had subdued Saindhava, Kacchella, Saurāṣṭra, Cāvoṭaka, Maurya, Gurjara and other kingdoms that had come to Navasārikā with a view to enter Dakṣiṇāpatha. On account of this exploit he received from the Cālukya ruler Śrīvallabha-Narendra, *i.e.*, king Vijayāditya, four titles *viz.*, *Dakṣiṇāpatha-sādhārana*, *Cālukkikulālāṅkāra*, *Prthvivallabha* and *Anivartakanivartayitru*.—(VOC., AS. 230).
- 733** The Gurjara ruler Jayabhaṭṭa IV inflicted a defeat on the Tājikas (Arabs), who had caused immense suffering to numerous people, in the city of the lord of Valabhī (*E.I.* XXIII, 151, fn. 7; 154, fn. 1). But the Arab invasion is not referred to in the Valabhī records.
- 734** Virabhadra, *vidyā-guru* of Uddyotana Sūri (C. Vikrama Samvat 835) got built a magnificent temple of Lord Ṛṣabha in Jābālipura wherein there were good many Jainas, which was as it were Aṣṭāpada and which was fascinating on account of Jaina temples.—(Colophon-v. 18-19 of the *Kuvalayamālā*).
- 735** Rāṇaka Bhartṛbhaṭa, a descendant of Bāpā Rāval, got built a Jaina temple of Lord Ṛṣabha, named as '*Guhila-vihāra*,' in the fort of Bhaṭṭevara built by him. Its installation-ceremony was performed by Budha Gaṇi in V.S. 791 (735 A.D.)—(JPI—pt. I, p. 496 and JTSS—Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 155).
- 735** Maitraka P.M.P. Śīlāditya VI succeeded his father P.M.P. Śīlāditya V.
- 735** Guhila, son of Bappa, said to have taken Citṛ from Manmori, the last of the Paramāra dynasty. (V. Sam. 701-735 A.D.)—(Kavirāja Śyāmalādās).
- 735** The Śrīmāla Brāhmaṇas and the Prāgvāṭa Brāhmaṇas of Bhinnamāla accepted Jainism, on their coming in contact with Udayaprabha Sūri of Śaṅkheśvara *gaccha*, in V.S. 791 (735 A.D.).—(JTSS, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 177).
- 734-54** King Puṣyeṇa *alias* Puṣyadeva of the Saindhava family, son of Mahārāja Ahivarman who claimed its descent from Jayadratha (the Saindhava king of the Mahābhārata) founded a kingdom at Bhūtāmbilikā (modern Ghumli) in Western Saurāṣṭra. From the dates of his successor's grants, he seems to have ruled from *circa* C. E. 415 to 435 (734-754 A.D.). He is identified with Puṣyeṇa, mentioned in the clay-seal which was found from Valā, (IA, XII) wherein he is styled Mahārāja as well as a *Mahāsenāpati*. The Saindhavas claimed to be masters of the Western Ocean, and selected '*fish*' as the emblem of their royal seal.—(*EI*, XXVI, pp. 185).

736

The temple of the Āśramadeva installed at Kemajju, not far from Kāvī in Bharukaccha Viṣaya, received a grant of land from the Gurjara king Jayabhāṭa IV, on the occasion of *Karkasaṅkrānti* i.e. Sun's entering the sign of Cancer, (which fell on Āṣāḍha Sūdi daśamī) in the Cedi year 486 (= 736 A.D.). The royal edict of the grant was executed by Kaṇḍakaṇaka.—(*Kavi Plates*, IA, V, 109).

This plate, dated K. 486, was for a long time ascribed to Jayabhāṭa III, whose reign was supposed to have begun shortly before K. 456. But the Prince of Wales Museum plates, recently discovered, show that it belongs to his grandson Jayabhāṭa IV.

736

Gurjara king Jayabhāṭa IV issued, only three months and a half later (i.e. in āsvayuja va. 15 of K. 486) than the Kāvī plates of the same year, a grant of land to Bhaṭṭa Acchaḍa, the son of the Brāhmaṇa Ādityanāga of the Hetavaka sub-caste, of Kaundinya *gotra* and a student of the Mādhyāndin *śākhā* of the Vājasneya (or White Yajurveda), to provide for the performance of the five great sacrifices and other rites. The donee was an immigrant from Lohikakṣa—*pathaka-āhāra*. The land consisted in the village Mannātha (identified with modern Magnāth on the right bank of the Dhāḍhar, about 2 miles from Jambusar, perhaps the corrupt form of 'Magnanātha' god submerged by the Dhāḍhar), situated in the Bharukaccha *viṣaya*. The grant was composed by Saṅgulla, the son of the official in charge of the army, Alla.—(EI, XXIII, 147 ff; CII, IV, pp. 102-107).

In both the above grants, verse 2, in a corrupt form, refers to an historical event. We learn from it that Jayabhāṭa, by the edge of his sword, forcibly vanquished in the city of the lord of Valabhī, the Tājikas who oppressed all people. Bühler, who edited the Kāvī plate, having no correct text with him then, drew the conclusion that this Jayabhāṭa inflicted a defeat on the contemporary ruler of Valabhī.

The correct reading of the verse which can now be restored with the help of the better preserved Prince of Wales Museum plates shows, on the other hand, that Jayabhāṭa went to the rescue of the king of Valabhī, when his capital was attacked by the Tājikas or Arabs, and inflicted a defeat on the enemy. This encounter can be placed between 720 A. D. and 735 A. D.†

† The correct reading of the verse in शीति metre, as restored by Principal V. V. Mirashi, is as under :

असिधाराजलशमितः प्रसभं बलभीषतेः पुरे येन् ।

जनसन्तापकलापदराजिकानलो जयभट जलद पशः ॥—(cii, iv, pp. 99, 106)

736

The only period, during the interval from 720 A. D. to 735 A. D. when the Arabs followed a vigorous policy, was that of the governorship of Junaid. Al Bilāduri (E. D. H. I., Vol. 1, p. 126) tells us that after defeating Jaishiya and



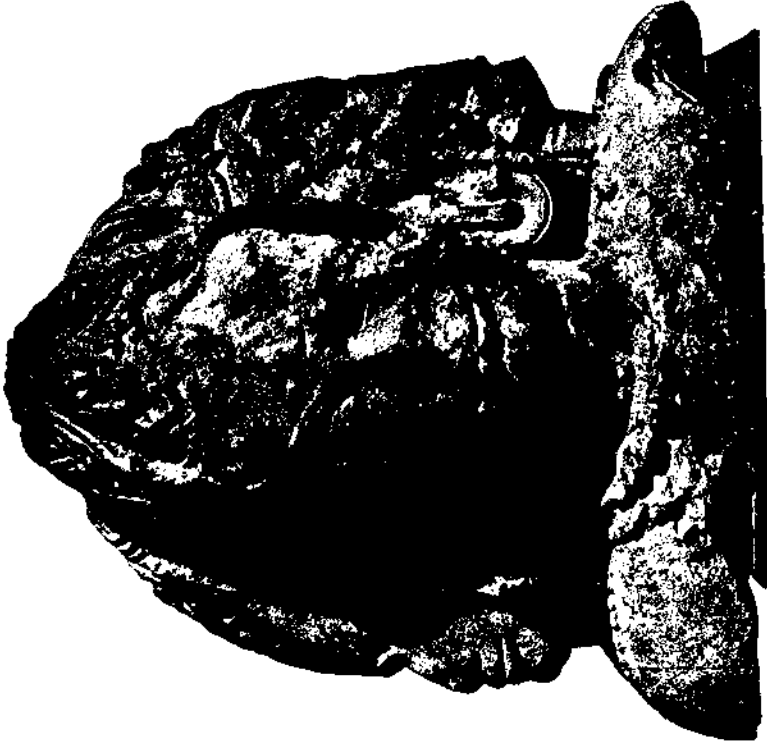
(A) Anaṇṭa Viṣṇu from Sāmalāji (p. 209)



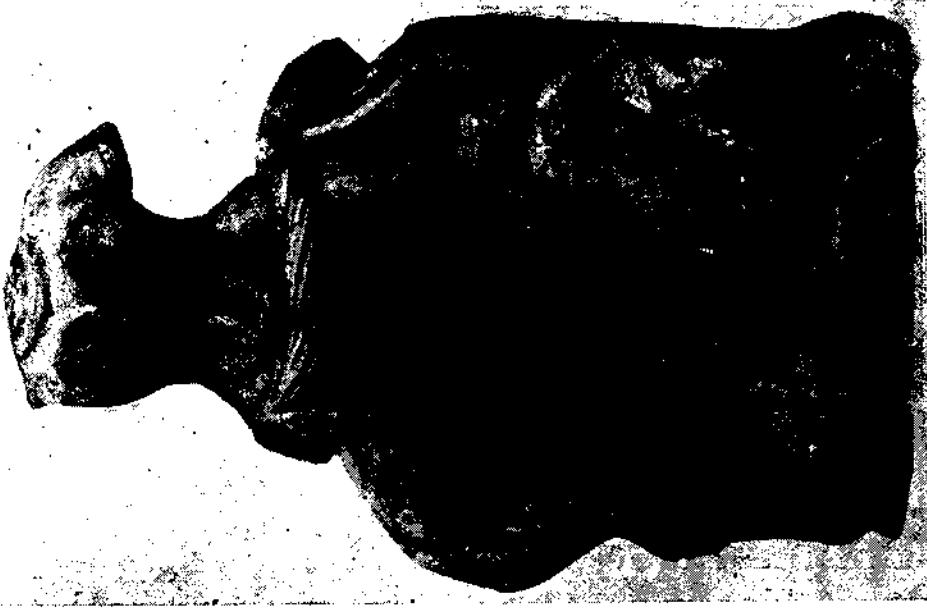
(B) Viṣṇu from Tenna (Surat Dist.) (p. 209)



(B) Trimūrti from Kaṭhāl, near Kapaḍvañj (p. 209)



(A) Trimūrti head : Limbodrā, Rājpiplā (p. 210)



(A) Mahiṣamardini from Valā (p. 208)



(B) Keśiśūdana, Valā (p. 210)



(A) Sage Uduṃbara from Śāmalāji (p. 210) (B) Yakṣa from Bhinmal (p. 210) (C) Sculpture from Dwarka (p. 274)

storming Kiraj, Junaid sent his officers against Marvad, Māṇḍal, Dahanaḥ and Barūs. He also sent forces against Ujjain, Mālība [Prof. Hodivala suggests that it may be Bālība—(Valabhī)], and Baharimad, and conquered Bailaimān and Jurz. During one of these raids, his forces must have attacked Valabhī. Jayabhāṭa IV, realizing the common danger, seems to have gone to the help of the king of Valabhī and defeated the Arabs. Now, Junaid was appointed Governor of Sindh by Umar and confirmed by Khalif Hasham (724-743 A.D.). As he was succeeded about 726 A.D. by Tamim, the raid of Valabhī can be placed in *circa* 725 A.D. The contemporary king of Valabhī who was thus saved by Jayabhāṭa IV was probably Śīlāditya V, who was ruling in G. 403 (722-23 A.D.).

But the Arabs were not completely vanquished. Before long they overran the kingdom of Jayabhāṭa himself, and pressed forward as far as Navasārikā, at which point their further advance was checked by Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśin, who inflicted a crushing defeat on them, some time before 740 A.D., the date of his Navsāri plates.

738 Dhiniki grant of Jaikadeva, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja* of Saurāṣṭra. Jaikadeva's capital was Bhumilika *i.e.* Bhumli or Ghumli, the deserted capital of the Jeṭhvās, an ancient Rajput clan, since represented by the former Rāpās of Porbunder (Nov. 16th, Vikrama Sam. 795, Kārtika Vadi 15, 738 A.D.).—(IA, xii, 151 ff.).

739 (Cedi Sam. 490) Navsāri grant, Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśivallabha, Western Cālukya. Third Gujarat branch: brother and successor of Maṅgala. The Tājikas or Arabs, having overrun Sindh, Kaccha, Saurāṣṭra, Cāvoṭaka, the Maurya and Gurjara kingdoms, seem to have invaded the Navsāri district, and to have been defeated by Pulakeśin.—(*Navsāri grant*).

739 The Navsāri plates of Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśin record his grant of a village in the *āhāra* and *viśaya* of Kārmaṇeya (modern Kamrej, 10 miles north-east of Surat). They are dated in K. 490 (739 A.D.).

Their historical importance lies in the graphic account they furnish of Pulakeśin's victory over the Tājikas or Arabs. The Arabs, we are told, had already conquered the Saiṇdhava, Kacchella, Saurāṣṭra, Cāvoṭaka, Maurya, Gurjara and other kings before they invaded the district of Navasārikā in the course of their campaign to conquer all the kings of the Dakṣiṇāpatha. We find this description fully corroborated by the account of Mahomedan chroniclers.

The Gurjara kingdom was, thereafter, probably annexed by the Gujarat Cālukyas, after whose overthrow by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Daṇṭidurga, the country to the north of the Kīm was occupied by a feudatory Cāhamāna family with its capital at Bharukaccha.

These plates are the last record of the Gurjaras dated in the Kalacuri era.

- 739 Junaid, the Governor of Sindh under the sway of the Arab Khaliphāt (Empire) sent forces to invade Marvad, North Gujarat, South Gujarat, Malwa, Saurāṣṭra and Gurjara-deśa. The Navsāri grant, dated Kalcūri Era 490 (739 A.D.) states that the Muslim army which had afflicted the kingdoms of Saindhava, Kacchella, Saurāṣṭra, Cāvoṭaka, Maurya, Gurjara and others, met with disaster near Navasārikā, when it attempted to enter Mahārāṣṭra. Similar claim is also made by the Gurjara king Jayabhaṭa IV of Nāndipurī (736 A.D.). He is said to have gone to Valabhī to help its ruler against the Tājīkas.—(*Bom. Gaz.* Vol. I, p. 109; *EI.* XXIII, 151).
- 739 Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśirāja, successor of Jayāśraya Maṅgalarāja gave a village (Padraka) in Kārmaṇeya Āhāra-Viśaya in gift to Brāhmaṇa Aṅgada of Vatsa gotra, an emigrant from Vanavāsi. The grant was composed by Sāmanta Bappa and issued on Kārtika śuddha 5, (Cedi) year 490 (739 A.D.).—(*Navsāri Plates*; VOC, Aryan Section, 230).
- 743 Bappabhaṭṭi Sūri was born in 743 according to Jaina tradition and died in 838 A.D. He is the author of the '*Sarasvatīstotra*'. According to Rājaśekhara Sūri's *Prabandhakośa*, Bappabhaṭṭi converted Āmarāja, son and successor of Yaśovarman of Kanauj (725 A.D.; V. Sam. 800). These dates of his birth and death are, however, doubtful.—(*Peterson Report*, IV, Ind. lxxxii).

III

ANTIQUITIES

Archaeology : Gupta-Maitraka Periods : Our knowledge of the Pre-historic and Historic archaeology of Gujarat has fortunately been enhanced by a series of excavations carried out since 1930. The explorations in the river-valleys of Sābarmatī, Mahī, Orsaṅg, Narmadā and Tāpī were first started since 1891 by Foote, and the excavations at Valā (1930-34), Raṅgpur (1932), Amreli (1935), Kāmrej (1938), Koḍinār (1936), Beṭ (1939), Sopārā (1940), Inṭwā (1949), Akotā (1952), Vaḍnagara (1935), Ṭimbervā (1954), Lothal (1955), Somanātha, Prābhāsa (1956), Maheśvara (1957-58), Rosaḍi (1959), Devani Mori (1960) and at a number of other minor sites (not to mention the earlier small-scale excavations by Dr. Princep at Boriā Stūpa on Mt. Gīrnar and by Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji at Sopārā), followed in succession, in the wake of studies in Ancient Indian Culture introduced in the University Curricula. Yet the material relics and their bearing on the cultural life of Gujarat during the Gupta-Maitraka Periods have still got to be systematically studied.

The age of the Imperial Guptas (300-600 A.D.) was an age of great cultural activity and evolution in art and literature. The centre of origin of the new art-traditions in the Gupta Age is not known, but it could be imagined to be near Avanti-Malwa or Ujjayini, the capital city of Candragupta II. Before one can locate this centre of art, a chronological study of art-specimens of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods for the dating of

its art-heritage is necessary. The best Gupta specimens date from the latter part of the reign of Candragupta II and Kumāragupta I.

Red and Black Ware : A typical mediaeval pottery having red slip and design in black over white background becomes profuse in this period. The mediaeval red and black ware, red burnished and black burnished wares are also found from old sites. They continue in the subsequent period also.

Inscribed Seals : Numerous Mahāyānist votive clay-seals bearing the images of Buddha and *Stūpa*, inscribed with the Buddhist creed in the characters of about the sixth century A. D. were discovered from excavations at Valā, carried out by Rev. Fr. Heras. One of this variety is exhibited at Bhāvnagara Gāndhi Smṛiti Bhavan (Old Barton Museum Section).

The objects excavated at the site of Valabhi contain a variety of clay-seals with the Buddhist formula ये धर्महेतुप्रभवः etc. imprinted on them. The reference to ' *Ratnatraya* ' (Frag. 1), ' *Samgha* ' (Frag. 4) and ' *Tathāgata* ' (Frag. 5) occurring in the ten fragmentary stone-inscriptions discovered from Valā (Diskalkar, ABORI, XX, pp. 1-8, No. 1) further show the influence of Buddhism in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. There are references even to fields belonging to Buddhist monks or *Samgha* in copper-plates.

Clay Seal of Puṣyeṇa : This seal found from the ruins of Valabhi, measures 2.9 inches by 2.6 inches on the face, and about 2½ inches high, bearing on the face a rude impression of the sun and the moon, and below it an inscription in 4 lines :—

- (1) आ जयद्रथाद् अव्यवच्छिन्न . . रण
- (2) वंशस्य श्रीममैहाराजाहिवमे
- (3) सुलोर्महाराज महा...
- (4) पति पुष्येणस्य ।

(The seal) of the Mahārāja Mahā(senā) pati Puṣyeṇa, the son of the glorious Mahārāja Ahivarman, whose family of kings (*i. e.*, whose pedigree of royal ancestors) is uninterrupted from Jayadratha downwards (who was a mythical king of Siṇḍhu-Sauvīra, and was killed by Arjuna in the Mahābhārata war).

The letters of the inscription are sunk in and reversed. Consequently the letters of the metal or stone matrix, of which an impression is taken on clay, must have borne raised letters, which had not been reversed by the engraver. It appears the impression was made for the purpose of stamping the legend on document, cloth or any other non-metallic substance. The seal shows the legend which can be read direct, and not in reverse as it does on the original. The letters closely resemble those of the land-grants of Dhruvasena I of Valabhi (519-549 A.D.), *mātrā* being represented by a curve.—(Bühler, IA., XII, p. 274 ; E. Hultzsch, IA., XXXVIII, p. 145)—(Plate).

Amreli Clay-die of Śilāditya : A clay seal bearing the legend " *Śrī Śilāditya* " was found from the old mound of Gohilvāda Tīmbo, which is situated on the fork of the two rivulets Vaḍi and Thebi, near Amreli in Saurāṣṭra, just about 40 miles to the east of

Valā, the ancient Valabhī, which was the seat of the Maitraka rulers till about 776 A.D. Various antiquities have been unearthed from this site, consisting of terracotta images, both Hindu and Buddhistic, carved and plain pottery, remains of burials in graves and urns, beads, coins, carved bangle-pieces—entire and fragmentary. These also include a goldsmith's terracotta mould and a clay-die of Śilāditya.—(Hiranand Shastri, *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Baroda State, 1937-38*, p. 16)

In the absence of more details or the date of the seal, the question as to which of the seven Śilādityas of the Maitraka dynasty this seal belonged, remains unsolved. However, it may be assigned to Śilāditya I (C. 590-615 A.D.) bearing the other title ' Dharmāditya ', and as such believed to have been referred to in the *Ārya Mañjuśrī Mūla Kalpa* (Jayaswal, *Ibid*, p. 2 4, *ślokas* 586-601) as a notable ruler.—(Plate)

Kāmpilya Vihāra seal : A small clay votive seal was found from the site of the Kāmpilya Vihāra, situated on the banks of the Purāvī river, near Navsari, by Manilal Dvivedi, containing seven lines, which, however, do not admit of decipherment.

Among the clay seals and dice that have been discovered some bear the well-known Buddhist formula :—

ये धर्माः हेतु प्र-
भवा हेतुं तेषां तथा-
गतो ह्यवदत् तेषां च
यो निरोध येवं वादी
महाश्रमणः ।

These seals are obviously religious signets of the Buddhists. They are circular and tablet-like in shape, and are about the size of an eight-anna piece. Besides, a specimen of a non-sectarian seal has also been found from Valā. It is of black clay measuring $4 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It contains five incomplete lines written in Sanskrit, the meaning of which is unintelligible.

Inscriptions on Stone and Clay-die : A few Maitraka epigraphs are inscribed on stone and clay-die. But these are in a fragmentary condition. One of the stone inscriptions is at the village Bañkoḍi in the Rāval District of the former Navānagar State.—(*Bhavnagar Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions* p. 30). It measures 7 inches by 18 inches and records the name of Guhasena, which has been assigned on paleographic grounds to this Maitraka king (553-569 A.D.). It is on a polished surface of a slab, and is neatly engraved in straight lines, like other stone-inscriptions from Valā. (Diskalkar, " Ten Fragments of Stone-Inscriptions and Clay-Seal from Valā ", *ABORI*, XX, p. 1.). Unfortunately no information could be gathered from this or the ten other finds from Valā, the inscriptions yielding disjoint words like ' Tathāgata ' or names of persons.

Inscribed Potsherds from Gohilvāḍa Ṭimbo : Amreli : Further explorations at the Gohilvāḍa Ṭimbo near Amreli in 1938-39 yielded many inscribed potsherds, giving the names of some individuals or localities from which they hailed. These potsherds are

believed to be fragments of vessels which might have belonged to some Buddhist monks and have been assigned to the Maitraka period.—(ARDAB, 1938-39, pp. 5-7).

The inscriptions read: (i) *Sri Gira (i) nagara*, (ii) *Vajapa....*, (iii) *Sri-Vighra...*, (iv) *Sri-Panda*, (v) *Ghahta....*, (vi) *Vakrumidrukaya (?)*.—(Plate)

Potsherd of Guhasena from Valā: We are here reminded of the potsherd of Guhasena's time. A fragment of what seems to have been a huge earthen pot, was discovered from Valā, with the following inscription on it in Valabhī characters; the first symbol that is lost is, however, surmised:—

[२००] ४० ७ श्रीगुहसेनः षटाः।

It has the name of '*Śri Guhasena*', along with the (Valabhī) year (2) 47 (= C. 566 A.D.) inscribed on it.—(E. Hultzsch, 'Potsherd of Guhasena: Valā, Fragmentary Inscription' (553-569 A.D.), IA., XIV, 1885, p. 75).—(Plate)

Valā Seal with Elephant: Excavations at the basements of an ancient building at Valā, conducted by Rev. Father Heras in 1934, yielded parts of a damaged terracotta *Stūpa*, and a clay-seal bearing the effigy of an Elephant, it being the symbol of Buddha's mortal form in the previous birth, now in the Bombay Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College (originally founded by Father Heras).

Valabhī Copper-Plates: The chief epigraphical sources for the history of the Maitrakas of Valabhī are their copper-plates. These copper-plates are records of their donations made to the Brāhmaṇas and to the Vihāras. The donations usually consist of villages, fields, *vāpis*, *kūpas* and *vāpikās*. In one case, however, it is a *rūpaka* or a silver coin, to be given daily from the State Treasury, a gift which may be termed a *Nibandha* as given in the Dharmaśāstras.—तथा त्रिसंगमक स्वतल्यज्ञात् प्रत्यहं तद्विद्युक्तेन रूपक एको देयो क्षयनीवीत्वेन देव्याः पूजद्वेतोर्धर्मदयो निसृष्टः । यतो न केनचित् व्यासेषे वर्तितव्यम् । (G. V. Acharya, *Inscriptions of Gujarat*, Vol. I, No. 67 : Inscription of Dhruvasena II, G. S. 320, 639-40 A.D.).

The Valabhī plates are incised on one side only, linked by two rings, the edges of which are slightly raised in the form of a rim so as to protect the inscription. Of the two rings which are used to fasten the plates, one is plain and circular in shape, with its ends either riveted or joined in a knot. It is about 1½ inches in diameter, and about 5 inches in length. The other ring consists of a longer piece and forms an elliptical top. Its ends are joined to the socket of the royal seal which is generally made of bronze.

Valabhī Copper-Plate Seal: Valabhī Copper-plate Seal has the device of a seated Bull the sacred vehicle of Śiva with the legend '*Śri Bhaṭṭakah*' (the name of the founder) inscribed below it.—(Plate). Similarly the *triśūla* (trident) on the Valabhī coins represents another emblem of Śaivism.

Coins: Of the ruling dynasties of this period of Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra, the coins, mainly of the Maitrakas, are known and only in silver. These coins are in the continued traditions of the Western Kṣatrapas, which were followed by the Guptas and the Traikūṭakas. Valabhī coins are perfect imitations of later Gupta coins, which, do not give the

year of issue. They have the head of the king on one side, and the legend in current Brāhmī script on the other side. The Maitrakas introduced a new device of their own of the trident (*triśūla*) in the middle. The trident on these coins may be distinguished in two types (i) a trident with two dots in place of handle; and (ii) a trident with a battle-axe attached to the handle.

The coins bearing the first type of trident resemble the Kṣatrapa coins, as regards the shape and size, and also the form of the letters. These coins according to the reading of G. V. Acharya, bear the legend *Mahārājno Mahā-Kṣatrapa parama-sāmanta mahā-śrī Bhaṭṭārakasa*. The coins of the second type are more like the dumpy and irregularly shaped coins of the later Gupta period. They are a little smaller in size and bear the legend, according to Acharya, *Rājno Mahākṣatrapa Parmāditya Rājno Sāmanta Mahā-Śrī Bhaṭṭārakasa*. He gives the final reading on these coins (probably on both types) as *Rājno Mahākṣatrapa —Dharānudyātaka samarasaha Śrī Śarvva Bhaṭṭārakasa*.—(N. S., XLVII, pp. 99-103).

V. V. Mirashi has read the legend as *Rājno Mahākṣatrapa Paramādityabhakta-Mahāsāmanta Śrī Śarvva-Bhaṭṭārakasa* (JNSI, VI, 14-18), and he thinks that these coins were issued by a king named Śarva, who might have been a ruler flourishing about 400 A.D. (?), owing allegiance either to the Guptas or to the Traikūtakas. He thinks that the Maitrakas of Valabhī did not have the coinage of their own; but adopted this coinage and made it the currency of their kingdom.

The legend on the Valabhī coins has been the subject of interesting controversy for those interested in Numismatics, since the time these coins were first brought to light by James Prinsep, and the more so, after the different scholars like E. Thomas, Newton, Cunningham, G. V. Acharya, and V. V. Mirashi gave different interpretations of the legend on these coins.

The Valabhī coins in the Baroda Museum are broadly divided into 'types,' by B. L. Mankad, from a comparative study of the fabric, weight, size, legends, bust of kings, and the types of tridents. One set resembles the Kṣatrapa coins in fabric and epigraphy, and the other resembles the Gupta coins. The Kṣatrapa type of coins has a trident on the reverse, while the Gupta type has a trident combined with a battle-axe.

The Kṣatrapa type of coins are grouped into several varieties according to their legends: some bear the name *Śrī-Bhaṭṭārka*, some of *Śarvva-Bhaṭṭārka* with the title *Mahā-sāmanta*, and some have only the name *Bhaṭṭārka*. The legends thus show that there were different kings who issued these coins; but it is difficult to identify them. The last one may be attributed to Śrī-Bhaṭṭārka, the founder of the Valabhī dynasty, as this title on the seals of Valabhī copper-plates refers to him. Those referring to *Śarvva* may be a descendant of his, who was a Mahāsāmanta in the beginning, but became independent later on. Others refer to other different kings who may have been the issuers of such coins. The legend on these coins are generally found deflected, often missing a letter or two from a word, and no satisfactory reading of the coin has come forward so far.

The study of the different legends and the busts of kings on these Valabhī coins reveals at least four (probably six) different rulers who issued these coins.—(B. L. Mankad, *Journal of the Numismatic Society*, Vol. XV, 1953, 'Valabhī Coins in the Baroda Museum', and Plate No. IV).—(Plate)

Traikūṭaka Coins: Traikūṭaka coins are found in Southern Gujarat, Koṅkan and the Maratha country. Coins of the Traikūṭaka kings Dahrasena, son of Indradatta, and Vyāghrasena, son of Dahrasena are known, whose names are mentioned in copper-plate grants of 456 and 480 A.D., respectively.

Coins of the Kalacuri King Kṛṣṇarāja, the father of Śaṅkargaṇa, are known from the Gujarat area. They were first published by Dr. Bhau Daji (JBBRAS, XII (O.S.), p. 213-14). But he could neither read the correct legend nor attribute them properly. These coins are in the same tradition of the Western Kṣatrapas, having the head of the king on the obverse, and a seated bull on a platform as the central device on the reverse. The legend on these coins is *Purama-Māheśvara Mātāpitṛipādānudyātū Śrī Kṛṣṇarāja*, as read by Fleet (I.A., XIV, p. 68), and confirmed by N. L. Rao (JNSI, XVI, p. 107-8).

Temples: There was great architectural activity in Western India during this period. As early as the end of the 5th Century, Hindu temples of Goddesses (Pāṇḍurāja and Kottammahikā for example), of Śiva, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa and other gods are known to have been in existence from the records of donations by the Maitraka kings and the kings of other dynasties. However, no remains of these temples have been traced so far.

A few temples are known mainly on the western and southern sea-board of Saurāṣṭra. A few solitary shrines are also found at Thān and Koṭṭai in Kaccha. These might have been built during the supremacy of the Maitrakas of Valabhī, or during the rule of the Jeṭhvās of Ghumli; and later, those near Somanātha and Prabhāsa, at Sutrāpādā, Kadvār, etc. under the suzerainty of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. Further development of the pre-Caulukyan temple architecture is illustrated by the temples at Visāvēdā, 15 miles N.W. of Porbunder, Bileśvara, in the Baraḍā Hills and Thān. The temples at Kiṇḍerkheḍā, about 12 miles north of Porbunder, Sona Kaṁsāri and Pāsthur, which form another group, are of the same period.

The pre-Caulukyan temples that are in existence even today, can be treated together as they have an essential oneness with some points of difference. These small-scale temples, as arranged in their development of style, are grouped in two batches: the one group includes the Visāvēdā, Bileśvara, Sutrāpādā and Thān temples; the other includes those at Kadvār, Kiṇḍerkheḍā, Son Kansāri and Pāsthur.

As to the plan of these temples, a square shrine is placed among two courtyards, inner and outer, which may be either square or rectangular. The tendency is towards the latter, which subsequently became the *gūḍha maṇḍapa* of the later Caulukyan temples having a number of pillars. The inner courtyard in every case served as a *pradakṣiṇamārga*. —(Plate)

Vihāras: We know from numerous epigraphical references that a number of Buddhist Vihāras Gohaka-Vihāra (probably built by a monk), Abhyaṅtarikā-Vihāra (built by the Mm. Mimmā), the Ajita and Kakka Vihāra (built by traders), the Vimalagupta Vihāra (built by Ācārya Bhikṣu Vimalagupta), Sthiramati-Vihāra, Yakṣaśura-Vihāra, Purnabhaṭṭa-vihāra, Yodhāvaka-Vihāra (built by Divirapati Skandabhaṭṭa) and Varṁśakaka Vihāra (built by king Śīladitya I)—were built during this period; but unfortunately, nothing of their architectural remains is in evidence.

The earliest reference is found in a grant of Dhruvasena I (Valabhī Saṁvat 216, Circa 535 A.D.) wherein he donated villages to the Vihāra built by his niece (Sister's daughter) Duddā, who laid the temporal foundation of Buddhism in or near Valabhī. This Vihāra gradually developed into a *Vihāraṁḍala*, containing a number of Vihāras within its precincts. Nothing, however, can be traced of these structures.

All these show that both the kings and the rich citizens made benefactions for the *Vihāras*, either from the time of their foundation, or by supporting those built by the monks, and named after them.

The existence of the Kāmpilya Vihāra, founded by one Buddhist Ācārya Kāmpilya, is known to have situated on the banks of the Purāvī river, identified with the Pūrṇā river near Navsari. A small clay votive seal was found from the site by Manilal Dvivedi; containing seven lines, which do not admit of decipherment. Plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dantivarmā mention a grant to this *vihāra* in Ś. 789 (924 A.D.)—(EI, VI, p. 285). Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Dhruva II, son of Akālavarṣa had granted a village to the same *vihāra* in Ś. 806 (941 A.D.)—(EI, XXII, 64). The site of the *vihāra* has yielded other antiquities also; but no traces of the *vihāra* have been found so far.

The names of the *vihāras*, recorded in the Maitraka copper-plates, almost in a stereotyped way, give us very little information about their structure and their activities. They afford us, however, glimpses into the life and the conditions in them.

One grant provides the location of religious books for the monastery.—(Bühler, Guhasena's Grant of Valabhī Saṁvat 240; 'Additional Valabhī Grants', IA., VII, p. 67). In some, the fortifications (Bühler, 'A Valabhī Grant', IA., IX, p. 237) and the well-laid gardens (*Bhandarkar's List*, Nos. 1333, 1341, 1360) around these *vihāras* are mentioned. Elsewhere we get interesting description of the tasteful decorations in them. (Jayaswal, *Imperial History of India*, p. 24). Hiuen Tsang in his account refers to images of Seven Buddhas in a *vihāra* built by the king Śīladitya (Watters, p. 169). Nothing of these can be traced now.

The *Cullavagga* adds that the *vihāras* were full-fledged houses where verandahs, covered terraces, overhanging caves, store-rooms and service-halls, gradually came to be built, as the number of Bhikkus went on increasing. (*The Cullavagga*, VI 3, 5, 6). The existence of similar *vihāras* at Valabhī may be inferred from the Maitraka grants.

Hiuen Tsang's general description of monasteries at Nālandā and at other places

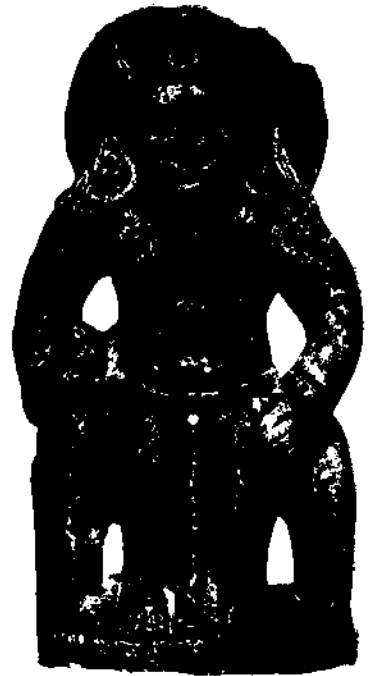
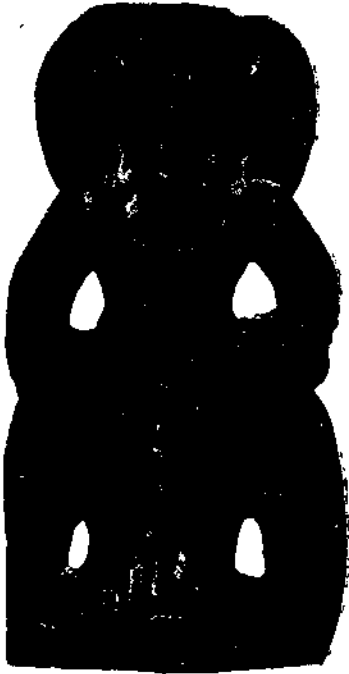


(A) Vāyu, from Śāmalāji (p. 316)

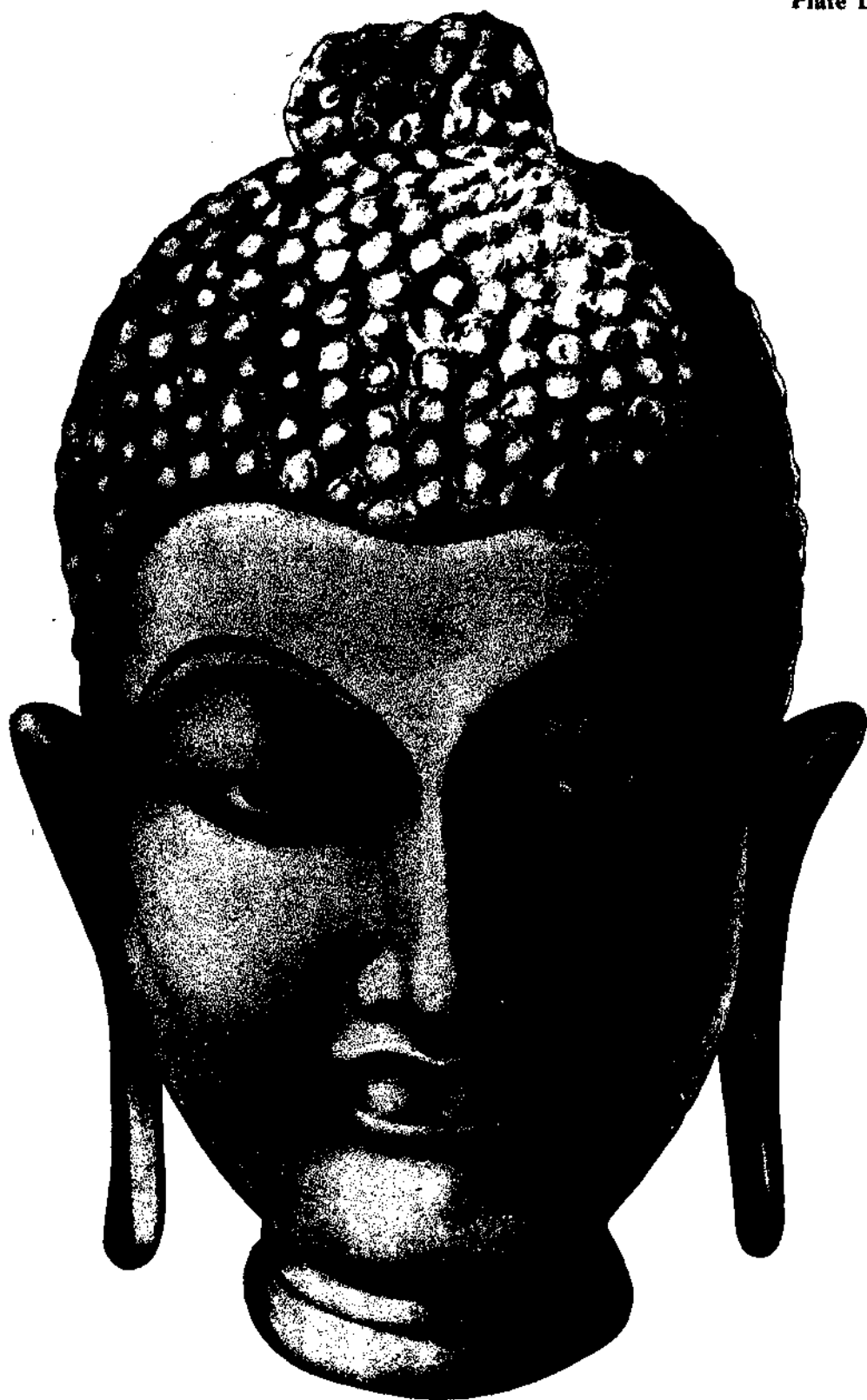


(B) A Terracotta Peacock from Śāmalāji (p. 206)

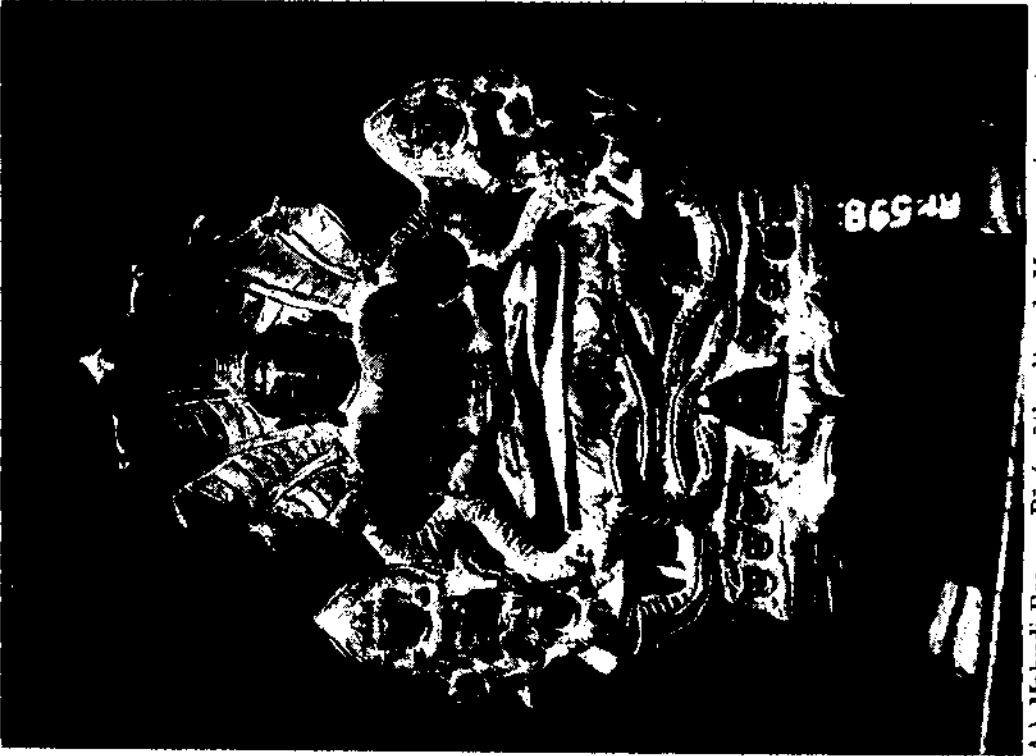
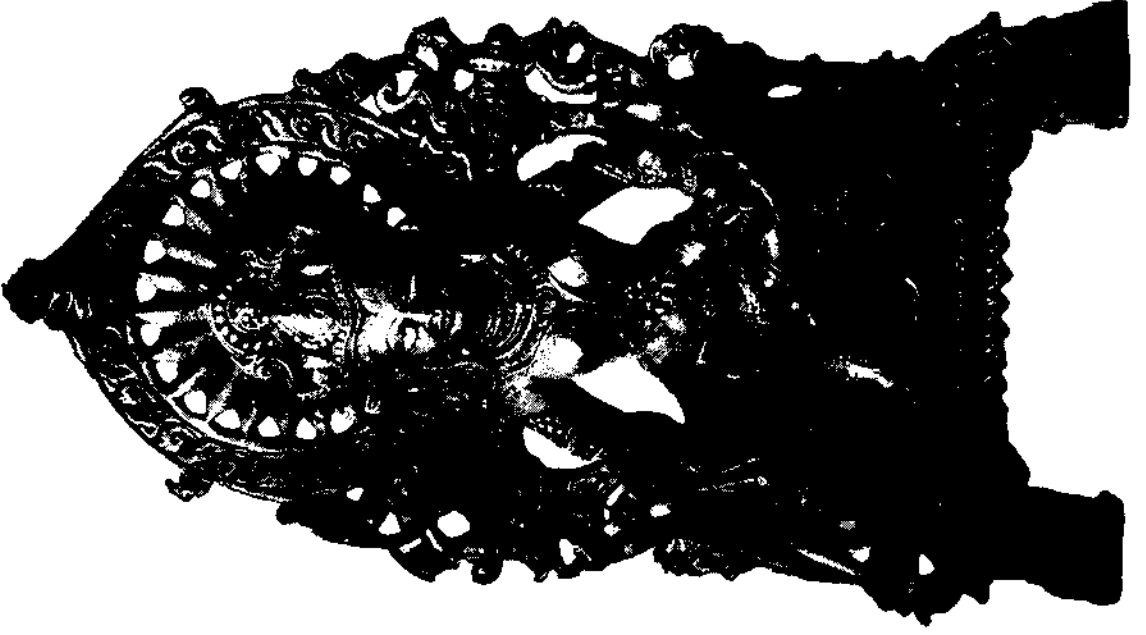
Plate XXXIV



Four Gaṇas in the Gāndhāra tradition, Śāmalāji (p. 211)



Ādinātha Bronze Head, from Akota Hoard, Baroda Museum. (p. 212)



(A) Mahurdi Bronze, Pārsavnātha, Baroda Museum (p. 212)

(B) Ambikā bronze from Akoṭā (p. 212) →

(Watters, I, p. 147 ; Beal, p. 74) can be remembered here for providing an idea of the architecture of the *Vihāras* at the Valabhī Vidyāpīṭha : " They have a tower at each of the four corners of the quadrangle and three high walls in a tier. The rafters and roof-beam were carved with strange figures, and the doors, windows and walls were painted in various colours. The houses of the ladies were sumptuous inside and economical outside. The inner rooms and the central hall varied in their dimensions. The doors opened to the east and the thrones faced east. "

Art School of " Ancient West " : Tārānātha, the Tibetan historian referred to the " School of Ancient West " in his ' History of Indian Buddhism ', written in 1608 A.D. (from Heeley's translation of Schiefner's German translation) as follows : " In the time of the King Śīla lived an especially skilful delineator of Gods born in Marwar, named Śṛṅgadhara ; he left behind him paintings and other masterpieces like those produced by the Yakṣas. Those who followed his lead were called the " Old Western School ". Śṛṅgadhara, born in Marudeśa, lived either in the court of Bhinnamāla or of Valabhī or worked for both of them. Tārānātha is explicit in his description of " The School of the Ancient West ", when he states that the school came after the school of Bimbisāra in the reign of Budhagupta, and this is confirmed by the fact that he expressly states that Śṛṅgadhara of Marwar, the *founder* of this school, lived in the reign of king Śīla, *i. e.*, Harṣa of Kanauj (606-647 A.D.) or may be the Maitraka king Śīlāditya I (c. 590-615).

Ajañṭa of the Vākāṭaka period and Bāgh, be it remembered, were already a *fact accompli* before the birth of Tārānātha's ' School of the Ancient West '. That this school founded by Śṛṅgadhara was greatly influenced by the late Gupta art and its tradition, is abundantly clear. Even the beautiful Jivañtasvāmi torso from Akoṭā with marked Gupta influences is no earlier than the early 6th century A.D. The Piñdavārā (Vasantgadh) bronzes, cast by Śivanāga in 687 A.D., probably represented the last works of " The School of Ancient West ", and that perhaps, the *masterpieces* of this school were represented by works such as the Śāmalāji Sculptures from Idar State.—(Karl Khandalavala, ' Commentary on Tārānātha's Chapter on Buddhist Art ', *Mārg*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 62-63 ; *Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 3-4, p. 128).

The Akoṭā bronzes (the broken Jivañtasvāmi torso and the Rṣabhanātha) can be assigned to the earliest period of this school, at the latest, *i. e.* of the late 6th and early 7th century A.D. The Śāmalāji sculptures from Idar (probably early 7th Century A.D.) may well be representative of the best products of Tārānātha's ' School of Ancient West '. Those who date the Śāmalāji sculptures earlier are overlooking the entire historical background of cultural development in Idar State, it is alleged.

Jaina painting of the 9th Century in the Indra-Sabhā and Cave 32 at Ellurā are much more than ' Traces ', and are of the highest interest in the history of ' Indian Wall-paintings ', and also in any discussion on the origin of ' Manuscript-Illustrations ' both on palm-leaf and paper, especially preserved at the various Jaina Bhaṇḍārs in Western India.

Western School of Indian Sculptures: Three decades ago, *i. e.*, before 1930 or so, the art-history of Gujarat proper, previous to the rise of the Caulukya Solanki dynasty (middle of the 10th Century A.D.) had been almost a blank. Systematic investigations, however, have since resulted in the discovery of quite a series of sculptures in the Kṣatrapa-Īṣṇa, late Imperial Gupta and post-Gupta, Cālukya and Rāṣṭrakūṭa and the classic Pratihāra and Paramāra style. Some of these are of exceptional artistic beauty.

A flourishing Gupta (300 A.D.—600 A.D.) and post-Gupta (600 A.D.—900 A.D.) school of Sculpture was discovered in the Meśvo valley, from where the Śāmalāji sculptures have been found, and similar early sculptures and bronzes were discovered from the valley of Sābarmatī and Hāthmatī, near the ruins of the Koṭyarka temple in Mahuḍi village, (Vijapur Taluka, N. Gujarat). Sculptures and bronzes have also been found from the territory, south of Baroda *i. e.* in the Lāṭa-maṇḍala, say from the banks of the Viśvāmitrī and from the villages of Akoṭā and Kapurī, which point out the artistic activity in this area during the post-Gupta period. The discovery of stylistically similar images from Kāvī, near Jambusar (Dist. Broach), carries the tradition further south. The Lakuliśa images from Kārvan and Avākhal, also, can be roughly assigned to this period.

Sculptures from the valleys of Sābarmatī and Hāthmatī, Meśā (Meśvo) and Mājam and other minor streams in Eastern Gujarat deserve special notice in the history of Western Indian Sculptures, as retaining the artistic traditions of the Gupta art with local variation and colour, during the Valabhī period. The Gurjara-Pratihāra variations, later succeeded the post-Gupta art-traditions.

The phase of architectural and sculptural art with Gupta affinities was not confined to Dungarpur, Śāmalāji, Roḍā and Koṭyarka areas only. It possibly extended upto the Parel image in the south of Gujarat, not to by-pass the intervening Lāṭa sculptures from Kārvan, Kapurī, Kāvī, Tenna etc. The Sculptures at Maṇḍor, Bhinnāl, Kirāḍu and Osiā to the extreme north, and those from Sārasvata Maṇḍala, Arbuda Maṇḍala and Saurāstra in the West are known to have equally shared the common Gupta and post-Gupta traditions in Western India.

Śāmalāji in the old Idar State was possibly on a caravan route from Mandsor or Kotah area via Dungarpur to Bharukaccha via Kapadvanj (ancient Karpaṭavāṇijya), Kaṭhlāl, Nadiad (in the Kheṭaka-maṇḍala) etc. From Idar and Koṭyarka, sites of the river-valleys of Sābarmatī and Meśvo, the art seems to have spread by a westward route to Saurāṣṭra, and by a north-westward route to Ābu, the ancient Arbudamaṇḍala, towards Bhinnāl.

The dark-blue or greenish-blue schist used in the sculptures obtained from Śāmalāji and Devanī Morī areas was possibly obtained from Dungarpur territory adjoining Śāmalāji on the east. It is in evidence even around Kirāḍu in Rājasthān. The dark-blue schist, from which the specimens of the late Gupta period from Śāmalāji (Idār), Roḍā and Devanī Morī are carved, is available in large quantity even to-day; and it is not unlikely that the images of the Idar group were manufactured either at or from the stone in the Dungar-

pur district of Rājasthān, and thence removed to various places in Western India.—(R. C. Agrawal, ' Skaṇḍa-Kārtikeya in Sculptures from Rājasthān ', *Lalit Kalā* Nos. 3-4, 1959).

Śaivite Sculptures : The cult objects in the Śiva temples at Valabhī were *līngas* and not images. Along with the *līnga*, the *Naṇḍī* is always associated with Śiva. Some of the *Naṇḍīs* strewn over the ruins of Valabhī, may be dated back to the sixth and seventh centuries. They are life-size (about 6 feet) ones, from which the dimensions and the grandeur of the temples can be imagined.

Naṇḍī : A huge massive representation of *Naṇḍī*, designed from the local breed of Kāṅkarej type from Idar, has been removed to the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. (S. N. Chakravarti, *Guide to the Antiquities of the Historic Period*, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, p. 30, Plate XIII). A band goes round the horns and ears, and a chain round the neck. A garland, like the later embroidered carpet, encircles the body. It is assignable to early 8th Century A.D., and is a fine specimen in animal-studies.—(Plate LVIII a)

Although the rulers of Valabhī were broadminded and altogether catholic in their outlook, Śaivism was the royal religion of the Maitrakas. ' The Bull and the Trident ', the well-known emblems of God Śiva, which were usually found on their seals and coins, and the term *parama-māheśvara* used before the names of the Valabhī kings in their copper-plates go to prove the same.—(Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Sects*, p. 119). Śāmalājī, according to the later ' *Gadādhara Kṣetra* ' tradition, was a Vaiṣṇavite site, and the sculpture of Anaṇṭaviṣṇu is one of the earliest known specimens of Viṣṇu cult in Western India. However, the sculptures from Devanī Morī, a village nearby, are mostly Śaivite, consisting of some huge Śivalīngas. The *Naṇḍī*, referred to above, illustrates the fine local breed of a Kāṅkarej bull. The mutilated group of *Mātrikā* sculptures including the most striking of the Kaumārī Śakti and the figure of Kumāra Kārtikeya testify further to the Śaivite leanings of the place.

Eka-mukha Līnga from Khedbrahmā :—The huge *Eka-mukha līnga* discovered from Khedbrahmā (now in the Baroda Museum, Open Air Sculpture Gallery), about 5 feet high, has the head of Śiva carved on the front side. The oblong face, though partly mutilated is remarkable for the modelling of the head-dress of the type, met with on Kuṣāṇa sculptures from Mathurā. Carved out of a huge block of greenish blue-schist, this *līnga* is assigned a date of Śaivite or Brahmanical revival, when worship of *Eka-mukha līngas* was common in other parts of Northern and Central India. It dates a bit earlier than the group of Śiva and *Mātrikās* from Devanī Morī.—(Plate XXIX).

Virabhadra Śiva :—Probably the finest image in the Idar group is the figure of Virabhadra Śiva (first brought to light by Inamdar in 1935 : *Sculptures from Idar State*), with *Urdhva līnga* seen through the transparent drapery, which is again tied with a tiger skin. It stands in a *tribhanga* pose against a bull, and carries a trident (*trisula*) in his upper right hand. The beautiful hair-locks (*jaṭā-mukuta*) fall gracefully on the shoulders, with the crescent moon on one side, and the face expressing bliss by a catching smile. The

one-row necklace (*ekāvalī*) and the armlets are the sparse ornaments on the body. The sculpture is datable to the late Gupta period (C. 550 A. D.).—(Plate XXX).

Lakuliśa from Kārvaṇ-Timbarvā :—The seated human image of Lakuliśa from Timbarvā, 2 miles from Kārvaṇ (now in the *M. S. University, Archaeology Collection*) is shown against the *līṅga* of black granite. The locks of *jaṭā* are visible as having spread over the shoulders. It very probably belongs to the 6th Century A.D. at the latest. (M. R. Majumdar, 'Antiquities from Kārvaṇ', JBU, 1950).—(Plate XXXI a).

Avākhala Śiva : The image of Śiva from Avākhala, the 'Ulkāgrāma' of the Puranic tradition is, however, a seated human image of Lakuliśa, with the citron in one hand and the *lakula* or the *daṇḍa* in the right hand. It differs from the Kārvaṇ image in that it has a halo at the back, and is not carved on the *līṅga*. The locks of *jaṭā* are spread over the shoulders. The *ekāvalī* and the *yajnopavīta* are very near the Kārvaṇ image. This may be not earlier than the 8th century.—(R. N. Mehta, JOI, Dec.-March, 1956-57).

Kṣetrapāla Image : This is a form of Bhairava, flanked by two attendants with a back-ground of mountain, from a small temple at Śāmalājī, and belongs to the middle of the 8th Century. The face has the complacent expression. The sculptor has cleverly shown the nudity of the standing image by depicting a 'wet', the closely fitting diaphanous robe, without any fold lines.—(Plate XXXI b)

Dancing Gaṇeśa from Idar : Gaṇeśa, one of the earliest image of Śiva-pantheon, in a dancing posture and discovered from Ṭiṇṭoi in the old Idar State is probably dateable to C. 650 A.D. The folds on the drapery are artistically depicted. Gaṇeśa from Śāmalājī is a very well-preserved specimen of the Śiva Pañcāyatana and belongs to the period of the Mātṛikās from Devanī Morī.—(Plate XXXII b).

The colossal representation of two images of Gaṇeśa from Harsola and Kaṇḍola in north-east Gujarat, pleases the eye by its mass and volume. They are dateable in the latter part of the 8th century A. D.—(S. N. Chakravarti, *Guide to Prince of Wales Museum Sculptures*, Plate XV).

Kumāra Kārtikeya :—Sculptures of Kumāra Kārtikeya, son of Śiva, reminding us of the rule of Kumāragupta in Western India, have been obtained from Śāmalājī, Kapurī, Kārvaṇ and Baroda, all being very good sculptures of the post-Gupta sculptural art. In the Kārtikeya's image from Śāmalājī, the warrior's nature is emphasised by prominent eye-balls, strong shoulders, massive arms etc. The rope-like scarf with a loop on the person of Kārtikeya is noticeable in the front. The image might, perhaps, be assigned to the latter period of the reign of Kumāragupta.—(Plate XXXII a).

Umā-Maheśvara from Kapurī :—Umā-Maheśvara (without the head) standing against the Naṇḍī in embrace, is represented in the stone sculpture from Kapurī, a village in Lāṭa-maṇḍala near Baroda. The figures are tall and stout, but the beautiful sweeping curves of the *tribhaṅga* have been skillfully utilised by the artist in making the figures look graceful and charming. The simple ornaments, the *ekāvalī* on the neck of Śiva

and the long pearl necklace of Umā reaching her navel add to the grace and beauty of their figures. Image is assignable to 7th century A. D., probably to the rule of the Kalachuris over Lāta.—(U. P. Shah and R. N. Mehta, JOI, Vol. I, 2, pp. 160).—(Plate XXXIV).

Mātrikā Sculptures :—The ' Mātrikā ' and the ' Mother and Child ' sculptures from Idar and Koṭyarka have several of the motifs common to the late Gupta sculptures. Naṇḍā, an ancient Hindu goddess is identical to Pārvatī, whom Buddha converted, according to one tradition, to Hārītī in Buddhist worship. Hindu Gaurī or Pārvatī, the Buddhist Hārītī and the Jaina Ambikā are virtually identical forms evolved under different religious pantheons. When in the Gupta age, the older Yakṣa cult was being replaced by neo-Hinduism, the ancient Mother-goddess cult came to be replaced by a new set of Mātrikās, Jaina Ambikā, Buddhist Hārītī etc. The types of ' Mother and Child ' represented in sculptures appear to be a result of this process. The stylistic analysis and the interpretation of the Western Indian Sculptures by a comparison with the Gupta Sculptures of more or less known dates from the adjoining territories of Uttara Pradeśa and Madhya Pradeśa should convince us, at least tentatively, that the best of the Śāmalāji group of sculptures might fall generally in the late 6th century—(Plate XXXV).

Mātrikās from Devanī Morī : The mutilated sculptures of Śaktis, recovered from the village Devanī Morī near Śāmalāji, having been almost without the head and even the complete torso, cannot be definitely identified as Mātrikās. These, originally beautiful images were perhaps hidden underground, as they were not considered fit to be worshipped. The Māheśvarī is evidently with a child held by the hand resting on the hip. The Vārāhi figure has also the vestige of a child's leg by her side. The Aiṇḍrī has the elephant as her vāhana. Āgneyī depicts the Śakti of Agni. It can be surmised that the other mutilated Mātrikā images also may have held the child in the fragments now lost to us.—(Plate XXXVI)

All of them evince the characteristic features of the current Gupta tradition. There is aesthetic sobriety in the treatment of drapery, ornaments and other decoration. The transparent drapery marked with schematic folds enhances the loveliness of the modulating lines of the figure and conceals the charm of the flesh. The sparseness of ornaments imparts a graceful touch to the body which is so restful to the eyes.—(M. R. Majmudar, *Gujarat Research Society Journal*, April, 1950).

Brāhmī from Vasiṣṭhāśrama, Mt. Ābu : Loose sculptures in the compound of Vasiṣṭhāśrama at Mt. Ābu and those at Koteśvara, the source of the Sarasvatī, now removed to Baroda Museum, include three-headed Sāvitri, with the swan by her side, Vārāhi, Māheśvarī and others.

Delvādā Mātrikās : Out of the three sculptures of Mātrikās of the post-Gupta period, preserved in the niches of the Jagannātha temple at Delvādā, Mt. Ābu, that of Kaumārī is closely allied to the Idar group in modelling and style. These are made from green schist.—(*Journal Indian Museums Association*, Vol. VIII, ix).

Kaumāri from Śāmalāji:—The two hands of Kaumāri from Śāmalāji, Devanī Mori, are mutilated; but the peacock is significant. The *ekāvali* necklace, the beaded armlets, the lower fine texture garment with numerous creases, the beautiful modelling of the torso, the graceful locks of hair falling over shoulders—these are undoubtedly Gupta features. The goddess has a charming round face, with broad forehead adorned with a round *tilaka* and large eyes: the lower lip is thick and a little protruding. A scarf running across her legs and passing over her left hand is remarkable. The girdle with central tassel-like hanging is also noteworthy. Peacock is of a fine workmanship.—(Plate XXXVII)

It is noteworthy that Śāmalāji sculptures abound in the delineation of peacocks. A big terracotta of a peacock found from this site supports this statement.

Koṭyarka Pārvaṭī: Koṭyarka Pārvaṭī (transferred to the new Koṭyarka temple at Mahuḍī, Vijapur Taluka, N. Gujarat) with a peacock behind her, is fondling and feeding the child held on the shoulders of an attendant *gana*. Her round smiling face with broad forehead, and the curly hair parted in the middle and the plaited hair arranged in spirals on the head, falling on the shoulders, are the main remarkable features. She wears an *ekāvali* with a small pendant and beaded armlets, which are the familiar ornaments of the Gupta period. The lower garment of the *gana* is of transparent and plain material, while the *sāri* of the mother is of exquisite fine muslin with many folds (*vallis*).—(M. R. Majumdar, 'Sculptures from Koṭyarka', JISOA, 1941)—(Plate XXXV b).

The proportion of the female form which is thick-set and rather stunted (the torso below the breasts being rather short) is a characteristic of some of the late female forms. The stump-like appearance of the leg at the end near the anklet, is a characteristic feature of late Gupta sculptures; while in the more evolved early classical specimens, this part becomes more natural by narrowing towards the end at the anklet. The eyes are open and not meditative or slightly closed. All these characteristics, cumulatively go to suggest that this sculpture be assigned to the end of the Gupta age *i.e.* 600 A.D. The *paryastaka* (covering) with delicate folds, hangs on her right leg. This particular feature, which continued also in later Jaina bronzes from Vasantgad, is assignable to C. 7th to 9th Century A.D.—(Plate XXXVIII a).

Koṭyarka Mother and Child:—'Mother and child' from old Koṭyarka temple at village Mahuḍī, 6 miles from Vijapur Taluka, N. Gujarat, still *in situ*, may be somewhat later in age, on account of the rather heavier torso and the double string of pearls, and the peculiar bun on the head. It possibly belongs to early 7th century A.D., as the modelling is still chaste and graceful. The beautiful big bun on the head, with ornate front of jewels and pearl-strings is not uncommon in the Gupta paintings at Ajanta. The folded apparel on the left leg, with two ends hanging in graceful curves appears to be an *uttariya* or an extra-piece hanging from the girdle, a peculiarity noticeable in sculptures from Gujarat and Marwar, illustrated in various forms, like that on the *sāri* of the Mother from Koṭyarka (now in the new temple), and on the *dhōḷīs* of some of the Tirthaṅkara bronzes from

Vasantgaḍh and Akoṭā—(M. R. Majmudar, ' School of Western Sculpture ' IHQ, 1957)—
(Plate XXXVIII b)

Śāmalāji Mother and Child :—In the ' Mother and Child ' sculpture from Śāmalāji, (only the upper part above the navel being in tact), the mother has big circular *kuṇḍalas* on the ear-lobe and a heavy single-pearl ear-ring on the ear-top, which have been the characteristic ornaments of Western Indian ladies. The *coiffeur* is arranged elaborately with curls in front, and a bun-like top from which issue the ringlets. The bun tied by a wreath of flowers has a central crest ornament of *cakra* motif. The sculpture may not be later than the 7th century A. D. The cylindrical tress of hair arranged in *pradakṣiṇa* twists, hanging loosely on each shoulder is noteworthy. From the right end of the wreath a small creeper issues out in a beautiful sweep and dangles behind the ear, emphasising the beauty of the slightly bent posture of the mother. The decorative creeper hangs at the back from the braid of hair, known to Gandhāra school, as also to the Kuṣāṇa art at Mathura. The *cakra*-plaque in front of the bun on the hair is also noticeable in the Gandhāran art.—(Plate XXXVIII b).

Standing Mother : Of about the same period is another image of a standing mother from Idar group of sculptures with the playful child holding her right finger and the transparent lower garment, gathered in folds to her left.—(Plate XXXVI).

Pārvatī as Śābara-Kanyā from Idar : The superb image of Pārvatī as Śābara-kanyā stands in *tri-bhaṅga* pose, with the right hand resting on the hip in an elegant way, just with a feminine grace. The hand has only one *Kaṅkaṇa* at the wrist. The single ornament in the neck has a necklace, of the indigenous style worn by village-folk called *hānsḍī* in common parlance, on this side of India. The two feet are adorned with anklets (*nūṇpurās*). The hair are not tied in a knot so as to be called a *mukūṭa*, but are resting loose on the shoulders. The artist has shown the minutest details of the wavy hair.

The gentle and bewitching smile on the face makes the figure quite of a serene (*saumya*) nature, as contrasted against the stern and excited face of a fighting Goddess. The third eye in the middle of the forehead is closed. The mellow lines on the slender white neck, resemble similar series of lines on a conch (*Śaṅkha*). The muscles of the belly are realistically depicted; the depression of the navel adds a special grace to the simplicity and the classical grandeur of the female form. The full and healthy bust is quite in contrast to the shrunken waist so as to be styled ' Kṛṣṇodārī '.

The tiger-skin is wrapped round the waist with a reef-knot by the legs of the animal, the paws of which dangle down, the face of the tiger being in full view in the front. The skin-garment reaches as far down as the knees and falls in schematic outline, centring towards the knot; only the lower part of the legs excepting the rear part is covered by the remaining two hind legs of the animal. A similar *vyāghra-carma* is seen round the waist of Virabhadra Śiva referred to above. The hound is by the side of the Śābara-Kanyā, the huntress, ready, as it were, to do the bidding of its mistress.

The elegance, on the whole, of the sculpture is remarkable. It evinces most of the

characteristic features of the classical Gupta Art. There is aesthetic sobriety in the treatment of drapery, ornaments and other elements of decoration. The transparent drapery marked with schematic folds enhances the loveliness of the modulating lines of the figure, and conceals the body of the flesh. The sparseness of ornaments imparts a graceful touch to the body which is so restful to the eyes. But the slightly still treatment of legs and the right arm show a decadance of the Imperial Gupta style of late 6th Century A.D. —(M. R. Majumdar, *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, Vol. XV, No. 1, 1954).—(Plate XXXIX).

Valā Mahiṣamardini :—The sculpture of Goddess Mahiṣasuramardini from Valā, with thin drapery and the self-same loop at the waist is shown in the act of the *triśūla*-thrust and evinces a happy blending of physical energy with spiritual grace and beauty. (U. P. Shah).—(Plate XLIV a).

The other two sculptures recovered from Valā, done in the self-same style and of the same period of Maitraka rule, can be passingly remembered here. One is a mutilated figure, which has an attendant by his side, possibly some divinity. The other is a portrait-sculpture of a young warrior or prince which has been retouched by modern hands. The head-dress of the figure is, however, remarkably antique.

Vaiṣṇava Sculptures—Kṛṣṇa-Lilā from Maṇḍor : The two massive stele from Maṇḍor (old Māṇḍavyapura) near Jodhpur, about 9 feet high and two feet broad (since removed to the Jodhpur Museum) contain the panels of incidents from the child-sports of Śrī Kṛṣṇa viz., the lifting of Govardhana, the upturning of the cart, the fights with Cāpura, Dhenuka, Keśi, and the like. What may have been the actual location of these stele, and the person who got them installed cannot be known.

These are the earliest sculptural remains of Kṛṣṇa-worship in Western India, even-though the early reference to Vāsudeva and Saṅkarṣaṇa worship in Western India is known from the Ghosundi inscription of c. 150 B.C. from the old Mādhyamikā Nagari, near Jaipur—(Vide c. 150 B.C.). These were first noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar (ASWI, 1905-06). They are assigned to the end of the 5th Century A.D. The early style in the treatment of human figures and animals is noteworthy—(Plate XL).

Viṣṇu from Bhinmāl : Viṣṇu (four-armed) from Bhinmāl wears an *ekavālī* of an early type, obtained on Gupta sculptures. The broad heavy shoulders are reminiscent of the early Kuṣāṇa sculptures. The armlets worn near the shoulders also suggest an earlier tradition. The crown is a high cap, richly decorated with two ornamental straps, crossing each other, in front with a beautiful rosette in the centre at the crossing-point. On two sides of the cap-like crown are the flames, suggesting Viṣṇu's association with the Ādityas or the Sun-worship. The lower garment with elegant wavy lines indicating folds, suggests the waning of the Gupta Age tradition. The thick rope-like scarf running across the thighs is in the style of the Mathura Sculpture of the Kuṣāṇa age. The Scythian influence in Western India is fully borne out by the long Kṣatrapa rule in the first three centuries of the Christian era.—(Plate XLI).



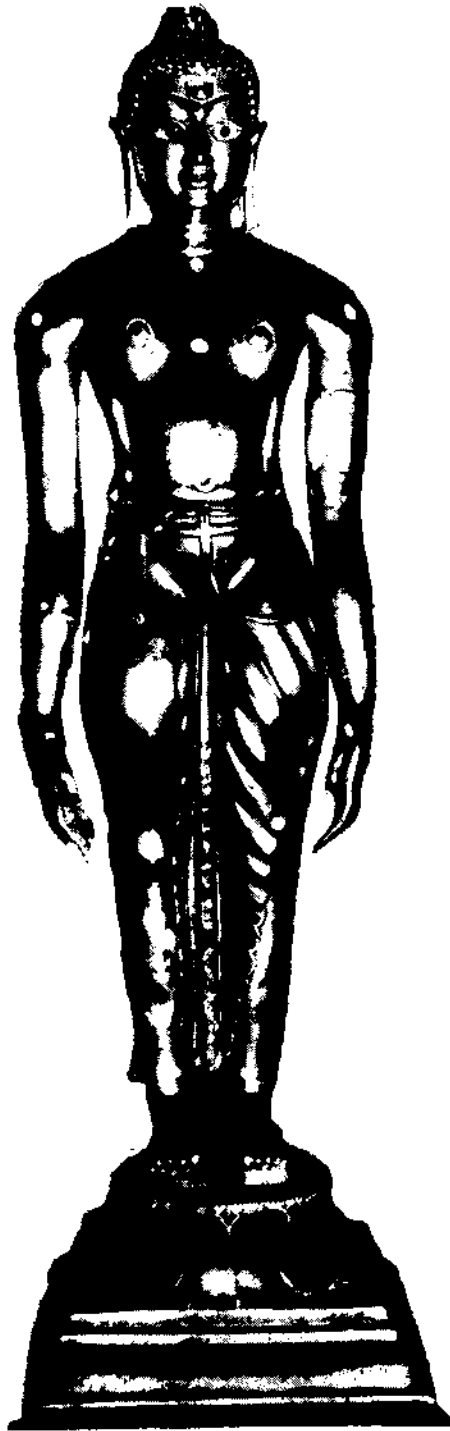
(Front view)

Cāmaradhārīṇī Bronze, from Akoṭā hoard. (p. 212)

(Back view)



A Buddha Bronze from Kotyarka, Mahuḍi. (Old Tample) (pp. 213, 318).



(A) Inscribed Vasantagadh Bronze, in *Kāyotsarga* position, now at Pinḍwārā,
(Rājasthān). (p. 213)

Plate LV



(A) A Jain Kāyotsarga Stone Sculpture from Dhāṅk (p. 213)



(B) Pārśvanātha from Dhāṅk (p. 213)

Vishnu from Tenna (Surat Dist.), discovered by Dr. R. N. Mehta, (now in the M. S. University Archaeology Collection), though of smaller dimensions, it very closely resembles the style of the Bhinmāl Viṣṇu, and is probably of the same period. The image may have been designed for a family temple—a *Ghara derāsara*. This village Tenna near Kāmrej is mentioned in an inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indrarāja III of Mānyakhēṭa as having been gifted over in 915 A.D. (Ś. 836).—(Plate XLIV a).

Ananta-Vishnu from Samalaji: An elaboration of the crown accomplished towards the end of the Gupta period, *i. e.* the middle of the 6th century A.D., is discernible in the Anaṅta-Viṣṇu image from Śāmalājī. Eight hands suggest four faces, the forth being at the back. The drapery and the rope-like girdle with a loop, the excellent modelling of the torso with broad shoulders, and expression on the face suggest Gupta influence. The deity's feet rest on Anaṅta Śeṣa. Four-armed Varāha and two-armed Rāma on left side can be identified. This bears close resemblance to the Mahā Viṣṇu from Kanauj.—(K. M. Munshi, *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, 1957, Pl. 60).

The Parel image of Śiva, it may be suggested, probably, derived its inspiration from the Śāmalājī images of Anaṅta-Viṣṇu. The stylistic affinities are more clear in this case than in that of the Maheśa-mūrti at Elephanta. In dating the Parel Śiva, the rope-like girdle with a big loop and the *dhoti* with *vallis* and the posture of the two figures springing from the shoulders of Śiva are the features which demonstrate the continuity of Śāmalājī art-traditions at Parel *i. e.* upto the Śūrpāraka area. Parel image (C. 600 A.D.) may be earlier than Elephanta, but is possibly contemporary with the Śāmalājī Viśvarūpa.—(M. R. Majumdar, 'Śāmalājī': *Bombay State Transport Review*, November 1957).—(Plate XLIV b).

Vishnu from Idar seated on Ananta (Serpent) is eight-armed and seated in *Virāsana* posture with attendants flying along, and some gods issuing out on all sides and a few attendants near the legs; but it is largely defaced.

The well-preserved sculpture at Śāmalājī has three faces which are very close to those of Maheśamūrti at Elephanta; excepting that, this image of Viṣṇu wears elaborate conical *mukūṭas*. The crown of Viṣṇu is of the early type, comparable with a similar crown on a loose schist head from Śāmalājī, now in Baroda Museum. The high crown of Jivantaswāmi bronze, from Akotā, ('Few Brahmanical Sculptures in the Baroda Museum'; Vol. X-XI) is comparable to the head from Elephanta. The high cap of Śaka or Iranian origin is possibly the basis of some of the crowns of early images. It was turned into a squarish high crown in the Jaina bronze from Akotā.

Kathlāl Vishnu Trimurti: The massive figure of Viṣṇu Trimūrti, in tact upto the navel only, measuring 3.5 feet high and 2.5 feet broad, and carved from green schist was discovered by the local Artist Śrī Dinabandhu in 1948, from Kathlāl from Mohor river, a few miles from Kapadvanj. It is now deposited in its High School compound. The crowned *mukūṭa*, the *ekāvali* and the *yajñopavīta* are greatly reminiscent of the Śāmalājī Anaṅta-Viṣṇu; the thick lips resemble those of the Elephanta Maheśamūrti and human figures

in Ajanta frescos ; however, the more elaborate treatment of ornaments relegates it to a later period, may be the end of the 8th century A. D.—(Plate XLV a).

Limbodra Trimurti Head : The three-faced head only, from village Limbodra in Rājpiplā territories, being the remnant of a Trimūrti, since transferred to the Baroda Museum, supplies a link to the Trimūrti tradition from South-Eastern Gujarat also. It may not be later than the middle of the 9th century A. D.—(Plate XLV b).

Sesasayi Vishnu from Mt. Abu :—Śeṣasāyī Viṣṇu (mutilated) from the Jagannath temple at Delvādā on Mt. Ābu, appears to be one of the early examples of the Old Western School, which had for its background the Gupta tradition of Central India. Modelling of the figure of Viṣṇu is comparable to the Virabhadra Śiva from Śāmalāji. It has some attendant figures, out of which one by the side of Lakṣmī is noteworthy, being very much akin to the Gupta style. The deeply incised beautiful creeper design at the lower end of the panel is assignable to C. 650 A. D. It seems the Jagannath shrine in the Arbud maṇḍala was an old Vaiṣṇava or Hindu site, which flourished for about six centuries, out of which Vimalaśāha was obliged to acquire land for building the Jaina shrines at a heavy price. An identical sculpture at the new Koṭyarka temple, Mahudi, may be remembered here.—(U. P. Shah, *Baroda Museum Bulletin*, 1957).

Kesisudana from Vala :—The headless sculpture of a stout figure called Kṛṣṇa, slaying demon Keśi, as identified by D. R. Bhandarkar in 1910, was obtained from Valā along with other unidentified sculptures. It is allied to the Śāmalāji group of images of Śiva and the Mātrikās ; but may be slightly later, *i. e.* about early 7th century. The drapery is simplified here, and the marks of the folds are a bit fainter, with an identical loop in the front at the waist. The Valā sculptures show a happy blending of physical energy or mass with spiritual grace and beauty.—(Plate XLVI b).

Miscellaneous Sculptures :

Sage Udumbara from Samalaji : The massive figure of Sage Udumbara, discovered by M. R. Majmudar at Śāmalāji, lying on the banks of the river Meśvo is most remarkable. The locks of the *jaṭā-mukuṭa* are spread out on the shoulders and are represented in interwoven ringlets. The *yajñopavīta* runs from the left shoulder and passes through the chest and the pot-belly. This sculpture is datable to the early 6th century A.D., on stylistic grounds.—(Plate XLVII a).

Bhinmal Yaksa : In the massive seated figure, greatly mutilated and with worn out features, is seen the life-size sculpture, probably of Kubera or of a Yakṣa, which is still lying near the lake at Bhinmāl. This was mentioned in the ' Note on Bhinmāl ' in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. 1, in 1896. The features have been broken off, and the left lower arm and leg and both feet have disappeared. This sculpture could be assigned to *circa* 7th or 8th century A.D.—(*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part I, Appendix III, p. 454, 1896).—(Plate XLVII b).

Nagaraja from Vasisthasrama, Mt. Abu : The sculpture of Nāgarāja lying at Vasiṣṭhāśrama on Mt. Ābu is one of the earliest known specimens of Nāga worship in Guja-

rat and Marwar, which might possibly be identified with Arbuda-Nāga. The Nāgarāja is seated in the *lalitāsana*. Below the legs are the figures of a *nāga* and *nāginī*, with their lower halves-snake-tails entwined in a single knot. The Nāgarāja himself carries a lotus in his right hand, and another lotus with a long stalk is seen near the left shoulder. There is a canopy of a three-hooded *nāga* on the head of a figure, which makes him a Nāgadevatā. He wears an *ekāvali* and a *yajñopavīta*.—(Plate XLVIII a).

Ganas from Samalaji : The figures of *Gaṇas* from Devani Mori near Sāmālājī Hills, (now in the Baroda Museum, Sculpture Gallery), with caps resembling Central Asian types, obviously betray the Hūṇa influence. On the pedestal of another of these *gaṇas*, but without head, two letters ' *Vāvu* ' are inscribed clearly in the Gupta script of the late fifth or early sixth century. (Plate XLVIII b)—(H. Goetz : ' Gupta Sculptures from Northern Gujarat ', *Journal Gujarat Research Society*, Vol. XIV, No. 1, and *Baroda Museum Bulletin*, Vol. VII, p. 25).—(Plate XLI X).

Bronzes of the ' School of Ancient West ' : There was an accidental discovery of a hoard of more than one hundred metal images—some totally worn out, some inscribed and a few dated also—from the old site of Añkoṭṭaka or the mound at Akoṭā village on the other side of the Baroda railway line, where earth was being dug out for brick and tile-making in 1952. This discovery revolutionised the views about the sculptural art in metal, of Western India. It has been an uncontroverted proof of the existence and the prevalence of the " School of Ancient West ", mentioned by Tārānātha. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas were great patrons of Jainism. During the reigns of Daṇṭivarman, Goviṇḍa III and Amoghavarṣa, Digambara Jainism from Karmāṭaka spread to Malwa and Magadha. Karka Suvarṇavarṣa, whose grant is found at Baroda, refers to Jaina temples (*Caityālayāyatana*) monastery (*Vasahikā*), and *Senasaṃgha* at Navsāri (738 Śaka).—(H. D. Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujarat*, pp. 234-35). Śvetāmbara Jainism had a great stronghold in Gujarat, specially due to the activities of Haribhadrāsūri. We get, however, definite literary evidence about Jaina temples and Jaina scholars during the succeeding Caulukyan period. But a few of these bronzes specifically refer to a Jaina monastery at Akoṭā (Cf. ओं श्रीमद्भोगनाथैः अंकोट्टम-वसतिकायाम्.....). *Inscription on the image of Ādinātha*); and probably these bronzes were kept in these Jaina temples at Akoṭā.

Akota Bronzes : Jivantasvami : The beautiful Jivantasvami torso discovered from Akoṭā hoard, is the finest bronze ever discovered in Western India, with marked Gupta influences. It wears a high, four-sided richly ornamented crown. It also wears a torque and a broad (golden) necklace. The hair-locks fall in three tiers over the broad shoulders, the upper end of the locks being surrounded by a fan-shaped ornament. The circular *tilak-mark* on the forehead, the eyes inlaid with silver, and the effective use of copper on the lower lip and the floral design of the crown add to the charm of this bronze from Western India, which is not later than the middle of the 6th century A.D.—(Karl Khandalawala, on Dr. U. P. Shah's ' *Studies in Jaina Art* ' 1955, *Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 3-4, pp. 126).

The hair arranged in short schematic curls, drawn in very fine lines, the *Uṣṇīṣa*, the long-ear-lobes, half-opened eyes, and above all, the serene, graceful and charming face engaged in meditation, expressing the joy of spiritual bliss and the three lines on the conch-like neck relate the bronze to the classical Gupta art.—(U. P. Shah, ' A few Early Sculptures from Gujarat ', JOL., Dec. 1951).

This inscribed, standing, Jivantasvāmi bronze from Akoṭā is about 30 inches high, and has on its pedestal an inscription in Brāhmi (Valabhi) characters of the Western script, ascribable to about the middle of the sixth century A. D. on paleographic grounds. According to Karl Khandalawala, it is, in all probability, an early 7th Century image, removed about half a century from the two bronzes of the Vasantagadh hoard, dated 687 A. D.—(*Lalit Kalā*, Nos. I & II, Pl. IX, Figs. 1 & 2).

The bronze represents Mahāvīra in a standing pose (*Kāyotsarga mudrā*), wearing a *dhōṭī*, adorned with a girdle. On his left, Mahāvīra is shown wearing a bracelet and an armlet, while the right hand is missing. The Jina wears a crown, besides two circular ear-rings and a neck-lace. The eyes are studded with silver, now only slightly preserved. This Jivantasvāmi image represents an image of Mahāvīra fashioned in his life-time, before the great Jaina teacher had turned a recluse. The title thus applies to an image in the life-time of a Jina, whose image should therefore show the ornaments of a royal prince.—(U. P. Shah, ' A Unique Image of Jivantasvāmi ', JOL., September, 1951).

Adinatha Head from Akota : Though assigned to *Circa* 450 A.D., this is at least a hundred years later, if not more. While it is a beautiful piece, it has already developed that marked facial stylization which is not inconsistent with the Gupta style of the 5th Century A. D. The serene and pleasant smile on the face is bewitching.—(Plate L).

Ambika :—Ambikā bronze from Akoṭā (inscribed at the back in characters of C. 550-600 A. D.) when compared to the Koṭyarka mother and child in stone is found to be less graceful. It is surmised, the two sculptures might have belonged to different styles, represented by the skill of different artists. Koṭyarka image is earlier and executed at the hands of a superior artist.—(U. P. Shah, JOL, Vol. I, p. 72 ; and for another bronze, Vide, *Bulletin Museums Association*, Vol. I, No. 1).—(Plate LI)

Camaradharini from Akota :—A female chowri-bearer from Akoṭā is the most elegant and artistic specimen of the art of casting in Western India. The front as well as the back views of this piece testify to the interesting details, which the artist was capable of designing and transferring them to metal.—(Plate LII).

Mahuḍi Jaina Bronzes : Four bronze images were unearthed from the temple-wall of the old temple of Koṭyarka, which is situated on the top of the high mound on the right bank of the Sābarmati at Mahuḍi, a village in Vijapur Taluka, N. Gujarat. Of these, the three were brought to the Baroda Museum in 1935, and illustrated in the *Baroda State Archaeology Report* for 1937-38.

The fourth, big and almost life-size seated bronze image of Buddha (or Jaina) has on the back of its *prabhāvali*, an inscription probably in Prākṛit, in late Brāhmī characters of the 7th century, one line of which is partially readable. Dr. Hiranand Shastri was inclined to call it Buddhistic. However, it is generally taken to be Jaina.—(A. S. Gadre, ' Buddhist Influence in Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra ', *Journal Gujarat Research Society*, October, 1939, p. 65 ; M. R. Majmudar, " Sculptures from Koṭyarka-Mahuḍi, " BUJ, Arts Number, 1939).—(Plate LIII).

Lilvadeva Jaina Bronzes : Seven images of Jaina Tirthaṅkaras were discovered from a mound in Lilvādevā, a village, 3 miles north of Luṇḍa in Jhālod Taluka, Panch Mahāls, approachable by a bus from Dohad Station (a distance of 14 miles). These bronzes closely resemble the Akoṭā hoard. These are all beautifully moulded, and they indicate a high attainment of casting images. They perhaps represent some local school, which flourished from the 8th to the 13th centuries. Bronzes have been found from several sites, notably Mahuḍi, Akoṭā, Lilvādevā and recently at Dharṇoj. The Tirthaṅkaras have no *Lāñchhanas*, as is common with the images of the 7th and earlier centuries, where these signs are not found.—(S. R. Rao, *Journal Museums Association of India*, Vol. XI, 1955 ; U. P. Shah, *Baroda Museum Bulletin*).—(Plate LI b).

Vasantaḡadh Bronzes : Bronzes from Vasantaḡadh near Piṇḍwārā are noteworthy specimens of the Western Indian School. They are big bronzes of the Jaina Tirthaṅkaras, cast by the artist Śivanāga in Samvat year 744, i. e., in 686 A.D. They were obtained from Vasantaḡadh hoard and are now in worship at Piṇḍwārā, near Sirohi. Three bronzes of standing Tirthaṅkaras are assignable to C. 8th century A.D.—(U. P. Shah, ' Bronze Hoard from Vasantaḡadh ' : *Lalita Kalā*, Nos. 1-2, 1957).—(Plate LIV b).

Vala Jaina Bronzes : The Ebbhal Girāsīā's field in Valā had yielded five bronze images of the Buddha, now exhibited in the Prince of Wales Museum (*Pro. Rept. ASIWC*, 1915). They belong to the 7th century at the latest ; but they, however, lack the artistic effect of casting. On the pedestals of these images, Dr. Bhandarkar has deciphered a Mahāyānic inscription as अमेमय प्रति [म] मवयणस—etc.—(Plate LIV a).

Jaina Stone Sculptures : Dhānk Caves : The central figure at the Dhānk caves inside the cell is identified by Dr. H. D. Sankalia (*Archaeology of Gujarat*, p. 166) as being that of Ādinātha, and each side-niche has a nude figure seated in *padmāsana*, its body erect and motionless. The sculpture that is carved in low relief on the face of the rock higher up the ravine is definitely of Ādinātha. Here, adjoining Śāntinātha is the figure which is standing in *kāyotsarga* pose. It has long ear-lobes, and ringlets of hair spread on the shoulders, which symbolises an event in the life of Ādinātha, as found portrayed on a few images from Mathura.—(Plate LV a, b).

On the *śimhāsana* with a wheel and a deer in the centre, and a lion at each end, is found a figure of Pārśvanātha, with a triple umbrella shown by three strokes. These Dhānk images are the earliest Jaina sculptures in Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra. As the carving

is crude, they should be relegated to the 7th Century A. D.—(H. D. Sankalia, 'The Earliest Jaina Sculptures in Kathiawar', *JRAS*, 1938, pp. 126-30; & Pl. III-IV).

Mirpurkhas Hindu Bronze: A beautiful bronze image of three-faced Brahmā from Mirpurkhās in Sindh, now in the Karachi Museum, dated by art-critics to the Gupta Age (300-600 A. D.), is a typical specimen of the art of the 'Ancient West'.

Sopara Buddha Bronzes: Dr. Bhagvānlāl visited Šopārā in 1882 and dug the large brick mound, known as Buruḍa Rājākā Koṭa, which he immediately recognised to be the ruins of an ancient *Stūpa*. He was able to establish that a circular drum about 18 ft. high and 268 ft. in circumference supported a terrace 18 ft. wide, from which rose the curve of the drum. The terrace may have been a processional path, but there were no indications of steps on it.

The structural *Stūpa*, which has a claim to the Śātavāhana date, resembled the Sāंची type. Exactly in the middle of the *Stūpa*, a little below the level of the terrace, was a small brick-built chamber. Within the chamber was a large circular stone-box with lid. In the centre of the box stood an egg-shaped copper casket, enclosing one within the other casket of silver, of terracotta, of crystal, and of gold. A coin of Yajña Śātakarṇī (C. 175-203 A. D.) was found in the copper casket. Reference to the people of Šopārā, and their religious endowments are found in inscriptions of the Śātavāhana period at Kārle, Nāsik, Nānāghāt and Kanheri. The caskets in Šopārā *Stūpa* were probably deposited in Yajña Śātakarṇī's reign.—(Plate XIV).

The egg-shaped copper casket was surrounded by a circle of eight copper images. The most important of the images is a Maitreya Bodhisattva, which faced west, seated on a lotus in *lalitāsana*, his right foot resting on a lotus. His right hand is in the *varada mudrā*, his left holds a bunch of flowers-*nāgapuṣpa*. The remaining 7 images represent the Seven Maṇuṣa Buddhas. They are seated in *dhyāna āsana* on an oval throne. Above the oval *prabhā-maṇḍala* rises a tuft of foliage carefully varied to represent each of the Buddhas.

Dr. Bhagvānlāl realised that the images could not have been deposited in the Śātavāhana period. The affinities of the Šopārā images lie with the bronze of the Eastern School, particularly those from Nālandā where they were probably brought for enshrinement. The style of the upper garment which hangs over the left shoulder, the semi-circular *prabhāvalī* or aureole in the background, the cross stem seen from behind in the Maitreya image,—are all features which betray a close affinity with the work of the Eastern Indian craftsmen.—(Plate LVI a).

It is probable that when the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism became rampant in Western India, and the sacred places of the Buddhists, such as the rock-cut *Cāityas* and *Vihāras* at Kanheri were covered with figure-sculptures, the reliquary at the Šopārā *Stūpa* may have been reopened and reconstructed with the addition of the images, and, perhaps, also the copper casket. The thin gold plate with the image of Buddha on lotus seat in the *vyākhyāna mudrā* may also be of this period. It is the Buddhas which exhibit a feature of

great importance for dating : the end of the robe is drawn over the left shoulder, and hangs in a short pleated fold. This feature is known in Pāla images, where it first made its appearance in about 800 A. D., or a little earlier.—(‘The Buddhist Group of 8 Bronzes from Sopārā’, *Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 3-4).

Bhuj Buddha Bronze: The small bronze of Buddha discovered by M. R. Majmudar from Fergusson Museum, Bhuj in 1957 has an inscription on the front and the right hand side of the pedestal in the Brāhmī characters of the 7th century. It has been deciphered by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra as under :—

- (1) [de] yadha [rmo] yaṁ Nāgasi [m] gha-
bhikṣuh tasya bhikṣuṇikāsamāh—
(१) देय धर्मोऽयं नागसिंघ भिक्षुः तस्य भिक्षुणिकासमाः
(2) māta....d [e] va [sya] Kirtt [i] h s[th] āp [itā].
(२) मात....देवस्य कीर्तिः स्थापिता।

This image was dedicated by one Nāgasigha Bhikṣu in memory of his mother-like Devakirti, who had entered the order of Bhikṣuṇis (the female order of the Bauddha mendicants). It appears, the instinct of motherly love was not considered antagonistic to the rules of discipline prescribed for people who had renounced the world, and entered the Holy Order.

The bronze, which at first sight appears to be old from the style of its casting, measures 8 inches for the standing Buddha in the *Samabhaṅga* pose, the lotus pedestal on which he is standing being 3 inches high. The encircling oval *prabhā* frame around the figure is in tact on the right hand side ; of the left nearly half is lost.

The figure of Buddha has the right hand in *abhaya mudrā* preaching No-fear. The left hand appears to hold, may be a lotus-stalk, now lost beyond recognition. The proverbial spiritual smile on the face with eyes half open creates a pleasing sense on the onlooker. The *Yajnopavīta* running from the left shoulder across the right side of the chest is very clear. The body is covered with a thin semi-transparent loin cloth below the shoulders reaching the legs. In the moulding of the lines of the body, the ‘wet-drapery style’ is introduced in which the robe appears to cling to the body.—(Plate LVII).

On stylistic, as well as on paleographic grounds, the bronze appears to belong to that period of the heyday of Buddhism in Western India when the Maitrakas, the great patrons of Buddhism, ruled at Valabhipura. The Chinese pilgrim-scholar Hiuen Tsang visited Western India during the middle of the 7th Century A. D., sometime in 641 A. D. The bronze can be roughly dated to this period. The image has stylistic affinities with some of the beautiful Jaina bronzes discovered from the Akotā hoard near Baroda, and the Valā bronzes from Valabhipura.

The discovery of this bronze, in a way, testifies to the existence of the ‘School of Ancient West’ in the late 6th and early 7th century A.D., whose founder, Śringadhara of Marwar lived in the reign of king Śīla, [identified with Harsha of Kanauj (606-647 A. D.)

by K. Khandalawala, or with king Śīlāditya I (*Circa* 590-615 A. D.) of the Maitrakas of Valabhipura, as identified by U. P. Shah]. It is noteworthy that the name ' Śīlāditya ' was a favourite with the Buddhists who valued virtue (शील) more than valour (विक्रम).

The old Western School of Sculpture both in stone and in metal is gradually asserting its prevalence since recent discoveries, which are not even two decades old. And the Bhuj bronze affords an interesting addition to specimens of this period.



(B) Valā Buddha Bronze, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. (p. 213)



(A) Tirthaṅkara Bronzes, from Lilvādevā, near Jhālod, Pañcamahālas.
(p. 213)



(A) Maitreya Bronze from Keliquary of the Sopārā Stūpa
(p. 214)



(B) Seated Buddha (Stone) on a mound at Nagarā,
near Cambay, (p. 278).



Inscribed Buddha Bronze, Fergusson Museum, Bhuj (Kaccha). (p. 215)

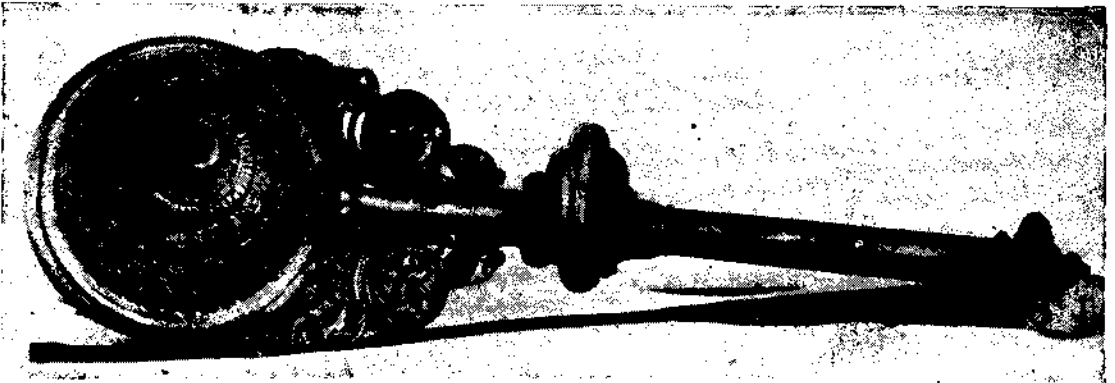
Inscription on the two sides of the pedestal reads :—

- (1) देवधर्मोऽयं नागसिन्धुभिः तस्य भिक्षुणिकासमाः
- (2) मात...देवस्य कीर्तिः स्थापिता ।

Plate LVIII



(A) Nāṇḁi from Śāmalāji. (p. 203)
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

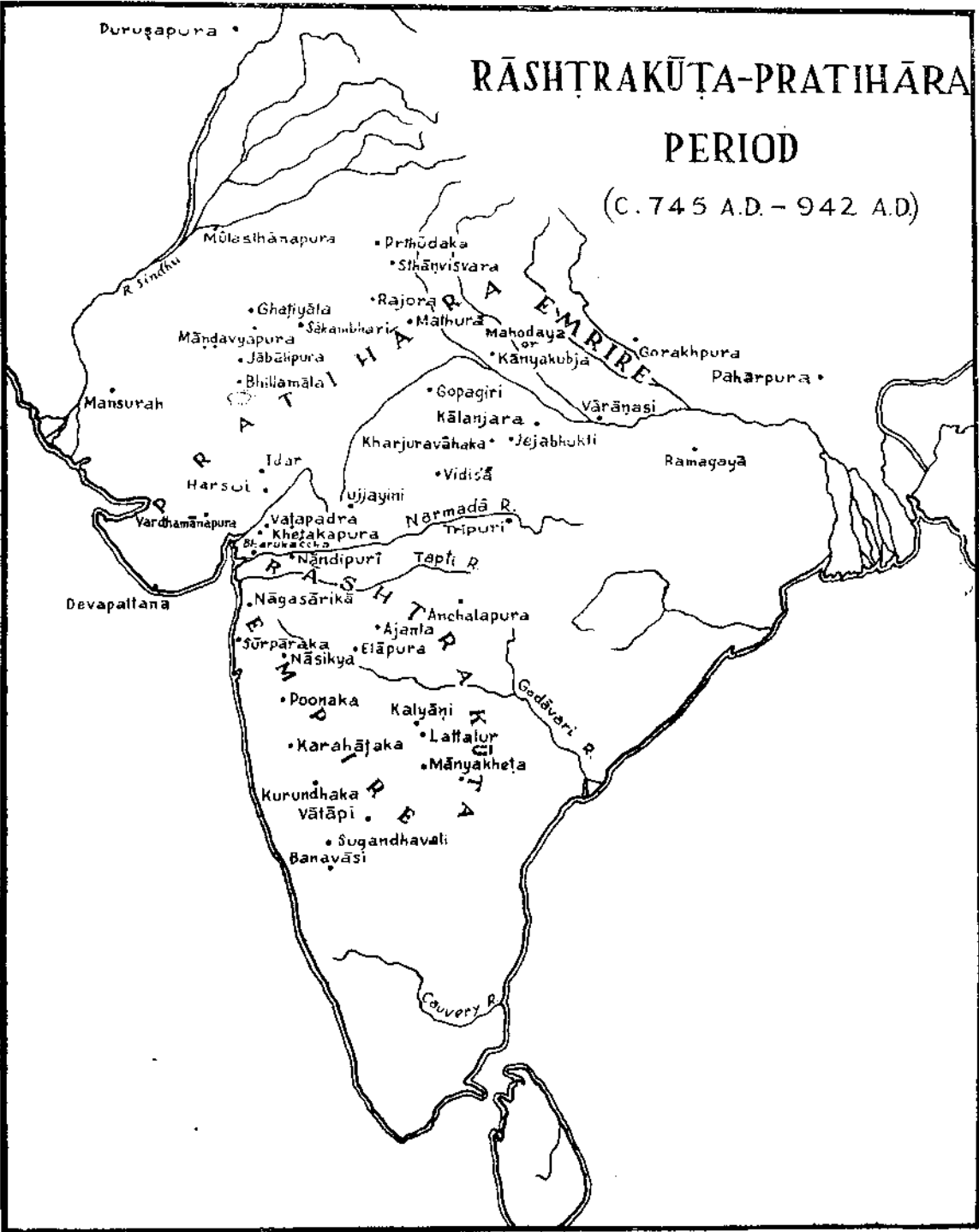


(B) Bronze Incense-burner from Akoṭā Hoard, (p. 317)
Baroda Museum.

CHAPTER VIII

RĀSTRAKŪTA—PRATIHĀRA PERIOD

(C. 745 A.D.—942 A.D.)



RASTRAKUTA—PRATIHARA PERIOD

(C. 745 A.D.—942 A.D.)

I

'The Age of Imperial Kanauj' as named in the 'History and Culture of the Indian People', i. e. the Empire of the Gurjara-Pratihāras saw the rise and fall of three great empires in the country: of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, founded by Daṇṭidurga (c. 737-757 A. D.), and his successor, Kṛṣṇa I (c. 757-773 A. D.) which dominated the South till its collapse in the year 974 A. D. ; of the Pālas in the East, which saw its zenith under Dharmapāla (c. 770-810 A. D.), though it revived a little at the end of the tenth century ; and of the Pratihāras of the West and North founded by Nāgabhaṭa I, which saw its zenith during the reigns of Mihira Bhoja (C. 836-885 A. D.) and Mahendrapāla (C. 885-908 A. D.), who went under, on account of the catastrophic blows dealt by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa raids, but retained a shadowy imperial dignity to the end.—(*The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, 'Foreword' p. vii).

This Age of Kanauj or Kānyakubja, the imperial city of Īśānavarman, dominated Madhyadeśa, the heart of India. It was the coveted prize of the three Imperial powers racing for all-India supremacy. Ultimately it passed into the hands of the Pratihāra Gurjaraśvara about 815 A. D. ; remained the metropolis of power till 950 A. D., and continued to be the most influential centre of culture till 1018 A. D. when it was destroyed by Mahmud of Ghazni.—(*Ibid*, 'Foreword', viii).

Rāṣṭrakūṭa Daṇṭidurga, the son of Indra I by a Cālukyan princess of Gujarat, began his Napoleonic career in *circa* 733 A. D., became the master of the whole of Mahārāṣṭra by 753 A. D., and destroyed the Cālukyan Empire to assume an Imperial status. He was succeeded by his uncle Kṛṣṇa I, the king—builder of the Kailāsanātha temple of Elurā.

Thus, the empire of the Cālukyas of the South including South Gujarat and parts of Malwa passed into the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa conquerors. And for two hundred years South Gujarat became a battle-field between the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the South and the Gurjaras of the North.

Nāgabhaṭa, who belonged to a branch of the royal Pratihāra family of Bhīllamāla*, the capital of Gurjaradeśa, rallied to his banner the warriors of the allied clans of Prati-

* "That Bhils (or Bhillas) and Kirātas once lived in Rajputana and its neighbourhood, particularly its hilly tracts is shown by instances from later Rajput history, but particularly by the names Bhīllamāla (modern Bhinmal), Kirātakūpa (modern Kiradu) and Muṇḍasthala. The first name occurs in the Saindhava plates from Saurāṣṭra. The *mala* ending in the same Bhīllamāla is non-Sanskritic. The former is supposed to be a Dravidian word *mal* meaning upland, plateau. Thus both linguistically and culturally the word is non-Aryan, indicating that in the distant past the country was inhabited by non-Aryans, very likely Austro-Asiatic Tribes.—[Sankalia, *Studies in Historical Geography and Cultural Ethnography of Gujarat*. (JGRS, VII, No. 4, Nov. 1955), Poona, 1949].

hāras, Cāhamānas, and also, perhaps, all of whom had their home in the region of Mount Ābu. He fought the invading army of the Arabs about 725 A.D. which had overrun Saurāṣṭra, Bhīllamāla, the capital of Gurjara (the Ābu region), and reached Ujjayinī.

Nāgabhaṭa fought this invading army, flung it back and destroyed it. This victory welded the clans of Gurjaradeśa into a hierarchy. During Nāgabhaṭa's time, however, Daṇṭidurga, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, with his conquering army swept over the North, captured Ujjayinī, where the Pratihāra played the host to the conqueror, his fortunes having been temporarily eclipsed.

Vatsarāja, the son of a nephew of Nāgabhaṭa I conquered Ānarta and Saurāṣṭra in C. 780 A.D. and became the suzerain of most of the kingdoms of North India. He, however, suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhruva, and had to take refuge to some inaccessible region.

Undaunted by reverses, the next ruler, Nāgabhaṭa II (792 A.D.-834 A.D.) consolidated the territory which comprised Mārṇād, Mālava and modern North Gujarat. After many efforts, ultimately Kanauj passed into the hands of the Pratihāras, and about 815 A.D. it became their capital.

A triangular contest for all-India supremacy began between Vatsarāja of Gurjaradeśa, Dharmapāla of Bengal, and Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhruva of Bādāmi. North Gujarat continued to remain within the domains of Nāgabhaṭa II (792-834), the son of Vatsarāja, who vanquished the Pāla kings of Bengal.

In C. 807-8 A.D. Govinda III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, overran the North, and lived for some months at Śrībhavana (Sarbhon, in the Broach District). But he died in 814 A.D. and Nāgabhaṭa II captured Kanauj, transferred his capital there and became the 'Emperor of the North'. Medapāṭa, Gurjaratrā, Sapādalaḥṣa, Ānarta, the mainland up to the Mahī and Malwa formed part of his empire which stretched from Multan to Bengal and the Himalayas to the Mahī.—(K. M. Munshi: *Glory that was Gurjaradeśa*, III, p. 72 f.). South of the Mahī ran the writ of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

About 835 A.D., Nāgabhaṭa's son, Mihira Bhoja (C. 835 A.D.-888 A.D.), referred to in Gujarātī tradition as Bhūyaḍa of Kalyāṇakaṭaka (Kanauj), had to subdue Ānarta and Saurāṣṭra again. He appointed military governors at Junagadh and Wadhwan.

The river Mahī divided the Gurjara empire of the North from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire of the South, South Gujarat changing hands from time to time. Mihira Bhoja, the Gurjareśvara, was one of the greatest emperors in history; and the Arabs, who dreaded him most, called his empire 'Jurz' or 'Gurjjara'. He was succeeded by Mahendrapāla (888 A.D.--910 A.D.) and he, by his son Mahīpāla, the last 'Mahārājādhirāja of Āryāvarta'.

'At the time of the death of Mihira Bhoja in 888 A.D., the banner of the Gurjareśvaras flew over an empire larger than, perhaps, those of the Guptas and Śrī Harṣa. It comprised North India from the Himalayas to a little beyond the Narmadā, from East Punjab and Sindh to Bengal. South was quiescent. The Pālas were no longer a power.

The Arabs on the north-west frontier were kept at bay ; Sindh had been wrested from them. Madhyadeśa was at the height of its power'.—(*The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, 'Foreword,' xiii).

Mihira Bhoja was succeeded by his son Mahendrapāla, a fearless military genius, who extended his father's empire to the Karnāl district in the Punjab, the Nepalese terrain and the Rājāsāhi district of Bengal. In 910 A.D. he was succeeded by Mahipāla, who also, like his father, was educated by the poet Rājāśekhara.

Within a few years of Mahipāla's coming to the throne of Kanauj, however, Indra III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Emperor, marched to the North and occupied Kanauj. Though the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire was disintegrating in 940 A.D., Kṛṣṇa III again re-appeared in the North, overran Mālava and Gurjaradeśa, and gave a shattering blow to the Pratihāra empire.

Two successive invasions by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, one in 915 A.D., the other in 940 A.D. broke up the empire of Gurjaradeśa. Its political fabric went to pieces. Every feudatory asserted his independence and there began a fresh struggle for supremacy among the chiefs of the small principalities, like the regions of Sapādalakṣa with Śākambharī (modern Sāmbhar) as its capital; Gopagiri (modern Gwalior); Kirāḍu near Jodhpur; Mārṇād, with its capital at Naḍḍula; Jābālīpura (modern Jhālōr); Ābu, with its capital Candrāvati; Sārasvata-maṇḍala or the valley of the Sarasvatī river, with its capital at Anāhilavāḍa Paṭṭana; Vāgaḍa or Duṅgarpur and Bānswārā; and Mālava, with Dhārā as its capital.—(*Glory that was Gurjara Deśa*, Part I, p. 8, 1951).

In 940 A.D. Kṛṣṇa III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, invaded the North and in a swift campaign destroyed the empire of Gurjaradeśa. It was a historic event. Most of the feudatories as mentioned above became independent. The military governors of Junagadh and Wadhwan disappeared. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas occupied parts of Rajputana, so far ruled by a feudatory of Kanauj.

The main-land of Gujarat and Malwa were ruled by the Paramāra king Siyaka II, as the viceroy and the feudatory-in-chief of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Kṛṣṇa III, who defeated emperor Mahipāla, and ruled over Ānarta to the south of Sarasvatī, Kheṭaka Maṇḍala, West Malwa and Lāṭa.

The story of Jayaśekhara and Vanarāja Cāvaḍā and his descendants ruling from Anāhilavāḍa Paṭṭana between Circa 765 A.D. to 942 A.D. appears to be but a vague relic of some minor dynasty of local chiefs and of the conflicts between them and Mihira Bhoja of Kanauj, who survives in the tradition as the Bhūyaḍa of Kalyāṇakaṭaka.

The Valabhī Kingdom received intermittent shocks from the Arabs and also from the Pratihāra kings, which ultimately led to the fall of Valabhipura in Circa 776 A.D. Their glory passed on to the Pratihāras of Kanauj. In C. 780 Vatsarāja, the Pratihāra, king of Gurjaradeśa, conquered Ānarta and Saurāṣṭra.

Thus when the Empire of Gurjaradeśa fell about 940 A.D., the feudatories of

Śākambharī (Ajmer) and Medapāṭa (Mewar) became practically independent. Mārwar possibly passed into the hands of some Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatory.

Mūlarāja, the son of Rāji, the Caulukya, and the grandson of Mahipāla or Mahendrapāla, the Pratihāra emperor of Kanauj in the daughter's line, was driven out from Gurjaratrā. Fleeing south, he established himself at Aṇahilvāḍa Paṭṭana, and occupied Sārasvata Maṇḍala, the valley of the river Sarasvatī in 942 A. D. This date is definitely known from the Śākambhari (Sāmbar) inscription of Siddharāja Jayasimha.—(IA, LVII, 234).—(Plate LXXXIII).

Under the inspiration of the Imperial Gurjaras of Kanauj, life in Western India reached a high level of art and learning: Bhavabhūti (C. 700) and Vākpati (C. 750) of Kanauj, Māgha (C. 700) of Śrīmāla, Haribhadra (C. 700-70) of Citrakūṭa, Medhātithi and Devala the great law-givers, and Rājaśekhara (C. 900), the poet-laureate of Mahipāla, the grand-son of Mihira Bhoja, are the representatives of a great age of intellectual and cultural activity.

II

A.D. The Cāpotkaṭa dynasty is said to have been established in Gujarat by
C. 746 Vanarāja, son of Jayaśekhara of Pañcāsara in V.S. 802 (C. 746 A.D.), which ended in V.S. 998 (942 A.D.). The tradition, as recorded in *Prabandha-Cintāmaṇi*, *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa*, *Vicāra-śreṇi*, *Kumārāpālāprabandha*, *Dharmāranya-māhātmya*, *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*, etc., gives certain specific years for the Chronology of the Cāvaḍa kings of Aṇahillavāḍapaṭṭana (N. Gujarat); but their reliability has been doubted since long.

Munshi (*Glory that was Gurjaradeśa*, Part III) has examined this problem in detail and established that king Āma who destroyed Pañcāsara is to be identified with the Pratihāra king Nāgabhaṭa II, and King Bhūyaḍa with his grandson Mihira Bhoja, who reigned in about 836-888 A.D. This, however, conflicts with the traditional dates for the beginning of the Cāvaḍa dynasty.

To get over this difficulty and reconcile the traditional dates, it has been suggested by Dr. H. G. Shastri that the early date 802 Vikrama Samvat, may be taken to be Śaka Samvat 802. The error of ascribing known years to a wrong era is not uncommon in the history of Gujarat. The years 753 and 802, when ascribed to the Śaka era will correspond to 830 and 880 A.D. respectively; and accordingly, the date of the fall of Pañcāsara and the coronation of Vanarāja will then fall within the reigns of Nāgabhaṭa II (C. 792-834 A.D.) and Mihira Bhoja (C. 836-888 A.D.) respectively. Thus if the early years were ascribed to the Śaka era, the total period will be of 132 years (810 to 942 A.D.), and the average for the seven or eight kings will be of about 15 to 17 years each.—(H. G. Shastri, 'The Problem of the Chronology of Cāvaḍa Kings', *Indian History Congress*, Ahmedabad Session, 1955).

- 746** Vanarāja established the city Anahillapura. This city was founded in place of Lākhārāma, situated on the bank of the river Sarasvatī in V.S. 802 (746 A.D.), in commemoration of his young friend Anahila, a shepherd.
- 746** Vanarāja Cāvaḍā, the founder of the line, was installed on the throne, according to the Jaina *Prabandhas*, by his Jaina Guru, Śīlaguṇasūri. Though the official religion was Śaiva and Śākta, most of the influential persons in the realm, like the Mahājanas, were Jaina and occupied high position in the State. Vanarāja's prime-minister was a Jaina *Varṇik* named Cāmpā, the founder of Cāmpāner. Ninna a merchant-prince, whom Vanarāja regarded as father, built a temple of Rṣabha at Anhilvāḍa. This Ninna or Ninnaya's son Lahara was a general in Vanarāja's army.
- 746** Sulaiman ibn Hasham was the Governor of Sindh under the Khalifah Marwan II (744-750 A.D.)—(Elliot, *Arabs in Sindh*, 37; EHI., i, 443).
- 751** Bappabhaṭṭi Sūri was born in V. S. 800. His spiritual teacher, Siddhasena Sūri had given him *dīkṣā* in Moḍherā in V. S. 807 (751 A.D.). Āma, (according to JTSS-Vol. II, pt. 6 & 7) was born in V. S. 807 and died in 895. In course of time he became a king. He is named Nāgabhaṭa and Nāgāvaloka also. He belonged to the Pratihāra dynasty of Bhinmāla, a boy in Rāmasainyapura.—(*Prabhāvakacarita-Sṛṅga*-XI, v. 49). This city is referred to as 'Rāmasainya' in *Gurvāvali*, (v. 57), which is ten Gavyūtas from Ḍiṣā and twelve Gavyūtas to the north of Bhilāḍiyā.—(Vide, JTSS, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 38).
- 754** Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Daṇṭidurga, son of Indrarāja, led an expedition across the Revā (Narmadā) and Mahī (*Samangadh Plates* of 754 A.D., IA, XI, iii), and conquered Lāṭa and Mālava (*Elurā Cave-inscription*, BAS. No. 10, 92 ff.). He subjugated kings of Gurjara and of other kingdoms, and celebrated the 'Hiraṇyagarbha' ceremony at Ujjayinī on the *Rathasaptamī* day of 754 A.D., when he weighed himself against gold and distributed the same among the Brāhmaṇas.—(*Sanjān Plates*; EI., XVIII, 243 ff.).
- This appears to be the earliest extension of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power over South Gujarat.*—(A. S. Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 33 fn.)
- 750** Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govindarāja, son of Dhruvarāja and grandson of Kakkarāja I, assumed power in South Gujarat, shortly after Daṇṭidurga's conquest of Lāṭa.
- C. 750** Maritime activities of the people of Valabhī are given in the Buddhist work *Mañju-śrī-Mūlakaḥpa*. People of Valabhī reached Śūrā by crossing the sea which probably refers to their trade ventures to and regular commerce with Assyria.—(Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 25). This information is further corroborated by Daṇḍin in his *Daśakumāracarita*.

- C. 750-790** That Mt. Ābu was rich in various shrines, tanks, stepwells etc. frequented by pilgrims, tourists etc. and was resorted to by saints of peaceful meditation, is attested by a long description of it given by the Kashmiri poet Dāmodara-gupta (c. 750-790 A.D.) in his *Kuṭṭani-maṭam*, (pp. 54-59, VV, 238-261).—(U. P. Shah, 'Early Sculptures from Ābu', *Baroda Museum Bulletin*, 1957, p. 46).
- 750** The Cāhamāna king Dhruvhaṭa was succeeded by his son Bhartṛvaḍḍha II. He was a 'Parama Māheśvara' (a great devotee of Maheśvara Śiva).
- C. 754** About 754 A.D., the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Daṇṭivarman II, who had succeeded his father Indrarāja II, overthrew the W. Cālukya Kirtivarman II and became paramount in the Deccan. He is said to have conquered Conjeevaram, Kośala, Kaliṅga, Śrī Śaila, Mālava, Lāṭa and Ṭaṅka. He was followed by his uncle Kṛṣṇarāja I, the son of Kakkarāja I, who is recorded to have defeated a king named Rāhappa.
- 754** Puṣyadeva was succeeded by his son Kṛṣṇarāja I.—(*Ghumli Plates of Jaika II*; EI; XXVI, 223 ff.).
- 754** A number of pupils of Yaśadatta Gaṇi, pupil of Śivacandra Gaṇi, adorned Gujarat by getting Jaina temples built in this province in Ś. 675 = V. S. 810 (754 A.D.).—(Vide, Colophon of *Kuvalayamālā*).—For details see Year 779 A.D.
- 756** Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kakkarāja II, son of Govindarāja, grandson of Dhruvarāja and great-grandson of Kakkarāja I, succeeded his father in South Gujarat. He was possibly the scion who attempted in vain to usurp the power of Kṛṣṇarāja, the uncle and successor of Daṇṭidurga.—(A.S. Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, 41 f.)
- He seems to have held full independence in South Gujarat; for, in his edicts he does not express allegiance to any overlord and assumes imperial titles of 'Paramabhaṭṭāraka', 'Mahārājādhirāja' and 'Parameśvara'.
- 756** King Bhartṛvaḍḍha II of the Cāhamāna family, a feudatory of the Gurjara-Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa, issued from Bhṛgukaccha (Broach) a grant of a village in Akrureśvara viṣaya. The recipients of the grant were Brāhmaṇas of different gotras, residents of Saujnapadra (possibly modern Sajod in Ankleswar Taluka) and Bhaṭṭa Lalluva officiated as the Dūṭaka of the edict, issued during the reign of Nāgāvaloka, who is identified with Pratihāra sovereign Nāgabhaṭa I.
- The grant was composed by Bhaṭṭa Kakka of Valabhī, on the occasion of a solar eclipse (ādityagrahaṇa) in V. S. 813 (756 A.D.).—(*Hānsot Plates*, EI, XII, 197 ff.)
- The power of this Cāhamāna dynasty can be traced no longer.*
- 757** The Rāṣṭrakūṭa P. M. P. Kakkarāja II, the son of Govindarāja, gave in grant the village of Sthāvarapallikā situated in Kaśakula Viṣaya to Kukkeśvara



A Jaina Fresco from Elūrā, Kailāsanātha Temple, Indrasabhā-Hall.

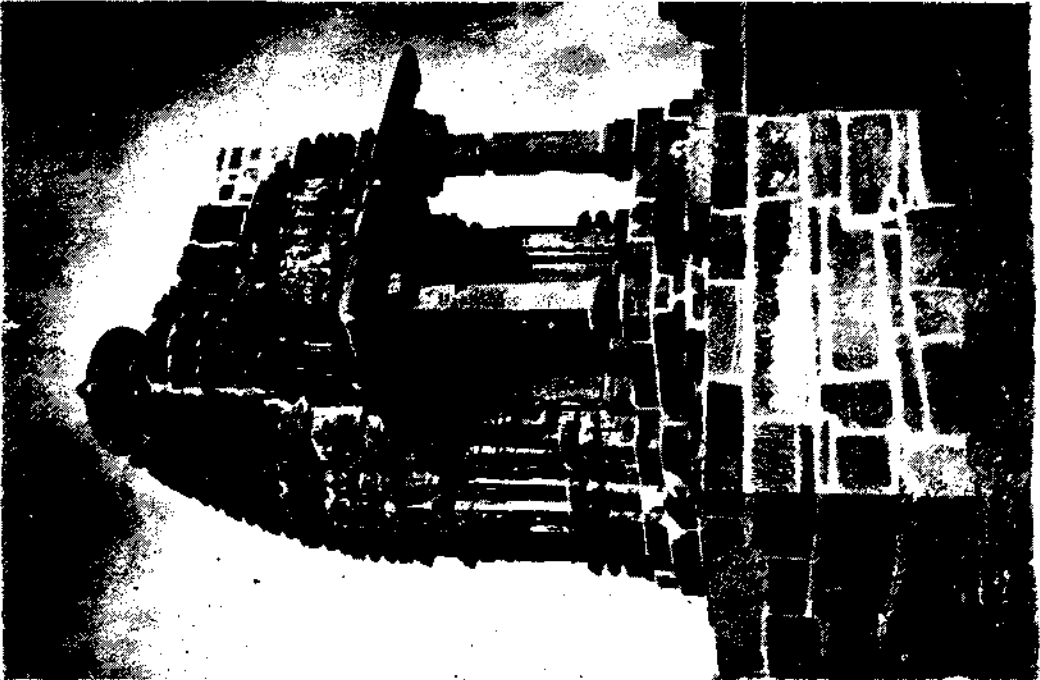


Late Fresco, Ajanṭā, Cave No. 17

Three-fourths profile faces, and the left eyes being shown beyond the facial line. (p. 269)



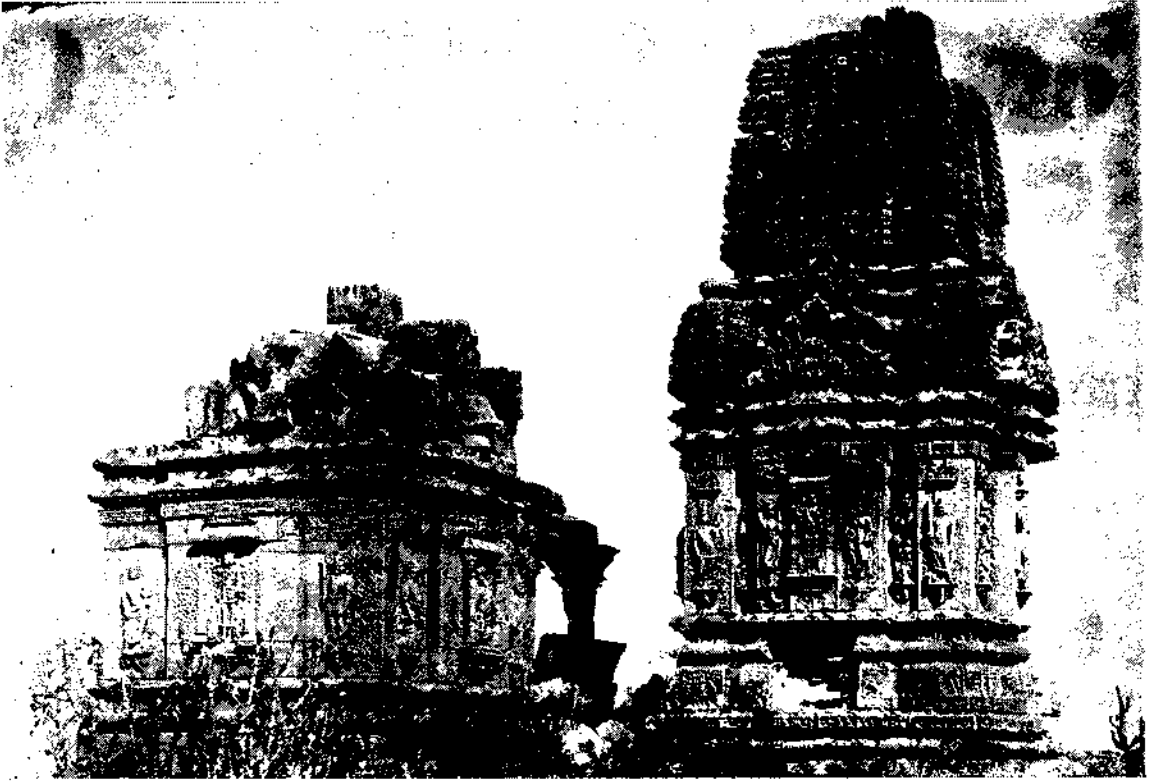
A Temple with an Āmalaka on the Śikhara, from Rodā, Idar Territories (p. 270)



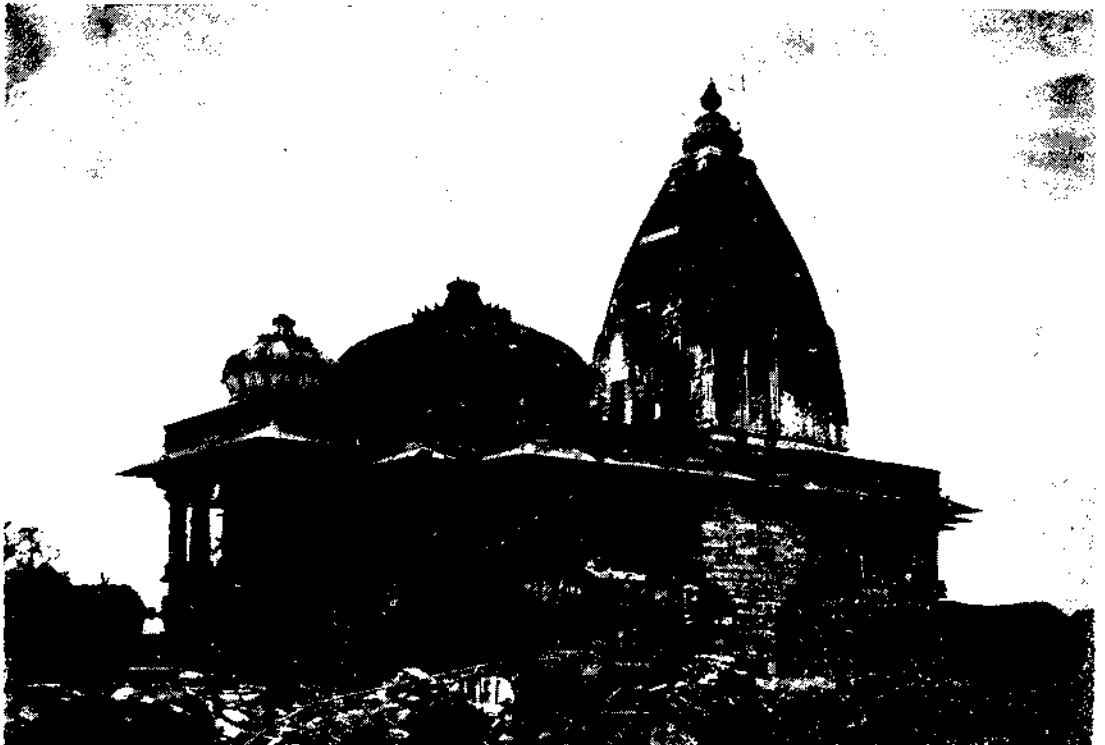
(A) Osiā Temple, Marwad. (p. 270)



(B) Osiā Temple, Marwad. (p. 270)



(A) Koṭṭai Temple, Kaccha (p. 270)



(B) Kālīka Mātā Temple, Chitodgadhi (p. 270)



(B) Sculptured portion, Right side Pillar-bottom, of the Door-frame, (Enlarged).



(A) Entrance Door-frame, facing the Karvan Lake. (p. 270)

Dīkṣita of Vaccha (Vatsa) *gotra*, resident of Jambūsara, on the occasion of *Viṣuva Saṅkrānti* in the Śaka year 679 pauṣa tithi 7, (757 A.D.). The Dūtaka of the charter was Ādityavarmarāja, and was issued by Bhodalla, the son of Balādhikṛta Tatta.—(*Antroli-Chharoli Plates*, JBBRAS, XVI, 105).

- 757 The Antroli-Chharoli grant (24th Sept. Ś. 679) supplies information that Kakkarāja II, of the First Gujarāt Branch of the Rāṣtrakūṭa dynasty had as his immediate predececessors his father Govīndarāja, married to a daughter of Nāgavarman, his grand-father being Dhruvarāja, and great-grand-father Kakkarāja I.—(EI, iii, 54).

- 757 During the Rāṣtrakūṭa period the police officers were known as *Coroddharaṇikas* or *Daṇḍapāśikas*. The former are actually mentioned in the Antroli-Chharoli copperplates of Karkkarāja of Gujarāt. (JBBRAS, XVI, p. 106), and the latter in several Valabhī records, (e.g., Valabhī Plates of Dhruvasena, dated 526 A.D.).

Crimes, that could not be locally detected, must have been investigated by these Coroddharaṇika and Daṇḍapāśika officers, who possibly worked under the directions of the Rāṣtrapatis and Viṣayapatis, who being also at the head of local troops, could have afforded military assistance to the police department in cases of desperate robbers or dacoits.—(Altekar, *The Rāṣtrakūṭas*, p. 261).

- 759 The village Bahuvaṭaka was given in gift by the Maitraka P.M.P. (परममहाराज-महाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वर) Śīlāditya VI to Brāhmaṇa Sambhulla of Pārāśara *gotra* resident of Dāhala, on Kārttika Su. 5 of the (Valabhī) year 441 (759 A.D.). The village was situated on the bank of Vappoikā river in Sūryapura Viṣaya. The royal edict was issued from the victorious camp at Godrahaka (Godhra) and was executed by Gañjaśāti (?) Jajju. The name of the person who composed the grant is not deciphered satisfactorily.—(*Lunāvāḍa Plates* : IA., VI., 16).

- C. 760 Rāṣtrakūṭa King Kṛṣṇa I, Vallabha, Śubhatuṅga and Akālavarṣa, uncle and successor of Daṇṭidurga is stated in various grants to have reduced the Cālukyas, conquered Rāhappa and caused to be excavated a temple to Śiva, that of Kailāsanātha at Elūrapura (Elūrā), which is one of the architectural wonders of the world, since the whole structure is hewn out of solid rock.—(IA, xii, 228; *Bom. Gaz.*, 390).

- C. 760 The Elūrā rock-temples are Buddhistic, Brahmanical and also Jaina. These contain frescoes in continuation of the Ajantan style. The peculiar characteristics of some of these frescoes reveal pointed nose, circular earrings, and the eye going further beyond the facial line. This is traceable to Ajañṭā and Bāgh also. These characteristics are found continued in the Western Indian Miniature Paintings, transferred from the wall to the palm-leaf in the first instance, and to paper in later times. Elūrā frescoes are, as it were, the parent of the Western Indian miniatures.

- C. 760** The Pratihāra king Deva-Śakti, with whom begins the dynasty of the Pratihāras of Kanauj, lived about 760 A.D. He was of the Gurjara-Pratihāra family, and ruled at Bhinmāl.

Śilāditya VI, Maitraka king of Valabhī, was reigning in succession to his father Śilāditya V.

- 765** In Brāhmaṇa-vaṭaka (modern Brāhmaṇa-vāḍā) there was a Jaina temple. It was restored in V. S. 821 (765 A.D.) by Porvāḍa Maṇtri Sāmanta, who restored 900 Jaina temples at the instance of Jayānanda Sūri.—(JTSS-Vol. I, pt. II, p. 271).

- 766** The Alīṇā plates record a grant of land by Maitraka P. M. P. Śilāditya VI. The royal edict of the grant was issued from the victorious camp at Ānandapura and executed by Siddhasena, designated *Mahāpratihāra*, *Mahākṣapaṭalika*, *Rājakula*. It was issued in Jyēṣṭha su. 5 of the (Valabhī) year 447 (766 A.D.). The subject of donation was the village Mahilasabali in Uppalahetā Pathaka in Khetaka Āhāra. The donee was Bhaṭṭa Ākhaṇḍalamitra of Śārkarākṣi gotra, resident of Ānandapura. The grant was composed by Gaḍaha, designated Pratinartaka, Kulaputrāmātya.—(CII., III, 171 ff.).

This is the last known copper-plate inscription of the Maitraka dynasty.

- 766** (G. Sam. 447) Alīṇā copper-plates : Śilāditya VI, Dhruvabhaṭa of Valabhī, son and successor of Śilāditya V.

The Maitraka family of Valabhī was overthrown after this time by an expedition from Sindh under Amru ibn Jamāl.—(IA, VII, 79; CI., iii, 171).

- 769** Niya, also called Ninnaya, and popularly known as Nina, was a Śrīmālī by caste. He, as a minister of Vanarāja Cāvaḍā, got built a temple of Lord Rṣabha in Anahilvāḍa Paṭan, (See, the colophon—v. 9, of *Mallīnāḥacarīyam* of Hari-bhadra Sūri, quoted in JTSS-Vol. I, p. 57—and SHJL—p. 173, in about V. S. 825) for Vidyādhara *gaccha*.

This Nina, a predecessor of minister Vimala was first staying in Śrīmāla. Later on, he settled down in Gāmbhu. Vanarāja invited him to come to Paṭan. Nina's son Lahara was made a *daṇḍa-nāyaka* by Vanarāja.—(Ibid, -p. 69). Descendants of Nina were ministers one after the other for Caulukya rulers upto Kumārapāla.—(JTSS-Vol. I, pt. I, p. 57; Vide, Pandit Lalchand Gandhi's paper on 'Mantri Vimala and his Mantri-Vaṁśa': *Gujarat Itihāsa Sammelana Proceedings*, 1945.)

- 774** The city of Osiā, formerly known as Melāpura Paṭṭana, is the original place of the Osavāla Jinas. There is a Jaina temple having a very big image of Lord Mahāvīra. According to Pt. Gaurishankar Ojha, this temple was built in *circa* V. S. 830 in the time of King Vatsarāja. In the N. E. of this temple there is a *mānastambha*, a pillar. It has an inscription dated V.S. 952 (896 A.D.)—(JTSS—Vol. I, pt. 2, 174).

- C. 774** Āma, the Pratihāra king of Kanauj got installed a *lepya* image of Lord Mahāvīra, 23 hands in height, in the fort of Gwalior in the temple, at the hands of Bappabhaṭṭi Sūri in about V. S. 830 (A.D. 774).—(JPI-pt., p. 526).
- C. 775** Haribhadra Sūri, pupil of Jinabhaṭṭa and known also as 'Virahāṅka', was the writer of the Jaina school, which became alive to the use of Sanskrit as the cultural language of the nation; for, the Prākritis had passed beyond the stage of a spoken language. Haribhadra describes himself as the son of Mahattarā Yākini, who, an ordinary nun had become instrumental in his conversion to Jainism according to tradition. He lived in the latter half of the 8th Century A.D. and wrote many commentaries of the *Āgamas* in Sanskrit, following Siddhasena Divākara who had turned to Sanskrit for the propagation of his faith and philosophy. These texts before him were generally explained by means of Prākrit commentaries like *Niryukti*, *Cūrṇi* and *Bhāṣya*. Haribhadra's example was followed by others; and the tendency culminated in the great Hemacandra Sūri of Gujarat, who lived at the courts of the Caulukya kings Siddharāja and Kumārapāla in the 12th Century A.D.
- C. 776** A poor Mārwaḍī from Pāli, called Kāku Raṅka, came to Valabhī to try his fortune there. Within a short period he prospered; and it is narrated in bardic tradition, that once dissatisfied with the king, he invited the Mlecchas to destroy the city and assisted them with money. This is believed to have happened in C. 776 A.D.—(Merutuṅga, *Prabandha cintāmaṇi*; Sachhau, *Alberuni's India*, I, p. 192).
- C. 776** Śīlāditya VI (762 A.D.—C. 776 A.D.), the last Maitraka king had all the imperial titles of the family (P.M.P.) as known from the Aliṇā plates of Valabhī Samvat 447 (766 A.D.). Thus, though the Valabhī kingdom had suffered a contraction, the Maitrakas had not yet bowed to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Saurāṣṭra was again invaded by the Tājjikas (Arabs) in 159 A.H. (776 A.D.) (Elliot, Vol. II, p. 245), this time with great force, so that the township of of Bārada easily fell to them. The Mleccha armies under Hammir invaded and destroyed Valabhī, and, in consequence, the Hindu and the Jaina statuary had to be removed to Śrīmāla.—(Jinaprabhasūri, *Vividhatīrthakalpa*).
- The exact date of the sack of Valabhī is still undetermined.* In the Jaina authorities it is variously stated to have taken place, in Vikrama Samvat 375 (319 A.D.)—(Jinaviṇyaji, *Purāṇanaprabandha Saṁgraha*); in Vik. S. 475 (419 A.D.)—(Merutuṅga, *Prabandha Cintāmaṇi*); in Vik. S. 573 (517 A.D.)—(Rājaśekharaśūri, *Prabandha Kośa*); and in Vik. S. 845 (789 A.D.)—(Jinaprabhasūri, *Vividhatīrthakalpa*).
- The last date (789 A.D.) seems to come closer to the truth. But even this is unacceptable, as the Valabhī kingdom was not in existence in 783 A.D. when Jinasena wrote his Jaina *Harivamśa* in Vardhamānapura, (Wadhvān) which

was finished in Ś. year 705 (expired) i.e. 783 A.D., when there were reigning, in various directions, determined with reference to Vardhamānapura—in the north, Indrāyudha; in the South, Śrivalabbha; in the east, Vatsarāja, King of Avānti; and in the west, Varāha or Jayavarāha, in the territory of the Sauryas, identified with Saurāṣṭra.—(K. Virji, *Ancient History of Saurāṣṭra*, pp. 101-103).

- C. 776** The rulers of Valabhī were broad-minded and altogether Catholic in their outlook. However, Śaivism was the royal religion of the Maitrakas. The Bull and the Trident, the well-known emblems of God Śiva, were usually found on the seals and coins, respectively, and the term *paramamāhēsvara* before the names of the Valabhī kings in their copperplates, go to prove the same.—(Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Sects*, p. 119).

All the Valabhī rulers with the exception of Dhruvasena I (519-40 A.D.), who was a 'Bhāgavata', and Dharapaṭṭa (550 A.D.), who was a devotee of the Sun, were followers of the Śaiva cult. Guhasena (553-569 A.D.) has, however, in one of his inscriptions called himself a 'Buddhist'—a *paramopāsaka*, perhaps to please his cousin Duddā (who may have been either a child-widow or a maiden, and had become a Buddhist nun), and also out of regard for the learned and virtuous Buddhist monks, who were his contemporaries.

- C. 779** The Saiṇdhava king Agguka I, (774-794 A.D.) son and successor of Kṛṣṇarāja I, seems to be an important king of the Saiṇdhava dynasty.—(A. S. Altekar, EI, xxxvi, 192).

- 779** The Rāṣṭrakūṭa practice was to depute younger princes and cousins as Provincial Governors. Indrarāja of the Gujarat Branch had appointed his younger son Goviṇḍa as a Provincial Governor.—(EI, III, p. 53 : Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 153).

- C. 780** In C. 780 A.D. Vatsarāja, the Pratihāra king of Gurjaradeśa, conquered Ānarta and Saurāṣṭra, and became the suzerain of most of the kingdoms of North India. It was during his reign that Uddyotana Sūri wrote his *Kuvalaya-mālā* at Jhālōr, and Jināsena wrote his *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa* at Wadhvān.

- A.D. 778** Under orders from the Khalifa Mahdi, the successor of Khalifa Mansur, the Governor of Sindh, Abd'ul Malik attacked Gujarat again, and conquered Bārbūt near Broach. This was, however, followed by an epidemic in the Arab army which compelled them to return (778 A.D.).—(Sir William Muir, *The Caliphate : Its Rise, Decline & Fall*, Edinburgh, 1924. p. 471, S. S. Nadwi, *op. cit.*, p. 16).

- 779** The *Kuvalayamālā* composed at Jābālipur (modern Jhālōr in N. Rajputana) in Ś. 700 (= 779 A.D.), when one day was less in Śaka year 700 (i.e. 835 Vikram Samvat) is a religious tale (*Dharmakathā*) narrated in prose and verse on the pattern of Sanskrit *Campū-Kāvya*. Its author is Uddyotanasūri, also, called Dākṣiṇyacinha, pupil of Tattvācārya. He lived when Śrī Vatsarāja ruled

the city. He was very well-versed in all Prākritis, and pretty well acquainted with the important provincial languages current in his times.—(Muni Jinavijayaḥ, *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, Vol. II, Pt. I, November 1940).

He mentions 18 such provincial tongues, quoting 2 or 3 characteristic words from each, in the course of the story of his hero, as he visits a busy market of a great commercial town.—(Pandit Lalchand Gandhi, Introduction, p. 93, to *Apabhramśakāvyaṭrayī*, GOS. No. 17).

The difference in the general traits of people staying in different areas are expressed by the author of the *Kuvalayamālā* thus: “There I saw the Gurjjara people (people of Southern Rajputana and Maru): they have strong bodies; are nourished by ghee and butter; are devout, clever in negotiations, and speak ‘*ṇau re bhallaṇ*’. Then I saw the people of Lāṭa; they part their hair; they besmear their bodies with scent; their bodies are beautiful to look at; they speak ‘*amhe kāuṃ tumehaṃ*’.

779 Virabhadra, a Jaina monk had got built a magnificent lofty temple of Lord Rṣabha in Jābālīpura.—(Colophon V. 19 of *Kuvalayamālā*, quoted in JTSS Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 188). This temple must have been built not later than V. S. 835, the year in which *Kuvalayamālā* was completed.

779 Khalīfah Mu'tamid appointed Yaḡūb ibn Ias Saffari, Governor of Sindh, from which date it became virtually independent of the Khilāfat.—(H. 157).—(EHI, i, 453).

770-810 The Pāla king Dharmapāla (who is referred to as the ‘Lord of Northern India’—*Uttarāpathasvāmin* in *Udayasūndarikathā* by Soḍdhala, a Gujarātī—Kāyastha poet of the 11th Century A.D.) founded the **Vikramaśīla Vidyā-piṭha** in the North, on the top of a mountain, near the river Gaṅgā in Magadha. His father Gopāla (C. 750-770 A.D.), the founder of the Pāla dynasty, had revived the Nālaṇḍā University,

783-784 The claim of Ujjayinī, the capital of Avanti, rests on a much strong piece of evidence than Jhālōr, where one Raṇahastī Vatsarāja ruled, according to the text of *Kuvalayamālā*. Nāgabhaṭ's grandson Vatsarāja is described as *Avanti-bhūbhṛta* in the colophon of the Jaina *Harivarṇṣa*, which also notices the the location of other kingdoms :—

शकेष्वद्वशतेषु सप्तषु दिशां पञ्चोत्तरेवृत्तराम् ।
पातीन्द्रायुध नाग्निं कृष्णनृपजे श्रीवल्लभे दक्षिणान् ॥
पूर्वं श्रीमदवन्तीभूयुतनृपे वत्साधिराजे परं ।
सौर्यानामधिपण्डले जययुते वीरे वराहेऽवती ॥

The passage informs us that *Harivarṇṣa* was completed in Śaka Samvat 705 [(expired) = 783-784 A.D.] when these kings were ruling in various parts, determined with reference to a place named Vardhamānapura, (Wadhwan, in

Jhālāvād Division of Saurāṣṭra); in the north Indrāyudha (identified with Indrarāja, the brother of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhruva), whom he had left in charge of Lāṭeśvara maṇḍala, with presumably Gujarat and other Rāṣṭrakūṭa possessions in the north.—(R. C. Majmudar, *Journal Department of Letters*, Vol. X, p. 37, fn. 2); in the South Śrīvallabha; in the east Vatsarāja, king of Avanti (Ujjayinī), and in the west Varāha or Jayavarāha in the territory of the Sauras, i.e., the Southern part of the Saurāṣṭra peninsula. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has suggested an amendment to the translation as: "In the east the illustrious king of Avanti; in the West, king Vatsrāja: and in the territory of the Sauras, the victorious and brave Varāha."—(JBBRAS, XXI, p. 421, fn. 4).

This Jaina *Harivaṃśa* mentions the name of Vatsarāja of the Pratihāra family as king of Avanti, and a contemporary of Dhruva, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler of the Deccan (called in this stanza श्रीवहसीर of the South). This reference strengthens the inference that the Pratihāras were established at Ujjayini before they migrated to Kanauj.—(IA., XV, p. 141).

788

P.M.P. Karkarāja II of South Gujarat extended his sway over Central and North Gujarat and shifted his capital to Khetaka (Khedā), as implied by the references in the *Hilol plates* of Mahāsāmaṇṭa Candraditya—(*Buddhiprakāśa* XCIX, 294 ff.). This must have been facilitated by the sudden fall of Maṭṭraka power at Valabhī.—(H. G. Shastri, 'Rise of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Rule in Gujarat'. XVIIth session, I.H.C., 1954).

788-820

Śaṅkarācārya, the famous Brahmanical reformer went to establish the Śāradāmaṭha at Dwarka; and his visit strengthened the position of Śaivism in this part of the country. His visit to Dwarka is mentioned by Mādhavācārya in the poem *Śaṅkaravijaya*.—(Also see, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XI, p. 186; Durgashankar Shastri, *Śaivadharmā no Saṅkṣipta Itihāsa*, pp. 45-6).

Śaṅkarācārya who hailed from Kālaṭī in Cerā country (Kerala State) revolutionised the spiritual outlook of men in India within a very short life of thirty-two years. His death is placed in Ś. 742 (820 A.D.). There are various views about Śaṅkara's date, placing him between sixth and ninth Century A.D.. Justice Telang, places Śaṅkara as early as 590 A.D. (IA., XI, 175, 263; See, Winternitz's *History of Indian Literature*, III, 434, fn. 1).

Among the disciples of Śaṅkara, the most prominent was Sureśvara. He is identified with Maṇḍanamīśra, who was placed in charge of the Śāradāmaṭha at Dwarka. Out of the four *Pīṭhas* (centres) or Maṭhas believed to have been established by Śaṅkara in the four corners of India, the one at Dwarka, had its spiritual jurisdiction extending over the region of the Siṇḍhu river, the country of Sauvīra (including Kaccha and Rājasthān), Saurāṣṭra, Mahārāṣṭra and the intervening territories in the West :—

सिन्धु-सौबीर-सौराष्ट्र-महाराष्ट्र-स्तथा-न्तराः ।

देशाः पश्चिमदिक्स्था ये शारदापीठ-संस्कृताः ॥

—मठाम्नाय, श्लो. १७.

A decree (*āgñāpatra*) from it was respected by society as implicitly as the command of the king.

- 788 Mahāsāmanta Candrāditya, who ruled over Harṣapura (Harsol) Viṣaya under the supremacy of Paramarājādhirāja Kakka II, issued a grant of land to a Brāhmaṇa of Kāśyapa *gotra*, who was an emigrant of Sānand. The land was situated at Hilohila (Hilol in Ahmedabad District).—(H. G. Shastri, *Hilol Plates*, 'Buddhi-Parkāśa', XCIX, 294 ff.).

- C. 790 Revenue records were carefully preserved in the Rāṣtrakūṭa administration, as well as during the Maitraka regime. A renewal of a grant of land by king Dhruvasena II in 639 A.D. is recorded; because the previous grant issued by Droṇasimha had been in abeyance during the intervening period.

Dhruva I of the Gujarat Rāṣtrakūṭa branch had alienated a village named Trenna in favour of a Brāhmaṇa. This grant was renewed by his grandson Dhruva II when he ascended the throne. When Gujarat Branch came to an end by the annexation of its dominions by the Mālkheḍ house, a descendant of the previous donees is seen approaching Indra III to get his title confirmed by the new administration.—(EI, IX, p. 24).

- 789 According to a Jaina tradition, Hammira, a ruler of Gajjana (Gazni) destroyed the city of Valabhī in V.S. 845 (789 A.D.)—(*Vividhatīrthakalpa*—XVII, p. 29). A number of Jaina idols etc. were removed from Valabhī to Bhinnamāla.—(SHJL, p. 146).

- C. 794 In Moḍherā which is six to seven *gavyūtās* from Pāṭan, (Vide JTSS—Vol. I, pt. I, p. 71), there was a Jaina temple of Vijayadeva described in *Jīva Jīvābhigama* (JPI—pt. I, p. 522). Jinaprabha has referred to Moḍherā as a 'modern tīrtha' of Lord Mahāvira in *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa*.—(IX, p. 19).

According to *Prabhāvakacarita* (*srīga* XI) Bappabhaṭṭi Sūri (born V. S. 800, died V. S. 895) used to daily visit this *tīrtha*, where at the age of six, he came across Siddhasena Sūri of 'Moḍha' Gaccha. This Sūri had come there only a day earlier, from Pāḍala, four miles to the east of Saṅkheśvara *tīrtha*.—(*Ibid*, p. 525).

- 794 The Gurjara-Pratihāra king Mihira Bhoja, king of Gopagiri (Gwalior), respected as *Gurus*, Govinda Sūri and Nanna Sūri, the spiritual brothers of Bappabhaṭṭi Sūri.—(JPI, Pt. I, p. 534).

Nanna Sūri had composed a drama, narrating the life of Emperor Bharata; and he, along with Govinda Sūri as chief author, staged this drama in the presence of King Āma (Nāgāvaloka or Nāgābhata II).

794 Nāgārjuna, pupil of Bappabhaṭṭi Sūri belonged to village Dhaṅkapuri (Dhāṅka), which is near Dhaṅkagiri, 30 miles N. W. from Junagadh and six miles from the station of Pānoli.—(Vide JTSS, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 131). The two *rasakuppis* prepared by this Nāgārjuna, were kept in Dhaṅkagiri.—(JPI, Pt. I, p. 336). Dhaṅka and four other *kūṭas* (summits) had, as stated in *Vividha-ūrthakalpa* (I, v. 9 & 10), *rasa-kupis*, mines of jewels, and various sorts of medicinal herbs.

C. 794 The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda III, (Prabhūtarvaṣa I, Jagattuṅga I, Vallabhanarendra, son and successor of Dhruva) attacked the Gurjara king; and some time before 812 A. D. conquered the province of Lāṭa (Central and Southern Gujarat), which he made over to his brother Indra, who founded there the Second Branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty of Gujarat. Mālava next submitted to him, and advancing to the Viṇḍhyas, he received the submission of a king, Māraśarva.—(IA. vi., 59 ff; *Rādhanpur Copper-plate*, Ś. 794 A. D.).

794 The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govindarāja III (Jagat-tuṅga I) was reigning (794-813), in succession to his father Dhruvarāja. He defeated a league of twelve princes, reduced the Gurjaras, and also the provinces of Lāṭa (Central and Southern Gujarat) and Mālava.

C. 800 *Carakasamhitā*, while speaking on the adverse effects of the excessive use of salt, enumerates the people of Saurāṣṭra, along with those of Vālhika and Siṇḍhu-sauvīra, as taking salt even with milk. This medical treatise has been placed in 2nd or 3rd Century B. C. by Dr. P. C. Roy; Dr. Keith, however, places it in the 8th Century A.D.—(*Vimāna-sthāna*, I, 21).

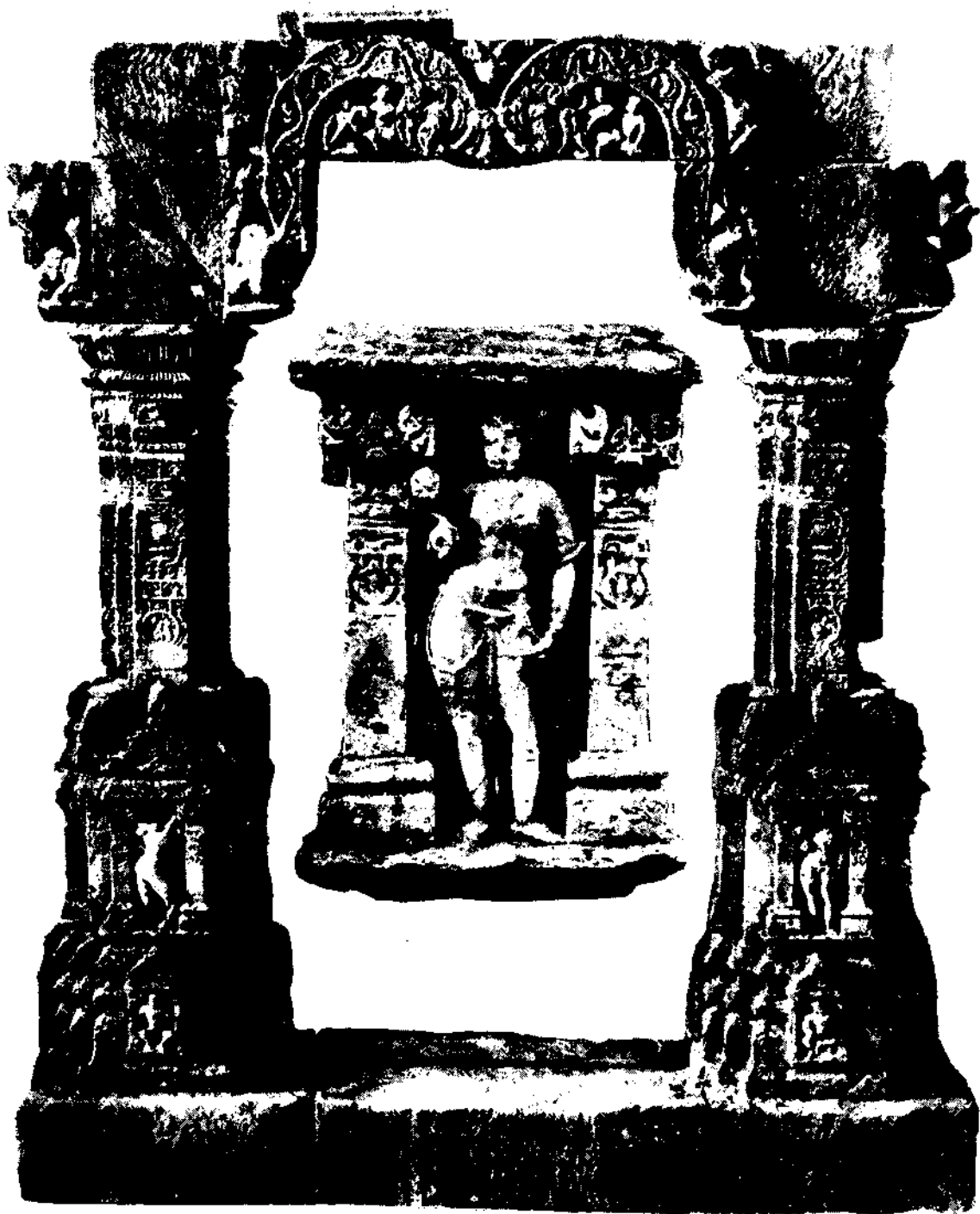
It is said in *Carakasamhitā* of the people of *Āśmaka* and *Avantī*, that the oil and ghee are wholesome to them.—(Cf. अश्मकान्ति कानां तु तैलाज्यं सात्त्विकमुच्यते।)—(*Cikitsāsthāna* XXX—300).

C. 794-814 The Saiṇdhava king Rāṇaka, son and successor of Agguka I, seems to have reigned *circa* G.E. 475-495.—(A. S. Altekar, EI., XXVI, 192).

800 Kalla, described as a great king (Mahāmahāpati), founded a Cālukya dynasty in Saurāṣṭra.—(EI., IX, 2 ff.).

C. 800 The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govindarāja III, successor of Dhruvarāja, vanquished king Dharmapāla of Gauḍa as well as King Nāgabhaṭa II of Mālava, who had conquered Turuṣka, Ānarta, Mālava etc.—(A. S. Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, 64 ff.). He passed the rainy season at Śrībhavana (Sarbhon near Āmod), and entrusted the territory of Lāṭa to his younger brother, Indrarāja, who became the founder of the 'Gujarat Branch' of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.—(*Ibid*, 68 ff.).

C. 800 The Gujarat Branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas commences with Indra II who was the younger brother of Govinda III, who had put Indra in complete charge of



Torāṇa on Meśvo river, near ruins of Hariścandra Temple, Śāmalājī.

Plate LXV



(A) Architectural remains from Kadvār, near Prabhāsa. (p. 271)



(B) Architectural remains, from Pāṭan, Baroda Museum. (p. 270)

Southern Gujarat. The Surat Plates describe this event in the words लदीयम् मण्डलम् यस्य । तपन इव निज-स्वामी-दत्तं ररक्ष ॥ This event took place in C. 800 A.D.

- C. 800 Upendra-rāja (Kṛṣṇarāja), with whom begins the pedigree of the Paramāras of Mālava, lived about 800 A.D. He was followed by his son Vairisimha I, his son Siyaka I, his son Vākpatirāja I, his son Vairisimha II (Vajraṭa), his son Siyaka II, etc.

Jejja Rāṣṭrakūṭa, was reigning in Central India, (C. 800). His elder brother defeated Kaṇṇāṭa armies and became king of Lāṭa.

About this time lived Kapardin I, with whom begins the dynasty of the Śilāhāras of the Northern Koṅkan.

- C. 800 Haribhadra Sūri, a Brāhmin of Chitoḍ and son of the royal *purohita*, in spite of his background and training as a Brāhmaṇa, was attracted to Jainism and was converted by the nun Yākini Mahattarā. He spent the best part of his life in Gujarat and the adjoining parts of Rājasthān.

He wrote many treatises on the *Nyāyapraveśa* of the Buddhist logician Dinnāga, and many Jaina canonical works. His principal contribution was to bring the thought of the Śvetāmbara Jains to the high intellectual level of the Hindus and the Buddhists. He is remembered for his *Samarāṅga-kahā* and *Dhūrtākhyāna*, both composed in Mahārāṣṭri Prakṛit.

- C. 800 The Gurus practising ' *Dakṣiṇācāra* ' and coming from the West are described as the best in the *Bṛihat Gautamiya Tantra*, those from the South are middling, those from Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa are inferior to the preceding, and those from Kālīṅga are the worst.

An amplified description in ' *Jābāla* ' puts the Gurus from Madhyadeśa (Āryāvarta), Kurukṣetra, Lāṭa (Naṭa, Nāṭa), Koṅkana, Āntarvedi, Pratiṣṭhāna and Avantī at the top; those from Gauḍa, Śālva, Śura (?), Magadha, Kerala, Kośala and Daśārṇa in the middle; and those hailing from Kaṇṇāṭa and the banks of the Narmadā, the Revā, and Kaccha and the Kalindas at the bottom of the scale.—(*The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 321-22).

- C. 800 Vāmana, author of the *Kāvya-lankāra-vṛitti*, may have flourished about this date. He cannot be placed later than the middle of the tenth century, since he is quoted by Abhinavagupta (993-1013 A. D.). He must have flourished before Ānandavardhana (C. 850 A. D.), who, according to Abhinavagupta, composed a verse about him. He quotes in his *Kāvya-lankāra-vṛitti* from Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha*, which is then the other limit. Māgha is believed to have flourished in the latter half of the 7th century.

C. 800-850 Poets of Lāṭa appear to possess distinctive literary traits. A kind of poetic style or diction (*Rīti*) favoured by the authors of Lāṭa had acquired the name

of 'Lāṭi' or 'Lāṭiya'. Rudraṭa (C. 800-850 A. D.) was the first to enumerate 'Lāṭiya Rīti' in his *Kāvyaṭīkāra*.

- C. 800-850 Udbhaṭa, in his *Kāvyaṭīkārasaṃgraha* (Ch. I) speaks of a variety of *Anu-prāsa* (alliteration) called *Lāṭānu-prāsa*, which is mentioned again by Bhoja (11th Cent. A. D.) in his *Sarasvatikanṭhābharaṇa* (Ch. II).

The *Lāṭi Rīti* is found mentioned again in the *Agnīpurāṇa* (beginning of the 9th Century); in Bhoja, who added two more to the existing list, viz. *Māgadhi* and *Avantīkā*; in older *Vāgbhaṭa* (first half of 12th Cent.), the author of *Vāgbhaṭaṭīkāra*, and in *Viśvanātha*, the author of *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (first half of the 14th cent.).

These references show that the *Lāṭa* poets had, formed a peculiar style (*Rīti*) and a peculiar way of expression (*Alaṅkāra*) which were so striking as to get a place among the standard works on Rhetorics, in the beginning of the 9th Cent. A. D. This will date back the literary activity of the *Lāṭas* by a century or two. Thus at about the 7th or 8th Cent. A. D., the literary activities in the *Lāṭa* were going on a larger scale, both qualitatively as well as quantitatively.

- 806 A Persian poem, '*Qissa-i-Sanjān*' composed by Bahman Kaykobād Sanjānā about the year 1600 A. D., recounts the tale of the wanderings of the band of Iranians who ultimately settled at Sanjān. The author does not give any specific date, but mentions the duration of the stay of the emigrants in different places, mostly in round numbers. Emigrants are said to have arrived at Diu in Saurāṣṭra about 806 A. D. year, and after staying there for 19 years settled at Sanjān in 825 A. D. Scholars, however, are not inclined to take the poem as historical.—(See *Year 716, infra*).

- 806 Yogarāja, the Cāpotkaṭa king of Anhilvād, is said to have succeeded his father Vanarāja.—(Ref; 746 A. D.).

About this time the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govindarāja III wrested *Lāṭa* from the Cāpotkaṭas, and made his brother Indrarāja its viceroy.

- 807 Bagumrā Copper Plate Inscription of Dhruvarāja of S. 789 (807 A. D.)—(IA., XII. p. 170).

- 808 Rādhapur Copper Plate of Govinda III of S. 730 (808 A. D.).—(EI, VI, p. 235).

- C. 808 About 808 A. D., the Gurjara Pratihāra power suffered a severe blow from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Pratihāra king Nāgabhaṭa II was defeated by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda III. Their rivals, the Pālas took advantage of this, to establish their supremacy in Northern India.

- 808 It was during the stay of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda at Śrībhavana (modern Sarbhon in Broach Dist.) when he was welcomed by king Māraśarva

that Amoghavarṣa was born in the monsoon of 808 A.D. —(*Sanjān Plates*, EI., XVIII, p. 246).

808 The Paramāra king P. M. P. Pṛthvivallabha : Prabhūtavarṣa Śrīvallabha Narendradeva, successor of P. M. P. Dhāravarṣadeva, in an edict issued from Mayūrakhaṇḍi gave in grant the village of Rattajjuna (Ratajan) in Rāsiyana (Rasin) Bhukti, to Parameśvarabhaṭṭa, resident of Tigavi (Tugaon). The grant was issued on the occasion of a solar eclipse in Ś. 730 (Sarvajit) Śrāvaṇa ba. 15, Sūrya-grahaṇa-parva (808 A.D.).—(*Rādhanpur Plates* : EI., VI, 239).

C. 810 Halāyudha, author of the *Kavi-rahasya* or *Kavi-guhya*; according to a Gujarat copy of this work, its hero was one of the Kṛṣṇas of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa line, possibly the first of that name (760-80 A. D.).

One Halāyudha is reputed to be the author of the *Abhidhāna-ratnamālā* : these two may be identical. Weber placed the latter work to about the end of the 11th century.

C. 811 The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indrarāja was succeeded by his son Karkarāja Suvarṇavarṣa, who served to Govindarāja III, of the main line, for the protection of Mālava, as a bolt of door against the king of Gurjara-deśa, i.e. Nāga-bhaṭṭa II. This power was shared by his brother Govindarāja Prabhūtavarṣa.

812-813 The Rāṣṭrakūṭa viceroy Karkarāja Suvarṇavarṣa of Lāṭa issued from Siddhaśamī the grant of Vaṭapadraka grāma, situated within the ' Aṅkoṭṭaka Eighty-four '. The site of Vaṭapadraka is represented by modern Baroda (the headquarters of Baroda District) and that of Aṅkoṭṭaka by the village of Akoṭā lying to the west, opposite the railway line, as specified in the grant. This was possibly on the trade-route from Central India with the ancient port of Bharukaccha at the other end. The excavations near Akoṭā bear testimony to the antiquity of the site.—(B. Subbarao, *Baroda Through the Ages*, M. S. University of Baroda, 1952).

Karkarāja (Kakka) Suvarṇavarṣa was ruling in 812-817 A.D. as Rāṣṭrakūṭa Viceroy of Gujarat, in succession to his father Indrarāja. Karkarāja's brother Govindarāja was co-viceroy in 813-817.

Goviṇḍa III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, attacked the Gurjara king, and some time before 812 A.D., conquered the province of Lāṭa (Central and Southern Gujarat), which he made over to his brother Indra; and founded there the Second Branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty of Gujarat.

The recipient of the grant was one Brāhmaṇa Bhānu of Vātsyāyana gotra, an emigrant from Valabhī. The grant was issued on the occasion of Mahāvai-śākhi (the Full Moon Day of Vaiśākha) in Ś. 734 (812 A.D.) and composed by Nemāditya, son of Mahāsāndhivigrahādhikṛta Durgabhaṭṭa. The Dūtaka of the royal edict was Prince Dantivarman.—(*Baroda Plates*, IA., XII 156 ff.).

- 813** Mahāsāmaṇṭa Buddhavarṣa of Śālukika dynasty, (who was ruling over 'Siharakkhī—Twelve', received from King Goviṇḍarāja, the younger son of Indrarāja of Lāṭa), issued the grant of village Govatṭana situated in 'Siharakkhī-twelve' on the occasion of 'Vijaya Saptamī' in the Śaka year 735 (Naṇḍana) Pauṣa Śuddha 7 (813 A.D.). The grant was received by several Brāhmaṇas of different *gotras*. It was composed by Kṛṣṇa, son of Nanna.—(*Torkhede Plates*, EI, III, 53).
- 814-880** Amoghavarṣa I was a devout follower of Jainism, and yet he was such an ardent believer in the Hindu goddess Mahālakṣmī, that he actually cut off one of his fingers and offered it to her, being led to believe that an epidemic from which his kingdom was suffering would vanish away by that sacrifice.—(*Sanjān Copperplates*, EI., XVIII, p. 248; Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 273).
- 814** Part of the donation of Bhadraviṣṇu, given to the Buddhist Vihāra at Kaṇherī, in the reign of Amoghavarṣa I, was for purchasing books. This monastery like the one at Valabhī was obviously maintaining a library, which was very probably required for the school connected with it.—(Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 402; IA, VII, p. 67).
- C.**
814-824 Kṛṣṇarāja II, who succeeded his father Rāṇaka in *cir.* G. E. 495, seems to have reigned for a short period of about ten years only.—(A. S. Altekar, EI; XXVI, 193).
- 815** Nāgabhaṭa II of the Pratihāra dynasty extended his sway over Gujarat, Mālava and Saurāṣṭra.—(Munshi, *Glory that was Gurjaradeśa*, III 62 f.).
- 815** Nāgabhaṭa, Pratihāra king of Bhinmāl, was reigning in succession to his father Vatsarāja. He conquered Cakrāyudha of Kanauj, and established himself in the latter's capital. He was succeeded by his son Rāmabhadra and grandson Bhojadeva I (843 A.D.).
- Gūvaka I, of the dynasty of Cāhamānas (Colāpas) of Śākambharī (Sāmbhar) in Rajputana was reigning about this time, apparently as a feudatory of the Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa.
- 815** We notice in the Buchkalā (Bilara Dist., Jodhpur State) inscription of V. S. 872=815 A. D. (EI, IX, p. 199) in the time of the Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Nāgabhaṭa, son of the M. P. Vatsarāja, that some image was set-up after building the temple in the village of Rājyaghangakam—the old name of Buchkalā, in Bhumbhuvāka of the Avāṅgānāka sept, whose queen Jāyāvati was the grand-daughter of the Pratihāra Bāpuka, and daughter of Jajjaka. It is, thus, clear that Nāgabhaṭa's empire included in 815 A. D. Buchkalā, which is further down Mertā in the Jodhpur State.—(Baij Nath Puri, *The History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras*, p. 26)

816 The Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Prabhūṭavarṣa Goviṇḍarāja issued to Brāhmaṇa Bhogika, an immigrant from Gauḍadeśa, the grant of a village in 'Vāhula Eighty-four', on Śaka-nrpa-kālātīta Ś. 739, Vaiśākha bahula 7 (816 A. D.). The grant was composed by Mahāsāndhivigrahika Jajjulla.—(*Dabhoi Plates*, H. I. G., 3, 125 A.).

817 The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Suvarṇavarṣa Karkarāja of Lāṭa, issued from Khetaka the grant of the village of Śamīpadraka situated in the region between Mahī and Narmadā, as well as the village Saṁbaudhī in Maṅkaṇikā Bhukti on the occasion of the Lunar Eclipse on the Full Moon day of Māgha in S. 738 (817 A. D.). The grantee was Govaddi, son of Upādhyāya Bādaḍḍi of Bharadvāja gotra, resident of Bādāvi. The Dūtaka of the royal edict was Bhaṭṭa Droṇamma, which in its turn was composed by Sāndhivigrahika Nemāditya.—(*Navsāri Plates*, JBBRAS XX, 131 ff.).

818 The copper-plates, with a ring and a seal of Garuḍa with folded hands, found from Anustu (near Karjan) of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Karka Suvarṇavarṣa were issued from the capital Khetaka, which was the head-quarters of the Gujarat Branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the Lāṭa-maṇḍala.

It records the gift of a village Majjargaṇī, which was included in the Bharukaccha District, to a Brāhmaṇa Baṭṭa-Śrī Bhaṭṭa, son of Kukkura, a resident of Bharukaccha, who belonged to the Vasiṣṭha gotra, and was a student of Ṛgveda, for the augmentation of religious merit and renown in this world and in the next, of 'our parents and of ourselves', by the performance of the five *Yajñas*, by the king : (मत्तापित्रोरात्मनश्चैद्विकामुष्मिक पुण्ययशोभिर्वृद्धये ।)

The *dūtaka* was Baṭṭa-Śrī Droṇamma and the chief scribe was Śrī Nemāditya, son of Śrī Durgabhāṭṭa. The record ends with the sign-manual of Karkarāja-deva, son of Śrīmad Indrarāja. The date is the full-moon day of Vaiśākha of Ś. 739 (= 24th April, 818).—(A. S. Gadre, *Important Sanskrit Inscriptions, Baroda State*, p. 25-34).

Five grants of Karka-Suvarṇavarṣa are known as shown below :—

- (1) The Baroda Plates of Ś. 734 (IA, XXI, p. 156);
- (2) The Navsāri Plates of Ś. 738 (JBBRAS, XX, p. 131);
- (3) The Anustu Plates of Ś. 739 (*Important Inscriptions, Baroda State*, p. 25-34);
- (4) The Surat Plates of Ś. 743 (EI, XXI, p. 133);
- (5) The Brāhmaṇapalli Plates of Ś. 746 (EI, XXII, p. 77).

Out of these, only the Surat Plates of Ś. 743 record a gift of a field to a Jain teacher; the rest are grants made to learned Brāhmaṇas.

819 Goviṇḍarāja Prabhūṭavarṣa, son of Indrarāja, issued to Brāhmaṇa Soma, who hailed from Valabhī and belonged to Śaṇḍilya gotra, the grant of a field adjoining the Śatruñjayī (Śatruñji) river, on the occasion of a solar eclipse in

the Valabhī year 500 (819 A.D.).—(*Devali Plates*: JUPHS, XXIV-XXV 196 ff.)
This grant contains the earliest specific reference to the Valabhī Era (वलभी संवत्सर).

820 Kalla was succeeded by his son, whose name is not legible in the inscription.
 —(EI., IX, 9 ff.).

C. 820 The Cāpa prince Vikramāditya was ruling at Vardhamāna (modern Wadhwan) about 820 A.D. His son was Addaka, his son Pulakeśin, his sons Dhruvabhāta and Dharaṇivarāha (914 A.D.). Karkarāja Rāṣṭrakūṭa, was reigning in Central India (C. 820 A.D.) in succession to his father Jejja. He defeated Nāgāvaloka (apparently Nāgabhaṭa of Bhinmāl).

Gopāla I, with whom the Pāla Dynasty of Bengal first rose into prominence lived about 820 A.D. Apparently he obtained Magadha (Bihar); but was defeated by Vatsarāja, the Gurjara king of Rajputana.

821 The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Suvarṇavarṣa Karkarāja issued, from the victorious camp on the bank of the river Vankikā (Vānki), the grant of a step-well at the village of Ambāpātaka in Nāgasārikā on the Full Moon day of Vaiśākha in Ś.E. 743 (821 A.D.). Ambāpātaka is represented by modern Āmadpur on the bank of the Pūrṇā river (to be identified with Purāvi river mentioned in the grant).

The opening verse in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa copper-plates pays homage to both Śiva and Viṣṇu. Their seal is sometimes the *Garuḍa*, the vehicle of Viṣṇu, and sometimes Śiva in the posture of a seated *Yogin*. However, there is a verse in the Surat plates of Karka (821 A.D. ; EI., XXI), stating that Indra, the father of the donor, did not bow his head even before any god, Śaṅkara excepted, which smacks a little of sectarian narrowness :—

मुक्तवा च सर्वभुवनेश्वरमादिदेवम् ।

नानन्दतान्यममरैश्चपि यो मनस्वी ॥ EI., XXI.

821 Karka Suvarṇavarṣa of the Gujarat Branch of Rāṣṭrakūṭas, himself a staunch Śaiva, had given a field to a Jaina Vihāra at Navsari.—(*Surat Plates* of 821 A.D., EI. XXI).

It is also known that the contemporary Hūṇas, Toramāṇa and Mihirakula were, both, worshippers of the Sun.

The reference to a private Sun-temple in a copper-plate of the Maitraka King Śilāditya I further support the existence of Sun-worship (Bühler, *Dhāṅk Plates* of 290, A IX, p. 237). The Gurjara kings—King Dadda I and Dadda II who were in possession of land round about Bharukaccha were also devotees of the Sun during that period.

The grant is dedicated to Aparājita-guru for the maintenance of the *vasatikā* (monastery) at Śāmbapura (that lay to the north of Ambāpātaka) and the

Caityālava which was situated in the locality of Nāgasārikā (Navsari). The grant was composed by the Mahāsāndhivigrahādhipati.

The grant opens and ends with an invocation to Jina. It records the gift by the king of a field to a Jaina teacher.—(Surat Plates; EI, XXI 133).

824 Kṛṣṇarāja II was succeeded by his son Agguka II, who was a minor.—(A. S. Altekar, EI, XXVI, 193).

824 The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Suvarṇavarṣa Karkarāja issued to Bhaṭṭa Nāgākumāra of Kauṇḍinya *gotra* a grant of the village Brāhmaṇapallikā situated in 'Mahiśaka Forty-two'. The grant was made on the occasion of the Full-Moon day of Vaiśākha in Ś. 746 (824 A.D.). The Dūtaka of the edict was Durgarāja. The grant was composed by Sāndhivigrahika Nārāyaṇa, and was attested by Amoghavarṣa.—(EI, XXII, 77).

C. 825 Rise of the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa. It was founded by Kṛṣṇa Upendra, a prince belonging probably to a branch of the Paramāra rulers of Acalgaḍh or Mount Ābu, on his conquest of Mālava, early in the ninth century A.D. His immediate successors were Vairīsimha I, Siyaka I, Vākpati I, and Vairīsimha II or Vajraṭṣwamin,—all directly descended, one from the other.

C. 825 The early Yādavas, ancestors of the Yādavas of Devagiri, ruled the district of Sennadeśa, a region which extended from Nasik to Devagiri or Daulatabad, and was partly covered by the present Khāndeśa.

Hemādri's *Vrata-khaṇḍa* represents them as migrating thither from Dvārāvātī or Dwarka, in the reign of Dṛḍhaprahara, their first seat having been at Mathura.

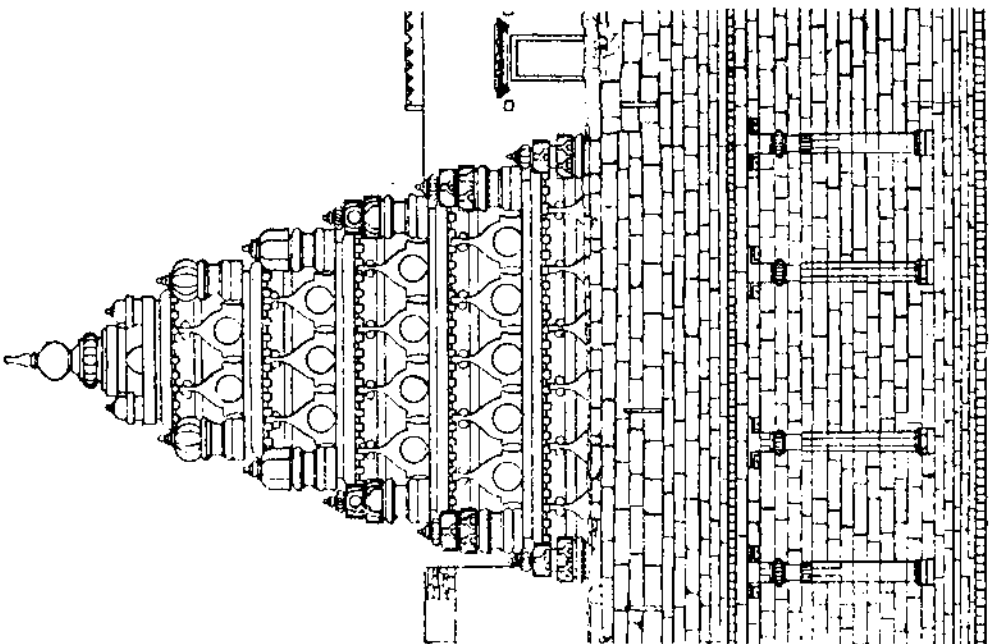
827 A gift, to the temple of the Sun (Jayāditya) at Kāvī by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Prabhūtavarṣa Govindarāja, shows that princely support was not altogether lacking.

The Sun-cult must have existed prior to the rise of Bhāgavatism; for the *Chhāndōgya Upaniṣad*, one of the oldest Upaniṣads, refers to Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra as a disciple of Ghora Aṅgiras, a worshipper of the Sun.

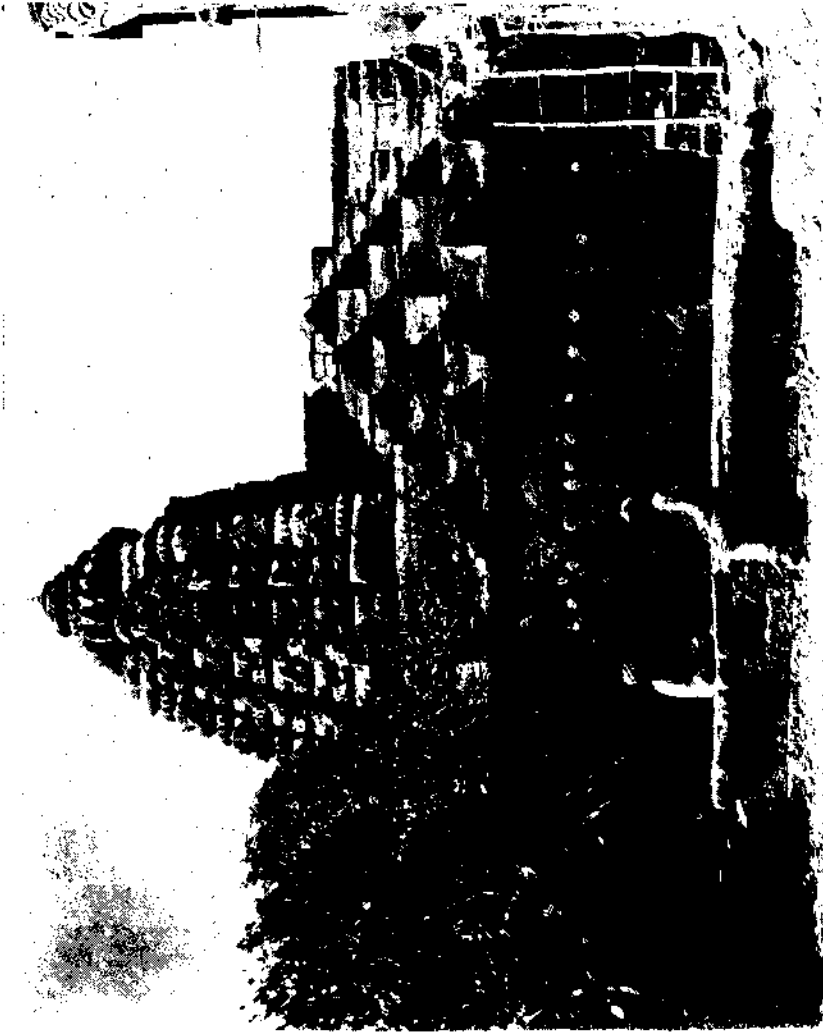
The Mandsor stone-inscription of the time of Kumārgupta I, and Indore copper-plate grant of Skandagupta show that the Sun-worship which prevailed in Central India was patronised by the guilds.

827 The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Prabhūtavarṣa Govindarāja at Bharukaccha dedicated the village Thūrnāvi (represented by modern Thanāvi in Jambūsar Taluka) to the temple of the Sun-God Jayāditya situated at Koṭipura in the Kāpikā (Kāvī) division. The Dūtaka of the royal edict was Bhaṭṭa Kumuda. The edict was issued on the occasion of Mahāvaiśākhi (the Full-Moon day of Vaiśākha) in Ś. 749 (827 A.D.) and composed by Yogeśvara, son of Avolokita, the Head of the Department of Peace and War.—(*Kāvī Plates* : IA, V, 144 ff.)

- 830 Vikramārka of Cāpa family, founded a royal dynasty at Vardhamāna (Wadhvan).
- 830 Bāhukadhavala, the grandson of Kalla seems to be a powerful feudatory of the Pratihāra sovereign Nāgabhaṭa II (Munshi, GG., III, 70). He destroyed in battle Dharma (Dharmapāla), conquered kings of high status, and vanquished the army of Kaṇṇāṭaka.—(EI., IX, 2 ff.).
- 832 A grant of land situated in Pacchatrī (Pachtarḍi) *Viṣaya* was issued to a Brāhmaṇa of the Śaṅkṛtya *gotra*, a resident of Someśvara (Somanātha), by Mahāsāmant Jaika (Jayasena) I during the reign of his nephew Agguka II, on the occasion of Uttarāyaṇa of Samvat 888, (832 A.D.) on the 12th day of an unspecified month (which seems to be Pauṣa). The Dūtaka of the charter was Poet Bāla, and was composed by Kapila, a Śaka.—(*Ghumli Plates* : EI, XXVI 197 ff.).
- 834 Jaika I, the step-uncle of Agguka II, completed his plans of usurping the throne of his minor nephew. In a later grant which is undated, he mentions himself as the ruling king, and omits all reference to his elder brother and his son in the genealogy. The grant was issued to a Brāhmaṇa of the Vatsa *gotra*, a resident of Bhillamāla (Bhinmal). The land was situated in the Pacchatrī *viṣaya* mentioned in his earlier record.—(*Ghumli Plates* : EI, XXVI, 203 ff., 193).
- C. 834 Bappabhaṭṭi Sūri succeeded in regaining Girnar tīrtha from the hands of the Digambaras.—(*Prabhāvakacarita* XI, v. 691-701). This event may be assigned to a date not later than V.S. 890 (834 A.D.) when Āma (who had been to Girnar along with Bappabhaṭṭi) died.—(Vide, three verses of ' *Siddhastava* ', in *Caitya-vandanā*—*Prabhāvakacarita* XI, v. 702).
- 834 According to the Jaina traditions, Āma *alias* Nāgāvaloka and Nāgabhaṭa II, king of Kānyakubja (Kanauj) died in V.S. 890 (*Prabhāvakacarita*—XI, v. 719-721). He got built Jaina temples in various places such as Anahillapura (Patan), Moḍha (Moḍherā), Satārakapura, Mathurā and Kānyakubja (Kanauj).—(*Ibid.* XI, v. 857-659).
- Further, at the instance of Bappabhaṭṭi Sūri, he went to Śatruñjaya and Ujjayanta for pilgrimage.—(*Ibid.* v. 684-685).
- 835 Dhruvarāja I, younger brother of Karkarāja and Goviṇḍarāja, was ruling as Rāṣṭrakūṭa Viceroy in Gujarat, in succession to the latter. He was succeeded by his son Akāla-varṣa Śubhatuṅga.
- 835 The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhāravarṣa Dhruvarāja II issued from near Khetaka the grant of the village Pūsilāvillī in Kāśahṛada Deśa, which was executed by Devarāja and composed by Sāndhivigrahika Nārāyaṇa to Jyotiṣika Yoga, resident of *Vadavasiddhi* (modern Borsad, in Kaira District), on the occasion



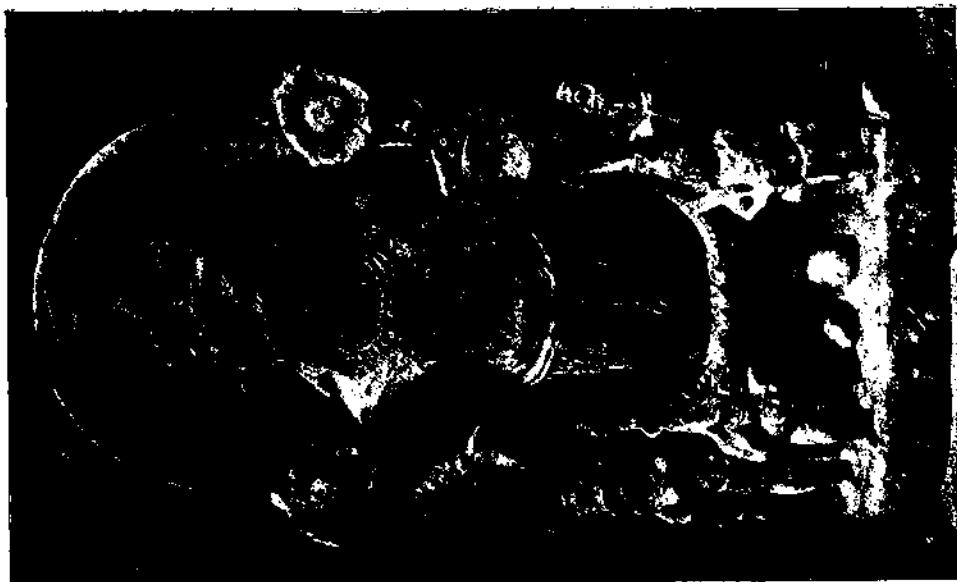
(A) Sun-Temple at Sutrāpādā, Saurāṣṭra.



(B) Sun-Temple at Bileśvara, near Porbunder.



(B) Standing Sūrya, Kārvaṇ



(A) Standing Sūrya, Vasiṣṭhāsrama Mt. Ābu

of Mahākārtiki *parvan* (the Full Moon day of Kārtika) in Ś. 757 (835 A.D. *Baroda Plates*; IA, XIV 196).

- 837 Bāuka, a descendant of Haricandra, the Pratihāra, was ruling over Gurjaratrā or Gurjara-bhūmi, from Maṇḍor, (old Māṇḍvapura) near Jodhpur : V. S. 894 (= 837 A.D.).—(*Jodhpur Inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka* ; JRAS, 1895, p. 513 ; EI, IX, p. 210).

This inscription of Bāuka and that of Kakkuka (EI, IX, p. 210) (V. S. 918, 859 A.D.) which begin with a salutation to Viṣṇu give very interesting details regarding Haricandra, who was a Brāhmin, versed in the Vedas and Śāstras. He had two wives, one a Brāhmin and the other a Kṣatriya. The sons born of the Brāhmin wife became Pratihāra Brāhmins, while those born of the Kṣatriya wife became the founders of the royal line of the Pratihāras. Though a man of peaceful pursuits in his early life, when after the fall of the Gupta empire and the empires of Mihirakula and Yaśodharman, Northern India presented a favourable field for military enterprise. Haricandra gave up Śāstras (Scriptures) for the Śāstras (arms) and founded a kingdom. By his Kṣatriya wife, named Bhadrā, he had four sons : Bhogabhaṭa, Kakka, Rājila and Dadda :

विप्रः श्री हरिचंद्राख्यः पत्नी भद्रा च क्षत्रिया ।

ताभ्यां तु ये सुता जाताः प्रतिहाराश्च तान् विदुः ॥

This suggests that Bhadrā belonged to Pratihāra clan and that one of her sons had succeeded his maternal uncle. The term ' Pratihāra ' perhaps meant that they were descended from Lakṣmaṇa, who once acted as a *Pratihāra*, i. e. a chamberlain, to his eldest brother Rāma. It has been suggested that Haricandra began his life as a chamberlain to some king; and later on carved out a principality for himself ; but there is no sound reason to accept a king to perpetuate his humble origin.

- C. 840 The Pāla king Dharmapāla of Bengal, son and successor of Gopāla I, married Rannādevī, a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess—perhaps a daughter of Goviṇḍa III (795-814 A.D.). He is stated to have conquered Indrarāja of Mahodaya or Kanauj, and to have given the sovereignty of Kanauj to Cakrāyudha, perhaps Bhoja (860-882 A.D.).

Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, the grantee of the Khalimpura copper-plate grant, which gives the above reference of Dharmapāla, was the author of the Sanskrit drama *Veṇiśamhāra*.

- C. 841 Kṣemarāja, Cāpotkaṭa of Anahilvāḍ succeeded Yogarāja : till A.D. 866. —(Ref. 746 A.D.).

- 843 The Daulatpur (Jodhpur State), now Ajmer Museum Plate of the Pratihāra Mahārāja Bhojadeva I (840-890 A.D.), surnamed *Prabhāsa*, issued from Mahodaya, and dated V. S. 900 (843 A.D.), records the renewal of a grant of Śiva-

grāma (modern Siva) in the Deṇḍavāṇaka Viṣaya (modern Dindwana) in the Gurjaratrābhūmi which had been made by the king's great-grand-father Mahārāja Vatsarāja, and continued by his grandfather, Mahārāja Nāgabhaṭṭadeva, but which had fallen into abeyance in his reign.—(EI, V, p. 211 ; JBBRAS, XX, p. 440).

King Bhojadeva is mentioned as granting a village called Sivagrāma, situated in the Deṇḍavāṇaka Viṣaya, which, it is stated, formed part of the ' Gurjaratrābhūmi '.—(Cf. ' गूर्जरवासूनौ डेण्डवाणकविषयसम्बद्ध सिवाग्रामाग्रहारे EI., V., p. 211). Since it is clear (as pointed out by Dr. Kielhorn) that Deṇḍavāṇaka is the town Didwana in the old Jodhpur State and Sivagrāma, the village of Seva, 7 miles north-east of Didwana, it follows that the territory round Jodhpur in Rajputana was known in the 8th century A.D., as the ' land of the Gurjaras '.

- 844 The Eastern Cālukya, Vijayāditya III, Guṇaka, eldest son, succeeded his father Viṣṇuvardhana V, till 888 A.D.

The Idar grant of Āmma I says of Vijayāditya that " Challenged by the lord of the Raṭṭas, he conquered the unequalled Gaṅgas; cut off the head of Maṅgi in battle; and frightened the firebrand Kṛṣṇa (probably Kṛṣṇa II, Rāṣṭrakūṭa), and completely burned his city."—(IA., xx, 102-3).

- 844 During the Rāṣṭrakūṭa regime, roads to adjoining villages were laid out and kept in repairs by the village settlements. The road going from one village to another is often mentioned in inscriptions as a boundary on one direction of the fields, given in charity :—(Cf. पूर्वतः छोरकहग्रामयादिपथाः । पश्चिमतः जंभाग्रामएगोयि अवलि ग्रामगामी पथाः ।—(*Kāvī Plates of Govinda III, S. 749*).—(IA, V, 145).

- 845-46 The Partābgarh inscription (845-46 A.D.) of Pratihāra king Mahendrapāla II shows that the Pratihāras had recovered possession of Malwa including Maṇḍu and Ujjain; however, their hold over Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra grew precarious. They could not effectively checkmate the northern campaigns of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, their southern rivals.—(DHNI, Vol. II, p. 582-83, 585-87).

- C. 850 The literary tradition about the ' *Danda Rāsaka* ' (found illustrated as a tempera painting at Bāgh, see year C. 470) is referred to by Abhinavagupta (9th century) in his commentary on *Nāṭya Śāstra*, while discussing the peculiarities of *Rāsaka* and *Hallisaka*. Practically he quotes from ancient texts :—

तदुक्तं विरल्लनैः ।

मण्डलेन तु यन्नृत्यं हल्लीसकमिति स्मृतम् ।

एकस्तत्र तु नेता स्याद् गोपस्त्रीणां यथा हरिः ॥

अनेकनर्तकीयोऽयं चित्रताललयाश्रितम् ।

आचतुःषष्ठीयुगलैः रासकं मसुगोदतम् ॥

The dance in the circular motion, wherein one leads and others follow, just as Śrī Kṛṣṇa led the Gopīs, is called ' *Hallisaka* '. In this variety of the dance,

unadorned by various rhythmical strokes and melodies (त्रिभुजालयधितम् ।) many dancers could join. The maximum number of couples that could partake in this dance was fixed upto 64; the minimum being either 16, 12 or 8, the dancers being of either sex. The dance had two varieties: one tender, the other vehement or violent.

'Hallisaka' has been described by later authors and lexicographers as गोपलेकानां क्रीडाप्रकारः । मण्डलेन स्त्रीणां नृत्यम् । That this Hallisaka or Rāsaka, was a *upa-rūpaka* of 'Nāṭyarāsaka',—a very old primitive dance-type, associated with Kṛṣṇa's dance—is referred to by Sanskrit dramaturgists also.—(See *Bhāva-prakāśana* by Śāradātanaṇya, GOS, p. 268). Jayadeva in his 'Aṣṭapadī' of the 'Gītāgovinda' refers to this dance-sport : (रासे हरिदिह ससुखसन्ने ।)

849 The kingdom of Jaika I seems to have been divided between his two sons Cāmuṇḍarāja and Agguka.—(A. S. Altekar, EI., XXVI, 193 ff.).

850 Vikramārka was succeeded by his son Addaka.

C. 50 Rudraṭa, son of Bhaṭṭa Vamuka and author of *Kāvya-lankāra*, probably flourished about this date, since Pratihārendurāja (850 A.D.) quotes him as a standard author.

C. 850 The taxes named *Udraṅga* and *Uparikara* (as additional tax paid over and above the normal land-tax) are mentioned very frequently not only in the grants of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas but also in those of the Maitrakas. The *Śālvatakośa* gives *Uddhāra* or *Udgraha* as a synonym of the term.—(Referred to by Dr. Bühler at I. A., XII, p. 189 N. 30).

In the Samangadh plates of Daṇṭidurga (IA, XI, p. 111) and the Kapadvanj plates of Kṛṣṇa II (EI., I, p. 52), the term '*sabhāgabhogakaraḥ*' is used ; but the expression *sodraṅgaḥ* and *soparikaraḥ* are missing. It appears, therefore, clear that *bhāga* and *bhoga* are nearly synonymous with *udraṅga* and *uparika*, and stand for taxes that were universally levied. The *bhāga-kara* must be standing for the land-tax, which is mentioned as '*ṣaṣṭhāṃśa*' or the 6th part of the produce of the land. *Bhoga-kara* represents the petty taxes in kind that were to be paid to the king every day ; and failing him, to the local officers.—(A. S. Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 213-15).

C. 851 Śilāṅka Sūri *alias* Tattvāditya of Nioṇati Kula, both the *Suyakkhandhas* of Ayara (the first *Aṅga* out of twelve, collectively known as 'duvalasa ganipidaga', and on 'suyagaḍa', both the *suyakkhandhas*), too. In the composition of both these commentaries he was helped by Vāhari Gaṇi.

[For discussion, see H. R. Kapadia's paper " *Two copper-plates of the Solanki age* ", ' *Buddhi Prakāśa* ' of V. S. 2007 (1951 A.D.) wherein villages surrounding Gaṃbhūta are mentioned. Text of these copper-plates is reproduced in JFSS-Vol. I, pt. I, p. 68, and the villages are identified on p. 67].

The com. on *Ayara* was finished in Gambhūta (Gāmbhu), a place 24 miles from Pātan and six miles from Dhīṇoja. It is between Dhīṇoj and Modherā.— (Vide JTSS - Vol. I, pt. I, p. 68).

The colophons of the com. on *Ayara* differ regarding the date of composition of this com. In the beginning Gaṇḍhahasta is mentioned as a commentator of Śāstraparijñā, a portion of *Ayara*. Four dates are mentioned: they are: 772, 788 and 898 and Gupta Samvat 772. (See DCGCM - Vol. XVII, pt. I, p. 13 and Gupta Samvat 772 is equal to V.S. 772 + 241 = 1013.—[In Alberuni's 'India', as quoted in JTSS - Vol. I, pt. I, p. 69—in JPI pt. I, p. 379, the date is given as Śaka 784 i.e. V.S. 919].

- 851 Among the Mahomedan geographers, the merchant Sulaiman is the earliest writer with his *Salsilālu-t-Tawārikh* (237 A.D.=851 A.D.), wherein he describes the king of Jurz as having great riches, and had numerous camels and horses. His reference to the king of Jurz maintaining numerous forces, with an unmatched fine cavalry and numerous camels is very interesting. Rajputana is famous for its camels even now.

From a story in the *Pañcatantra*, it appears that there was a place called 'Gurjaragrāma' where camels could be purchased. The *rathakāra* is mentioned as having gone to a Gurjara village in search of camels. (ततश्च द्रम्मानादाय पुनरेवमे गत्वा करभाः संकीर्ताः । चतुर्थेऽंशकथा १४). In the same *Kathā*, the camel is also called दशेरक, and it is likely that the name is given after the country called दशेरक.

An estimate of Bhoja, as a conqueror and as an administrator, is given by this Arab historian Sulaiman, who has dubbed him as 'hostile to the Arabs, and the greatest foe to the Mahomedan faith; ' but there was no country in India more safe from robbers.—(Elliot and Dowson, p. 4). He is called Baura, though the correct reading, according to Hodiwala (*Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 25) should be Bozah, Bozoh or Bodzah, i.e. Bhoja. His empire included Kaccha and Saurāṣṭra. He had appointed feudatories in different parts, viz., Guṇāmbodhideva, Bāuka and Kakkuka, Harṣarāja, and Bāhukadhavalā, who accompanied him in his campaigns and helped him in building a vast empire.—(Baij Nath Puri, *The History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras*, p. 65).

- 853 In V. S. 909 (853 A.D.) there lived in Viramapura (modern Nakoḍā, also known as Mevānagara, 6 miles to the south from the station Bālotra) 2700 Jains families.—(Vide, JTSS- Vol. I, pt. 2, pp. 183).

At that time Harakhahand got repaired a Jaina temple situated in this city and replaced a broken image of Lord Mahāvīra.—(*Ibid.* pp. 183-4).

- 854 In a West Indian record of 854 A.D., belonging to the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarṣa, the donor endowing a certain sum of money in favour of a monastery, declares that after his death the interest (*Kāri*) is to be fixed by competent persons.—(IA, XIII, 134).

- 856 Avanivarman I succeeded his father Bāhukadhavala.—(EI., IX, 2 ff.).
- C. 857 *Upadeśamālā* of Dharmadāsagaṇi, which is a work of very early origin consists of over 500 stanzas in the Gāthā metre. A Prākṛit commentary on it was composed in Sam. 913 (cir. 857 A.D.) by Jayasimhasūri.
- C. 859 Agguka II, who possibly continued to rule as his uncle's feudatory for about 25 years after his supercession in cir. 834 A.D., was succeeded by his son Rāṇaka.
- 859 Jaysimha Sūri, pupil of Kṛṣṇa Ṛṣi, commented in Prākṛit (while introducing the original verses, a few lines are written in Sanskrit on his own Prākṛit work ' *Dhammovaesamālā* ' of 98 verses in all), in V. S. 215 (859 A.D.) in Nagaura (Nāgapura ; Guj. Nāgor) during the reign of King Bhoja.
- Bhoja who is known as *Mihira* and *Ādivarāha*, too and who seems to be the grandson of king Āma, alias Nagabhatta II ruled from V. S. 900 to at least 938 and perhaps upto 950.—(SHJL, Pp. 179-180).
- 859 In the Ghaṭiyāla inscription of Kakkuka, dated in the (Vikrama) Samvat 915, (859 A.D.), *Gurjaratrā* is mentioned along with Travaṇi, Mada, Arya, Lāṭa and Pravara, in the ordinary sense of the ' Settlement of the Gurjaras. '—(EI, IX, Pp. 210).
- C. 860 Guṇabhadra flourished in C. 860-880 A.D. and being tutor to Kṛṣṇa II, Rāṣṭrakūta (875-911 A.D. and pupil of Jinasena. He wrote the *Uttarapurāṇa*, a continuation of the latter's *Ādipurāṇa*, also the *Ātmānuśāsan*.—(JBBRAS, xviii, 225).
- 861 The Sanjān Plates of Amoghavarṣa, dated in Śaka era 783 (861 A.D.) inform us that just when he ascended the throne, some of his feudatories, ministers and relations became disappointed and raised the standard of revolt (verses 35, 36); but it was through the help of Ārya Pātālamala that he succeeded in quelling the rebellion (verse 41). One verse refers to some public calamity, and the king, called here Vira-Nārāyaṇa, cut off his finger and dedicated it to the goddess Mahālakṣmī. It would not be unwise to suggest that Karka of the Surat plates (821 A.D.) and this Pātālamala were identical.—(Baij Nath Puri, *The History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras*, p. 60 fn. 1)
- 861 Kṛṣṇa Ṛṣi installed an image of Lord Mahāvira in Nāgapura (i.e. Nāgor) in V. S. 917.—(*Kumārāpālacarita-Dhammorasamālā*.).
- 861 The Vināyaka (Gaṇapati) image was established at Rohiṇsa Kūpa by the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Kakkuka of the Jodhpur line in 861 A.D.—(EI, IX, p. 279).
- 862 The Deogarh (Jhansi dist.) Jaina pillar inscription of the time of Bhojadeva, and of the Mahāsāmanta Viṣṇurāma refers to the Jaina temple of Śāntinātha at

Luacchagiri—the old name of Deogarh, and the pillar was set-up near the temple of holy Jaina Arhat by Deva, a disciple of Ācārya Kamaladeva, dated V.S. 919 (862 A.D.).—(EI, IV, p. 310).

865 Bhūyaḍa, Cāpotkaṭa of Anhilvāḍ, succeeds Kṣemarāja; till V. sam. 922 = 865 A.D. He is said to have conquered Dvārāvātī and the whole country westward to the seacoast.—(Ref. 746 A.D.).

865 The Nāiatās, who were formerly an important class of Muslim merchants and ship-captains of Gujarat but who have now virtually disappeared, are reported to have emigrated from Madinah, flying from the persecution of Al-Hajjaj bin Yusuf, the Governor of Iraq on behalf of Abdul Malik, the fifth Umayyad Khalifah. The Nāiatās marched from Madinah to Kufa where taking a ship, they reached the shores of Indian Ocean about AH 252/865 A.D.—(Bom. Gaz. IX, II, 14-5 ff. 3).

867 The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dañṭivarman of the Gujarat Branch himself a Hindu, donated a village to a Buddhist Vihāra.—(EI, VI, p. 292).

867 Dhruva II, Nirupama, Dhārāvarṣa, of the Gujarat Rāṣṭrakūṭa Second branch, son and successor of Akālavarṣa Śubhatuṅga, claims to have subdued Vallabha of the Gurjaras (probably the Cāvaḍās of Anhilvāḍ), and a king named Mihira.

867 A grant of land was issued by Dhārāvarṣa Dhruvarāja on the occasion of the Solar Eclipse that took place on the Amāvāsyā of Jyeṣṭha in Ś. 789 (867 A.D.). The donor took a bath at the Mūlasthāna *tīrtha* in the Narmadā at Bharukaccha (Broach). The donee was Brāhmaṇa Jojibha of Lākṣāyaṇa *gotra* resident of Bhadrapalli. The grant consisted in the village Pārāhaṇaka situated within 'Karmāntapura (Kāmrej), One-hundred-sixteen.' Govindarāja, the younger brother of the king, officiated as the Dūtaka of the edict, which was composed by Sāndhivigrahika Kalyāṇa.—(Bagumra Plates; XII 173).

867 The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Aparimitavarṣa, Dañṭivarman, brother of Dhruvarāja II, having bathed in the Purūvi river (identified with the Pūrāṇā) issued the grant of the Village Cokkhakuṭi in 'Sarthātālāṭa Forty-two' on the occasion of Uttarāyaṇa day which fell on Pauṣa bahula 9 in Ś. 789 (867 A.D.). The grant was dedicated to the Revered Saṃgha of the Vihāra at Kāmpīya Tīrtha. The Dūtaka of the royal edict was Mahāmātya Kṣṇabhaṭṭa. The grant was composed by Sena-Bhogika Golla, son of Rāṇappa. The edict was endorsed by king Dhruvarāja.—(EI, VI, 285).

There were educational centres in India at this period, one such being at Kāmpīya Monastery of Gujarat, which probably represented one of the last strongholds of Buddhism. Our record states that 500 monks were living in this *vihāra*.—(A.S. Altekar, EI, XII, No. 12, 1935).—See also 884 A.D. *Supra*.

- 869 The Saiñdhava king Mahāsāmanta Rāṇaka, son of Agguka and grandson of Kṛṣṇarāja, issued from Bhūtāmbilikā (Ghumli) the grant of a village situated in Pacchatrī (Pachtardi) Viṣaya. The details about the donee, the date, the dūtaka etc. are not available, as the second plate of the grant is not recovered. The concluding portion on the first plate contains some reference to Queen Kṣemeśvarī, who was, very probably, a daughter of king Kṣemarāja of the Cāpa dynasty.—(*Ghumli Plates* : EI, XXVI 207 ff.)
- 869 The Saiñdhava king Agguka, son of Jaika I, abdicated the throne in favour of his son Rāṇaka and participated in his coronation himself. This may, probably, be due to Agguka's apprehension that his elder brother may resume his principality after his death.—(A. S. Altekar, EI., XXVI 194 f.)
- 870 Addaka was succeeded by his son Pulakeśi.
- 871 The Rāṣṭrakūṭa P.M.P. Pṛthvivallabha Amoghavarṣa I from the metropolis Mānyakheta issued the grant of the village Jharivallikā in 'Sanjāna Twenty-four', to four Brāhmaṇas who hailed from Karahāḍa. The grant was made on the occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa Parvan in the Puṣya (Pausa) month of Nandana Samvatsara, corresponding to Ś. 793 (871 A.D.). Mahattama Gogu Rāṇaka was the Dūtaka. The grant was composed by Dharmādhikaraṇika Guṇadhavala, born in the Vālabha Kāyastha lineage.—(*Sanjān Plates* : EI, XVIII, 235; JBBRAS, XXII, p. 116).
- The traditional account of the origin of this lineage is given in detail in the *Udayasundari-Kūṭhā* by Sodḍhala, of the same Vālabha Kāyastha lineage, composed some time between 1026 A.D. and 1050 A.D.—(C. D. Dalal, G.O.S., No. 11, 1920).
- C. 873 A fragmentary inscription (EI, XIX, p. 175), now deposited in the Barton Museum at Bhavnagar, mentions the name (Va)rāha which reminds one of ' Ādirarāha ', the *biruda* of Bhojadeva. It is very likely that the inscription is meant for the Pratihāra ruler of Kanauj. It also mentions the hasty retreat of Kṛṣṇarāja to his country, who may be identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Akālavarṣa Kṛṣṇa II (875-911 A.D.), a contemporary of Bhoja.
- 874 The Saiñdhava king Cāmuṇḍarāja was succeeded by his son Agguka III. —(A. S. Altekar, EI, XXVI, 195).
- 874-5 A village in the Svarṇamañjarī viṣaya was granted by the Saiñdhava king, Mahāsāmanta Rāṇaka in G.S. 555 (874-5 A.D.). One-half of its revenues was assigned to a group of temples dedicated to Hari (Viṣṇu), Haridaśva (Sūrya), Vināyaka (Gaṇapati) and the Mātṛis (Mothers), which were created on the outskirts of the city by Śivarudra, a *kurpaṭin* of Vasiṣṭha *gotra*. The other half of the revenues was assigned to the head of a *maṭha* (monastery) whose name is left unspecified. Prince Jaika himself officiated as the Dūtaka of the

edict, which was composed by Vakula, the scribe.—(*Ghumli Plates*, EI, XXVI, 212 ff.)

876 Cālukya Mahāsāmaṇṭa Avanivarman I was succeeded by his son Balavarman.

876 Two records from Gwalior (*Gopādrī*) are dated in the month of Vaiśākha V. S. 932 (876 A.D.), and Māgha Śukla *dvitīyā*, V S. 933, respectively. The first one of the time of Ādivarāha (Bhojadeva) (EI, I, p. 156), refers to Nāgara Bhaṭṭakumāra of the Varjjāra family, originally from Ānandapura in the Lāṭa province, and mentions the appointment of Vāillabhaṭṭa as Warden of Marches (*मार्गद्वय*) by Rāmadeva (evidently Rāmabhadra), and his son Alla, who succeeded him in that office to the guardianship of Gopādrī (Gwalior) by Ādivarāha. It further refers to the construction of a Viṣṇu temple by Alla, which was consecrated in the Vikrama year 932 (876 A.D.).

877 The other record from Gwalior dated in the V. S. 933 (877 A.D.) and of the time of the Pratihāra Parmeśvara Bhojadeva, (EI, I, p. 159) records four donations to the two temples which had been built by Alla, the son of Vāillabhaṭṭa, called in this record ' the guardian of the fort ' (*कोटपाल*) of Gopādrī (Gwalior). The donee of the first record (875 A.D., EI, I, p. 159 ; Cunningham ASR, II, 332) was the Navadurgā temple, situated beyond the Vṛścikā river (probably another name of the river Suvarṇarekhā), while the donees of the three remaining grants were the Navadurgā temple of the earlier record, and the Viṣṇu temple called Vāillabhaṭṭasvāmin. The donors of these four endowments were the inhabitants of the place (*Śthāna*). The inscription also furnishes material, dealing with the economic life of the period.—(Baij Nath Puri (*The History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras*, p. 53).

877 The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II, Vallabha, Akālavarṣa II, son and successor of Amoghavarṣa I, son-in-law of Kokkalla I of Cedi (Ś. 799-833): He is stated to have made subject to him the Āndhra and Gaṅga kingdoms, as well as those of Kaliṅga and Magadha, and to have engaged in contests with the Gurjaras, Lāṭas and Gauḍas. ' The grant describes him as having put an end to the arrogance of Lāṭa. '—(*Deoli Grant* of Kṛṣṇa III).

Kṛṣṇa's son Jagattuṅga died before his father. He had married Lakṣmī, a daughter of Rāmavīgraha, son of Kokkala of Cedi, and had by her a son, Indra, who succeeded Kṛṣṇa.—(IA., 220).

879 Śrīpati Rāṭhor, is said to have ascended the throne of Kanauj, on which occasion he feasted eighty-four tribes of Brāhmaṇas and bestowed sixteen villages in Sāśan, North Gujarat, on the sixteen branches of the Cibaḍiā Brāhmaṇas. (V. Sam. 936, 879 A.D.).—(I.A., III, 41).

880 The Unā inscription (EI, IX, pp. 6) dated in V.S. 936 (880 A.D.) of the Pratihāra P.M.P. Bhojadeva, and issued by his feudatory the Cālukya Mahā-

sāmanta Avanivarman II, mentions that Balavarman, father of Avanivarman II had defeated a certain Visadha, and, by slaying Jijjapa and, other kings, 'freed the earth from the Hūṇa race'—(मुवनमिदभागिनो हूण-वंशेनाहीनम् । श्लो. १७). This clearly suggests that the Hūṇas were still looked down upon as a nomadic and barbarous race. The person who dealt the blow, and freed the earth from the menace of this race was—the feudatory of the supposed ally of the Hūṇas—the Gurjara king of Kanauj.

This political and social complex, rule out the possibility of Hūṇa-Gurjara alliance, as proposed by Jackson and others, and there is not a shadow of a sound reason for thinking that the Gurjaras accompanied the Hūṇas as *particeps criminis*, when the evidence is to the contrary.—(Baij Nath Puri, *The History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras*, 1959, p. 4).

880-937 The various *Gacchas* of the Jaina Yatis originated in the north with the 84 disciples of Uddyotana Sūri. According to the *Kharataragaccha-paṭṭāvalī* (IA, XI, 248) he flourished 500 years after Devarddhigani. He became *Ācārya* in 880 A.D. Paṭṭāvalīs give 994 V.S. i.e. 937 A.D. as the year of his death. Uddyotana Sūri died on a pilgrimage which he had undertaken from Mālavadeśa to Śātruhjaya.

882-883 A temple of Viṣṇu as Yajñavarāha was built by Bhuvāka in the time of the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Bhoja at Prithudaka, near Prāci-Sarasvatī in 882-883 A.D.—(EI, I, p. 187; Cunningham, ASR II, p. 224).

884 The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhāravarṣa Dhruvarāja issued, from the camp at Khetaka, a grant of the village Dhadyāsaha situated in Suhila *viṣaya*, and dedicated it to the Kāmpilya-tīrtha (containing a Buddhist *Mahāvihāra* and a shrine of Buddha Bhaṭṭāraka) on the bank of Madvāpī in the Kāntāragrāma Division. The grant was made on the occasion of Dhanuṣ-Saṅkrānti on the second day of the bright half of Mārgaśīra in Ś. 806 (884 A.D.). Prince Karkarāja officiated as the Dūtaka. The grant was composed by Dindetana, the Official in charge of *Saṅdhivigraha* and *Akṣapaṭala* (Records), a resident of Valabhi.—(EI, XXII 64; EI XXVII p. 320). See, also 867 A.D.

886 A village in the Svarṇamañjarī (?) *viṣaya* was granted by Mahāsāmañt-ādhipati Agguka III of the main Saiṇdhava line on the occasion of the lunar eclipse* in G. E. 567 (886 A.D.). The unspecified month seems to be Mārgaśīra. The donees of the grant were two Brāhmaṇas of Vatsa *gotra* residing at Gomutrikā (Gomtā). The charter was composed by Jojjha.—(*Ghumli Plates*, EI, XXVI, 217 ff.).

* It was not a New-Moon day as mentioned by Dr. Altekar (EI, XXVI, 218), for, the conjunction of the Moon was with Svarbhānu (Rāhu) and not with Sun.—(H. G. Shastri).

888 The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Akālavarṣa Kṛṣṇarāja, residing at Āṅkuleśvara (Ankleshvar), having bathed at Bhāgavatatīrtha in the Narmadā river, issued

the grant of land on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the Amāvāsyā day of Caitra in Ś. 810 (888 A.D.). The grant consisted in the village Kaviṭhasādhi situated in 'Variāvi One hundred-sixteen' of Koṅkana Viṣaya. It was issued to two Brāhmaṇa brothers of Kuṇḍina *gotra*, residents of Variāvi (Variav). The grant was composed by Jajjaka, the Official in charge of Peace and War.--(*Bagumra Plates*: IA., XIII, 65).

888 Kṛṣṇa Akālavarṣa of Aṅkuleśvara was a prince of the Second Branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty of Gujarat, a successor of Dhruva II, and possibly the son of his brother Daṇṭivarman. Kṛṣṇa Akālavarṣa is the latest known of the Gujarat Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Between Ś. 810 and Ś. 832 Gujarat seems to have been recovered by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the main line under Kṛṣṇa II.—(*Bagumra Copper-plate*; Monday April 15th, Ś. 810). His *Kapadvanj Grant* of Ś. 832 represents him as Sovereign of Gujarat.—(IA., xiii, 65; IA. XVIII, 90 L EI, III, 54; *Bom. Gaz.* 303).

888 From the Bagumra plates of Kṛṣṇa (IA., XIII, p. 68) of the Gujarat Branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, dated 888 A.D., we learn that the land-tax was collected in three instalments: one in Bhādrapada or September, one in Kārtika or November, and one in March.

This record, it is interesting to note, partially confirms the statement of Bhaṭṭasvāmin, the commentator of the *Arthaśāstra*, that the *kara* or the land-tax was paid in the months of Bhādrapada, Caitra and the like, (*Arthaśāstra*, II, 15), and the statement of Kulluka (on *Manu*, VIII, 307) that the tax was gathered every year in Bhādrapada and Pausa. Such arrangement for the farmers by the government was inevitable, since the tax was usually collected in kind and not in cash.—(Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 227-28).

890 Dhruvabhāta, the elder son of Pulakeśi, succeeded his father.

890-920 Mahendrapāla was not only a good administrator, but also a patron of literature, as we find that literary activities were not stagnant in his period. We notice that Rājaśekhara, the dramatist and poet, was his *Guru* or spiritual teacher. The colophon of the *Karpūramāñjarī* runs:—

इति श्रीमान् महाराष्ट्रचूडामणिना महेंद्रपालोपाध्यायेन राजशेखरेण बालकविना कविराजेन विरचिते चतुर्थे जवनिकान्तरं समाप्तम् ।

The gradation is significant, as it suggests that Rājaśekhara was successively appointed to the offices of Junior Poet, Chief Poet, and Preceptor. The poet calls himself the son of a *Mahāmantri* or high minister, the *Guru* or *Upādhyāya* of Nirbhayarāja *alias* Mahendrapāla and the *Guru* of Mahipāla, the crest jewel of the family of Raghu. Rājaśekhara himself traces his poetic descent from Vālmiki through one Bhaṭṭarimeṭha, and the well-known Bhavabhūti. He enjoyed the patronage of Mahendrapāla and his son Mahipāla, at whose

court, or by whose command, the *Bālabhārata* was staged. The 'Prologue' of the *Bālabhārata* or *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava* contains an eulogy of Mahīpāla.

890-920 Rājaśekhara, the teacher of king Mahendrapāla of Kanauj, says in his *Karpūramañjarī* that his accomplished wife Avaṁtisuṇḍarī was descended from the Cāhuāṇa family (*i.e.* from a Kṣatriya family). This shows that inter-caste marriages were in vogue in his times.

890-920 'The people of Lāṭa are haters of Sanskrit, and so they employ the Prākṛit for the sake of grace and beauty', says Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, Adh. VII :—

पठन्ति लट्भे लाटाः प्राकृतं संस्कृतद्विषः ।

जिह्वा ललितोच्चापलब्ध-सौन्दर्यमुद्रया ॥ —काव्यमीमांसा, अ. ७

The people of Lāṭa country are described as fond of Prākṛit language (Ch. X, p. 51) :—

गौडाणाः संस्कृतस्थाः परिवितरत्रयः प्राकृते लाटदेश्याः ।

सापभ्रंशप्रयोगाः सकलमरुवष्टकसादानकाश्च ॥ —काव्यमीमांसा, अ. १०

890-920 The poet Rājaśekhara, author of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, the *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, the *Viddhaśālabhaṇjikā*, and the *Karpūramañjarī*, flourished under Mahendrapāla and his son Mahīpāla, who ruled over the country of Madhyadeśa, with its capital at Kanauj.—(IA., xvi, 175 ff. ; 170-1).

From the 'Asni inscription' (V.S. 947 = 917-18 A.D.) and the 'Siyodini inscription' (EI, Vol. I, p. 171) it is known that Mahendrapāla (890-908 A.D.) and his son Mahīpāla (910-940 A.D.) belonged to the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty. Rājaśekhara belonged to the courts of both the father and the son; but the major part of his life was spent in the court of Mahendrapāla, who is said to have been his disciple in all his plays. Mahīpāla seems to have maintained the poet only in the earlier part of his reign, since *Bālabhārata*, the only drama to be performed in his presence remains incomplete, and appears to be the poet's last composition.—(K. S. Ramaswami: Introduction, 3rd Edn. 1950, *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, p. xii-iii).

890-920 A *Kesara* flower falling from the stem, is compared by Rājaśekhara with the naval of a Lāṭa lady while describing the full-blossom spring :

लाटीनामिनिसे चक्रास्ति च पतद् द्रुताग्रतः केसरम् । —अ. १८

At another place, while describing the splendour of the cold months of the year, the stray lock of a Lāṭa lady is described as dancing by the gale of wind :

(.....मरुत् ।

लङ्गटे लाटीनां लुठितमलके ताण्डवयति ॥ अ. १८)

Both these references suggest the exquisite beauty of the Lāṭa ladies.

890-920 Rājaśekhara, the author of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, mentions among products of Western India (*Pāścāddeśa*) varieties of bamboos, palm-trees, and date-trees.

Regarding the complexion of the people of different countries, Rājaśekhara remarks that the *Paurastyas* (Eastern people) have dark-black colour: the *Pāścātyas* (Westerners) have white colour, the *Udīcyas* (Northerners) have got fair complexion; and the *Madhyadeśyas* (mid-Indians) have got dark-black, black and white colour.—(*Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* Ch. XVII, p. 96).

- 890-920 Lāṭa ladies are described as bathing in the river Revā (*i. e.* Narmada) in the afternoon (*Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* p. 68), in a verse quoted by Rājaśekhara :—

‘ रेवाजलान्यविरले ग्रहिली क्रियते

लाटाङ्गनाभिरपराङ्गनिमज्जनेषु ।—काव्यमीमांसा, अ. १२

- 890-920 The Surāṣṭra people along with those of Travaṇa and others are described by Rājaśekhara as speaking Sanskrit fluently with Prākṛit accents :—

सुराष्ट्रवणाद्या ये पठन्त्यपितसौष्ठवम् ।

अपभ्रंशावदेशानि ते संस्कृतवचांस्यपि ॥—काव्यमीमांसा, अ. ७

- 890-920 The *Karpūra-manjari* of Rājaśekhara refers to the Kaulas and the supernatural powers possessed by Bhairavanātha. While one may not rely on the evidence of a drama, one can “ hardly question the existence of the Kaulas in the religious life of the people. They combined pleasure with salvation, religion with indulgence in wine and women, and repute for piety with most unrestricted sensuality ”.—(*Karpūra* I, 22-24). As such, they were looked down upon in high society.

- 890-920 Rājaśekhara had a partiality for Lāṭadeśa. *Karpūramanjari*, the heroine of the play of the same name, is the daughter of the king of Lāṭadeśa. *Viddha-sālabhñjikā* also refers to the king of the same country. In the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* (Act X, 48-49), Lāṭa is described as ‘ the crest of the Earth ’. The elegance of speech and beauty of its ladies are dilated upon by him in his *Kāvyas*.

Rājaśekhara represents the people of Lāṭa as preferring Prākṛit and hating Sanskrit. Humour, was then, another peculiarity of *Lāṭi*.—(Vide, Siṃhadeva-gaṇi's commentary on *Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra* (C. 1230 A.D.) :—

‘ लाटी हास्यरसे प्रयोगनिपुणै रीतिः प्रबन्धे कृता । ’

- 892 From Nakṣisapura Mahāsāmaṇṭa Balavaraman of the Cālukya dynasty, who owed allegiance to P.M.P. Mahendrāyudhadeva (*i. e.* Mahendrapāla of the Pratihāras), dedicated the village of Jayapura in ‘ Nakṣisapura Eighty-four ’, to the sun temple of Taruṇāditya situated on the bank of the river Kaṇavīrikā. The grant which records the witness of certain Brāhmaṇas, Vaṇikas and Mahattaras, was composed by Dharāditya and issued in the Valabhī year 574, Māgha Śuddha 6 (892 A.D.), it being attested by Dhūika.—(*Unā Plates* ; EI, IX, 1 ff.).

- 892 The earliest record of the time of the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler Mahendrapāla, successor of the P.M.P. Bhojadeva of Kanauj is the Unā (Saurāṣṭra) Plate

dated in the Valabhī Samvat 574 (= 892 A. D.), which records a grant of land by the Mahāsāmaṇṭa Balavarman, son of Avanivarman (I) of the Cālukya lineage, to a temple of the Sun, named Taruṇādityadeva.—(EI, IX, p. 4).

These Unā grants of the Cālukya feudatory show that the whole of the region, upto the southernmost part of the Saurāṣṭra peninsula, was included in the empire of Mahendrapāla I.—(C. 898-997 A.D.)

- 896 Balavarman was succeeded by his son Avanivarman II. He was also known as 'Yoga'. He defeated kings Yakṣadāsa, Dharaṇivarāha and others (EI, IX, 2ff.). The latter must be identified with Mahāsāmaṇṭādhipati Dharaṇivarāha of Wadhvan.—(Munshi, *Glory that was Gurjaradēśa*, III, 69).
- 897 Pārśva Sūri (pupil of Yakṣadeva Sūri) commented upon 'Vandittusutta' in S. 821 (897 A.D.) in Gāmbhu.
- 899 Mahāsāmaṇṭa Avanivarman II *alias* Yoga of the Cālukya lineage, who owed allegiance to P.M.P. Mahendrapāla, issued the grant of the village Amvalaka of 'Nakṣisapura Eighty-four' in Surāṣṭra-Maṇḍala to the image of Taruṇāditya installed on the bank of the river Kanavīrikā in Samvat 956, Māgha Śudi 6, (899 A.D.). The grant was approved of by Dhūka the Aṇṭapāla (Warden of the Frontier) of the suzerain.—(*Unā Plates*, EI, IX, p. 6).
- 899 Another inscription from Unā (EI, IX, p. 4) dated Vikram Samvat 956 (899 A.D.) on the sixth day of the bright half of Māgha (incidentally the same *tithi* as noticed in the earlier Unā record) of the time of the Pratihāra P.M.P. Mahendrapāladeva, and issued by his feudatory the Cālukya Mahāsāmaṇṭa Avanivarman (II) is very important, as it traces the relation between this feudatory of the Cālukya family of Saurāṣṭra and Gurjara-Pratihāra family of Kanauj. The Sāmaṇṭa-ship appears to have been hereditary. Avanivarman II—Yoga, who succeeded his father in the hereditary office of 'Sāmaṇṭa,' vanquished Yakṣadāsa and put to flight Dharaṇivarāha. He made the grant of the village of Amvalaka in the Saurāṣṭra *maṇḍala* to (a temple of) Taruṇāditya.
- 899 King Agguka III was succeeded by his son Jāika II.—(A. S. Altekar, EI., XXVI, 195).
- C. 900 Among the occasional exactions referred to in records of village-grants, अन्नदमनप्रवेशः is mentioned. This means exemption to the donee from the exactions levied at the time of the arrival of regular and irregular military and police forces. Cāṭas and Bhaṭas were the members of the police and military forces of the State; and when they were quartered in a village while on the march, the villagers had to meet a number of demands of their unwelcome guests.
- C. 900 The proprietary right in the soil was never transferred to the donee, as is

seen from the numerous grants of lands made by the Valabhis, Gurjaras and Nāṣṭrakūṭas. The grantee is entitled only to the land-revenue.

Compare, Nilakanṭha's observations in व्यवहारमयूख (स्वत्वावगम प्रकरण) :—

“संपूर्णपृथिवीमंडलस्य तत्तदग्रामक्षेत्रादौ स्वत्वं तु तत्तदभौमिकानामेव । राज्ञां तु करग्रहणमात्रम् । अत एव इदानीं तत् तत् पारिभाषिकक्षेत्रदानादौ न भूदानसिद्धिः किन्तु वृत्तिकल्पनमात्रमेव ।”—(Altekar, *History of Village Communities in Western India*, p. 86).

C. 900 That Śvetāmbara scholars of Valabhi were given importance is gathered from the *Bhadrabāhu carita* (Ch. IV, verse 133) which states that king Bhūpāla of Karahāṭa invited the Śvetāmbara monks of Valabhi, probably for performing some religious practice. This was done at the request of his queen Nṛkuladevi.—(Luders, 'Kādamba Plates of Prabhūlavarṣa', E.I., IV, p. 333 ff.).

C. 900 Bengal rulers used to recruit soldiers from Kārṇāṭaka and Lāṭa (*Bhāgalpur Plates*, IA, XV, p. 305), a procedure which clearly shows that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominions were inhabited by races, famous all over the country for their martial qualities. Rājasekhara pays a compliment to the bravery of the Kārṇāṭas in his *Viddhaśālabhaṅjikā* when he observes that they were naturally brave (समरकर्मणि निसर्गोद्भवा एव कर्णाटाः । Act IV).—(Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 247).

C. 900 The *Devala-Smṛti* records the changed social outlook of the Hindus which reclaimed those who were lost to the alien faith. This *Smṛti* opens with a question by the sages put to Devala, who was sitting on the banks of the Siṅdhu at ease, as to how Brāhmaṇas and members of other *varṇas*, when carried off by Mlecchas, were to be purified and restored to caste :—

सिन्धुतीरे सुखासीनं देवलं मुनिसत्तमम् ।

समेत्य मुनयः सर्वे इदं वचनमब्रुवन् ॥

भगवन् स्लेच्छनीता हि कथं शुद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ।

ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्रा चैवानुपूर्वशः ॥

—स्मृतीनां समुच्चयः । आनन्दाश्रम ग्रंथमाला, अंक ४, पृ. ८५-८९

The advice given by Devala constitutes the end and scope of the *Smṛti*—a neat and tiny composition not exceeding 90 verses. In the *Smṛti* there is a distinct reference to cases of persons whose parents had embraced the Mleccha religion, as well as to those women who had been ravished, and had also conceived. The *Smṛti* also taboos visits to some frontier provinces like Siṅdha and Sauvira which one could do only on pain of performing *Śuddhi* on return. Purificatory rites are prescribed for persons who returned back to their country from Mlecchadeśa : “Just as a Brāhmaṇa seized by the Mlecchas and afterwards undergoing the appropriate प्रावश्चित्त does not become confounded with the Mlecchas, but returns to his original status of being a Brāhmaṇa, the intelligent soul is not really to be confounded with the body and other material adjuncts.”—[P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstras*, Vol. II, Pt. 1, 391. Cf. पंचदशी (त्रिपतिदीप), श्लो. २३९].

The interesting information is with regard to women in general, and to those who had conceived while in the Mleccha custody in particular. Women who were ravished became pure after the period of menstruation (रजस्वला), with a three days' fast; but those who had conceived could be reclaimed back to their original fold after the delivery of the child. The foetus in the womb of such women, according to Devala, is like a thorn (Śalya) in her body, and when this foreign substance is removed, and she has had her courses, she becomes pure as gold :

विनिस्तृष्टे ततः शल्ये रजसो वाऽपि दर्शने ।

तदा (ततः) सा शुध्यते नारी विमलं काञ्चनं यथा ॥—श्लो. ५१.

The confirmation of this social phenomenon is available from the accounts of the Arab historians. Biladuri and Al-Biruni have mentioned this fact, and they suggest that attempts were made to reclaim back the Hindus who were lost to the alien faith. During the Caliphate of Hasham (723-43 A.D.) Junaid, the governor of Sindh had sent expeditions into the interior of India and spread terror in Rajputana and Gujarat. His successors were Tamin and Hakim. " While Hakim was the governor", writes Biladuri, " the people of Al-Hind apostatised and returned to idolatory excepting those of Kassa; and the Musalmans had no place of security in which they could live".—(*Elliot and Dowson*, Vol. I, p. 126).

The reclamation of the Hindus had become a regular feature till the time of Al-Biruni (Circa 1024 A.D.): " I have been repeated told", says the Muslim historian, " that when Hindu Slaves (in Muslim countries) escape and return to their country and religion, the Hindus order that they should fast by way of expiation, then they keep them in dung stale, and milk of cows for a certain number of days, till they give similar dirt to eat, and more of the like ".—(Translation, Vol. II, p. 162).

The *Devala Smṛti* mentions fasts, like those of *Cāndrāyana* and *Parāka*, and *Pādakṛcchra*, and the use of cow urine (*gomūtra*) and cow-dung (*gomaya*). (Verse 65). These two independent pieces of evidence, thus, corroborate each other.—(Bajj Nath Puri, *The History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras*, p. 116-118).

C. 900 The indigenous (*Deśi*) dance, music and musical instruments, as described by Śārṅgadeva (12th century A.D.) based on old traditions (कथ्यते सर्वैराचार्यै भर्तादिभिः । रसकौमुदी, श्रीकण्ठ) are those that catch the popular ear and touch the very heart of the people of various lands and climes :—

देशे देशे जनानां च यद् रुच्या हृद्गन्धकम् ।

नृत्यं गीतं च वाद्यं च तद्देशीयमिषीयते ॥

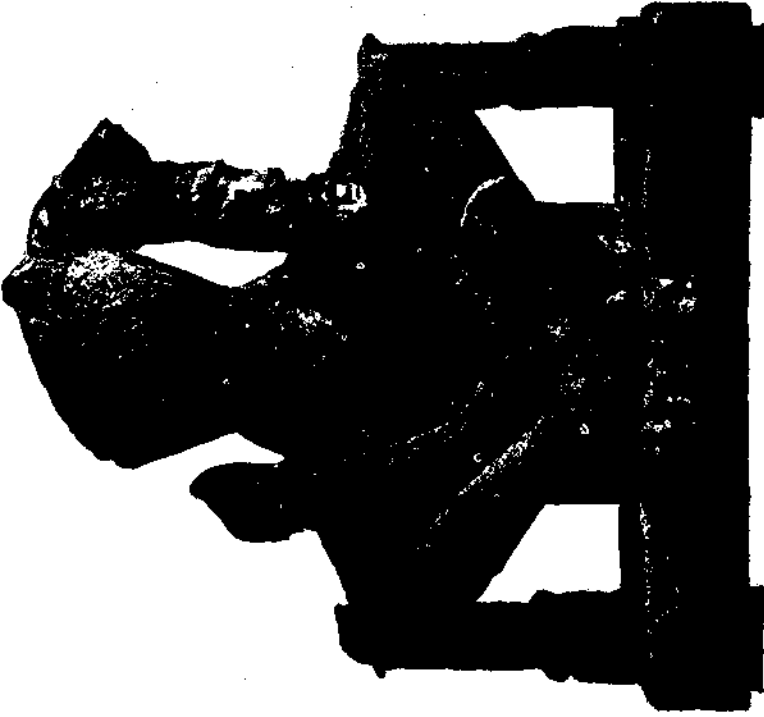
Such local tunes are consequently named after their place of original birth, for example, *Gurjarī*, *Mālavī*, *Mārā*, *Khambhāyātī*, *Bilāval* (from Veraval), *Varāḍī*,

Karṇāṭakī, Gauḍī and the like.—(M. R. Majmudar, ' Tradition of Folk-dances in Gujarat ', JISOA, 1949).

- C. 900 The three Muslim historians—Ibn Khurdadba, writer of *Kitābu-l Masalik Wa-l Mamalik* (died in 300 A.D.=912 A.D.); Al Biladuri, author of *Fatuhu-l Buldan* (died in A.H. 279=892-3 A.D.); and Al-Idrisi who was born towards the end of the eleventh century A.D., and wrote *Nuzhatu-l Mushtak*—had no occasion to visit India, but they have mentioned the political state in that period. They are unanimous with reference to the king of Jurz or Jurr, who was antagonistic towards Balhāra and Islam. Balhāra was the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, with his capital at Mankir (Mānyakhēṭa).—(Sprengers: Masudi, Preface, quoted by Baij Nath Puri, *The History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras*, p. 12). Merchant Sulaiman, the writer of *Salsilā-tu-t-tawārikh* (237 A.H.=851 A.D.) describes the king of Jurz having great riches, and having numerous camels and horses.
- C. 900 The Cāpa king Dhruvabhaṭa was succeeded by his younger brother Dharāṇī-varāha.
- C. 900 From the synonyms given in the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* of Halāyudha we learn that Surāṣṭra was famous for its bell-metal, while Vaṅga was well-known for its tin-industry.
- 904 King Jāika of the Saiṇdhava dynasty issued a grant of land to two sons of Sīhāditya on the occasion of a solar eclipse in the G.E. 585 (904 A.D.). The grant was composed by Jajñagya (*Morbi Plates*: EI., II, 257). The donor seems to be identical with Jāika II, son of Agguka III, whose Ghumli copper-edict is dated G. E. 596 (915 A.D.).—(A. S. Altekar, EI., XXVI, 195 f.).
- 906 The *Upamiti-bhava-prapañca kathā* is composed by Siddharṣi (Thursday, 1st May, V. Sam. 962=906). According to the *Prabhāvakacarita* of the Jains, Siddharṣi was the grandson of Suprabhadeva, who had two sons, Datta and Śubhaṅkara, the latter being Siddha's father. The same authority makes him a cousin of the poet Māgha, who in his *Śiśupālavadha* calls himself a son of Dattaka and grandson of Suprabhadeva. But it is difficult to reconcile this date with those of the various authors who are said to quote from him, as the period of Māgha's activity falls considerably earlier.—(Ref. circa 650-700 A.D.)
- 910 Kapaḍvaṇja copper-plate of Pracāṇḍa, son of Dhavalappa, of the Brahṇa-vāka family, feudatory ruler of a part of Gujarat under Kṛṣṇa II, Rāṣṭrakūṭa —Ś. 832. (910 A.D.).—(EI, i, 52).
- 910 Śubhatuṅga Akālavarṣa Kṛṣṇarāja II issued a grant of land from the territory under the charge of Candragupta, the Daṇḍanāyaka of Mahāsāmaṇṭa Pracāṇḍa (son of Dhavalappa of Brahṇavāka lineage). The grant consisted in the village Vyāghrāsa (Vaghās) situated in ' Ruriddhā Ten, in Karpaṭavāṇijya



(A) Seated Sūrya, from Raṇu-Pīplī, Pādrā, Baroda Dist.
(p. 274)



(B) Seated Sūrya, Roḍā, Idar Territories,
Baroda Museum Open Gallery. (p. 273)

Plate LXIX



(1) Inscription on the pillar at Gop Temple, which does not admit of decipherment.

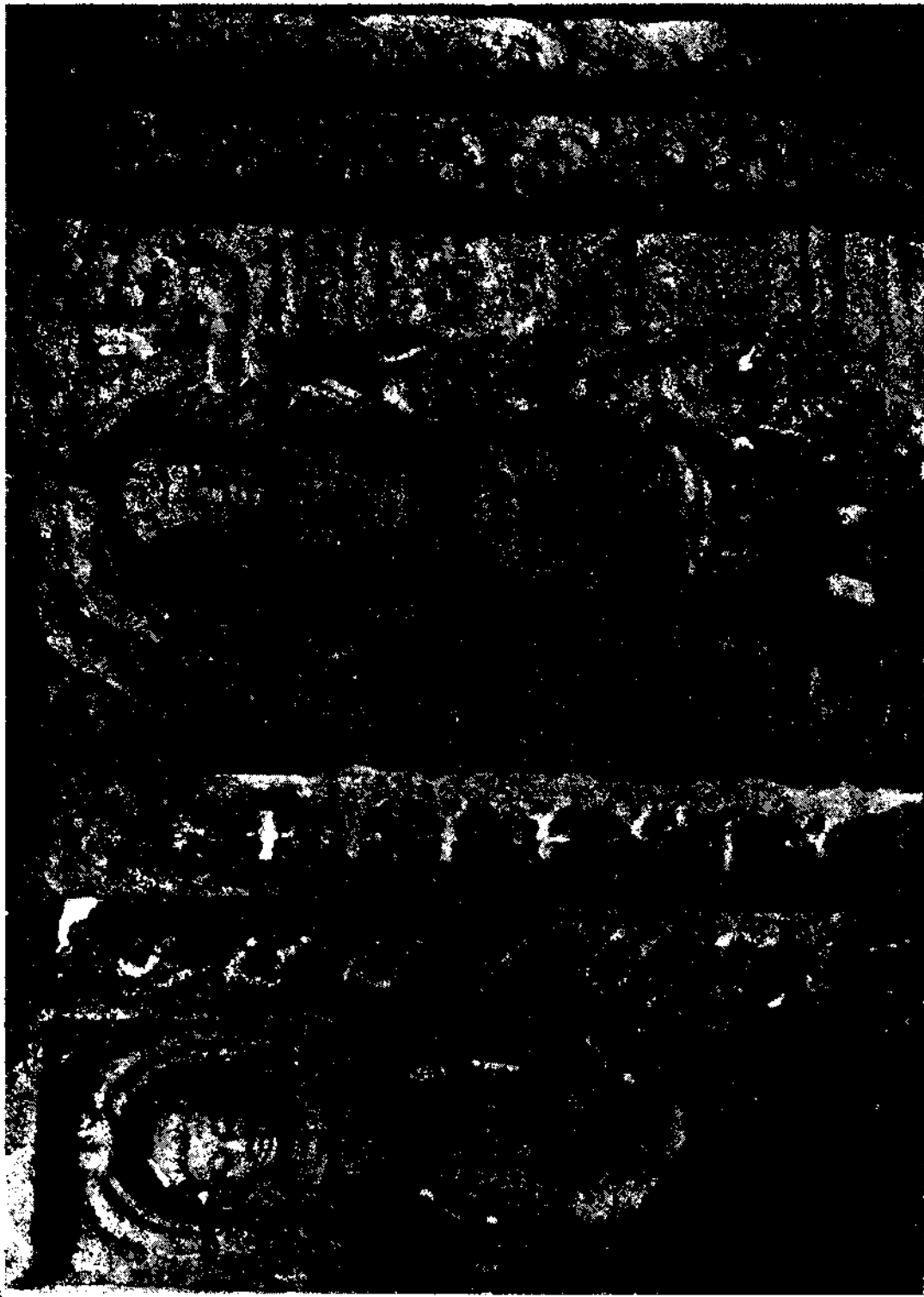
(2) Inscription on two sides of the pedestal of the Buddha Bronze from Ferguson Museum, Bhuj (Kaccha).
(See p. 215 & Plate LVII).



(A) Dāśarathī Rāma from Varāha temple,
Kadvār. (p. 277)



(B) Haladhara Balarāma from Kāvi,
Jarāmbusar Taluka, Dist. Broach. (p. 277)



Kārtikeya with an attendant, in the rosette frame. From Kapuri Village, near Baroda. (p. 275)

(Kapaḍvañj) Eighty-four,' in 'Harsapura (Harsol) Seven-hundred-fifty'. It was received by Brāhmaṇa Brahmanabhaṭṭa of Bhāradvāja *gotra*, resident of Vallūrikā. The grant was made on the occasion of the Full Moon day of Vaiśākha in Ś. 832 (910 A.D.). The grant was composed by Kulaputraka Ammaiya. It was authenticated by the autographs of Akkuka, brother of Pracanda and Candragupta.—(*Kapaḍvañj Plates* : EI., I, 52).

910 Members of the District Council, विषय-महत्तराः are referred to in the Kapaḍvañj grant of Kṛṣṇa II dated 910 A.D. (EI., I, p. 55); and those of the Provincial Council राष्ट्रमहत्तराः in the Dhulia plates of Kakka, son of Dhruva (EI., VIII, p. 186). These bodies were not innovations of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas; for the Vadner plates of Kalacuri king Budharāja, dated 609 A.D. (EI. XII, p. 130) also refer to राष्ट्रमहत्तराधिकारिणः 1—(Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 158-59).

913 Muni Yaśobhadra of Saṇḍeraka *gaccha* became 'Sūri' in Pallikā (modern Pāli), which is one mile from the Pāli station of Rājasthān.—(JTSS—Vol. I, pt. I, p. 175). This name occurs in an inscription lying in the temple of Navalakhā (Pārśva) of this place, in V.S. 969 (913 A.D.). This is what we learn from *Upadeśaratnākara*.—(*Ibid*, p. 175).

C. 914 Ś. 836: Grant from Haḍḍālā: by Dharaṇivarāha, Cāpa chief of Vardhamāna (Wadhvan) in Eastern Saurāṣṭra, brother and successor of Dhruvabhaṭṭa, whose immediate predecessors were: his father, Pulakeśin, grandfather Addaka, and great-grand-father Vikramārka, who may be placed about 800 A.D. .

Dharaṇivarāha was the vassal of Mahipāla, probably a prince of the Cūḍāsamā dynasty of Junagadh.—(IA, xii, 190; XVIII, 90).

915 The practice of performing the 'tulā-puruṣa' ¹ and the 'hiraṇyagarbha' ² ceremony is referred to in the following Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions:—

Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra III performed 'tulāpuruṣa' in Ś. 836 (915 A.D.)—(EI, ix, 33 f.).

Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda IV performed 'tulāpuruṣa' in Ś. 850 (928 A.D.)—(EI. VII, 36).

Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Daṇṭidurga performed 'hiraṇyagarbha'.—(EI, xviii, 243 f.).

Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Suvarṇavarṣa Prithvivallabha celebrated *paṭṭabandha* festival with *tulāpuruṣa* in Ś. 852 (930 A.D.)—(EI, VII, p. 26).

¹ *Tulā puruṣa* involves the weighing of donor on scales against gold, which is thereafter distributed among the Brāhmaṇas.

² *Hiraṇyagarbha* involves the performance of Sacraments on the donor, seated in a gold vessel, which is thereafter cut up and distributed among the Brāhmaṇas.

914 The Bagunra Plates of Indra, inform us that old men vividly remembered in 914 A.D. (when the Plates were issued) the brave feats of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperors in the sanguinary wars with the Gurjaras. The Crown-Prince Jagat-

tuṅga also participated in these wars, and so also did the Cedi ruler.—(IA., XII, p. 265).

As against the evidence adduced by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records, the Barton Museum inscription mentions Kṛṣṇarāja (the last known ruler of the Gujarat Branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas) retreating hastily to his country.

- 914 The Haddālā grant of the Cāpa Mahāsāmantādhipati Dharaṇivarāha, feudatory of the Rājādhirāja Mahīpāladeva of Ś. 836 (914 A.D.) indicates that Mahīpāla held at least Gujarat up to 914 A.D. The grant was issued from Vardhamāna.—(IA., XII, p. 193 ; IA., XXIII, p. 114).

The invasion of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III (c. 915-17 A.D.) and the defeat of Mahīpāla I (c. 914-43 A.D.) soon after 915 A.D. had very serious consequences for the fortunes of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire.—(DHNI, p. 934).

- 914 The earliest known date of Mahīpāla is Ś. 836 (914 A.D.) furnished by the Haḍḍālā plates. It seems clear from Āryakṣemiśvara's *Caṇḍakaśiṅka* that Mahīpāla bore the name of Kārttikeya ; for the poet refers to his patron as ' Mahīpāla ' in the Prologue of his play, and as ' Kārttikeya ' in the last verse of the 5th Act.

- C. 914 Trivikramabhaṭṭa, son of Nemāditya, and author of the *Damayantikathā* flourished under Indra III, being the author of ' Nausāri grants '. He is possibly identical with the Trivikrama, mentioned as the sixth ancestor of the astronomer Bhāskara and father of Bhāskarabhaṭṭa, a contemporary of Bhoja of Dhārā. The authorship of a *Madālasācampū* is also ascribed to him.—(EI, i, 340 ; Weber, *Catal.* ii, 1205).

Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra III, Nityavarṣa, succeeded his grand-father, Kṛṣṇa II, his father Jagattuṅga having previously died. Married Vijambā, daughter of Anaṅgadeva, son of Arjuna of Cedi.—(JBRAS, xviii, 253, 257, 261 : IA., xii, 224).

- 914 The Haḍḍālā (Saurāṣṭra) grant of the Cāpa Mahāsāmantādhipati Dharaṇivarāha, a feudatory of the Rājādhirāja Mahīpāladeva was issued from Vardhamāna. The inscription, written on two elliptical plates beginning with an invocation to Dhanadeśvara (Śiva), gives the legendary origin of the Cāpa from the bow (*Cāpa*) of Śaṁbhu. In that family was born Nṛpa Vikramāṅka— his son Rājā Addaka followed by Pulakeśi and Dhruvabhaṭṭa, and the latter's younger brother king Dharaṇivarāha residing at Vardhamāna (modern Wadhwan in East Saurāṣṭra) ; who was a feudatory of Rājādhirāja Parmeśvara Śrī Mahīpāladeva, as is evident from the expression : समधिगताशेष-महाशब्द महासामन्ताधिपतिः । The country ruled by him was named after his grandfather (Aḍḍanadeśa). This feudatory prince granted to Maheśvarācārya on the day of the Winter Solstice, the village named Viṁkala connected with the Kanthi-

kasthali, on the fourth of the bright half of Pauṣa, Śaka Samvat 836 (23rd December 914 A.D.).

This inscription mentions a number of village officials *grāmapati* (the lord of the village), *mahattara* (the headman), *Kuṣumbika* and *madhyaga*. It is also mentioned in this inscription that the proprietor of the land had a right of forced labour, which was conferred along with the gift.

The village of Viṃkala was conveyed as a reward for learning (विद्याधनम्) to Maheśvarācārya, the son of Śivadevācārya who belonged to the Āmaradakṣamsthāna, a name of Kālabhairava ; and among the rights and privileges associated with the transfer were the share of the produce (साक्षणि भोगभोगः ।), and of forced labour (विष्टिक). This Brāhmaṇa could not cultivate the land himself, and so he had to depend upon his rights to produce and forced labour.

This fact is also noticed in the Sañjān Plates of Amoghavarṣa (EI, XVIII, p. 235, 1.67) which mentions विष्टिक—forced labour—as the right accruing from the ownership of the land, and it passed on with the change in proprietorship.

915

Mahāsāmantādhipati Jāika II of the Jayadratha dynasty at Bhūtāmbilikā (Ghumli) issued a grant of a village in Svarṇamanjari viṣaya. Three-fourths of the revenue of the village were to be spent for the *Nanna-Mathikā*, which had been founded by a merchant Nanna of Bhillamāla (Bhinmāl), and one-fourth of the revenue was to be utilised for feeding Brāhmaṇas every day. (Ś. 836 Āṣāḍha śudi 15=915 A.D.).—(*Ghumli Plates*, EI, XXVI, 222 ff.)

This is the last known date of the Saiṇdhava dynasty.

Six copper-plate inscriptions of the early Saiṇdhava rulers of the *nagarī* of Bhūtāmbilikā, have been published (See CI, XXVI, pp. 185 ff.). The latest of the Ghumli plates of the Saiṇdhava kings belongs to the reign of Jāika II, and is dated in the Gupta year 596, which is given in the record, both in words in a verse and in numerical figures of the decimal system, and not in symbols. The date of the said record, therefore, falls in 915 A.D.

989

The *Ghumli Plates of Baskaladeva* (V. S. 1045 ; 989 A.D.) record the grant of a village, made by Rāṇaka Bāṣkaladeva, surnamed Kumkumalola, for the merits of his parents, in favour of a Brāhmin in 989 A.D.. Bāṣkala, whose capital was at Bhūtāmbili, within the *Mahādurga Adhikaraṇa* in Jyeṣṭhukadeśa, is stated to have made the grant after taking a bath in the Yajñavāṭatīrtha (the Kuṇḍa near the Piṇḍārā temple) at a holy place called Piṇḍatāraka (modern Piṇḍara on the Gulf of Kaccha, about 10 miles north of Bhātia). The word '*Adhikaraṇa*' seems to be used in the sense of an administrative unit, probably lying around the *durga* or fortress at Bhūtāmbili where Bāṣkala resided. The gifted village belonged to Navasurāṣṭra *maṇḍala*. The name '*Navasurāṣṭra*' occurs several times in the Ghumli copper-plate inscriptions of the Saiṇdhava

kings of the Jayadratha-vāṃśa. The donee was Śrottriya Dāmodara, son of Caṇḍāita, an adhvaryu Brāhmaṇa of the Bhardvāja *gotra*, and an inhabitant of Aṇhilapura. Bāskala may have been a feudatory of Mūlarāja Caulukya (C. 961-996).

This inscription discloses the existence of a new dynasty of rulers at Bhūtāmbili in the second half of the 10th Century, which was previously the capital of the Saiṇdhavas of the Jayadratha-vāṃśa.

An interval of nearly three quarters of a century is known between the records of Jāika II and Bāskala, both issued from the same city. During this interval the dynasty of the Saiṇdhavas of the Jayadratha-vāṃśa, seems to have been extirpated and new rulers were established in the city, which is described here as a smaller geographical unit round Bhūtāmbili, called *Jyesthuka-deśa*, which name reminds us of the Jethvās, who are among the inhabitants of the area even today. According to tradition, Ghumli was the capital of Jethvā Rājputs, the Rāṇās of Porbunder. If Bāskala was a Jyesthuka, the Jethvā Rāṇās of Porbunder may be regarded as his distant descendants. 'Jethvās' were so called, because they ruled over Jyesthuka-deśa.

In the grant of the village, the western boundary is given as *Paura-velākula*, i.e. the modern Porbunder (literally, the harbour of *Pôr* = *Paura*). Thus this inscription points to the existence of Porbunder as a harbour, as early as the 10th Century A.D.—(D. C. Sircar, 'Ghumli Plates of Bāskaladeva', *CI.*, XXXI, No. 1, January 1955).

- 915 The Rāṣṭrakūṭa P.M.P. Pṛthvivallabha Nityavarṣa Indrarāja III issued from his capital Mānyakheṭa a grant of land to Prabhākara Bhaṭṭa of Lakṣmaṇa *gotra* in the Ś. 836, Phālguna Śuddha 7 (915 A.D.). The grant was made by the king when he came to Kuruṇḍaka, and undertook the *tulā-puruṣa* ceremony on the occasion of *Paṭṭabandha* and made a donation of 400 villages (including Kuruṇḍaka) along with an amount of 20 lacs of *dramma*s. The land consisted in the village Umbara (Bagumrā) near Kammanijja (Kamrej) in Lāṭadeśa. The grant was composed by Trivikrama Bhaṭṭa, identified with the author of *Madālasācampū*.—(*Bagumra Plates*, EI, IX, 24 ff.).

- 915 The Rāṣṭrakūṭa P.M.P. Nityavarṣa Narendradeva (i.e. Indrarāja III) of Mānyakheṭa issued in Ś. 836 (915 A.D.) another grant of land on the same occasion. The grant consisted in the village Tenna (Ten) near Kammanijja (Kamrej) in the Lāṭadeśa and was received by Sidha Bhaṭṭa, an emigrant from Pāṭaliputra. This grant also was composed by Trivikrama Bhaṭṭa,—(*Bagumra Plates*, EI, IX, 24 ff.).

From this Tenna a sculpture of Viṣṇu, of an earlier period is discovered by Dr. R. N. Mehta.—(See ' *Antiquities* ' ; p. 209 *infra*).

915-945 The Kardā plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Karka II state that Yuvarājadeva gave his daughter Kaṇḍakādevī in marriage to Baddiga *alias* Amoghavarṣa III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of Mānyakheta, who was an old man when he ascended the throne after his nephew Govinda IV. As he was reigning from *circa* 935 A.D. to 939 A.D., his father-in-law Yuvarājadeva I might have flourished in the period 915-945 A.D. .

Yuvarājadeva was a patron of men of letters. Rājaśekhara flourished at his court. In his early days the poet was attracted by the more prosperous court of Kanauj, where he wrote his Sanskrit plays *Bālarāmāyaṇa* and *Bāla Bhārata* (or *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava*), and the Prākṛit drama *Karpūramañjarī* during the reigns of the Gurjara—Pratihāra Emperors Mahendrapāla I and his son Mahīpāla. But as the glory of the latter prince declined, owing to the invasion of his kingdom by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra III, and, later on, due to the raids of Yuvarājadeva I, Rājaśekhara seems to have returned to Tripurī, the home of his ancestors Akālajalada and others, in the train of the victorious Kalacuri king. There he composed his third Sanskrit play *Viddhaśālabhaṇjikā* and the rhetorical work *Kāvyaṁīmāṁsā*. The former was staged at the Kalacuri court, and contains a poetic account of certain political events of Yuvarājadeva I's reign. It is a play of harem-intrigue.

C. 917 Allatārāja, son of Bhartṛbhata I and his queen Mahālakṣmī of Rāṭhōd dynasty was a Jaina king of Chitor. He ruled from V. S. 922 to 1010. A wife of Allatārāja was suffering from Revatī-doṣa. Balibhadra once came to Hatthunḍi and while staying there, he cured the wife of Allatārāja of the disease. —(JPI—pt. I, p. 590).

Predecessors of persons of Hatthunḍi gotra, now-a-days residing in Bali, Sādaḍi, Saṇḍeraka and Mewar, became devotees of the Balibhadra Sūri, in Circa V.S. 973 (917 A.D.).—(*Ibid*, p. 601).

917 Mahāsāmantādhipati Dharaṇivarāha at Vardhamāna (Waḍhwān), feudatory of Rājādhirāja Paramesvara Mahīpāladeva donated the village of Sthali, to Maheśvarācārya, on the occasion of Uttarāyana in S. 839, Pauṣa sudi 4 (917 A. D.). The grant was composed by Sāndhivigrahika Mahindaka.—(*Harḍāla Plates*, IA, 190 ff.).

C. 916 Raṇteja, also called Ratnāvalī, is situated in Chānasmā taluka. It appears, that village came into existence in about V.S. 900 to 950. For, in one of the Jaina temples of this village, we come across two inscriptions (See, *Prāchina Jaina Lekha-Saṁgraha* Pt. II, Nos. 466-467 and JTSS—Vol. I, p. 76) dated V.S. 1157, wherein the name of this village is recorded as Rāntaija. These inscriptions mention the installation of two Jaina images, one of Lord Supārśva and the other of Lord Pārśva.

- 920 Ratnāditya, Cāpotkaṭa of Aṇhilvād succeeded Virasimha, (V.S. 976, 920 A.D.).—(See, A.D. 746).
- 928 Grants of the Maitraka kings as well as those of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas given to Brāhmaṇas were to enable them to discharge their religious duties ; but these duties were generally of the Smārta rather than of the Śrauta character. The Sanjān plates of Amoghavarṣa (IA ; XVIII, p. 235) and the Cambay plates of Govinda IV (EI ; VII, p. 41) are the only two exceptions, where it is expressly stated that the grants were made to enable the Brāhmaṇas to perform Vedic sacrifices like *Rājusūya*, *Vājapeya* and *Agniṣṭoma*. In all other cases the grants were made for discharging purely Smārta duties connected with *balī*, *caru*, *vaiśvadeva* etc. This analysis is a convincing proof that in spite of Kumārilla's efforts, the Śrauta religion almost died down in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period.—(Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 278-79).
- 928 Camby Plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda IV state that the king was weighed against gold, as enjoined in the Dharmaśāstra in Ś. 850 (928 A.D.), the ceremony being known as the ' *mahā-dāna* ' or a ' *tulā-puruṣa* '.—(See 915 A.D.).
- 930 The Rāṣṭrakūṭa P. M. P. Suvarṇavarṣa Prthvivallabha Narendradeva celebrated *Paṭṭabandha* festival with *tulāpuruṣa*, and made grants of 600 *agrahāras* and 3 lacs of *suvarṇas* to Brāhmaṇas as well as 800 villages, 4 lacs of *suvarṇas* and 32 lacs of *drammas* to temples, in Ś. 852 (*Khara Saṁvatsara Jyēṣṭha śuddha 10 Somadine*) 930 A.D. .
- On that occasion he also issued a grant of the village Kevaṇja (Kimoj) in Khetaka Maṇḍala of Lāṭadeśa to Nāgamārya of Māṭhara *gotra*, who had left Kāvika (Kāvi) and settled at Mānyakheṭa. The grant was composed by Nāgavarman, son of Gaṅgādhararāya.—(*Camby Plates* : EI., VIII, p. 26).
- 930 Cambay Plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda IV, dated 930 A.D. inform us that this monarch gave away (the revenue of) 400 villages and 32 lakhs of *drammas* or *suvarṇas* for the different temples in his domains. The revenues of an average village in the time of Govinda IV was 500 *suvarṇas* i.e. *Kalanjus*, gold coins, weighing each about a quarter of a *tolā*.—(Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, pp. 219, 290).
- 930 The Cambay and Sāngli plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda IV state that Lakṣmī, the wife of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Jagattuṅga, was the daughter of Raṇavigraha (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 38 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 250); while the Karḍā plates of Karka II say that she was the daughter of Śaṅkaragaṇa, the lord of Cedi,—(*Ind. Ant.*, p. 264). ' Raṇavigraha ' was, thus, known to be a *biruda* of Śaṅkaragaṇa.
- 930 Nāgamārya, the donee of Cambay plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda IV was an immigrant from Kāvi in Gujarat who settled in Mālkheḍ. This shows

that Gujarat Brāhmins were settling down in Karnāṭaka and were being honoured with *brahmadāya* grants.

Epigraphical records prove that Brāhmaṇas of one province were freely going to permanently settle in another. The donee of the Begumrā plates of Indra III was an immigrant from Pāṭaliputra, which indicates that provincial barriers of castes had not arisen in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period.—(Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 335).

- 933 In Devasena's *Nayacakra*, a Prākṛit work on Logic, we are told that the work was originally composed in the *Dohā* metre; but it was subsequently transformed into *Gāthās* by Mailladhavala, because a critic remarked that *Dohā* metre was not suitable for a serious subject like Logic. The date of Devasena, as recorded in one of his works, is V. S. 990 (= 933 A. D.).

- 933 Hariṣeṇa, a Digāmbara monk, pupil of the poet Bharataṣeṇa and grand-pupil of Śrīhariṣeṇa, composed *Byhat-kathā kośa* (having 157 stories) in V. S. 989 (933 A. D.) at Vardhamānapura, which is identified by Dr. A. N. Upādhye, its editor, with a place near modern Wadhwan in Saurāṣṭra.—(Intro., p. 121 to *Byhatkathākośa*).

Dr. Hiralal Jain, however, strikes a different note, as can be seen from his article *The Chief political divisions of India during the 8th century*.—(*Indian Culture*, Vol. XI, No. 41)

- C. 934-40 The Karhād plates of Kṛṣṇa III (c. 940-56) seem to show a renewal of Rāṣṭrakūṭa pressure on the northern provinces of the Gurjara-Pratihāras in the reign of his father Amoghavarṣa III (c. 934-40). That the Rāṣṭrakūṭas advanced so far as Cītrakūṭa is confirmed by the Ahmedabad plates (949-70 A.D.) of the Paramāra Siyaka II (EI, XIX, p. 177-79), a feudatory of Akālavarṣa Kṛṣṇa III. These struggles between the Gurjaras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas produced disorder and anarchic conditions in this area, which indirectly helped the immediate rise of the Caulukyas in Gujarat.—(*Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 934).

- 935 Sāmantasimha Cāpotakāṭa of Aṇhīlvāḍ, succeeds Ratnāditya till V.S. 991 i.e. 942 A.D.

- 936 First Settlement of the Pārsis at Sanjān, according to Prof. S. H. Hodiwala. (See *Infra*, year 716 A.D., and 866 A.D. . See, also Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala's paper on 'The Exact Date of the Arrival of the Pārsis in India', *Kane Festschrift*, pp. 506-414).

The Pārsi tradition mentions that the ruler who gave permission to the first emigrants to settle at Sanjān was named Jādī Rāṇā. According to the *Qissa-i-Sanjaan*, this ruler belonged to the race of the 'Shāhrāyas'. Neither the name nor the race is otherwise known. It is suggested that the original

word *Shahrayan* is a misreading for *Shilharayana* which denotes the Śilāhāras, whose king was Vajjaḍa-deva. Vajjaḍa might have become Jadi, and the emigrants fresh from Iran, not liking to address their benefactors as 'deva', which had in Zoroastrian literature a meaning reverse of that which it bears in Sanskrit, they perhaps preferred to call him 'Rāṇā'.—(Hodivala, *Studies in Pārsi History*, 1920 p. 74).

- 939 Devagupta Sūri, a Kṣatriya by birth, had a fascination for playing on a lute. This he continued to do and thereby violated the rules meant for the Jaina clergy. The Jaina community, therefore, so pressed him that he gave up the designation of 'Sūri', appointed another monk as his successor, and went to Lāṭa.

Henceforth it was decided that in the Upakeśa gaccha, the leader to be appointed should have his *pīṭkula* (paternal descent) and *māṭkula* (maternal descent), too, pure.—(JPI—pt. I, pp. 26-27).

- 939-965 The greatest Apabhraṃśa poet, who has so far come to light is Puṣpadaṇṭa, who wrote his *Mahāpurāṇa*, *Jasahara-Cariu* and *Nayakumāra-cariu* at Mānya-kheṭa under the patronage of the ministers of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III, and his successor.

- 940-950 Siyaka II, a Paramāra Chief ruled over a considerable portion of Saurāṣṭra and the peninsular part of modern Gujarat as a vassal of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas between 940 and 950 A.D. His principality can be said to have included, at one time or another, Lāṭa, Kheṭaka-maṇḍala, modern Mālava and Saurāṣṭra.—(Munshi, *Glory that was Gurjaradeśa*, Part, I, p. 8-9).

- 940 Mammaṭarāja added some amount to the donation given by Vidagdharāja for the temple at Hastikuṇḍi (Hathuṇḍi), as is known from an inscription dated V. S. 956 (940 A.D.).—(JTSS, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 512).

- C. 940 Vira Gaṇi had been to Tharāpadra (Tharāda) some time in the 10th century of the Vikrama era.—(JTSS, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 512.).

- 942 The Śākambharī Inscription of Caulukya Solanki Jayasimha Siddharāja gives the definite date of Caulukya Mūlarāja's accession, as Saṃvat 998=942 A.D.: (*Vasu*=8, *Naṇḍa*=9, *Nidhi*=9: giving the figures, to be read in the reverse order):—

वसुनंदनिष्ठौ वर्षे व्यतीते विक्रमावर्तः ।

मूलदेवनरेशस्तु चूडामणिरभूद् भुवि ॥

—(Vishvesvara Nath Reu, *Sāmbhar Inscription of Jayasimha*, IA. LVII, 234.)

- 941-943 The contemporary Arab observers were greatly impressed with the military strength of the Imperial Pratihāras, whom they called 'Baurah' and 'Kings of Jurz'. The high tribute paid by one of them to the efficiency of the Pratihāra



(B) Vināpāpī Śiva from Koṭeśvara, near Ambāji,
now in Baroda Museum. (p. 316)



(A) Śiva-Pārvati from Roḍā, now in Baroda
Museum. (p. 316)



Dhanapati Kubera, from Kāvi, Jambusara Taluka, Dist, Broach. (p. 276)



Side-view



Back-view

(A) Head of a Tāpasa (1) from Kārvaṇ (p. 275)



Mother-Goddess from Bhinmāl (p. 276)



(A) Nāgarāja with a triple hood of Nāga,
from Vasiṣṭhāśrama, Mt. Ābu. (p. 210)



(C) Kārtikeya from Baroda,
Baroda Museum



(B) Agni from Osiā, Mārwād.

administration is noteworthy. "There is no country in India", says Masudi, "more safe from robbers".—(HIE, I, 4, 21, 23).

- 942 The Gujarat chronicles give a romantic, if unreliable, story of the Caulukya dynasty's origin. The Cāpotkaṣas (also Cāvoṭakas) commonly known as Cāvaḍās, ruled in Pañcāsara in the period Circa 720-956 A.D.

During the reign of Sāmañtasimha *alias* Bhūvaṭa, the last prince of this line, Rāji, Bija, and Daṇḍaka, the 3 sons of Bhuvanāditya, the ruler of Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka in Kanauj started incognito, in the guise of beggars on a pilgrimage to Somanātha. On their way back they attended a cavalry-parade held by Sāmañtasimha. A criticism made by Rāji, on some of the cavalry movements pleased Sāmañtasimha, who taking him to be the scion of some noble family, gave him his sister Līlādevī in marriage. Līlādevī died pregnant, and the child, who was taken alive from his dead mother's womb, was called Mūlarāja, because the operation was performed when the Mūla constellation was in power. Mūlarāja grew up an able and popular prince who succeeded his uncle who was a vassal of the great Gurjara-Pratihāra Empire.—(*Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, pp. 934-35).

- 943 Mularāja I, son of Rāji of Kalyāṇa (probably Kanauj) conquered Sārasvata Maṇḍala (Samvat 998) and founded there the Caulukya or Solāṅkī dynasty of Anhilvāḍpaṭṭan, and reigned till 996 A.D.

The direct descendants of Mūlarāja ruled Gujarat until V.S. 1299 (1243 A.D.). They were succeeded by the Vāghelās, whose last king Karṇa (or Laghukarṇa) Vāghelā was defeated and routed by Alapkhān, a commander of Allāuddīn Khiljī in 1298 A.D.

EPILOGUE

- 945 A village-chief (*grāmapati*) granted in 945 A.D. lands to a community of Scholars (*Vidyārīhi Saṁgha*) and a dwelling house to the teacher of a School (Śālā), which had been founded by a minister of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Kṛṣṇa III. It was further agreed that the Brāhmaṇas of this village were to contribute, to the scholarly body, sums at stipulated rates on occasions of tonsure, investiture with the sacred thread and marriage, while the Pariṣat was to feast the same body whenever a feast was given to Brāhmaṇas. The school was afterwards rebuilt by another chief.—(EI., IV, 60 f.).

- 949 The Harsola Plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III (949 A.D.) throw light on the Gujarat policy of the later Rāṣṭrakūṭas, by revealing the existence of a family of feudatories, who appear to have supplanted the line of Indra. The *Mahāmaṇḍalika-cūḍāmaṇi* M. Siyaka, his father Vairīsimha, and his grandfather Bappairāja of this inscription have been identified with the Paramāra rulers Vākpati I, Vairīsimha III, and Haṛṣa-Siyaka II.—(*Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, pp. 840).

C. 950

A passage from the *Vastrapatha mähātmya*, a section of the *Probhāsa-Khaṇḍa* of the *Skāṇḍapurāṇa*, deals with the sacred sites of Girnar, tending to show that Bhoja's authority extended upto Saurāṣṭra.—(K. C. Rayachaudhari, *IHQ*, V, pp. 129-135). It is needless to go into the story centring round a woman with the face of a doe accompanying a herd of deer in the forests at Raivataka, her capture by the Balādhyakṣa, and her revelations at Kānyakubja, referring to the sanctity of the waters of the Suvarṇarekhā. The story is incredible, but it adduces the following points which deserve consideration: firstly, it refers to Bhoja's connection with Saurāṣṭra where he appointed a Vanapāla, and despatched his army (AI. 25); secondly, Bhoja is mentioned as the Emperor of Kanauj:

कान्यकुब्जे महाक्षेत्रे राजा भोजेति विभुतः ।

पुरा पुण्ययुगे धर्म्यः प्रजा धर्मेण शासति ॥ VI, 20 ॥

The *Unā Plates* of Bhoja clearly mention that his empire extended up to Saurāṣṭra, and ascended the throne at Kanauj. Thus the date presented by the passage from the *Skāṇḍa Purāṇa* is in conformity with facts known from other sources.—(Baij Nath Puri, *The History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras*, p. 59).

C. 950

No less than five centres that were manufacturing swords are mentioned in *Agni Purāṇa*, along with the distinctive qualities of their products. These are Śūrpāraka (Sopara), Khatikhattara and Riṣika (Khandesh), Vaṅga (East Bengal) and Aṅga (Monghyr and Bhāgalpur Districts).—(*The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 400).

C. 950

Lakṣmaṇarājadeva, Kalacuri or Cedi, son and successor of Yuvarāja I, married Rāhada. The Bilhari inscription records his defeat of the lord of Kośala, and his expedition to the very pleasant Western region, during which campaign he worshipped the God Someśvara in Gujarat. His daughter Bonthādevī, was the mother of the Western Cālukya Tailapa II (973-997 A.D.).—(EI, ii, 174).

C. 950

Śrī-Harṣadeva, Siyaka II or Siṃhabhaṭa, Paramāra of Mālava, son and successor of Vairīsiṃha II; married Vadaajā; he took in battle the wealth of (the Rāṣṭrakūṭa) king Khoṭṭiga.—(*Udayapura Prāśasti*).

Dhanapāla's allusion in his *Pāiyalacchi nāmamālā* (V.S. 1029) to the plunder of Mānyakheṭa by the lord of Mālava probably refers to this conflict.—(EI, i, 225).

Dhanapāla who was a protégé of Muṇja and Bhoja of Dhārā, wrote the *Riṣabhapañcāśikā* and also the *Tilakamanjari*.—(IA, ii, 166; iv, 59).

959

A flood of light is thrown on the state of Jainism during the 9th and 10th century by *Yaśastilaka campū*, a literary romance in Sanskrit prose and verse, composed by Somadeva Sūri in 959 A.D.

- 971 The Ekaliṅga (Udaipur) inscription of the time of Naravāhana of Nāgadharā dated in V. S. 1028 (971 A. D.) refers to Śiva becoming incarnate as a man with a club (*lakuṭa*) in his hand, in the country of Bhrīgukaccha, and propitiated by Bhrigu.—(JBBRAS., Vol. XXII, p. 166).

The other inscription, usually called *Cintra Praśasti* mentions Śiva, becoming incarnate in the form of Bhaṭṭāraka Śrī-Lakuliṣa, dwelling at Kārohaṇa in the Lāṭa country. There appeared in bodily form four pupils of his of the names of Kuśika, Gārgya, Kauruśa and Maitreya for the strict performance of the Pāśupata views, and they became the originators of four branches.—(EI., I, p. 271).—(See pp. 87-88).

- 972 The invasion by Siyaka II of Dhārā and the ravages made at Mānyakheta, the capital of the Rāṣtrakūṭa king Khoṭṭigadeva the successor of Kṛṣṇa II, by the Mālava king, are referred to by Dhanapāla, the author of *Pāiyalacchināma-mālā* V. S. 1029 (= A. D. 972). These ravages are mentioned by Puṣpadaṇṭha also, in one of the verses prefixed to the ' *Saṁdhis* ' of his *Mahāpurāṇa*, completed in Śaka 887 (965 A. D.).

- 999 The earliest positive date for the settlement of the Iranian emigrants in India is furnished by two inscriptions found in Kanheri caves. These record the names of two parties of Iranian tourists who had visited the caves, and, like many modern visitors, chiselled their names on the rocks. The first inscription gives the names of 17 men, and the second, of 10 men including 4 of the first; and these are dated respectively in 999 and 1021 A. D. The script as well as the language of both the inscriptions is Pahlavi and the personal names are, without exception, purely Iranian.

As the Pārsis in India freely adopted Hindu surnames (their names being Iranian even now), it has been argued that the arrival of the Iranians in India could not have been very old at the time the inscriptions were engraved. This, in a way, supports the date 936 A. D., as suggested above.

- C. 1000 A list of ports on the Gujarat coast is available from the accounts of the early Arab geographers, during the repulse of the Arab invasions on the mainland of India in the beginning of the 8th century upto the fateful year 997 A.D., when Afghanistan passed into the hands of the Turks. Kambay, Thana and Sopara and further South Sindan (modern Sanjan, 88 miles north of Bombay, from which port was exported pepper) are mentioned by them.—(*The Age of Imperial Kanauja*, p. 402)

- C. 1000 The sects of Caṇḍī and Gaṇeśa hold good ground in the Kali age (कलौ चाण्डीविनायकी) i.e. in the mediaeval period of Hindu history. Out of the gallery of the Hindu Pantheons these two are the only powerful and serviceable Gods. While locating the cult of Śakti over the different provinces in

India, the Śakta Paṇḍits are fond of reciting the following Śloka :—

गौडे प्रकाशिता विद्या मैत्रिलैः प्रबलीकृता ।
कवित् क्वचिन्महाराष्ट्रे गुर्जरे विलयं गता ॥

The cult was proclaimed in Gauḍa (Bengal) and was developed by the Maithilas : it is only occasionally met with in Mahārāṣṭra ; but has completely disappeared in Gujarat. Verily, true Śāktas are not at all numerous in Gujarat.

A kindred verse occurs in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa-Māhātmya* from *Padma Purāṇa* (12th century A.D.) with reference to the prevalence of Bhakti (absolute attachment to God), where Bhakti personified declares as under :—

उत्पन्ना द्राविडे साऽई वृद्धिं कर्णाटके गता ।
क्वचित् क्वचिन्महाराष्ट्रे गुर्जरे विलयं गता ॥

This verse is supported by facts.—(M. R. Majmudar ' Devī-Māhātmya and Śakti-worship, with reference to Gujarat ', JISOA, 1938).

C. 1000 The early Arab writer of the ninth and tenth centuries refer to the fertility of the soil and the rich cultivation, both of grain and fruits, specially, in Western India with which they were particularly acquainted. Some cities in Gujarat grew mangoes, coconuts, lemons, rich and in great quantities, and likewise produced quantities of honey. One such city also grew canes and teak trees, while Malabar produced pepper and bamboo.—(HIND, I 15-16, 24, 27-8, 35, 37-40; Ferrand, 117).

C. 1000 Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* (*Taraṅga*, 22) refers to one Vidyādhara, who was born in the family of a rich merchant of Valabhī, named Vasudatta. This Vidyādhara was ordered by his father to go to another country where he had some business interests.

Somadeva (*Kathā*, *Taraṅga* 29) refers again to a merchant named Devasena of Pāṭaliputra as going to Valabhī on business, and leaving his wife Kirtisenā to the tender mercies of his mother.

C. 1000 ' *Nītivākyāmrta* ' or the ' Nectar of the Sayings of Polity ' was composed by the Jaina monk Somadevasūri.

C. 1000 The *Bhavisayattakahā* of Dhanapāla is an Apabhraṃśa poem in twenty-two *saṁdhis*, and narrates the life of a merchant who suffered immensely on account of the jealousy of his step-brother, and is assigned by Dr. Hermann Jacobi to the tenth century A.D.

III

ANTIQUITIES

Western School of Wall-Painting : Śrīgadhara's ' School of Ancient West ' referred to by Tārānātha, the Tibetan historian, in 1608 A.D. does not seem to have been

localised in Western India; but its traditions seem to have travelled as far as Nepal and Burma (in the wall-paintings at Pagān), where the earlier school of art resembled the Old Western School.

The distinguishing features of this school founded in Marwar cannot be surmised, as no painting from Marwar or Western India from those early times has survived. But if sculpture be the index of art-conventions of those times, then the angularity in the treatment of human figures may be counted as the distinguishing features of the Western Indian art of Bundelkhand, Malwa, Rajputana and Gujarat.

Jaina Frescoes at Elura : In the middle layer of the wall-paintings at Kailāsanātha, Elura (9th century), however, the angularity of human figures, pinching to the farther cheek, and the consequent protrusion of the farther eye into empty space are met with. As these conventions are still in embryonic stage in the later cave-paintings of Ajanta, (Plate LIX a, b) they may be attributed to the extraneous influence, probably of Gujarat and Rajputana. The Bāgh fresco of the *Danḍarāsaka* on the ancient route connecting Malwa with Gujarat may be again referred to here.

The influence of Western Indian art at a somewhat later period is marked in the Viṣṇu temple at Madanpur, in Lalitpur Dist. (U.P.), adjoining Malwa. The battle scenes in the Western porch of Kailāsanātha, Elura, depicting rows of horsemen, and the inscriptional evidence indicating their connection with the Paramāras of Malwa, who were feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, also show Rajput or Western Indian influence. In the 10th century or even a little earlier, the conventions of the Western Indian style left their homeland and travelled to the remotest corners of India, influencing the contemporary Pāla paintings in Eastern India, and penetrated as far as Pagān and Nepal.—(Moti Chandra; *Jain Paintings of Western India*, 1952, p. 17).

From the study of the wall-paintings, roughly from the 9th to 12th Century, found in the South, the Deccan and as far as Malwa, we are struck with certain characteristic features which are common to all. The crude colour-modelling, the linear quality of the drawing, the protuberance of the farther eye into space, pointedness of nose and chin, the conventional treatment of trees, animals and birds are common features of all. There are, of course, local variations in the details of costume and also of human types; but the similarity of technique is so great that all these wall-paintings bear the stamp of a common stock. These wall-paintings, are, thus, the harbingers of new conventions in Indian art, which became stereotyped in Western Indian Miniatures.

Miniatures from Western India conserve rich material for the study of Western Indian costumes and textile designs. Gujarat, as we know, was a great centre of calico-printing, and it exported printed calico to Africa and Asiatic countries from the 10th to 16th century. No textile material has survived from this period in Gujarat proper, and the only source for the knowledge of the patterns and colours employed by the textile printers of Gujarat are these Miniature Paintings. That the printers took the designs from the contemporary art of textile-printing is supported by the actual appearance of such

designs on the contemporary printed calico-pieces from Gujarat discovered from excavations in the sands of Fustāt near Cairo in Egypt. — (R. Pfister, *Les Toiles Imprimées de Fustat et l' Hindoustan*, 1938).

Architecture : The late Gupta-Cāpotkaṭa architectural art of Aṇhilwād Pāṭan is in evidence by way of architectural remains that have been recovered from this area ; and are on view at the Baroda Museum Sculpture Gallery. The early Pratihāra architecture that flourished under Devarāja and Vaṣṣarāja during the latter half of the 8th Century, is noticeable in the Kārvaṇ door-frame, facing the entrance to the lake. The style of these temples is unintelligible without the assumption of a certain Cālukya influence.

Temples : Among extant temples that have somewhat survived the ravages of time can be mentioned the Osia group of Sūrya and Viṣṇu temples, 35 miles from Jodhpur, (Plate LXI), the Roḍā group of Śiva and Śakti temples in the former Idar State, (Plate LX), the Koṭṭāi temple in Kaccha (Plate LXII a), and the Kālikāmātā temple at Chitorgadh (Plate LXII b), retain many of the post-Gupta characteristics, wherein the sculpture plays an indivisible part of decoration of these temples. These small-size temples at Roda, Osia, Kiradu, and Delvada (Mt. Ābu), belong to this period of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Pratihāras.

Gaṅga-Yamuna Motif on Door-frames : The presence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā, on the door-frames of Osia temples, standing respectively on a crocodile and a tortoise, evince a continuance of this Gupta motif so far. This motif is also traced on the door-frames at the Varāhamaṇḍira, Kadvār, the Sun temple at Thān, the temples at Roḍā, the entrance door-frame on the lake at Kārvaṇ and at the Śiva temple at Limkheḍā, and the temple at Kalesari, 15 miles north of Lunavada.

Ganga from Idar : A loose sculpture of Gaṅgā on Makara from Idar has also been recovered.—(Plate XL).

Door-frame at Karvaṇ Lake : The magnificent *door-frame*—the two stele of a gateway still on view *in situ*, leading to the lake at Kārvaṇ, are the interesting architectural remains, with the Gupta-motif of Gaṅgā on *makara* and Yamunā on a *kūrma*, both holding pots of water, on either side of the door-frame. It is assignable to early 9th Century A.D. —(U. P. Shah, *JOI*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 254, 1952-53).—(Plate LXIII).

Architectural Remains from Patan : The discovery of a few pieces of late Gupta architectural remains of early 9th century, from a temple nearby Aṇhilwād Pāṭan, has been remarkable both for its tiny size as well as for its sculptural decorative art. These remains consist of the upper part of two door-jambs, a *yakṣa*-bracket piece, two slabs representing step-roofs with image-niches, a panel of five Mātṛikās and an image-niche, between two *makara*-heads. The seated figure of Śiva as a Yogī is typically post-Gupta in execution, full of strength and serenity. The sculptural art in these specimens represents a later phase of the School of Ancient West, said to have been founded by Śrīṅgadhara of Marudeśa.—(H. Goetz, *Baroda Museum Bulletin*, Vol. VII, p. 25).—(Plate LXV b.).

Architectural Remains from Kadvar: The stray sculptures of Vāmana and Rāma with the architectural background from Varāha temple at Kadvār, near Somanātha, belong to this period. – (Plate LXV a).

Torana at Samalaji: The *torana*, the *pratolika*, the *kirtistambha*, or the arched gateway on the other side of the Meśvo river, near Śāmalāji is believed to be one of the earliest in Western India. The primitive wooden pallisades which enclosed the early settlements of the Vedic Aryans were built of bamboo and teak. The Buddhist *toranas* of stone at Sānchi and Bhārhut are supposed to have been evolved from these wooden gates, which were erected as gateways for going round the *Stūpas*. They added beauty and grandeur to the simple hemi-spherical structures of the *Stūpas*. With their height and elegant plastic art they attracted and impressed the incoming worshipper. The temple architecture of the Hindus adopted this essential item; and that is how we come across arched gateways erected before temples, varying in style, size etc. according to their geographical provenance.

Under the royal patronage of Gurjara-Pratihāras of Maṇḍor and Bhinmāl and the Paramāras of Malwa, and the Caulukyās of Gujarat and Abu, architecture and sculptural art of Rajasthan, Marwad, Malwa and Gujarat developed on regional lines. The *torana*-architecture developed side by side with temple architecture. The *torana* at the entrance of Mahāvīra temple at Osia, dated Samvat 1013 (947 A.D.), and the *toranas* at Modhera, Vadnagar, Siddhapur, Piludra and Kapadvanj in North Gujarat are the extant examples of *torana*-architecture. However, the Śāmalāji *torana* being earlier, varies greatly from them in shape, proportion, treatment of sculptures and other decorative motifs. The central double semi-circle arch is unique in design.

The *torana* standing on the southern bank of the river is about 20 feet above the river bed, and measures from the debris 11" in height and 10" in width. The *torana* is an *ullūṅga* type of arched gateway of a temple facing the north. The whole structure is composed of a *piṭha* or *udumbara* (base), two *stambhas* (pillars) and *paṭṭa* (lintel). The surmounting superstructure or *Kuṭāchhāḍya* is known to have existed from the surviving fragment of the cornice, overlying the lintel.

From two *makara-mukhas* in the lintel and other decorations on the pillars of this *torana*, it is definitely known that it is a temple gateway (Cf. देवद्विजनरेन्द्राणां तोरणं मकराख्यकम् । —कामिकगण, IV, 64, 93). The striking difference between the Caulukyān and the Śāmalāji *torana* is the shape and decoration of pillars which are square, as distinguished from Osia and others which are octagonal.

The graceful temple figure on the side of the *torana* facing the south holding a flower in her right hand, with typical headdress and ornaments, and the style of showing schematic folds of the *sāri* clinging to the body shows a close resemblance to the post-Gupta sculptures so common in the vicinity, and thus this *torana* can be assigned to a period between the 8th and 9th Century A.D.—(Suryakant Chowdhari, 'A Torana at Śāmalāji, North Gujarat', *Journal M. S. University Baroda*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, March 1959).—(Plate LXIV).

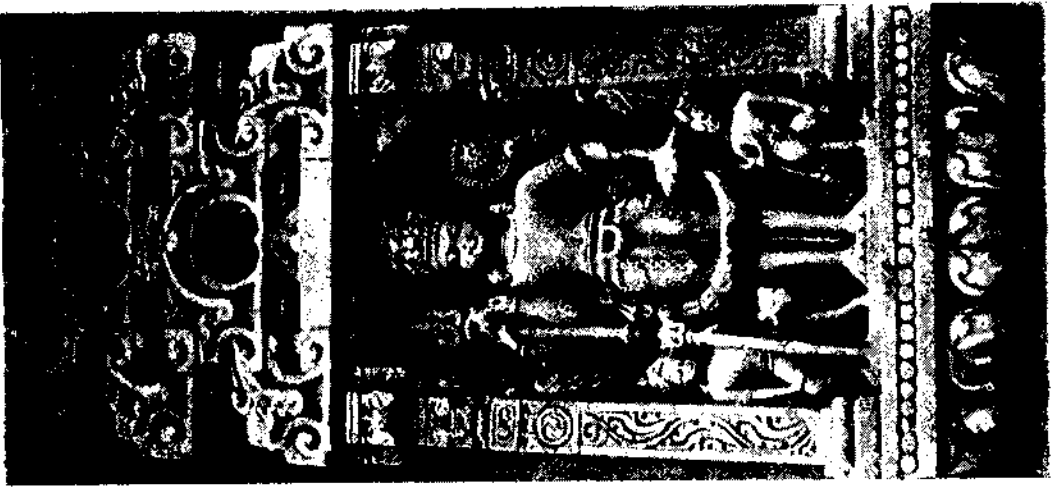
Sun-temples : The gift of the Rāṣtrakūṭa King Prabhūtavarṣa Govindarāja to the temple of the Sun (Jayāditya) at Kāvī shows that princely support was not altogether lacking and even the Valabhī rulers could be occasionally found to patronise this faith. The multiplicity of the Sun-temples on the southern coast of Saurāṣṭra, where tribes emigrating from Kashmir and worshipping the Sun probably lived, indicates that the Sun-cult was quite vigorous here. The temple at Visāvaḍā (Plate LXVI a), Bilēśvara (Plate LXVI b), Kiṇḍerkheḍā, Moḍherā, Somanātha-Paṭṭana, Than, Sutrāpāḍā and other places are fairly well packed in time to justify this conclusion.

An early tenth century temple at Osia, and temples in old Jodhpur, Sirohi, and other States in Western India indicate the prevalence of the cult in north-western and western India during mediaeval times. The small temple at Kalasār, probably a Sun-temple, near Mahuva on the sea-board, resembles that of Gop, as far as it retains the *Cailya*-window motif on the facades of the śikhara. It was discovered by Ravishankar Raval.— (*Journal Gujarat Research Society*, April, 1919).

Sun-cult : The Sun-cult must have existed prior to the rise of Bhāgavatism ; for the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, one of the oldest Upaniṣads, refers to Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra as a disciple of Ghora Āngiras, a worshipper of the Sun.

That Kaniṣka should have coins struck with the image of Mithra, with the name Mīro (Mihira) added, proves that the Persian solar cult had infiltrated into Brahmanical belief by the first century A.D. The Purāṇas, like *Bhaviṣya*, *Śāmba*, *Varāha* and others, narrate the story of the introduction of the cult into India from Śākadvīpa (Eastern Iran), and the *Bṛihat-Saṃhitā* expressly lays down that the images of the god should be duly installed by the Magas who are none other than the Sun and Fire-worshipping Magi of ancient Iran. The 57th chapter of the *Bṛihat-Saṃhitā* and many iconographic texts again emphasise such alien features of the Sūrya figures, as *udicyaveśa* (northern deress), *avyāṅga* (the Indian form of the Iranian *avyaonghen*, the sacred woollen waist-girdle, which a Zoroastrian is enjoined to wear), etc., which are almost invariably present in the extant North-Indian specimens.

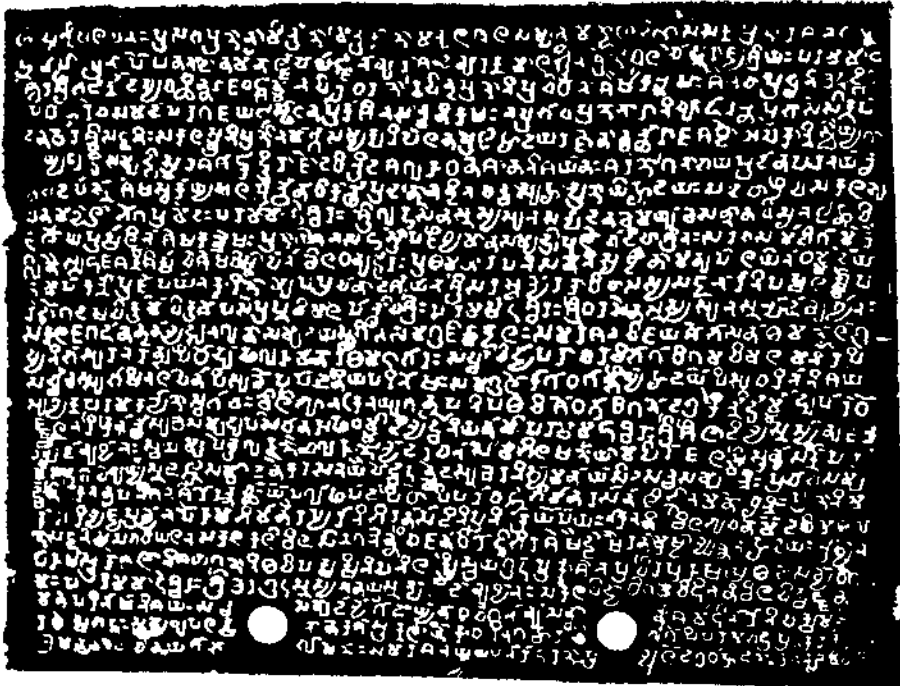
The Mandsoor stone-inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I (451 A.D.) commemorating the building of a sun-temple by silk-weavers who had migrated from Lāṭa, and the Indore copper-plate grant of Skandagupta show that the sun-worship which prevailed in Central India was patronised by the guilds. It is also known that the contemporary Huṇas—Toramāṇa and Mihirakula—were both worshippers of the Sun. The reference to a private Sun-temple in a copper-plate of King Śīlāditya I further supports the existence of Sun-worship (Buhler, *Dhāṅk Plates of 290*, A IX, p. 237). The Gurjara kings—King Dadda I and Dadda II,—who were in possession of land round about Bharukaccha were also devotees of the Sun during that period. The word ' Maitraka ' itself is believed by some to have been derived from ' mitra ', the Sun, and is taken to be supported by the ending word ' Āditya ' as in ' Śīlāditya '. However, out of about twenty Valabhī kings,



(A) Hari-Hara from Osiā temple,
Mārṇād. (p. 272)



(B) Vāmāna becoming Virāṭa, from Osiā Temple, Mārṇād. (p. 272)



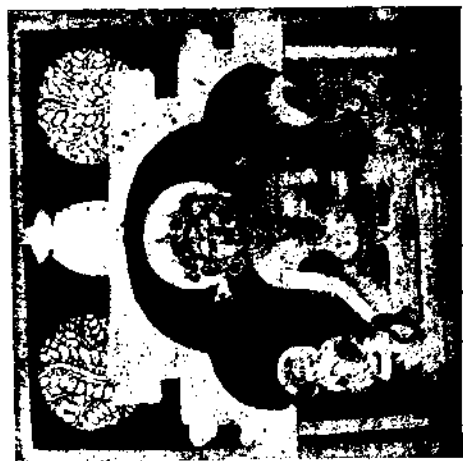
(A) A Valabhi Copper-plate



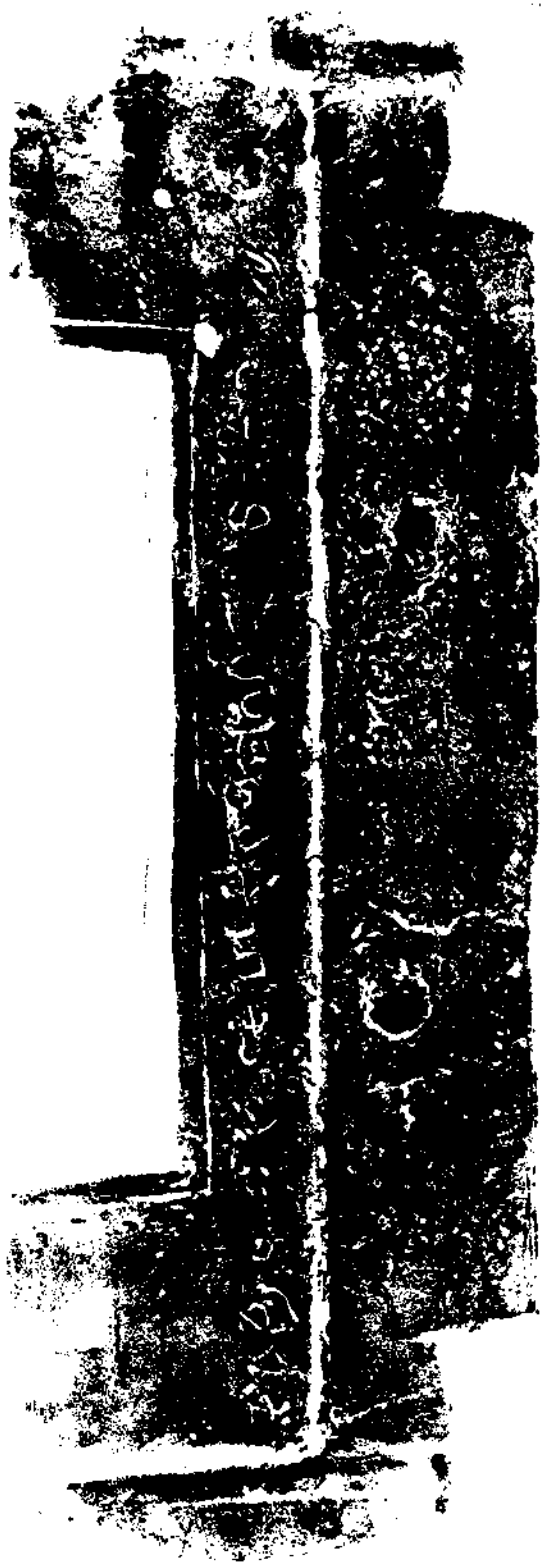
(B) A Saindhava Copper-plate, with a fish symbol.
Jāmnagar Museum.



Sculpture of a Music Party, Surat Museum. (p. 277)



(A) Miniatures of Tārā, from an Illustrated Palm-Leaf of the Pāla period, Baroda Museum. (p. 277)



(B) Inscription on the backside pedestal of the life-size Buddha bronze at old Kotyarka temple, Mahudī, still *in situ*.

Reads the Buddhist formula ye dharmā: हेतुप्रभवः एवं वारी महाश्रव[म]मः । (p. 318)

only the fifth king Dharapatta seems to have professed the faith of the Sun, as he styled himself as '*paramāditya-bhakta*'.

Standing Surya from Karvan, assignable to the 9th Century at the latest, wears an *ekāvalī* and a golden chain-girdle, with a chain hanging on each thigh, and the beaded armlets which have been common to sculptures of the Śāmalājī group. The oblong halo with a lotus-petal border at the end is remarkable. The Sūrya holds the lotus. The smaller figures of Daṇḍa and Piṅgala still retain the earlier Gupta traditions. The crown appears to have evolved from the crown of Viṣṇu from Bhinmal, and the stone-head from Śāmalājī, which is again comparable with the high crown from Elephanta Maheśa-mūrti and the crown of Jivantasvāmi bronze from Akota.—(Plate LXVII b).

Standing Surya from Vasisthasrama, Mt. Abu: Two-armed standing Sūrya, rather stunted in height, located at Vasiṣṭhāśrama, Mt. Abu, is later than the one at Jagannath shrine, probably of C. 9th Century A.D. The forms of attendant females here are common to the art of the Gurjara-Pratihāra period in Western India. The double neck-ornament and the necklace with bell-design are noteworthy.—(Plate LXVII a).

Standing Surya from Delvada is also noteworthy.—(Plate LXVII c).

Sculptures of Seated Surya: Our knowledge of sculptures of seated Sūrya from Gujarat is limited. The panel on the door-frame of the Varāha temple at Kadvār (near Somanath), assigned to the 8th Century A.D., has an image of Sūrya, first from the right. It is seated on a lotus in the *ulkaṭika* (raised hips) pose, and seems to have two hands only, which bear a lotus each, held as high as the shoulder. On a stone door-frame, (C. 12th Century) at the Junagadh Museum, in a niche on the arch of the *torana* is found a seated Sūrya, in a chariot drawn by seven horses.

Seated Surya from Prabhasa: A composite figure of Sūrya from Prabhāsa, seated in *padmāsana* has three faces, the profile ones being in tact, and the front disfigured. There is a halo round the face. It is a *tri-mūrti* with Sūrya (Viṣṇu) in the middle, the lotus-stalks being visible. It has perhaps six hands with *ahyāna* mudrā, two each for the three forms of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa. It has worn an *ularabandha* and a girdle. The figure is seated on a chariot with the *avyaṅga*. Heads of the seven horses are in view, and are driven by a small charioteer, seated in front of the figure. It, perhaps, cannot be earlier than 8th century.—(Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujarat*, p. 162, fig. 74).

Seated Surya from Unza: The seated figure of Sūrya with a beautifully shaped round face from Unza belongs to this period; as it has all the artistic characteristics and stylistic affinities of the pre-Solanki sculptures. It has, however, no *prabhā-maṇḍala*. The rosette-frame round the sculpture is noteworthy.—(Plate LXVIII a).

Seated Surya from Rodā: Seated yet headless Sūrya images from Rodā, about 9 miles east of Himatnagar, in the old Idar State, (now in Baroda 'Open Air Sculpture Gallery') are assigned to the late 9th Century, roughly to the pre-Solanki period. The composite sculpture when entire, must have been a superb specimen of Indian art. The

modelling, the configuration, the balance and the proportions can be clearly discerned even from its mutilated condition.—(B. Chhabra; *Baroda Museum Bulletin*, Vol. XII, 1955-56).—(Plate LXVIII c).

Ranu-pipli Seated Surya : The discovery of the magnificent sculpture of seated Sūrya of fine sandstone from Ranu-pipli, (Padra taluka, Baroda Dist.) on the border line of Lāṭa, separating it from Central Gujarat, (discovered by Chandramauli Majmudar in 1959), is one of the finest pieces in good preservation from this area. It is about 3.5 ft. high and 2 ft. broad. The one-wheeled chariot, ornamented with lotus-petals is shown yoked with seven horses, with the fore-legs raised, suggesting to be in action, on which is seated Aruṇa, in the centre, with two sets of reins held by the left hand. On the right stands Uṣā and on the left Pratyūṣā, their loose skirt floating in the air owing to the chariot in motion. The other two figures on each of his sides are those of Daṇḍa (Yama) and Piṅgala (Agni) with swords in hand.

Sūrya is shown with a halo, supported by a *makara toraṇa* demarcated by two rows of lotus-petals. The *kirīṭa mukuṭa* adorns the head. The oval face has eyes in *dhyāna-mudrā*. The *kuṇḍalas* are round and elegant. The *yajnopavita* shown by three minute threads hangs down from the left shoulder. In the neck is an *ekāvalī*. Out of the two hands the left holding a lotus-stalk is in tact. The Sun is seated cross-legged in the *padmāsana*, the legs being shown covered by a semi-transparent cloth, and not the usual boots. The sculpture is assignable to the Pratihāra period, i.e. not later than 9th Century A.D.—(Plate LXVIII b).

Six-armed Seated Visnu : Six-armed (all mutilated) Viṣṇu, seated in *padmāsana* on a broad lotus, supported with a long thick stalk at Vasiṣṭhāśrama, Mt. Ābu, is a beautiful figure, about 3 feet high. Below the lotus are two *Nāgas* and two *Nāgiṇīs*, sitting with folded hands. There are also *āyudha-puruṣas*. The cap-like crown, richly decorated and having a central *gavākṣa*—motif with a *makara* head in the centre, is noteworthy. The crown-design compares well with the Ananta-Viṣṇu of Śāmalāji. Though not representing Buddhāvātāra, it may be compared with the Buddāvātāra-Viṣṇu from Diṇḍavānā in Rajasthan.—(R. C. Agravala, *Journal Museums Association*, Vol. IX, Fig. 46, Pl. XXII)—(U. P. Shah, *Baroda Museum Bulletin*, 1955-56, Fig. 12).—(Plate LXIX).

Sculpture from Dwarka : A sculpture from Dwarka (Baroda Museum) identified with Śibi by some, is a mere bust (the lower part mutilated) of a royal figure adorned with a crown, a necklace set with big gems, circular ear-rings on long ear-lobes reaching the shoulders, and heavy bracelets. The modelling is somewhat crude, as the heaviness of the limbs is emphasised. The face has features of a foreigner, broad (thin) lips and chin and a squarish face and jaw-bones. The figure holds a bird close to the breast, may be a falcon or a fowl. Flames issuing out of the shoulders suggest another identification of Agni with a cock. However, the effect of holding the bird is to suggest an act of offering protection. It can be assigned to the late post-Gupta age, C. 8th century A.D.—(Plate XXXII b).

Standing Bhairava from Baroda : A big image of a standing Bhairava, probably from the temple of Bhīmanātha on the other side of the Añkoṭaka mound, discovered from the banks of Viśvāmitri by M. R. Majmudar (now in Baroda Museum Gallery) has an elaborate and heavy *jaṭā*, a terrific appearance with protruding teeth, a third eye on the fore-head, and the two wide rolling eyes. He carries a *khadga* (sword) and the shield in the two upper hands, and the staff (*daṇḍa*) and the snake in the two lower ones. The *ekāvalī* (necklace), the turbanlike elaborate head-dress and the attendant *gaṇa* on the right, suggest a late 7th or early 8th century A.D. date for its execution. The modelling of the figure is heavy and crude, and the shoulders are broad and stiff, but these features are probably introduced to emphasise the *ugra* (violent) form of the image.— (Plate XXX)

Bhairava from Baroda Museum : A big bust of a Bhairava in Baroda Museum Gallery, apparently in the same style, is however, less terrific in appearance, with a plain halo (*prabhā maṇḍala*) and the head artistically turned slightly to the right from the centre of the halo. The braided hair is treated more tastefully.— (Plate XXX).

Head of a Tapasi from Karvan : The centre of Lakuliśa worship has yielded a beautiful head of a Tāpasa or may be a Tāpasī, showing an artistic knitting of hair, which can be seen from both, the front and the back, views of the head.—(Plate LXXIV a, b).

Kartikēya Sculptures : The worship of Kārtikēya related to the Śiva pantheon was popular in Western and Central India, perhaps under the influence of the Lakuliśa sect. The rule of Kumāragupta over Western India also gave an impetus to this worship.

Kartikēya from Baroda : A beautiful but headless image of Kārtikēya was discovered from Baroda by U. P. Shah, which is now in the Baroda Museum. It has two arms, one holding the spear and the other a bowl. The twin necklace, the waist ornament, known as *uru-jālaka*, as well as the armlets suggest a period in the early 9th century A.D. The modelling is chaste and retains the grace of the earlier period. However, the crude representation of the peacock slightly mars the beauty of the sculpture.—(Plate LXXI a).

Kartikēya from Kapuri : The other figure of Kārtikēya, from Kapuri near Baroda, set in the rosette-frame could be assigned to the latter half of the 8th Century. The rosette-frame has a common motif with the panel of Lakuliśa (standing), Viṣṇu, and Brahmā in the compound of the Kāmanātha temple on the banks of Viśvāmitri river, Baroda.—(*Baroda Museum Bulletin*).—(Plate LXXI b).

Kartikēya from Karvan : This belongs to 8th Century A.D. and probably it formed a part of the old temple, stray loose sculptures from which are seen even today in the temple. This sculpture has already been noted in the previous period.

Siva-Parvati from Roda : Śiva-Pārvaṭī, carved out of a greenish-blue schist block, from Roda is later in date, and assignable to the end of 9th Century.—(Plate LXXII a).

Vina-Pani Siva from Kotesvara : The four-armed Śiva carries the *vīṇā* in two hands, and the *triśūla* and the *nāga* in the other two. Nāṇḍī is at the back. The

sculpture comes from Koṭeśvara, Banāskāṇṭhā District, since removed to Baroda Museum.—(LXXII b).

Uma-Mahesvara from Karvan: Umā-Maheśvara, standing against the Nandi, also from Karvan is a beautiful specimen of sculpture under the Gurjara-Pratihāra rule in C. 9th Century A. D.

Kaumari from Karvan: A loose sculpture of *Kaumārī* at a temple in Karvan in a dancing pose, perhaps belongs to the unknown pantheon of Lakuliśa sect from Karvan, executed during this period.—(Plate LXXII a).

Sakti from Bhinmal: Śakti, Gaurī or Pārvatī from Bhinnāl, represents fertility and vegetation. The peculiar seating posture of the goddess comes from a very old tradition, tracing back to the Indus-Valley Civilization. The origin of these types of figure has been suggested by Dr. Stella Kramrisch to be the Vedic conception of Aditi, the Earth, the All-Mother. The two lotuses show that she was regarded as a form of Gaurī. The beautiful head-dress, the long eyes, the squarish face with a broad fore-head, the meagre ornaments etc. enable us to assign the sculpture to at least the C. 8th Century A. D., on stylistic grounds.—(U. P. Shah, *Baroda Museum Bulletin*, 1955-56)—(Plate LXXII b).

Kubera from Kāvī: There have been a few sculptures discovered from Lāṭa or Southern Gujarat which could be assigned to the late Gupta or to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period, as suggesting a good deal of artistic activity and advanced taste in this area. A wide popularity of the Śaivite or Pāśupata cult is in evidence in Lāṭa in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. Sculptures from Karvan testify to the prevalence of the style of sculptures executed under the Gupta traditions. Ancient Kāpikā is the same as the modern town Kāvī in Jambusar Taluka, Broach District, situated not far from the Gulf of Cambay. From this place was discovered by M. R. Majmudar in 1940 the tiny sculpture of Kubera executed on a piece of green schist. It measures 12 inches by 8 inches.

In this magnificently conceived figure of the pot-bellied god Kubera, the Kalaśodara, a somewhat stout type of anatomy is adopted by the sculptor to convey the beauty-form and pose of remarkable charm and dignity. In the figure, all the lines balance and harmonize in a scheme of plastic composition which has a logic entirely of its own. A subtle sense of restraint and a skilful welding of the different plastic values of the limbs keep the artist from stepping into the abyss of the grotesque, or the quagmire of the ludicrous. This points out that it is not by the use of a conventional anatomy, a thin-waisted frame or exquisitely posed figure that the Indian Sculptor attains his consummation. He is as happy in expressing spiritual values through his thin-waisted figures as through those with thick-waisted and stout proportions.

The right leg of the figure is so held up as to place the foot at a point which furnishes an artistic device to indicate the plumb-line, the vertical axis running through the centre of the composition, with reference to which the limbs, the other elements of the composition, are skilfully related. This happily translates the idea of serenity and repose,

the underlying motif of the iconographic conception. The smile on the face is remarkable.—(Plate LXXIII).

A somewhat crude figure of Kubera was noticed in a step-well at Bhinmāl (Southern Marwar). It has all the outlines of the contour in high relief. The *ekāvalī* and the deep navel on the pot-belly arrest our attention. However, the general pose of the sculpture affords a good contrast to the Kāvī image.

Rama from Kadvar Varaha Temple: A loose Sculpture of Rāma, with a bow and arrow in hand is lying at the Varāha temple at Kadvār, four miles from Prabhāsa.—(Plate LXX a).

Balarama from Kāvī: The sculpture of Haladhara Balarāma actually shown with a tracter (*hula*) in the right hand, secured from this site, evinces the self-same post-Gupta affinities of style and is made from the same green stone. Both these pieces are in Dr. M. R. Majmudar's collection.—(Plate LXX b).

A Music Party Sculpture: in green schist from the Winchester Museum Collection, Surat, has great stylistic affinities with the Kubera from Kāvī. It measures 10" × 12". This is being illustrated through the kind offices of Shri Rajendra Surakatha, the Honorary Curator of the Surat Museum.—(Plate LXXVIII).

Collosal Jaina Images: Round about the end of this period, many Jaina images in stone were produced employing the formula of the Buddha or the cult of the gigantic Yakṣa image. Those at Tāraṅgā, Pāṭaṇ, Śatruñjaya, Ābu and Gīrnār, to mention the most known, possess undoubted simplicity of form and considerable feeling; but they are usually marked by a rigidity which make them unimaginative and monotonous. The execution of images of this period, however, seems to be perfect, but gaudy and much stereotyped. The figures are generally beautifully and delicately ornamented, the expression being natural, serene and peaceful. The frame of the body, the garments, the various ornaments and the symbols are faithfully depicted according to the *dhyāna* prescribed in the Śilpa texts; yet they lack something very vital.

Buddhist Sculptures: Tara: In the Pāla period, *i.e.* especially during the reign of the Pāla king Rāmapāla, people in Bengal knew of the existence of at least three Buddhist temples in Gujarat, containing images of three Buddhist deities: Tārā, Kurukullā and Cuṇḍā. This is known from the three miniatures of an illustrated Mss of *Pañcaviṃśatī Sahasrīkā Prajñāpāramitā* (now in Baroda Museum), copied in Circa 1092 A.D., which throw light on the state of Buddhism in Lāṭadeśa or Gujarat. These miniatures illustrate the three deities in the three principal Buddhist temples in Gujarat. The legends below them read as follows:—

- (1) *Lāṭadeśe Tārāpure Tārā*
- (2) *Lāṭadeśe Kurukullāśikhare Kurukullā*
- (3) *Lāṭadeśe Vumkaranagare Cuṇḍā*

As the artists could depict the deities and temples in their miniatures, (Plate LXXIX) it is not unreasonable to suppose that Bengal Buddhists used to come on pil-

grimage to Tārāpura, Kurukullā Śikhara and Vumkara Nagara in Gujarat, which were held sacred under the Buddhist Tāntrism. Tārāpura can be identified with the village near Cambay, and Kurukullā Śikhara may be the Tāraṅgā hill. The third cannot be traced.—(B. Bhattacharya, ' 22 Buddhist Miniatures from Bengal ', *Baroda Museum Bulletin*, Vol. I, No. 1, 1943-44).—(Plate LXXIX).

Jaina Tirtha of Taranga : At Tāraṅgā Hill, which is a Jaina tirtha since Kumārapāla (1143-1174 A.D.), who restored the temple of Ajitanātha, is situated near the small village of Ṭimbā among the hills, on the west bank of the Sābarmatī river, in N. Gujarat. There are three peaks, and in the basin of it are situated the Jaina sanctuaries. Near the ravines are two shrines which are Buddhistic. In the *Kumārapāla pratibodha* of Somaprabhācārya (12th century A.D.) in Prākṛit-Apabhraṁśa, in the story of Khapuṭcārya, a king named Vatsarāja is mentioned, who though converted a Jaina, had built the temple of Buddhist Tārā :

ताराह बुद्धदेवीह मंदिरं कारियं पुत्रं ।

आसन्नगिरिस्मि तत्रो, भन्नह ताराउरं ति श्मो ॥

and the city was called Tārāpura. After becoming a Jaina, Vatsarāja built the temple of Siddhāyikā, the Yakṣī of Mahāvira. Thus, even according to the Jaina tradition, Jainism followed Buddhism even on this hill.

Tara on Taranga Hill : Image of Tārā (4' height), locally known as Dhāraṇa-mātā is housed in a small shrine near the Tāraṇa-mātā temple. Nine Buddhist images including one of Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi were noticed. The goddess Varada-Tārā is seated in the *lalita* pose, on a lotus seat, on which her left leg is folded, with her right foot hanging down and resting on a small lotus. Her right hand, the palm of which is broken off and rests on her thigh, must have been in the *varada* pose. The left hand, though broken, shows the remnants of the lotus and its stalk. Over the halo of lustre behind her head, there is a picturesque ornament with a double-winged bird, over which on a lotus-seat is seated Amitābha, perhaps, because, she is the counter-part of Avalokiteśvara, who emanates from the Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha. Just on the pedestal, in the characters of the late 8th or early 9th century A.D. is inscribed the Buddhist creed :—

ये धर्मा हेतुप्रभवा हेतुं तेषां तथागतो ह्यवदत् ।

तेषां च यो निरोध एव वादी महाश्रमणः ॥

There are also four seated Buddhas in a dark cave nearby.—(Plate LXXX).

Buddha from Nagara : A seated image of a Dhyāni Buddha is situated on a small hillock in Nagarā, the ancient site of a city about four miles from modern Cambay. The full-size sculpture can be seen even today *in situ*.—(Plate LVI b).

Statue of Buddha on Isalva Hill : A full length statue of the Buddha, which was mistaken for Dhundhalimalla, a local saint, was reported to have been found lying on the top of the Isalvā hill, near Valā.—(*Annual Report, Watson Museum, Rajkot*, 1938-9; p. 29).

A Female Sculpture from Paldi: This was unearthed from Paldi, the site of old Kārnāvatī, and is at present located in the H. K. College Collection, Āśrama Road, Ahmedabad. It has all the stylistic peculiarities of the pre-Solanki sculptures, assignable to the Pratihāra period, not later than early 10th century A.D.—(Plate LXXXI).

Ādi-varāha Coins : Base Silver and Copper Coins with the figure of Ādi-varāha an incarnation of Viṣṇu—on the obverse, and a Nāgarī legend in two lines, mentioning the name of the ruler of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty on the reverse, are known for a long time, and have engaged the attention of several scholars.—['Note on Ādi-varāha Coins', K. M. Munshi, *Glory that was Gurjara Deśa* (1955), Appendix VI, Pp. 215]. Some of these coins are reported to be in the Baroda Museum, but they could not be traced.

The coins issued by Bhoja have the legend *Śrīmad-Ādi-varāha* on the reverse, while those of Vināyakapāladeva have the boar on the obverse, and the king's name on the reverse. The full obverse device does not appear in its entirety on any single coin; and it has to be pieced to-gether from a number of specimens. The reverse has an inscription in two lines, written in the characters of the 9th and 10th Centuries. The first line mentions श्रीमदा and the second दिवराह. Below the legend is an altar in between two other devices.

Coins of Bappa Raval : Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha had illustrated and described a gold coin of Bappā Rāval (JASB, 1927 : Numismatic Supplement, No. XXIII, p. 14-18). Dr. A. S. Altekar published another coin of the same ruler Vopparāja in 1933 (Proceedings, VII All-India Oriental Conference, Pp. 703-5) with a revised and reconstructed reading of the legend, originally published with the reading by Dr. Hoernle, with a drawing, as *Śrī Dhairyarāja* in 1881 (Proc., A.S.B.), and by R. Burns in 1904 (JASB, 1904, p. 65; Pl. I, No. 2) as *Śrī Vigharāha*. Altekar proposed a third reading *Vopparāja*, which, in a way, is the name of the same king whose coin is published by Ojha.

The obverse of both these coins is identical. Immediately below the legend, at the left end of the coin, there is a *triśūla*, and then to its right a *Śivalīṅga* on a platform of two steps. To the right of the *Śivalīṅga* is the sacred Naṇḍī, his effigy being worn out in Ojhaji's coin, but quite clear on the present one. Below Śiva and Naṇḍī, in both the coins, there is a man lying prostrate. Both the coins have a dotted border.

The reverse of the two shows a slight variation. The devices are the same in two, but the cow faces the right in Ojhaji's coin, it faces to the left in the second one. Of the three symbols above the cow, the *chhatra* is very clear in the present coin. The *chhatra* and *cauri* are to the left and right, respectively of the sun.

The period of the coin is early mediaeval. The emblems on the coin—Śiva and Naṇḍī and a man lying prostrate before them, the cow and the calf on the reverse, makes it probable that it belongs to Bappā Rāval of Chitor. Naṇḍī represents Ekalingaji, the deity of king Bappā, and the man lying prostrate before them is probably the king himself. The cow is Kāmadhenu cow of Hārīta Ṛṣi, the preceptor of the king. The wheel above the cow stands for the sun, and suggests the solar descent of the king issuing the coin, while

the 𑀘𑀓𑀭 and 𑀘𑀓𑀭𑀮 testify to the independent sovereign position of king Bappa.—(Plate LXXXII a).

Indo-Sassanian Coins :—These coins of different patterns and sizes were current in Rajputana, Malwa and Gujarat between the 8th and 11th centuries A.D. These are thick and circular pieces bearing a crude head of the king of Sassanian pattern on one side, and a series of lines and dots all over the other side. These lines and dots represent the fire-altar of the Sassanian coins. Bhandarkar presumes (‘*Carmichael lectures*’, 1921, p. 208) that the Gurjaras strongly imbibed the Sassanian coinage, and that is why the standard weight of a *dramma* comes to 65 grains, quite near to the Greek *drachma*, weighing only 66 grains. The name *dramma* was restricted to silver coins alone. Various rulers of this period issued *drammas* named after them. Thus we find—*Śrīmadādivarāha dramma*, (EI, I, p. 175, I. 27), called after Bhoja-Ādivarāha of the Pratihāra dynasty.

Gadhia Coins :—One popular tradition in Gujarat ascribes gadhiā coins to Gardhabhilla, who is mentioned in the Jaina story in *Kālakācārya Kathānaka*, as living in 1st Century B.C. But this does not seem to be plausible as these coins cannot be so early. From the beginning, Cunningham, and Bhagvanlal Indraji maintained and demonstrated how these coins were mere copies and subsequent degraded forms of the Indo-Sassanian coinage. According to Wilford, *Gardabhi* is the name of a Sassanian dynasty and is identified with Varaharan Gur (420 A.D.). According to Taylor, the latter was fond of hunting wild ass; and the Hūras, in derision, might have called his coinage as “Ass-money”, and it was Sanskritised in India. He derived ‘Gadhiā’ in this way : *Gardabhiya* < *Gaddahīya* < *Gadhāiyā*.

The classic study of the development and deterioration of this form of the coin, was made first by Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji, who illustrated the whole evolution of what he called “the oblong button from the Persian head”, and of the series of dots and lines from the *fire-altar*. Actually, he illustrated the original Sassanian Coin from which the whole form could have evolved, or to put it correctly, deteriorated. On the obverse of the coin illustrated by him was the bust of the king, which had a face with a pronounced nose, short chin, round beard, ear-rings with two pendants, a necklace with a round pendant in the middle, two rising ends of cloth on the shoulders, a head covered with round hat, having two rows of dotted ornamentation at the lower part and on the top a crescent and a ball.

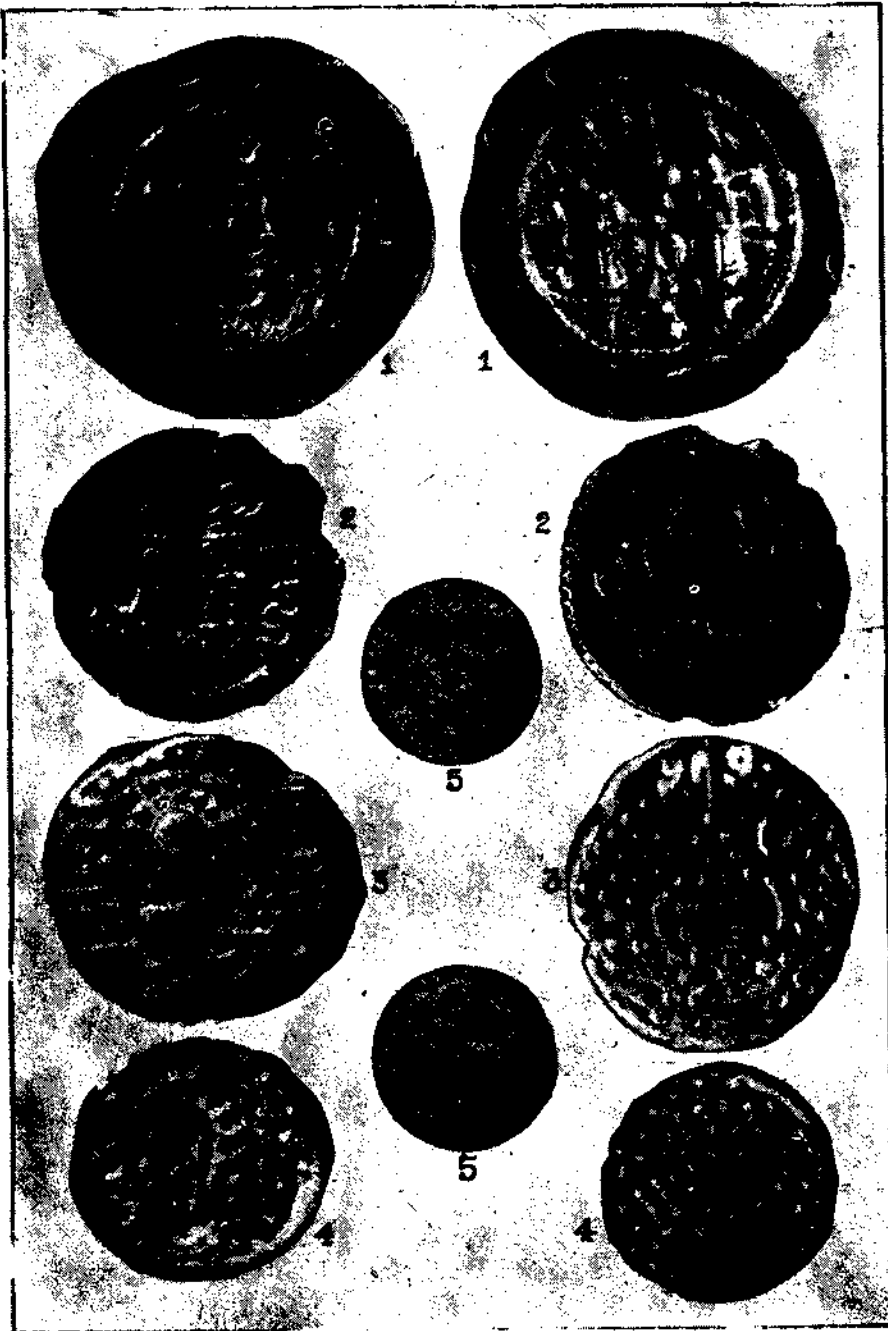
This form gradually deteriorated by the replacement of a physical representation by a system of dots and lines, but still keeping its form and outline. The main face which was always shown in relief, gradually became button-like in an oblong shape. On the reverse of the coin, there was a fire-altar with four rows of flames, one above the other. The altar, being wide at the top and bottom, contracting like an hour-glass (*ghaṭikā-yāntṛa*) in the middle. On the sides of the altar, pieces of cloth were tied. Two attendants, holding swords extended towards the altar, were represented on either side of it. Star and Moon were also represented on either side of the flames. As in the case of the obverse,



Sculpture of Tārā from Tāraṅgā Hill, with the Buddhist formula યે ધર્માઃ હેતુપભવાઃ etc.
in the late ૫th century script, at the bottom. (p. ૨78)



A Female Sculpture from Pālḍi, Ahmedabad, H. K. Arts College Collection, Ahmedabad,
(p. 279)



Indo-Sassanian Coins

- (1-2) Early Sassanian Coins, precursors of Gadhiā Coins. Reverse shows the Sassanian Fire-altar.
- (3-3) Early Gadhiā, Thin Fabric: Degeneration of the bust on the obverse, and of the altar on the reverse, can be marked.
- (4-4) Later Gadhiā, Thick Fabric : Further deformation of the bust and the altar, shown as lines and dots.

A Coin of Bappa

- (5-5) A Coin of Gurjara-Pratihāra king Bappa : Obverse and Reverse.

Plate LXXXIII



Śākambharī Inscription of Jayasimha Siddharāja in Jodhpur Museum, gives the starting
Samvat year of Mūlarāja's reign in symbolic words, which are underlined.

(*Vasu* 8, *Nāṇḍa* 9, *Nidhi* 9) (p. 264)

वसुनंदनिधौ वर्षे व्यतीते विक्रमांकतः ।

मूलदेवनरेशरतु चूडामणिरभूद् भुवि ॥

the dots and lines displaced the early forms, till the whole thing became a caricature of the fire-altar.

Bhagvānlal Indrajī arrived at the chronological range of these coins by a process of elimination. In Gujarat, he found a great gap in the numismatic tradition between the Valabhīs and the Muslims. Hence he attributed this coinage to this intermediary period. The White Huns (Ephthalites) who invaded India in the middle of 5th Century during the reign of Skandagupta, were responsible for introducing this coinage in India. The Hūna domination of Persia was completed during the reign of Firoz (470-481 A.D.), and his coinage seems to have been copied by the Hūna rulers in India, specially Toramāna (490-515 A.D.). Hence the beginning of this coinage may be dated to the 6th Century or later.

But unfortunately, as these coins are not inscribed, the *Gadhiās* have become an enigma, though its long allotted range can be justified on the grounds of gradual deterioration of a well-established type with a sufficiently large geographic distribution. We have, however, literary references from Arabic travellers of the 10th Century that these coins were definitely being used in Western India. These coins were referred to as *Tatariya Dirhams*, by Ibn Khorodbeh (who died in 912 A.D.), and Sulaiman, who specifically says that they were current in the Rāṣtrakūṭa kingdom (Balhāra) and Gujarat.—(Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 313).

The first imitations of Toramāna were current in Western Rajputana till the sack of Valabhī in 776 A.D. or in 789 A.D. Vincent Smith ascribed the coins with a clear profile to the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century. The *Gadhiās* were current in Gujarat and Malwa upto the beginning of the Muslim rule. Hence the rough chronology of these coins is suggested as follows:—(1) The coins with the clear profile may be ascribed to the 8th to 9th centuries, (2) A transitional form with a rough profile, but clear perceptible features like the nostril, mouth and chin to the 10th-11th centuries.—(B. Subbarao, *Baroda Through the Ages*, pp. 79-81)—(Plate LXXXII).

APPENDIX
GEOGRAPHICAL DATA
FROM
PURANIC TRADITION

INTRODUCTORY

In the absence of the critical editions of the Purāṇas, it is very difficult to say which portion is genuine and which spurious. Hence it becomes a difficult task to give the exact chronology of the Purāṇas. Under these circumstances, for the material taken from the Purāṇas for the Chronology of Gujarat, the dates of the Purāṇas are accepted as given by the late Śrī Durgāśaṅkar Śāstrī, in his standard book *Purāṇa-vivecana*. These dates are, therefore, subject to later modification in the light of further research in the field of Puranic Studies.

About this portion of data, mostly gathered from Brāhmanical, Buddhistic and Jaina Literary Tradition—namely the Epics, the Purāṇas and the later literary works inspired by them,—there does not exist any recorded date. However, the geographical data—consisting of references to villages, towns, rivers, mountains and places of pilgrimage and the various regions of colonisation and the settlements of various tribes, along with the dynastic lists of kings and families—afford rich material for interpretation.

It is needless to say that against the general Epic and Puranic background, this account would bring into focus the geographic data on Gujarat.

SANSKRIT TEXTS

Sr. No.	Abbreviation	Name	Edition	Approximate Date
1	Aṣṭ.	<i>Aṣṭādhyāyī</i> of Pāṇinī	—	500 B. C.
2	Mbh.	<i>Mahābhārata</i>	(1) B.O.R.I. ed. (2). Kumbhakonam ed.	C. 200 A. D.
3	Hv.	<i>Harivaṁśa</i>	Venkaṭeśvara ed.	"
4	Rām.	<i>Rāmāyaṇa</i>	Nirṇayasāgara ed.	C. 330 A. D.
5	Vā.	<i>Vāyupurāṇa</i>	Venkaṭeśvara ed.	C. 400 A. D.
6	Raghu. Megha etc.	<i>Works of Kālidāsa</i>	—	5th Cent. A. D.
7	Br.	<i>Brahmapurāṇa</i>	Venkaṭeśvara ed.	"
8	Bd.	<i>Brahmaṇḍapurāṇa</i>	"	"
9	Ak.	<i>Amarakośa</i>	—	"
10	Vs.	<i>Viṣṇupurāṇa</i>	Venkaṭeśvara ed.	6th Cent. A. D.
11	Brih.	<i>Brihat Saṁhitā</i> of Varāhamihira	—	"
12	Āva. Cunni	<i>Āvassaya cunni</i>	—	"
13	Vām.	<i>Vāmanapurāṇa</i>	Venkaṭeśvara ed.	7th Cent. A. D.
14	Mkd.	<i>Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa</i>	"	"
15	Krm.	<i>Kūrmapurāṇa</i>	"	"
16	Vrh.	<i>Varāhapurāṇa</i>	"	8th Cent. A. D.
17	Mts.	<i>Matsyapurāṇa</i>	"	"
18	Bhg.	<i>Bhāgavatapurāṇa</i>	Nirṇaya Sāgara ed.	9th Cent. A. D.
19	Kvm.	<i>Kāvyamīmāṁsā</i> of Rājaśekhara	G. O. Series	"
20	Agni.	<i>Agnipurāṇa</i>	Venkaṭeśvara ed.	10th Cent. A. D.
21	Garga.	<i>Gargasaṁhitā</i>	"	"
22	Grd.	<i>Garuḍapurāṇa</i>	"	"
23	Skd.	<i>Skandapurāṇa</i>	"	"
24	Bhvs.	<i>Bhaviṣyapurāṇa</i>	"	11th Cent. A. D.
25	Pdm.	<i>Padmapurāṇa</i>	"	13th Cent. A. D.
26	Vtk.	<i>Vividha Tīrtha Kālpa</i>	—	"

PLACE-NAMES

A

Acalesvara —referred to in *Skd.* I. ii, 29, 88.

Amarakantaka—referred to in *Skd.* V. i. 16 ; 15. 16.

Attalaja —Aṭṭālaja (*Skd.* 66. 110) or Aḍālayijagrāma or Aṭṭālayajagrāma.—(*Skd.* I. ii. 66 111 ;)
—Amālaya—(*Skd.* I. II. 66.-113) or Aḍālija v. 1. Adyālaya.—(*Skd.* I. ii. 66. 110).

Anupa —(*Mbh.* I. 209. 17) Cf. दक्षिणे सागरानूपे पञ्चतीर्थानि सन्ति वै ।
—(*Mbh.* II. 23. 19) ; (*Mbh.* III. 116. 19) ;
—(*Hv.* II. 66. 103) ; (*Vā.* I. 45. 134) ; (*Bd.* I. ii. 16. 66-67) as situated on the slopes of the Viṇḍhya.—(*Skd.* I. ii-1, 73).
—*Anūpa* and *Kaccha* are mentioned as the regions, in which water preponderates. Thus they are mere general terms and do not refer to a particular country. जलप्रायमनूपं स्यात् पुंसि कच्छस्तथाविधः ।—(*Ak.* II. 10).

Ambuda —for Arbuda (Mt. Ābu).—(*MBh.* I. 245. 30) (*Kuṁbha.* ed.).

Aparanta —(*MBh.* I. 210. 1) Cf.

सोपरान्तेषु तीर्थानि ।

तानि सर्वाणि गत्वा स प्रभासमुपजग्मिवान् ॥

—mentioned as including following countries :—

—*Śūrpākara* (i. e. Surparaka), Kelavana, Durga, Kālītaka, Puleya, Surāla, Rūpasa, Tāpasa, Turasita, Parakṣara, Nasikyādyā, *Āntaranarmadā*, *Bhānu (ru) kaccha*, *Māheya*, *Śāśvata* (i. e. *Sārasvata*), *Kacchiya*, *Surāṣṭra*, (North Gujarat) and *Arbuda*.—(*Vā.* I. 45. 128-131).

—as including—*Śūryāraka* (i. e. *Śūrpāraka*, modern Sopara), Kalivana, Durgāla, Kuṇṭala, Pauleya, Kirāta, Rūpaka, Tāpaka, Kariti, Karandhara, Nāsika, *Āntaranarmadā*, *Kaccha*, *Māheya*, *Sārasvata*, *Kacchiya*, *Surāṣṭra*, *Ānarta* (North Gujarat), and *Arbuda*.—(*Bd.* I. ii. 16.60-64).

—Sea-coast line including *Ānarta*, *Saurāṣṭra*, *Kaccha* etc.).—(*Raghu.*).

—as including—*Śūrpāraka*, *Kalidhana*, *Lola*, (?) and *Talakata* countries. —(*Br.* 25. 58-59).

—as including *Vā (Nā)sikya*, *Āntaranarmadā*, *Bharukaccha*, *Māheya*, *Sārasvata*, *Kacchika*, *Saurāṣṭra*, *Ānarta* (North Gujarat), and *Arbuda*.—(*Mts.* 114.50-51).

— as including *Śūrpāraka*, *Vāridhana*, *Nāsikānta*, *Sunarmadā*, *Dā (Bhā)ru-*

kaccha, Māheya, Sārasvata, Vātsiya, Surāṣṭra, Āvantiya and Arbuda countries.—(*Vām.* 13.51-53).

—as including the following countries:—*Sūryāraka* (*Śūrpāraka*), *Kālibala*, *Durga*, *Cāmikaṭa*, *Puliṇḍa*, *Sumīna*, *Rūpapa*, *Svāpada*, *Kurumin*, *Kaṭhā-kṣara*, (*Karaṣkara*), *Lohajamṣa*, *Vājiya*, *Rājabbhadra*, *Tosala*, *Kosala*, *Traipura*, *Vidiś*, (*Tuṣara*, *Tumbura*, *Karaskara*), *Nāsikyava*(*dya*), *Uttara-narmadā*, *Bhī(a) rukaccha*, *Māheya*, *Sārasvata*, *Kāsmīra* (*i.e. Kacchika*), *Surāṣṭra*, *Āvantiya* and *Arbuda*.—(*MKd.* 54.59-63).

—included certain countries either in the North or in the North-West.—(*MKd.* 54.36-42).

Aparantya —when the eclipse happens in *Tulā rāsi*, people of *Aparāntya* (Western border) will suffer.—(*Brih.* 5-40).

Arbuda —Arbuda region was popular for good horses, according to Pargiter, whose remark is based on the *MBh.* II.-4726 n.

—described as a country presided over by Saturn.—(*Brih.* 16.31).

—when Saturn is eclipsed, the people living in the regions surrounding the Arbuda mountain, suffer.—(*Brih.* 5.68).

—the asterisms *Abhijit*, *Śravaṇa*, *Dhaniṣṭhā*, *Rohiṇi*, *Jyesthā*, *Āśādhā* and *Anurādhā* appertain to the circle of *Indra*. This circle brings trouble to the people of the Arbuda region.—(*Brih.* 32.19).

—Mt. *Ābu* (*MBh.* III. 80.57); Mt. *Ābu* (*Skd.* I. ii-29-71).

—In *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa* (VIII. v. 25) it is said that Arbuda was formerly known as ' *Naṇḍivardhana* '. Further, this work gives a non-Jaina version as to why it was named as ' *Arbuda* '. Moreover, it says that this mountain is born of *Himādri*.—(*VTk.* V 25).

—Spoken of as a country in the *Mādhyadeśa*.—(*MKd.* 54. 36-42).

Arbudaksetra—Described in detail, the region at the peak and round about Mount *Ābu*.—(*Skd.* VIII. iii).

Avanti —While describing the journey of the ' *Kāvyapuruṣa*, ' *Rājaśekhara* says that the former went to ' *Avanti countries* ' which consist of *Avanti*, *Vaidiśa*, *Surāṣṭra*, *Mālava*, *Arbuda* and *Bhṛgukaccha*. (Cf. ततः सोऽवन्ति प्रत्युच्चवाल । यत्रावन्तीवैदिश-सुराष्ट्र-मालवाभुवभृगुकच्छादया जनपदाः ।—(*KuM.* ch. 3, p. 9, GOS. 1934).

This shows the wide range of the Avanti Kingdom of which *Surāṣṭra*, *Arbuda* and even *Bhṛgukaccha* formed parts.

Anarta —Region comprising North Gujarat and *Surāṣṭra* whose capital was *Kuśasthali* or *Dvārakā*,—(*MBh.* I. 244.5; I. 246.19; I. 245.29; *Kuṁbha.* ed.);

Vā. 86, 24; *Vā.* I, 45, 131; *Bd.* I ii, 1663; *Mts.* 114, 51; *Bhg.* X 67, 8; *Bhg.* IX 3, 28; *Bhg.* I, 14, 20.

—Region comprising North Gujarat and Surāṣṭra, the capital of which was Kuśasthali or Dvārakā.—(*MBh.* III. 14.14; 15.9, 18; 16. 14; 180. 25).

—as combined with Nairṛta country *Ānartanairṛtah.*—(*MBh.* VI. 9-51; (*Pdm.* III, 6-46).

—explained as a country of Ānarta, the son of Manu's son Śaryāti.—(*Hv.* I. 10. 31-33).

—enumerated among the countries in the South-West.—(*Brih.* 14. 17).

—mentioned among the countries, the kings of which are destroyed when asterisms, *viz.* Viśākhā and Anurādhā are hurt by malefic planets.—(*Brih.* 14. 32-33).

—classed among the countries presided over by Saturn.—(*Brih.* 16. 31).

—when Rāhu is seen eclipsing the Sun or the Moon in the lunar month of Āśvayuj, the people of Ānarta will perish.—(*Brih.* V. 80).

—stands for a battle, a dancing hall, and also for the country in the *Amara-kośa*.

आनर्ताः समरे नृलस्थान-निवृद्धिशेषयोः ।—(*Ak.* III. 63).

—Ānarta is the first country conquered by Arjuna during his conquest of the West.—(*MBh.* II. 23. 14). Gurjara people are mentioned along with the people like Maruka, Kāśika, Darda, Bhaumeya, Naṭanartaka, Karnāṭa, Kāmsyakutṭa, Padmajāla, Sutivara, Barbara, Yavana and Ābhira.—(ii. 48. 20). [This portion, however, cannot be earlier than the 7th Century A.D. as is clear from the names of some later tribes mentioned here.]

—people are described as 'Naṭa', 'Nartaka' and 'Gāyaka', and as being driven out of the city as a measure against the attack of Śālva.—(*MBh.* III. 15.12-13).

Anartaka —meaning warriors. Here 'Ānartaka' seems to refer to North Gujarat.—(*MBh.* VIII. 80.17).

Anartapura —Another name of modern Vadnagar (North Gujarat).—(*Skd.* VI. 196; 211-4).

Anartapuri —*i.e.* Kuśasthali or the ancient Dvārakā.—(*Bhg.* I. 14.25).
Kuśasthali was constructed, in the ocean by Ānarta's son Revata: (See, also *Bhg.* IX. 3.28).

Anandapura —Modern Vadnagar in North Gujarat.—(*Krm.* I. 35.15; *Skd.* VI. 40, 50-51).

Abhira —A country in the South.—(*Bd.* I. ii. 16.57).
It may be taken as a country in Gujarat; (*Vā.* 46.124).

- enumerated among the countries in the South-West.—(*Brih.* 14.18).
- classed among the countries situated in the South.—(*Brih.* 14.12).
- enumerated among the countries presided over by Saturn.—(*Brih.* 16.31).
- when the Sun or the Moon is eclipsed in sign Karkāṭa, the Ābhira people will suffer.—(*Brih.* 5.38).
- The five asterisms beginning with Jyēṣṭhā, constitute the fifth Maṇḍala. If Venus be overpowered here, he destroys the Ābhira people.—(*Brih.* 9. 19).

Abhiras —are cow-herds; and the Ābhira wife of a Mahāsūdra is called 'Ābhiri'.
[Cf. गोपगोपालगोसंख्या गोधुगाभीरबह्वः ।—(*Āk.* II. 57); and आभीरी तु महाभूरी जाति-
पुथोगयाः समा ।—(*Āk.* II. 13).] The camp of the Ābhīras is called 'Ābhīrapalli'.
Cf. घोषे आभीरपल्ली स्यात् ।—(*Āk.* II. 20).

Amrakuta —Amarakaṇṭaka, the source of the river Narmadā.—(*Megha*).

B

- Bharukaccha** —Region surrounding modern Broach.—(*MBh.* II. 28. 50, 28.47 n., 50 n.;
Mkd. 55.21; *Bhg.* VIII 18, 20).
—described as one of the countries situated in the South—(*Brih.* 14. 11).
—Moon is described to be the Lord of Bharukaccha and other countries, as
presiding over them.—(*Brih.* 16. 6).
—A person of the Mālavya type (as described in 69.10), proves to be a
cultured king, and rules over the countries such as Mālava, Bharukaccha,
Surāṣṭra, Lāṭa, Sindhu, and the regions of the Pāriyātra mountain,
having amassed wealth by dint of prowess.—(*Brih.* 69. 11).
—This gives us a fair idea about the geography of Gujarat in the days of
Varāhamihira. He seems to refer to that region which is surrounded by
Malwa in the North-East, Broach in the South-West, Surāṣṭra in the
West and Sindh in the North-West.
(*N. B.*—Umashankar Joshi : (*PG.*, 169 n.) and Dr. Altekar : (*ATCGK*, 4)
are not correct when they say that there is no clear reference to Lāṭa in
the *Bṛhatsamhitā*).

Bhrigutirtha —Modern Broach.—(*Krm.* II. 41. 1-5);

भृगुतीर्थं प्रभासं च तथा चामरकण्टकम् । —(*Agni.* 219-66).

—The story of its origin is also given.—(*Skd.* V. i. 181-182).

Bhuja —Known after the name of Śrīpati's son Bhujavarmā who conquered the
Bhillas and established the kingdom'.—(*Bhvs.* III. iv. 2. 31-32 :—

भुजवर्मा ततोऽभवत् ।

जित्वा स शबरान् भिल्लान् तत्र राष्ट्रमकारयत् ।

भुजदेशस्ततो जातः प्रसिद्धोऽभूत्सहीतले ॥

Brahma-khetaka —Modern Khedābrahmā in the old Idar State.—(*Pdm.* VI. 134.34).

C

Camatkara-pura —Modern Vadnagar.—(*Skd.* VI. 13.28).

—Described as situated in the Hātakeśvarakṣetra, where is Ānarteśvara.—(*Skd.* VI. 65.2)

As the city derived its name 'Ānandapura' from the Ānandeśvara.—(*Skd.* VI. 40-50-51), the name Ānartapura may have come from Ānarteśvara.

—Hātakeśvara Kṣetra round the modern Vadnagar. Its extension is five *koṣas*.—(*Skd.* VI. 16. 3. 6). It was established for the Brāhmins by king called Camatkāra, whence its name.—(*Skd.* VI. 16. 6).

Campaka-nagara —(Modern Cāmpāner). A city on the bank of the Vetravati (Vātraka) where Vidāruṇa, a wicked king was cured of his leprosy, by taking bath in that river.—(*Pdm.* VI. 133. 5).

Candrabhaga —a river near Dvārakā, invoked by the sage Aṅgiras and constituting the ' Pañcanadatīrtha ' with other rivers.—(*Skd.* VII. iv. 14. 47-48).

—a river meeting Sābaramatī, to the west of Ahmedabad, near Dūdheśvara i. e. near the Harijana Āśrama.—(*Pdm.* VI. 155. 3). Its greatness is due to the Lord Caṇdreśvara on its bank.—(*Pdm.* VI. 156. 4).

D

Dharmaranya-ksetra —Its origin ; its different names during the four ages ; its holy places ; a list of 55 villages presented by Rāma to the Brāhmins ; the villages which were rehabilitated by the Brāhmins and so on.—(*Skd.* III. ii. chs. 9 to 39).

—The region surrounding Modherā in the North Gujarat. It is called Dharmāranya, Satyamaṇḍira, Vedabhavana, and Moheraka respectively in the Satya, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali ages.—(*Skd.* III. ii. 40.67). Its origin is ascribed to Dharma, the son of Sun.—(*Skd.* III. ii. 8.44).

Durjayanta —This seems to be another name of the mountain Ujjayaṇta (modern Gīrnār), as it is mentioned along with Puṣpa, Raivataka, and Arbuda mountains.—(*Mkd.* 54.14).

Dvaraka —Kṛṣṇa is described to have brought Arjuna at Dvārakā through Prabhāsa and Raivataka.—(*MBh.* I. 210. 8, 15). There was a garden between Raivataka and Dvārakā. On their return journey from a festival at Raivataka, the Yādavas saw Arjuna, in the guise of an ascetic.—(*MBh.* I. 240. 2-3 Kumbha. ed.). There was an island in the ocean, near Dvārakā. A festival of Mahādeva, for the good of Subhadrā, was celebrated in the Antardvīpa.—(*MBh.* I. 241.71 Kumbha. ed.). The citizens reached there by boats.—(*MBh.* I. 241.76. Kumbha. ed.). When Arjuna came out of

Dvārkā after having kidnapped Subhadrā, he was all along looking at the Raivataka gate.—(243.38 Kumbha. ed.).

Dvaraka

- According to another reading, Subhadrā was kidnapped by Arjuna, when he was returning to Dvārakā, after having worshipped the Raivataka mountain.—(244.6-7, in the footnote, Kumbha. ed.).
- Arjuna reached Hastināpura, from Raivataka, after having crossed the Ujjayini peak, the wells etc. of Ānarta, the Āmbuda (*i.e.* Ābu) mountain and the countries like Śālva, Niṣāda and so on.—(245. 28-29 Kumbha ed.).
- A place resorted to by Kṛṣṇa, who left Mathurā for Dvārakā, to protect the Yādavas from the repeated attacks of the powerful king Jarāsaṁdha. —(*MBh.* II. 13. 65). The Yādavas went to the west and took shelter in the Kuśasthali. They repaired the fortress, which was now unaccessible even to gods: and resorting to which, even the ladies could face the enemies boldly. Yādavas were now free from danger. They rejoiced on seeing the tall mountain and the Mādhava-tīrtha (Acc. to *v.l.* in the Kumbha ed., they thought that they have crossed the fear of Jarāsaṁdha.) —(*MBh.* II. 13. 49. 52).
- Kṛṣṇa informs the kings that ' Śiśupāla burnt Dvārakā, though he was our own nephew, when Bhojarāja was playing on the Raivataka mountain, and when he knew that we had gone to Prāgjyotiṣpura '.—(*MBh.* II. 42. 7-8).
- Was destroyed by Śālva, to avenge the death of Śiśupāla at the hands of Kṛṣṇa, when the latter was yet at Indraprastha.—(*MBh.* III. 15. 5-7).
- Measures were taken to protect Dvārakā against the attack of Śālva: Bridges were destroyed; transport by boats was prohibited; ditches were made unassailable by nails; the surrounding land was made uneven on all sides upto one *koṣa*. Of course, the fortress of Dvārakā was naturally well protected and unassailable. This shows its strategic importance.—(*MBh.* III. 16.15-17).
- Mentioned after Prabhāsa, Piṇḍāraka and Ujjayaṇta among the holy places of Surāṣṭra as situated in the South.—(*MBh.* III. 80.82 ; 86.21). It is also called ' Dvāravatī '.—(*MCh.* III. 80.82).
- Balarāma went to Dvārakā after the *Gadā Yuddha* of Duryodhana and Bhīma.—(*MBh.* IX. 61.38).
- Immediately after his residence in Dvārakā, Aśvatthāmā went to stay just at the back of it, where the sea ends.—(*MBh.* X. 11. 11-12).
- Kṛṣṇa visits Dvārakā once after the destruction of the Yādavas.—(*MBh.* XVI. 5.7). Arjuna, coming from Hastināpura, sees Dvārakā, ' disfigured like a widow '.—(*MBh.* XVI. 6.4).

Dvaraka

- Vāsudeva informs Arjuna that when he arrives at Dvārakā, the ocean will gulp away the entire city with fortress etc.—(*MBh.* XVI. 7.22) ; Arjuna accordingly warned the inhabitants to come out.—(*MBh.* XVI. 8.11), and as soon as they came out, the ocean began to flow over it.—(*MBh.* XVI. 8. 42-44).
- Yādavas established Dvārakā, not because of the fear of Jarāsandha only—(*Hv.* I. 56.35), but also of Kālayavana.—(*Hv.* I. 35.20-22).
It was a pleasure-spot in the land of king Sindhurāja. The Raivataka mountain was not very far from it.—(*Hv.* I. 56.16-30).
- had a vast sea-coast ; was situated in the midst of the ocean ; and was unaccessible, even to the gods.—(*Hv.* II. 55.103). Excellant Mountain Raivataka served as an ornament to its city-gate.—(*Hv.* II. 55.110). It is described as a ' *Vāridurga* '.—(*Hv.* II. 57.5). Garuḍa informs Kṛṣṇa that the ocean will provide more land if required.—(*Hv.* II. 55.13). Kṛṣṇa accordingly asks for twelve *yojana* land and Dvārakā came into existance. It was decorated not by one mountain (Raivata) only, but by five mountains.—(*Hv.* II. 63.22). Piṇḍāraka does not seem to be too far from Raivata, as in the description of water-sport at Piṇḍāraka, many are described to have gone to Raivataka and returned.—(*Hv.* II. 88.52).
- rebuilt by Viśvakarmā at the instance of Indra on Kṛṣṇa's return after the destruction of Vajranābha.—(*Hv.* II. 98.4-5). Raivataka was in the East, Pañcavarṇa in the South, Kṣaya in the West and Veṇumān in the North. There were five forests such as Pañcājanya etc.—(*Hv.* II. 98.1417). Mahānadi flowed through it.—(*Hv.* II. 98.23). Dvārakā extended upto eight *yojanas*. Its length was twelve *Yojanas* ; and its suburbs occupied double the space than the city itself (*Hv.* II. 98. 27). Even the ladies could fight with the enemies—such well-built it was.—(*Hv.* II. 98. 29).
- In the fight with Pauṇḍra, who invaded Dvārakā, the horses faced the horses and elephants faced the elephants.—(*Hv.* III. 94. 10). Kṛṣṇa had adopted the ' *Mudrā* ' (passport) method, and without it none could enter or leave Dvārakā.—(*Hv.* III. 74. 24-25). There were other islands also, surrounding Dvārakā ; as Ekalavya when defeated by Balarāma is described to have entered one at a distance of five *yojanas*.—(*Hv.* III. 102. 5-6).
- Salt was profusely available at Dvārakā, as is seen from Hamsadimbhaka's request to Kṛṣṇa to bring ample salt during the sacrifice of Brahmadatta.—(*Hv.* III. 115. 28).
- Reva the son of Ānarta, finds, on his return from Brahmasabhā, that Kuśasthali, the capital of his country Ānarta, is inhabited by Yādavas, that it has many doors and that it is known as ' Dvāramati '.—(*Vā.* I. 86. 27).

- Dvaraka** —identical with Kuśasthalī in the Ānarta country.—(*Mts.*, 12. 22 ; 69. 9) ; also called as ' Dvāravati '.—(*Mts.* 13. 38).
- Kṛṣṇa asked the ocean to give twelve *yojana* land; and created, when his request was granted, Dvārakā, with an irresistible fortress. This was done to save the Yādavas from the attacks of Jarāsaṁdha and Kālayavana. —(*Vs.* V. 23. 9-13).
- On his return, Rāivata finds that his Kuśasthalī is changed into Dvārakā and that Balarāma is residing there.—(*Vs.* IV. 1.91).
- In the absence of Rāivata, Kuśasthalī was destroyed by Puṇyajana demons.—(*Vs.* IV. 2.1).
- Dvārakā was destroyed by the ocean. The ocean, however, could not destroy till today, the dwelling of Kṛṣṇa, who is always present there. This holy place destroys the sin of those who see it.—(*Vs.* 38. 9-11). It is also called ' Dvāravati '.—(*Vs.* V. 24.7).
- Constructed by Kṛṣṇa due to the fear of Jarāsaṁdha and Kālayavana. He created a water-fortress in the ocean. It was twelve *yojana* long.—(*Bhg.* X. 50.50; 72.31; 74.37; 77.4; *Bhg.* XI. 30.10). Formerly it was known as Kuśasthalī created by Revata, in the ocean.—(*Bhg.* IX. 3.28).
- as Dvāravati, the holy earth, from which it is powerful to remove the sins of Kali age.—(*Skd.* II. 2.9). Rāma asks Vasiṣṭha about the Ādiddvārakā (*Skd.* II. 32.48); a holy place where people get liberation, if they give up their body there.—(*Skd.* III. ii. 26).
- ' Kuśasthalī ', got its name from Rāma's son Kuśa, who established it. The river Gomati flows by the side of the ocean.—(*Skd.* VII. iv. 2. 3-4); by the side of it, there is the ' Pañcanada-tīrtha ' made up of five rivers : Gomati, Lakṣmaṇā, Candrabhāgā, Kuśāvati and Jāmbavati.—(*Skd.* VII. iv. 14. 47-48).
- Kṣetra*, a holy place extending upto five *Kosas*.—(*Skd.* VII. iv. 4. 52).
- Its various Tīrthas are described in the Adh. 3 to 20.
- Dvaravati** —A name of Dvārakā (*Bhg.* III, 3, 12, XI. 30. 5). (Cf. कामान् सिषेवेद्वारवत्याम् । *Bhg.* III. 3. 12. एते घोरा महोत्पाता दारवत्यां यमकेतवः । (*Bhg.* XI. 30. 5) ; —A holy place on the bank of the Sarasvati.—(*Skd.* III. ii. 25. 11 ; *Skd.* VII. i. 35-75).

G

- Girinagara** —described as one of the countries situated in the South.—(*Bṛih.* 14. 11).
- Girimunja** —the mountain near Pañcanada, and on the way from Dvārakā to Arbuda. This seems to refer to the mountain Ūrjayat.—(*MBh.* III).

- Gomati** —a river flowing near the temple of the Lord Viṣṇu at Dvārakā.—(*Skd.* III. ii. 31. 15 ; *Skd.* VII. iv. 2. 3-4). Also known as Pūrvagaṅgā.—(*Skd.* VII. iv. 5. 49). Its greatness is extolled.—(*Skd.* VII. iv. 6. 7). Its origin is described as 'Cakra-tirtha' from where the Disc of Viṣṇu *viz.*, the 'Sudarśana' came out of water.—(*Skd.* VII. iv. 5. 42).
- A river flowing by the side of Western Sea near Kuśāvati established by Rāma's son Kuśa (2.3-4). It merges into the ocean, near Dvārakā, after having washed the feet of the Lord.—(*Skd.* VII. iv. 5.47). It is one of the four rivers giving rise to the 'Pañcadanada-tirtha' ; was invoked by the Prajāpati Marici.—(*Skd.* VII. iv. 14. 47-48).
- river Gomukhī on Mount Ābu (*Skd.* 3.42, 6.2.3) ; countries on the bank of this river are described as presided over by Mars.—(*Brih.* 16.12).
- Gujari** —a place in the Hāṭakeśvara Kṣetra where the Goddess of that name presides.—(*Skd.* VI. 254, 42).
- Gurjara** —mentioned as a country along with the Barbara, Yavana and Ābhiraka countries.—(*MBh.* II. after 48, 20, p. 475 n.).
- a country, where Bhakti becomes defunct : (*Pdm.* VI. 193-52) :—
उत्पन्ना द्रावीडे साङ्गं वृद्धिं कर्णाटके गता ।
क्वचिद् क्वचिन्महाराष्ट्रे गुर्जरे विलयं गता ॥
- Gurjaratra** —A country having seventy thousand (70,000) villages.—(*Skd.* I. ii. 39.141).

H

- Hastimati** —A river (modern Hāthamati), got dried up by the curse of sage Kauṇḍinya.—(*Pdm.* VI. 145-14). It meets, Sābhramāti-gaṅgā, where the 'Saṅgameśvara-tirtha' is also mentioned.—(*Pdm.* VI. 145-16). This Saṅgameśvara may be identified with Saṅgamanātha in the Bhilodā district of the Idar State.
- Hatakesvara-ksetra** —Kṣetra round modern Vadnagara (N. G.), south-west of Arbuda (Ābu) mountain, situated in the Ānarta country.—(*Skd.* VI. 4.42).
- Later on it was called as 'Camatkārapura kṣetra' also. Its length and breadth were five *Kosas*.—(*Skd.* VI. 16.3.6 ; 20.72, 73.37). Gayaśīrṣa, Haripāda and Gokarṇeśvara are to the east, west and south-north of it.—(16.40).
- Different Tirthas—such as Baktaśṛṅga, (*Skd.* VI. 7.11-31), Śaṅkhatīrtha (VI. 10), Pitrakūpikā (VI. 19, 25-32). Bala-Māṇḍava-tirtha, etc. are described.—(VI. 20 f).
- Hataki** —A river in the Hāṭakeśvara Kṣetra. It yields gold.—(*Bhg.* V. 24.17).
- Hiranya-Hiranmayi** —The river Haraṇāva, flowing near Kheḍabrahmā in Idar State.—(*Pdm.* VI. 134. 56 ; 136-3 ; 140-3-5).

J

- Jayanta** —Another name of Ujjayanta (modern Girnar); as it is mentioned with other mountains of Gujarat.—(*Vrh.* 85.3).

K

- Kaccha** —Pāṇini refers to place-names ending with the words ' Kaccha ', ' Agni ', ' Vaktra ' and ' Garta ' (IV, 2.126). No examples of these names are found in the *Sūtras* and in *Paṭaṅjali Bhāṣya*; but there was the well-known seaport called *Bhṛgukaccha* (Bharukacch, *Jātaka* No. 463) or Broach. The *Kāśikā* instances under ' Kaccha ', Dāru-Kaccha and Pippala-Kaccha; under ' Agni ', Kaṇḍāgni and Vibhujāgni; under ' Vaktra ', Indra-Vaktra and Sindhu-Vaktra; under ' Garta ' Bahugarta and Cakragarta.

While identifying these various names, Dr. Agrawala says :—" Here we have four pairs of eight geographical names, preserved as grammatical examples from antiquity. A careful glance at the map of Western India affords clue to their identification. Standing at the head of the Gulf of Cambay we have to our left, *Pippali-Kaccha*, the sea-coast of Pippali, comprising the delta areas of Sābarmatī, Mahī, Narmadā and Tāpī rivers of which the old name is still preserved in Piplā or ' Rājpiplā '. To our right is the sea-coast of Kathiawar, literally equivalent to Dāru-Kaccha (Dāru-Kāṣṭha).—(V. S. Agrawala: *India as known to Pāṇini*, pp. 65-66).

- Kaccha-Bhuja** —*Agni-Purāṇa* refers to a burning sandy tract equivalent to Skt. *Iriṇa* or *Ranna*. ' Vibhujāgni ' refers to the great Rann of Kaccha-Bhuja in the north-west, and ' Kaṇḍāgni ' to the little Rann of Kaccha towards the north-east, traces of its names being preserved in the sea-port of Kaṇḍalā.

- Kaccha** —(*MBh.* VI. 10.55); one of the countries of the Aparānta (*Bd.* I. ii, 16. 60-84). It, also mentions ' Kacchipa ' in the same place; enumerated among the countries in the South.—(*Bṛih.* 14.16).

—when the Moon's orb is divided into two by the contact of Venus in the middle, the people of Kaccha will be subject to all sorts of miseries for seven months.—(*Bṛih.* 4.22).

- Kacchapa** —When the eclipse happens in Tulā rāsi, the people of Kacchapa will suffer. —(*Bṛih.* V. 40).

- Kacchamandala**—(modern Kaccha) mentioned as one of the countries.—(*Skd.* I-ii-1-73).

- Kacchiya** —(modern Kaccha)—as one of the countries of the Aparānta.—(*Vā;* I. 45. 128-131).

- Kacchika** —(Modern Kaccha)—as one of the countries of Aparānta.—(*Mts;* II.4. 50-51).

- Kac̥chāra** —Enumerated among the countries in the North.—(*Bṛih.* 14.27). For quotation, vide under 'Mālava'. This shows that it is different from Kaccha, which is in the south.
- Kapadavan-aka, Karpata** —Modern Kapaḍvaṇja. The *MBh.* (II. 29.6) mentions it in the west, along with Mālava and other countries. It may, therefore, stand for the region near Mālava country.
—Modern Kapaḍvaṇja.—(*Skd.* III. ii. 39.27; III. ii. 39.123).
- Karnata** —A demon of this name was attacked by Goddess Śrīmātā, near Satyamaṇḍira (*i.e.* Moḍherā). The demon ran in the form of a disease, went to the sea-coast in the south and established in the Karṇāṭa country.—(*Skd.* III. ii. 18. 75-77).
This story, apparently of not before the time of Kumārpāla, suggests either that North Gujarat had to face an attack of Karṇāṭaka or a group of people being troubled by diseases and other difficulties, left Modhera and established themselves in the South.
- Kasmira** —(corrupt form for modern Kaccha) as one of the countries of the Aparānta.—(*Mkd.* 54-14).
- Kukura** —A country to the north of Gujarat.—(*MBh.* VI. 9. 42, Kumbha ed.).
- Kusasthali** —The *Mbh.* describes it as situated in the West near Raivataka mountain, on the sea-coast.—(*MBh.* II. 13. 49. 65).
—Dvārakā described to have been constructed in place of Kuśasthalī (*Hv.* I. 35. 22-22), as belonging to Raivata (*Hv.* II. 55. 7); and the Raivata mountain is described as an ornament to the city-gate of Kuśasthalī—(*Hv.* II. 55. 110). It is also described as situated in the midst of the ocean.—(*Hv.* II. 55. 101-103). On his return from Brahmāloka, Raivata saw it altogether.—(*Hv.* I. ii. 4; *Br.* 5-37).
—Ruled over by Revata.—(*Vā.* I. 86. 24), who saw it surrounded by the Yādavas, and having many doors and looking beautiful, was given the name 'Dvāravatī'.—(*Vā.* I. 86. 27; *Mts.* 12. 22; 69. 9).
—describes Dvārakā as situated in the place of Raivata's Kuśasthalī, and as occupied by Balarāma.—(*Vs.* IV. 1. 91). It was destroyed by Puṇyajana demons before Kakumdi Raivata returned from Brahmāloka.—(*Vs.* 2. 1). On his arrival, he saw it different altogether.—(*Vs.* IV. 1. 94). Raivata's father Revata, the son of Ānarta was enjoying the Ānarta country, and staying in Kuśasthalī. Thus it seems to be a capital of Ānarta.—(*Vs.* IV. 1. 64-65).
—Situated on the coast of Western sea; was established by Kuśa, where the river Gomatī flows. It is in the Ānarta and is also known as Dvāravatī.—(*Skd.* VII. iv. 2. 3-4).

- Kusavati** —One of the five rivers in the Dvārakā-kṣetra giving rise to 'Pancanada-tīrtha'.—(*Skd.* VII. iv. 14-47-48).
- Khetaka** —(modern Khedā) as situated in the North.—(*Vam.*), on the Vetravati (Vātraka) river.—(*Pdm.* VI. 133. 19).
- Korillapura** —a place on the bank of the river Narmadā, (modern Koral), where one and half crore latent holy places are existing.—(*Skd.* V. i. 231-45).
- Krtasmara** —a huge mountain on the border line of the sea in the Prabhāsakṣetra. It was burnt by the Vāḍavānala, which he wanted to take from Sarasvatī, who thus clearly avoided his proposal to marry her. Its stones are used by the artists in constructing the houses and temples.—(*Skd.* VII. i. 33.64-90). At present there is no such mountain, not even a hill, in that place. It may be the quarry of the Porbunder stone.

L

- Lada** —*i.e.* Lāṭa—as having 21000 Villages.—(*Skd.* I. ii. 39.146).
- Lata** —This is South Gujarat.—(*Brih.* 69.11). See, 'Bharukacca' (iii above).
—Name of a country, (*Grd.*, 55.16) which evolved a particular literary style of expression: लाटीय स्फुटसन्दर्भः । —(*Agni.* 340.4).

M

- Mahanadi** —Modern Mahī river; spoken as originating from Pāriyātra mountain.—(*Bd.* I. ii. 16.27-28).
- Mahi** —Sugriva, while showing the way to Vinata—one of the monkey-chiefs—for the search of Sītā, speaks of the river Mahī, along with which, another river Kālamahī is also mentioned.—(*Rāma*, IV. 40.20).
—the river.—(*Br.* 25.24 ; *Vām.* 13.24 ; *Mkd.* 54.19).
- Mahinagara** —An ancient name of Cambay.—(*Skd.* I. ii. 42 ; 244 ; 48. 21 ; 49. 2, 3 ; 56.5 ; 57.1, 7 ; 66.117, 129).
- Mahi and Mahisagara-Sangama-**
Ksetra —The place where the river Mahī meets the ocean.—(*Skd.* I. ii, 66.125).
- Mahita** —Modern Mahī river.—(*MBh.* VI. 10.20). It is also called 'Mahī'.—(*MBh.* VI. 10.49).
- Mahati** —Modern river Mahī.—(*Va.* I. 45.97 ; *Mts.* 114.237).
- Mahī-tatajah** —The persons dwelling on the banks of river Mahī are presided over by Saturn.—(*Brih.* 16.32).
- Maru** —Sandy region in the north of Mt. Ābu (modern Mārṇāda). It is mentioned as one of the western regions conquered by Nakul.—(*MBh.* II. 29.5 ; 48.20 after n.).

—Classed in the *Bṛihatsamhitā* among the countries presided over by Ketu (*Bṛih.* 16.38), when the eclipse happens in Tulā rāśi, the people of Maru will suffer (*Bṛih.* 5.40); enumerated among the countries in the Central region (*Bṛih.* 14.2); when the Moon's orb is divided into two by the contact of Venus in the middle, the people of Maru *i.e.* Marwad will be subjected to all sorts of miseries for seven months.—(*Bṛih.* 4.22).

Marukaccha —Enumerated among the countries in the North-West.—(*Bṛih.* 14.23).

Malava —Enumerated among the countries in the north.—(*Bṛih.* 14.27).

Moheraka —Modern Modherā (in N. G.), a very prosperous city.—(*Skd.* III. ii, 2-1).

N

Nagara —Modern Vadnagar, a nagara (city) constructed by king Camatkāra, hence known as 'Camatkārapura'.—(*Skd.* VI. 11. 64); later on, the word 'Nagara' is used not in the sense of a city, but for a place of that name.

Its etymology is explained as 'Na-gara' (poison) and the Lord is described to have promised that by uttering the formula 'Na garam' the serpents will run away from there.—(*Skd.* VI. 114. 76-78, 149. 107-108, 176. 3 etc.).

Maulisthana —A town near Nṛsimha tirtha, where the Sābarmatī meets the sea.—(*Pdm.* VI. 174. 88).

Narmada river —*Raghu.* VI. 42, 46 *Mālavikā.*—p. 9 ;

Narmada —Narmadā and holy places on its bank are described in *Mts.* (Chs. 190-193), also in *Krm.* (II. 41, 42), going round the Viṇḍhya mountain and merging into the Western sea. (*Kum.* Ch. 12, p. 68).

—According to *Bṛihat Samhitā* the regions of the eastern half of the Narmadā district, are described as presided over by the Sun.—(*Bṛih.* 16. 1), while those in the western half of the Narmadā are described as presided over by the Mars.—(*Bṛih.* 16. 9);

—If at the time of an eclipse, Mars also, by his conjunction with the Sun or the Moon as the case may be, be eclipsed, the people living at the banks of the Narmadā will suffer misery.—(*Bṛih.* 5. 64).

Nisada —A country forming the northern boundary of Gujarat.—(*MBh.* II. 28-5 ; *MBh.* VI. 10. 50).

P

Pancanada —A Tirtha near Dvarakā, where five rivers—*viz.* Gomatī, Lakṣamaṇā, Kuśa-vatī, Caṇḍrabhāgā, and Jāmbavati—meet. The rivers were invoked by five Prajāpatīs, *viz.*, Marici, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulaha and Pāvaṇa respectively.—(*Skd.* VII. iv. 14. 45-48).

Parnasa

—Modern Banās river in the North Gujarat.—(*MBh.* VI. 10. 30 ; 9. 31, Kuñbha ed. ; *Pdm.* III. 6. 26 ; *Vām.* 13. 24).

Kāvyamīmāṃsā (Ch. 17, p. 94) furnishes valuable information as regards the countries, mountains, rivers and products of Western India.

Pascaddesa

—‘ *Paścāddeśāḥ* ’, is situated after the region called Devasabhā, which “ is also the name of a mountain in the Western India, and as such, this may be identified with the mountainous parts of either the Dewās state or Udaipur where the Dhebar lake is situated. The countries in this part are given in the following order : Devasabhā, Surāṣṭra, Dāśeraka (Mālava), Travaṇa, Bhṛigukaccha, Kacchiya, Ānarta, Arbuda, Brāhmaṇavāha and Yavana. A good picture of Western India is given here by Rājaśekhara.—(*Kum.*, Chap. XVII).

—The region has following mountains :—Govardhana, Girinagara, Devasabhā, Mālyasikhara, and Arbuda. Name ‘ Girinagara ’ originally denoted a city near that mountain called Raivataka.

—The rivers of this region are :—Sarasvati (near Pāṭaṇ), Śvabhṛavati (Sābarmatī at Ahmedabad), Vārtagnī (Vātraka, a tributary of Sābarmatī), Mahī which falls into the Gulf of Cambay, and Hidimbā (either the river Chambal which flows through the Hidimbā forest, or the river Gambhīrā, a tributary of Śiprā in Central India).

—This region is further described as producing *Karīya*, Bamboo or thorny plant growing in deserts and fed upon by camels, *Pilu*, (A tree : *careya Arborea* or *Salvadora Persica*), *Guggulu* (*Boellium*), *Kharjura* (Date tree), and Karabha (particular plant).

Prabhāsa

—Classed as a city presided over by Saturn.—(*Bṛih.* 16.32). The reference in singular (*Prabhāsaṃ*) shows that it refers to the city only.

—Origin of *Prabhāsa-tīrtha* is narrated as under, in *Āvassaya-cunṇi* (pt. II, p. 197) :—In the *vaṃśa* of the Pāṇḍavas, there flourished a king named Pāṇḍusena. He had two daughters named Mati and Sumati. They were once coming to Saurāṣṭra in a ship. On their way the sea became stormy. At that time Mati and Sumati acted as if they had taken *dikṣā*, while other passengers began to offer salutation to Skanda and Rudra and the like. After some time a ship-wreck took place, and both the sisters died and became finally emancipated. Susthita, the presiding deity of Lavaṇa sea, celebrated the event of their salvation. A celestial light took place there; and henceforth this place (*Prabhāsa*) became a *tīrtha* named as “ *Prabhāsa-tīrtha* ”.—(*Āva*; Pt. II. 197).

—*Bhāsa* (v. 3150) on ‘ Kappa ’ mentions *Pabhāsa* (Sk. *Prabhāsa*) and *Abbūya* (Sk. *Arbuda* mountain). In its *Cunṇi* and *Visesacunṇi* it is

stated that in a pilgrimage *saṅkhaḍī* used to take place in Pabhāsa and mount Abbuya.

Prabhasaksetra—of Surāṣṭra is described in detail.—(*Skd.* VII. i. 4-365).

Pariyatra —the mountain range surrounding the south-west regions of Mālava.
—When Saturn is eclipsed, the inhabitants of the Pāriyātra mountain suffer loss very soon.—(*Brih.* 5.68); enumerated among the countries etc., situated in the Central region.—(*Brih.* 14.4).

Patala —The region known as Hātakśvara kṣetra where modern Vaḍnagar (North Gujarat) is situated.—(*Skd.* VI. 1.63-65 ; 4.51-55).

Patalavadava —A city on the bank of Sābhramatī (modern Sabarmatī).—(*Pdm.* VI. 134.58).

Pindarka —A tīrtha on the sea-coast near Dvārkā or Prabhāsa.—(*MBh.* III. 80.82 ; 86.18 ; *Hv.* II, 88.4 ; *Vs.* V. 37.6).

—It was convenient for *Jalakriḍā* (water-sports) also. Yādavas were enjoying the bath in it ; and it was not far away from Raivata and Dvārakā.—(*Hv.* II. 88.52).

R

Raivata —It was a mountain different from Ujjayanta (Gīrnār) near Dvārakā. During a festival people went there on foot, as well as with the help of different vehicles.—(*MBh.* I, 211.3 ; 211.6).

—It was a hill-station as well as a place of religious importance.—(*MBh.* I. 210. 9-10 ; 211.6 ; 212-1). It was also important from the military stand-point. Viprthuśravā was kept there for watch.—(*MBh.* I-244. 1-4 Kumbha. ed.).

—It was placed near Dvārakā by Raivata, the son of Ānarta. This Raivata is described as the son of Śrīśaila.—(*Garga.* XII. 14.6-36 ; 9.32-33).

—Nārada describes it as a ' hand raised by Pṛithvi to invite virtuous people '.—(*Skd.* I. ii. 5. 1-2).

—A mountain near the Ujjayanta (Gīrnār) in the west.—(*Skd.* VII. ii. 16. 72-73 ; 26.83)

—Dāmodara form of Viṣṇu is installed there.—(*Skd.* VII.ii.9. 229).

Raivataka —During the abduction of Subhadra, the Mahābhārata describes Arjuna going to Indraprastha via *Raivataka*, the peak called Ujjayini, the lakes of Ānarta, and Ambuda *i.e.* Arbuda.—(*MBh.* I. 245. 27-29 Kumbha. ed.). The critical edition (p. 965, para 115, line 32) reads ' muñjavata '. *i.e.* the Mt. Raivata.—(*Bhg.* V.19.16).

—*Bṛihatsaṁhitā* classes it among the countries presided over by Saturn.—(*Brih.* 16.31). Raivataka is here mentioned not as a mountain but as the region surrounding the mountain Raivataka (Modern Gīrnār); enumerat-

ed with Surāṣṭra and other countries, as lying in the south-west.—(*Brih.* 14.19).

- Reva** —The holy places on its bank are described in the ' *Revākhaṇḍa* '.—(*Skd.* V ; *Raghu.* VI. 43 ; *Megha.* 19) or Santamī, (*Śākuntala.* p. 42).
 —The river Narmadā, is described as a beloved embracing her lord, the Viṇḍhya mountain, which was stemmed by the sage Agastya.—(*Brih.* 12. 7).
- Riksa** —(Modern Sātapuḍā mountain)—mentioned as one of the seven ' *Kula-parvatas* '.—(*Bd.* I. ii-16. 34 ; *Mts.* 114. 28 ; *Vām.*, 46. 103).
- Riksavat** —(modern Sātapuḍā mountain) mentioned as one of the seven ' *Kula-parvatas* '.—(*MBh.* III. 58. 20).
- Rullapura** —Modern Jhillatīrtha, well-known in the Vāḍhiyār District.—(*Skd.* VII, i).

S

- Setika** —River Śeḍhī—one of the currents of the river Sābarmatī.—(*Pdm.* VI. 136-3).
- Surparaka** —A city in the Thana district, 37 miles north to Bombay and four miles in the north-west from Bassein.—(*MBh.* II. 28. 43 ; *MBh.* III. 118. 8, 14).
 —Paraśurāma had lived there (*MBh.* III. 83. 40 ; 86. 9), on the Caturāṅga mountain (*MBh.* XII. 49. 67). This *Tīrtha* is placed in the north of Gokarṇa.—(*Bhg.* X. 79. 20).
- Surpara** —The diamonds got from this country are spoken of as having dark colour.—(*Brih.* 80. 6).
- Surparaka** —Enumerated in the ' Geographical chapter ', among the countries in the Dakṣiṇāpatha (southern India).—(*Kvm.* Ch. 17, p. 93).
 The rivers Narmadā and Tāpī are also included in this region.—(Cf. *Narmadā-Tāpī-paṇḍita-Godāvari Gaṅgādyā Nadyah* : (*Ibid.*, p. 94).
- Sarasvati** —A river meeting the ocean near Prabhāsa in Surāṣṭra.—(*MBh.* IX. 35.22 : 36.33) ;
 —The country where the Sarasvati river disappears, is presided over by Saturn.—(*Brih.* 16.31). The Sārasvata countries (*i.e.* countries surrounding the river Sarasvati) are described as situated in the central region of India.—(*Brih.* 14.2).
- Sabarmati** —The pair of names ' *Vātraka* ' and ' *Garta* ' refers to ' *Bahugarta* ' and ' *Cakragarta* ', (IV. 2.126). ' *Bahugarta* ' refers most likely to the valley of the *Sābarmatī*, Skt. ' *Śvabhramatī* ', literally the river of holes or pits (*Śvabhra* hole, pit). *Cakragarta* refers to the region of Cakra-tīrtha on the Gomatī, near Dvārakā in Prabhāsa-Kṣetra. The two in-

icated the peculiarity of the natural terrain formed by undulating loessic dunes.—(V. S. Agravala ; *India as known to Pāṇini*, Pp. 65-66).

- Sabhramati** —An account of its origin, given :—Vasiṣṭha seated under a *plakṣa* tree, looked, with the Varuṇa-maṇṭra, at Viśvāmītra, with the great *sāmbhrama* (confusion). He gazed there, and from two holes on the ground, arose two streams of water, one was called : ‘ Sarasvatī ’ the other ‘ Sābhramatī ’, as it was caused through *Sāmbhrama*.—(*Skd.* VI. 173.14)
- flowing near Ahmedabad. Originates from Naṇḍikuṇḍa, crosses the Ābu and meets the Dakṣiṇodadhi.—(*Pdm.* VI. 135. 1; 136.2). Its four names in four ages are Kṛitavatī, Girikarṇikā, Candanā and Sābhramatī.—(*Pdm.* VI. 134. 25-26).
- Its seven currents—viz. Sābhramatī, Śeṭikā, Valkinī, Hiraṇmayī, Hastimatī, Vetramatī and Bhadrāmukhī—meet at *Vikīrṇatīrtha* (*Pdm.* ch. 136). Different *tīrthas* on it are described in chs. 136-174, among which *Vāmanatīrtharāja* (Modern *Vauṭhā*) (*Pdm.* Ch. 160) and *Vātraghñī* (Modern *Vātraka*)-*saṅgama tīrtha* (*Pdm.* Ch. 168) are also included.
- Sābhramatī’s original name was Śvabhṛavatī—(full of caverns). Its surrounding region was also known as ‘ Śvabhra ’ as is clear from Girnar rock-inscription of Kṣatrapa Rudradāman (150-A.D.).—(See, Sankalia, *Studies in Historical and Cultural Geography of Gujarat*, pp. 86-87).
- Sarasvata** —The region round the river Sarasvatī of Gujarat.—(*Bd.* I. ii. 16. 27-28).
- The region is included in the Aparānta region along with Ānarta and Surāṣṭra.—(*Mts.* 114. 50-51; *Mkd.* 54.19).
- Skandapura** —Modern Vaḍnagar (N.G.). An idol of Kārtikeya and his vehicle peacock are seen even today in the remnants of the Kīrtistambha there.—(*Skd.* VI. 71.38).
- Stambhatīrtha**—Modern Cambay or Khambhāt.—(*Skd.* I. ii-3; 58. 27. 37, 58, 59, 66). Its other names were :—Khambhāyata, Trambāvatī or Tāmralīpta, Mahānagara, Bhogavatī, Pāpavatī, and Karṇāvatī.—(Vide, R. B. Jote, *Khambhāt no Itihāsa*, p. 14).
- Stambhapura** —Modern Cambay—(*Skd.* I. ii. 21). A deity there was known as Stambheśvara.—(*Skd.* I. ii. 3. 40; 35. 10). Its various Tīrthas are mentioned in Chs. 13-64 of *Skd.* I. ii.
- Surastra** —(*MBh.* II. 38. 39-40; *MBh.* III. 86. 16, 20; *MBh.* VI. 10. 47; *Bhg.* III. 1. 24).
- It is also called ‘ Svarāṣṭra ’ (*MBh.* VI. 10. 47 n.). Enumerated among the countries in the south-west.—(*Bṛih.* 14. 19).
- According to *Brhatsamhitā* when Saturn is in Punarvasu, the people of Surāṣṭra will come to grief.—(*Bṛih.* 10. 6).

- The diamonds (precious stones) got from Surāṣṭra are having reddish lustre.—(*Brih.* 80. 6).
- Surāṣṭra will be in trouble during the circle of Indra to which belong the asterisms such as Abhijit, Śravaṇa, Dhaniṣṭhā, Jyesthā, Āṣādhā and Anurādhā.—(*Brih.* 32. 19).
- During an earthquake of the wind-circle, the people of Surāṣṭra will suffer. —(*Brih.* 32. 11).
- the Surāṣṭra country will be affected when the eclipse happens in the lunar month of Bhādrapada.—(*Brih.* 5.79).
- Surāṣṭra is enumerated among the eight countries which are the sources of best pearls.—(*Brih.* 81.2), others being Siṃhalaka, Paraloka, Tāmraparṇī, Persia, the North country, Pāṇḍyavaṭaka and the Himalayas.—(*Brih.*, 81.2). *The pearls of Surāṣṭra are further described as neither too big nor too small, and hued like butter.* (81.4).
- A man belonging to the Mālavya type reigns over Surāṣṭra country along with other countries.—(*Brih.*, 60.11); when the Moon's orb is divided into two by the contact of Venus in the middle, the people of Surāṣṭra will be subjected to all sorts of miseries for seven months.—(*Brih.* 4.22).

Surastra

- is classed among the countries presided over by the Mercury.—(*Brih.* 16.17) by Saturn (*Brih.* 5.69). Umashankar Joshi (*PG*, 40) says that according to *Brih.*, 16.15-19, the regions of Siṃdhu and Sarasvati and of Surāṣṭra were preponderating in Naṭas and Nartakas. But it is difficult to derive such a conclusion, as the work only mentions these regions as well as some *persons* like Naṭas etc. which are presided over by Mercury.
- The people of Surāṣṭra will be immediately destroyed, when Saturn is eclipsed.—(*Brih.* 5.68).
- If Venus is overpowered in the fifth Maṇḍala, consisting of five asterisms beginning with Jyesthā, the people of Surāṣṭra will be destroyed.—(*Brih.* 9.19).

Saurashtra

- Consisting of 55,000 villages.—(*Skd.* I. ii. 39.145). It formed, the part of Aparānta, and was known as ' Surāṣṭra ' also.

Suvarnarekha

- A river to the north-east of Vāmananagara or Vanasthali, modern Vanthali.—(*Skd.* VII. ii. 14.2).

T

Talasvami

- It may refer to Tulasīśyāma, in the Prabhāsakṣetra.—(*Skd.* VII. i. 330. —2-3).

Tarattaranga

- One of the Tirthas on the river Sarasvati. This may refer to Tāraṅgā in the North Gujarat.—(*Skd.* VII. i. 35.46).

- Tapi** —One of the rivers rising from the Vindhya Mt.—(*Vā.* I. 46.102; *Be.* I. ii, 16.32; *Mts.* 114.27; *Mkd.* 54.24; *Krm.* I. 47.34).
 —The river is described as ' Sutoyā ' (having good water) and the regions on its banks are included among the rivers and countries presided over by Mars. *The adjective ' Sutoyā ' suggests the abundance of water in that river and the prosperity of the regions on its bank.*—(*Brih.* 16.12).
 —Mentioned as a daughter of Chāyā by the Sun, with her twin brother Śanaīścara.—(*Skd.* V. i. 56. 50).

- Tarakapura** —Mahinagara is also known as ' Tarakapura '.—(*Skd.* I. ii. 31. 28).

U

- Udayanta** —a variant reading for ' Ujjayanta ', a big mountain near Somanātha ; and Raivataka is spoken of as situated in the West of it.—(*Skd.* VII. ii. 1. 68).
Ujjayanta —i. e. Giranar mountain is mentioned as one of the holy places of Saurāṣṭra. —(*MBh.* III. 89. 18-20).
 —Also spelt as *Ujjanta* (*Va.* I. 45.92) and mentioned along with the Puṣpa-giri and Raivataka mountains.—(*Va.* I. 77. 52 ; *Bd.* I. ii. 16. 22 ; *Vām.* 13. 18).
Umapura —(Modern Unjha, a place of Umādevī, near Hāṭakeśvara kṣetra (modern Vaḍnagar).—(*Skd.* II ; *Skd.*, Venkateśvara Press ed.).

V

- Valabhi** —a capital of King Saryāti who gave his daughter Sukanyā to Cyavana Bhārgava.—(*Skd.* VII. i. 282. 1). It is modern Vala in Saurāṣṭra. *Saras-vatī* and its Tīrthas are described.—(*Skd.* VII. 1. 35).
Valkini —This may refer to the river Vekali in the old Idar State.
Vastrapatha —The region surrounding Girnar in Saurāṣṭra. It is mentioned here along with other Tīrthas.—(*MBh.* III. 80. 108 ; *Skd.* VII. ii. 16. 72-73).
 —Also called ' Raivataka-kṣetra. '—(*Skd.* VII. ii. 1-2). Its extant Tīrthas etc. are described in detail in this *Khaṇḍa*.
Vamana-nagara —Vāmanasthalī or modern Vanthali in Saurāṣṭra was established by Vāmana after having suppressed Bali.—(*Skd.* VII. ii. 10. 13).
Vataghni —Modern Vātraka river. Both the rivers are described as originating from Pāriyātra mountain.—(*Br.* 25. 28).
Vindhapada —Sātapuḍā range.—(*Megha* 19).
Viśvamitra —This may refer to river Viśvāmitrī flowing near Baroda.—(*MBh.* VI. 6. 26 ; *Pdm.* III, 6-21).
Vetravati —Modern Vātraka river meeting Sābarmatī. (*Pdm.* VI. 133.1, 18 ; 136.4) ; on its bank Kheṭakanagara (Modern Kheda) is situated. (*Pdm.* VI.

133.19). Originally the term Vetravati denoted the river Beṭvā which meets Yamunā and flows near Bhopal. Vetravati of the *Meghadūta* (*Pdm.* VI. I. 26), is this river. The reference of the ' *Padmapurāṇa* ', however, shows, that in later times, Vātraka was known as ' Vetravati '.
—Described as presided over by Mars.—(*Brih.* 16.9).

Vaijanta —This seems to be another name of Ujjayanta,(modern Girnara), mentioned with the Puṣpagiri, Raivata and Arbuda mountains.—(*Brih.* 25.27).

Vritraghni —Modern Vātraka river as flowing from the Pāriyātra mountain meeting Sābarmati (*Vā.* I. 45.97 ; *Mts.* 114-23 ; *Vām.* 13 23-24 ; *Mkd.* 54.19 ; *Krm.* I. 47-29 ; *Pdm.* VI. 134.56, also called ' Vartṛighni ' *Padm.* VI. 168).

ADDENDA
EXCAVATIONS AT 'DEVANĪ MORI' :
[Discovery of a Stupa and Vihara of late Ksatrapa Period]
&
ADDITIONAL NOTES

ADDENDA

EXCAVATIONS AT 'DEVANI MORI' :

[Discovery of a Stupa and Vihara of late Ksatrapa Period]

Devani Mori, Taluka Bhiloda, District Sabarkantha, was excavated by Professor Dr. B. Subbarao, Dr. R. N. Mehta and Shri S. N. Chowdhary under the auspices of the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda. This is a Buddhist monastic settlement with the remnants of a large *stūpa* and a few *vihāras*. During this season, the *stūpa* and the *vihāra* were exposed. In the local tradition, the site is described as “Bhojarājā no Ṭekro” (mound of Bhoja).

Site : The site is picturesquely situated to the east of the gorge, through which the river Meśvo (a tributary of Sābarmatī) cuts through the Ārāvallis to enter the plains of North Gujarat.—(Plate LXXXIV). To the west and north of the proposed dam at this gorge is the old pilgrim-town of *Śāmalājī*, which is already well-known for its wealth of sculptures with strong Gāndhāra and Gupta traditions. *Śāmalājī* is a small fortified town of the Kṣatrapa period, and recent diggings in the village have revealed parts of the ramparts-wall of the Kṣatrapa period. Hence it is natural that the Buddhists chose the site east of the gorge, away from the town of old *Śāmalājī*.

Stupa : *Stūpa* is a massive structure with two square platforms on which the cupola rested. At its base it measures 86 feet square and its height, as it stands today, is 34 feet above the ground level. The top of the lower platform, which is 7'-10" high, serves as the *pradakṣiṇa-paṭha* also. The face of this platform is divided into eleven bays by 12 pilasters with modified “Indo-Corinthian” capitals. Above the capitals is a decorated frieze of three rows of bricks. The lowest course consists of bricks of chequer-pattern with alternate grids made deep. The next one is a floral pattern (vine-motiff ?). Finally comes the row of recessed projections. This entire face of the platform has several recesses and mouldings and stands 7'-10" above on a foundation of pebbly gravel in concrete.

The second square platform has ten pilasters on each side and they are located exactly as the lower ones with intervals of 6'-8". These ten pilasters have nine bays for decoration. Unfortunately, this platform has suffered great destruction, and only the lower three feet are intact. But here again there was a round moulding in the middle, and there is a row of well-burnt off-set bricks projecting above the wall. On this row have been found nearly ten pilasters still *in situ*.—(Plate LXXXV).

From the way in which the collapsed figures of the Buddha, the fragments of the arches of the niches (*Chaitya*-arch) and a number of smaller pilasters, which fit in with the base of these arches, have been found, it is possible to reconstruct the position of the images. All the figures of the Buddha have tapering tops. In the arch-fragments also, we noticed that some of them are complete with a medallion (Plate LXXXVI) or have wedge-shaped

cuts to take the top of the Buddha image. From the four sides of the *stūpa*, fragments of about 17 images have been found, out of which nearly 13 could be reconstructed fully.—(Plate LXXXVII). Three loose heads were also found.—(Plate LXXXVIII). Besides in the central bay, the lower fragments of a true arch with beautiful decorations were found. The arch from the east face has a diameter of 3'-6". There were in all four arches in the four directions. Two of them show the *pārṇa-kumbha* motif. One of them has two sitting lions on either side.

The pattern of the image niche is also to be conjectured on this basis.—(Plate LXXIX). In the centre of the larger pilasters were two smaller pilasters with plain bases and Indo-Corinthian caps, 16 inches long and located 2'-10" apart. The arch, made in two pieces, rested on these capitals. As there are roughly equal number of empty and full arches, it is possible to conjecture that there were in all about 16 figures on the four sides. These details are being worked out carefully. The exact decoration above these niches is purely conjectural, but a large number of decorative patterns of the type found on the lower platform were also found, suggesting the possibility of repetition of the same pattern.

Phases: As the *stūpa* is very much damaged, there is no convincing evidence about the exact phases. But the round moulding on *pradakṣiṇā-pāṭha* is considerably damaged, and at places we see a restoration. In the course of this restoration, they indiscriminately used decorated and plain bricks. Similarly, in one of the sections where a part of the lower platform is damaged we see a similar mixture. Finally, during the last phases of the *stūpa*, they re-erected the images of Buddha by increasing the number of courses of bricks above the off-set bricks, containing the bases of the pilasters. Looking at the range of evidence from the *vihāra* as well as the *stūpa*, it is possible to postulate at least two phases of the *stūpa* for the present.

Buddha Figures : (13" × 24") :

From the plan of the *stūpa*, as well as the evidence of drapery etc., it is possible to derive the *stūpa* and the art it represents from the Gāndhāra region. In his latest study of the Gāndhāran art in Pākistān, Ingholt divides it into four phases represented by four groups of decorative features.—(Itlay Lyons and Harold Ingholt, *Gāndhāran Art in Pākistān*, New York, 1957). The latest group dated by him between 400-460 A.D. is characterised by drapery indicated by paired parallel lines. Of the 17 images in *Dhyāna mudrā* recovered so far, 14 of them belong to this group. But the most interesting image is one with very prominent ribbed drapery and a platform with double lotus-pedestal. We have another image with slightly raised folds of the drapery. But the most noteworthy feature is the absence of the folds of the *saṅghati* covering the foot. In all the images both the legs are bare. Even in the drapery, both the styles are represented. Some of them have both the shoulders covered, while the right shoulder is left bare in some of the images.

In the matter of hair-styles also, there are two distinct traditions. Majority of them have the usual hair-style in spirals turning right and *uṣṇīṣa*. But one, the most

beautiful of all, has the typical upward flowing Gāndhāra hair-style, highly conventionalized.—(Plate LXXXIX).

A Terracotta Seal-Tablet :

One of the most important finds is the Seal depicting the complete *Stūpa*. Looking at the whole group of images, their drapery, hair-style, *uṣṇīṣa* etc., it is possible to date this group to the Late Gāndhāra period ('Indo-Afghan School' of Marshall) or to the 4th Group of Ingholt. Some of the images with ribbed drapery and the Gāndhāra hair suggest Group III, which he dates from 300-400 A.D.. Since Group III of Gāndhāra is already acknowledged to show features of the Mathura school, we see here also Central Indian influences. Thus we have a phase of Art of the Late Kṣatrapa period and showing blending of Gāndhāra and Early Gupta traditions.

It is difficult to be dogmatic at this stage, as these finds arouse profound questions of the relation between the Western Indian and Central Indian art-traditions. As Marshall put it in connection with the finds from Taxilā of the Indo-Afghan School, "Both in pure decorative beauty and in the expression of religious sentiment and in these spheres, it established new and far-reaching traditions, which profoundly influenced the character of the Gupta and the later Medieval art of India."—(*Taxilā*, p. 522).

In view of the chronological overlaps between the Late Kṣatrapa, Late Gāndhāra with the Early Gupta, it is possible to visualize certain regional diversities and other affinities without any dogmatic assertions of origins. Thus we can see that this *stūpa* with its square platforms essentially belongs to the Gāndhāra tradition. Its nearest parallel is the one at Mohra Moradu at Taxilā.

For the sheer beauty of its terracotta and brick-work it is nearer to the *stūpa* at Mirpur Khās in Sind. Almost all the decorative motifs on the bricks of Mirpur Khās are repeated here ; but these are, possibly earlier in date. In Gujarat this represents the heyday of the Kṣatrapas and the Maitrakas of Valabhī.

Vihara : The *Vihāra*, which is situated to the south of the *stūpa*, measures about 120 feet square. Unfortunately the *vihāra* has suffered tremendously at the hands of the brick-robbers and the entire outer walls have been more or less destroyed. The monastery contains eight cells each, on each of the four sides, with a brick-paved court-yard in the centre. On the southern side, the central cell has a platform with moulded bricks on all the four sides and it has a very fine stone-paved floor. This suggests the Shrine-room. Similarly, on the western side of the court-yard there is a small platform in the centre, probably to serve as a stage, as in other monasteries outside Gujarat. The bricks measure 16" × 10" × 3", and they fall within the known brick-sizes of the Kṣatrapa and the Maitraka period.

Phases of the Vihara : In the first phase, the monastery was slightly smaller and it had a compound-wall in addition to the outer wall of the monastery. The main drain from the court-yard flowed out on the North-West corner of the monastery. In the second

phase, the whole level of the monastery was raised by about 4 feet by filling with fresh yellow silt. At this phase the outer wall of the monastery and the compound-wall were joined, and a thick outer wall about 12 feet wide, with mouldings on the outer face, was constructed.

The last phase of the *stūpa* marks a definite deterioration of the maintenance, and the walls were reconstructed in a very crude way; sometimes even broken bricks were used. Besides, the sizes of the bricks on the floor of the third period were slightly smaller than the rest. The most interesting evidence, however, is provided by the main drain in the North-West. As the floor-levels and plinth-levels were raised, the drain-level was also raised. Thus we see the drains of the three periods at one spot on the outer wall.

Coins : A number of coins were found from the debris of the *stūpa* as well as of the *Vihāra*. On the floor associated with the 2nd phase were found nine silver coins of the Kṣatrapas. As the regnal years are not given, it is not possible to assign the exact years. However, one of them belongs to *Viśvasena*, who ruled from 293-305 A.D.. The other coins belong to Rudrasena; but it is difficult to decide to which Rudrasena of the Western Kṣatrapa dynasty it belongs. Similarly, there is another name ending "Dannah" which is equally vague.

The most interesting coin is one of Śarva Bhaṭṭārka, the founder of the dynasty of Maitrakas of Valabhī, found in the debris of the *stūpa*. Thus on numismatic evidence it is safe to infer that the *stūpa* and the *vihāra* were built in the early 3rd century and it lasted upto the beginning of the 7th century A.D..

Pottery : This numismatic evidence is also borne out by the pottery. It includes large number of fragments of the Red Polished Ware, dated from a number of sites in Gujarat to the 1st five centuries of the Christian Era. A number of typical sprinklers and spouts were recovered, one of the sprinklers is in the characteristic Kaolin ware as at Vadnagar and Koṇḍāpur (Āndhra).

Other antiquities : The most interesting one was a Terracotta Seal showing the figure of the *stūpa* in the centre with two Bodhisattvas (?), referred to above. One of them seems to be *Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi*. This figure will be very useful for the ultimate reconstruction of the *stūpa*, and agrees very well in proportions to the remnants of the *stūpa*.

A large number of iron-nails and tile-fragments suggest the nature of the roof. The tile is a flat one, about 10" × 6", and has two holes similar to the tiles of the Śātavāhana period from Kolhapur and from Inṭvā, near Gīrnār.



General view of the Stūpa, Devani Mori, Śāmalāji area. (p. 309)

Plate LXXXV



(A) General view of the exposed Vibhara, showing cells and two floors of the Central Court-yard. (p. 309)



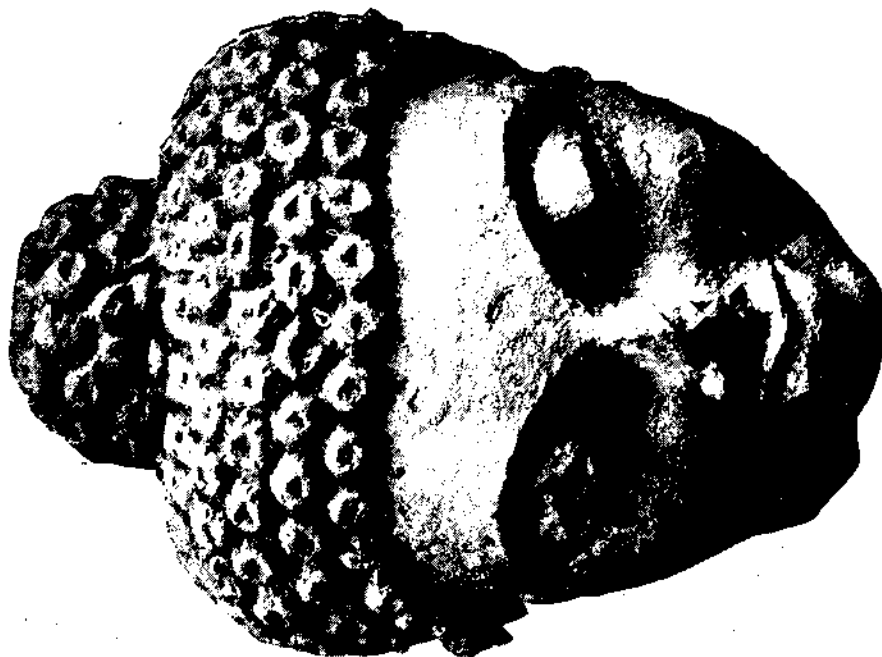
(B) Face of the lower platform, showing the pilasters and the decorated frieze of the Lower platform. (p. 309)



(B) Terracotta Seated Buddha, with drapery covering both the shoulders.—Devani Mori Stūpa.



(A) Terracotta Seated Buddha, with drapery covering both the shoulders.—Devani Mori Stūpa.



(A) Terracotta Buddha Head,
Devani Mori Stūpa, Sāmālāji.



(B) Terracotta Round Medallion,
from Devani Mori Stūpa.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

Page 14 : Footnote :

The discovery of a large dockyard attested to the water-borne trade practised by the inhabitants of Lothal. Situated at the eastern end of the mound, it was roughly trapezoid on plan; its eastern and western embankments were each 710 ft. long; the northern measured 124 ft. and the southern 116 ft. The greatest extant height of the embankment was 14 ft. Boats could enter the harbour at high tide, through an opening in the eastern embankment, the dwarf-wall near the entrance being meant to retain water even at low tide. A spill-channel existed in the southern embankment for the outlet of excess water; at the mouth of the channel could be seen two grooves for a sliding door. Narrow steps at the end and grooves at regular intervals in the side-walls of the channel suggested that a door could have been made to rest against wooden logs at desired places to maintain the required level of water.—(*Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1958-59 : p. 14).

Page 34 : Line 10 :

Reference : JBBRAS, XV, pp. 273-328.

Page 44 : Line 7 :

Reference : EI, XVI, 1919.

Page 44

The Ghosundi Stone Inscription (C. 100 B.C.): by K. P. Jayaswal—(EI; XVI, pp. 25-27, 1919)—(See—p. 44 *supra*).

The inscription is in the Northern Brāhmī of the late Maurya or Śuṅga period. The age of the inscription is between 200 B.C. and 150 B.C., (since put at C. 100 B.C. in *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 438). It is post-Aśoken in its script.

The inscription is important from the point of view of the language employed. This is a pure Sanskrit record. In the word भगवभ्याम्, it seems, the third conjunct letter (द्) is omitted through mistake; because in inscribing a conjunct of three letters, the smallest member is omitted. The three lines read as under :—

(१) ...न गाजायनेन पाराशरपुत्रेण स.

(२) ...जिना भगवद् भ्यां सेकरीण-वासुदेवाभ्यां

(३) ...भ्यां पूजा-शिला-प्राकारो नारायणवटे क्त्वा रितः ।

Page 56 : Add 80 A.D. before 83 A.D.

Devasenasūri, in his *Darśanasāra* (V. 11) and *Bhāvasaṅgraha* (Vs. 52-75) ascribes the origin of the 'Sevaḥ' (Śvetapaṭa Śvetāmbara) Sect to Valabhī, and assigns it to V.S. 136 (79-80 A.D.)

C40

The Digambara tradition pertaining to Bhadrabāhu, ascribes the origin of the Śvetāmbara Sect to a king of Valabhi.

The Digambara Sect assigns the origin of the 'Kāmbalika Sect' to Vira S. 609 (82-83 A.D.)—Hariṣena, *Bṛhatkathākośa*, *Bhadrabāhu Kathānaka*, Vs. 69-80).--(Shastri, H. G., *Maitrakākalina Gujarat*, p. 417-18.)

Page 59 : Line 15 :

Add 'on the coins' after 'inscriptions'

Page 60 : Line 29 :

Add, 'whose name is identified with Nahapāna', before 'Nabho-vāhana'.

Page 62

Āndhāu Stone-Inscription of the time of Rudradāman (dated 130 A. D., Ś. year 52) by R. D. Banerji :—(EL., XVI, pp. 19-25)—(See P. 62-63 Supra).

The mention of Caṣṭana, son of Ysāmotika, immediately before the name of his grandson Rudradāman, son of Jayadāman, in the four lithic records from Āndhāu, without any connecting link, has led scholars to make a number of conjectures; because the word पौत्रस्य is probably omitted. The date of these inscriptions had better be ascribed to the conjoint reign of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman.

Eventhough Rudradāman was an independent monarch, he never used the title राजन् alone. This is true of all princes of this dynasty and of स्वामिन् जीवदामन्.

There is not a single coin or inscription of this dynasty, in which the title राजन् is used by itself, and not in combination with the titles महाक्षत्रप or क्षत्रप. In fact, Āndhāu inscriptions are the only records known, which mention Caṣṭana or Rudradāman as राजन्s and not as महाक्षत्रपs.

Inscription, described as 'C', which contains three lines, has been illustrated (See Plate XVII A), and reads as under :—

(१) राज्ञो चाष्टमस त्स[१]मोतिकपुत्रस राज्ञो रुद्रदामस जयदामपुत्रस वर्षे द्विपञ्चाशे ५०, २
(२) फगुण बहुलस द्वितियं वा २ यशदताये सीहमितथिता सेनिकगोत्राण शामनेरिये
(३) मदनेन सीहिलपुत्रेन कुटुम्बिनिये [लष्टि] उवापिता ।

Page 66 : Line 34 :

Add 'as Kṣatrapa' before 'coins.'

Page 67 : Line 5 :

Add 'on his coins and' before 'Kṣatrapa'.

Page 85 : Line 23 :

Add 'like the fall of Valabhi' before 'a similar event'.

Add 'Kārtikādi' before 'The Valabhi Era'.

Page 87 : Line 3 :

This date, however, does not hold good, in consideration of the chronology of the Maitraka kingdom, which was not even founded by this time.

Page 93 : Add

Khambhāliḍā Caves ; Buddhist Caves in District Madhya Sau-āstra : Śrī P. P. Pandya discovered groups of Buddhist caves at Khambhāliḍā, carved in the banks of a stream, meeting the Bhādar river, four miles up-stream from Jetpur. These are ascribed, on grounds of the sculptural style, to the Third-fourth Century A.D.

There are five groups of caves : the first group consists of seven caves of varied dimensions which were probably meant for the Bhikṣus, as resting places.

The second group seems to be the most important : it consists of three caves, the central one of which was the *Caitya*-hall, flanked by large sculptures, representing the Bodhisattvas, Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara on the left and Vajrapāṇi on the right, showing devotees under the shelter of trees, and having a worn-out *Stūpa* at its apsidal end.

The third group is totally hidden under heaps of stones and earth. The fourth one consists of three small caves on the left bank, while the fifth one comprises of a single cell on the right bank up-stream.—(*Indian Archaeology—A Review : 1958-59*, p. 70.)

Page 94 : Line 4 :

An Inscription on terracotta flesh-rubber pot-sherd, excavated from Prabhāsa Pāṭan Excavations in 1956-57 is deciphered by the late P. P. Pandya as द स म पु सि ती ।—(See, P. 94, *Supra*).

P. 94 : Line 19 :

The fragmentary *Rajkot Museum Stone—Inscription* of the Kṣatrapa period, was first noticed by the late P. P. Pandya in 1959. An estampage of the same was kindly supplied by Shri J. M. Nanavati, Officiating Government Archaeologist, Gujarat State.

This has been read by Dr. H. G. Shastri as under :—

(१) र[१] ङो महाक्षत्रपस्य..... स्य...दस.....तर

(२)रव...म.....स...सद् सेर पुत्रस्य

(३)स...सखहिता.....त...त...म्भे ि तफ.....

Excepting the words *Rājño Mahākṣatrapasya*, nothing can be made out.

Page 95 : Antiquities :

Antiquities : Kṣatrapa Period : Impressions, received from the Director of Archaeology, Baroda, under ' Bombay State, Baroda District : Findspot, Amreli ' : were deciphered and printed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for 1953-54*, published in 1960 : as under :—

- (1) *Pot-herd* : Ring of an earthen pot : Letters in Sanskrit, Brāhmī Script. Seems to read [(*Mā*) *gha-yukta* (*Śukla*)] in characters of about 3rd Century A.D.—(See, A. R. Ep. 1952-53, App. B, No. 38.)
- (2) *Clay-Seal* : Śanskrit, Northern Alphabet : Reads *Aji[ta]sya*, in characters of about 5th Century.
- (3) *Lead-Seal* : Reads *Īśvarasya*, in characters of about the 4th Century.
- (4) *Terra-cotta Seal* : Seems to read *Dasu [ka]*, in characters of the 3rd Century.

Page 95 : Terracottas : In the excavated deposits of earth were found (by Shri K. V. Saundara Rajan, Superintendent of Archaeology, Western Circle, from the top of the Buddhist caves at Uparkot, Junagadh, and in rock-cut wells and pits,) the Red Polished Ware, Kṣatrapa coins of lead, largely belonging to Rudrasena II (348-78 A.D.), terracotta figurines, including *Yakṣas*, sealings, *bullae* with *Yakṣa* and a Kṣatrapa ruler. These datable objects pertain broadly to the second half of the 4th century A.D.

A terracotta figurine was reclaimed from the debris around the Khāprā-Koḍiā caves at Junagadh, ascribable to the Second-third Century A.D.. It had similarity with the statue of Kaniṣka from Mathura on the one hand, and with the Scythian warrior from Nāgārjunakoṇḍā on the other.—(*Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1958-59, pp. 70-71)

P. 96 Add :

Items left out from the detailed Note in the ' Antiquities Section ', are mentioned below for reference, as under :—

Plate XVIII A

(A) Painted and incised pottery from Rozḍi, Āṭkoṭ and Prabhāsa in Saurāṣṭra.

Sculptures : Kṣatrapa Period :

Plate XVIII A

(B) A Head from the Kuṇḍa at Sojitrā near Cambay, discovered by Dr. Bhailalbhai Patel, ex-Vice- Chancellor, Vallabha Vidyāpīṭha,—now in the Vallabha Vidyānagar Museum : —(c. 200-300 A.D.)

Plate XX :

A Kṣatrapa head, obtained from the Tāpi river, is now in the Surat Museum.—(Front & Back Views).

Plate LXXXVI :

Two Terracotta *Seated Buddha*s from Devani Mori Stūpa.

Plate LXXXVII :

Two Terracotta *Buddha-heads*, from Devani Mori Stūpa.

Plate LXXXIX :

A Terracotta *Head of Buddha*, from Devani Mori Stūpa, with Gāndhāran hair-style.

Plate LVIII :

(B) Incense-burner from Akoṭā hoard of Bronzes and Metal work. Besides the gods of the pantheon, it is noteworthy that objects useful in daily worship were also dealt with artistically.

Page 227 : Add in
776 A.D.

Fall of Valabhi : On examining the different dates given in the *Prabāṇḍhas*, Dr. H. G. Shastri has observed that the year mentioned in the *Prabāṇḍha-kośa* is, in fact, 375 and not 573, as read by the Editor, that the real date for the Fall of Valabhi is V. S. 845, and that the other date, viz., Vīra S. 845 = V. S. 375 is simply caused by mis-ascribing the year 845 to the Vīra era. The Mleccha-pati who destroyed Valabhi is identified with the Arab Governor of Mansura in Sindh, on the evidence of Alberuni (Vol. I, pp. 192 f.).—(H. G. Shastri, *Maitrakahālina Gujarat*, I, pp. 195 f.). The most probable date for the fall of Valabhi, is, therefore, 789 A.D.

P. 269 Ajañṭā Scene :

Plate No. LIX (A) :

The illustration, wherein the germs of the style of Western Indian Miniatures, viz., the angularity of faces and the protruding of the further eye beyond the facial line are visible, is taken from *Ajañṭā Cave No. 17*.

The identification of the scene kindly supplied by Shri R. A. Thatte, Artist-Modeller, Department of Archaeology, M. S. University of Baroda, is as under :—

On the left side of the Shrine-wall, on the lower portion, the Scene is 'Buddha putting Questions to Mahāmoggalāyana and Sāriputta,' wherein people of different countries, like the Scythians, Persians and Arabians are depicted, who had gathered for listening to the Questions and Answers. The faces are shown in wrapt attention; and the treatment of their eyes is noteworthy.

P. 275 : Sculptures :

Plate LXXII :

(A) Śiva-Pārvatī from Rodā.

(B) Viñāpāṇi Śiva from Koṭeśvara, near Ambāji.

P. 277 :

Plate LXXV :

(A) *Agnī*, as a Dikpāla from Osiā temple, Marwad.

Plate LXXIV :

(A) *Vāmana* becoming Virāṭa, from Osiā temple, Marwad.

(B) *Hari-Hara*, a composite sculpture of Viṣṇu and Śiva, from Osiā temple, Marwad.

Plate XLVIII :

(B) *Vāyu*, from Śāmalāji, with name inscribed.

P. 213 and 277

Plate LXXIX :

(B) *Inscription on the back-side of the Life-size Kotyarka Mahuḍi Bronze* (Plate LIII).

The one line inscription on the back of its *Prabhāvalī*, which could not be deciphered so far, has been read by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra Shastri as under :—

“ From the ink-impression of the inscription, it can be made out that it contains the well-known Buddhist formula, namely, *Ye dharmāḥ* etc. It ends with *Mahāśravaṇah* instead of the more common form *Mahāśramaṇah*. The characters belong to a later period, say, after 800 A.D. ”

Another ink-impression, bit less clear, was sent to Dr. D. C. Sircar, Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, South India, the too well-known Scholar-Editor of “ *Select Inscriptions* ”. He was requested to decipher the same, so as to afford a clue regarding the identity of the bronze.

Dr. Sircar writes “ Two of the words in the inscription appear to read *Ch [ai] tya* and *Śrāva [ka]*. From the latter word, it may be possible to infer that it is a Jaina epigraph. ... The characters belong to the Southern alphabets and may be assigned to about the 8th or 9th century A.D. ”

The word, however, read as *Śrāva [ka]* by Dr. Sircar has been read as *Mahāśravaṇah* by Dr. Chhabra, his ink-impression, perhaps, having been more clear. The conjecture of the letter [*ka*] may have been for [*na*] *h*. Thus the reading which Dr. Chhabra has given, may be accepted for our purpose.

This reading, conclusively settles the question regarding the religion to which the bronze belongs. It is purely Buddhistic. —(See, Plate LII).

P. 312

Plate XC :

The image of Gadādhara Viṣṇu, known as Śāmalāji, from the long Gadā reaching the feet, and still in regular worship at the shrine of rather a later date, is in the sculptural style of Viṣṇu, from Bhinmāl (Plate XLII) and Tenne (Plate XLIV), illustrated above. It may not be later than 8th century A.D. The shrine, on the banks of the Meśvo river has come to be more known after the recent discovery of the late Kṣatrapa Period Stūpa and Vihāra at Devani Mori, the site of the village nearby.

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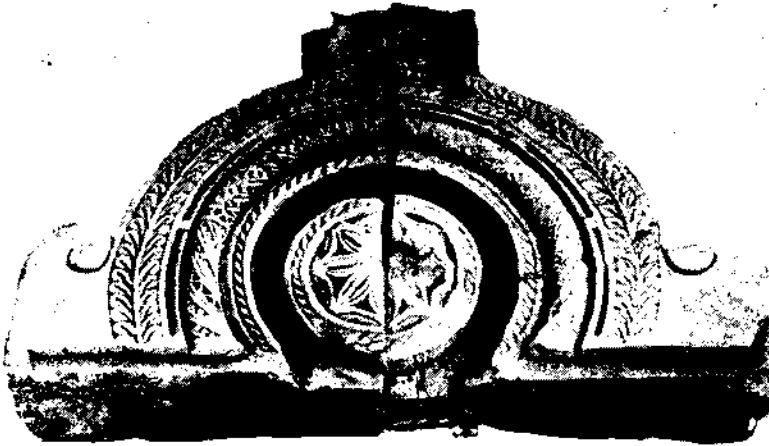
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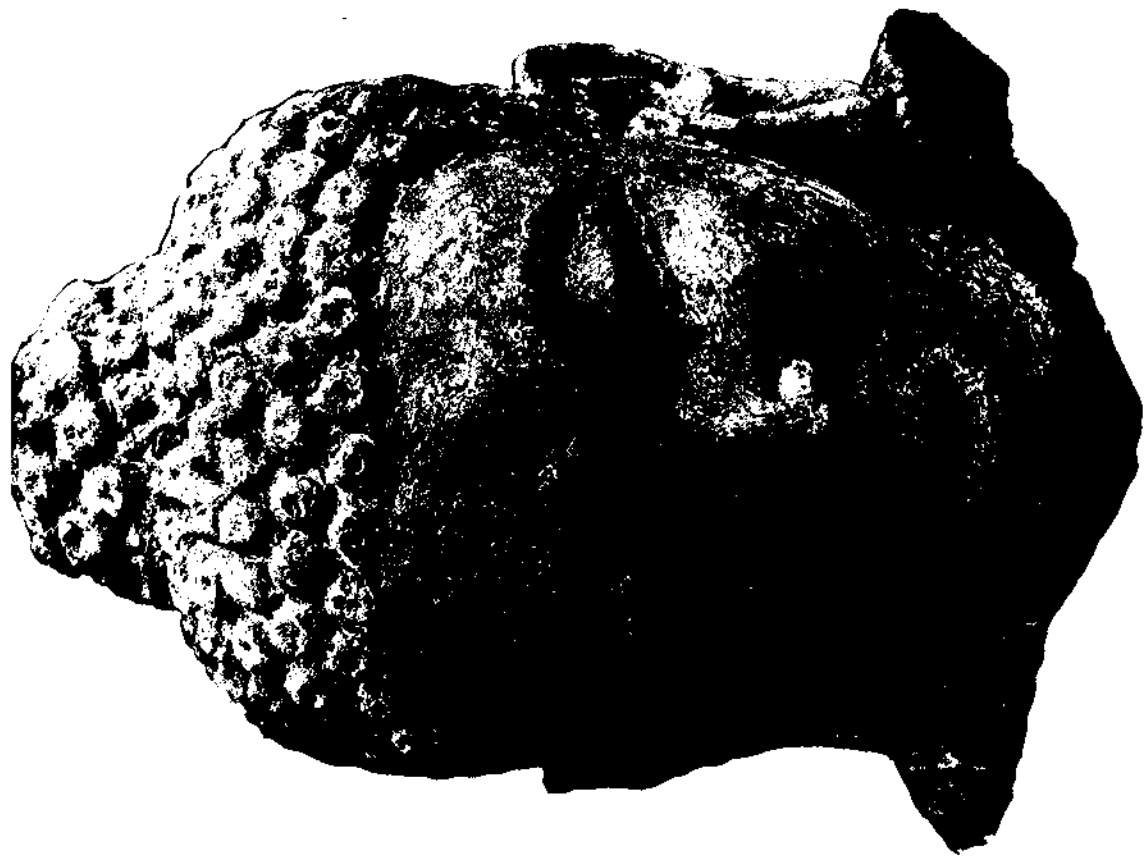
(A) Terracotta Architectural pieces, from Devani Mori Stūpa.



(B) Terracotta Filled Arch of the niche.
Devani Mori Stūpa, Śāmalāji.



(A) Terracotta Head of a Buddha, with the typical upward flowing Gāndhāra hair-style, from Devani Mori Stūpa.



(B) Terracotta Buddha Head from Devani Mari Stūpa, Sāmataji.



Gadādhara Viṣṇu : Śāmalāji, (p- 318)

In the sculptural style of Bhinamāl Viṣṇu (Plate XLVII) and Tenna Viṣṇu (Plate XLIV B)

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E R R A T A

- P. 25 : Line 14 : Read C.543 B.C. for C.443 B.C.
 „ Line 32 : Read *that* for *thae*
 P. 26 : Line 4 : Read *Nadyādi* for *Nadvādi*
 P. 29 : Line 29 : Read *Graeco* for *Greco*
 P. 30 : Line 31 : Read *Ūrjayat* for *Urjayat*
 „ Line 35 : Read *Mauryan* for *Maurva*
 P. 31 : Line 3 : Read *Buddha* for *this king*
 P. 32 : Line 1 : Read *Kośābhisamharaṇam* for *Kośābhisam haraṇam*
 P. 33 : Line 29 : Read 259 B.C. for 252-1 B.C.
 P. 34 : Line 21 : Omit *and*
 P. 35 : Line 1 : Read *successors* for *successor*
 P. 36 : Line 20 : Omit 244 (Black)
 P. 36 : Line 33 : Omit *very*
 P. 44 : Line 18 : Read *Maitrakakālina* for *Maitrakālina*
 „ : Line 36 : Read 27 for 21
 P. 61 : Line 11 : Read *Caṣṭanasah* for *Caṣṭanasa*
 P. 62 : Line 26 : Read 'in' for 'is'
 P. 63 : Line 1 : Read *Śāmaṇeri* for *Śāmneri*
 „ : Line 3 : Read *Śrāmaṇera* for *Śrāmnera*
 „ : Line 8 : Read *Balaśri* for *Bālaśri*
 „ : Line 29 : Read *Śātakarṇi* for *Siri-Pulumāyi*
 „ : Line 36 : Read *dvīsaptatītame* for *doi-saptitame*
 „ : Line 38 : Read *Ūrjayat* for *Urjayat*
 P. 64 : Line 5 : Read *Rudradāman* for *Rudradāmana*
 „ : Line 10 : Read राज्ञो for रज्ञो
 „ : Line 19 : Read *dāmna* for *dāmana*
 „ : Line 19 : Read *Dāmajadaśriya* for *Dāmajśriya*
 „ : Line 22 : Read रुद्रदाम्नपुत्रस्य for रुद्रदामनपुत्रस्य
 „ : Line 23 : Read *ghsada* for *Ghsada*
 „ : Line 24 : Read *zāda* for *Zāda*
 P. 65 : Line 38 : Read रुद्रदाम्नपुत्रस्य for रुद्रदामनपुत्रस्य
 P. 66 : Line 17 : Read *Saurāṣṭra* for *Surāṣṭra*
 „ : Line 19 : Read *Sugrahita* for *Sugrahita*
 „ : Line 34 : Read *struck coins as Kṣatrapa* for *struck coins*
 P. 67 : Line 5 : Read *after Kṣatrapa, on his coins, and*
 P. 68 : Line 13 : Read *Saurāṣṭra* for *Saurastra*
 „ : Line 14 : Read *Arbuda* for *Arbud*
 P. 70 : Line 14 : Read *in the years 119-120* for *(in the years 117-20)*
 „ : Line 17 : Read दामजदस for दामनदस
 „ : Line 18 : Read दामजदस for दामजनस

- P. 73 : Line 14 : Read *This word* अत्त (?) for *The word*
 „ : Line 21 : Read *Silver* for *Siiver*
- P. 74 : Line 21 : Read *Samghadāman* for *Samghadāmā*
- P. 75 : Omit Lines 12 to 16
- P. 83 : Line 12 : Read *Nāgārjuna* for *Devardhi Gani*
- P. 85 : Line 33 : Read 'continued' for 'introduced'
- P. 91 : Line 27 : Read 66' × 58' for 66" × 58"
 „ : Line 37 : Read 7' × 5' for 7" × 5"
- P. 93 : Line 31 : Read *Khambhālīdā* for *Khambhālīā*
- P. 102 : Line 24 : Read *Jivadāman's* for *Jivadāmana's*
- P. 107 : Line 4 : Read *Kūṣāṇa* for *Kaṣāṇa*
 „ : Line 24 : Read Ś. 310 for Ś. 31
- P. 109 : Line 22 : Read *returned* for *return*
- P. 110 : Line 33 : Read *Īśvaradatta* for *Īśvararāta*
- P. 113 : Line 18 : Read *Candragupta* for *Chandragupta*
- P. 114 : Line 6 : Read *gold* for *silver*
- P. 116 : Line 28 : Read 'Khatrī'. They for 'Khatrī', who
- P. 118 : Line 13 : Transpose *who* after *Skandagupta*
- P. 119 : Line 5 : Read *Indradatta* for *Endradatta*
 „ : Line 14 : Read *CII.* for *CI.*
 „ : Line 31 : Read 456-57 A.D. above 457-58 A.D.
- P. 120 : Line 26, 31, 34, 37 39 : Read *Bhaṭārka* for *Bhaṭṭārka*
 „ : Line 26 : Read 470 A.D. for 462 A.D.
- P. 121 : Line 2, 7 : Read *Bhaṭārka* for *Bhaṭṭārka*
- P. 122 : Line 34 : Read *maula* for *kaula*
- P. 123 : Line 7 : Read *after* for *during*
 „ : Line 17 : Read *his inscriptions*, (M.G., p. 65) for 'the Mālia copper-plate Inscription of Dhavasena II'.
- P. 137 : Line 17, 20 : Read *Nāndīpuri* for *Bharukaccha*
 „ : Line 37 : Read *Ilao* for *Ilas*
- P. 138 : Line 17 : Read C. 470 (Ref. M. G., p. 48) for 495. Add Reference.
 „ : Line 31 : Read C. 480 for 482-499
- P. 141 : Line 11 : Read *Pāṇḍurajjā* for *Pāṇḍurāja*
 Add Reference—(M. G., p. 374)
- P. 142 : Line 8 : Read *CII.* for *CI.*
 „ : Line 9 : Read C. 500 for C. 520
 Add Reference : Coronation of Dronasīmha,—(M.G., pp. 45, 54-52).
- P. 145 : Line 1 : Transpose word 'mendicants' as to begin the line.
 „ : Line 4 : Add, Reference : (IA ; IV, 104 ff; HIG, I, No. 27)
 „ : Line 11 : Read *Anandapura* for *Anandpura*
 „ : Line 12 : Read *Samihambara* for *Samihamoara*
 „ : Line 13 : Read *Sūpakārāpati Bhaṭṭi* ; it for *Sūpakarāpati Bhaṭṭi* ; which.
- P. 145 : Line 23 : Read *Soṇavvā* for *Sonavva*

- P. 151 : Line 29 : Read *Mimmā* for *Mimma*
- P. 153 : Line 32 : Read Jayabhaṭa I, father of Dadda II-(628 A.D.)-(*M.G.*, p. 266)
- „ : Line 33 : Read *Nāndipuri* for *Bharukaccha*
- P. 154 : Line 8 : Read *Maukhari* for *Maukari*
- „ : Line 14 : Read *Bhadrappallana* for *Bhadrappaṭṭana*
- P. 155 : Line 6 : Omit 'I' after *Śilāditya*
- „ : Line 9 : Add Reference—(*See, C. 700 Infra*)
- P. 162 : Line 8 : Read *There is mention of Valabhinagari and king Śilāditya. It refers to the temple of Śāntināth at Valabhī,—* (*M.G.*, p. 493).
- „ : Line 30 : Read *Ānandapura* for *Ānandpura*
- P. 164 : Line 8 : Add Reference—(*M.G.*, p. 120)
- P. 166 : Last Line . Read Last word as श्रीः १ for श्रीः १—(*M.G.*, p. 286, fn. 146)
- P. 169 : Line 14 : Read *Vanditapalli* for *Vanditappali*
- P. 178 : Line 38 : Add Reference—(*M.G.*, p. 120)
- P. 179 : Line 26, 36 : Read *Śilāditya III* for *Śilāditya II*
- P. 180 : Line 10 : Read *Śilāditya II* for *Śilāditya III*
- P. 182 : Line 38 : Read *Śilāditya II* for *Śilāditya III*
- P. 183 : Line 20 : Read *Caturvedins* for *Caturvedis*
- „ : Line 25 : Read *Āṇahila* for *Āṇahil*
- „ : Line 25 : Read *Skandabhaṭa* for *Skandabhaṭ*
- P. 186 : Line 13 : Add : *However, refer to p. 222, infra.*
- P. 187 : Line 6 : Add : —(*See, p. 87, Supra M.G.*, p. 491-92 for various dates)
- P. 188 : Line 4 : Read *699 A.D.* for *709 A.D.*
- „ : Line 15 : Read *700 A.D.* for *710 A.D.*
- P. 189 : Line 6, 14 : Read *Śilāditya V* for *Śilāditya IV*
- P. 190 : Line 17, 20 : Read *Maṅgalarasa* for *Maṅgalaras*
- „ : Line 22 : Omit 'South Gujarat'
- P. 191 : Line 5 : Read '*Maṅgalarasarāja* for *Maṅgalarāja*
- P. 191 : Line 12 : Add and correct as
 'Pulakeśi Avanijanāśraya succeeded Dharāśraya Jayasinhha,
 because the crown-prince had predeceased the father :—(*H. G.*
 Shastri, 'Kaccha Plates', *Journal Oriental Institute*, Jan., 1960).
- P. 193 : Line 16, 17 : Read *Jāikadeva* for *Jaikadeva*
- „ : Line 22 : Add as on P. 191, line 12
- „ : Line 34 : Read *Muslim* for *Mahomedan*
- P. 195 : Line 21 : Read रज— for रण—
- „ : Line 37 : Read *Plate XXVII* for *Plate—*
- P. 196 : Line 11 : Read *Plate XXVII A* for *Plate—*
- „ : Line 20 : Read रं for रें
- P. 197 : Line 4, 12 : Read *Plate XXVII A* for *Plate—*
- „ : Line 35 : Read *Bhaṭṭakkah* for *Bhaṭṭakah*
- P. 213 : Line 24 : Read *Bauddha* for *Jaina*
- P. 224 : Line 7 : Read *C. 750* for *750*
- „ : Line 15 : Read *C. 754* for *754*

- P. 226 : Line 19 : Read *Śilāditya VII* for *Śilāditya VI*
P. 231 : Add—(For details, see *M. G.*, p. 422)
For ' Fall of Valabhi ', See *M. G.*, pp. 155-160, and also *Addenda*
on 776 A.D., p. 317
- P. 268 : Line 12 : Read जीर्णतां for विलयं, and add वृन्दावनं पुनः प्राप्य नवीनेव कुरुषिणी ॥ ४९ ॥
P. 274 : Line 30 : Read *Plate No. XLIII* for *LXIX*
P. 277 : Line 28 : Read *Miniatures* for *Sculptures*
P. 290 : Line 31 : Read *Bhrgu* for *Bhrigu*
P. 295 : Line 19 : Read द्राविडे for द्रावीडे
P. 295 : Line 20 : Read जीर्णतां for विलयं
And Add वृन्दावनं पुनः प्राप्य नवीनेव कुरुषिणी ।
- „ : „ „ : Read *Vadnagar* for *Vaḍnagara*
„ : Line 33 : Read *Rakta* for *Bhakta*
„ : „ 34 : Read *Bālā-maṇḍana* for *Bala Māṇḍava*
- P. 299 : Line 15 : Read *Na-gara (poisonless)* for *Na-gara (poison)*
P. 302 : Line 33 : Read *Sābhramati* for *Sābarmati*
P. 303 : Line 28 : Read *Khambhāyat* for *Khambhāyata*
Read *Plate No. XLIX* for *XXXIV*.
Plate XXIA (D) : The Block, showing Eros plying the oar, should
be upside down.
Read on *Plate LVI Bileśvara* for *Sutrāpādā*

