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(INCLUDING KATHIAWAR)

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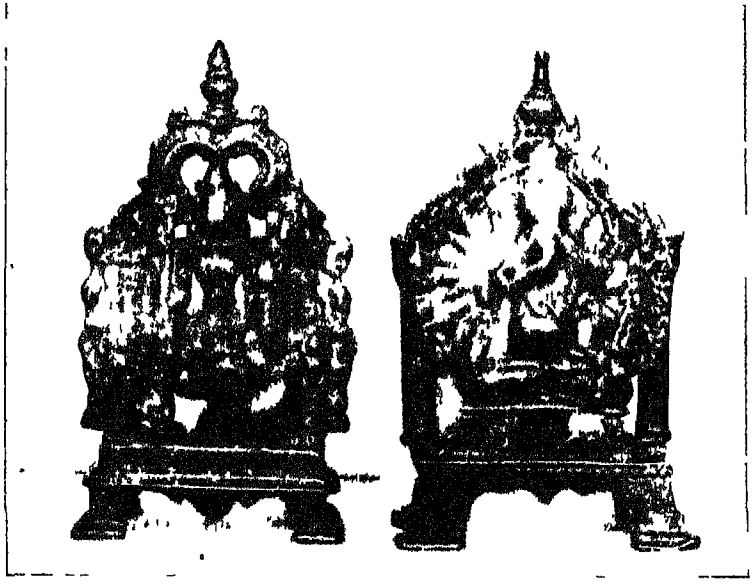

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THE
ARCHÆOLOGY OF GUJARAT
(INCLUDING KATHIAWAR)

BY

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INTRODUCTION

IT was originally intended, at the suggestion of Mr. K. DE B. Codrington, now the Keeper of the India Museum, London, to write on the regional and dynastic distribution of the monuments of the post-Harṣa period in Northern India. After working for some months on the subject, it was thought advisable to restrict the field of inquiry to a particular region only and study its archæology exhaustively. Gujarāt was accordingly selected. Campbell had published its early history in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I (1896), from the notes prepared by Bhagwanlal Indraji and Jackson. This dealt principally with the outline of political history from about 300 B.C. to 1300 A.D. with a few remarks here and there on the religious tendencies of kings and on territorial units and administrative officers. No attempt was made there (nor was it indeed intended) either to study these subjects fully and critically tracing their development through the entire period under review, or to correlate them with the archæological material which Burgess had published in his Reports on the work done by him and Cousens in Northern Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār from 1870 to 1890.

The aim of the present writer, therefore, was to study the entire archæological material, prehistoric as well as historic, of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār, specially with a view to correlating the monuments of both these regions with their epigraphs from the early historical times to the end of the 14th century. Besides going through the Reports of Burgess dealing mainly with the monuments in the territory of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda, parts of Ahmedabad and Kaira Districts, the Reports of the Archæological Survey, Western Circle, and the work of Cousens on the Mediaeval Temples of Kāthiāwār, the writer personally visited many of the important monuments at Patan, Modhera, Ruhāvi, Sunak, Sidhpur, Dhank, Sandera, Junāgarh, Girnar, Kadvar, Sutrapādā, Somnāth, Mt. Abu

and Dabhoi, when the University College of London and the London University granted him permission to return to India for the purpose of field work. An opportunity was also taken to study the collection of antiquities in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and the museums at Baroda, Patan, Rajkot and Junāgarh.

Except in the case of a few monuments of the Caulukyas, definite relation could not be established between the monuments and the epigraphs, though the latter were systematically examined from the beginning. Hence the former are classified and arranged chronologically into ancient and mediaeval monuments, following rather arbitrary methods based on dynastic periods, mainly on stylistic considerations. They are again classified on religious basis to ascertain the popularity of different religions in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār.

The chapter on iconography includes images which are illustrated by Burgess and Cousens, and also those which the writer has seen personally and taken note of. The rest which are merely mentioned by Burgess and Cousens are omitted, as without their description and photographs it is not possible to check the identification made by these authors. The scope of this subject was restricted in the interest of precision. In this chapter as well as in the chapters on architecture and sculpture, comparison is made between the objects found in Gujarāt and those outside it, merely to note the treatment of certain motives in different places, but not with a view to drawing any inference from it.

Besides extracting the chief contents of inscriptions, their formal aspect is also considered for finding out its development in Gujarāt as well as any peculiar feature it might exhibit. This is embodied in the chapter on epigraphy.

The chapter on coins is merely a sort of review of the existing material. The task of filling up the gaps in Gujarāt numismatics is extremely difficult. This chapter and the map (No. VI) may, however, serve the purpose of drawing the attention of all interested in Gujarāt numismatics to the necessity of a systematic search for coins, particularly of the Caulukyan period.

It will be noticed that there is a departure from the orthodox fashion of arranging chapters inasmuch as chapters on administration, society and religion are given after chapters on architecture etc. This is due to the fact that they are not strictly pertinent to the main body of the thesis; secondly, such an arrangement has enabled the writer to utilize fully the archæological evidence rather than anticipate it. No doubt, the method has resulted in a little overlapping of treatment, but it adds to the fullness and clarity of the subjects.

Appendices D and E give lists of place-names and territorial units, as well as *gotras* etc. of Brāhmaṇas, which, when worked out and correlated with those collected from literary sources, will throw light on the ancient geography and the organization of the Brāhmaṇas of Gujarāt. For the present, this material has been used in the chapters on administration and society only to give some idea of the territorial divisions and the status of the Brāhmaṇas.

The archæological sources known so far have enabled the writer to trace the antiquity and evolution of architecture, sculpture, cults, iconography, epigraphy, numismatics, administration, society and religion in the pre-Muslim Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār over a period of about 1600 years. It is complete as far as it goes. But the recent researches by the Baroda Archæological Survey—short reports of which were published just when the writer had completed his work—when fully available, may, to a certain extent, affect the conclusions arrived at in this book. If they do, they will confirm the statement of De Morgan that "No book can ever be definitive which deals with questions based on discovery and observation. Such works can only be up-to-date on the day of publication; a month later the author will already have occasion to modify certain passages of his text."[1] They will demonstrate, further, the truth of the fact that a full account of Gujarāt's past can only be written when all its phases have been properly

[1] *Prehistoric Man*, Preface.

investigated. Its prehistoric period has barely begun to be known. The work done by Bruce Foote in the beds of the Sābarmati and the Tapti and old geological deposits in the Baroda State has not been followed up. What is now essential is to take up the clues supplied by Bruce Foote and also to follow up the excavations made recently by Pandit Madho Sarup Vats, Dr. G. S. Ghurye and Dr. Hiranand Śāstri in Kāthiāwār. A systematic and extensive exploration[1] of the hinterland as well as the coast of Gujarat–Kāthiāwār, Cutch and parts of Rājputāna is urgently needed, as geographically this entire area is linked up with Sind which is at present an important store-house of prehistoric culture in India. Just as Pandit Vats found remains of this culture in Kāthiāwār, one may find them also in the valleys of the Narbada, Tapti and the Purṇā in Southern Gujarāt. Mr. Manibhai Dvivedi of Navsari has already drawn the attention of archaeologists towards the examination of certain 'ancient' sites in the Purṇā valley in his *Purātan Dakṣin Gujarāt*.

The early mediaeval and mediaeval history of Gujarāt will be complete when a thorough analytical and synthetical study is made of Jaina Prākrit works like the *Kuvalayamālā* and of the Caulukyan literature. Of the latter only the most important publications—Hemacandra's *Dvyāśraya*, Merutuṅga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, Someśvara's *Kīrtikaumudi* and others mentioned in the bibliography have been used by the writer in this work.

The lines of investigation suggested here anticipate not only co-operation among the various research institutions in Gujarāt, but active support from the Kāthiāwār States. It will then be possible to co-ordinate and supplement the work which has been recently undertaken by the Baroda State.

DECCAN COLLEGE POST-GRADUATE AND RESEARCH INSTITUTE, POONA:
18th September, 1940

H. D. SANKALIA

[1] For the details and method of work see the writer's articles in the *New Review*, April, 1939, and the *Illustrated Weekly of India*, 27th March, 1938, respectively.

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PART I

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHY

PHYSICALLY Gujarāt fills the north-east corner of Western India; politically it forms the northern part of the Bombay Presidency. Its form is not easy to describe. If the peninsula of Kāthiāwār looks like a "caricatured head", bending down, the coastal plain suggests a lean body, supported by the Mālwā plateau and the Sātpurā range.

Position of Gujarat

The two parts of Gujarāt, the coastal plain and the peninsula, need a separate description. The coastal plain of Gujarat is bounded on the north by the desert of Mārwār; on the north-west by the Great Rann of Cutch; towards the south-west the silt of the rivers Banas and others has filled the sea-bed and joined it with the mainland of Kāthiawār; on the west is the Gulf of Cambay and the north-eastern area of the peninsula of Kāthiāwār; but lower down after Surat till Daman is the Arabian Sea. On the south Gujarāt is bounded by the Deccan plateau which abuts on the coastal plain between Daman and Dahnu. On the east are the gorges of the Narbadā and the Tāpti, with Sātpurā in between; on the north-east lie the Mewār and Mālwā plateaux. The peninsular portion, Kāthiāwār, has the Gulf of Cutch on its north and north-west; the Arabian Sea on the west, the Gulf of Cambay and the coastal plain on its south-east; on its north-east a bulk of salt land, the long lagoons of the Nal Lake and the silt of the Banās and other rivers connect it with the coastal plain.

Physical Limits

Gujarāt thus presents three or four fronts to the rest of India, and one to the sea. All these have been crossed at some time or other. The sea route to the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea and the Mediterranean lay through one of its numerous ports.[1] The northern route lay through the modern Pālanpur and opened out into Mārwār and Rājputānā. Dohad-Ratlām is even now the only outlet to the east and north-east, to Mālwā, Central India and the Gangetic plains.[2] In the south or south-east, the road from Broach or Surat passed

Routes

[1] Broach, Cambay, Surat or Prabhās, and Dwārka on the Kāthiāwār coast.

[2] The road started from Broach in the west and went to east across India by Ujjain and Vidiśā (Bhilsa) to Kośāmbi (Kosam) on the Jumnā and thence to the Ganges and Pāṭaliputra (Patna).

along the coast or through the rough Deccan plateau across the gorges of the Narbadā, Tāpti and the Western Ghāt, bringing Konkan, the Deccan and the Central Provinces in contact with Gujarat.[1] Lastly, mention must be made of the Gulf and Rann of Cutch on the north-west of Kāthiāwār. Both can be crossed and it was through these that cultures often infiltrated Kathiāwār from Cutch, Sind and Arabia.[2]

During the Caulukya (Solanki) period, the road from the coastal plain to Kāthiāwār started from Viramgām (where now the former's north western limit ends) and passed *via* Wadhwān to Junāgadh.[3] But before that, it lay along the coast, starting from Dholkā or Dhandhuka, proceeding to Goghā (in the Gulf of Cambay), then south-west to Somnath and thence north-west to Dwārkā.[3]

Linguistic Limits

Linguistically, however, Gujarāt comprises a much larger area. In the north, beyond Ahmadābād, the population is mixed and the speech is bilingual, but Gujarati is spoken as far as Pālanpur, beyond which the language is Mārwari. Likewise Gujarātī is used in the districts of Thar and Parkar in Sind,[4] again having Mārwāri as its neighbour in the north. It can claim Cutch as well, as it is employed there for official purposes. It spreads over the whole of Kāthiāwār. In the south, it not only extends up to Daman,[5] but stretches further down to Bombay.[6] The population between the two places is mixed, and their language bilingual, the other language being Marāṭhī.[7] To the east, Gujarati is connected with, and merges into the Jaipuri and Mālvi of Eastern and Southern Rajputana, and the Khandeshi

[1] The southern route started from Masulipatam and Vinukonda and then passed through Kalyāṇi, Ter, Paithan, Junnar(?) and Nasik(?). Hence within a hundred miles of Broach, the road was difficult because of the Western Ghats. See *JRAS.*, 1901, p. 548.

[2] *BG., Kathiawar*, VIII, p. 693.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 219. Side routes joined Valabhī (Valā) with Junāgarh and Vanthli.

[4] It is believed that the old language of Gujarāt belonged to the outer sub-branch and thus was connected with Sindhī, which even now belongs to that group. At present the link between the two is Kachhī, a dialect of Sindhī. Cf. *Linguistic Survey*, I, i, p. 176.

[5] Cf. *Ibid.*, and IX, i, p. 324.

[6] It may be pointed out that Gujarātis of Bombay always feel that Bombay is a part of Gujarāt.

[7] Perhaps it is not absolutely true that the two languages have no intermediate dialect. In Bombay at least, the Marāṭhī of the Gujarātis called "Ghāṭī Marāṭhī" may well claim to be a dialect.

of Western Khandesh through Bhil, the language of the Bhil tribes inhabiting the Aravalli slopes and the borders of Khandesh.

Structure of Gujarat

If Gujarat owes much of its complex culture to its position, it owes not less to its structure. Once again the two divisions, coastal and peninsular, have to be discussed separately. The northern part of the coastal plain of Gujarat is of recent formation and belongs to the "Post Tertiary" period, though, no doubt, rocks of the "Upper" and "Lower Tertiary" are found between Surat and Baroda, on the strips of the Satpurā Range which belong entirely to the "Upper Cretaceous" and "Deccan Trap." The southern part, from Surat to Daman, is again "Post Tertiary." But on the east and north-east, the coastal plain is bounded by the rocks of the "Deccan Trap", which embrace the Sātpurā, the Vindhya and the Mālwā plateaux. Traces of "Archaen" rocks are found to the east of Baroda; the "Purana" by the Arāvalli range. The geological formation thus explains the flatness of the coastal plain both in the north and the south, relieved by the solitary hill of Pavāgarh. It consists of fertile *doabs*, and is watered by numerous rivers, the most important in the southern plain being the Tapti, the Narbadā and the Mahī; in the northern, the Sābarmatī and the smaller rivers, the Saraswatī, the Rupen and the Pushpavati. Besides, there are numerous sunken wells.

The structure of Kathiawar is the result of its geological formation. The central tract belongs to the "Upper Cretaceous" and "Deccan Trap" period, while the narrow strip of coast line all round belongs to the "Post Tertiary" period, (a little corner of Dwārkā, to the "Upper Tertiary") and a small portion above the Mandar Hills (from Sejakpur to Dhrangadhrā and Wadhwān to Wānkāner) to the "Goudwāna and Marine Equivalents". Consequently the surface of the land in the interior is undulating. The northern portion, with a few exceptions, is flat, while in the south, is the majestic Girnār besides a few solitary hills. The coastal region is an alluvial plain. Its drainage is distributed on all sides over a great number of small river areas.[1] Of these rivers, the largest is Bhadar passing through Jetpur and Kutiyānā to the sea at Navi Bandar.

Position of Gujarat and its Culture

The position and structure of Gujarāt are mainly responsible for its complex culture. Its seafront was the gateway from the earliest times through which ideas, influences and cultures passed to and fro as a result of commercial and other intercourses. A succession of influences entered

[1] For details see *Mem. Geo. Sur. Ind.*, XXI, p. 3.

Gujarāt in the shape of invaders, refugees and immigrants from its other borders, never truly insurmountable. And the nuclei of all these varied influences—political and cultural—were the fertile *doabs* and river tracts in the coastal plain, for instance, the Mahīkāntha, and the Sarasvatī *maṇḍala*, boasting of good and prosperous ports; in the peninsula, the foot of the hills, and the alluvial strip possessed of a few good harbours.

On this alignment grew up the kingdoms of Mauryas, Kṣatrapas and Guptas in Kāthiāwār with Girinagara (modern Junāgarh) as the capital; of the mediaeval dynasties, Gurjjaras, Cālukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the southern coastal plain around Kaira, Broach and Navsāri; of the late mediaeval Caulukyas on the *doabs* of the Saraswatī and its tributaries—the Rupen and the Pushpāvatī—round Anhilvāda (Aṇahilavāḍa) and Sidhpur (Siddhapura); while the famous harbours of Broach, Cambay and later, Surat, and Valabhī (modern Valā), Somnāth (Somanātha) and Dwārka in Kāthiāwār owed no less their political or commercial and religious importance to their position.

Present Distribution of Population

The present distribution of population in Gujarat in a way confirms the evidence of history. The coastal plains—particularly the country round about the mouths of the rivers Tāpti, Narbadā and the Mahī—are more densely populated than others. For instance, Kaira has a population of 451–550 persons per sq. mile, Surat 251–350, Broach and Ahmadabad 176–250, Baroda 251–350.[1] In Kāthiāwār it is the ancient sites, Junagarh, Bhāvanagar, Dwārkā and Dhānk that have a population varying from 251–350 to 176–350 persons per sq. mile; whereas the rest of the peninsula is sparsely inhabited, only 101–175 persons per sq. mile.[2]

Traditional Divisions of Gujarat

Gujarāt as the name of the region under discussion is comparatively of recent origin. Traditionally the region was said to consist of three divisions: Ānartta, Lāṭa and Surāṣṭra. The area covered by the first two divisions is not clearly defined. Ānartta is said to correspond to modern Northern Gujarāt, with its capital at Ānandapur or Ānarttapura,[3] as these names occur in the records of the 6th century.[4] But it is really doubtful whether before this period Ānarttapura was the capital, and whether

[1] Mahī and Rewā Kānthā 101–175 persons per sq. mile.

[2] *Census of India*, 1931, VIII, part I, Map.

[3] *BG.*, I, p. 6., the modern Vadnagar.

[4] See the list of places from Valabhī Ins., Appendix, p. 45.

Ānartta[1] comprised the whole of Northern Gujarāt or it and also Surāṣṭra (Kāthiāwār) as some *Purāṇas* tell us, or only the region round about Dwārkā.[2]

Lāṭa roughly covered the present Southern Gujarāt from the Mahī to the Tāpti and perhaps a little further south, though its application varied as the use of it in the inscriptions show. From Indian sources its use cannot be traced back beyond the 4th century A.D.,[3] though it may be identified with Larike of Ptolemy (c. A.D. 150).[4] After the 4th century, however, Lāṭa is frequently mentioned in inscriptions[5] and literature.

Surāṣṭra denoted the modern Kāthiāwār. In its widest denotation the term included the whole of Kāthiāwār, in its narrowest only the southern part of Kāthiāwār, known as Sorath. Its earliest mention is in Pāṇini's (c. 600–700 B.C.)[6] *Gaṇapāṭha*;[7] it is found later in the *Mahābhārata*,[8] inscriptions[9] and in the accounts of the Greek merchants[10] and geographers.[11]

[1] Epigraphically the name Ānarttapura cannot be traced before the Valabhī inscriptions (c. 500 A.D.), while Ānartta as a name of a region like Surāṣṭra is not so far found in them, though Ānarttapura implies a *pura* (city) in Ānartta. However the latter is mentioned in the Junāgarh Ins. of Rudradāman (A.D. 150). *EI.*, VIII, pp. 36–49.

[2] The location of ancient Dvārāvatī, capital of Kṛṣṇa was, according to Bhattasali, *IHQ.*, X, p. 541, west of the mountain Raivataka, near modern Junāgarh.

[3] See *BG.*, I, p. 7 for references.

[4] McCrindle,, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy* (c. 150 A.D.), p. 38.

[5] Of these the earliest is, so far, the Mandasor Ins. of Kumāragupta and Bandhugupta, *CII.*, III, pp. 79–88.

[6] Belvalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 18; Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 426 places him about B.C. 400.

[7] Böhtlingk, *Pāṇini's Grammatischer Regeln*, 1840, p. LXXXVII; *BG.*, I, p. 6.

[8] See Sorensen, *Index to the names in the Mahābhārata*, p. 661; *BG.*, I, p 6.

[9] Of Rudradāman, *EI.*, VIII, pp. 36–49; Gotamiputra Sātakaṇi, *Ibid.*, p. 60; and Skandagupta, *CII.*, III, p, 59; *cf.* also *Soraṭhaka* in *EI.*, XXIV, p. 147.

[10] Pliny, *Natural History* (A.D. 77) surprisingly does not mention either Surāṣṭra, Cutch or the coastal tract of Gujarāt by any known name, though he frequently mentions Patala, the tract near the mouth of the Indus.

[11] Strabo (60 B C.–A.D. 19, *Geography*, Book XI, Part XI, Jones' Edition, Vol. V, p. 279–80), who quotes Apollodorus, uses the phrase 'the kingdom of Saraostos' which means 'the kingdom of the king of Surāṣṭra' according to Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge 1938, p. 150.

Ptolemy (*McCrindle*, o.c, p. 35 and 37) uses the terms 'Syrastra' and 'Syrastrene.' The latter terms, says Tarn, o.c., p. 234, included besides Kāthiāwār, the coastal regions of Gujarāt *viz.*, Broach and Surat.

Application of the Name Gujarat

Of these divisions, only Lāṭa and Surāṣṭra (often called Saurāṣṭra) survived in the late mediaeval period. Late in the 10th century after the spread[1] of the Gurjaras from Northern India, under the Caulukya rule Northern Gujarat began to be called *Gurjara-Maṇḍala*, *Gurjaradeśa* and *Gurjaratrā*.

Gujarat under the Muslims, Mughals and the British

The present name 'Gujarat' came to be applied to the whole of modern Gujarāt under the Muslims in the 'Mediaeval' period (A.D. 1295–1473) though much of Kāthiāwār was still known as Soraṭh. The territorial limits of Gujarāt varied now, as before, with the power of its rulers. At its maximum, the limits extended from Jalor in the north to the neighbourhood of Bombay in the south; in the east, from Mālwa, to the shores of the Arabian Sea on the west (including Kāthiāwār). The old administrative names of the districts were replaced by the new called *sarkārs*, which were further divided into *parganas*.[2] In spite of these official changes, various tracts were still known by their traditional names, e.g., Dandai, comprising the Kaḍi Pargana, Jhalawar, including Viramgam.[3] In Kāthiāwār, Halar included Cutch and Bhujnagar and its neighbourhood; Kāthiāwār, Navānagar and its vicinity; whereas Kolwad, Babriawād and Panjal were in Saurāṣṭra.[4] Besides, there are mentioned Okhakher and Prabhaskher, which covered the neighbourhood of Dwārka, and Somanāthpāṭan and its neighbourhood respectively.[5]

The Mughals (A.D. 1573–1760) made Gujarat one of their provinces and appointed a viceroy (or Subahdar) to govern it. They also reduced its wide extent, though they retained the old administrative names.

Under the British, Gujarāt falls into two broad divisions. One division is ruled by different Indian States; the other forms part of the Bombay Presidency. Of the former, Baroda is the largest, while many smaller states share among themselves almost the whole of Kāthiāwār.

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[1] For references see below.

[2] In the time of the Sultāns of Gujarāt, there were 25 *sarkārs*, which were reduced to 16 by Akbar. See *Mirat-I-Ahmadi*, Supplement, *GOS.*, XLIII, p. 162.

[3] For full list see *Ibid*, p. 206.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 207.

[5] *BG.*, I, p. 208, mainly cites Halār, Kāthiāvāḍa, Gohilvāda, Bābariāvāḍa and Jetvāḍa, comprising roughly the north-west, centre, south-east, south-west and middle-west (round Gumli) respectively. Others are mentioned in the footnote.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY

SECTION I

Ancient Period

(c.B.C.300—A.D. 500)

LEGEND and tradition credit the Yādavas with the first occupation of the peninsular Gujarāt. They, under Kṛṣṇa, are said to have ruled the whole province from their capital at Dwarkā.

Mauryas (c. B.C. 319-200)

But the real political history of Gujarāt, as of almost the whole of ancient India, begins with the Mauryas, about 319 B.C. Candragupta, the first king of the dynasty spread his power over the north-west frontiers of India, Northern India and the greater part of the peninsula. His sovereignty over the peninsular Gujarāt is attested by a later inscription of the Kṣatrapa Rudradaman (A.D. 150), where an explicit reference is made to Vaiśya Puṣyagupta, as the viceroy (rāṣṭriya) of the Emperor Candragupta Maurya.[1] Continuance of the Maurya rule over Gujarāt under Aśoka, the grandson of Candragupta, is proved by fourteen edicts of Aśoka himself on a rock in Junāgarh and secondly by the reference just cited, wherein a *Yavana* Tuṣāspha is mentioned as the viceroy of Aśoka.[2] The fact that almost all the rock-edicts of Aśoka have been found on the frontiers of his empire, with the one that he himself was the viceroy of Mālwā, the neighbouring province of Gujarāt on the east, has been adduced to show that the whole of Northern Gujarāt was under the Mauryan sway.[3] The capital of the peninsular Gujarāt from this time till c. 500 A.D. seems to have been Girnagara (Junāgarh); and Bhṛgukaccha (Broach), Barygaza of the Greeks, if not the capital, the most important town of southern Gujarāt. Whether Gujarāt remained under Saṃprati, the grandson and successor of Aśoka, is a moot point. But it is certain that Mauryan rule in the province did not last after Saṃprati (c. B. C. 200).

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[1] Junāgarh Rock Ins. of Rudradāman, *EI.*, VIII, pp. 36-49.

[2] *Ibid*,

[3] *BG.*, I, i, 14.

Sungas

What relation Gujarāt had with the Śuṅgas, the successors of the Mauryas, it is not possible to say for certain. Indian literature speaks of two Śuṅga marches to the south: one to the north-west and thence to the southern ocean under Puṣyamitra,[1] the other to the Sindhu with the *aśvamedha* under Vasumitra, the grandson of Puṣyamitra.[2] Tarn thinks[3] that the southern ocean refers to the southern ocean at Patalene and Surāṣṭra. If this be accepted, Surāṣṭra may be said to be connected with the Śuṅgas, however brief that period may be. The reference to a fight with the Yavanas on the Sindhu, is doubtful, if it means "in Sind." The Sindhu however seems to be the Chambal,[4] and so Vasumitra encountered the Yavanas perhaps near Mathurā which was then under Menander.[5] Hence it is unlikely that the *aśvamedha* came to Surāṣṭra or Gujarat through Sind.

Early Andhras

There is no positive evidence regarding the sway of the early Andhras over Gujarāt. They might have ruled over it (including Kāthiāwar) during the height of their power under Kṛṣṇa, the second king of the Puranic lists when Andhra rule extended to Nāsik and the Western Ghats. Especially this is probable under Śrī Śātakarṇī, who is known from the Kharavela inscription as the 'Protector of the West,' (c. 168 B.C.)[6]

Greeks in Gujarat (c. 180 B.C.—100)

The Śuṅga or Āndhra conquest of Gujarāt (if there was one) was short lived. For the Bactrian Greeks invaded the north-west India under Demetrius (about 185 B. C.), advanced down the Indus, took Patalane and soon occupied the coastal regions in Western India—Cutch, Surāṣṭra and Gujarāt.[7] Here they established themselves first under Apollodotus, probably a brother of Demetruis,[8] who in the latter's absence from

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[1] Przyluski, *La Légende De L'Empereur Açoka (Açoka-Avadāna)*, 1923, pp. 90, 93, 301–4; Tarn, o.c., p. 177.

[2] Kālidāsa, *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act V after verse 14.

[3] Tarn, o.c., p. 177.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 228.

[5] Cunningham, *NC.*, 1870, X, p. 227 thought this river to be the Sindhu of Narwar, "a boundary between the conquered provinces of Mathurā and the independant Indian State of Vidiśā (Bhīlsa) on the south."

[6] For a detailed account of these kings see Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 74, 82,

[7] See above p. 5, n. 11.

[8] Tarn, o c., p. 76.

India ruled the whole country between Gāndhāra and Barygaza,[1] while Menander, a general of Demetrius had reached Pāṭaliputra and was in charge of the eastern territories.[2] Apollodotus' reign in Gujarāt must have lasted sufficiently long, for his coins were current in Barygaza and are also found in the province.[3] When he and Demetrius both died and Bactria was taken by Eucratides, Menander became the king of the Greek provinces in India.[4] Of these he lost many of the eastern provinces. His empire, in fact, extended from Mathurā in the east to Barygaza in the west in the form of a horse-shoe, cutting out Ujjain and Avanti which were regained by Puṣyamitra.[5] From the time of the death of Apollodotus till his own death in 148 B. C.[6] he must have retained his possessions including Gujarāt. For his coins are found in this province[7] and in all the territories under him,[8] and were also current at Barygaza.[9] It is doubtful if Eucratides ever ruled there either when Menander was ruling or after his death, though his coins are discovered from Gujarāt.[10] It is, however, suggested[11] that the Greek rule over Gujarāt did not end with Menandor, but may have continued under his son Soter I through his general Apollodotus II, as it is the latter's coins[12] which are imitated by the Śaka Satraps Caṣṭana and Nahapāna.

Sakas

The Greeks were driven out from India by the Śakas. These nomad invaders, entering India from Śakastana (Seistan), conquered Abiria on the Indus. Advancing southwards they took Patalene and the Greek sea-provinces of Cutch and

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 148. Tarn argues from the statement in the *Periplus*, p, 41 that Apollodotus' coins were circulating in Barygaza.

[2] Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle* 1870, Vol. X, New series, p. 85, after the account of Trogus Pompeius.

[3] *BG.*, I, pp. 16-8, ; Cunningham, o. c,, pp. 78 and 85.

[4] The exact date of this event is not known. Tarn, o.c., p. 169.

[5] *Ibid.*, p 227.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 230.

[7] *BG.*, I, pp. 16-18.

[8] Cunningham, *NC.*, X, 1870, pp. 220-2.

[9] McCrindle, *Periplus*, p. 121.

[10] Cf. the remarks in *BG.*, I, p. 16. Tarn does not seem to have noticed this, hence he does not discuss the question. However, in view of Tarn's fresh study the chronology of the Greek rulers in Gujarāt, as given in *BG.*, I, p. 16, must be given up.

[11] Tarn, o.c., p. 318.

[12] Rapson. *Indian Coins*, 1897, p, 21.

Surastrene. This was their original kingdom in India.[1] In about 80 B.C. they proceeded northwards from Abiria up the Indus under Maues or Moga and conquered northern India.[2] According to the Indian tradition these Śakas were driven out from Ujjain in 58 B.C.[3] But whether they lost Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār also we do not know.

Ksaharata Ksatrapas (A.D. 119-124)

In fact there is little evidence to determine who the rulers of Gujarāt were (unless it be the Āndhras) till we meet with another branch of the Śakas in about 100 A.D. This dynasty was known as Kṣaharāta. The earliest member of this dynasty, who is known only from his coins, was Bhumaka. His coins are found along the coast of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār and also sometimes in Mālwā. Nahapāna, it is held, succeeded him. Very few of the latter's coins are found in Gujarāt proper.[4] None of the coins are dated, but on the strength of the inscriptions (all found outside Gujarāt and dated in the years 41–46) the Kṣaharāta rule over Gujarāt is fixed at the first quarter of the second century A.D. The Kṣaharātas were exterminated by Śātakarṇi Gotamīputra and Gujarat and Kāthiāwār passed over again into the hands of the Andhras.[5]

Ksatrapas (A.D. 124-304)

From the Āndhras they were taken back by the second Kṣatrapa dynasty, known as the Western Kṣatrapas, which ruled over Gujarāt for about 200 years continuously. Though very few details of the government are available, a few inscriptions and coins of almost every ruler supply us with a connected account of the dynasty. It is not necessary, however, to go through king by king; the salient features of their history may be noted. The Kṣatrapa family of Caṣṭana, as of Bhumaka, was of northern origin, either Śaka or Pāhlva, though it was known later as Śaka. Each of these had come down to Mālwā as a viceroy of a northern power,[6] as is

[1] Tarn, o.c., p. 320.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *CHI.*, p. 168.

[4] His relation with Gujarāt rests only on the reference to places in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār in the inscriptions of his son-in-law Ṛṣabhadatta. See *EI.*, VIII, p. 78. But this reference to the holy places—Prabhās, etc.,—should not by itself imply the Kṣaharāta sway over them. For benefactions were made in ancient India irrespective of territorial possessions. They depended more on the sacredness of the places themselves.

[5] Nasik Cave Inscription No 2; of Siri Puḷumāyi Vāsiṭhiputa. *EI*, VIII, p. 60.

[6] Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th Ed., p. 222, holds that Caṣṭana held office as a great Satrapa under Kadphises II of the Kushan dynasty, and Nahapāna, perhaps under the Indo-Parthian king, Gondopheres. (*Ibid.*, p. 220).

evident from their title, 'Kṣatrapa' meaning 'satrapa' or 'feudatory'. The first ruling member of the family seems to be Caṣṭana, son of Ghsasmotika. It reached the zenith of its power under Rudradāman I (150 A.D.). Under him the Kṣatrapa dominion extended, as is attested by his inscription at Girnār, and confirmed by the distribution of his coins, and by the evidence of the Āndhra inscriptions, to the greater part of Central India, Rājputānā, Cutch, Sind, Gujarāt, Kāthiāwār and Northern Konkan.[1] In the Girnār inscription his victories over Śātakarṇī, the Lord of the Deccan, are specifically mentioned, as also the fact that he won for himself the title of 'Mahāksatrapa'. His capital was at Ujjain in Mālwā, and Gujarāt was ruled by a governor, Suviśākha. What happened to this extensive empire under the subsequent reigns is not known. The change in the title 'Mahākṣatrapa' to 'Kṣatrapa' or *vice versa* is assumed to indicate loss or gain in power, but it gives no idea of the extent. It is beyond doubt that the family of Caṣṭana ruled without a break till Śaka year 226, i.e., 304 A.D., and that Ksatrapa Viśvasena was its last ruling member.

Ksatrapa Branch Line (A.D. 305-390)

The Kṣatrapas, however, continue to rule on. Kṣatrapa Rudrasiṁha II, son of Svāmi Jīvadāman, perhaps a relative of the last Kṣatrapa family succeeds Kṣatrapa Viśvasena in the year 227, i.e., 305 A.D. The end of this branch line is reached in Svāmi Rudrasiṁha III, when probably in A.D. 390 Gujarāt was annexed by the Guptas.

Guptas (c. A.D. 456-495)

After a period of about 200 years, in c. 400 A.D., the Guptas, probably Candragupta II, once more broke through the north-eastern frontier of Gujarāt. His successors, Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta, definitely ousted the existing rulers, and appointed their own viceroy, a native, at the ancient capital of the province, Girinagara. It is difficult to say what was the extent of the Gupta rule in Gujarāt. Cutch seems to form the north-western frontier; the southern is doubtful. The Traikūṭaka ruler Dahrasena was ruling the south of the Tāpti contemporaneously with Skandagupta. (The northern part, as well as the eastern part of Gujarāt was, of course, under the Guptas, as it was from there that they entered the province). Gupta suzereignty over Gujarāt was lost with the break up of the empire after the death of Skandagupta (c. 470 A.D.).

Traikutakas (A.D. 455-495)

A small but independent dynasty of the Traikūṭakas furnishes the history of Southern Gujarāt for the second half of the fifth century A.D. A few coins and inscriptions tell this story. Dahrasena, son of

[1] For detailed information see Rapson, *Coins of the Āndhra Dynasty*, p. CXIX.

Indradatta, ruled a part of the country south of the Tapti in the year 456–457 A.D. He was thus, as mentioned before, a contemporary of Skandagupta. There is not sufficient evidence to trace the Traikuṭaka relations with the Guptas. Most probably Dahrasena was an independent king as he boasts of having performed an *aśvamedha*. Furthermore, he, as well as his successor, dates his inscription in his own era, known as the Traikūṭaka, later as Cedi or Kalacuri era.[1] Under his son Vyāghrasena the Traikūṭaka dominions extend further south into Konkan.[2] But in about 500 A.D. the "ever increasing power of the Traikūṭakas", boasted of by the Kanheri plates,[3] was crushed by the last(?) Vākāṭaka King Harisena, whom an Ajanta inscription credits with victories over Lāṭa and Trikūṭa.[4]

[1] It is said to commence on Āśvina Sudi I in A.D. 248. Mirashi, *EI.*, XXIV, p. 118, suggests slight modification as to the first day of its commencement. Jayaswal, *History of India*, 1933, p. 111 thinks that the era began in A.D. 248–49 and was started by the first Vākāṭaka King Vindhyaśakti.

[2] Known from two inscriptions and coins (undated).

[3] *Cave Temples of Western India*, *ASWI.*, X, p. 58.

[4] Also Kuntala, Āndhra, Kosala, Kalinga and Avanti, *ASWI.*, IV, p. 127.

SECTION II

Early Mediaeval Period

(c. A.D. 500–c. 950 A.D.)

IN the early mediaeval period only two ancient divisions of Gujarāt, Lāṭa and Surāṣṭra, are frequently mentioned. Of the third, now called Northern Gujarāt, a portion often passed into Lāṭa or Southern Gujarāt,[1] and a part into Surāṣṭra. It seems to have lost its individuality and it is not known which political power was in possession of it in the beginning of the 6th century. The history of Lāṭa and Surāṣṭra, unlike the preceding period, needs to be separately treated as each had a distinct series of rulers.

Kataccuris (c. 520-610 A.D.)

The Vākāṭaka suzerainty over Lāṭa may have lasted the whole reign of Harisena till c. 520 A.D. But after this date the Vākāṭakas are heard of no more; whereas in Gujarāt we find a vassal king (mahāsāmanta mahārāja) Saṅgamasiṁha governing the district between the Tāpti and the Narmadā (*antarnarmadāviṣaya*) from his capital at Broach (Bharukaccha) in A.D. 540.[2] Who his overlord was is not known for certain. Probably it was the Kaṭaccūrī King Kṛṣṇarāja, as we learn from the records of his son Śaṅkaragaṇa[3] and son's son Buddharāja[4] that the Kaṭaccūrī dominion extended from Mālwā[5] in the north to the modern Nāsik district[5] in the south and included the Broach[6] and Baroda districts[6] as well. The Kaṭaccūrīs might have been, at first, the feudatories of, or a family connected with[6] the Traikūṭakas. For their epigraphs show acquaintance[7]

[1] By 'Southern Gujarāt', I mean all the country south of the Mahī till Daman though often it is applied to the country south of the Narbadā or the Tāpti only.

[2] Sunaokala Plates, *EI.*, X, p. 72.

[3] Grant of Sāntilla, *Ibid.*, II, p. 22, and Ābhoṇā Plates of Saṅkaragaṇa, *Ibid.*, IX, p. 296.

[4] Sarsavani Plates, *Ibid.*, VI, p. 294; Vadner Plates, *Ibid.*, XII, p. 30.

[5] For details see list of place-names. Appendix, p. 34.

[6] Fleet in *BG.*, I, ii, p. 295.

[7] For instance, (1) the size of the Sāntilla Pls. is almost the same as that of the Traikūṭaka pls.

(2) The title 'Mahārāja' and the name Saṅkaragaṇa remind us of the similar title used by the Traikūṭakas and the name of "Dahragaṇa" on some coins.

(3) Close similarity of their script with those of the Traikūṭakas.

with those of the latter, and the era used by them, though not named, is the same as the one used by the latter. Whatever be their origin, during a short rule of 100 years, after assimilating the existing[1] cultural traditions of their predecessors—the Guptas and the Traikūṭakas—they themselves established others[2] which were followed by the Gurjjaras of Broach and the Cālukyas of Navsāri. Early in the 7th century the Kaṭaccūrī King Buddharāja was defeated by the Western Calukya King Maṅgalarāja (Maṅgaleśa),[3] and since then southern Lāṭa, the country south of the Tāpti, became a Cālukya province.[4]

What happened to the northern provinces—Malwa and Northern Lāṭa—of the Kaṭaccūrīs can not be definitely decided.[5] But a little later, in 630 A.D., the country north of the Tāpti, round about Broach, is found under a Gurjjara king Dadda II.[6] These Gurjjaras are supposed[7] to be a branch and feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratihāra[8] dynasty of Jodhpur and Dadda I of the Broach branch is identified with Dadda one of the sons of Haricandra, the founder of the Jodhpur branch. Whatever be the relation of the Pratihāras with the Gurjjaras—tribal or otherwise—in connexion with the Broach rulers we have to note that they call themselves 'of the family of the king of Gurjjara' (*Gurjjara-nṛpativaṁśa*) i.e. Gurjjara country and not of the tribe of the Gurjjaras. That is, the Gurjjaras of Broach may not have

Gurjjaras

[1] See below.

[2] See below.

[3] Nerur Plates, *IA.*, VII, p. 161. Kielhorn's *List*, No. 6.

[4] For its subsequent history see below.

[5] Might have been conquered by Prabhākaravardhana, who in the *Harṣacarita*, (Ed. by Parab, 1897), p. 120 is said to have subdued the rulers of Sindhu, Gurjara, Lāṭa and Mālava. Ganguly, *IHQ*, IX, 1933, p. 407 says that by this defeat (at the hands of Rājyavardhana) Buddharāja did not lose Mālwā; this he lost to the Maitrakas of Valabhī in about 629 or before . . . . . But what the position of Buddharāja was in a period of about 20 years and whether the Maitrakas could drive him out from Mālwā remains to be considered.

[6] Kaira Plates, *IA.*, XIII, p. 81.

[7] Majumdar, *Journal Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, 1923 Vol. X, p. 11.

[8] This is a much discussed term. Ganguly, for instance, *IHQ.*, X, p. 613, thinks that Gurjaras and Pratihāras are two distinct peoples and interprets the term as meaning the Pratihāra family of the Gurjara country.

belonged to the Gurjara tribe.[1] This much, however, seems probable that the 'Gurjjaras of Broach' were a branch of the 'Gurjara-Pratihāras of Rājputānā,' though it must be said that none of their records gives the slightest hint of this beyond declaring their feudatory state; feudatories in the beginning, c. 590 A.D., perhaps of the Kaṭaccūris; later of both the Gurjara-Pratihāras and the Cālukyas of Bādāmi, and then in about 640 A.D. of the Maitrakas of Valabhī.

The genealogy of the Gurjjara rulers presents a problem. The earlier grants[2] of Dadda (II) mention three rulers whose names Dadda, his son Jayabhaṭa, and his son Dadda (II) are identical with those mentioned in the later grants[3] but their epithets '*Sāmanta*' '*Vītarāga*' and '*Praśāntarāga*' are not only not mentioned in the later grants but new ones 'Protector of the Lord of Valabhī' and '*Bāhusahāya*' are applied to the Dadda (I) and Dadda (II) in the grant of 456 and in the recently published grant of 486. So the natural presumption[4] is that the earlier and later grants refer to two different sets of individuals by the name of Dadda (I), Jayabhaṭa and Dadda (II). However, Dadda (I) of the late grants must be identified with Dadda (II) of the earlier grants. For the latter lived in 630–40 A.D., exactly the time when Harṣa attempted to invade western and southern India but was held back by Dadda (I) of the later grants and by Pulakeśin (II) in or before A.D. 634.[5] Likewise we have also to identify Jayabhaṭa (II) of the grant of 456

[1] The Gurjaras are supposed to have emigrated from Central Asia and entered the Punjab through the north-western frontier of India. From here they spread out eastwards and southwards and in the latter direction their second big halt was in Rājputānā. Their settlements in the Punjab are now known as Gujranwala, Gujarāt and Gujarkhān, whereas in Rājputānā, in the 9th century, their settlement was called Gurjaratrā. Bhandarkar, 'Gurjaras' *JBBRAS.*, XXI, p. 414 and 432; Ghatyala Ins. of Kakuka, 862–1 A.D., *JRAS.*, 1895, p. 513 and Daultapur Ins. of Bhoja, A.D. 706, *EI.*, V, p. 211.

Smith, *EHI.*, p. 428 says that there is nothing to show what part of Asia they came from or to what race they belonged.

[2] (K). S. 380, 385, *IA.*, XIII, pp. 81 and 88; S. 391, 392, *EI.*, II, p. 21 and V, p. 41.

[3] S. 456, *IA.*, XIII, p. 77; and S. 486, *EI.*, XXIII, p. 147.

[4] Bhagwanlal Indraji in *IA.*, XIII, p. 72 and 75.

[5] Aihole Inscription of Pulakeśin II, *EI.*, VI, p. 6; Kielhorn's *List* No. 10.

with that of the grant of 486 as their descriptions are identical. The Gurjjara genealogy should then stand as follows[1]:-

Dadda (I), *Sāmanta* c. 580 A.D.

Jayabhaṭa (I), *Vītarāga* c. 605 A.D.

Dadda (II), *Praśāntarāga*, Protector of the Lord of Valabhī 629–41 A.D.

Jayabhaṭa (II), c. 655 A.D.

Dadda (III), *Bāhusahāya* c. 680 A.D.

Jayabhaṭa (III), *Mahāsāmantādhipati* c. 704–5 A.D.

Ahirole (I), *Mahāsāmantādhipati* c. 725 A.D.

Jayabhaṭa (IV), *Mahāsāmantādhipati* 734–5 A.D.

The extent of the Gurjjara fief is roughly indicated by the find-spots[2] of their inscriptions. But it can be fixed more precisely by taking into consideration the places from which the grants were made and the places in which the lands are given.[3] Excepting one case all the grants are made from the Broach district whereas the lands granted are in one case not in the Bharukaccha or Aṅkuleśvara-*viṣaya*, but in the Saṅgamakheṭaka-*viṣaya*. That is perhaps the modern Baroda district which was then called by this name after its capital (?) Saṅgamakheṭaka (Saṅkheḍā). The boundaries of the Gurjjara dominion then were: the Mahī river in the north and the Tāpti in the south; Saṅkheḍā and the tract known as the Rewā Kāṇṭhā Agency in the east and the Gulf of Cambay on the west. The southern boundary will have to be shifted to the south of the Tāpti if the places mentioned in the spurious plates[4] are taken into account.

[1] Acharya, while editing the new grant of 486, *EI.*, XXIII, p. 149 seems to have lost sight of the above facts and identified Dadda, the Protector of the Lord of Valabhī, with the first Dadda of the earlier grants, placing thereby the checkmate of Harṣa, atleast 25 years earlier which is not warranted by history. Moreover he also ascribes to him the Saṅkheḍā Plate of 346, as has been hitherto done; but it is doubtful. It may belong to the Kaṭacoūrīs who were then in possession of the Broach district. After the MS. was sent to the press I find that similar objections are raised by Mirashi in *EI.*, XXIV, p. 179.

[2] See Appendix, A, pp. 2–3.

[3] See *Ibid.*, pp. 35–7.

[4] See *Ibid.*, pp. 77–9.

The capital of the Gurjjaras seems to be Nāndīpurī, from which majority of the grants are issued. It is identified with Nāndod,[1] the capital of the Rājpīplā State, about 34 miles east of Broach.[2]

The relations of the Gurjjaras with their southern and western contemporaries[3]—the Cālukyas of Bādāmi and the Maitrakas of Valabhī—seem to be cordial throughout. Dadda II, perhaps with the help of Pulakeśin II, protected 'a Lord of Valabhī,' who must be identified with Dhruvasena II (A.D. 620–40) and not Dharasena IV as suggested by Bhagwanlal Indraji.[4] On another occasion Jayabhaṭa IV, the last known ruler of the dynasty, went out to Valabhī to help its ruler against the Tajjikas (Arabs) in A.D. 734–5[5] and not to fight against him, as so far supposed, on the evidence of his Kāvi grant.[6] None of the Valabhī grants refers to these incidents. But the latter must have happened during the reign of Śīlāditya V whose only known date is 723 A.D.[7]

After Jayabhaṭa IV the dynasty was perhaps wiped out by the Arab raid under Junaid.[8]

However, the Broach kingdom did not remain long under the Arabs. Within a decade or so they were driven out by the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Avanti[9] and the kingdom was placed under one of their feudatories known as the Cāhamānas.[10] A member of this family ruled at Broach in A.D. 756 under

Cahamanas (c. A D. 750)

[1] *BG.*, I, p. 113.

[2] Bühler identified this place with an old fort of the same name about 2 miles to the north of the east gate of Broach. *IA.*, VII, p. 62. This means Broach itself. But if this were so there seems to be no reason why it should not have been mentioned as it is done in the grants of the earlier and later dynasties that ruled at Broach.

[3] The eastern contemporaries, till about 630 A.D., were the Kaṭaccūrīs and the Gurjjaras were their vassals. The northern were probably the Gurjaras of Rājputānā.

[4] *BG.*, I, p. 116.

[5] According to Dr. Chakravarti, commenting on the reading of the recently published grant of S. 486, *EI.*, XXIII, p. 151, n. 7.

[6] *IA.*, V, p. 113. [7] *JBBRAS.*, XI, p. 335.

[8] Who according to Majumdar, *JL.*, X, p. 21 also broke up the Gurjara confederacy in Rājputānā.

[9] Thought by Majumdar, *Ibid.*, and Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, 1937, as a branch of the Gurjaras of Rājputānā.

[10] Hansot Grant of Bhartṛvaḍḍha, V.S. 813=A.D. 756, *EI.*, XII, pp. 197–204. For details see Appendix pp. 23, 26, 37, 69.

Nāgavaloka. The latter is identified with the Gurjara-Pratihara king of Avanti Nāgabhaṭa I.[1] It is impossible that the Cahamanas could have previously ruled at Broach as the kingdom till c. A.D. 740 was under a different family. But the names[2] of the members of the family indicate that the Cahamanas were perhaps connected or acquainted with the Kṣatrapas[3] and Maitrakas of Surāṣṭra.[4]

Calukyas (c A.D. 610-740)

Southern Lāṭa, the country south of the Tapti, became perhaps a Calukya province, as said before, when Maṅgaleśa defeated its ruler Kaṭaccuri Buddharaja.[5] After Pulakeśin II stopped the southern advance of Harṣa on the Narbadā in about A.D. 630,[6] the Cālukya suzerainty over Lāṭa must have been firmly established. Under it Gujarat might have been influenced by the Kanarese culture,[7] and the routes for this must be either the coastal country of Konkan or the mountain passes *viâ* Nasik.

Evidence of the actual establishment of the Calukya rule in Gujarat cannot be had till about 670 A.D., though traces of the earlier (c. 650 A.D.)[8] Kanarese penetration in the province are afforded by the grant[9] of a Sendraka[10] chief Nikumbhallaśakti, who seems to be a 'Calukya feudatory.' From A.D. 670-740, sons of Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarman (brother of the Western Calukya Emperor Vikramāditya I), Śryaśrya Śiladitya (A.D. 660-692), Jayaśraya Maṅgalaraja (731 A. D.) and the latter's son Avam

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[1] Konow, *Ibid.*, p. 200; Tripathi, o.c., p. 228; Majumdar, o c., places Devarāja in A.D. 750 while the reference in this grant presupposes Nāgabhaṭa I, unless it be assumed that the expression "in the increasing reign of the glorious Nāgāvaloka" implies the rule founded by Nāgāvaloka.

[2] These are :— 1 Rājā Maheśvaradāma 4 Haradāma
2 Bhīmadāma 5 Dhrubhaṭadeva
3 Bhartṛvaḍḍha (I) 6 Bhartṛvaḍḍha (II)

In this list the 1st, 2nd and 4th kings have Kṣatrapa name-endings; the fifth, as pointed out by Konow, has a name similar to that of the Maitrakas of Valabhi Dhrubhaṭa.

[3] Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, II, p. 1057.

[4] Konow, *EI.*, XII, p 198. [5] Above p. 14.

[6] I find Dr. Altekar agreeing with this view. *ABORI*, XIII, 1932, p. 300.

[7] See below under 'Epigraphy' and 'Religion'.

[8] The earliest record, the Kaira grant of Vijayarāja of S. 394, *IA.*, VII, p. 241, is declared to be a forgery. See Fleet, *Ibid.*, p. 251, and *BG.*, I, p. 111.

[9] Bagumra grant *IA.*, XVIII, p. 265. For details see Appendix pp. 23, 66.

[10] According to Bühler the Sendrakas were a Kanarese family. See *Ibid.*

Janaśraya Pulakeśiraja (A.D. 738–9) and perhaps Nagavardhana also are found ruling over Lāṭa not as feudatories, but as independent kings.[1]

The names of territorial units[2] and other places[3] mentioned in their inscriptions indicate that the dominion of 'the Western Calukyas of Navasārikā'[4] extended in the north to the Narbada;[5] in the south it was linked up with that of the Imperial Calukyas; in the south-east it included the modern district of Nāsik. The capital of this kingdom was Navasārika (modern Navsāri).

The inscriptions do not give any hint of the relations of the Calukyas with the Gurjjaras, nor does it come forth from the records of the latter. But it is possible that since the time of Pulakeśi II, the Cālukyas were at times nominal overlords of the Gurjjaras An important event, however, took place in the closing years of the Cālukya rule in Gujarāt. Arabs perhaps under Junaid, the governor of Khalifa Hasham[6] (A.D. 724–743) overran the contemporary kingdoms of Sindh, Cutch, Surastra, and those of the Cāpotakas, "Mauryas of Chitor"[7] and Gurjaras of Bhinmal.[8] Their inroads further southward into the country were effectively stopped by Pulakeśi Janaśraya.[9]

[1] Though still maintaining cordial relations with the Imperial Cālukyas of Bādāmi.

[2] For their names see Appendix, pp. 3-4, 37-38.

[3] Cf. Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, *EI.*, XXIII, Appendix, p. 383.

[4] Or perhaps Kaira. For a Rāṣṭrakūṭa record, Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarṣa I, *EI.*, XVIII, p. 235, *śloka* 7 says that as early as A.D. 660, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas fought with the Cālukyas of *Kheṭaka-maṇḍala*.

[5] Also called Caliph Hisham; Junaid is spelt as Janayd. Cf, Ray, *DHNI.*, I, p. 9.

[6] According to Ray, *DHNI.*, p. 1156, following Bhandarkar, *EI.*, XII, p. 11 12, the Maurya king of Chitor at this time was Dhavalappadeva of the Dabok inscription of Dhanika, *EI.*, XX, *Appendix*, p. 187, No. 1371. This may be the same as Dhavala of the Kaṇasuvām ins. of 738 A.D. *ASIWC.*, 1906, p. 61; *EI.*, XII, pp. 11–12.

[7] This is also reported by an Arab historian Balādhuri, cited by Ray, *Ibid.*, according to whom Junaid raided Uzain, Dahrimad, al-Kiraj, Mirmad, al-Mandal Dahnaj and Barwas, and conquered al-Ballamān and-al Jurz. *Kitab Futūh Al-Buldān*. Tr. Murgottan, Part II, p. 227. The places mentioned are not definitely identified. For suggestions, see *Ibid*, note 2. The Arab raid is said to be implied in Gurjara-Pratihāra Ins. of Bhoja I, which refers to a defeat of the Mlecchas. See *EI.*, XVIII, pp. 102–107; also *IA.*, 1911, p. 240, first cited by Ray, *Ibid*.

[8] Navsāri Grant of Pulakeśi-Janāśraya (A.D. 738–39), *VOC.*, *OS.*, p. 230–1; *BG.*, I, i. p. 109. Whether the Arabs brought in any Islamic influence is doubtful,

After him, in about A.D. 740, Lāṭa passes into the hands of another southern dynasty, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

The Rastrakutas (c. A.D. 740-975)

The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed replace the Calukyas not only in the Deccan but even in Gujarat and give a further lease to Gujarat's contact with the Deccan and the South. Their wars of conquest also bring Gujarat into relation with Central India, the Central and United Provinces and parts of Southern India. The Rāṣṭrakuta occupation of Lāṭa lasted for about 230 years, from A.D. 743–974. From its nature it is divided into three periods.

In the first, (A.D. 743–808), Gujarāt was under the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūtas of the Decean[1] being ruled by one of the sons of the emperor.

In the second, (A.D. 808–888), the Gujarat branch of the family is said to become independent, but is really a period of fluctuation.[2]

In the third, (888–974 A.D.), the main branch of the Rāṣṭrakuṭas resume their sovereignty, and the province passes under their direct supervision.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa conquest of Lāṭa begins with the expeditions of Dantidurga (c. 750 A.D.) over central India.[3] In one of these expeditions, he overran Lāṭa as far as the Mahi in the north.[4] The Lāṭa rulers at this time were perhaps the Cahamanas of Broach, under the Gurjara Pratihāra Nāgabaṭa I, and not the Gurjjaras of Broach.[5] Under the next two rulers, Kṛṣṇa I and Govinda II (A.D. 765–795), the position of Gujarāt may have remained the same.[6] Dhruva I (795 A.D.) was a mighty king, so also was his son Govinda III. The latter gave over

[1] Excluding the branch represented by Kakka (II) (of Antroli grant *JBBRAS.*, XVI, pp. 105–113) which cannot be properly correlated with the Imperial or the Feudatory Rāṣṭrakūṭa families.

[2] It cannot therefore be said that the period (A. D. 808–888) of 80 years was "on the whole independent."

[3] Sāmangaḍ Plate of Dantidurga, *IA.*, XI, p. 112. Perhaps earlier, with Indra I, who is said to have fought with the Cālukyas of Kaira.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] As suggested in *BG.*, I, i, p. 122, before the discovery of the Hansot grant. See above p. 17.

[6] The Karkka of Antroli Charoli grant A.D. 757 (not 747 as in *BG.*, I, 122) is really an intriguing personality. It is impossible that he could be the same as the Karkka of later grants of A.D. 812, 816, 821 A.D.; the very distance of 70 years is a barrier. He seems to be an usurper, dethroned later by Kṛṣṇa I.

the Gujarāt kingdom (*Lāṭa-maṇḍala*) to his brother Indra III, in about 808 A.D.[1]

"Gujarat Rastrakutas" (A.D 808-888)

It is said that with Indra III begins the rule of the "Gujarāt Rāṣṭrakūṭas". But none of Indra's own grants have been found. His rule, however, was very short, lasting for about 4 years. His son Karkka once more became the feudatory of the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarsa I.[2] Karkka ruled for about 15 years (A.D. 812–824).[3] During this period and immediately after (A.D. 813 and 827) grants of Govindarāja, younger brother of Karkka are found. These raise the question as to who the ruler of Gujarāt was: Karkka or his brother Govindarāja. Two explanations are suggested:—[4]

(1) Govindarāja ruled in the absence of his elder brother Karkka who had gone to assist Amoghavarṣa;

(2) Govindaraja became hostile in 813 A.D., so Karkka had to go to Amoghavarṣa for help.

The possibility of simultaneous rule is not admitted. None of the suggestions seem to be convincing. But from Govindarāja's grants, the relation between the two brothers does not appear to be strained, and we have, therefore, to assume that Govinda ruled twice, once in Karkka's absence, and for the second time "during the minority of Karkka's son Dhruva."[5]

Dhruva II, son of Karkka, came to the throne in about 835 A.D. Trying to free himself from the yoke of the main line, he died in a war against Amoghavarṣa. But the Gujarāt branch was not effaced thereby. His son Akālavarsa succeeded him, according to the grant of his son, Dhruva III,[6] but on what relations with the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas cannot be said for certain.

To Akalavarṣa's son and successor Dhruva III, his grants[7] credit wars with Vallabha (Amoghavarṣa), the Gūjaras, his relatives, and a

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[1] Kāvi Grant, *IA.*, V, p. 147, *śloka* 28.

[2] Shown clearly by the Brahmanapalli Grant, *EI.*, XXII, p. 77, which is signed both by Karkka II and Amoghavarṣa.

[3] According to his extant copperplates. See Appendix, p. 5.

[4] *EI.*, XXII, p. 78.

[5] *BG.*, I, p. 126.

[6] *IA.*, XII, p. 179, *śloka* 13.

[7] See Appendix, p. 5.

Mihira king.[1] Probably he was successful in these, except against Amoghavarsa, as the unpublished Baroda grant would show, according to which Dhruva possibly lost the territory south of the Narbada to the Imperial branch.[2]

The contemporary record of Dantivarma (A.D. 867),[3] brother of Dhruva, like that of Govindaraja, raises the question as to who the actual ruler was. The conjoint signature of both brothers at the end dispels the suggestion that Dantivarma was the relative referred to in Dhruva's Bāgumra grant, who revolted against the latter.

Kṛṣṇa Akalavarṣa, son of Dantivarma,[4] is, at present, the last king of the Gujarat branch of the Raṣṭrakuṭas, according to the Bagumra grant (A.D. 888).[5] This grant does not necessarily suggest that the Gujarat Rāṣṭrakūṭas recovered the territory south of the Narbada from the main branch[6] but confirms the view expressed above that Dhruva had retained his hold over the territory south of the Narbadā. Probably they were feudatories, but even this feudal character they lose after Kṛṣṇa, and the Imperial Raṣṭrakuṭas resume direct control over Lāṭa.

Resumption by the Main Rastrakutas (A.D. 888-974)

The suzerainty of the main line of Raṣṭrakuṭas over Gujarat, which was shaken early in the reign of Amoghavarsa (c. 840 A.D.) seems to be slowly establishing itself towards the close of his reign (A.D. 871).[7] Under his son and successor Kṛṣṇa Akalavarṣa, the sway was completely realized in c. 910 A.D.,[8] after severe fighting with

[1] *BG.*, I, p. 127 (according to an unpublished grant); and according to his recently published grant in *EI.*, XXII, p. 74. The Mihira king is now identified with Mihira Bhoja of Kanauj.

[2] That is the view expressed in *BG.*, I, p. 127, but it should be given up because the grant referred to above (note 1) grants land on either bank of the Tāpti. See Appendix, pp. 6, 38–43.

[3] *EI.*, VI, pp. 285.

[4] *IA.*, XIII, p. 65. Altekar, *EI.*, XXII, p. 70, rightly challenges this view and suggests that Kṛṣṇa might be the eldest son of Dhruva II.

[5] *BG.*, I, p. 128 unnecessarily raises the question as to the identity of this Dantivarmā. Evidently he is the brother of Dhruva III, and the grantor to the Kāmpilya Vihāra. *EI.*, VI, p. 285.

[6] *BG.*, I, p. 128.

[7] According to the Sanjan Plate of Amoghavarṣa. *EI.*, XVIII, p. 235.

[8] According to the Kapadvanj grant. *EI.*, I, p. 52, and the Bāgumra, *EI.*, IX. p. 31,

the Gūrjaras.[1] This is confirmed by the regranting of about 100 villages in Lāṭa by Indra Nityavarsa in A.D. 914 at the time of his coronation.[2]

Till recently, no evidence was available regarding the continuance of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rule in Gujarāt after 935 A.D. which was governed by Govinda IV and V,[3] both sons of Indra Nityavarsa.[4] But now the *Harsola Grant* of Sīyaka[5] not only gives evidence of the continuance of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power in Lāṭa,[6] but further tells us that it was governed by a *Mahāmaṇḍalika-cuḍāmaṇi Mahārājādhirāja* Sīyaka under Śrīvallabha.[7] Sīyaka of the grant is identified with Harṣa-Sīyaka II, and Śrīvallabha with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III (c. 940–56 A.D.). It is suggested that the former was a Paramara ruler driven out from Mālwā by the revival of the Gurjara-Pratihāra power[8] and ruled Lāṭa as the feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.[9] But soon the overlordship of the Raṣṭrakūṭas which had passed into the hands of Khoṭṭiga (c. 956–71 A.D.), brother of Kṛṣṇa III, was overthrown by Harsa Sīyaka[10] and Lāṭa became a Paramāra province. It remained so till, at least, A.D. 970 as evidenced by the Ahmedabad grant of Sīyaka (V). (S.) 1026.

The sway of the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas over Gujarat extended normally upto and including the modern Kaira district; to this were added Mālwa and some territory in the north-east and south-east by victories over the Gurjara-Pratiharas and others. But barring a few references to the Mahī and the Revā and conquest over Lāṭa, the evidence so far available indicates that the earlier emperors[11] treated Lāṭa merely as an outlying

[1] These were the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj.

[2] Bagumra grants of Indra, *EI.*, IX, p. 24. Indra it was who gave a severe blow to the Gurjara-Pratihāra power by defeating Mahipāla and capturing Kanauj.

[3] According to the Cambay Plates of Govinda (IV) Ś. 852 (A.D. 930), *EI.*, VII, p. 28, and Sangali Plates of Govinda (V), Ś. 855, *IA.*, XII, p. 247 respectively.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *EI.*, XIX., p. 236. For details see Appendix, p. 23.

[6] Thus corroborating the suggestion in *BG.*, I, p. 134 that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rule had lasted till about A.D. 970.

[7] It is suggested by Ray, *DHNI.*, II, p. 843 that Paramāras' first connection with Gujarāt began in the time of Bappirāja (Vākpatirāja I) under the sovereignty of Kṛṣṇa II of Malkhed. But it is certain that Paramāras had nothing to do with the government of the country as shown by the grants of Govinda IV and V cited before.

[8] Ray, o.c., p, 850.

[9] *EI.*, XIX, pp. 177–79.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 236.

[11] Dantidurga is credited with the conquest of Lāṭa but this, even if true, seems to be much exaggerated.

province of the empire. It is only from the time of Amoghavarsa that we find that the later Emperors Kṛṣṇa II and Indra III showed interest in Lāta.

The Lāṭa kingdom (*maṇḍala*) of the Gujarat Rāṣṭrakūṭas went on expanding as would appear from the study of the villages granted by them.[1] In the earlier grants these are found mostly within the modern Kaira and Broach districts, supporting the view[2] that the Gujarat branch ruled the country between the Mahi and the Narbada. But there is no doubt that since A.D. 867, from the time of Dhruva III till A.D. 890, Southern Gujarāt, country south of the Tāpti and even Konkan were included within the Gujarāt Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominion.[3] The limits of Laṭa corresponded to Central and Southern Gujarāt, from the Mahī to Daman, Konkan forming not actually a part of it,[4] but a southern province. The towns or cities which figure prominently during this period were, as in the preceding, Aṅkuleśvara (Aṅklesvar), Bharukaccha (Broach), Kheṭaka (Kaira), Navasarikā (Navsāri) and Karpaṭavaṇijya (Kapadvanj).

The Rāṣṭrakūṭas were contemporaries of the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Avanti and Kanauj, the Pālas of Bengal and later of the Haihayas of Dāhala, the Candellas of Jejabhukti and the Paramāras of Malwa. With the first they were constantly at war from the beginning.[5] Often they over-

[1] See Appendix, pp 38 43.

[2] Bhattacharyya in *EI.*, XXII, p. 77 and Bühler in *IA.*, V, p. 145.

[3] See Appendix, p. 5 6 and pp. 38–43.

[4] As Bühler said in *IA.*, V, p. 145.

[5] Thus :—

1 Dantidurga c. 750 with Devarāja...I.
2 Dhruva 779–794 with Vatsarāja 783 -84 A.D....II
3 Govinda III 794–814 with Nāgabhaṭa II 815 A.D....III
4 Indrarāja (of the Gujarāt Branch) with III
5 Karkkarāja (,, ,,) with III
6 Dhruvarāja II (,, ,,) with Bhoja I 843-890 A.D....IV
7 Kṛṣṇa II 877–912 A.D. with Mahendrapāla 890 910 A.D....V
8 Indra III 913–922 A.D. with Mahipāla...VI
9 Kṛṣṇa III 937–965 A.D. with...VI

This table is based mainly on the records of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas ; in particular the following :—

I The Vaṇi Grant of Govinda III, *IA.*, XI, p. 156.
II The Radhanpur Grant of the same, *EI.*, VI, p. 239.
III Bagumra Plates of Dhruvarāja II, *IA.*, XII, p. 179.
IV Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarṣa I, *EI.*, XVIII, p. 235.
V Cambay Plates of Govinda IV, *EI.*, VII, p. 26.

ran Northern India, even beyond the Gaṅgā-Yamunā *doab*. It is held that Govinda III annexed Eastern Mālwā, and Kanauj was placed under Indrarāja, the ruler of Lāṭa.[1] Finally Indra III (c. 915 A.D.) and Kṛṣṇa III succeeded in destroying the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire, in about A.D. 940, though Mahipāla did regain some of the lost possessions towards the close of his reign.[2]

With the rest also Rāṣṭrakūṭas fought.[3] But with the Haihayas and even with the Pālas[2] relations were often friendly, marked by marriage alliances.[4]

Many influences, cultural and others, it is probable, might have passed to and from Lāṭa which was a great half-way house between the Gangetic plains, Mālwā and the Deccan.

[1] Majumdar, *JL.*, X, p. 37, fn. 2.

[2] See above note 2, also Ray, (*DHNI.*, I, pp. 581–589) who gives a few details; also *JL*, X, p. 66 ff.

[3] Govinda III is said to have defeated the king of the Gauḍas, who is identified with Dharmapāla of Bengal; see *JL.*, X, p. 43. Haihaya Kokalla (c. 875–925 A.D.) is said to have conquered Kṛṣṇa II and Yuvarāja Kṛṣṇa III, while the Candella Yaśovarman conquered Kṛṣṇa III; see Ray, *DHNI.*, II, pp. 754, 760 and 674 respectively.

[4] Cf. *Ibid.*, II, p. 761 for details; also Sewell, *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 38.

SECTION III

Mediaeval Period

(c. A.D. 950—A.D. 1300)

THE Paramāras were driven out from Lata in A.D. 973 by Tailapa II,[1] the Cālukya king of Kalyāṇī. It is believed that Bārappa of the Surat Grants of Kīrtiraja (1018 A.D.) and Trilocanapāla (1051 A.D.)[2] was his feudatory appointed to guard the "main gateway to the south."[3][4] Immediately after, Bārappa was attacked by the Caulukya Mūlarāja and his son Cāmuṇḍa,[5] though it is doubtful if he was killed by the latter.[6] The fact remains that, till A.D. 1051, his descendants :—

Lata (c. A.D. 970-1175)

Goggirāja
Kīrtirāja (Śaka 940 = 1018 A.D.)
Vatsarāja
Trilocanapāla (Śaka 972 = A.D. 1050-1)

ruled in Lāṭa, round about Surat.[7] Their exact position is difficult to determine, but at times they may have been the vassals of the Paramāra Bhoja of Mālwā,[8] though it does not appear that Kīrtirāja surrendered his kingdom and capital to Bhoja.[9]

Lata, henceforward, (even it may be said from the downfall of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas) had a precarious existence. In Śaka 996 (A.D. 1074) the country south of the Tāpti upto Navsāri was under Karṇa, the Caulukya king of Anhilvāda,[9] and remained under his successors Jayasiṁha,[10]

1 Sewell, *HISI.*, p. 335.

2 *IA.*, XI, and *Vienna Oriental Journal, VII*, p. 88 and 196 respectively.

3 Ray, *DHNI.*, II, p. 938.

4 According to Hemacandra, *Dvyāśraya, Sarga VI.*

5 Ray, o.c., p. 939 thinks that it may be possible. But the calamity referred to by Trilocanapāla's grant and interpreted by Ray as indicating Caulukya conquest of Lāṭa is referred to as Paramāra Bhoja's conquest of the country by Ganguly, *Paramāras*, p. 96.

6 According to the records cited above, note 2.

7 See Ganguly, o.c., p. 96.

8 As suggested by *Ibid.*

9 Navsari Plates of Karṇa, *JBBRAS.*, XXVI, p. 250.

10 Dohad-stone pillar inscriptions, *IA.*, X, p. 158-60.

Kumārapāla,[1] and perhaps Ajayapāla also,[2] that is for a period of about 100 years (A.D. 1074–1175–6).

About 1200 A.D. the country south of the Narbadā was reconquered by the Paramāra King Subhaṭavarman[3] and its ruler Siṁha, formerly a vassal of the Caulukyas of Anhilvāda, perhaps became his vassal.[4] The Paramāras not only retained their hold over Lāṭa under the next King Arjunavarman, according to his grant from Broach in A.D. 1213,[5] but advanced further and defeated[6] King Jayasiṁha[7] of Anhilvāda, which is also corroborated by other Paramāra records.[8] Their hold was, however, shaken by the Yādava Siṁhaṇa, *who invaded Lāṭa and Mālwā and even is said to have killed the feudatory* chief of the former, Sindhurāja.[9] But it appears that Lāṭa remained under the Paramāra Devapāla, governed by his feudatory Saṁgrāmasiṁha.[10]

Later (c. A.D. 1175–1300)

It is possible that after Devapāla the Paramāras lost Lāṭa, when Vīsāladeva and Sāraṅgadeva (c. A.D. 1250 and 1290) successfully invaded Mālwā.[11] However, the history of this period is a series of rapid changes and very soon the Paramāras, Yādavas and Caulukyas who were contending over the possession of Lāṭa were themselves engulfed by Mulism invasions from which they never emerged.

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[1] *Ibid.*, X, p. 159–60.

[2] According to the Unjha Ins. (V). S. 1231 of the time of Ajayapāla, *EI.*, XX, *Appendix*, p. 54. No. 363.

[3] Ganguly, o c., p. 197. He was repulsed from Northern Lāṭa by Lavaṇaprasāda. *Prabandhacaintāmaṇi*, p. 154. Merutuṅga calls Subhaṭvarman Sohaḍa, a king of Mālava.

[4] *Hammīramadamardana*, Act II, p. 17; also Ganguly, o c, p. 197.

[5] *JAOS.*, VII, p. 32.

[6] *Merutuṅga frankly says 'Aruṇadeva, quite defeated the realm of Gujarāt'*, *PBC.*, p. 154.

[7] According to note 5 above, Hultzsch identifies Jayasiṁha with Bhīma II, as suggested by Hall, p. 39.

[8] See Ganguly, o.c., p. 202 for references and details.

[9] *HMM.*, p. 17; also *Ibid.*, p. 208–9.

[10] Identified with Saṅkha. Ganguly, o.c., p. 212 and 215. *HMM.* gives a detailed account of these alliances etc., between the Paramāras, Siṁha and the Yādavas.

[11] *Dabhoi Ins. of Visāladeva*, *EI.*, I, p, 28 and *Cintra Praśasti of Sāraṅgadeva*, *Ibid.*, p. 281; also Ganguly, o.c., p. 222 and 229. The contemporary Paramāra kings were Jaitugideva, Jayavarman II, Jayasiṁha II and Arjunavarman II.

SECTION IV

Early Mediaeval Period

(c. A.D. 500–950 A.D.)

IN Surāṣṭra the centre of political power seems to shift to Valabhī[1] from Girinagara. The holders of this power were the Maitrakas,[2] of whom about eighty copperplates are so far recovered. These cover a period of about 270 years (G). S. 183–447, (c. A.D. 500–770).

Maitrakas (c. A.D. 500-770)

From the copperplates it can only be gathered that Bhaṭṭārka,[3] the founder of the dynasty, was a general (of some overlord)[4] who established himself at Valabhī in about A.D. 480 or 490. The Maitraka rule, according to the records found till now, actually begins with *Mahārāja* Droṇasiṁha I (A. D. 502–3). His brother *Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja* Dhruvasena I (A.D. 526–546) succeeds him. His successor was *Mahārāja* Guhasena (A.D. 560–568), son of Dharapaṭṭa. These kings and their successors upto Dhruvasena II (A.D. 630–641), to judge from their titles, were not independent kings, but feudatories of the powers suggested before.[5]

[1] Modern Valā, in eastern Kāthiāwār, 25 miles from Bhāunagar.

[2] Formerly, e.g., in *BG.*, I, i, p. 87, Maitrakas were regarded as the people whom Bhaṭṭārka defeated. This was corrected by Hultzsch, *EI.*, III, p. 320. Now Bhandarkar suggests that many donees of Valabhī plates are from Ānandapura, and their names end in *mitra*. This indicates that they were from Mitra stock, to which the rulers of Valabhī also belonged. They were allied with the Hūṇas, and entered India with them. For details see *JASB.*, 1909, pp. 184–186. Recently Mr. Jagan Nāth has questioned these theories in *Indian Culture*, April 1939, p. 408. Excepting the traditional evidence (which he ignores) there is not much epigraphic evidence, as he points out, to show that the Maitrakas were sun-worshippers. He rather would identify them with Maitreyaka and suggests that they were bards of the Guptas.

[3] Valabhī copperplates also use Bhaṭārka and Bhaṭakka. Smith *EHI.*, p. 332, note thinks " Bhaṭakka " to be " original " and " authentic ".

[4] Till recently the generally accepted view was that the overlords of the Maitrakas were at first the Guptas, then the Hūṇas, and then Yaśodharman of Mālwā. But it would appear from a survey of the chief dynasties ruling in Northern India at this time that the Hūṇa dominion could hardly extend over Surāṣṭra, whereas Yaśodharman was still to come.

[5] What their relation was with the subsequent powers in Lāṭa—Kaṭaccūrīs and Cālukyas—cannot be ascertained.

The Valabhī kingdom comprised under these kings as indicated by the find-spots of grants,[1] the places from which the grants are issued,[2] the places mentioned in these grants[3] and lastly by the testimony of Hiuen-Tsiang,[4] the whole of modern Kāthiāwār and perhaps northern Gujarāt also.[5] To this was added Western Mālwā[6] by Dhruvasena II.[7] His son and successor Dharasena IV seems to have attained real independence. He alone among all the Valabhī kings is called a *cakravartin*.[8]

This independence is not reflected in the titles of his successors Dhruvasena III and Kharagraha II. The loss of power, if it was really so, cannot be explained from contemporary politics.[9] However, Śilādityas III–VII (A.D. 670–770) call themselves *Mahārājādhirāja and Parameśvara* and make grants from Kheṭaka (Kaira) implying thereby that independence was regained and held for about a hundred years.

But it is doubtful if these kings could retain Western Mālwā and the Kaira District (from where many of the later grants are issued)[10] undisturbed. For we know that the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Rājputānā were trying to extend their sway over Mālwā and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas sweeping over Lāṭa and thundering at the gates of Kaira. At this moment when the Valabhī suzerainty was repeatedly shaken in the north, the Arabs under Amr ibn

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[1] See Map.

[2] See Appendix, pp. 45–52.

[3] See *Ibid*.

[4] Hiuen-Tsiang, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, (Tr. by Beal), Vol. II, p. 269.

[5] One of the grants of Dharasena III is issued from Kheṭaka-Pradvāra i.e., from the gates of Kaira. See Appendix, p 48.

[6] See Appendix, pp. 9–10, 45–52.

[7] Whether it was added as a gift from Harṣa, after his war with Dhruvasena, as Smith suggests or whether the acquisition of W. Mālwā by Dhruvasena II was the immediate cause of war between Valabhī and Kanauj is not certain. The latter alternative is probable, as otherwise it is difficult to understand how Harṣa could come into conflict with the ruler of Valabhī. It is possible that when peace was made and Dhruvasena entered into matrimonial alliance with Harṣa, the latter recognised the former's claim over W. Mālwā.

[8] His claim seems to be well founded. It coincides with the death of Harṣa (647–8 A.D.) and also of Pulakeśī II (c. 650 A.D.), the two powerful kings of the North and the South. This was an opportunity for vassals to free themselves.

[9] It is true in this period (A.D. 655) the Western Cālukyas reasserted themselves under Vikramāditya I. But it is doubtful if the Cālukya power extended beyond Lāṭa or even Kaira.

[10] See Appendix, pp. 45–52.

Jamal, a general of Khalif Mansur[1] invaded Valabhi and so destroyed the Maitraka power that Valabhī is heard of no more[2] and now only traces of the former remain in the Valas of modern Vala and perhaps in the Gohelots[3] or Gahlots of Mewar.[4]

Valabhī plates give no indication of the external contacts established during the rule of 270 years. But we have seen before that the Gurjjaras of Broach were the allies of Valabhī kings. Hiuen-Tsiang further tells us that the Valabhi ruler Dhruvabhaṭa (Dhruvasena II), though once at war with Harṣa, had when the Chinese traveller visited his kingdom (c. 640 A.D.) contracted a marriage alliance with Harṣa by becoming the latters' son-in-law;[5] and attended, perhaps in this capacity, the religious assembly convened by Harṣa at Prayāg (Allahābād).[6] Mālwā, moreover, was governed by Dhruvasena II's uncle Śīlāditya.[7] Thus there is evidence of increased and regular contact between Kāthiāwār, Northern Gujarāt, Central India and the Gangetic valley during the 7th century A.D., which might have mutually influenced the culture of Gujarāt and its eastern neighbours. Similar inference could be made with regard to Gujarāt's western relations—particularly commercial—with the Arabian and the African coast though in the end the Arabs destroyed Valabhī.

[1] *BG.*, I. i, p. 95. Barnett, *Ancient India*, p. 60. It is suggested by Ray, *DHNI.*, I, p. 10, n. 2 that the city was probably destroyed by a series of raids.

[2] Excepting in the later Jain literature.

[3] Inscriptions give variants as *Gobhilaputra*, *Guhilaputra*, *Guhila-uta*, *Guhalautra* etc., Ray, *DHNI.*, II, p. 115, fn. 1. The descendants of Gohil or Guhāditya. *Raj. Gaz.*, II, Appendix, p. 13.

[4] The question is not yet settled. Bhandarkar has shown that Guhilots (Guhelots) were originally Nāgar Brāhmans and became Kṣatriya afterwards. Thus they were of the same stock as the Maitrakas of Valabhī but perhaps not related with them as usually held. See *JASB.*, 1909, p. 185. Against this Halder maintains that Guhila kings of Mewar were Kṣatriyas, but concludes that they did not originate from Valabhī, see *IA.*, 1927, pp. 169–74; while another writer in *JASB.*, 1912, pp. 63–99, sticks to the original view that Mewar kings are descendants of those of Valabhī; he re-interprets the epigraphical evidence cited by Bhandarkar.

[5] Hiuen-Tsiang, o.c., II, p. 267.

[6] Hwui Li, *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, (Tr. by Beal), pp. 185 and 189.

[7] Hiuen-Tsiang, o c., II, p. 267. According to some scholars' identification (which is generally accepted) of Hiuen-Tsiang's Śīlāditya, 'the former king of Mo-lo-po', with Śīlāditya I Dharmāditya, Maitrakas would be ruling in Western Mālwā as early as c. A.D. 600. Epigraphical evidence, it must be noted, does not support this claim.

Jethvas (?)

Another immediate source of disturbance from the west or south-west to the Maitrakas might have been Jāïkadeva who, in the only known record[1] of his, is described as the lord of Soraṣṭra-*maṇḍala*, with such imperial titles as *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *mahārājādhirāja* and *parameśvara*, ruling at Bhūmilikā (modern Bhūmlī or Ghūmlī).[2] Though the Valabhī plates do not refer to this kingdom, it is possible that Jāïkadeva, claiming to be an independent lord of south-western Kāthiāwār, might have fought with the Maitrakas and he or his successors even assisted the Arabs against them. Support to this suggestion may be found in the fact that the Jeṭhva clan (to whom Jāïkadeva is supposed to belong)[3] was probably a much later immigrant to the province than the Maitrakas. Secondly, evidence of the former's survival, even after the Arab invasion, in Kāthiāwār is available in a grant of Jāïnka (Jāïka ?) from Morbi,[4] whereas no such evidence can be had in the case of the the Maitrakas.

Gurjara-Pratiharas

No materials have come to light to know the position of Surāṣṭra after the downfal of the Valabhī kingdom in c. A.D. 770. Perhaps the peninsula or the north-eastern part of it passed under the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Ujjain who, under Vatsarāja (783 A.D.), began to exert their influence in the east, south and west. And it was the control of this region that was perhaps the constant cause of war between the Gurjaras and the Rāṣṭrakūtas.

Definite evidence of the subsequent Gurjara-Pratihāra sway over Surāṣṭra is afforded by :—

(a) the Dharaṇīvarāha copperplate from Haḍḍālā, Wadhwan (A.D. 917–918)[5]

(b) the two copperplates of Balavarman and his son Avanivarman II from Una, Junāgarh, dated in A.D. 893 and 899 respectively.

According to (b) Balavarman and Avanivarman II of a Cālukya family were vassals of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Mahendrāyudha, identified with the Gurjara-Pratihāra Mahipāla, and governed 'Surāṣṭra-*maṇḍala*,' perhaps from a place called Nakṣipura.[7] It is probable that even their

[1] Dhinki Grant, V.S. 794 (A.D. 738), *IA.*, XII, pp. 251-56.

[2] For description of the old temples there see below.

[3] Bühler, *IA.*, XII, pp 251-56, p. 152.

[4] Morbi Plate, G.S. 585 (A.D. 904-5).

[5] *IA.*, XII, p. 190.

[6] *EI.*, IX, p. 1.

[7] It is not yet identified.

ancestors, Vāhukadhavala, who is said to have defeated the Karṇāṭa army[1] and Avanivarman I, father of Balavarman, were the feudatories of Bhoja[2] and perhaps even Vatsarāja. Thus, if the above view be accepted, there is no break in the history of Surāṣṭra after the break up of the Valabhī "empire".

But it appears that the Cālukyas, Balavarman and Avanivarman II, were not the only vassals of the Gurjara-Pratihāras in Kāthiāwār. Dharaṇīvarāha of (a) also claims to be a feudatory of Mahipāla. From a reference to the defeat of a General Dharaṇīvarāha in the Avanivarman II's plate, it may appear that Dharaṇivarāha was trying to deprive the Cālukyas of their vassalage, and was, in the attempt, repulsed by Avanivarman II. This may or may not be so. But this much seems certain that Dharaṇīvarāha's ancestors were long since ruling round modern Haḍḍāla for, as the plate says,[3] the very name of the country Aḍḍāṇa, (identified with portions of the present Limbdi and Wadhwan states) was called after Aḍḍaka, the grandfather of Dharaṇivarāha.

In c. 920 A.D. Mahipāla sustained a severe defeat at the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III,[4] and lost much of his dominions. Surashṭra, being an outlying province, must have immediately got rid off the Gurjara control. Many of its petty kingdoms might have become independent.[5] But we do not known of any kingdom till about c. A. D. 970, when Graharipu of Surāṣṭra is reported to have been defeated by the Caulukya Mūlarāja.[6]

[1] May be that of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas as suggested by Kielhorn. *EI.*, IX, p. 1.

[2] According to Majumdar, *JL.*, X, p. 40, Vāhukadhavala was a feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa II (815 A.D.) and took part in the war against Dharmapāla of Bengal.

[3] *IA.*, XII, 191. First suggested by Bühler.

[4] Cambay Plates of Govinda IV, A.D. 930, *EI.*, X, p. 26; also Smith, *EHI.*, p. 395.

[5] Perhaps it might be under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas as the country till Ahmadabad was under their feudatories, the Paramāras, as shown by the Ahmedabad Grant of Siyaka. *EI.*, XIX, pp. 177-9.

[6] See below.

SECTION V

Mediaeval Period
(c. A.D. 950–1300 A.D.)

AS soon as Mūlarāja secured Anhilvāda, he turned his attention to Saurāṣṭra.[1] Here Vāmanasthali (modern Vanthli), 9 miles west of Junāgarh, was ruled by one Graharipu,[2] identified[3] with the Cuḍāsama ruler of Sorath. Mūlarāja defeated him and made clear the way to Prabhās.[4] But it is uncertain whether any part of Kāthiāwār passed into the Anhilvāda kingdom by this war.

Caulukyas

However, Saurāṣṭra was incorporated into Northern Gujarāt when Jayasiṁha defeated Graharipu's successor Navaghana,[5] who seems to have shifted his capital from Vanthli to Junāgarh. Whoever may be the king of Saurāṣṭra whom Jayasiṁha defeated, according to the chronicles and the Dohad inscription,[6] the annexation of Saurāṣṭra and the appointment of the governor Sajjana[7] there is proved by the Girnār inscription V. S. 1176 (1120).[8] Henceforward, till about A.D. 1300, Saurāṣṭra formed a part of the Anhilvāda kingdom. Successors of Navaghana and Khangār, it appears, remained feudatories of the Caulukyas, and ruled parts of Kāthiāwār till c. A.D. 1420.[9]

[1] Henceforth Surāṣṭra is written as 'Saurāṣṭra' because many epigraphs and chronicles of this period use the latter form.

[2] Hemacandra, *Dvyāśraya*, II, *śloka* 107. [3] *BG.*, I, p. 160.

[4] See Hemacandra, o.c., II, *śloka* 59, and *BG.*, o c., for the cause of the war and details.

[5] Merutuṅga, *PBC.*, p, 96, calls him the king of Ābhīras, exactly as *Dvyāśraya* describes Graharipu. It further says that Jayasiṁha had to fight with him eleven times. Perhaps Khangār was his son, as Jinaprabhasūri in his *Tīrthakalpa* (cited by *BG.*, I, p. 176) also refers to Khangār's death at the hands of Jayasiṁha, who is mentioned by *PBC.* also. *BG.*, I, p. 176 suggests that Jayasiṁha led separate expeditions against more than one king of that name.

[6] *IA.*, X, p. 158–60.

[7] *PBC.*, p. 96; *Tīrthakalpa* (*BG.*, o.c., p. 176).

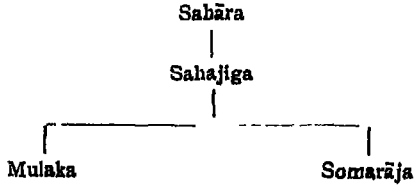
[8] The inscription does not seem to have been published, though it is noticed by *BG.*, I, p. 176.

[9] See Bhāndarkar's *List*, *EI.*, XX, Appendix Nos. 666, 667, 674, 688, 703, 722, 727, 730, 732, 733, 746, 749, 751.

Besides these, there were many other petty rulers, ruling over different parts of Kāthiāwār.[1] The country around Māngrol was under a Guhila dynasty in about A.D. 1140.[2] Its chief, Mulaka, was a feudatory chief of Kumārapāla, while his father Sahajiga is supposed to have migrated from the Luni Valley (in the Jodhpur State), and accepted service under Jayasiṁha Siddharāja.[3]

[1] See *Ibid.*, Nos. 624, 688, 721, 724.

[2] According to the Māngrol stone inscription of the Guhila *Thakkura* Mulaka, *BPSI.*, pp. 158–160. It mentions



though in the inscription Mulaka is called *Saurāṣṭra Nāyaka*.

[3] Ojha, *History of Rajputana*, I, p. 432, f.n.

SECTION VI

Mediaeval Period

(c. A.D. 950–1300 A.D.)

NORTHERN Gujarāt, really the Saraswatī Valley, comes into prominence under the Caulukyas in the 10th century A.D. It is its culture that spreads over the whole of Ānartta, Lāṭa and Saurāṣṭra and gives shape to an entity which begins to call itself Gurjarātra, Gurjaramaṇḍala, Gurjaradeśa, and later Gujarāt. Before this period, as suggested elsewhere, after the Guptas in the 5th century A.D. Northern Gujarāt was probably under the control of the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Jodhpur,[1] Ujjain and Kanauj, the Maitrakas of Valabhī, and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Lāṭa and Deccan.

Capotkatas

Gujarāt chroniclers trace the beginnings of the rise of the Cāpotkaṭa family[2] to Vanarāja, son of Jayaśekhara of Pañcāsar.[3] He is said to have founded Aṇahillapura[4]

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[1] Under their control, it seems to have remained till c. 750 A.D.; they regained it perhaps in c. 810, and lost it for ever in c. 840, when it formed part of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire of Kanauj till about c. 920. Before c. A.D. 750, the Maitrakas might have possessed it at times; while between c. A.D. 750 and A.D. 970, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas might have held it when the Gurjara-Pratihāra power was weak. The above suggestion is based on Majumdar, *The Gurjara-Pratihāras*, *JL.*, X, pp. 1–76.

[2] Popularly called Cāvaḍā. They were identified with the Cāvotkaṭas of the *Navsāri Plates of Pulakeśī Janāśraya* A.D. 740 (*VOCR.*, p. 230, also *BG.*, I, p. 109) and the Cāpas of Bhinmāl and Wadhwān, *IA.*, XVII, p. 192; *BG.*, o.c., p. 155. The history of the family is found only in chronicles of Gujarāt of the 13th and 14th centuries, and a brief reference is made by Muslim historians. No inscriptions are found so far. Hence, it is summarized here very briefly. But it is important, for it forms a link between the Early and Late Mediaeval Periods of Gujarāt.

[3] Modern village of the same name in Vadhiar, between Gujarāt and Cutch. *BG.*, I, p. 149.

[4] Aṇahillapura, and Aṇahillapurapaṭṭana, according to *PBC.*, p 18 and 116; Aṇahillapāṭaka and very rarely Aṇahillapāṭakapura (*BPSI.*, p. 184) in the Caulukya inscriptions, and said to be identical with Nahrwara, Nahwara or Naharwalah of the Muslim historians. See Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, p. 33. This name is said to be after a man named Aṇahilla. *PBC.*, p. 18. *BG.*, I, p. 151 calls him Aṇahilla, a shepherd. Aṇahilla as a name of a king occurs in the Cāhamāna rulers of Naḍḍula. See Ray, *DHNI.*, II, Index, p. 1232. The ancient site of the city is now called Anāvaḍa, 3 miles from modern Pāṭan, or Paṭṭan or Anhilvāda.

on the Saraswatī in A.D. 746 (V.S. 802).[1] Vanaraja and his successors ruled, according to the chronicles, for about 225 years, from A.D. 746-961.[2]

There is no epigraphic or other material to check the account of the chronicles which is here concisely stated. But the existence of a Cāvotaka family is revealed by the Navsāri grant of Pulakeśi Janāśraya.[3] This is identified with some probability with that of the Anhilvāda kingdom. But it may be the Cāpas of Wadhwān or even Bhinmāl.

Caulukyas Mian Line

This much, however, is certain, that the Cāpotkaṭas were ruling in Anhilvāda in the 10th century, for an inscription of Kumārapāla (A.D. 1152) definitely says that Mūlarāja gained Anahilapāṭaka by overthrowing the Cāpotkaṭas. The chroniclers of Gujarāt, however, though they differ among themselves,[4] give a different version of the accession of the Caulukyas, under Mūlarāja, to the throne of Anhilvāda. According to them, Mūlarāja got the kingdom in A.D. 961[5] either by killing his maternal uncle Sāmantasiṁha[6] or in the natural course of succession.[7]

The account in some of the copperplates is that Mūlarāja was the son of *Mahārājādhirāja* Rāji,[8] and that he "by his own prowess obtained"[9] the *Sāraswata-maṇḍala* by "defeating the Cāpotkaṭas."[10] From the chronicles

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[1] Merutuṅga, *PBC.*, p. 18, (Tr. by Tawney). According to *BG*, o.c., p. 151, there is a discrepancy in the account of Merutuṅga who is said to give V.S. 802 as the installation of Vanarāja in *PBC.*, while his *Vicāraśreṇi* gives V.S. 821 (A.D. 764) as the foundation of Aṇahilapura. But Tawney's translation of *PBC.* gives the date as cited above; also Sastri, *PBC.*, p. 20.

[2] *PBC.*, and other chronicles differ on this, as well as on the names of successors. But *BG.*, o.c., p. 155 follows *PBC.* and *Vicāraśreṇi* and gives the above result. Bird, *History of Gujarāt* (Tr. of *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* by Ali Mohammed Khan), p. 142 says that Chāwura tribe ruled for 196 years; also Abul Fazl, *Ain-I-Akbari*, II, p. 259.

[3] VOCR., p. 230. [4] Vadnagar Praśasti, *EI.*, I, p. 293, verse 5.

[5] This date should now be pushed back to V.S. 998 (A.D. 941-2) according to Sambhar Ins. of Jayasiṁha, *IA.*, 1929, p. 234.

[6] *PBC.*, p. 823; also Jayasiṁhasūri, *Kumārapāla-bhūpāla-carita*, Bombay A.D. 1926. This is one of the works that gives the genealogy of Mūlarāja's father, Rāji. According to *Kīrtikaumudī* (*B.S.S.*, Bombay A.D. 1883) Mūlarāja was elected by the people. Hemacandra in his *Dvyāśraya* is silent on the question.

[7] In the absence of the direct male line. This is how I understand the *Vicāraśreṇi* and *Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana* references in *BG.*, I, p 156.

[8] Kadi Plate of Mūlarāja, A.D. 965, *IA.*, VI, p. 180.

[9] *Ibid.*, line 6.

[10] Vadnagar Praśasti of Kumārapāla, A.D. 1130, *EI.*, I, p. 293.

and the plates, this can be affirmed that Mūlarāja was the son of (king?) Rāji of the Caulukya family. But where this family was ruling first and how it succeeded the Cāpotkaṭas of Aṇahillapura cannot be ascertained.[1]

Other aspects of Mūlarāja's reign—his religion, wars, etc.—will be reviewed later along with those of his successors. For the present, it may be noted that Mūlarāja spent much of his time in consolidating his position, which at times necessitated wars of aggression. He also laid the foundation of the temple-building activities which was carried to a climax by his successors.

The chroniclers are not unanimous as to the length of Mūlarāja's rule, nor about the manner of his death. It is believed that he ruled for about 35 years,[2] till A.D. 996, after which he devoted himself to religion and charity, resigning in favour of his son Cāmuṇḍa.[3] He died at Śrīsthala on the Saraswatī.

About his son and successor Cāmuṇḍa there is a great divergence of opinion among the chroniclers, and also the copperplates. He is mentioned in all the plates[4] (all those which give the genealogy) except one,[5] whereas Kumārapāla's inscription credits Cāmuṇḍa with the conquest of Sind.[6]

According to the chroniclers, Cāmuṇḍa did come to the throne, but retired,[7] after 13 years,[8] in favour of his younger son Durlabha.[9] Durlabha as a successor of Cāmuṇḍa is mentioned by all the sources, and it is agreed that he ruled for about 12 years.[10]

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[1] For discussion, see Appendix, p. 32.

[2] *BG.*, I, p. 162; Bird, o.c., gives 56 years; also Abul Fazl, o.c., II, p. 260.

[3] *Dvyāśrayakāvya, Sarga* VI, *śloka* 107 According to another source, see *BG.*, I, 156, Mūlarāja was killed in a battle with the king of Ajmer. But this does not follow as Smith (*EHI.*, p. 396, n. 2) seems to suggest from *Pṛithavīrāja Vijaya*, *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 266 ff. It only mentions the defeat of Mūlarāja by Vigraharāja II, though *Hammīramahākāvya* does say that Vigraharāja II killed Mūlarāja. See Sarda, *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 269.

[4] No records of his or his time are published so far, though a copperplate of his had been recently brought for sale at the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

[5] Navsāri Plates of Karṇa, plate A, A.D. 1064. *JBBRAS.*, XVI, p. 250.

[6] Vadnagar Praśasti, *EI.*, I, p, 293; mentioned also by *Dvyāśraya, Sarga* VI.

[7] Both *Dvyāśraya, Sarga* VII and *PBC.*, p, 29 agree on this.

[8] According to *PBC.*, p. 29, and accepted by *BG.*, o,c., p. 162; Bird o.c., p, 143 gives 12 years, 4 months; Abul Fazl, o.c., II, p. 260 gives 13 years.

[9] It may be that Durlabha's elder brother Vallabha had come to the throne, as he is mentioned by the Vadnagar Praśasti. *EI.*, I, p. 293.

[10] *BG.*, I, p. 162. Abul Fazl, o.c., II, p. 260; Bird, o.c., p. 143, gives 8 years.

Bhīma I, nephew of Durlabha, succeeded him, as shown by the copper-plates and attested by the chroniclers. The most important events of his reign, according to the chroniclers, would be the sack of Anhilvāda by a general of Mālwā,[1] and the conquest of Dhārā by Bhīma by the chroniclers and the Vadnagar Praśasti of Kumārapāla.[2] But the Muslim historians tell us that more important than any of these was the sack of Somanātha by Mahmūd of Ghazna in A.D. 1026,[3] though this fact is neither hinted at in the Gujarāt chronicles so far recovered, nor in the inscriptions. However, Bhīma's grants show that the effect of Mahmūd's raid was evanescent, for Bhīma was at Anhilvāda in A.D. 1029 or before. Four plates of his reign range from A.D. 1029 to 1062 only, but the chroniclers assign him a reign of 42 years.[4]

Karna, the second son of Bhīma I, was the next king. Neither his extant copperplates, nor the chronicles, mention any important war in his reign. His plates,[5] however, reveal the fact that Lāṭa, south of the Tāpti, was now under the Caulukya sway. On the general agreement of all sources, Karṇa ruled for about 30 years.[6]

Of Jayasiṁha, son and successor of Karṇa, known popularly as Siddhrāj, unfortunately, very few inscriptions have been found from Gujarāt proper; and of these only one gives some information.[7] Those found from outside[8] Gujarāt justify his claim to the conquests of Malwa, parts of Rājputānā, Saurāṣṭra, and Cutch mentioned by his own inscription from Gujarāt, and by those of his successors, and chroniclers.

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *EI.*, I, p. 294; also *Kīrtikaumudī*, II, verses 17–18 and *Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana*, ii, verses 17–19 as cited by Bühler, *EI.*, I, p. 294; also *KPBC.* and *Vastupāla-Tejaḥpāla Praśasti*, *GOS.*, X, Intro., p, XI. It is worth noticing that Hemacandra does not mention it.

[3] Nazim, *Mahmud of Ghazna*, p. 117; according to whom, Bhīma never faced Mahmud, but on his arrival, as well as on his return, *via* Kanthkot, fled from him. *CHI.*, III, p. 24 places this event in A.D. 1025.

[4] *BG.*, o.c., p. 170 on the strength of *PBC.*, p. 78; Abul Fazl, o.c., II, p. 260; Bird, o.c., p. 143. It is not mentioned in *Dvyāśraya*, *KK.*, *KPBC.*, and *HMM.*

[5] Navsāri Plates of Karṇa Śaka 996, and V.S. 1131. *JBBRAS.*, XXVI, p. 250.

[6] Karṇa, according to the *Hammīra Mahākāvya* of Nayacandra was killed by the Cāhamana Dussala. *BG.*, o.c., p. 171; Abul Fazl, o.c., II, p. 260; Bird o.c., p. 63.

[7] The Dohad stone-pillar inscription V.S. 1196, *IA.*, X, p. 159. It mentions Jayasiṁha's victories over the kings of Mālwā, Saurāṣṭra, and others.

[8] See Appendix, p.13–14.

Dvyāśraya of Hemacandra and other Jain and Hindu writers are full of stories of his reign, which have no place in this outline. In particular, Jayasiṁha is credited with the building of numerous temples and other works, and with the conquest of Barbaraka, who is described as a Rākṣasa.[1] This earned him the title *Varvarika-jiṣṇu*,[2] while the conquest of Mālwā that of *Avanti-nātha*. These, as well as *Siddharāja*, seem to have been his most popular titles. Though the inscriptions of Jayasiṁha cover a period of 16 years only, c. A.D. 1127-1143, the Gujarāt chroniclers[3] as well as the Muslim historians[4] assign him a rule of about 50 years, which seems to be probable, as Jayasiṁha is said to have succeeded Karṇa as a minor.

Jayasiṁha was followed by Kumārapāla, from the collateral line, as he died childless.[4] Kumārapāla was as great as Jayasiṁha I, though not so popularly remembered now. He spread the Caulukya power perhaps more widely than Jayasiṁha, as the find-places of inscriptions and the account in Gujarāt chronicles would suggest.[5] But the most important event from the religious point of view was Kumārapāl's adoption of Jainism, and the proclamation of the *amāri-ghoṣaṇā*,[6] that is, the order not to kill animals. The length of his reign, about 30 years, A.D. 1143–1174, as given by the chroniclers,[7] is also supported by the inscriptions of his time, c. 1145-1171 A.D.[8]

The successor of Kumārapāla was his nephew, Ajayapāla, who is said to have poisoned him. His rule lasted for 3 years only, a fact which the extant inscriptions, ranging from A.D. 1172-3 up to 1175-4, seem to corroborate.[9]

[1] Hemacandra, *Dvyāśraya*, *Sarga* XII, *śloka* 65 ff. Bhagwanlal Indraji thinks that the modern Babarias settled in south Kāthiāwār, known as Bābariā vāḍa, are the representatives of the tribe of Barbara. *BG.*, o.c., p. 175. The question is discussed at length in a footnote. *Ibid.*

[2] Ujjain inscription, noticed in *ASIWC.*, 1912–13, pp. 54–55 ; and *IA.*, XLII, p. 258.

[3] *PBC.*, 115 ; Abul Fazl, o.c., II, p. 260 ; Bird, o.c., p. 143.

[4] The chroniclers and the inscriptions agree on this. But the former mention Jayasiṁha's efforts to get a son, and in his absence, to prevent Kumārapala from succeeding him. *Dvyāśraya* does not mention the latter fact. See *KPBC.*, *Sarga* III. *BG.*, I, p. 182–3.

[5] See below for details and references. [6] See below.

[7] *BG.*, I, i, p. 194, following *PBC.*, p. 151. The Muslim authorities differ. Bird, o.c., p. 143 assigns him 30 years and 6 months ; while Abul Fazl, o.c., II, p. 260 gives him only 23 years. *KPBC.*, *Sarga* X, *śloka* 226. Other works merely mention him ; e.g., *SKK.*, *GOS.*, X, p. 72–77, and *VPTP.*, *Ibid.*, Intro. p. XI.

[8] See Appendix, pp. 14–16.

[9] The Gujarāt chroniclers as well as Muslim historians assign him a period of 3 years. *PBC.*, p 151 ; Abul Fazl, o.c., II, p. 260 ; Bird, o.c., p. 143.

Of Mūlarāja II, the son and successor of Ajayapāla, till now, no inscriptions have been found. But he is mentioned in the later epigraphs, as well as in the records of Gujarāt writers.[1] The inscriptions credit him with the conquest of the "lord of the Garjjanaka, the one difficult to conquer in battle,"[2] and of Turuṣkas or "Muhammadans,"[3] according to *Sukṛtakallolinī*. He is also said to have taken tribute from Hammīra of Sind.[4] This victory, alluded to by a Hindu work,[5] Caulukya inscriptions and admitted by Muslim historians[6] must be over Sultan Muizz-ūd-din in A.D. 1178, as Jackson long ago suggested.[7] It must be credited to Mūlarāja II, as the date fits in with his reign. Mūlarājā II is assigned a rule of 2 years,[8] though the Muslim chroniclers credit him with a longer reign[9] which is evidently wrong, for we have inscriptions of his successor in V.S. 1235.[10]

Bhīma II, probably the brother of Mūlarāja II,[11] succeeded him. Popularly he is called Bholo (simple) Bhīma, and the chroniclers relate that the reins of the government virtually passed into the hands of his minister, Lavaṇaprasāda.[12] Nevertheless, his copperplates show that he was recognised as a paramount king in all parts of the Caulukya empire, till the end of his reign.[13] The Muslim chroniclers further credit him with victory

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[1] Epigraphs e.g., of Bhīmadeva II, A.D. 1199–1200. *IA.*, XI, p. 71. Records: *SKK.*, *GOS.*, X, pp. 72–77 and *VPTP.*, *Ibid.*, Intro., p. XI.

[2] *IA.*, XI, p. 71, line 14.

[3] *BG.*, I, 195. It is mentioned by *PBC.* 154.

[4] *GOS.*, X, pp. 72–77.

[5] *Pṛithvīrājavijaya*, *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 280; it mentions the defeat of Ghor forces by the Gurjara kings of Anhilvāda.

[6] Cited first by Jackson. *BG.*, I, i, p. 195, n. 4, and accepted by *CHI.*, III, p. 39, which incorrectly calls Bhīma a Vāghela.

[7] Ray, o.c., p. 1004, says that it is difficult to ascribe it to Mūlarāja, because Muslim historians unanimously mention Bhīma Deo as the contemporary Caulukya king. But finally he suggests that it might be over that of a minor expedition sent out in c. 1176–8 A.D.

[8] *PBC.*, p. 154.

[9] Abul Fazl, o c., II, p. 260; Bird, o.c., p. 143.

[10] Kiradu inscription, *EI.*, XI, p. 72.

[11] Both *SKK.*, o.c., X, pp. 72–77 and *VPTP.* support *KK.* and *SKSK.*, as cited by *BG.*, o.c., p. 195. *PBC.* does not say anything about Bhīma's relation; see p. 154.

[12] *PBC.*, p. 154. *VPTP.*, Intro., p. XI. *SKK.*, p. 78 and *KK.*

[13] For places and inscriptions see Appendix, pp. 17–19.

in A.D. 1178[1] over Muizz-ud-din II,[2] though he was severely defeated in A.D. 1195 and 1197, and Anhilvāda was raided by Qutb-ud-din.[3] But though the empire recognised Bhīma's authority, it seems to have been nominal, while at the capital itself, at Anhilvāda, Bhīma's position was not strong and authoritative. First, he seems to have lost the throne for a period of a few years, as is suggested by the *Kaḍi Grant* of Jayantasiṁha (also called Jayasiṁha), who occupied it in V. S. 1280 (c A.D. 1124). Jayantasiṁha must be some relative of Bhīma, as he calls himself a Caulukya.[5] But Bhīma regained Anhilvāda in V.S. 1283 or before, so the former's tenure of office seems to have been short. Secondly, the reins of government were slowly assumed by Lavaṇaprasāda, son of Arṇorāja of Dholka (Dhavalakka), so much so that in a treaty signed in V.S. 1288 (1231 A.D.) between the Yādava King Siṁhaṇa (Singhaṇa) and Lāvaṇyaprasāda (Lavaṇaprasāda), the name of Bhīma as the ruler of Anhilvāda is omitted, and mention instead is made of the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rāṇaka* Lāvaṇyaprasāda,[6] though Bhīma was ruling at that time, and at least up to V.S. 1296 (A.D. 1239) as his inscriptions show.[7] It was upon these Lavaṇprasāda and his son Vīradhavala and their successors that Anhilvāda kingdom devolved after Bhīma II, whose rule lasted for about 60 years, according to his inscriptions (V.S. 1235-1296) and about 63 years, according to the chronicles,[8] that is up to V.S. 1298.

Caulukyas (Vaghelas)

This devolution or transference of power was peaceful and took place in the life of Bhīma himself, as the Jain chroniclers tell us.[9] Whatever may be the truth, it is certain

[1] Ray, o.c., p. 1017 evidently applies both to Mūlarāja II and Bhīma II.

[2] For details see *Ibid.*

[3] Elliot, II, pp. 226-31 ; *TN.*, I, p. 516 and *TF.*, Brigg's translation, I, p. 180; *CHI.*, III, p. 434 ; Ray o.c., pp. 1017-20.

[4] *IA.*, VI, p. 196.

[5] Perhaps it is this Jayasimha who is referred to in a Paramāra grant, *EI.*, VIII, p. 99.

[6] The treaty is referred to in a work called *Lekhapaddhati*, also known as *Lekhapañcāśika*, *GOS.*, No. XIX, 1925, p. 52 ; also *BG.*, I, Part II, p 242.

[7] This is suggested by Ray, o.c., p. 1025. But it may be argued that the treaty does not mention Bhīma, and mentions only Lavaṇaprasāda, because the latter was the general, the man on the spot, who concluded the treaty, as did his opponent, Siṁhaṇa himself. Moreover the former is called a *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* only, while the latter is called *Mahārājādhirāja*.

[8] *PBC.*, p. 154.

[9] *Sukṛtasaṅkīrtana*, *BG.*, I, p. 196-7. Merutuṅga (*PBC.*, p. 154) is silent and quietly introduces Lavaṇasāhaprasāda and his son Vīradhavala as the successors of Mūlarāja II passing over Bhīma II.

that in about V.S. 1288 (A.D. 1232) Lavaṇaprasāda was recognised as a *Mahārājādhirāja* and his son Vīradhavala as *Mahārāja*, in some places,[1] if not in the whole of the Caulukya empire. In their inscriptions, as well as in those of their successors, they are called Caulukyas,[2] though popularly they are known as Vāghelās, after the small fief of Vyāghrapalli[3] granted to Arṇorāja, father of Lavaṇaprasāda, by Kumārapāla.[4]

But besides Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavala, who are supposed to be the real rulers of the Caulukya kingdom, there were the brothers Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, for whom the Jain chronicles[5] claim the true credit for managing the administration. In the contemporary inscriptions, however, Vastupāla is merely called the minister of Vīradhavala, while his brother, Tejaḥpāla, was a shroff at Dholka (Dhavalakka)[6]. Whatever may be their actual role in the affairs of Gujarāt, a number of inscriptions and monuments at Ābu, Girnār and Śatrunjaya proclaim them as the moving spirit of Jainism of the period.

The branch line of the Caulukya family of Lavaṇaprasāda was not firmly established, for we have the first inscription of Viśaladeva, son of Vīradhavala in V.S. 1308.[7] That is, the interval of 12 years (V.S. 1296–1308) was perhaps spent in a war of succession between the two sons of Vīradhavala, Viśala and Vīrama,[8] and one Tribhuvanapāla, who was already on the throne of Anhilvāda in V.S. 1299 (A.D. 1243).[9] Two more inscriptions of Viśaladeva show that he ruled till V.S. 1317 (A.D. 1261). He removed the Jain ministers Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, and appointed one Brāhmaṇa, named Nagaḍa, his chief minister.[10]

[1] Girnār Inscription, *ASWI.*, II, p. 170.

[2] *Caulukya-kula*, etc., *Ibid.*

[3] 10 miles south-west of Anhilvāda.

[4] *BG.*, I, p. 198; *PBC.* does not give this account.

[5] For instance, the *SKK.*, *GOS.*, X, and *VPTP.*, *Ibid.*

[6] Girnār Inscription of Vastupāla, *ASWI.*, II, p 170.

[7] Ahmadabad pillar inscription, *EI.*, V, pp 102–3; though in a MS. of V.S. 1303 Viśaladeva is mentioned as the paramount king. See f.n 8 below.

[8] *BG.*, I, p. 203. This report seems to be supported by two Mss in Jain Bhandars which are dated V.S. 1295 and 1296 in the reign of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Viśala and Vīrama respectively. See *Vasantavilāsamahākāvyam*, Intro, *GOS.*, No. VII, p. XI, f.n. 2, 4 and 6.

[9] According to his Kaḍi Grant, V. S. 1299 from Aṇahilapāṭaka, *IA.*, VI, p 206.

[10] *BG.*, I, p. 203; also *IA.*, VI, pp. 210–213.

Vīsaladeva was succeeded by his nephew,[1] Arjunadeva, in V.S. 1318, who ruled for more than 10 years.[2] The find-spots and the places mentioned in his inscriptions show that his authority was recognised in the whole of Kāthiāwār and Cutch.

He was followed by his son[3] and successor[4] Sāraṅgadeva in V.S. 1331 (A.D. 1275). Inscriptions of his reign cover a period of 20 years V.S. 1332–1352 (A.D. 1275–95), which is roughly in agreement with the period assigned to him by Merutuṅga[5] and the Muslim chroniclers.[6]

Karṇa, commonly known as *Ghelo* or *Ghelaro*,[7] succeeded Sāraṅgadeva. Till now only one inscription of his reign is discovered.[8] All the sources say that he was the last ruler of Anhilvāda and ruled for about 6 years.[9] This is not quite incorrect. For though, according to the Muslim accounts,[10] armies of Ala'-ud-din Khalji under Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan swooped down upon Gujarāt and took Anhilvāda, and Karṇa fled to Rāmadeva of Devagiri, nevertheless it is true that the latter resisted Alaf Khan till A.D 1306 in the *ghāts* of the Deccan.[11] Thus Karṇa's struggle with the Muslims lasted for about 6 years. With his death disappeared the last Hindu kingdom of Gujarāt, which now fell into the hands of Muslims and petty Hindu kings.[12]

Caulukyas and their Contemporaries

Under the Caulukyas Gujarāt enters the arena of Mediaeval Indian states, ruled by a number of dynasties, who were the forerunners of the Rājputs. With these the rulers of Gujarāt had relations often martial, at

[1] According to Cintra Praśasti of the reign of Sāraṅgadeva, V.S 1343, *EI.*, I, pp. 271–87.

[2] His inscriptions cover a period of 10 years, V.S. 1320–1330, which is given by the Muslim chroniclers, while according to Merutuṅga, he ruled till V.S 1331. Merutuṅga, *Therāvali*, *JBBRAS.*, IX, p. 155; Ray, o c., p 1040.

[3] Cintra Praśasti, *EI.*, I, p. 281.

[4] Merutuṅga, *Therāvali*, *JBBRAS.*, IX, p. 155. [5] *IA.*, VI, p. 191.

[6] Abul Fazl, o.c , II, p. 260; Bird, o.c., p 159.

[7] *Rās Mālā*, I, pp. 264 and 266. [8] See Appendix, p. 21.

[9] Abul Fazl, o.c., II, p. 260; Bird, o.c., p. 159.

[10] Elliot, III, p. 163; *IA.*, p. 157; Bird, o.c., p. 160; Abul Fazl, o.c., II, p. 263 *Zafar ul Walih of Abdallah Muhammad*, Ed. by Denison Ross, II, p. 789.

[11] *TF.*, Tr. Briggs, I, 365–68.

[12] According to *Rās Mālā*, p 222, *BG.*, I, p. 206, branches of Vāghelās continued to rule in the country west of the Sābarmatī and other places. Cf. Adalja Well Inscription of a Vāghelā chief Vairisiṁha, *Revised Lists Ant. Remains, Bom. Pre.*, pp 300–11.

times matrimonial. It is possible that commercial and religious (of the latter we hear of some) relations were also established, which had mutual influence upon the culture of Gujarāt and its neighbours.

The first, martial relations, as gleaned from the chronicles and contemporary inscriptions are briefly reviewed here. When the Caulukyas rose to power under Mūlarāja, in the latter part of the 10th century, new kingdoms had come into existence, whose rise was almost contemporary with theirs. Immediately north of Anhilvāda was a Paramāra principality at Candrāvati;[1] beyond, in Rājputānā, there were a number of independent kingdoms: that of the Cauhāns (Cāhamānas) at Sāmbhar (Śākaṁbhari)[2] covering the whole of Mārwār and Jaipur States, and the neighbouring regions; another at Nadol (Naḍḍūla)[3] and the neighbouring regions in Godwar, and Mārwār in Rājputānā; a third at Partābgarh[4] and the neighbouring regions in South Rājputānā States Agency and Central India; and lastly of the Guhilots (Guhilaputras) in the Mewar[5] region, round Partābgarh in Rājputānā and Mandasor in C. I.

On the eastern outskirts were the Paramāras of Mālwa[6] and beyond these, in parts of U.P. and C. I. the Haihayas of Tripuri,[7] and the Candellas (Candrātreyas) of Jejābhukti.[8]

In the south, perhaps south of the Narbada, were the Calukyas, with their feudatory as Bārappa[9] governing Lāṭa; and later in the 12th century and after, the Yādavas of Devagiri. Kathiawar (Saurāṣṭra), on the south-west, was divided among petty principalities; among these the one mentioned by the chronicles was a king called Graharipu, who ruled at Vanthli (Vāmanasthali).[10]

On the west were Cutch and Sind; the latter was administered by two Arab governments[11]: one at Mansurah, and the other at Multan.

Mūlarāja and his successors down to Bhīma I fought with the rulers of Śākaṁbhari, Candrāvati, Naḍḍūla, Mālwā, Lāṭa, Saurāṣṭra, Cutch and Sind, but only the last three[12] came within the influence of Anhilvāda,

[1] For its history see Ganguly, *Paramāra Dynasty*, p. 299.

[2] See Ray, *DHNI.*, II, p. 1060, and p. 1220; earliest epigraphical date, A.D. 973.

[3] See *Ibid.*, p. 1104; earliest epigraphical date, 1075 A.D.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 1059; earliest epigraphical date, A.D. 942.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 1163; really became powerful in the 12th century A.D.

[6] See *Ibid.*, p. 837 ff; rise a century earlier, but a great power in c. 970 A.D.; see also Ganguly, *Paramāra Dynasty*.

[7] See *Ibid.*, p. 751; also called Kalacūris of Ḍāhala.

[8] See *Ibid*, p. 665 ff.

[9] See above p. 26.

[10] See above p. 33.

[11] Ray, *DHNI.*, I, p, 14.

[12] Only the borders of eastern Sind, adjacent to Gujarāt.

as a critical estimate of contemporary inscriptions and chronicles shows.[1] Bhīma temporarily annexed Candrāvati,[2] though his success in Mālwā was of no material benefit. By the time of Karṇa, the small principality of the Cālukyas in Lāṭa was crushed,[3] and Lāṭa became a part of the Anhilvāda empire.

The campaigns of Jayasiṁha and Kumārapāla brought within the power of Anhilvāda, the whole of Mālwā and parts of Rājputānā, including the kingdom of Śākaṁbhari in Mārwār and Mewar;[4] while they reaffirmed it on Saurāṣṭra, Lāṭa and Cutch.[5] At this juncture, the influence of Gujarāt was the greatest, both politically and even culturally. Politically it was maintained during the reign of Ajayapāla.[6] But after that time it began to shrink. Mālwā was the first to shake it off[7] and gradually the rest followed. Under Bhīma II's long reign, it extended to Saurāṣṭra, Lāṭa and Cutch,[8] and in the north to Ābu, and traces of it are found further up in Godwar.[9] But in the south and south-east, new forces had appeared in the Yādavas of Devagiri[10] and in the Paramāras who had become powerful once more.[11] These singly or jointly continually attacked Lāṭa and even raided Anhilvāda,[12] and the country south of the Narbada slipped out of the Anhilvāda kingdom during or immediately after Bhīma II's reign. Bhīma's successors, Vīsaladeva and Sāraṅgadeva, carried on successful wars against these.[13] But it appears that Southern Lāṭa no longer formed part of the Anhilvāda kingdom. Saurāṣṭra remained under it till its conquest by the Sultāns of Delhi in A.D. 1299.

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[1] For a detailed account see Ray, o.c., II, pp. 933–53; Ganguly, *Paramāra Dynasty*, and *BG.*, I, pp. 157–164.

[2] Ābu Inscription of the time of Bhīma I, *EI.*, IX, p. 148; Ganguly, o.c. pp. 299–303.

[3] According to Navsāri Plates of Karṇa, *JBBRAS.*, XXVI, p. 250.

[4] See Map, find-spots of inscriptions. For details see Ray, o.c., II, pp. 969–993; also Ganguly, o.c., pp. 162–164.

[5] Dohad Inscriptions of Jayasiṁha and Kumārapāla, *IA.*, X, p. 158–60.

[6] According to his inscriptions. See Appendix, p. 16–17.

[7] Under Vindhyavarman; Ganguly, o c., p. 191.

[8] According to the find-spots of his inscriptions and the places mentioned therein.

[9] Nana-stone inscription at Nana, Bali district, Godwar. *ASIWC.*, 1908, p. 49.

[10] Their king at this time was Siṁhaṇa or Siṁghaṇa. See Ray, o.c., II, p. 1023–35. *BG.*, I, i, p. 240–43.

[11] Ganguly, o.c., p. 196–99. [12] *Ibid.*

[13] According to the Dabhoi Inscription, *EI.*, I, p. 28; and the Cintra and Amaran Inscriptions of Sāraṅgadeva. *EI.*, I, pp. 271, 287 respectively; for details see Ray, o.c., II, p. 1037 and 1043.

PART II

CHAPTER III

ARCHITECTURE

SECTION I

Ancient Period

Mauryan Remains

OF the Mauryan remains—pillars, caves[1] and rocks, Gujarat has only one rock[2] which bears the edicts of Aśoka. No trace of the dam of the famous Sudarśana lake built by Candragupta and improved with canals under Aśoka can be seen now, but for a big valley grown over with trees, stretching from the side of the old fort at Junāgarh called Uparkot to the foot of Mt. Girnār.[3] It is worth noting that none of the so-called punch-marked coins, a few of which are now assigned to the Mauryas,[4] are found in Gujarat.

Ksatrapa Monuments

About the Sudarśana lake of the Kṣatrapa period, the same may be said. At Andhau in Khāvda, Cutch, were found "six very old inscription-stones. They were standing there as monuments on a hillock."[5] Four of them are now completely deciphered.[6] In the inscriptions the memorial stones are called *Lastis* and they were erected in the time of Rudradaman. These stones, now resting in the Fergusson Museum, Bhuj, would be the earliest dated monuments of the Ksatrapas.

[1] It would not be wrong to assign the first excavation of the caves at Junāgarh and even at Dhank, to Aśokan times. They have no Mauryan polish, but that is not to be expected in hard stone. At any rate, they do exhibit the early simplicity and primitiveness associated with the first abodes of the Buddhist and Jain monks. See Figs. 23–24.

[2] The rock is situated on the road to Mt. Girnār, about a mile east of Junāgarh. The inscription is on the west end top corner of the rock and is written on a space 11 ft. 1 in. broad, and 5 ft. high, in 20 lines of unequal length. The rock is now protected by a small building.

[3] A beautiful panoramic view of this valley can be had from the first peak of Mt. Girnār. See Fig. 38.

[4] See Jayaswal, *JRAS.*, July 1936, p. 437 and below under '*Numismatics.*' Recently, however, 17 punch-marked coins are reported to have been found from Kāmrej on the Tāpti, but unfortunately they are neither described nor illustrated. See *Journal Numismatic Society of India*, 1939, p. 21.

[5] *ASIWC.*, 1905-06, p. 35.

[6] *EI.*, XVI, pp. 19–25.

Caves

Next to these stones, the caves in Junāgarh, at Talājā in the south-east of the peninsula of Kāthiāwār and at Dhānk in the Gondal State, remain to the discussed. None of them, up to now, have been assigned any definite date, though they have been declared to be early. At Junāgarh there are a number of caves. One group is situated in the eastern quarter of the city, near the modern monastery (it is at present known as a temple) of Bāwā Pyārā. Burgess has given an elaborate description which may be summarised for the present purpose as follows :—

Caves at Bawa Pyara Math

The caves are arranged in three lines: the first, on the north, faces southwards.....the second line runs south, from the east end of the last. It has a primitive, flat-roofed *caitya*-cave and on either side of it, and at the north and east corner are other simple cells.....the third line of caves begins at the back of this and runs west-north-west.[1] The *caitya*-cave (F), referred to above, has a semicircular apse at the back, but unfortunately we do not know whether it had a free-standing (either structural or chiselled out from rock) *caitya* or a *caitya* attached to the wall. The apsidal back of the cave indicates that the *caitya* must be free-standing as in the early (1st and 2nd century B.C.) Buddhist caves at Bhājā, Kārli, Bedsā, or Nāsik and Ajantā caves No. IX and X and not attached as in the later *vihāra* caves at Nāsik, Ellora and Ajantā.

For the major part, other caves are square or rectangular cells having no sculpture or decoration whatsoever. There are a few halls, having verandahs.[2] These primitive abodes, however, are of considerable importance, for the few architectural forms and other features they possess. Amongst these, the only ornament worth considering is the *caitya*-window, which appears in slightly different forms at two places here. The first appears on the facade of cave A, and is described as "a semicircular arch, slightly raised on the surface with a cross bar..."[3] Because of this form, it is thought to be early.[4] But it is difficult to argue about its date from the shape only. The one test of antiquity woodenness, that is to say, imitation of wood frame, it lacks. Nor can the shape be attributed to incompleteness. For the arch is already there, but it is less concave in shape, though of course, it is devoid of the finial and the side loops.

Caitya-Window Ornament

[1] *Antiquities of Kāṭhiāwād and Kachh*, *ASWI.*, II, (1874-75), p. 139. Here Fig. 1.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Burgess, *AKK.*, p. 139, pl. xvi. (What Burgess means by 'Upper Range of Caves' is not clear).

[4] *Ibid.*

The second variety of the *caitya*-windows is already in its recognised shape.[1] The inner cut part is almost circular now, while the outer lines of the arch end in a final, surmounted by a horizontal bar. The inner cross bar exists, but the outside loops are missing.

Pillars

The pillars are typical of the kind found in the early caves elsewhere. Cave (N) has a pillar whose capital consisting of an abacus of three members, below it a bulging member like an Indian water-jar,[2] is similar to those in the Nahapāna *Vihāra*, Nasik.[3] And those of the pilastars or pillars in cave (K)[4] with their bulbous capital, (surmounted by couchant lamb-like animals) resemble the capitals in the Rāmeśvara cave,[5] Ellora and those at Bhārhut.[6] The bulbous base is very peculiar and resembles the Gujarātī brass or copper water-vessel 'Deghadi' or 'Deghado'.

Nature of the caves

The occupants of these caves were Jainas, a fact partly indicated by an inscription[7] found from one of the caves. It mentions Jaina technical term '*Kevali*'.[8] But the Jaina nature of the caves is conclusively shown by the symbols carved on the cave (K).[9] Among them are *Svastika*, *Bhadrāsana*, *Nandīpada Mīnayugala*, *Kalaśa*.[10] Similar symbols are found on the *āyāgapaṭas* from the Jaina stupa at Mathurā.[11] The symbols are not Buddhist (or 'Bauddha' as Burgess called them[12]) as in none of the known Buddhist caves, Bhāja

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[1] Burgess does not notice these. See *Ibid.*, pl. xix. In some respects—particularly the semi-circular arch, and the horizontal cross bar—it resembles the forms at Talājā which is dated in the 4th or 5th century A.D.

[2] *Ibid.*, pl. xviii, fig. 4.

[3] See Burgess, *Cave Temples.*, pl. xxiii. Burgess was the first to note this similarity.

[4] Burgess, *AKK.*, pl. xviii, fig 2.

[5] *Cave Temples*, pl. lxxvii.

[6] Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. vii.

[7] Junāgaḍh Inscription of the time of the grandson of Ksatrapa Jayadāman, *EI.*, XVI, p. 239. The stone may have been brought there from outside; so the epigraphical evidence is probable only.

[8] "One who has attained supreme knowledge", the state just below that of a Jaina Tīrthankara.

[9] Burgess, *AKK.*, pl. xviii, fig. 3.

[10] Not all the eleven symbols can be identified. But the number, it should be noted, is more than the traditional eight.

[11] Smith, *Jain Stupa*, *ASI.*, XX, pl. xi.

[12] Burgess, *AKK.*, p. 140.

Kuḍā, or the structural monuments, Bhārhut or Sānchī, are all these found together.[1]

Date

The caves evidently belong to two or three periods. To the first, before the Christian era, may be assigned the *caitya-cave and the plain cells, when the Buddhist* Bhikṣus first came over to Gujarāt (c. 200. B. C.). To the second, belong those cells and halls which contain the Jaina symbols and advanced type of pillar-forms; that is, the period of the later Kṣatrapas. (c. A.D. 200–300A.D.)

Uparkot Caves

The caves at Uparkot in Junāgarh are cut into two floors.[2] On the first floor, there is a *kuṇḍa* (a tank, which Burgess describes as a "bath") about 11 feet square, with a covered verandah round three sides of it. Adjoining to it, is a big chamber with six pillars, supporting the roof. Under the corridor, in the rest of the area, in the walls, on the north-east and west sides are stone bench-recesses, divided into long compartments, with a base moulded in architectural courses below, and a frieze above, ornamented with *caitya*-windows and chequer carvings. On the lower floor, there are similar rooms, having a corridor, pillars supporting the floor above, stone bench-recesses, and above them, the *caitya*-window ornament.[3]

The pillars and the *caitya*-window ornament may be considered in some detail to fix the date of the caves. The *caitya*-window[4] here is more advanced in form than that at Bāwā Pyārā. The inner cut part is almost round. Its lower part contains the *vedikā* (rail-design); the upper, two female figures as if looking out from it. The outer sides of the window converge into a long finial, surmounted by a crown-like head, from which fall incurved leaves. The broad band between the inner and the outer sides is decorated with small rosettes. The form appears to be later than that of the earliest caves in Western India as it has little of wooden features. But it seems to be earlier than that of the almost identical *caitya*-window at the Gop temple,[5] and others at Ellora[6] and Cave I at Ajanta.[7] These latter have the bust of a deity, either Buddha or some Hindu god, whereas the Uparkot *caitya*-window has figures of living men

[1] Though a few of them may be found as *Svastika* at Amarāvati, (Burgess, *Amravati*, pl. xxxviii) and others at Bhājā and Bedsa. *Cave Temples*, pl. vii.

[2] See Plan, Fig. 2.

[3] See Fig. 22.

[4] See *Ibid.*

[5] Burgess, *AKK.*, pl. lii; here Fig. 5.

[6] E. G. The Viśvakarmā Cave, *ASWI.*, (1883), p. 9.

[7] *Cave Temples of India*, pl. xii.

and women, a feature only found in a few sculptures at Bharhut,[1] Sānchī[2] and the caves at Katak (Cuttak) in Orissa.[3]

Pillars

Pillars are of four types, distinguished by their decoration and forms. On the upper floor, in corridor (D), the two pillars (B)[4] have round shafts, decorated with spirals; on the pilastars (C) on the north wall, these spirals run into opposite directions in each of the three divisions of the shaft. The pillars (B) have octagonal bases with leaf-and scroll-design, and round capitals, with animals carved on them. The pilasters seem to have, both the capital and the base, octagonal. Such pillars are not found in the caves of Western India, nor at Ellora and Ajanta. Shafts and identical spirals but without such octagonal bases, are noticed in the Bāgh caves[5] of the 8th century.

The second type of pillars has a square shaft, which becomes octagonal in the centre. The base is square and simple without any ornamentation. The capital consists of a round plate and an abacus, cut into four parts, each like an inverted stair. Something of a parallel is offered by the rock-cut Pallava temples.[6] But like the Junāgarh pillar, there is a round plate between the shaft and the abacus. At Bāgh[7] the shaft is similar, but the cutting is more smooth and regular.

Slight differences in capital and ornamentation distinguish the pillars of the third and fourth types.[8] The shafts, round and slightly fluted to appear many-sided, are similar. So also the bases. Their bulbous parts have their necks deeply cut, and the outside decorated with string-courses, making a small festoon, which rests on a row of petals. The plinth is carved into broad leaves with beautiful cross-like scrolls; the capital is divided into three sections. The uppermost abacus is square and on it are sculptured a couchant lion in each corner and perhaps in the centre also (?) and a dwarfish figure on each side of it. The capital proper is cut into high relief with figures of women in different attitudes. They

[1] Cunningham, o.c., pl. xvi.

[2] Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, pl. v.

[3] Burgess, *CTI.*, pl. i. However an ornament similar to Uparkot's is found on a column in the Kailasa cave at Ellora. See *ASWI.*, (1883), pl. xxviii.

[4] Burgess, *AKK.*, pl. xxiii, fig. 6.

[5] Vogel, *Bāgh Caves*, pl. iv.

[6] Jouveau Dubreuil, *Archéologie du Sud De L'Inde, Tome I*, pl. xix.

[7] Vogel, o c., pl. iii, c.

[8] See Fig. 22.

are nude above the waist. Their ear and neck ornaments cannot be made out as the stone is worn out. The member below the capital, in one case, is broad, and has couchant rams facing the onlooker; in the other pillar it is narrow and carved into small discs, and is described as a "serrated torus".[1] These pillars are unique in more than one sense. First the most tastefully decorated base. Nothing like it can be traced in the cave architecture elsewhere. It is not that the design is unknown. A pillar in the Viśvakarmā Cave at Ellora has similar string courses:[2] at Mathurā the scroll-work. But it is the combination of the two on a simple pillar base that singles out the Junāgarh design from the rest.

The animals on the abaci and elsewhere offer a striking contrast to those at Kanheri, Kārli or Bedsā. Here there are no elephants, so common in the former. So also the figure sculpture. Exclusive female figures are rather rare.

Date

It is difficult to date these caves with ornamentation so little but varied and rich. It seems best to work backwards from the style of the pillars just discussed. They cannot be earlier than the 6th or 7th century A.D. The other type of pillars may be of the 5th or the 6th. The *caitya*-windows most probably are of this date, or even a little earlier. The stone benches do not by themselves suggest a very high antiquity. They may be either contemporaneous with the architectural forms just discussed or much earlier (100–200 A.D.) as in other Western Indian caves. Several phases of the Uparkot caves seem to extend for about seven centuries (1–700 A.D.).

Creed of the Monks

Definite evidence is not available as to the faith of the inhabitants of these caves. But in the absence of any specific Buddhist signs, because of the proximity of the Jaina caves at Bāwā Pwāra's Maṭh they might be regarded as Jaina and not Buddhist, as called hitherto. It is also possible that the caves were first Buddhist, then Jaina and again Buddhist, for in the 7th century when Hiuen Tsiang went to Junāgarh he found there convents and monks of the Sthavira sect of the Mahāyāna.

Talaja Caves

Of the thirty caves at Talājā,[3] only two need description and comment. The first is a large hall known as Ebhal Maṇḍapa. It measures 75 feet by 67½ feet and is 17½ feet high. Within there are no cells, nor any partition walls dividing the verandah

[1] Burgess, *AKK.*, p. 143; pl. xxiv.

[2] *ASWI.*, V, pl. xviii, fig. 2.

[3] In the south-east of the peninsula of Kāthiawār, near the mouth of the river Śatrunjī, on the north-west of a solitary rock, Burgess, *AKK.*, p. 147.

and the cells within. To support the roof, there were "four octagonal pillars" whose shafts are destroyed. On the facade, there are large *caitya*-windows, with a broad band of *vedikā* (rail-pattern) below them. The shape of the *caitya*-window is rather unusual It is cut into a half oval, inside which is again cut a semicircular arch; below this is a rectangle and in its smaller (verticle) sides a small semicircle on either side. The three semicircles (minus the cross and vertical bases) thus form a trefoil.[1] To some extent, it resembles the *caitya*-window at Bāwā Pyārā's,[2] but a little more advanced than the latter,[3] as the trefoil motive here is clear, whereas at Bāwā Pyārā's, only the large semicircle is being cut.

Caitya Cave

Higher up the hill, there is a ruined *caitya*-cave having a flat roof. The *caitya* has lost its middle part, only the base and the "*toraṇa*" or the capital, which is attached to the roof,[4] remain. It is hard to fix the date, and the character of the cave in the absence of positive means. Mere "simplicity of arrangement" and "entire absence of sculpture", do not necessarily indicate a very early date. The *caitya*-window, without the finial and side loops, no doubt, looks primitive. Though the cave lacks the "wooden look" of the pre-Christian monuments, still the fact that the *caitya* is free-standing and not attached and also the fact that the "*toraṇa*" is joined to the roof as in a cave at Śivaneri, Junnar, indicate that this *caitya* cave may have been carved in the early Christian era. The form of the *vedikā* ornament also points to this date.

Sana Caves

The caves at Sānā[5] number about sixty two. Of these the largest is like the Ebhal Maṇḍapa at Talājā and called likewise. Higher up the hill is a cave named Bhīma Chauri[6]. It has a verandah in front; its pillars supporting the roof have bulging water-jar shaped capitals and bases, with two square plates for abacus and the plinth respectively. They thus resemble the pillars in the Nahapāna Cave, Nāsik.

[1] See Fig. 23 ; also Burgess, o.c., pl. xxviii.

[2] See Burgess, *AKK.*, pl. xvi.

[3] Perhaps because the Bāwā Pyārā was unfinished or perhaps the trefoil motive was just beginning to take shape.

[4] Cf. similar *caitya*-cave, Śivaneri hill, Junnar. *CTI.*, p. 251.

[5] On the same hill, near the village of Vankia. Burgess *AKK.*, p. 149.

[6] See Plan, Fig. 3.

Caitya Cave

By the side of this is a *caitya* cave,[1] 18 feet wide by 31 feet deep, and 13½ feet high. The roof is flat, but the inner end or back of the cave is semi-circular in form. It has no side aisles to form a real *pradakṣiṇāmārga* (ambulatory passage). The *caitya*, 7 feet 10 inches in diameter, is very plain and without ornament, while its capital is missing, perhaps broken off in later times.

Date and Nature

The problem of the age of the caves as well as their nature cannot be solved with any precision. The partly flat roof of the *caitya*-cave resembles that of the Śivaneri *caitya*-cave, Junnar.[2] From Burgess's description, it is not clear whether the capital or the umbrella of the *caitya* when complete was cut out from the roof or not. If so, it would give another point of comparison with that at Śivaneri. On this basis, the caves may be relegated to the early Christian era. The caves may be Jaina.

Dhank Caves

Indications of early Jaina settlements are also found at Dhank (Ḍhāṅk).[3] Here in a ravine, west of the hill nearby the modern town are a few cells. There are a few sculptures in these, and also on the face of the wall up the ravine.[3]

The first cave beginning with the lower end of the hill, and facing north-west, has a small opening, about 4 feet high and rather well cut. Inside the cell, 7 feet 9 inches by 8 feet 4 inches, there are three niches, one facing the door, and one on each side of it. Each side niche has a figure.[3] Other sculptures are found, carved in very low relief on the face of the rock, higher up the ravine.[3]

To some five miles west from Dhank, in a ravine called Jhinjhurijhar, are a few more caves. In them there is nothing worth describing excepting

[1] See Plan, Fig. 3.

[2] Burgess, *CTI.*, p. 251.

[3] 30 miles west north-west from Junāgarh in Gonḍal State. Formerly the place was known as Tilatila Paṭṭan. Traces of its ancient greatness besides the caves are none as such. But even now, whenever the place is dug up for laying the foundation of a building etc., images of Jaina and Hindu pantheon, and ruins of houses are laid bare.

[4] These figures are fully described and identified in the section on Jaina Iconography.

one cave having two[1] octagonal pillars,[2] which are connected with a low *vedikā* (rail-design) in front. Only a portion of *caitya*-windows in Uparkot caves and also below the *caitya*-window at Talājā, the friezes have this design. Such large (each band being "five inches wide") rail-pattern is common in Western Indian caves. That it is found far off in the vicinity of Dhank is interesting. Hence, in the absence of any other evidence, but the *vedikā*, these caves may be placed in about the 1st or 2nd century A.D.

Of the Gupta monuments, caves, temples, memorial stones, stray sculptures found in such abundance, in Central India, United Provinces, Bihar and Bengal, unfortunately not one has been found from Gujarāt. That the Guptas built temples in Gujarāt is beyond doubt. Skandagupta's inscription at Junāgarh explicitly refers to the construction of a Viṣṇu temple at Girinagara. Its few remains might be at Dāmodar Mandir as Bhagwanlal Indraji has pointed out.[3]

[1] See Fig. 24.

[2] I did not notice "the square bases and capitals" described by Burgess, o.c., p. 152.

[3] *BG.*, I, p. 70. I regret to say that I forgot to see the images at the temple, as well as the pilaster, said to be old, when I was at Junāgarh.

SECTION II

Early Mediaeval Period

IN the early mediaeval period (c. 500 A.D.–100 A. D.) a number of dynasties, as we have seen above, ruled in different parts of Kāthiāwār and Southern Gujarāt. Unfortunately the archaeological remains which have been discovered cannot be definitely ascribed to any of the aforesaid dynasties, but on stylistic grounds they can be assigned to this period. These remains consist mainly[1] of temples, which a glance at the map[2] will show, are distributed principally on the western seaboard of Kāthiāwār; while solitary shrines are found at Thān, near Rājkot, and Sārnel, near Broach. The earlier Kāthiāwār temples may have been built during the Valabhī supremacy, or during the rule of the Jethvas of Ghumli; the later, those near Somnāth, at Sutrapādā etc., under the suzerainty of the Gurjara-Pratihāras; the temple at Sarnel under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa regime in Gujarāt. Since all these temples cannot be attributed to any particular dynasty of the early mediaeval period, I propose to call them 'pre-Caulukyan', because both stylistically and chronologically they precede the temples of the Caulukya period.

The pre-Caulukyan temples, excepting the one at Sarnel, exhibit a development in the style of temple architecture which in the 10th–11th century results in the Caulukyan style of architecture. This development is illustrated by the temples at Gop, Visāvāda, Bileśvara, Sutrapādā, Thān and Kadvār.

Temple at Gop

Of this group, the temple at Gop is perhaps the oldest. It consists of a square shrine surrounded by a double courtyard, and roofed by a peculiar *śikhara*.[3] The shrine is 10′.9″ square inside, about 23′ high, with walls 2′ thick. The walls are perpendicular to a height of about 17 ft., thereafter they begin to contract to form the *śikhara*. But for a series of holes to support the beams of the surrounding wall, the shrine walls are perfectly plain, having no niche or any other ornament.

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[1] See p. 51 above for certain phases of the caves at Junāgarh.

[2] No.

[3] See Burgess, *AKK.*, p. 187, pls. li–liii; here Figs. 5and 27. The real term for the spire of a temple is '*vimāna*'; *śikhara* being applicable only to the crest or crown of a spire. But '*vimāna*' seems to be appropriated by Southern India, its use being unknown in Gujarāt and perhaps the whole of Northern India. For this reason I have used '*śikhara*' to describe the spire.

Of the two courtyards, the inner one is mostly broken. Probably, as shown by similar later temples, it served as a *pradakṣiṇāpatha*. Its basement was decorated on all the four sides by one niche in the centre and one each at the corners. These contained figures—perhaps of gods. The section between the niches was sculptured with small figures.

The outer courtyard which stands a little below the inner is in ruins; only a portion of the eastern side now remains. It, too, was perhaps similarly decorated as the inner one.

The roof of the temple was constructed on the corbel principle, the interior being hollow.[1] On the outside the *śikhara* rises in tiers as a stepped pyramid, but it is distinctly cut off into three divisions. The lowest division has two *caitya*-windows on each of its faces; the upper has one; above it the apex is crowned by a single stone. In the *caitya* windows were once inset figures of gods, as "Gaṇapati is still in one on the west side, and another *Deva* occupies one on the north".[2]

Neither Burgess nor Cousens says which side the shrine faces, but from the plan it seems to face the east. However, it is difficult to decide to what deity it was dedicated.[3] "Inside" (the shrine) says Burgess, "are two figures in yellow stone to which the villagers give the names of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa:—Rāma with a high square *Mukuta* or head-dress, and Lakshmaṇa with a low crown, long ear-rings, ringlets, and holding a spear in his right hand".[4]

The shrine deity might have been indicated by the figures of gods in the *caitya*-windows over the *śikhara*. Unfortunately many are missing. But it is rare to find different gods occupying this position on a *śikhara*. In later mediaeval temples only the central *caitya*-window contains a deity;[5] others are left blank.[6]

[1] See *Ibid.*, pl. liii.

[2] *Ibid*, pl. lii.

[3] Cousens, *Somanatha and other Mediaeval Temples in Kāthiāvād*, p. 6, seems to presume that it was a Sūrya temple.

[4] Burgess, *AKK.*, p. 187. As this does not give sufficient indication of any deity, I searched for the photographs (which are not published) in the India Office collection of negatives. But though their numbers are there, the photographs themselves are missing.

[5] Remains of *caitya*-windows with medallions containing figures of Siva, Brahmā, Gaṇeśa etc. have been found among the ruins of the 5th century Gupta temple at Bhumarā. As Gupta temples are supposed to be flat-roofed these *caitya*-windows could not have been on the *śikhara*. However, the motive is worth noting. Cf. *MASI.*, No. 16, pls. xii-xiii.

[6] Even this feature is absent from the mediaeval Gujarāt temples.

Resemblances

Besides noticing the resemblance with the earlier 'Dravidian' temples at Pattadkal and Aihole[1] in the Bijāpur District Cousens suggested that the Gop temple resembled the temples of Kashmīr in two respects: (1) in the arrangement of its roof, and (2) in having trefoil niches on the outside wall of the inner courtyard. This is no doubt true. In particular it resembles the temples at Pandrethan and Payar,[2] more than Martand cited by Cousens.[3]

The Kashmirian analogy makes the question of dating the Gop temple a little complex. Burgess thought it at least as old as the 6th century A. D.[4] and other writers[5] have accepted his view. Now none of the present Kashmīr temples is older than the 8th century. And if the Gop-style came from the north, as Cousens thinks,[6] its likely "source"[7] and time of coming should be examined in order to ascertain whether it is so.

According to Cousens this style was introduced in south-western Kāthiāwār by the ancestors of the Mers.[8] Unfortunately, the history of this people is not at all clear. All the theories agree that the Mers came from North India, perhaps with the Hūṇa Chief Toramāṇa, and a section of them entered Kāthiāwār.[9] But no theory says that they passed through Kashmīr on their way to India.[10] So the kinship of the Gop temple with those of Kashmīr through Mers remains unestablished.

It is possible, however, that the style of 'the angular roofed-vihāra of Gandhāra' which is supposed to have influenced the temple architecture of Kashmīr[11] might have also influenced the temples of

[1] Cousens, o.c., p. 7. See, however, below for the difference between the Cālukyan temples of Karṇāṭaka and those of Gujarāt.

[2] See Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, pls. xliv and li; cf. also the temples at Mallat and Kattas in the Salt Range, Punjab. Cunningham, *Temples of Kashmir etc.*, pls. xx-xxi.

[3] O. c., p. 6. [4] *AKK.*, p. 187.

[5] Codrington, *Ancient India*, p. xiii; Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*. [6] O. c., p. 6. [7] Or better 'kinship'.

[8] O. C., p. 6. [9] *BG.*, I, p. 136.

[10] Mihiragula, son of Toramāṇa, is reported to have settled in Kashmīr, after his expulsion from India. See Smith, *EHI.*, p. 337.

[11] The suggestion is based on Foucher, *L'Art Greco-Buddhique du Kashmir*, Tome I, p. 131, figs. 49 and 51 which were referred to by Kak, o.c., p. 55. Kak's suggestion is here further developed; he merely noted the resemblance.

Kāthiāwar[1] through Sind. This cultural contact may have been brought about by Buddhism, which was prevalent in the western and north-western parts of India, Kāthiāwār, Sind, the Panjab and also Kashmīr in the early centuries of the Christian era, as has been shown by the finds of Buddhist monuments in these places[2] and previously attested to by Hiuen Tsiang.[3] Gandhāra influence may be also traced in the arched niches[4] of the *stūpa* walls at Mirpurkhās, besides that in the pillars there.[5] It is, therefore, not unlikely that the same influence may have further penetrated Kāthiāwār and brought about a change in the existing style of architecture, of which the temple at Gop is a surviving example.

But the Gandhāra influence should not be relied on too much. In the case of the Gop temple the only change which is wrought seems to be in the shape of the roof. The native dome-like *śikhara*[6] was made stepped and angular, as described above. With regard to the second point of

[1] And perhaps of Orissa, whose temples of the Bhadra type have the same kind of stepped *śikhara* as those of Kashmīr and Kāthiāwār. Of course, it has other peculiarities which may be local. See Bose, *Canons of Orissan Architecture*, temples of Konarak, Puri, pls. facing pp. 79, 154, and 159.

[2] Cf. Cousens, *Antiquities of Sind*, *ASI.*, *IS.*, p. 59, pl. xlvi. He writes, "The known *stūpas* in Sind, namely, that at Tando Muhammad Khān, all those at Jarak, Mirpurkhās, and Degiār Ghangro, and the Thūl Mir Rukhān, form a string up the valley of the Indus, beyond which is the Sue Vihār, near Bahāwalpur..... *stūpas* in the Punjab take up the running, such as that at Shorkot and link up with the remains of Yusufzai and Kaśmīr."

[3] Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, pp. 268, 272 and I, pp. 97, 148; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, II, pp. 248, 252 and I, pp. 198, 258.

[4] Cousens, *Sind*, pls xxi-xxii.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 89.

[6] No temple has been found with such a *śikhara*, but that it was known is shown by the sculptures of Bhārhut. See Cunningham, *Bhārhut*, pl. xxvi, fig. 7. It is not possible to know whether it was of stone or brick but that one of the materials was used is shown by the masonry-like joints, vertical and horizontal; cf. also Fergusson, *T. S. W.*, pl. xxxii, where a Nāga shrine with domical roof is shown. At Sarnath the *śikhara* appears in the form of *amalaka* crowned by a *kalaśa*. See *Catalogue, Sarnath*, pl. xxvi.

Coomarswamy, *HIIA.*, figs. 41, 43, 45 from Bhārhut; he, however, does not seem to have noted fig. 7 from Cunningham, noted above; but he illustrates other *śikharas* from the Bodhgaya-plate, Patna, (C. 100 A. D) fig. 62. Mathura figs. 70 (C. 100 B.C.), and 69-69A (C. 100-150 A. D.) and Jaggayyapeta (100 B. C.) fig. 142 and further cites in his *Yakṣa*, I, p. 18, note 1, articles tracing the origin of *śikhara* architecture. For other articles on the subject see *Rūpam* 1921.

similarity between the Kashmīr and the Gop temple, namely, the arched niche containing figures on the basement of the courtyard, it must be said that the similarity ends with the motive only.[1] At Gop there is no trefoil; the sides of the niche are quite perpendicular, whereas Kashmīr directly imitated Gandhāra.[2]

Instead of the Kashmirian analogy we may accept the Gandhāran for what it is worth. If the *stūpa* at Mīrpurkhās be dated in the 4th or 5th century A.D.[3] on the evidence of the style of its sculpture etc., the same date may be fixed for the Gop temple. In any case the latter cannot be placed earlier than the Uparkot caves at Junāgarh, because, though the *caitya*-window ornaments at both the places are similar, as pointed out before[4], still this ornament at Junāgarh seems to be earlier as it has retained the *vedikā* motive, which at Gop is lost,[5] showing thereby that the Gop temple belongs to a later phase of its evolution, and may be assigned, hence, to the 5th century A. D., that is, a century earlier than that fixed by Burgess.

Other Pre-Caulukyan Temples.

The rest of the pre-Caulukyan temples are treated together in order to bring out their essential oneness, as well as points of differences, which ultimately lead to the Caulukyan temple-style.

The temples, arranged in their development of style (which I intend to show below) are situated at:

Visāvāda.[6]
Bileśvara.[7]
Sutrapādā.[8]

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[1] Even this is doubtful. The arched-niche was known to Western India long before, as shown by the caves at Junāgarh and elsewhere, unless it is suggested that everywhere it is the result of Gandhāra influence.

[2] See Foucher, o. c., p. 199, fig. 80. In Gandhāra ordinary niches are also found, which are perhaps imitations of *caitya*-windows. See *Ibid.*, p. 224, fig. 100.

[3] Cousens, o.c., p. 96; D. R. Bhandarkar (See *ASI.,WC.*, 1917. p. 47) carried out further excavations at the place and found ruins of four different periods. The earliest of these may well belong to the 2nd or 3rd century A. D.

[4] See above p. 49.

[5] Again the inset figures at Gop are religious, at Junāgarh secular.

[6] Cousens, *Somnātha*. p. 44–45, pl. xliii-xliv; here Fig. 6 and 28.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 40, pl. xxxvi, plan xxxix; here Fig. 8.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 41, pl. xli, plan xlii; here Fig. 9 and 29,

Thān[1] (Old temple).
Kadvār[2].
Kinderkheda[3].
Son Kānsārī[4].
Pāsthar[5].

They are classified into two groups: Visāvāda-Thān; and Kadvār-Pāsthar.

The Kadvār–Pāsthar group may be a little earlier than the Visāvāda group but here it is placed after Thān, because architecturally, so far as the construction of the *śikhara* is concerned, it forms a distinct group.

Plans

The comparison of the plans of the temples of the first group and even those of the second (excluding Kadvār) shows that in each case a square shrine is placed among two courtyards, inner and outer, which may be either squre or rectangular. The tendency is towards the latter[6], which subsequently becomes the *gūḍha maṇḍapa* of the Caulukyan temples, having a number of pillars. The inner courtyard in every case served as a *pradakṣiṇā mārga*.

Walls

The walls of the courtyard at Visāvāda are no more; at Bileśvara and Sutrapādā they are severely plain, not even the basement mouldings are decorated. At Thān it is not known whether they existed or not; the plan seems to indicate their existence once.

Shrine-walls

The shrine-walls are simple, undecorated, even without a niche except at Thān. In the latter, the whole basement consists of three mouldings:[7] the lowest, comparable to the *jāḍaṁba* or *padma* of the Caulukyan temples[8], is a 'cymarecta' moulding decorated with broad leaves, but unlike the Caulukyan, thinly indented. Above it, the moulding is straight (though

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 48, pl. xlviii, plan L.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 38–39, pl. xxx, xxxv, plan pl. xxxiii; here Fig. 10.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 42, 43.

[4] Burgess, *AKK.*, p. 183, pl. xlviii. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 186.

[6] Already it is rectangular at Visāvāda, but at Bileśvara it is square, while at Sutrapādā it is rectangular.

[7] See Consens, o. c., pl. xlviii.

[8] Cf. Burgess, *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat*, *ASWI.*, IX, p. 76, and pl. lxxxv,

consisting of recesses at the corners), except for a slightly projecting hood[1]. Separated by a narrow neck, over this, is another moulding called *kalaśa* or '*torus*'[2]. Above this is a broad 'recessed facia', called '*gala*' decorated with *caitya*-windows at intervals.[3]

Here the comparison with the Caulukyan temple ends. The actual wall of the shrine, called *jamghā*, has three niches, one on each side, containing figures. "One on the south side has Gaṇeśa with a female by his side;" in the north is Gangā, standing upon a *makara*; in the west is Varāha. The niches are decorated with *caitya*-window ornament which rises like a stepped pyramid.[4] Above, the cornice of the wall is ornamented with beautiful festoons and bells—a feature rare in later temples.

It is because of the close resemblance of the wall-mouldings and the decorations thereon to those of the Modhera temple that I am inclined to place the "Old Temple" at Thān after the one at Sutrapādā. Its *śikhara*, unfortunately, is missing, but it must be like Sutrapādā's. Cousens, on the other hand, dates it earlier than the Sun temple at Sutrapādā, because of the *caitya*-ornament, heavy mouldings and vigorously carved figures. These, he thinks "partake of the bold and heavy but vigorous work of the cave-temples." A comparison of moulding with moulding of the "Old Temple" at Thān and that at Modhera has, however, demonstrated a greater nearness of the Thān temple to the Caulukyan temples than to the earlier cave-temples. And, if anything suggests an earlier date, it is the niched-figures, especially the one of Gangā. But for this and a solitary one at Kadvār no other figure of Gaṅgā is reported from Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār. If for this affinity to the Gupta figure-motives, the "Old Temple" were placed early, about the 7th or 8th century A.D., then its mouldings and ornamentation, it must be said, supply an early and important link with the Caulukyan temples.

Pillars

Pillars of these temples, which once supported the roof of the courtyard, have not been preserved except at Sutrapādā and Kinderkheda; Kadvār stands by itself and is therefore treated separately. At Kinderkheda the pillars consist of square massive shafts, without any base, and are surmounted

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[1] Cf. *Ibid.* Fig. 69 from Modhera. There it is called *kalaśa*, and the moulding from here forms part of the *maṇḍovara* or the wall-mouldings.

[2] Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

[3] Fig. 69 from Modhera, where they form one compact row.

[4] Cf., Fig. 69 from Modhera.

with bracket capitals which are "partly rectangular slabs and partly fashioned into a simple roll".[1] In this respect they resemble the early 8th century temple of Vijayeśvara (or Sangameśvara) at Pattadkal.[2]

I am unable to describe exactly the pillars of the temple at Sutrapada. Cousens says they are not quite so simple a type as those at Kadvar. This is not in any way illuminating. My impression[3] is that they are as massive and rectangular as those at Kinderkheda's. Pillars of the pre-Caulukyan temple thus give us no clue as to the development of the later style of pillars. If the "Old Temple" at Thān had preserved even one of its pillars, some connection could have been established.

Sikhara

It is in the pre-Caulukyan *śikharas* that we find a way towards the Caulukyan style. In the temple at Visāvāda, the *śikhara* has four steps instead of three at Gop; each step is decorated with a few *caitya*-windows, which diminish in number as the roof rises. But already they are without the inset figures. The apex was crowned by an *amalaka*[4] and perhaps a *kalaśa*. Thus in two respects Visāvāda departs from Gop.

At Bileśvara the number of *śikhara*-steps increases and correspondingly the number of *caitya*-windows. But in addition to this, the *caitya*-window in each corner of the pyramid at every step is crowned with an *amalaka* and *kalaśa*.

At Sutrapādā there is no increase in the number of steps, but instead of projecting the *caitya*-window at each corner and giving it full crowning members, it is now surmounted with an *amalaka* only, which is directly placed under the *caitya*-window of the next step. Another change takes place in the treatment of the *caitya*-windows over the central bay of the *śikhara*. They are now arranged in the shape of a trefoil, and the finial

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[1] Cousens, *Somanātha*, p. 42, fig. 3. The illustration does not show the capitals clearly, so I have quoted Cousens.

[2] Cousens, *Chālukyan Architecture*, p. 59, pl. xxxvii.

[3] Unfortunately my notes, which I had taken when I was at Sutrapādā, cannot be traced.

[4] How this wheel-like member came to be called '*amalaka*' or '*amalaka-silā*' is not known. Even the word seems to have been unknown to the various books on architecture, and *Purāṇas*, as there is no reference to it in Acharya's *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*. Etymologically it means a "pure stone" signifying perhaps a purity-giving-stone, and later used as a decoration.

of the *caitya*-window of the one below serves as a point to connect the trefoils of the one above. An *amalaka* and a *kalaśa* crown the apex.[1]

This *śikhara*, when compared with any of the Caulukyan *śikharas*, agrees with it in all the essential points. In the later there is only a reduplication of the *śikharas* which are grouped around it, besides the introduction of the trefoil *caitya*-windows over the side-bays of the *śikhara*.[2] So far as the *śikhara* is concerned, Sutrapādā may be said to end the pre-Caulukyan style, and begin the Caulukyan.[3] Support to this theory is also lent by the roof of the *maṇḍapa* of Sutrapādā. Like the *maṇḍapas* of later temples it is pyramidal, and is decorated with a series of stepped-projections. These are replaced in the later temples by small cupolas.[4]

Temple at Kadvar

The temple at Kadvār[5] has a long rectangular shrine, instead of the usual square one.[6] This is surrounded by an outer wall, which opens out on one side and forms the *maṇḍapa*, having a porch on either side. Six pillars supported the roof of the *maṇḍapa* and short dwarf pillars placed in corners supported the roof of the porches. The *śikhara* is destroyed.

The temple is now dedicated to Varāha whose image[7] is placed in the centre of the shrine. It may be a *Daśāvatāra* temple, as Cousens suggests, as figures of these and other deities are found both on the *prabhāvali* of the Varāha image and also on the walls of the porches. This would also account for the unusual size of the shrine.

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[1] The *śikhara* of the temple No. 24 and that of Huchchimalligudi temple, both at Aihole and of Galagnātha at Pattadkal, all in the Kanarese district, and of the late Western Cālukyan period resemble Sutrapādā in many respects. But at Pattadkal (Cousens, *Chalukyan Architecture*, pl. lii) the *amalaka* is much smaller than at Sutrapādā; while at Aihole, Huchchimaligudi (*Ibid.*, p. XII) its *caitya*-window on the *śikhara* has an inset figure, which resembles the one at Ambarnāth, but distinguishes it from that of Sutrapādā and other earlier or later Gujarāt temples.

[2] For instance, the temple at Sandera, Fig. 32.

[3] In the matter of construction of the wallit is undoubtedly much different from the Caulukyan, but this, as Cousens suggests, might be older than the present *śikhara*. Cf. Cousens, *Somanātha*, p. 7 and 41.

[4] Cf. the temple at Sandera, Burgess, o. c., pl. xciv; here Fig. 32.

[5] "Between Sutrapādā and Somanatha-Pattan, and two miles from the former". Cousens, *Somanātha*, p. 38. It is not on the direct route between these two places but a little out of it.

[6] See *Ibid.*, pl. xxxiii.

[7] *Ibid.*, pl. xxv.

The shrine-doorway is ornamented with rosettes and lozenges, and has a figure of Viṣṇu seated on the horizontal section of the frame, and Gaṇapati above on the lintel; below, on either side, were figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, but now they are completely broken off. It is flanked by a pilaster on either side which is a long rectangular shaft, having a 'pot and vase' capital.[1] Above the doorway are five panels, in a line, containing from left to right, Sūrya, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, and Candra (?)[2] and a *kalaśa*. Each panel is crowned with a *śikhara* which is decorated with *caitya*-windows of the early type.

The sculptures, ornamentation and style of the *śikhara* together suggest an early date, not much later than that of Gop, and perhaps contemporary with that of Visāvāda. If its *śikhara*, as shown by the panel, resembles the latter, the sculptures—a huge image of Varāha and other deities, also the river goddesses, and the style of the pilasters—remind us of the Gupta temple-motives.[3] The Kadvār temple may be a continuation of the Gupta tradition.

Kinderkheda and other Temples

Similar in plan and in other architectural details, the temples at Kinderkheda,[4] Son Kaṅsarī and Pāsthar,[5] stand for a slightly different style of *śikhara*, and hence their separate treatment here.

Geographically Son Kaṅsārī and Pāsthar lie in the valley of the Barda Hill, and Kinderkheda to the south-west of them, in the plain, in

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[1] In shape, this resembles the capital and the neck below it with flanking foliage of the door-pillars of Sās Bahu's (Padmanābha's) temple at Gwalior; only the latter is richly carved. The shafts, however, are very different. Padmanābha's are circular. See Griffin, *Famous Monuments of Central India*, pl xliv.

[2] See Cousens, *Somanātha*, pl. xxxiv. I am not sure of the last. Perhaps Cousens is right; something like a crescent moon is seen on either side of his head.

[3] Though, as will be shown later, the treatment of Varāha, for instance, from Garhwa, (Bhattacharya, *Indian Images*, pl. viii, fig. 3) and that from Kadvār is different. However, it resembles the position of the hands of Varāha, Udayagiri, Gwalior. Early fifth century. See Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture*, pl. xxi.

[4] 20 miles to the north of Porbandar. Cousens, *Somanātha*, p. 42.

[5] Near Gumli, 4 miles south of Bhanwar, Burgess, *AKK.*, p. 183, pl. xlviii.

[6] I do not find it in the map, but, according to *Ibid.*, p. 186, it seems to be near Gumli; perhaps Pachhtar of the map, about 4 miles to the south-west of Mokhana (Mukhana of Burgess).

the Porbandar territory. In about the 10th century A.D. all this country was under the Jaitwa chiefs, with their capital at Gumli or Ghumli[1].

Son Kansari

Son Kaṅsārī followed a slightly different method. As described by Burgess, "the spire being gradually contracted in dimensions inside, till it terminates in a square aperture of about a foot, covered by a single slab"[2]. Only the central bay of each of its faces is decorated with *caitya*-windows[3].

The style of these *śikharas*, it will be seen, differs both from the pre-Caulukyan as well as the Caulukyan styles. But it may be regarded as a sub-branch of the former, as in other respects, the *śikhara* and the plan etc. of the temples resemble those of the pre-Caulukyan period.

Besides these temples attention is drawn to the pottery excavated by Father Heras from Vala (Valabhī)[4] and a few bronze (?) images from the same place[5].

The sculptures and iconography of the images found in the temples discussed above have been discussed along with those of the Caulukyan period.

[1] *B.G.*, VIII, p. 278 *B.G.*, calls them Jethvas, and says that they were connected with Mers and were perhaps the ruling family of this tribe. The original name of their capital may be Bhubhṛtpalli.

[2] Burgess, *AKK.*, p. 186.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 184, pl. xlviii.

[4] Now in the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

[5] Reported in *PRASIWC.*, 1915, p. 30. See Appendix pp. 83-84 for description.

SECTION III

Mediaeval Period

ARCHITECTURE of the Late Mediaeval period may be classified as (i) Secular, (ii) Religious. Under (i) are discussed the remains of wooden decorations now existing in Patan and elsewhere in Gujarāt and remains of city walls and gates, which, for the sake of convenience, are loosely called here 'Military Architecture'. Under (ii) are grouped lakes, wells, reservoirs and temples—all of which had their origin in the idea of *puṇya* (merit) accruing to their builders.

Secular Architecture

Gujarāt chronicles and epigraphs make no mention of a palace built by a king or any citizen. Surely there were residential buildings in Gujarāt, but it is probable that they were of wood only. Owing to its perishable nature, therefore, no wooden building of the Caulukyan period has survived.

It is probable that the specimens of wooden architecture now existing at Anhilvāda, Sidhpur and other places, may have some likeness to the old ones, though they must have some Muslim features as well. Burgess cites a few examples of wooden carving now existing on some of the houses at Anhilvāda[1] and Sidhpur[2]. Though he does not assign any date to these, it is evident that they belong to a later period, having had a strong Muslim influence stamped on them[3]. These, therefore, cannot be considered as specimens of pre-Muslim Gujarāt wood-architecture.

Military Architecture

Military architecture of the Caulukyan period consists of remains of forts built to protect a city. These were nothing but massive ramparts encircling a city, *prākāras*, as they are called by an inscription[4]. Many of these are now no more than mounds, broken here and there[5]; many have completely disappeared.

The old rampart at Vadnagar seems to have disappeared, as Burgess does not note it[6].

[1] *ASWI.*, IX, pls. xxii and xxxvi.

[2] *Ibid.*, pl. xlvi.

[3] In particular may be noted the leaf-and-flower design on the walls and doors and the interlaced cut-windows in pls. xxii and xxxvi.

[4] *Vadnagar Praśasti* records one such *prākāra* built by Kumārapāla round the city of Ānandapura (modern Vadnagar). *EI.*, I, p. 293.

[5] As at modern Anhilvāda.

[6] Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, pp. 82-86, though on p. 84 there is a reference to a wall, "outside the walls to the north of the town".

Dabhoi Fort

At Dabhoi the ramparts have mostly fallen down, but the remains of the principal gates are left, which give us some idea of the gate-architecture and decoration of the period.

The present remains, it is believed, are of the time of the Vāghelā King Vīsaladeva (A. D. 1244-61).[1] But the first kings to build ramparts round Dabhoi were perhaps Jayasiṁha Siddharāja and his ancestors. According to the *Vastupāla-carita* it was Tejaḥpāla, brother of Vastupāla, and minister of the Vāghela Ruler Vīradhavala, who built the city walls in order to protect Dabhoi against the raids of wandering mountain tribes from the north-east and the south,[2] and also from the future attacks of the neighbouring king of Godhra whom Tejaḥpāla had just then defeated. Of this fort, after a series of attacks by the Muslims and the Marāthās, when Burgess visited it four principal gates were left. These, according to him, consisted of two gates each, one outer, at right-angles to the inner one, with an open court between. These double gates are placed in the middle of each face of the four-sided city. Each gate has a special name given to it, according to the place it leads to, except the gate on the east which on account of its beautiful decoration is called *Hirā* or the Diamond Gate. Others are the Baroda Gate on the west, Chāmpaner or Moti Gate on the north, and Nāndod or the Chāndod on the south. Of these gates, Baroda Gate is the least destroyed, and thus preserves some of its architecture, while Hirā, though much ruined and even altered during the Muslim period, retains some of its rich decoration.

Baroda Gate

The Baroda Gate had originally six pilasters[3] on each side of the entrance. These consist of a beautifully moulded base, decorated with bands of semi-circles and lozenges; cut-cornered-shaft, ornamented near the capital with foliage design; a vase-capital cut in the shape of leaves; and a sur-capital with carved mouldings. From these pilasters spring up a series of brackets which gradually project inwards, and leave only a narrow

[1] Burgess, *Antiquities of Dabhoi*, p. 2. An inscription written by the court poet, Someśvera, author of *Kīrtikaumudī*, is inscribed on a marble slab on the inner walls facing the city. It refers to the restoration of a temple of Śiva-Vaidyanātha at Dabhoi by Vīsaladeva. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-7., and Appendix. p. 19.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] The third from the outside has been cut away and is replaced by a Muslim arch. According to Burgess, *Ibid.*, p. 11, their number was six, but the major ones are five only.

room for the lintels to bridge over. On these rest six architraves which support the roof.[1] These brackets and architraves are minutely carved with figure-sculptures and 'cross' designs. The three large brackets on either side have niched gods and goddesses,[2] among which Aindrani and Kālī are seen on the topmost bracket on the right in the picture; the rest are badly mutilated. Over the topmost bracket there was a deep overhanging cornice, a portion of which now remains.

Other gates were similarly constructed and decorated. Two things are worth noting in this gate-architecture. First, Burgess has noticed the wooden character of the construction, and though he has criticized the imitation of this technique in stone-architecture, still he admits that the method has proved successful against the attacks of time and wars. The other is its rich decoration, not only with geometric and florid designs, but with figures of gods and goddesses. Buildings which are supposed to guard a city and are the first to face the attack of enemy are rarely so ornamented. But in Hindu India these gates were primarily thresholds, and were consequently decorated with all the grandeur of a temple or palace entrance with *toraṇas*[3] and other ornaments.

Everywhere in Gujarat of this period gate-architecture followed this style. Burgess reports one such gate, from Jhinjuvada where also the Caulukyas had built a fortress to guard against the attacks from Saurashtra.[4] In decoration it resembles that at Dabhoi, except in figure-sculpture, which here consists mainly of men on horseback, *śārdūlas*[5] and dancing figures. There was also a gate at Gumli, when Burgess visited it. It is now removed to the Rajkot Museum.[6]

A gate of similar type, but much simpler in decoration exists even today in the Uparkot (old fort) at Junāgarh.[7] Here the brackets project inwards so much that the space to be spanned by the lintel is less than a foot, which gives the appearance of a triangular arch.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 11, plan pl. iii, fig. 2 and pls. xiii, xvi, xvii, xix, fig 3.

[2] See *Ibid.*, pl. xlxxx.

[3] In this perhaps we find the origin of brackets which look like curtains or garlands from a distance.

[4] Burgess, *AKK.*, p. 217, pl. lxvi-xvii.

[5] *Ibid.*, pl. xlvii.

[6] I photographed it at Rajkot; here Fig. 25.

[7] See Fig. 26.

Religious Architecture

In the Caulukya period, chronicles and inscriptions[1] mention the construction of lakes, wells and reservoirs, called *sara, vāpi, kūpa and taḍāga*, by royal personages as well as citizens. For instance, Queen Udayamatī, wife of Bhīma I is credited with the building of Rāṇī Vāv at Anhilvāda; Karna, with the Karṇa Sāgara on the Rupen river near Modhera; and Siddharāja Jayasiṁha with the Sahasraliṅga Talao[2].

Of lakes (*talao*, Sanskṛit *taḍāga*) and tanks (*kuṇḍa*), specimens are in the lake at Viramgām[3], called Mānasarovar, or Mānsar lake and in the tank at Modhera. The famous Sahasraliṅga lake, built by Jayasiṁha is now only in name.

Mansar Lake

The Mānsar lake at Viramgām is supposed to have been built by Queen Mayaṇalladevī, mother of Jayasiṁha I, about A.D. 1100.[4] Thus it is of the same time as Sahasraliṅga Talao. But it does not convey the grandeur which the latter might have had. In shape it is irregular, but this is supposed to resemble a conch (*śaṁkha*).[5] It is enclosed by a *ghāṭ* or flight of stone steps which lead down to the water. In it there are many openings or paths for going up and down the reservoir. On the *ghāt* are no less than 357 small temples, out of the original 520.[6] It is these shrines which suggest how Sahasralinga Talāo could have accommodated 1001 shrines besides those of Viṣṇu and other gods. Here, according to Burgess, the shrines on the north side were all Vaiṣṇava; those on the east end were mostly Śaiva, but are now in ruins; while those on the south side and south half of the west are Śaiva.[7] The shrines are typically early Caulukyan; the mouldings of the base and wall, and the decorations and sculptures thereon; the form of the *śikhara*, and the *caitya*-window ornament decorating it, would place them along with the 11th century temples at Sunak, and Sandera.[8] Further each Śaiva

[1] Bharana ins. of Bhīma II, *BP.*, 51, p. 204–205. Kadi Ins. of Bhīma II, *IA.*, VI, p. 196 and Visaladeva Ins. *Ibid.*, p. 212 refer to drinking fountains.

[2] On its place are fields, and is surrounded by a huge embankment. A partial excavation may reveal some of its former glory. For legends about it see Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, p. 39. For discussion of its history, see Dave, *Siddhasar* (in Gujarātī).

[3] There is also another lake at Anhilvāda, called Khān Sarovar, but it is a work of the XVIth century, though built with heavy, old pillars, etc. See Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, p. 55–57, pl. xxxi-xxxiv.

[4] Burgess, *ASWI.*, VIII, ii, p. 91.

[5] *Ibid.*, pl. lxxii (plan) and lxxiv. [6] According to Burgess' calculation, *ibid.*

[7] *Ibid*, pl. lxxiv. [8] See below,

shrine has three niches, on the east, west and south, in which there are Mahākāla, Bhairava, and Nateśa respectively.[1] Besides these there are two large double temples on the south-east.[2]

Kunda: Modhera

The tank at Modhera[3] is called Rāma Kuṇḍa, but it is really a Sūrya Kunda, attached as it is to the Sun temple on its east side. It is rectangular and measures 176 feet from north to south, by 120 feet from east to west.[4] On the outside, the margin-wall is paved with stones all round. From here the tank gradually proceeds to the water-level below in terraces and recessed steps. The main entrance lies on the west side, in the middle (called D in the plan)[5]. Inside, on the terraces, movement would have been difficult because the distance between one terrace and the other is considerable, but it is facilitated by small steps which descend at right-angles to the side of each terrace, on either side.[6] These steps are always rectangular or square except on the small landings at the top of each of these flights of steps, where it is semi-circular.[7]

This terraced descent is decorated with small shrines, which are arranged as follows: one each, in each corner of the tank (called E,F,G,H[8] in the plan); one each on the first terrace below the ground level, in the centre of the rectangular recessed projection, in the middle of three sides of the tank (called A, B, C in the plan); and two facing each other, on either side of the shrines A and C.

Besides these shrines, there are numerous niches, (each attached to the front of the terrace-wall between each set of steps and on the front of the terrace), which contain images.

This Kuṇḍa, with its niches and shrines, may have been the model of Jayasiṁha's Sahasraliṅga Talao, where a thousand and eight Siva-liṅgas and other temples were probably similarly erected. The date of Modhera

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 91. None of these are illustrated and so Burgess' identification cannot be checked.

[2] They are dealt with under Caulukyan Temples.

[3] 18 miles south of Anhilvāda.

[4] Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, p 79. [5] See Plan Fig. 13; Burgess, o.c., pl. xlviii.

[6] See Fig. 35.

[7] Burgess calls it *ardhacandra*, citing *PBC.*, p. 57, where it is called 'lotus stone'; also Fergusson, *His. of Arch.*, (1910), I, p. 240. It seems to have been used to mark off a threshold.

[8] Burgess, *Ibid.*, while describing these makes a confusion by applying the word 'west', first to 'D' (which is really on the west side) and then to 'G' and 'F',

Kuṇḍa must be the same as that of the Sun temple, about 11th century A.D.

Vavs

The remains of a few *vāvs* are reported from Anhilvāda, Lokeśwar and Vāyad in Gujarāt; in Kāthiāwār from Wadhwān and Dhāndalpur. The Vāvs, as will be described below, are quite different from ordinary wells. Possibly they stand for Sanskrit '*Vāpī*', the equivalent for a well being *kūpa*.

The Rāṇi Vāv,[1] at Anhilvāda, is said to be the finest specimen of its kind, but as nothing but a small portion of it remains, recourse must be had to the description of the less famous *Vāv* now existing.

The Vāv at Vāyad[2] is called a step-well because there are a series of steps and platforms. In length it is 120 feet and its breadth between the walls on either side is 12 feet 8 inches.[3] It is a building of four storeys (with the roof five). It descends in a number of flights of steps, each separated from the next by a "narrow" platform, the whole series of flights being in one straight line. Over each platform there was once a conical roof, which was supported by four pillars. The number of pillared storeys between the landing and the roof increases as each flight of stairs descends, in order that the roofs of all the storeys be in level. Thus storey after storey leads down to a "circular draw well, about 13 feet in diameter at the top and diminishing to about 10½ feet below". At the head of this there was a *mot* for drawing water.[4]

The step-wells at Wadhwān[5] called Mādhav Vāv and Gaṅgā Vāv and the one at Dhāndalpur[6] and the other, Bārot Vāv at Anahilvāda[7] are

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[1] See Burgess, *ASWI.*, *IX.* p. 37, pl. iii. He describes the portion as then existed thus "the walls (of the well) had been built of brick and faced with hewn stone. From this wall project the large vertical brackets in pairs which supported the different galleries of the well. The bracketing is arranged in tiers and is richly carved." They were constructed on corbel principle and not that of the arch. When I visited Anhilvāda (in February 1936), even less of this remained.

[2] A small village two miles south of the Banas river and 14 miles north-north-west from Anhilvāda. Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, p. 112.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] See *Ibid.*, pls. civ, cv; here Fig. 4.

[5] Cousens, *Somanātha*, p. 55, pls. lvii-lix.

[6] Six miles to the south-west of Sejakpur, Kāthiāwār, *Ibid.*, p. 59, fig. 5.

[7] See Fig. 78. It is also called Bahādur Singh Vāv, and was constructed with old materials in A. D. 1805. For further details see Burgess, *ASWI.*, *IX*, p. 52.

Another step-well, not very old, but now in a ruinous condition, is at Roho. It is built of white marble, and the draw-well is octagonal in shape. See Burgess, o.c., p. 101, pl. lxxx. Similar step-well is found at Vasant Gadh, Sirohi state. *ASIWC.*, 1905-6, p. 52.

similar in design to the Vāyad step-well, but have a few ornamental and architectural peculiarities which will be discussed below.

From the description it must have been apparent that a step-well was quite a different thing from an ordinary well. It was further distinguished by decorations on the walls on either side of the stairs, by niches on the platform containing figures of Hindu gods and goddesses[1]; and often by a beautiful screen, perforated in the wall near the first landing (as at Mādhav Vāv[2]). Likewise were decorated the pillars, or pilasters, which supported the roofs above. At Vāyad there are two kinds of pillars: (1) Pillars with square base and shafts which are first square and then become octagonal and round; they are surmounted by disc-capitals and a four cornered bracket in the shape of dwarfs. The round part of the shaft is further ornamented with *kīrtimukhas*, from which hang down festoons and a string of bells at intervals.[3] (2) Pillars have square bases and shafts with cut corners, surmounted by a disc-capital, covered with petals, and a simple inverted stair-type bracket.[4] At Madhav Vav, there are no pillars but pilasters, which are square and surmounted by corbelled brackets.[4] The pillars in Bārot Vav[5] have a square-tiered base and a square shaft which is cut in the middle, and encloses a *kalaśa* with a scroll design.

Of the step-wells described above it is possible that none of them dates back to the Caulukyan time; for they have certain features, for example, the perforated screen wall, which came into existence under the Muslims. The Bārot Vāv, also, is a building of later times; its pillars might have been taken from an older building.[5]

[1] See Cousens, *Somanātha*, p. 55, pl. lviii. The deities are treated separately under iconography.

[2] *Ibid.*, pl. lix. Either this was done later, or the whole *Vāv* is not so old as the 13th century, as Cousens says on the strength of *Rās Mālā*, I, 278. For the perforated design of the screen is Muslim in origin, as he himself later points out.

[3] See Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, pl. cvi. [4] Cousens, *Somanātha*, pl. lvii.

[5] See Fig. 78. Pillars of similar pattern are found in the Kasara temple, see Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, pl. xci.

Nevertheless the step-wells, with their religious sculptures, artistic decorations and unusual architectural form, show a religious fervour and a sense of grandeur that ran through Gujarāt.[1]

Caulukyan Temples

Temples of the Caulukyan period fall into two groups: (1) Early Type. (2) Late Type. Further, the first group (Early Type) is divided into:

(*a*) Small, represented by temples at Sūnak, Saṇḍera, Ruhāvi, Dilmāl, Kasara, Dhinoj, Mānod, all in North Gujarāt; and Parbādi, Chaubāri, and a few others in Kāthiāwār.

(*b*) Large, represented by temples at Modhera, Rudramāl (along with this are also considered the Kīrtitoraṇas) in North Gujarāt; the Sun temple on the Hiranyā, Bhimnāth, both near Somnāth and Thān in Kāthiāwār.

The second (Late Type) group consists of the famous Śiva temple at Somnāth, and the temples at Sejakpur and Gumli.

Covering both the periods are the Jaina temples at Tāriṅgā, Sarotra, Abu, Girnār and Śatrunjaya, which are separately treated because they form a distinct group by themselves owing to the peculiarity of their plans.

The criteria for the above classification which is partly chronological are: date and style of architecture. These are discussed below group by group.

Early Type: Small Temples

None of the temples of this group is definitely dated. But an inscription of Karṇa,[2] found at Sūnak, donates land for the upkeep of a lake made at Sūnak by one Thakkura Mahādeva (?)[3] and mentions Saṇḍera, Laghu Dābhī, and Sūnaka. These villages exist even today, so the identity of the place is not in question. Further, the creation of a lake presupposes

[1] Step-wells continued to be built after the 14th century. Remains are found at Asārwā (Bai Harir's Vāv), at Adalaj, Ahmadābād, both of the 15th century; at Uvārsad near Adalaj, at Chhatrāl, 12 miles north-west from the last mentioned, and at Isanpur near Ahmadābād. See Burgess, *ASWI.*, VIII, pp. 4, 10 and 13 and pls. iii, vi and xxiii.

A kind of step-well seems to have existed in Asokan times. The seventh edict on Delhi-Topra Pillar mentions "flights of steps" (*nimsiḍhā*) with reference to wells. See Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, pp. 130 and 135.

[2] Of. V. S. 1148: A. D. 1092. *EI.*, I, p. 316.

[3] This is according to the interpretation of Hultzsch.

a shrine of Mahadeva, reference to whom is made in the inscription.[1] Thus, already in the 11th century a temple of Mahadeva was at Sūnak. This, perhaps, was no other than the present temple of Nilakaṇṭha Mahādeva in the Sūnak village, which stylistically belongs to this period.

It is the style of Sūnak temple, which is found in other temples, that binds them together in a group. These also form a unit geographically, all being situated in the Saraswatī Valley, the home of the Caulukyas.

The temple of Nīlakaṇṭha at Sūnak being complete up to the finial of its *śikhara* is described here as a type; the rest are subsumed under it, and only their points of similarities and differences are noted.

Temple Sunak

The temple of Nīlakaṇṭha Mahādeva at Sūnak consists of a shrine, a *maṇḍapa*, or hall, which extends on either side, and a small porch in front of the *maṇḍapa*.[2] In plan the whole structure is rectangular but deep cut recesses in the wall and corners give it a polyangular look. It is this characteristic which distinguishes the Caulukyan temple-plan from that of the earlier pre-Caulukyan.

The roof of the porch is supported by four pillars each placed in the corner of a square. Next the *maṇḍapa*. It is in reality square, but the projections on either side make it rectangular. On account of this peculiar construction,[3] there are sixteen pillars to support the roof, eight of which directly support the dome above. Inside, the dome, resting on an octagon, rises in concentric circles, built on corbel principle. It is beautifully sculptured; in the centre is a pendant bud, while on its sides were once twelve "*Devīs*", or more probably dancing girls,[5] (about two feet high) supported by brackets (in the shape of dwarfs and men) projecting from a deep vertical tier of the upper frieze.

Outside, the roof of the porch and the *maṇḍapa* form small pyramids, the summits of which are crowned with a small *amalaka* and a *kalaśa*, and are surrounded at varying heights by smaller representations of the

[1] It does not mean "to the lake built by Ṭhakkura Mahādeva" as translated by Hultzsch, but I think the correct interpretation would be "to the lake built for the Ṭhakkura Mahādeva". 'Ṭhakkura' is a common way of calling a deity.

[2] Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, pl. lxxxii, fig. 1; here Fig. 11.

[3] See *Ibid.*

[4] See *Ibid.*, pl. lxxxiv and lxxxvi.

[5] It is only in Jaina temples that Devīs are found in this position. Domes of Hindu temples have usually dancing figures.

same.[1] On its side were once panels of gods and goddesses many of which are now defaced.

Unlike the earlier temples the pillars of the hall are also now richly decorated. At Sūnak, the lower part of the short pillars, supporting the roof, is square, and plain, but the upper part has first an inset circle, sculptured with a beautiful scroll-design, then a vase with similar decorations on its sides.[2] From here the shaft is octagonal; the lower half decorated with horizontal bands, 'serpent' and lozenge, intersected at each face of the octagon by a vertically hanging leaf; above this are the *kīrtimukhas*. The capital consists of two 'plates' with projecting shoulders. A bracket, carved with dwarfs, surmounts this.

The mouldings of the *maṇḍapa*-wall are decorated right from the base. Its basement mouldings are similar to those of the shrine, which is described below. The part corresponding to the *jaṅghā* or wall of the shrine, is sculptured at intervals with gods and goddesses, inset between two ringed pilasters, the rest being enclosed with richly decorated slabs of stone.

Now comes the shrine. It contains a *liṅga*, which cannot be definitely said to be old. So also its doorway which is believed to be reconstructed.[4] But the outside walls are undoubtedly old. From the earlier shrine walls they differ in three ways. In having (1) a number of recessed sides and corners, (2) profuse figure sculpture and ornamentation on them, (3) a series of base-and wall-mouldings.

The whole building does not stand on a paved platform as at Modhera and elsewhere. Nevertheless, the basement moulding[5] is formed first by

[1] See *Ibid.*, pl. lxxxiii. Also cf. Saṇḍera temple roof. Here Fig. 32.

[2] These are called *parivāra* (attendant) *devatas*. As many of them are destroyed beyond identification I have merely called them " gods and goddesses".

[3] Perhaps the earliest representation of this vase-and-plant motif, almost identical with this, is in the Daśāvatāra Gupta temple (c.500 A. D.) at Deogarh, C. I.; perhaps earlier still, at Bhumarā (c. 400 A. D., *ASIWC.*, 1920-21, pl. xxiv), then in the Rāmeśvara cave, Ellora (Elura). See Coomaraswamy, *Yakśa*, II, pl. 21. For other earlier and later representations, and the significance of the motif, see *Ibid.*, p. 61.

[4] Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, p. 103.

[5] The names are given as used by Burgess perhaps from the *Prāsādamaṇḍana*. The use of this late or early (?) work on architecture may be questioned; but the words admirably describe the various parts, and some of them are purely Gujarātī, in use even today.

a double plinth, called *bhattas*; then comes *jaḍaṁba*,[1] inverted 'cymarecta' moulding decorated with broad leaves with deeply cut centre lines.[2] Above this are two *kaṇis* ("an astragal with a sharp edge between two deep recesses" literally 'pointed edge'), surmounted with a band of *kīrtimukhas* (many of which are defaced); over these are two bands called *gajathara*, row of elephants and *narathara*, row of men (the latter is much defaced). Here ends the basement called *pīṭha*, and begin the wall-mouldings called *maṇḍovara* reaching the cornice.

The lowest member—a broad band cut vertically and horizontally—is called *kumbha*, and is decorated with figures of niched-gods and goddesses and amorous couples. Above this is a 'torus' termed *kalaśa*, and over it, separated by a deep neck, is a moulding called *kevala*, decorated with *caitya*-windows. Then comes the *jaṅghā* or face of the wall, containing panels with figures of gods and goddesses and dancing figures, inset between two ringed pilasters and surmounted with *caitya-windows*. In the centre of each side there is a big niche containing a deity; the one on the north side has a mutilated figure of the goddess Kālī;[3] on the south Bhairava,[3] and on the west Naṭeśa.[3] Above it, the wall, at every corner, has a moulding, imitating pillar-capitals. Lastly comes the cornice or the *chajjā*, a small slanting, ribbed-roof.

Over this rises the *śikhara*. Its method of construction is not clear. It may be like the stepped-*śikhara* of the earlier period, but this is no longer apparent. Instead, the *śikhara* seems to bulge out in the middle, and then gradually curve inwards till it reaches the crowning stone, *amalaka*, surmounted by a finial. In fact, the tower has now become curvilinear, from the pyramidal of the past. This is not all. It undergoes two more changes. The central *śikhara* is now surrounded by other smaller *śikharas* on each of its faces, reaching above its middle part, and others placed below and around it. In respect of decoration, each face of the main *śikhara* forms three distinct sections, the central one jutting out prominently. The *caitya*-window ornament has changed considerably in form. Its trefoil shape noticed at Sutrapādā has become more complex, and it alternates with a lozenge ornament.[4]

[1] It is a close representation of an inverted lotus leaf, with all its lines proportionately transcribed in stone.

[2] See Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, pl. lxxxi.

[3] These are as described by Burgess, o. c., p. 104; their correct identification is given in the chapter on Iconography.

[4] See *Ibid.*, pl. lxxxiii.

This is in brief a typical Caulukyan temple of the 11th century Gujarāt. It leaves behind simplicity of the plan and severity of the exterior as well as interior of the pre-Caulukyan temples. Instead, there is general profusion in mouldings as well as decoration, a quality which it shares with mediaeval temples of the Haihayas of Tripuri,[1] Candellās of Jejākbhuti and with those at Ambarnāth in the Konkan and elsewhere.[1]

The rest of the Early Type temples, though resembling the Sūnak temple fall into four further groups, mainly owing to their plan, but also owing to the style of their *śikharas*. The first comprises one-shrine temples exactly like the one at Sūnak, and includes the temples at Saṇḍera,[2] Dhinoj,[3] Mānod,[4] Ruhāvi,[5] Gorād,[6] Vīrtā,[7] Dilmāl,[8] all in North Gujarāt and the temple of Nīlakaṇṭha at Miāni,[9] and at Chaubāri[10] in Kāthiāwār.

The second group consists of a solitary double-shrine at Viramgām.[11] The third comprises the triple-shrine at Kasarā,[12] the *maṇḍapa* at Kaṇodā,[13] and the temple at Parbādi[14] in Kāthiāwār. The fourth includes the small shrines at Saṇḍera and Wadhwān.

One-shrine Temples, Sunak-Type

In plan the temples of the first group were all originally similar to the Sūnak temple, consisting of a shrine and a hall, with a porch. But only the Saṇḍera and Mānod temples possess all the three intact.[15] The Ruhāvi temple had lost its porch and *maṇḍapa*, when Burgess visited it. A new porch is now built instead.[16] In the case of the Gorād temple it had lost the roof of the *maṇḍapa* which is now replaced by a

[1] For a detailed comparison between these and the Caulukyan temples see below.

[2] Burgess, o. c., p. 108, 109, pl. xciv-v.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 110, pl. xcvi-ix.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 109, plan, pl. xcvi, fig. I

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 108, pl. xciii.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 111, p. cii-iii.

[7] *Ibid*, plan only, pl. xcvi, fig. 4.

[8] *Ibid.*, pl. 88, pl. lxviii.

[9] Cousens, *Somanātha*, p. 69, pl. lxxxviii.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 63, pl. lxxxii.

[11] *Burgess*, o. c., VIII, p. 91.

[12] Burgess, o. c., IX, p. 105, pls. xi, lxxxvii-xcii, plan lxxxviii.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 110, pl. xii.

[14] Cousens, o. c., p. 62, pl. lxxi.

[15] Here Fig. 32.

[16] See Fig. 33. Also notice that the temple stands on an artificial brick mound, now paved.

Muslim dome. The Dilmāl shrine retains only the shrine and the hall; whereas at Dhinoj the temple is rebuilt completely but with the old material.[1] At Chaubāri the porch is complete, but it has lost its pyramidal roof; at Miāni it is built with old material in pyramidal style, but is considerably later, for it lacks the crowning *amalakas*.

Inside the *maṇḍapa*, the Sandera temple has a ceiling identical with the one at Sūnak temple, only the number of dancing figures is 8[2] instead of 12.

The Dhinoj temple has naturally lost its old ceiling, but the one illustrated by Burgess from the porch roof—consisting of pure geometric design—is undoubtedly old.[3] At Mānod a roof-panel[4] has, what Burgess calls, a form of Viṣṇu on Śesa. But it seems to be the *Kālīyamardana* scene.[5] Neither Burgess nor Cousens says a word regarding the ceilings of other temples; particularly Dilmāl and Chaubāri must have had one, as they still retain the old *maṇḍapa*-roof; Gorād has a rectangular ceiling, deeply cut, with rosettes set in squares.[6] The pillars supporting the porch and the hall-roof are short and as at Sandera, Dhinoj, Gorād and Dilmāl they are decorated in the same way as at Sūnak. At Miāni the form is the same, but decoration is absent. The Chaubari photograph is indistinct, and so the decoration cannot be ascertained.

The basement of the *maṇḍapa*-wall at the Sandera temple as also of the shrine, has sunk into ground;[7] but the decoration on the *jaṅghā* is identical with that at Sūnak; so also the *maṇḍapa*-wall at Dhinoj. At Dilmāl the basement mouldings are devoid of ornament, except with a row of *kīrtimukhas;* whereas the *jaṅghā*, wall-face, is enclosed with slabs of stones carved with florid scroll-design. It is similar at Chaubāri, but at Miāni the decoration on the slabs is absent.

[1] Its *maṇḍapa*-walls may be intact as the photograph shows Burgess, o. c., pl. xcvii.

[2] See Fig. 44; now only 7. Burgess reports a similar ceiling from the temple of Nīlakaṇṭheśvara at Vīrtā. It has only three bracket figures of the original twelve. Burgess, o. c., p. lii.

[3] See Burgess, o. c., pl. xcviii. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 109, fig. 109.

[5] Similar panels are found in the Vimala temple, Ābu, Somanātha, Somnāth, Jāmi Masjid, Māngrol, Bādāmi (*ASWI.*, I, pl. xxx) and in the temple of Kṛṣṇa at Vāghli, Khāndesh, (Cousens, *Mediaeval Temples of the Dakhan*, pl. xxxvi). The question has been discussed under Iconography.

[6] Burgess, o. c., pl. ciii. [7] See Fig. 32.

Further, both the Saṇḍera and Dilmāl temples have low parapet walls in the shape of high benches with back-rests[1] which have identical ornamentation on the outside, consisting of a serpentine design on the horizontal bands and carved *svastikas* and crosses, inset a circle on the vertical slabs.[2]

As said before, only the temples at Dilmāl and Saṇḍera retain even remnants of the *maṇḍapa*-roof, rising as a pyramid and strewn over with a series of cupola-like *amalakas*, every one of which has lost its *kalaśa*.[3] On either side of this roof there was a large panel, containing figures of gods and goddesses, all of which are now mutilated.

It is in the construction of the shrine that greatest resemblance is found between temples of this group.

At Saṇḍera, the basement mouldings have sunk into ground, only the *gajathara*, elephant row, is partly visible. Above this, the mouldings are similar to those of Sūnak temple, only the *kumbhi* is not so profusely decorated with figure sculptures, the amorous couples being absent. The wall proper has panels of gods and goddesses, and the three principal niches on the back, i. e., west, north and south, have Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā respectively.[4] The basement mouldings of the temple-shrines at Ruhāvi, Motāb[5] and Gorād are similar to that at Sūnak, except that the elephants of the *gajathara* are bigger, and the number of erotic figures greater. The principal niches at Ruhāvi have on the north, Brahmā and Sarasvatī; west, Śiva-Pārvatī; and south, Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa; at Gorād, Mahākāla on the north, Naṭeśa on the east and "Bhairava" on the south.[6]

[1] Cf. The Haihaya temples at Chandreha and elsewhere. Banerji, *MASI.*, No. 23, p. 35. Also the Cālukyan temple Tārakeśvara, at Hangal. See Cousens, *Cha. Aroh.*, pl. lxxxvi.

[2] Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, pls. lxviii and xciv.

[3] The whole ornament consists of an inverted lotus-like stone—a cymarecta, deeply cut into ribs, and surmounted with a ribbed bud or cushion-like stone, similar to the *amalaka* of the *śikhara*, but much smaller This was crowned with a stone *kalaśa*, many of which are lying about the Saṇḍera temple. I brought one to Bombay and it is now in the Indian Historical Research Museum, St. Xavier's College.

[4] These are discussed separately under Iconography.

[5] Burgess, o. c., pl. ci, p. 111. Here there is a shrine only.

[6] These are as mentioned by Burgess. As they are not illustrated, it is not possible to give their correct identification.

At Dilmāl the basement mouldings and parts of the wall-mouldings are left undecorated except with a row of *kīrtimukhas*, which it has in common with the *maṇḍapa*-wall. The shrine-wall proper has, however, identical decorations and figures as elsewhere, but the thing that is remarkable is the figure in the west niche said to be a "Vaishṇava Trimurti," because the central figure is Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa seated on Garuḍa.[1]

Chaubāri and Miāni have shrines similar to the one at Sūmak but their niched deities are not mentioned.

In the *śikharas* there is nothing worth noting. The *śikhara* of the Saṇḍera temple is complete save for the *amalaka*, which is partly broken; only the Dilmāl temple has the old type of *śikhara* right up to the *kalaśa*. The broken limbs of the *śikhara* at Miāni show how it was constructed. The interior was hollow[2] which was enclosed by vertical and horizontal slabs, perhaps on the corbel principle. The temples at Ruhāvi and Dhinoj reveal the new style which had replaced the typical Caulukyan. At Ruhāvi the change is not great, but it is significant. Between the *amalaka* and the *śikhara* is inserted, on each side, a face, other parts of it remaining the same.[3]

At Dhinoj, this feature is continued, but the *śikhara*, while retaining its outline, has lost its *caitya*-window ornament covering its surface, whereas the inset *amalakas* of before are indicated by an angular projection.[4] Dhinoj-*śikhara*, in fact, is much later.

Double-Shrine, Viramgam

Viramgām presents an instance of double-shrine which so far seems to be unique in Gujarāt.[5] It is situated on the Mānsar lake.[6] In the middle is a square *maṇḍapa*; on its east is a shrine (now) dedicated to Śiva, while on the west it was Vaisnava.[7]

[1] Burgess, *Ibid.*, p. 89, pl. lxix, lxxi, fig. 7; here Fig. 73. Its iconography is discussed below.

[2] See Cousens, *Somanātha*, pl. lxxxviii.

[3] Burgess thought that the tower was more tapering than similar other *śikharas*, and the *amalaka* bigger and clumsy looking. The second point seems to be right. Regarding the inset faces, he says that they were added to ward off evil spirits and were found on all the modern temples. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Outside Gujarāt one such temple is found at Hallur, in the Bijapur District. *ASIWC.*, 1921, p. 121.

[6] Burgess, *ASWI.*, VIII, p. 91, pl. lxxiii, fig. I. [7] *Ibid.*

The shrines, externally, have recessed niches,[1] and in decoration of mouldings, are identical with those at Sūnak. So also the *śikhara*. The *maṇḍapa*, which is common to both, has twelve pillars and seems to be open.[2] It has a stepped roof.

Though one of the temples was Vaiṣṇava, as Burgess says, the niches round both the shrines have Bhairava, Naṭeśa and Mahākāla, and on the door-lintels there is Gaṇeśa. This proves, as indicated elsewhere, the popularity of the Śaiva cult. The double-shrine may be placed in the 11th-12th century, the time of the construction of the lake.

Triple-Shrine, Kasara

The Trimūrti-*mandira* (triple-shrine) at Kasarā[3] is in its style of architecture exactly similar to that at Sūnak, except in plan, *viz.*, the arrangement of the shrine, peculiarities of which are discussed below.[4]

It consists of a central *maṇḍapa* (facing east) round which, on its north, west and south sides, are grouped three shrines: one on the east is dedicated to Śiva; one on the north to Viṣṇu; and that on the south to Brahmā.

The common hall had once a porch as at Sūnak, but it is now no more. The hall itself, though common, is not large, about $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet square.[5] It has twelve pillars which stand on the low screen (*vedi*) that encloses it. Inside, the hall is roofed by a dome, resting on an octagon, rising in concentric circles of "plain leaf-mouldings" in the centre of which is a pendant lotus. Externally, the roof is identical with that at Sūnak.

The pillars of the wall, both in decoration and construction, resemble those at Sūnak.

[1] *Ibid.*, pl. lxxiv. [2] From the photo.

[3] Or Kasrā, Kasera, "to the east of the Banās river and about 14 miles west-north-west" from Anhilvāda. Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, p. 105, pls. xi, lxxxvii, xcii; plan lxxxviii, fig. I. Here Fig. 21.

[4] Triple-shrines on a different arrangement, each shrine separate, but forming a group, are reported from Amarkantak and Deoguna, Jabo State, C. I. Banerji, who found it, ascribes the one at Amarkantak to the Cedi king Karṇa, who, he thinks, borrowed the idea from Gujarāt. See *ASWC.*, 1920-21, pls xix and xxi. Triple-shrine having a common *mandapa* is also found at Beur in the Bijapur District. See *Ibid.*, p. 122.

[5] Here Figs. 21 and 37.

Though there is nothing new in the construction of each shrine, its decorations reveal new features. In order to bring out the character of each shrine the shrine-door and the principal niches round the shrine have, unlike an ordinary Śiva or Viṣṇu-shrine, figures of each divinity exclusively. Thus, in the Śiva-shrine, the door is sculptured with Gaṇeśa and Śiva in his various forms, and the niches contain figures of Mahākālī, Bhairava, Mahiṣāsūra-mardinī and Naṭeśa,[1] while the shrine itself once contained a *liṅga*, as there is no *āsana* for an image. In the Viṣṇu-shrine, there is no image now,[2] but its *āsana* remains. And on its wall-niches can be seen figures of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa on Garuḍa, Trivikrama, Varāha,[3] etc., all very badly defaced. The Brahmā-shrine has Brahmā with Sarasvatī in the three niches and Brahmā standing on the door.[4]

Each shrine had its own *śikhara*[5] which is now broken. In style it resembled that at Sūnak.

The only interesting point in this triple-shrine is the way in which the exclusive character of each deity is brought out; whereas the common hall perhaps implies that the worshipper may be of any faith, for in essence the three deities are one.

Mandapa, Kanoda

At Kanodā only the *maṇḍapa* is left. The shrine has disappeared. Because it had once three porches, showing thus a different feature, it is discussed separately. Architecturally, however, it resembles the *maṇḍapa* of the Sūnak temple in every respect, except in the size of its *pīṭha* or basement, which is smaller, and thus has no "elephant" and "man" courses.[6] Again its dome has sixteen brackets which support many figures—dancers and musicians.

Parbadi

Regarding the triple-shrine at Parbadi,[7] not much can be said, as Cousens gives neither the plan nor its detailed description. It can only be gathered that the shrine had a common hall as at Kasarā, which is now fallen. The three deities to which it was dedicated are not definitely known. Cousens thinks that they may be Śiva, Viṣṇu, Sūrya or Brahmā.

He further notes that around the main temple which was dedicated to Śiva were four smaller shrines, which formed with it a *pañcāyatana*

[1] There are four. The one more must be a wall-panel.

[2] It is perhaps the image said to be lying inside; *Ibid.*, pls. xi, and xcii, 7.

[3] *Ibid.*, pl. xci.

[4] *Ibid.*, pl. xcii, fig. 6.

[5] *Ibid.*, pl. xi.

[6] Burgess, o.c., pl. xii

[7] Cousens, *Somanātha*, p. 62, pl. lxxi.

group. In other respects, architecture and decoration, the temple belongs to the Sūnak group but because it is built on a platform[1] it looks higher than that at Sūnak.

Sandera Group

There are two temples, both small, one at Saṇḍera, in Gujarāt, the other at Wadhwān, in Kāthiāwār which form a distinct group by the style of their *śikharas*.

The Saṇḍera temple consists of a square shrine and a broken *maṇḍapa*.[2] Gaṇeśa figures on the shrine-door, as do the *Navagrahas* on the lintel above it. Outside, the base of the shrine is bereft of any ornament, but the wall proper has a series of relief-panels of gods and goddesses.

The *śikhara* is simple. Just as the pre-Caulukyan temple had no attached *śikharas*, so also this temple has not. Nevertheless, its tapering shape shows that it is nearer in time to the Caulukyan temples, which is also shown by the wall-decoration and the ornamentation on the short pillars of the *maṇḍapa*. The temple, therefore, is not really archaic as it looks,[3] though its single curvilinear *śikhara* does resemble the Orissan[4] temples called Rekhā.[5] At the most it precedes its neighbouring temple by a few years of the eleventh century.[6]

Ranik Devi Temple, Wadhwan

The temple at Wadhwān is called the temple of Rāṇik Devī, because it was built in her memory, according to a legend, by Siddharāja Jayasiṁha.[7] Now only the shrine remains. The front porch has disappeared. Above the doorway of the shrine are figures of Gaṇapati, Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu, in a row, while on the frame itself there is Gaṇapati. The original *liṅga* from the shrine is replaced by a modern one.

Outside, the shrine is decorated with a row of *kīrtimukhas*, *caitya*-windows, *kīrtimukhas* and hanging bells, and just below the cornice with

[1] As it appears from the photograph; it is not mentioned by Cousens.

[2] Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, p. 109, pl. xciv-v; here Fig. 32.

[3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*

[5] Cf. Bose, *Canons of Orissan Architecture*, pls. facing pp. 79, 90–92. But there is a difference between the two. In the Rekhā, the main part of the *śikhara* called *Gaṇḍi* rises straight up to a short height and then curves suddenly inwards. Secondly there is a big neck (called *Beki*) between the *Amla* and the *Gaṇḍi*, whereas at Saṇḍera it is very narrow.

[6] See above 79–80.

[7] See Cousens, *Somanātha*, pp. 53–54, pls. lv-lvi.

a row of carved leaves. The *śikhara* is similar to that of the small temple at Sandera, only it is a little higher. This similarity, attained by leaving out figure sculpture, and arranging the other ornaments at intervals, gives a refined look to the whole temple. Perhaps it was consciously done, in consonance with the refinement of Jayasiṁha's soul, brought about by Rāṇik Devī's self-immolation.

Early Type: Large Temples

In the second group of Early Type temples along with the Sun-temple at Modhera are placed the Sun-temples on the Hiraṇyā and elsewhere. But it must be said at the outset that chronologically other Sun-temples are later than that at Modhera. And though they also differ from the latter in respect of decoration, etc., still in their plan they greatly resemble the Modhera temple.[1] That is why they are here discussed together.

None of them is dated; nevertheless the Modhera temple can be placed in the 11th century on two grounds: (1) the back wall of the shrine has an inscription which reads upside down, *Vikrama Saṁvat* 1083, that is, A. D. 1026-27; this may refer to the time of the temple;[2] (2) its style of architecture, particularly the decoration of the columns, and *toraṇas*,[3] resembles that in the Jaina temple of Adinātha, built by Vimala in 1031-2[4] at Delwārā, Abu. The temple thus belongs to the reign of Bhīma I (A. D. 1022-63).

The Sun-Temple at Modhera

The Sun-temple at Modherā consists of the shrine proper (*garbhagṛha*), a hall (*gūḍhamaṇḍapa*), an outer hall or the assembly hall (*sabhāmaṇḍpa or raṅgamaṇḍpa*), and a *kuṇḍa*, a sacred pool, now called Rāmakuṇḍa.[5]

The *sabhāmaṇḍapa* does not form part of the main body of the temple, but is a distinct structure placed a little away in front of it. Both, however, are built on a paved platform. In plan the shrine and the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* form a rectangle, with one projection on each of the smaller sides (forming the entrance and the back niche of the shrine), and two projections on each of the longer sides.[6] It measures 51 feet

[1] Perhaps because all the temples are dedicated to Sūrya.

[2] Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, p. 81.

[3] For details see below.

[4] Burgess, o.c., p. 81; *EI.*, IX, p. 148, for the inscription recording the date.

[5] See *Ibid.*, plan, pl. xlviii; here Fig. 13 and 35.

[6] See fig. plan; here Fig. 13 and 35-36.

9 inches by 25 feet 8 inches. This is almost equally divided between the *garbhagṛha* and the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*.

The *garbhagṛha* is 11 feet square inside, and has a *pradakṣiṇamārga* formed by a passage between its own walls, and the outer walls of the temple. Slabs of stone, carved on the inside with rosettes, covered the passage; the *śikhara* that surmounted this is now no more.

The construction of the shrine is different from those previously described. There is a cell below the level of the ordinary (upper) cell, where the floor has now fallen. And this Burgess calls "two storeys". But it appears that the image proper (whose seat is now lying in the pit), was enshrined in the upper cell. And the lower was perhaps meant for storage purposes.[1]

Inside, the shrine walls are severely plain. The doorway, however, is sculptured with figures of Sūrya seated in panels and surrounded by dancers and amorous couples.[2] All the figures are badly mutilated, while the "dedicatory image"[3] on the door frame is completely destroyed. It would have been interesting to know what the image was, Sūrya or Gaṇeśa, because many other temples, though dedicated to Viṣṇu or Sūrya, have Gaṇeśa on the door-lintel.

The interior simplicity of the shrine-walls is amply balanced by the immensity of the carvings on their exterior. As at Sūnak the base and the wall of the shrine and hall are divided into a series of mouldings, each of which is decorated in its own way. The base or *pīṭha*[4] has first a square member, called "*bhaṭa*" (or Sanskrit "*upānaḥ*" (or *upāna?*),[5] which

[1] Perhaps jewels, as Burgess suggests. There is, however, no way to get into this cell, except by jumping; unless we suppose that a ladder was used to get down.

[2] *Ibid.*, pls. li-lii.

[3] The expression is not quite correct as used by Burgess and Cousens. They use it in the sense that the place was occupied by the image to whom the shrine was dedicated, whereas I have shown elsewhere that the place was usually occupied by Gaṇeśa, irrespective of other considerations, as a lord of auspicious occasions. He is really installed here as a *mangala mūrti*.

[4] This Sanskrit synonym for the base of buildings and pillars is used by Burgess and Cousens. Burgess, o. c., p. 76. Acharya, *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, p. 349, cites instances from *Śilpaśāstras*, etc., which show that *pīṭha* usually meant "pedestal of an idol, the yoni part of the Phallus, a ground-plan, a religious seat," while the word for the base of buildings and columns was *adhiṣṭhāna*. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[5] Acharya, o.c., 98, gives *upāna*, a rectangular moulding. He does not mention either *upānaḥ* or *bhaṭa*.

is repeated twice over; over this is a cymarecta moulding, *padma* or *padmaka*,[1] and "not decorated with broad leaves....." as Burgess says, but *in the form of an inverted lotus leaf*.[2] Over it is a "fillet" or an astragal with a sharp edge between two deep recesses, called in Sanskrit *antarita*.[3] Above this, is a band, *paṭṭa*,[4] of *kirtimukhas*,[5] "having a thin moulding called *chhajaḷ*[6] along its lower edge". Over this is another *chhajāḷ*, separated by a neck "*alinga*".[7] Over this is a broad *paṭṭi*, band, carved with elephants, called *gajathara*.[8] Over this is another band, carved with men in various attitudes called *narathara*.[9] Here the basement mouldings end.

The wall mouldings called "*maṇḍovara*"[10] begin with a moulding, called *kumbha*,[11] a pitcher, with a broad undecorated band on its lower part, but itself ornamented with a row of oval discs;[12] over this is a pitcher-like member called "*kalaśa*".[13] This is surmounted with a broad band, decorated with *caitya*-windows, called "*kevala*".[14] Over this is a similar member called *mānchi*,[15] separated from the one below by a deep band; separated by a thin fillet is the panelled face of the wall, called "*jaṅghā*".[16] This is decorated with figures of gods, but the arrangement is such that figures of Sūrya to whom the temple is dedicated, are more prominently placed

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 337. [2] Hence the name *padma*, a lotus.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 47. Burgess, o. c., p. 76. He also calls it *kaṇi*, which is not mentioned by Acharya. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 330.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 132, gives *kīrti-vaktra*, monumental face, but does not mention *kīrtimukha* at all.

[6] This is a purely Gujarāti word. It is not mentioned by Acharya.

[7] Acharya, o. c., p. 71, does not use it in the sense given by Burgess, o. c., p. 76. Acharya calls it "a moulding like the fillet, but with greater projection".

[8] This expression is not mentioned by Acharya, o. c., p. 157.

[9] Not mentioned by *Ibid.* [10] Not mentioned by *Ibid.*

[11] According to Acharya, o. c., pp. 25, 41 *kumbha* is one of the mouldings of *adhiṣṭhāna* (base), called *pushpa-pushkala*, *mānchа-bandha*, *śreṇi-bandha* and *kumbha-bandha*. [12] Like the Sun's disc.

[13] Acharya under "*kalaśa*" refers us to *kalaśa-bandha* under *kumbha-bandha*, where it cannot be traced. [14] Not mentioned by Acharya.

[15] Not mentioned as such by Acharya. But resembles *mānchа-bandha*, p. 462.

[16] Acharya does not give this meaning. He gives the equivalent "the leg pillar....." and explains it as a part of the leg from the ankle to the knee, p. 206. This is not the usual meaning of *jaṅghā*: here it means the thigh, the broad part of a building. Burgess' use seems to be more appropriate.

than those of others.[1] Besides these there are smaller panels containing dancers etc. But particular attention is paid to Sūrya figures which have been sculptured in the niches round the *pradakṣiṇāmārga*, as well as outside in three niches on each side of the three windows in the shrine wall. Generally Sūrya is shown in these sculptures as standing, with two arms, bearing lotuses and driven by seven horses.[2]

Over every panelled figure is a small cornice, which is surmounted with a "triangular pediment", consisting of *caitya*-windows, called "*udgam*".[3] The moulding above this consisting of projecting bands of *caitya*-windows and *kīrtimukhas*, is called "*mālakvāl*.[4] Over this is the topmost member of the *maṇḍovara*, the principal cornice, called "*chhājlī*.[5] The wall was crowned with the *śikhara*, of which no remains are left tojudge the shape.

The *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*, as said before, has three projections; the entrance, facing east, others being the side windows, one on each side. These were enclosed by perforated stone screens,[6] the northern of which is in ruins, while the southern has disappeared.

As at Sūnak and other smaller temples the *maṇḍapa* was roofed by a dome which perhaps rose in concentric circles, supported by eight principal columns arranged in an octagon, and with four pillars arranged in a line in front of the shrine, and two columns placed in the recesses of the windows and the entrance.[7]

The decoration and formation of these columns is treated separately, along with those of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*.

The *sabhāmaṇḍapa* or the assembly hall, in general outline, resembles a parallelogram, and the rows of columns which open the entrance on each side form its diagonals. Externally the *maṇḍapa* is most beautifully decorated. Each of the four sides is cut into a series of recessed-corners, which give the building the appearance of a star in a

[1] See here Fig 69. But Brahmā's position is not less prominent here.

[2] See Fig. 69.

[3] Not mentioned by Acharya. Above this Burgess places another member called *ḍhoḍia*, which, when comparing with the illustration, is found to be the same as the pediment.

[4] Seems to be Prākṛitized word from the Sanskrit *mālāvali*, row of rosaries. It is not mentioned by Acharya.

[5] The Sanskrit equivalent is *karṇikā*. See Acharya, o. c., p. 120.

[6] See Burgess, o. c., p. xlix. [7] See plan, *Ibid.*, pl. xlvili. Here Fig. 36.

plan. Further, they consist of a series of mouldings. The base, *pīṭha* or *adhiṣṭhāna*, is smaller than that of the shrine, because two courses of fillets or astragals are omitted. In other respects the mouldings are the same as those of the shrine, only the *padma* is more richly decorated with floral ornament. But the wall mouldings are different. First, above the band of *narathara*, separated by a fillet, is a band, filled with panels of gods, dancers, etc.—and is called *rājasena*.[1] Over this is the wall proper, decorated with large vertical panels of gods and goddesses and slabs of stone with floral design. This moulding is called "*vedi*"[2] and is said to correspond to the *jaṅghā* of the *maṇḍovara*. The cornice above this is called "*asinot*"[3] and supports a member, called "*kakṣāsana*,"[4] which slopes outwards and on the inner sides forms a bench-rest to the bench, *āsana*, which runs round the interior of the hall. This looks like the *vedikā* of the Buddhist caves, but in addition to the rail-pattern, there are erotic figures.[5]

Over this was the roof in the shape of a stepped pyramid, as at Sūnak, and Saṇḍerā,[6] but almost all of it has now fallen. The interior of this roof was formed by a ceiling, rising in tiers.[7] This rested on the pillars arranged in an octagon. But its height is increased, as in the Vimala's temple at Abu, by stilting the supporting columns, to whose capital a short shaft, surmounted by a sur-capital, is added to support the lintels.[8]

Thus, we get *toraṇas*, or decorated cusped arches, which spring from the lower brackets of the columns and touch the lintels. They are of two kinds:[9] (1) semicircular, and (2) triangular. The former has

[1] The term does not occur in Acharya, o. c., p. 523. Perhaps it implies a royal road *rāja-patha* or *rājavīthi*, shown by the cosmopolitan character of its figure sculpture.

[2] Acharya, o. c., p. 565, does not give this use of the word *Vedi*, though it is said to mean a moulding and used as such in Buddhist caves.

[3] Not mentioned by *Ibid.*

[4] The term as such does not occur in *Ibid.*, but *kakṣābandha* forms a class of base-mouldings, see *Ibid.*, p. 105.

[5] For the illustration of these mouldings, see Burgess, o. c., pl xlix, and pp. 78–79.

[6] See Here Fig. 32.

[7] Cf. here Fig. 45–46. From Vimala's temple, Abu.

[8] Burgess, o. c., p. 79. Cf. here Abu Fig. 51 and 54.

[9] See *Ibid.*, p. lv, from the interior of the *Gūḍhamaṇḍapa*. Also cf. similar f rom Rudramāla, *Ibid.*, p. xxxvii, and Vadnagar, pl. lix. Here Fig. 55–56.

cusped arches[1] with tips, while its broad band is carved with minute figures. The second is really a triangle, with a round apex, and wavy sides,[2] similarly decorated with tips and figures. Many of the tips are now broken and the figures defaced.

The brackets from which these *toraṇas* spring are usually in the shape of *makaras*, and may be called the *makara-toraṇas*, or *citra-toraṇas*, because of their decorations.[3] As mentioned before, they show great resemblance to the *toraṇas* in the Vimala temple, while they differ from those of Tejaḥpāla's, which was built two centuries later. These are exactly in the shape of a triangle, and the arrangement of figures, each figure in a small niche by itself, is strikingly different.[4]

The pillars[5] in the shrine and the hall are of mainly two kinds: (1) short, resting on the wall, and supporting the roof above; (2) pillars with tall columns, which rise directly from the floor.

In the first kind of pillars the shaft is square, for about half its height, then comes a vase, after which the shaft becomes octagonal and is surmounted with a capital, and a bracket. The square part is decorated with a floral design in a circle[6] on each of its faces; the vase part is similarly decorated on each of its corners, while the octagonal section consists of four bands, the topmost being that of *kīritimukhas*. The capital consists of three plate-like members—annulets[7]—the topmost being decorated with "drop" projection.

In the second kind of pillars the shaft rests on a square[8] or octagonal[9] base. This may be called *kumbhi*. Each of its faces is adorned with a triangular ornament or a niched-god. Over this is a member, called *kalaśa*, and over it, separated by a deep band, is the *kevala*, decorated with *caitya*-windows. Above this is a band of *kīrtimukhas*. Over this

[1] Which may be called 'multifoil' arch; cf. Fletcher, *History of Architecture*, fig. 159. [2] May be called a form of 'trefoil' arch; cf. *Ibid.*

[3] Cf. *Acharya*, o.c., p. 246. [4] See Fig. 51 and 54.

[5] No comparison is instituted between these pillars and those mentioned by the *Mānasāra* and other books on architecture cited by Acharya, o.c., p. 645, as the Modhera or Gujarāt pillars are generally composite, while the varieties mentioned by Acharya are of uniform shape.

[6] Often semi-circular, and contains a *makara*, elephant's head, and a *kīrtimukha*. See Burgess, o.c., pl. liii-v.

[7] Similar to the capital in doric order. Cf. Fletcher, *History of Architecture*, fig. 21. [8] See Burgess, o.c., pl. lii. [9] See *Ibid.*, pl. liv.

is a triangular pediment, consisting of *caitya*-windows. From here begins the shaft. It is decorated first with large standing figures—usually dancers—placed in each of the eight faces of the shaft, enclosed with ringed-pilasters. A beautifully carved, round, pillow-like plate[1] separates it from a smaller band depicting various scenes, involving men and beasts: over this, separated by a short annulet is a still smaller band containing sixteen standing human figures. Above this, similarly distinguished is a row of leaves. From here the shaft becomes circular, and has three[2] or four bands, containing a row of men (fighters), lozenges and circles, and lastly a beautiful row of *kirtimukhas*, each of which is separated by a chain and bell ornament.

A capital similar to that of the short pillar surmounts this, which is crowned with a *makara*-bracket in the case of the eight stilted pillars, and with dwarfs in the rest.[3] The eight stilted pillars are further surmounted with a short circular shaft and capital, identical with the one just described, and this is crowned with a bracket of volutes[4] and pendant leaves. The decoration of the pilasters is very much like that of the short pillars, and resembles that at Sūnak. The large columns resemble those in the temples at Somnāth, Abu[5] (Tejaḥpāla's), Sidhpur (Rudramal),[6] Vadnagar,[7] in their mouldings and decorations, but they have not much in common with those at Ambarnāth, or the columns of the Calukya temples in Karṇāṭaka, or those of the Haihaya and Candella temples. However, there are many points of similarity between the Gujarat and the contemporary temples of Rājputāna.[8]

The figure sculptures at Modhera deserve special notice. Unlike other temples the walls near the shrine are sculptured with Sūrya, so also the panels adjoining the three windows in the shrine. This indicates that the temple was dedicated to Sūrya.

[1] Like the '*ālinga*' of the wall-mouldings. Cf. Acharya, o. c., p. 67.

[2] Very often the lowest of these bands has square holes in it, perhaps for supporting bracket figures. See *Ibid.*, pl. lv.

[3] Except the pillars at the door-way of the shrine which have brackets similar to those of the stilted pillars.

[4] We may say 'volute-like'. It partly resembles the scroll of the Greek Ionic order. See Fletcher, o. c., fig. 23.

[5] See Fig. 54. [6] See Fig. 55 and Burgess o. c., pl. xxxix.

[7] See Fig. 56 and *Ibid.*, pl. lvii.

[8] See below for references.

In other niches and corners occur figures of Śiva and Viṣṇu in various forms, Brahmā, Nāgas and goddesses. Wherever these remain whole, sufficiently to be identified, they have been discussed under iconography. But elsewhere, particularly on the walls, small flat ceilings and lintels of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, are depicted scenes, many of which, I think, are from the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[1] And it is the first place in Gujarāt[2] where such scenes are found in an ancient temple. The scenes, if studied, might throw light on the popularity of the Rāmā-story in Gujarāt.

In front of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* was once a *kīrtitoraṇa*, a triumphant arch; of this the pediment and the *toraṇa* have disappeared, only the two pillars remain.[3] The mouldings and decorations of these are similar to those of the wall of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* and the pillars. Through the *kīrtitoraṇa* a flight of stairs led to the *kuṇḍa*[4] (reservoir), now called *Rāma-kuṇḍa* but originally perhaps known as *Sūrya-kuṇḍa*.

Sun-temple on the Hiranya

The situation of the Sun-temple on the Hiraṇyā river, on a hillock amidst mango-groves, is so enchanting that at first sight it seems to belong to the ancient period.[5] But it resembles in plan the *garbhagṛha* and *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* of the Modhera temple. It has no *sabhāmaṇḍapa*.

Cousens places it in the 14th century, for, among its basement mouldings, there is an *aśvathara*, a course of horse-mouldings, which is never found either by itself or along with others in a small temple of the Caulukyan period, and thus Cousens rightly points out that this incorrect use of it denotes a much later date,[6] when the canons and use of architecture were in decadence. This is also shown by the ill-proportioned size of the front porch. To this may be added the fact that it is not a typical Sun-temple, because it has Gaṇeśa on the lintel of the shrine door-way,

[1] Unfortunately it was not possible to stay at Modhera and study these. But it is these, I think, which give the *kuṇḍa*, in front of the temple, the name Rāma-kuṇḍa.

[2] Outside Gujarāt, Rāmāyaṇa scenes are found in an early Cālukyan temple of Virupākṣa at Pattadkal. See Cousens, *Cha. Arch.*, p. 64–65; pl. xliii-iv, and xlvi.

[3] See Fig. 36. [4] See Fig. 35.

[5] See Cousens, *Somanātha*, p. 29; pl. xiii.

[6] From its general appearance, it is likely to be placed earlier. And want of decoration may be further cited as evidence. But whatever decoration there is, is an imitation of the best period of Gujarāt architecture and not its forerunner.

and the niches round the shrine have figures of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, Śiva-Pārvatī, and Brahmā-Sarasvatī.[1]

Anyhow, it is interesting to see how it imitates the true Caulukyan temple. As shown by the plan, it consists of a shrine with a *pradakṣiṇāmārga* and a *guḍhamaṇḍapa*, and has a small porch in front. Inside, the shrine is very simple and has a small image of Sūrya. Its door-frame has on one side a panel of niched-gods; the shaft is otherwise bare; above the lintel there is a panel of Navagrahas, and on the lintel itself there is an image of Gaṇapati.

Outside, the shrine walls are simple compared with those at Modhera The only ornament is the *aśvathara* on the *pīṭha* (base); the *kumbhi* has niched-gods and goddesses, separated by intervals. So also the *jaṅghā* of the wall has fewer figures. Above this there is a band of *kīrtimukhas*, and the cornice. Like the Modhera temple the *pradakṣiṇāmārga* has no windows, but niches which contain figures of gods and goddesses.

The *maṇḍapa* has a row of six pillars in the centre, and four pilasters on each side which once supported the roof above. The central ceiling of this roof has lost its middle portion, but the remainder is decorated with *kīrtimukhas* which is totally dissimilar from the earlier decoration.

The pillar decoration too is different. It has an octagonal base; the shaft, for about half its height, is 16-sided, then becomes round, which is adorned with a row of projecting *haṁsas* (swans), string courses, and a band of *kīrtimukhas*. The capital, as at Modhera, consists of two annulets, without the "drop projection", and is surmounted with brackets of volutes and pendant bells.[2]

The *śikhara* is interesting too. Not only the shrine–but also the porch–*śikhara* is surrounded by a group of smaller *śikharas* up to some height;[3] while on the main *śikhara* figures of Sūrya and others are found up to a height[4] never noticed in other temples except those which are known to be late.

Surya-Narayana Temple

The temple of Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa, near Somnāth, is cited by Burgess, but no account is given.[5] From its plan,[6] it appears to be identical with that of the Sūrya temple

[1] Cousens, o. c., p. 30. Images of Sūrya are also found on the outside walls, while there are some figures on the *śikhara*.

[2] See Fig. 53. [3] See Cousens, o. c., pl. xii. [4] See *Ibid.*

[5] Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, p. 75. He cites his book a *Visit to Somnāthā*, p. 24, which I could not trace in London and Bombay.

[6] Burgess, *ASWI.*, Vol. IX, p. 74, fig. 7.

already discussed. It has a shrine surmounted by a *śikhara*,[1] a *pradakṣiṇā mārga*, with three niches and a *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*, with two windows, one on either side. Within, there are six pillars. In front there is a porch. In the absence of details, its further description is not possible, but this sufficiently describes the similarity in plan between the three Sūrya temples.

Sun-Temple, Than

Under the group of Large Type Temples may also be brought a Sun-temple at Thān.[2] It belongs to the late 14th century, A. D. 1376, being erected by one Simha, son of Butada Lākhā of the Kāṭhi caste.[3] Its detailed description is not necessary. The decoration on the outside walls once more illustrates how the architects were trying to keep up the old tradition, the manifold mouldings, with figures, etc. Inside, the ornamentation on the door-frame[4] is a mixture of old and new tendencies. The Gaṇeśa figure on the lintel is disproportionately big; while below, on either side of the door, is a peculiarly large panel containing figures—all of which are badly defaced. The capital of the pilasters of the door, again, is totally different from those noticed in the earlier temples. In every respect this temple indicates the end of the truly Caulukyan style.

Rudramal

The famous Rudramāl or Rudramahālaya, at Sidhpur, was perhaps one of the earliest and largest Caulukyan temples. It was first built[5] by Mūlarāja in the 10th century, but perhaps reconstructed, according to a tradition,[6] by Siddharāja Jayasimha in the 12th century. Burgess thought that in size and appearance it perpaps resembled the Padmanābha temple at Gwālior, of the late 11th century.[7] It might have also resembled the stone temple at Gumli,[8] in Kāthiāwār.

But at present so little of it remains—only four pillars of the north porch and five pillars of the east porch of the *maṇḍapa* (one of these is

[1] See Fig 42.

[2] Cousens, o. c., p. 47–49; pl. xlvi; plan pl. xlix.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

[4] See *Ibid.*, pl. xlix.

[5] According to the tradition, which Burgess notes (*ASWI.*, Vol. IX, p. 59), Rudramahālaya was left incomplete by Mūlarāja. This does not seem to be true. For Mūlarāja's Kadi grant, *IA.*, VI, p. 101, definitely says "Having worshipped Rudramahālayadeva .....at Srīsthala, on the Prāci Sarasvati....." which implies the existence of the temple.

[6] See Burgess, o.c., pp. 59–61.

[7] Burgess, o. c., p. 63, fig. 2; also Fergusson, *His. of Ind. and East. Arch.*, fig. 339; Griffins, *Famous Monuments of Central India*, pp. 71–82, pls. xlii-iii and xlv. There are no signs of any *toraṇas* at Sās-Bahu (Padmanābha) temple.

[8] Burgess, *AKK.*, p. 78; pl. xl-lii and Cousens, *Somanātha*, p. 36, pls. xxiv-vi.

inside the door of the adjoining house), four pillars of the back of the *maṇḍapa*, a *toraṇa* and one cell at the back—that the original plan of the temple can only be guessed.[1]

From the remains as they now stand only this much can be made out for certain, that the groups of four pillars at 'A'[2] and at 'B' indicate that there were porches on three (?) sides (of the *maṇḍapa*?) as in the Somanātha temple; further the position of the four pillars at 'C' and the lintel thereon shows that it once formed part of an octagonal *maṇḍapa*, which was perhaps three storeys in height (if not on all, at least on the east front of the *śikhara*, as Burgess concludes[3]). Of these remains it is proposed to discuss in detail the architecture and decoration of the pillars at 'C', the architecture of the porches and that of the *kīrtistambha* or *toraṇa*.[4]

At 'C' there are four pillars in a line; of these, each pillar at the end is much larger than the two intermediate ones. All the four support a lintel, over which stand two pillars, supporting another lintel above them[5] (part of the second storey). The size of the stones of these pillars is said to be exceptional, for their shafts are of a single block 12 feet in height; while in width the outer pillars are 4 feet in diameter, and the inner ones 3½ feet.[6]

Not so much in their decoration, as in their crisp, deep cutting they seem to be unique. It appears that the square plinth, if at all existing, is either buried underground or its edges are destroyed. The base above this is octagonal. But unlike that at Modhera, Somnāth, or elsewhere, it is deeply cut into a series of projecting *kaṇis* or astragals, and further adorned with eight seated panelled figures. Separated by a deep neck is the *jaṅghā*, corresponding to the wall-mouldings. Here are eight standing figures of gods, all mutilated. Above this are small bands, containing eight seated goddesses; over this bands of leaves, and *kīrtimukhas*; then projecting corbels to support the bracket figures that

[1] See Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, p. 63, pl. xxxviii and also fig. 3, p. 65.

[2] See *Ibid.*, pl. xxxviii.

[3] He cites Tod (*Travels in Western India*, p. 141.) who saw "two storeys, each supported by four columns, and the columns of a third storey, preserving, without any entablature ....." *Ibid.*, p. 64.

[4] Besides these, there are old pillars and ceilings in the Jami Masjid adjoining the Rudramāl and a *śikhara*. The latter perhaps represents the style of the *śikhara* that once crowned Rudramahālaya. See Burgess, o. c., fig. 4, p. 68 and pl. xlv; here Fig. 34.

[5] See *Ibid.*, pl. vi; here Fig. 58. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

once adorned the capital, as they still do at Vadnagar and Gumli: above this, the shaft becomes circular, and is cut into three deep bands. Over this is the capital, which consists of three or four annulets from the topmost of which hang down beautifully carved leaves, while the lowest has "drip projection." Over this are brackets, also very richly decorated.

Many of its decorative motives are similar to those in the temples at Modhera and Somnāth, but the carved leaves seem to be unparalleled in Gujarāt (excepting at Vadnagar), especially in their deep cutting. The two small bands of seated *devīs* above the large standing figures, remind us of similar bands in a Somnāth pillar.[1]

The pillars[2] of other porches are similar to these.

The architraves of the pillars just described[3] as well as of other porches,[4] are richly sculptured with figures and foliated designs. The architrave surmounting the pillars at C[5] has, among other decorations, a row of seated gods, with an attendant on either side. Above this is a band of foliated designs. Elsewhere[6] different scenes are portrayed. In one there is a person going in a palanquin,[7] and on either side there are dancers; in another two elephants perform some physical feats; whereas in others war-scenes seem to be depicted.

Kirtitoranas

The *Kīrtistambha*[8] or *Toraṇa* that now remains, of the possible two or three,[9] is built on the same principle as at Vadnagar, and the ruined one at Modhera. But in the decoration of its mouldings, it differs from that of the latter.

[1] See Cousens, *Somanātha*, pl. ix; the second pillar from the left. This gives another proof that Somanātha's interior is not much later than that of Rudramahālaya.

[2] Burgess, *ASWI*, IX, pls. xxxvii and xli.

[3] See *Ibid.*, pl. xl.

[4] See *Ibid.*, p. xxxvii and xlii.

[5] See *Ibid.*, pl. xi.

[6] See *Ibid.*, pl. xlii.

[7] The shape of the palanquin is similar to those in the ceilings in the Vimala and Tejahpāla temples, Abu.

[8] It should be properly called *Torana* and not *Kīrtistambha*; for it is by this name that the earliest known gateway–that at Bhārhut–is called. See *EI.*, X, Appendix, p. 65. The latter stands for a solitary pillar only as the Meharauli Iron pillar at Delhi; while the former is really a twofold arch, one standing between and the other on two pillars. Its full name would be *Kīrtitorana* or even *Mangalatoraṇa*, as it stands in front of a temple. See Acharya, *Dictionary*, p. 132, and p. 659 where the instances cited by him (Kauham Stone Pillar Ins. of Skandagupta, *CII.*, III, p. 67, and Conjeeveram plates of Krishna-Deva-Raya, *EI.*, XIII, p. 127) refer to a single pillar. The two inscriptions of Yaśodharman, *CII.*, III, No. 33 and 34 also speak of a single pillar which may be called a *kīrti* or *vijaya* or *raṇastambha*.

[9] Burgess, o. c., p. 67.

The existing *toraṇa* is situated to the north of the front porch (at E in pl. xxxviii)[1] and consists of two pillars that support a richly carved architrave, over which is a pediment in the shape of a triangular arch. This springs from *makara*-mouths,[2] and rests on four smaller columns. A *toraṇa*, semi-circular in shape, once adorned the inside of the pillars. It sprang from elephant brackets and touched the sofit.[3] Both the *toraṇas* thus are decorative, and not structural, as the main part is played by the architrave and the brackets.

The bases of the pillars, in comparison to ordinary ones, are much broader. Each base consists of three plinths,[4] and a *kumbhi* above it, cut into a series of facets. Possibly this was decorated with *kīrtimukhas*, and other small figures as Forbes' sketch shows;[5] and with a seated figure on each face of the base.[6] Over this is the *jaighā* containing a standing figure on each of its four sides. Above this there are smaller bands over a circular shaft. Then comes the capital, similar to those of the pillars at 'C', and adorned with pendant leaves. Above this is a bracket (perhaps in the shape of elephants, as Forbes' sketch shows). Over this is a short shaft with a sur-capital and a bracket which supports the architrave. This is sculptured with minute figures. Above the architrave, each *makara*-bracket (which supports the *toraṇa*) contains figures.[7] Similar figures perhaps once stood between the small supporting pillars of the triangular *toraṇa*, as at Vadnagar.

Vadnagar Torana

The best idea of the *toraṇa*-architecture can be had at Vadnagar. There are two now, "outside the walls to the north of the town".[8] Both are identical in size and style, but the one "more easterly of the two" is said to be in better condition.[9]

[1] *Ibid.*, here Fig. 55.

[2] *Makaras* are most common in the mediaeval *toraṇas* The evolution of this motive, both in *toraṇa*-decoration and otherwise, is shown by Cousens, *ASIAR.*, 1903–4, p. 227 and recently by Vogel, *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, Tome VI, p. 133.

[3] See *ASWI.*, IX, sketch by Forbes, pl. xliv, fig. 2. This seems to be not of the *toraṇa* now remaining, but some other, as Forbes' sketch is different from that now existing. See details below, and Fig. 55.

[4] See *Ibid.*

[5] Instead of *kīrtimukhas*, it shows some other heads.

[6] This does not exist on the pillar-base now. Forbes' sketch does not tally with the *toraṇa* now standing. See Fig. 55.

[7] They are too indistinct for description.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 84, pls. lvii and lix. See Fig. 56.

It is not necessary to describe every part of it, except its peculiarities of decoration, as other details are identical with those at Sidhpur.

The plinth of the *toraṇa*-pillars is simple, having a decoration of lozenges only. After this follow in order the *padma*, *kaṇi*, *kīrtimukhas*, *gajathara*, *narathara* and sculptured *kumbhi*. Then, torus, 'drip' projection and a *kīrtimukha* band. After this a panelled figure on each face of the pillar, placed under a richly carved canopy. Over this, after an octagonal band are corbel projections, which support standing figures[1] on the inside and outside of the pillar. The capital is similar to those on the columns of the Rudramahālaya, and encased by pointed, carved leaves; over this is another bracket, which supports on the inside a "griffin", and from the mouths of the *makaras* springs the semi-circular arch; on the outside, round the shaft of the sur-capital are three standing figures,[2] one on each side; over this, a short shaft, surmounted with a capital and bracket. This supports the architrave from which springs a triangular arch. Inside this arch, between the two middle pillars, is a seated god, perhaps Śiva.[3] On his one side is a standing Gaṇeśa; on the other the figure is not distinct.

The Vadnagar-*toraṇas* in date, then, are not much later than those at Sidhpur. Their mouldings and decorative motives resemble each other much and are almost identical with the remains of a *toraṇa* at Modhera, and should be assigned to the period of Jayasiṁha.

Kapadvanj Torana

Similar *toraṇas* have also been reported from Kapadvanj,[4] in the Kaira district, and Ratanpur.[5] The former now stands on the east side of a platform of a *kuṇḍa*, or reservoir in the market place. It is smaller than those at Vadnagar and Sidhpur. The pillars are about 16 feet high. Their mouldings and decoration are in some respects identical with those mentioned above but differ mainly in the shape of the *toraṇas*. At Kapadvanj, both the *toraṇas*, one above the architrave, and the other between the two pillars,

[1] Only one is now left; others have disappeared.

[2] Now mostly destroyed.

[3] Or Maheśa or Trimūrti as the sketch shows, Burgess, *ASWI.*, p. lix.

[4] *ASWI.*, VIII, p. 94, pl. lxxxii; here Fig. 57.

[5] *PRASWC.*, 1908, p. 6. Photos Nos. 3125-32. I searched for the photographs mentioned in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, but the file could not be traced there; so no comment on the *toraṇas* is possible.

are triangular, with five distinct curves for arches (cinquefoil). But there are slight differences between the arches themselves, particularly in the central crowning arch.[1]

The Kapadvanj-*toraṇa* is further distinguished from those at Vadnagar and Sidhpur by the inset figures between the small columns on the architrave and by these columns themselves. The central figure here is Śiva, in one of his dancing poses,[2] and not Śiva as Bhairava, as Burgess says.[3] Likewise the figures in the adjoining niches are drummers, and not Gaṇeśa, etc.

The small columns, again, are of a slightly different design. There are no "dripping", highly carved, leaves over the capital of the pillars noticed in the 11th century pillars at Vadnagar and Sidhpur. For these reasons we may place the Kapadvanj-*toraṇa* in the 12th or the 13th century, before the Tejaḥpāla temple at Abu.

Piludra Torana

Recently another *toraṇa* was discovered at Piludra, Mehsana District,[4] Northern Gujarāt Unfortunately it is in a dilapidated condition. The basement moulding seems to be buried under ground; the inner *toraṇa* (or arch) is missing; whereas the upper *toraṇa* is mostly broken. Though many of the decorative sculptures are destroyed, the extant remains indicate that the *toraṇa* was like the *toraṇas* at Vadnagar, Sidhpur and Kapadvanj both in the number of its mouldings and their decorations.[5]

The *toraṇa* "is believed to have been the main entrance to the Sun Temple." This local belief seems to be justified, because, besides the remains of the temple which are said to be buried under *debris* near by, the

[1] That on the architrave looks like a cusped arch whereas the one below has rounded corners.

[2] Perhaps Bhujaṅga-lalita; cf. Rao, *Iconography*, II, i, p. 227, though a *kapāla* in one hand is held not in this dance, but in the fifth form of the dance, (name not mentioned). See *Ibid.*, p. 254.

[3] *ASWI., VIII*, p. 94.

[4] Mentioned in the *Annual Report, Department of Archaeology, Baroda State*, 1938, p. 6; briefly described and illustrated in *An. Bib. Ind. Arch.*, Vol. XI, 1936 (1938), p. 15, and pl. vi, b.

[5] Dr. Hirananda Sastri says that the mouldings are not identical; but with what, whether with the wall mouldings of the Modhera Temple or the mouldings of other *toraṇas* is not clear from his description.

central figure of the architrave, upper *toraṇa*, though considerably mutilated, appears to be a seated[1] image of Sūrya, and his emblem, the lotus, is still visible in the right hand.

Contenporary Toranas

Outside Gujarāt, *toraṇas* have been found at Pathari,[2] in the Gwalior territory; at Rewa, Baghelkhand;[3] near the Galagnāth temple, Aihole,[4] and at Warangal[5] in the Nizam's dominions. Of these the Rewa-*toraṇa* is nearest in time to those in Gujarāt and may be considered with a view to noticing the parallel stylistic evolution in *toraṇa*-architecture.

Rewa Torana

The Rewa-*toraṇa* is not of the 12th century, as suggested by Fergusson,[6] but belongs to the 10th, to the early Haihaya kings of Tripuri.[7] Similar in conception to those in Gujarāt it is much different in composition. The shaft of the pillar is no doubt octagonal, but its treatment of the mouldings is different. So also the central arch. It is quatrefoil. Again figure-sculpture is more varied For instance, we find the Śiva-Pārvatī marriage-scene on the lintel, whereas on the pillars are Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa and Varāha. Compared with this, the sculptures on Gujarāt-*toraṇas* seem to be of a uniform type; its decoration on the shaft mouldings is identical with those on the wall-mouldings. One attempts to represent the whole of the Śaiva pantheon, the other its selected specimens.

Late Type Temples

In the second group of temples, called 'Late Type Temples', are placed the famous temple of Somanātha[8] at Somnāth, the Navalākha at Gumli,[9] and a temple of the same name at Sejakpur.[10] In these temples there is nothing fundamentally

[1] Perhaps in *utkaṭika āsana*. For figures of Sūrya in similar poses see below.

[2] Fergusson, o. c , II, p. 136; *Ancient Monuments and Temples of India*., pl. 222.

[3] *Ibid*., p 137; Griffin, o. c., pl. 87–89; Cunningham, *ASI*., *Reports*, XIX, p. 80 and pl. 19; *MASI*., Vol. 23, p. 73, pl. xx-vi.

[4] *PRASWC*.. 1908–9, photo No. 3203; Fergusson o. c., II, p 136.

[5] *An. Bib. Ind Aroh*., 1934, pl. v b. The Warangal-*toraṇa* has the most peculiar design. But the architrave has Śaiva figures, showing again affinity in this respect with those at Sidhpur, Kapadvanj, Vadnagar and Rewa.

[6] O. c., II. p. 137. [7] Banerji, *MASI*, Vol. 23, p. 73, pl. xxv-vi.

[8] Cousens, *Somanātha*, pp. 13, 29, pl.-ii ix.

[9] *Ibid* , p. 36. pl. xxiv-vi. Burgess, *AKR*., p. 178, pls. xl-xliv, plan xli.

[10] Cousens, o. c., p. 58, pls. lxi-iii, plan pl. lxv.

different from the temples of the early period; as a matter of fact, as will be shown below, these temples partake much of the decoration of the earlier temples, but additions here and omissions there relegate them to a period between the 12th and 13th centuries.

Somanatha Temple

Of the Somanātha temple, not much remains. A series of Muslim attacks[1] has destroyed its splendid architecture and sculpture, and even altered its appearance; to this destruction the salty air has added its share; on the outside, the surface is much corroded.

Cousens thinks that the present temple is a remnant of the one built by Kumārapāla about A. D. 1169[2]. But, I believe, Kumārapāla carried out the restoration work, and not only the inner walls were kept intact as Cousens suggests,[3] but also much of the decorations, pillars, etc., which resemble those in the Modhera temple and the Vimala temple at Abu. Therefore the temple ruins seem to belong to a period extending from the 11th to 13th and from the 13th to 14th centuries.

Originally the temple comprised a shrine with a *pradakṣiṇāmārga* and *a gūḍhamaṇḍapa*, with three entrance porches.[4] The shrine was square, faced the east, and contained a *liṅga*,[5] but perhaps no other image of Śiva.[6]

Its *pradakṣiṇāmārga* had three balconied windows, one in each of its three sides, which lighted the passage as in the temple at Modhera. The window at the back of the shrine, as well as the balconies of other windows, have now fallen.

The shrine has lost its *śikhara*; instead has come the domical roof of the Muslims. Inside, the shrine is a wreck, its back-wall thrown down,

[1] For details see Cousens, o. c., pp. 18–25. First destroyed by Mahmud of Ghazna in A D. 1026, repaired by Kumārpāla in A. D. 1169. Destroyed second time by Alaf Khan in A. D. 1297. Repaired by the Cudāsama king Mahipāladeva in A. D. 1308–1325. Destroyed and turned into a mosque by Muzafar Khān, Governor of Gujarāt, in A. D. 1392. Destroyed for the last time, perhaps by Ahmad Shah in A. D. 1413, (Firishta, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power*, Vol. IV, p 17–18), when it was abandoned.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, pl. viii; here Fig. 14; regarding Cousens' suggestion that there might be a *sabhāmaṇḍapa* in front of the entrance, see below p. 102.

[5] Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. II, p. 103.

[6] Śiva might have been worshipped as Lakulīśa or Paśupati, as an ins. from Bhadrakāli temple, Somnāth, *BPSI.*, p. 186, suggests. But the main image was probably a *liṅga* only.

its shrine-door replaced by an ordinary stone-frame, and much of its ceiling pulled down. Outside, the shrine walls are completely denuded of sculpture, and wherever these remain they are beyond identification.

The *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* had eight pillars in an octagon, on which rested the central ceiling; four each for the porch, and four in a row near the shrine door, besides a number of pilasters and short pillars that supported the lintels of the roof and the porches. The central ceiling has now disappeared. Cousens suggests that it perhaps resembled the one in the Maipuri Masjid,[1] at Somnāth. The sides were roofed by slabs of stone, many of which were perhaps sculptured as in the temples at Abu and Modhera. One of the flat ceilings near the front entrance has a representation of *Kālīyamardana* scene.[2] A similar sculpture is in the Vimala temple at Abu. I, therefore, think, as mentioned before, that the interior of the temple is perhaps of the 11th century.

The height of the central ceiling is raised by stilting the eight pillars of the octagon as in the temples at Modhera and Abu, so that *toraṇas* could be introduced. As in the Modhera temple the *toraṇas* here are of two types—semi-circular and triangular. And in style of decoration they are identical with those at Modhera.

The pillars are of three types: (1) Pillars of the first type[3] resemble the large columns at Modhera. They have an octagonal base, ornamented with pointed triangles; above it, separated by a *kalaśa*, two bands and a deep neck are the panelled standing figures; above this, similarly separated, is a smaller band of seated gods; after this, the shaft becomes sixteen-sided and is decorated with petals. Over this, separated by an annulet, is a band of human beings; then again triangular leaves, lozenges and finally the band of *kīrtimukhas*. Over this, the capital is similar to the one at Modhera, consisting of two or three annulets. A bracket, decorated with volutes, surmounts this.

Pillars of the second type are much simpler.[4] Here the base, etc. are similar to those in the first. But the larger panel which contains standing figures is smaller in size than that of the previous one; whereas the shaft, after this, upto the *kīrtimukha*-band below the capital, is cut up into very small compartments which contain seated figures. This feature reminds Cousens of the pillars in the temple of Tejaḥpāla at Abu, and inclines him to place the Somanātha temple in the 13th century. But it should be noted that there is a great difference between the decoration of the two

[1] Here Fig. 48.

[2] See Fig. 49.

[3] See Cousens, o. c., pl. ix, fig. 4.

[4] See *Ibid.*, pl. ix, fig. 2.

pillars. In the Somanātha temple, the shaft is uniformly decorated, whereas in the Tejaḥpāla's there is much variation in decoration. Above the *kīrtimukhas* the capital and bracket are similar to those of the first type.

Pillars of the third type are short. They are square for about half their height, and are then decorated by four, circular, deeply cut bands.

Outside, the wall and base mouldings are severely mutilited. But the remains show that the temple stood on a paved platform and the basement consisted of a series of mouldings, more than those of the temple at Modhera, and contained the *aśvathara*. The *jaṅghā* (panelled-face) of the wall is at a much higher level than anywhere else in Gujarāt. Most of its figures are destroyed, but on the south-west corner are the remains of Śiva in *Tāṇḍava Nṛtya, Śiva-Pārvatī* and others.

Most striking must be the entrance proper as shown by the traces of its decoration on either side of it.[2] Here the ornament is in vertical panels, and has many new patterns, the two clearly visible being a diamond and a the circle in a rectangle. Both these are in high relief.

There are no traces of the *śikhara*. It has long been replaced by the Muslim tower and dome, as also some portions in the interior with a typical Muslim arch.

Cousens[3] thought that there was perhaps a *sabhāmaṇḍapa* slightly in advance of the main entrance. This is improbable, as there are no traces even of its foundation in front of the entrance. And there were more chances of its surviving than the temple itself.[4]

The Navalakha Temple, Gumli.

The temple at Gumli,[5] in Kāthiawār, is called Navalakha, and was perhaps built by the Jaitvās or Jethvās who occupied Gumli in about the 10th century[7]. But the temple, whose ruins only are now left, seems to belong to the 12th or 13th century,[6] as its pillar-decorations as

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[1] Cousens, o. c., pl. iv.

[2] See Fig. 43.

[3] O. c., p. 15.

[4] Being not a place of worship.

[5] As it is spelt in the map. Burgess spells it as either Ghumli or Bhumli. See *AKK.*, p. 178.

[6] *Ibid.* According to the *BG.*, VIII, p. 279, Jethvās entered Kāthiāwār from Cutch. Their chief, Sāl Kumār, founded the capital at Gumli. They occupied some position under the Caulukyas. See above p. 31.

[7] Burgess, *Ibid.*, p. 181 is inclined to place it in the latter half of the eleventh or in the twelfth century.

well as the ceiling and brackets are different from those of the early Caulukyan type of the 11th century. The temple stands on a raised platform 153½′ x 102′, like that at Modhera and Somnāth, but the platform here is much higher.[1] Originally over this was an enclosing wall, as at Somnāth. The temple consists of a shrine with a *pradakṣiṇā-mārga*, and a *maṇḍapa* hall, with three entrances, one on each side. Both the shrine and the *maṇḍapa* are square in outline, but with recessed corners, like a cruciform.[2] Inside, the shrine is square "and is roofed by a neat dome" with *chakwas* or sacred birds on the lintels of the octagon." In this respect it differs from similar domes in the earlier Gujarāt temples. According to Burgess the *liṅga* was removed from the shrine to the temple of Kedarnath, at Porbandar. The *pradakṣiṇāmārga*, round the shrine, has three windows, one on each side.[3]

On the outside, however, the shrine is very much differently adorned than elsewhere. First it stands higher than the *maṇḍapa*;[4] the basement mouldings consist of *padma (cymarecta)*, *kīrtimukhas*, etc.[5] over a treble course of square-membered plinth, one of which is decorated with a band of lozenges. There is no *aśvathara*, but just in front of the *gajathara* (elephant-course), on each face of the shrine, are two large elephants with their trunks intertwined,[6] and under this a rampant lion. This is altogether a novel feature. Another peculiarity is the position of the niched-gods on the outside of the shrine walls. As elsewhere these panels occur not on the *jaṅghā* (wall-face) proper, but a little below it; actually under each window of the *pradakṣiṇāmārga*. Thus on the south face there is Brahmā-Sarasvatī; on the west Umā-Maheśvara on Nandī;[7] on the north, the figures are destroyed, but were probably Lakṣmī and Viṣṇu.

After this comes the *kumbhi* of the *maṇḍovara*, with a row of seated goddesses, then the *kalaśa*; above this the *jaṅghā*, with panels of gods and goddesses;[8] over this, in each corner is an imitation of the shaft

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[1] *Ibid.*, pl. xl. [2] *Ibid.*, pl. xli; here Fig. 19.

[3] Thus it resembles the shrines at Somnāth and Modhera.

[4] See *Ibid.*, pl. xl.

[5] These are not clearly mentioned by Burgess, o. c., p. 180, but are visible in the photograph published by Cousens, o c., pl. xxv.

[6] See Cousens, o. c., pl. xxxi Exactly similar representation of this is found on the Sahasrakūṭa sculpture, Chaumukha temple, Ranpur, Jodhpur State, *ASIAR.*, 1907-08, pl. lxxxi, C; here Fig. 60.

[7] See Cousens, *Somanātha*, pl. xxvi. [8] *Ibid.*, pl. xxv.

capital with pendant leaves, in each corner.[1] Above this, there are two deeply-cut mouldings, and then comes the *chhajā* or cornice.

The *śikhara* which surmounted it is in ruins, but it was, as the remains indicate,[2] of the same type as at Sūnak.

The *maṇḍapa*, again, is totally dissimilar from the other Caulukyan temples.[3] It is of two storeys, "with twenty-two columns on the floor,... and thirty short ones on the low screened-walls that enclose it.....It is of cruciform shape, the central area being 29 feet square. To each side of this an aisle is added, 19 feet long, except on the west side....." [4] On three sides, there is a porch, as in the temple at Somnāth.

Its basement mouldings are similar to those of the shrine. But after this the sides are enclosed with vertical slabs, which are decorated with various patterns, the most frequent being the pot and foliage,[5] a pattern common on the short pillars of the early temples in Gujarāt.

The interior of the *maṇḍapa* is covered with a domical ceiling which rests on the columns of the second storey. It is not complete, the central pendant ornament and a few other courses of stone having fallen down.[6] As stated before the hall has two storeys, but how this second storey was reached, except by a wooden ladder,[7] is not clear. The columns may be said to be of two kinds as distinguished by their decoration. In the first, belonging to the central octagon, there is a double square plinth; over this, the *kumbhi* is adorned with a seated figure on each face; above this, separated by a *kalaśa* (torus) is the panelled part of the shaft (which appears to be round or square)[8] having four panels only, one on each face; the small pilasters have a griffon attached as a bracket to the outward side. Above this, is a smaller band, having eight panels with seated goddesses; over this the shaft is circular and adorned with a band of leaves, then a row of *chakwas* and above it a band of lozenges, and finally the *kīrtimukha* band below the capital. This is simple, consisting of a low torus, and an annulet.

The other type of columns found outside the octagon is much simpler. Its construction is similar, but is devoid of any figure decoration;[9] the

[1] As at Sūnak, Modhera and elsewhere.
[2] See Burgess, *AKK.*, pl. xl.
[3] Excepting Rudramāl at Sidhpur, which had definitely more than one storey.
[4] Burgess, *AKK.*, p. 179.
[5] *Ibid.*, pl. xlii.
[6] See *Ibid.*, p. 179–180.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] See *Ibid.*, pl. xliv.
[9] *Ibid.*, fig. 1.

other decoration consists of a pointed leaf for the base and the octagonal section and a *kīrtimukha*-band interspersed with fishes for the circular section of the shaft.

But more important than the columns (which are not far different from those of the temples in Gujarāt) is the variety presented by the brackets that crown them. Each bracket is differently sculptured. Burgess has illustrated about 17 types, consisting of *kīrtimukhas*, elephants, fishes, monkeys, swans, bulls, etc.[1] Among these the fish-motive is of special importance, for the fish is also found as a *lāñchana* (?) on the copperplate of Jāikadeva.[2]

No vestiges are left of the roof of the *maṇḍapa*. It must have been very imposing.

The Navalākha temple at Gumli, in short, is a mixture of two styles. The Jaitvas, or whoever built it, followed the most current style in the country, but at the same time, did not fail to introduce their own fashion, seen in the frequent use of elephants, *chakwās*, and also in the slight alteration of the basement and wall mouldings. Nevertheless, Gumli represents the western coast of Kāthiāwār, and shows that it too was influenced by the Caulukyan style of architecture no less than the south or the interior.

The Navalakha Temple Sejakpur

The temple at Sejakpur, also called Navalākha, I would place a little earlier than the one at Gumli, but not in the 11th century as Cousens would.[3] For in the crucifix shape of its *maṇḍapa* and the increased number of the recesses of the shrine-wall, the Sejakpur temple shows an advance upon those of the temples at Sūnak and Modhera, while its pillar-decoration is more akin to that in the temple at Gumli, though it does resemble the decoration in the temples at Modhera and Sūnak.

In plan it resembles the temple at Sūnak, and consists of a shrine with a *pradakṣiṇāmārga* and a *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*.[4] The former has no windows, and the latter has a porch[5] on either side, but it is not open.

Like the temples at Gumli and Modhera it stands on a "high solid brick foundation". Inside, the shrine is square, had a *liṅga*, and faces the east. It is roofed by a domical ceiling rising from a "corbel table".[6]

On the outside, the shrine has a basement[7] similar to the temples at Gumli and Somnāth, and consists of a double plinth, *padma*, a short

[1] See *Ibid.*, pl. xliii. [2] *IA.*, XII, p. 155. [3] *Somanātha*, p. 58.

[4] Cousens, o. c., pl. lxv; here Fig. 16. [5] May be called a projection only.

[6] No photograph is given. [7] See Cousens, *Somanātha*, pl. lx.

projecting *kaṇi* (annulet), *kīrtimukhas*, *gajathara*, and *narathara*. Its wall-mouldings–right up to the cornice–resemble those of the temple at Sūnak in having a sculptured *kumbhi*, *kalaśa*, panelled wall-face, surmounted with a triangular pediment and an imitation capital-like moulding. Cousens does not specifically mention the divinities in the three principal niches, but says that among the divinities are Bhairava, Mahākāla, Śiva-Pārvatī, Viṣṇu, Śītalā (the goddess of small-pox), etc.[1]

The *śikhara*, above the shrine,[2] is in ruins, but in shape it would have been similar to that of the large temple at Sūnak.

The *maṇḍapa* was roofed on the inside by a domical ceiling which had twelve bracket figures.[3] It is supported by pillars in the octagon, as well as pillars placed in each corner of the central square of the *maṇḍapa*.[4] The *maṇḍapa* is enclosed by vertical slabs, which are on the outside decorated with vase and foliage motive, and at intervals with projecting niches containing standing figures of gods. On these lies a frieze, on which rest short pillars, placed on a richly sculptured pedestal.[5] These pillars support the lintels on which was a pyramidal roof as in the temple at Sūnak.

Attention is drawn to the pillar-decoration, and to the brackets of short pillars. The former is identical with that on the pillars in the octagon at Gumli, having a band of *chakwās*,[6] birds, among other things; whereas, among the sculptures of the brackets, is found a large solitary face (of a lion?)[7] besides the usual dwarfs.

Owing to the close resemblance in a few striking facts, others being common to Caulukyan architecture, I am inclined to place the Navalākha temple at Sejakpur, nearer in time to that at Gumli, than to that at Sūnak.

Jaina Temples

The Jaina temples of the Caulukyan period are classed separately, as they are distinguished by a slightly different arrangement of the plan from those already discussed. Within their class, variations in details are also discernible.

The Jaina temples of this period (which are dated) are found in Gujarāt[8] at Saroṭrā and Tāriṅgā; in Kāthiāwār at Girnār and Śatruṅjaya,

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 58. [2] *Ibid.*, pl. lxi. [3] *Ibid.*, pl. 57.

[4] See plan, o. c., pl. lxv; here Fig. 16. [5] See *Ibid.*, pl. lxiii.

[6] *Ibid.*, pl. lxvi. [7] *Ibid.*

[8] Though there are more than a hundred Jaina temples in Anhilvāda, still none of them is very old, and Burgess said, "They have not of much architectural or or archaeological importance." My visit to the place has led me to the same view, though old remains may be found in these temples.

and at Mt. Abu, in Rājputānā. Of these, the plans only of the temples at Abu are discussed, for they cannot be treated in detail without a sufficient number of photographs.[1] The temples at Śatruñjaya and Girnār have been renovated to such an extent that they have lost all their architectural and archaeological value,[2] and thus in their case too, only their plans have been touched upon. The temples at Tāriṅgā and Sarotrā also have been repaired, still they retain some old features, which are pointed out below.

Temples at Abu

Chronologically,[3] among these temples comes first the temple of Ādinātha, also called Vimala Vasahi, built by Vimala, a *Daṇḍanāyaka*, of Bhīma I, in A. D. 1032,[4] at Delwārā, Abu. It now consists (in Jaina technical terms) of the *mūlagabhārō* (shrine), *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*, (a hall adjoining to it), *sabhāmaṇḍapa* (outer hall), the *pradakṣiṇāmārga*, also called *bhamatī* or *jagatī*, and *devakulikās*, or small shrines placed in the surrounding courtyard.[5] Outside, on the other side of the hall, is the *hastiśālā*, elephant-hall, in which were once statues of the family of Vimala, seated on elephants.

The shrine is on a higher level than the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*. Inside it, is seated the image of Ādinātha, the first Tīrthaṅkara. Its exterior is most profusely decorated with human figures. The dome of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* rests on eight stilted pillars arranged in an octagon. Inside, it rises in concentric circles; in the centre is a pendant ornament, while 16 brackets, said to be of Vidyādevīs[6]—goddesses of learning, adorn its sides. Between the pillars of the octagon are *toraṇas* as in the temple at Modhera. Besides the eight pillars, the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* has a number of other free-standing pillars.

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[1] I took some photographs, when I visited these temples, and a few of them are reproduced here to illustrate a few topics. As a matter of fact the Abu temples need to be discussed in a separate monograph.

[2] Cf. Cousens, *Somanātha*, re. Śatruñjaya temples, p. 73.

[3] *Kuvalayamālā*, a Prakrit work of the 7th-8th century, refers to the building of a Jaina temple at modern Vadnagar. *Jaina Sāhitya Saṁśodhaka*, Part III, 2, p. 186.

[4] Or 1031 according to an inscription, see *EI.*, IX., p. 148. Also *ASIWC.*, 1901, p. 4, which gives a short account; it cites photographs, which I had occasion to see in the Prince of Wales Museum, but they are not yet published. A brief account is also given by Fergusson, o. c., II, p. p. 36. And some beautiful photographs are published in the Indian State Railway Magazine, III.

[5] For plan, see Fergusson, o. c., II, fig. 283; *ASIWC.*, 1901, p. 2. Here Fig. 18.

[6] These are Rohiṇī, Prañjapti, Vajraśṛṁkhalā, Vajrāṁkuśī, Apraticakrā, Puruṣadattā, Kālī, Mahākālī, Gaurī, Gāndhārī, Sarvasrā, Mahājvalā, Mānavī, Vairoṭyā, Acchuptā, Mānasī, Mahāmānasi.

The colonnade of smaller pillars which surrounds this, and acts as a porch to the *devakulikās*, is roofed on the inside with ceilings, many of which depict scenes from the lives of Tīrthaṅkaras,[1] while some depict scenes from Hindu mythology.[2] Each *devakulikā* enshrines a Tīrthaṅkara, placed between two pilasters, which are as minutely carved with various male and animal figures as those of the main shrine itself.

Pillars are mainly of three types:

(1) These support the central ceiling and have a square base, and a circular shaft, and are very profusely decorated.[3]

(2) These support the entrance ceilings and are considerably simpler.

(3) These support the roof of the corridor; they are octagonal, have horizontal flutings at regular intervals, and have string-courses on the top. There are no figures.

Externally the temple is very simple. Even the *śikhara* does not tower high.

Lunavasahi

The other temple, called Luṇa or Luṇa-siṁha-vasahikā,[4] is dedicated to Neminātha, the 22nd Tīrthaṅkara, and was built by Tejaḥpāla for obtaining religious merit (*dharmārthe*) for his wife and son in A. D. 1230 (V. S. 1287).[5]

Built, thus, two centuries later than Vimala's, it differs little in plan and size from the latter. In all it measures 155′ x 92′.[6] Considerable changes are made however in the decorations. Pillars are more varied, and comprise four types:[7]

(1) These support the central ceiling and among themselves have three types:

(*a*) These have dancing figures on the basement mouldings and nothing above.

(*b*) These have dancing figures above the first bracket.

(*c*) These have simple and close, vertical flutings.

[1] Some stories are taken from the *Satruñjaya Mahātmya*. *ASIWC.*, 1901, p. 4.

[2] For instance, the Kāliyamardana scene and Nṛsiṁhāvatāra.

[3] *ASIWC.*, 1901, p. 4, compares them with those in the temple at Ambarnāth.

[4] It is popularly called Vastupāl-Tejpāl mandir, which is not correct, for the inscription only credits its building to Tejahpāla. See *EI.*, VIII, p. 200.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] See Fergusson, o. c., II, p. 41, fig. 285; *ASIWC.*, 1901, p. 2. Here Fig. 18.

[7] For some see Fig. 54.

(2) These support the *maṇḍapa* of the shrine and are profusely decorated with sculptures and carvings.

(3) These support the corridors and are decorated with hexagonal or octagonal cuttings, *kīrtimukhas* and simple brackets.

(4) Short pillars supporting the side-porches of the shrine, sculptured with small Caulukyan *śikharas*.

The *toraṇas* that rest between the stilted pillars of the octagon are perfectly triangular now,[1] differing thus from the 11th and 12th century temples; while the central ceiling of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* "is slightly less in diameter" than in Vimala's, and considerably different in ornamentation.[2] The ceilings in the corridor are similarly carved with scenes from the life of Tīrthankaras,[3] dancers, and purely geometric patterns. The elephant-hall, at the back of the shrine, contains statues of Tejaḥpāla and Vastupāla and their two wives.[4]

Jaina temples at Satrunjaya

At Śatruñjaya or Pālitānā[5], temples were built by the ministers Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, and before them by Kumārapāla in the 12th century, and also by Vimala. The latter are on the southern summit of the hill.[6] But these seem to have lost all architectural or archaeological value, as Cousens (himself, who says so) neither gives their plans nor a separate photograph[7] besides mentioning them.[8]

As suggested by Fergusson, years ago, a monograph on the Śatruñjaya temples illustrating every variety of form and structure, old and new, is long overdue. For the same reason, as in the case of Abu temples, the Śatruñjaya temples have to be left without any discussion.

Jaina temples at Girnar

At Girnār, the oldest Jaina temple was perhaps that of Kumārapāla. But it was repaired in the last century and has little of its original look now.[9] Perhaps some of the recessed niches and their sculptures are old.[10]

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[1] See Fig. 54.

[2] See Fig. 46.

[3] See Fig. 50, depicting the marriage of Neminātha etc.

[4] See Fig. 77, representing Vastupāla and his two wives Lalitādevi and Vejaladevī.

[5] The town near Satruñjaya hill.

[6] Cousens, o. c., p. 74. 118 inscriptions are discovered from Satruñjaya but they all belong to the 16th century. *EI.*, II, p. 34.

[7] Of Kumārapāla's temple only a pillar is illustrated. See *Ibid.*, p. 75, fig. 6.

[8] Fergusson, o. c., II, p. 24, refers to the temples at Satruñjaya, but does not mention either that of Kumārapāla or Vimala.

[9] See Figs. 39–41.

[10] *Ibid.*

Temple of Neminatha

Next in time, is the temple of Neminātha, said to be repaired in A. D. 1278.[1] It is the largest of the Jaina temples on Girnar. Constant repair, colouring and whitewash, have left no traces of the old architecture.[2] However, it seems to retain its original plan. This will be apparent on comparing it[3] with those of the 12th century temples.

It has a square shrine with three approaches, one on each side, besides the front, facing west. Inside it is an image of Neminātha, the 22nd Tīrthaṅkara.[4] Round the shrine is the *bhamatī* or *pradakṣiṇāmārga*. In front is the cruciform *maṇḍapa*, and this alone seems to be the original *maṇḍapa*, the one in front of it with two raised platforms (E and F in Burgess' plan) seem to be recent accretions. Besides these, there are small shrines near the south entrance of the principal *maṇḍapa*, and other buildings which, I believe, did not belong to the original temple. The whole temple is placed in a rectangular enclosure, inside which are the *devakulikās* with a closed corridor; the present entrace to it is on the south side. (A in plan).

Temple of Vastupala

The other temple is a triple shrine[5] built by Vastupāla[6] in A. D. 1231–2, (V. S. 1288). Mallinātha,[7] the 19th Tīrthaṅkara, is enshrined in the central, while the side shrines are allocated to Sumeru,[8] (on the north), and Sameta[9] Śikhara (on the south). Between these are two *maṇḍapas* or one *maṇḍapa*, having two

[1] *AKK.*, p. 166.

[2] I was so much disappointed with these temples that I was not inclined to photograph them.

[3] See Burgess, *AKK.*, p. 166. pl. xxxii; here Fig. 19.

[4] His *lāñchana* is *śaṅkha*, a conch.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 169. pl. xxxiv; Here Fig. 20.

[6] It is called Vastupāl-Tejpāl temple, its building being ascribed to both of them. But according to the inscription from the temple we may ascribe it to Vastupāla alone. See *Ibid.*, p. 169–70.

[7] His cognizance is a jar. In former birth he was a woman, and sometimes he is sculptured as such. I saw one photograph at Anhilvāda (Pātan). According to the Svetāmbaras, this Tīrthaṅkara is a female, Malli., according to the Digambaras, a male, Malli. For the story of Malli, see Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 447; Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 56.

[8] A mythical mountain in Hindu and Jaina mythology.

[9] Twenty Tīrthaṅkaras are said to have attained *mokṣa* at this place, mount Pārśvanātha, in the west of Bengal. See Burgess, *Indian Sect of the Jainas*, p. 66.

separate domical roofs, which were once carved, but are now replaced by painted brackets, and modern ceilings. The *śikhara* is modern,[1] though it retains the old shape; while the recessed niches of the shrine still show some of the old sculptures.[2]

The triple shrine reminds us of a similar one at Kasarā.[3] At Girnār, however, the common *maṇḍapa* is much too long, though the shrines in their recessed sides do outwardly resemble those of the temple at Kasarā.

Temple at Sarotra

At Sarotrā,[4] in Gujarāt, the Jaina temple is called Bāvan-dhvaja, after the fifty-two flag-staffs on the *devakulikās* of the corridor of the temple. Burgess does not mention to which Tīrthaṅkara it was or is now dedicated. But in plan[5] it closely follows the plans of temples of Vimala and Tejaḥpāla at Abu, hence this need not be discussed. It will suffice if we bring out its essential Jaina character, and its links with, and differences from, the other Caulukyan temples of the period.

The Jaina character of the Sarotrā temple is illustrated by the construction of the *maṇḍapa* which, as at Abu, has four steps in three divisions leading to the *guḍhāmaṇḍapa* before the shrine. Add to this the *devakulikās* as well. But besides this, on each side of the principal entrance of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* there is a *devakulikā*, one enshrining Gaṇeśa,[6] the other a *yakṣiṇī*. There is also a *devakulikā* behind the main shrine, which once contained the *śāsanadevī*, attendant goddess,[7] of the Tīrthaṅkara. The doorways of the *devakulikās* likewise have small figures of Tīrthaṅkaras.

Affinity to the Caulukyan style is shown by the recessed niches and wall-angles of the shrine and the *maṇḍapa*; also by the mouldings of the basement and the wall, which are decorated with niched-gods and goddesses.[8]

[1] See Fig. 41. [2] See Figs. 39–40.

[3] Here Fig. 21, and Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, pl. xi.

[4] Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, p. 99.

[5] *Ibid.*, pl. lxxvii, fig. 2; the shrine faces north.

[6] Burgess citing Hemacandra, *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, sl. 207, says that Jainas recognise Ganeśa under the names of Heramba, Vighneśa etc., *Ibid.*, p. 100.

[7] These and the Yakṣas are protectors, or attendants of the Tīrthaṅkara and usually associated with the representation of a Tīrthaṅkara. Every Tīrthaṅkara, thus, has one Yakṣa and one Yakṣiṇī as his attendants. See Burgess, *Jainas*, p. 65; and Sankalia, 'Jaina Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs', *BDRI.*, March 1940. The idea of Yakṣa as protectors goes back to the pre-Christian times. See Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣa*, I, p. 14.

[8] *ASWI.*, IX, pl. x.

The pillars, inside, resemble more those of the Jaina temples at Abu than those of the Hindu temples of the period. Burgess illustrates four types.[1]

(1) Simple with octagonal bases, and shafts divided into three sections: octagonal or hexagonal, sixteen-sided, and circular with dwarf-brackets.

(2) Smaller; the base similar to the first type, but decorated with seated figures; shaft also similar upto the lower middle, above which there are four bands of leaves, lozenges, *kīrtimukhas*, and *caitya*-windows, and brackets with incurved volutes.

(3) Profusely decorated; resembles similar pillars in the temples at Gumli, Somnāth, and the Tejaḥpāla's temple at Abu.

(4) Short pillars over the porch-walls, with vase, foliage and *kīrtimukha* ornament. This last type resembles the 11th century pillars.

The exterior of the whole temple, with a number of *śikharas*, is truly remarkable. It shows how the Abu temples would look like if they were given the usual tall towers for their *devakulikās* and the main shrine.[2] Outward appearance of the Sarotrā temple distinguishes it from the Jaina as well as the Hindu temples of the period. But on stylistic basis, it should be placed in the 13th-14th century. Its *śikhara*, which is made of brick and then plastered, may be much later. For rarely are the earlier *śikharas* treated likewise.

Temple at Taringa

The temple at Tāringā[4] was originally built by Kumārapāla in the 12th century. But subsequently, when destroyed, it was repaired during Akbar's reign in the 16th century.[5] Not much, therefore, of the Caulukyan remains, except perhaps the plan of the temple.[6]

It consists of a shrine, with a *pradakṣiṇāmārga* lighted by three windows and a *maṇḍapa*, with porches on the north and south, and a large porch in the front. It has no corridor, built with *devakulikās*, excepting the one on either side of the entrance to the hall. This contains Mahāyakṣa, and Ajitabalā Yakṣinī.[7] It will be seen that the temple resembles the 12th century temples at Somnāth and Gumli.

[1] *Ibid*, pl. lxxix. [2] *Ibid.*, pl. lxxxviii.

[3] The 19th century temple of Seth Hathisingh at Ahmadabad perhaps copies its shape. See *ASWI.*, VIII, pl lxix.

[4] "It is a Jaina Tīrtha, sacred place, situated about 26 miles east-north-east of Siddhapur. The Jainas go to pilgrimages to this shrine, particularly in the month of Kārtika and Chaitra." Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX., p. 114.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 115. *E I.*, II, p. 33. [6] *Ibid.*, pl. cix.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 115; Hemacandra, *Abhidhānacintāmani*, pages, 41, 44; also Burgess, *Jainas*, p. 67.

The shrine faces west and is dedicated to the 2nd Tīrthaṅkara Ajitanātha.[1] Inside it is square, but outside there are many recessed niches. The *maṇḍapa* in the front and the recessed niches of the shrine are constructed on a slightly different principle[2] from the octagonal pillared-hall of this period. Again it is two-storeyed as the temple at Gumli and Sidhpur. But whether it was originally so, or made so during the Muslim period, cannot be decided. Now it has a voussoir arch, which certainly is new.[3] Mouldings of the shrine basement and wall are cut into a series of vertical and horizontal facets, while the *jaṅghā* has mainly female dancers.[4]

Burgess gives only one illustration of the pillar, and if this represents all—of those of the *maṇḍapa* as well as of the porches,—then it must be said that it introduces a slightly different style of decoration The base has three mouldings but they are unadorned. The shaft is partly octagonal, partly 16-sided, and above the middle circular, where it is decorated by a band of intersecting semicircles, a band of lozenges, and *kīrtimukhas*. Above this, the capital consists of two annulets, and voluted brackets. Among these, the band of intersecting circles is new,[5] other features are common.

The *śikhara* does not seem to be old.[6]

Temple at Sarnal

The temple of Galteśvara[7] at Sarnal[8] may be regarded as a specimen of Cālukyan and not Caulukyan architecture in Gujarāt. This is evident from the plan of the shrine.[9] It consists of a *garbhagṛha*, (shrine proper), and *maṇḍapa*.

Inside the shrine is square, and on a lower level than the *maṇḍapa* as in the Ambarnāth temple; but outside, the walls are cut up into numerous

[1] His *lāñchana* is elephant.

[2] Burgess explains it thus: Two parallelograms with their dimensions 3:2,—in this case 36'9" by 24 6"—are placed across each other, and the longer sides of each are divided into three. This gives eight corners and eight points, in all sixteen, which support the roof. See *Ibid.*, p. 115.

[3] *Ibid.*, pl. cx. [4] *Ibid.*, pl. cxi.

[5] Similar decoration is found on the pillars of the Teli Mandir, Gwalior, which are otherwise highly ornate; also on the old (about 8th century) temple at Ganthai, near Khajurāho. See Griffin, o c., pl. xli, and lviii-lix respectively.

[6] *Ibid.*, pls cxiii and cx; both the photographs do not show the *caitya*-window ornament clearly. Mere shape is not a sure guide.

[7] So called after the name of the stream 'Galtā'.

[8] In the Kaira district, 44 miles E. S E from Ahmadābād, and 4 miles from the town of Thasra. Burgess, o. c., VIII, page 95; also *ASIWC.*, 1920-21, p. 61.

[9] Unfortunately no photograph is published which can give some idea of the *śikhara*; for the plan, see *ASWI.*, Vol VIII, pl. lxxxiv; here Fig. 17.

projections which lie in a circle about 24 feet in diameter. This circular shape is unlike that of the Caulukyan temples, but parallels to it are found in the Cālukyan temples of the Kanarese country.[1] Among the recesses there are seven for the images of the eight *dikpālas*,[2] guardians of directions, a feature characteristic of the cave as well as structural temples of the Cālukyas.

The doorway as well as the front wall of the shrine is profusely decorated with figures and ornaments. These seem[3] to differ from the Caulukyan figure sculptures of Gujarāt. They appear to be Śaivite, and so the temple may be Śaiva, which is also implied by its name Galteśvara.

The *maṇḍapa* has numerous projecting angles. And in this, Burgess finds analogy with the Cālukyan temples of the Kanarese districts. But it is not typical of the Cālukyan temples alone. Caulukyan temples of Gujarāt—Modhera, Somanātha, and Sejakpur, for instance,—are after the same pattern. But this crucifix form, coupled with the circular shape of the shrine, does look more like Cālukyan than Caulukyan.

The evidence of pillars is not fruitful. Out of the eight inner pillars and smaller ones that stand on the screen-wall and support the roof, Burgess illustrates one pillar from the former.[4] Unlike the main columns in many small Caulukyan temples, these are stilted by adding a small shaft, capital and bracket. The main column has a square base with cut corners, and two small necks; above this, the shaft is square for one-third the height, then octagonal for half of this height; followed by a little smaller belt of sixteen sides; this is followed by a circular shaft decorated with a band of *kīrtimukhas*. Over this, separated by the narrow neck is the capital, ornamented with dripping leaves. The bracket consists of dwarfs and *kīrtimukhas* (?); the sur-capital is in the shape of a vase, and brackets are decorated with volutes and dwarfs. This detailed description shows that there are not many points of resemblance with the typical Caulukyan pillars.

Nothing can be known about the shape of the original *śikhara* now.[5] For no photographs or drawings were made, when it was first visited,[6] while the *śikhara* as well as the *maṇḍapa* collapsed in 1908.[6]

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[1] See Cousens, *Chālukyan Architecture*, plan of the temple of Doḍḍa-Basappā, pl. cxxv, at Dambal, 13 miles S. E. of Gadag.

[2] Burgess mentions 7 recesses. He does not say whether there were images or not. The eight *dikpālas* are Indra, Agni, Yama, Varuṇa, Marut or Vāyu, Kubera, Śiva, Nairutti., o. c , VIII, p. 96.

[3] They are badly damaged, so the drawing is not at all clear.

[4] See *ASWI.*, VIII, pl. lxxxv, fig. 4.

[5] Burgess, o. c., VIII, p. 93, note 1. [6] *ASIWC.*, 1920-21, p. 61.

Perhaps this temple is identical with the shrine of Śivanātha on the Mahī, mentioned by the *Harsola Grant* of Siyaka II, V. S. 1005 (c. A. D. 949).[1] If this were proved, then it will strengthen the suggestion here made on stylistic grounds that the temple looks Cālukyan[2] and not Caulukyan. For it would then clearly antidate the known temples of the latter.

[1] *EI.*, XIX, p. 241.

[2] It may have been even built by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, or may be the work of the Cālukyan period, or of local rulers but on the Karṇāṭaka model.

CHAPTER IV

SCULPTURE

INDIAN sculpture is rarely found alone. From a very early period it had to serve architecture, chiefly as an ornament of the latter. Specially this is true of mediaeval sculpture. The early period has given us a few images cut in the round.[1] Not so the mediaeval, where all figure (we meet with any number of gods, goddesses and human figures) and decorative sculpture becomes part and parcel of architecture and actually appears as different parts of a building—wall, pillar, bracket, ceilng and so forth.

Sculpture in India had thus a double existence:—

(1) The life it shared with architecture.

(2) The life it enjoyed by itself.

The first aspect of Gujarāt sculpture has been noticed in the chapter on architecture. Its second aspect is discussed in this chapter and the next. In order to study its individual life, all Gujarāt sculpture is divided into three classes:—

(i) Sculpture of human forms including gods and goddesses.

(ii) Sculpture of animal forms.

(iii) Sculpture of designs.

Sculpture of human forms falls into further two classes:—

(a) Representation of gods and goddesses.

(b) Representation of human beings.

The representation of gods and goddesses is with a purpose. It is symbolic, and is therefore treated separately, under what is usually known as 'Iconography.'

Sculpture of animal forms includes representation of actual animals. as well as composite, mythical figures—*Kīrtimukhas*, *Makaras*, and so forth.

Designs are sub-divided into Architectural, Geometric and Floral.

Representation of human forms other than those of gods and goddesses is limited to a few persons. The most common form in early sculpture is

[1] See Bachhoffer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Vol. I, pls. 9–11, 62; Vol. II, pl. 79.

[2] Barring a few, for instance, Kanishka, Vima Kadphises and Caṣṭana. Bachhoffer, o. c., Vol. II, pls. 76–78. The statues of King Sātavāhana and others are mentioned by the Nānāghat inscriptions, but they do not survive. Later we get the statues of Pallava kings and others, see Aravamuthan, *Portrait Sculpture in South India*, figs 2 and 3. Some of these are probably effigies and not portraits in the strict sense of the word as pointed out by Coomaraswamy, *ibid.*, Foreword, p. x.

that of an attendant, usually, a *cauri*-bearer (*yakṣa* or *yakṣiṇī*), then dancers but figures of kings and citizens[1] are scarce.

Human Figures

In Kāthiāwār, the earliest representation of human beings is found in the Uparkot Caves at Junāgarh.[2] There figures of women are sculptured round the capitals of pillars, and two busts of women are inset the *caitya*-windows decorating the walls. They are all in a dilapidated condition. The figures round the capitals are scantily dressed, like those on the friezes on the *stupa* at Sānchi, Mathura and Amrāvati and early Buddhist caves. Each woman is standing in a different attitude, perhaps around the central figure. From the drawings, their poses seem highly expressive, but what story they relate is impossible to say, nor is it possible to comment further on their form.

The busts of women (or is it a couple?) remind us of figures sculptured in a similar way on the architraves of the gateways to the Sānchi Stupa.[3] The Junāgarh figures are evidently spectators, though there is no procession or any spectacle to behold as at Sānchi, except the daily life of the inhabitants. Their existence here may, then, be attributed to an architectural tradition rather than to any definite purpose.

During the Caulukyan period, a few "portrait" sculptures and scenes depicting life, not of the people of the period, but of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras are found in the temples at Abu.[4] Among the "portrait" sculptures, those which are of special interest are the figures of the members of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpālaś ancestors and family,[5] figures of men riding elephants, and horses in the Hastiśālā in front of the Vimala temple.[6]

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[1] Excepting those of the donors (?) of the *caitya*-cave at Kārli and Kanheri; and excepting the numerous figures on the railings and architraves on the *stupas* at Bhārhut, Sānchi and Amrāvati For the former See Bachhoffer, o. c., pls 67–68.

[2] Burgess, *AKK.*, pls xxi and xxiv; here Fig. 22.

[3] Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, pls. viia and viiib.

[4] The supposed statue of Vanarāja in the temple of Panchāsar Pārśvanāth at Anahilvād (Pātan) is, as Burgess has shown (*ASWI.*, IX, p. 44) on the strength of the inscription on its pedestal, not Vanarāja's. Further, though there is an umbrella over the statue's head indicating royalty, still the *mudrās*, gestures of the hands of the figures imply preaching, which would be rather strange in the case of a king.

[5] For names of these see Jayantavijaya, *Ābū*, (2nd Edition), pp. 160-20.

[6] Majority of them are *mantris* (ministers), all descendants of Mantrī Vimala, whose equestrian statue is placed in the centre of the hall. For names etc., of the different statues see *Ibid.*, pp. 84–88.

These figures remind us of the practice of placing the statues of donors of gifts, which disappeared with the decline in Buddhist cave-architecture.[1]

From the figures[2] in Abu temples we learn that men[3] in those times wore a beard, and moustache, ornaments on wrists and arms (heavy *kallā*, bracelets and armlets), ear-rings and necklace of three strings. The garment consisted when visiting a temple, (as used by orthodox people even now) of a short *dhoti*, (preferably of silk), reaching upto and falling between the knees and an *uparṇā* (Skt. *uttarīyavastra*) which was thrown round the shoulders and held by the arms.[4] A large *cāndalā* (*kunkum* mark) adorned their forehead.[5] The dress while riding on horse or elephant-back consisted of a crown-like head-dress, a long tight-fitting coat, together with an *uparṇā* and *mojḍi*, a kind of pointed slippers of *makhmal* (velvet). This cortume is still used by orthodox Jainas, specially on marriage occasions.

Women wore two garments, besides a bodice to cover the breasts.[6] The upper garment seems to be like the modern *oḍhaṇī* (used by young girls and Mārwāri women) which covered part of the lower garment, back and the head (upto the forehead). The lower garment is definitely different from the modern. There is no skirt but a thin cloth which seems to be wound round the waist, but how it was worn over the legs leaving them separate (as if dressed in pants) is not clear.

Perhaps the whole garment was worn as in the ancient fashion, or like the one worn by Deccani women and women of Gujarāti horse-drivers, (*ghoḍāvālī*). For the ornaments the women have large *kuṇḍalas* in their ears, *kaḍā* and *baiṅgaḍi* on arms and wrists, *kallā* on ankles and two or three necklaces: one small necklace made of round coin-like pieces, and over it a long three-stringed necklace of pearls or diamonds; a *cāndalā* on the forehead.

One of the wives of Tejaḥpāla and Tejaḥpāla himself carry a purse which the Jainas call "Vāṁsavī."[7] Here it is knitted, but at times it is

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[1] First noticed on the outer-walls of the verandah in the *caitya-caves* at Kārli and Kanheri.

[2] See Fig. 77.

[3] Generally Jainas.

[4] This is noticed in the figures—both men and women—at Bhārhut (c. 150 B. C.) Cunningham, *Bharhut.*, pl. xxi.

[5] Orthodox Jainas still keep a beard, and have a *cāndalā* on the forehead. These features are also found in the paintings of the period.

[6] It is not clear whether there was only a small breast-band as used in ancient India, or it and also a *cholī* (as used today) thin enough to show the breast-band.

[7] I am obliged to Muni Punyavijayji of Pātan for this information. Muni Jayantavijaya in his *ĀBŪ*, o. c., p 121 calls it a garland.

also made of cloth. Evidently it contains money which they would present to the temple.

Excepting the face, other parts of the body, particularly the breasts and thighs of women are proportionately rendered. The face with staring eyes and long eyelashes are after a conventional fashion, which is also a feature of the paintings of the period.[1] Nevertheless, these figures do give us some idea of the dress of a section of the people of contemporary Gujarāt.

Scenes from life

Several panels depict scenes from the lives of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras in the Vimala and Tejpāla temples at Abu.[2] It would be beyond the scope of this work to describe all of them. Only one panel depicting the marriage and renunciation scene of Neminātha,[3] the 22nd Jaina Tīrthaṅkara is reproduced and discussed here. The panel is divided into 7 sections, 4 facing downwards, and 3 upwards. Beginning from the bottom, section I shows the dancers and musicians which led the marriage procession of Neminātha; section II the battle between Kṛṣṇa and Jarāsandha with Neminātha in a chariot; section III musicians, army and clansmen of Neminātha; section IV (from right) first, Neminātha in a chariot; secondly, the animals for slaughter in an enclosure; thirdly, the marriage paṇḍal, called *corī*; fourthly, fifthly and sixthly, the horse and elephants tables in front of the palace of Rājimatī, who is seated on the terrace with her attendants; section V[4] (from left facing upwards), first, gods and men carrying Neminātha in a palanquin to Mount Raivataka; secondly, Neminātha standing in *Kāyotsarga* (penance-practising) pose; section VI,[4] (from right) Ariṣṭanemi seated on a throne in the midst of the assembly of gods and men, giving money and food in charity for a year before he became a Jina; section VII[4] (from left to right) first, a scene which cannot be exactly identified: it shows Ariṣṭanemi seated on a throne attended by fly-whisk bearers and others; secondly, Neminātha seated in meditation-pose and plucking out the hair in five handfuls.

[1] See Nawab, *Jaina-citra-kalpa-druma*; Norman Brown, *Asia*, July 1938. Their description may well be included under Jaina Iconography.

[2] See Fig 50 from a ceiling in Tejpāla temple.

[3] He was also called Ariṣṭanemi. The story is related in the *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra* (Charpentier, XII, p. 164), one of the earliest canonical works of the Jainas; later by Hemacandra in his *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākā-puruṣacaritra*, *Parva 5*, *Sarga 5*, 9, 10, 11, 12.

[4] Sections V, VI, VII face upwards. Among them in the order of events comes first section VI, then VII and lastly V.

Figures of Attendants

Figures of attendants occur in Kāthiāwār, for the first time, at Dhank.[1] It is uncertain whether they are Yakṣas, special attendants to Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras or merely fly-whisk bearers.[2] Figures of both these classes are common in early Jaina sculpture.[3] Though the position of the Dhank figures has not much significance, their costume would have had, had the figures survived intact. At present we may note only their high head-dress.

The pre-Caulukyan temples are almost devoid of this class of figures but the Caulukyan temples have them in abundance. Usually these figures accompany the different deities that are sculptured on the walls of a temple. In the case of certain gods and goddesses, for instance Sūrya and Śiva in his particular manifestation, the attendant figures have an individuality. They are not there as *cāmara*-bearers, but every one of them performs some duty or other. The sage Tumbaru or Nārada plays on his *vīṇā*, and Piṅgala or Daṇḍa holds a staff. Here the sculptor gets an opportunity to show his skill in portraying various gestures and poses.

But in almost all cases the treatment is similar. It becomes stylized and amounts very nearly to iconography. Note the pose, concentration and ecstasy of the *vīṇā*-and drum-players accompanying Śiva in his Andhakāsuravadhamūrti, sculptured in the Nīlakaṇṭha temple at Sūnak. As in the deities whom they serve, a gradual development can be traced in the evolution of these special attendant figures. Sūrya images from Bhājā, Bodhgayā, Mathura and Bhumara have two consorts and a charioteer only. It is however in the post-Gupta period that Sūrya is surrounded by a number of figures besides his consorts, and this too not in all cases. Development such as this cannot be traced in the case of Śiva's attendants. For we have no early figures of Śiva in his Tāṇḍava or Andhakāsuravadha form.[4] Pallava and Rāṣṭrakūṭa sculptures at Mahābalipuram and Elurā are too late.

In Jaina iconography the case is different. Figures of Indra, Ambikā and other attendant figures are found along with Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras at Mathura, and continue to be a common feature of late sculptures and paintings.[6]

[1] See Fig 76.

[2] For a detailed discussion, see *JRAS.*, 1938, p. 429.

[3] Smith, *Jain Stupa*, pl. xcviii.

[4] See below.

[5] The earliest Siva figures are those which appear on Kushān coins.

[6] This is also a feature of Buddhist Iconography.

Dancing and Amorous Figures

Human figures that remain to be discussed are the dancing and amorous figures and men and women which constitute what is called *narathara* (man-course). The latter forms a basement moulding generally in all mediaeval temples. In Kāthiāwār it is absent from all pre-Caulukyan temples. The Caulukyan temples that have it are at Ruhāvi, Saṇdera, and Motāb.[1]

Narathara indicates with other courses, as said in the section on architecture, the type of a temple, whether it is large or small. The men and women therein seem to represent persons on a royal highway, as it is sometimes called *rājavīthi*. How and why a *narathara* came to be sculptured on the basement-wall cannot be definitely explained. But it seems that the idea was taken from the practice of portraying a procession of men and women on the gateways of Buddhist *stupas*. Gupta temples, however, do not have it, and it would be interesting to find it on a post-Gupta temple of any date before the 8th century A. D.

Artistically the execution of *naratharas* is poor. First, the figures are very small, particularly in comparision with the large figures that decorate walls; secondly, they have no individuality, one *narathara* being very similar to the other.

Amorous couples figure on many of the Caulukyan temples. But here they are not so prominent as on the Candella temples at Khajurāho, C. I. Whatever be the theories as to their origin, it seems that these figures are the descendants of the gay, dancing, often nude figures found on the *stupa* at Mathura and elsewhere, though they seem to be absent from the intermediate stage, viz., the Gupta temples.[2] It is not impossible that these as well as the dancing figures are representations of some of the poses described in the Kāma-and Nāṭya-śāstras, both of which are positively anterior to the mediaeval temples. This can be ascertained if all such figures are photographed and studied individually.

Dancing and amorous figures are found on the wall (*jaṅghā*) of the hall and the shrine of a Caulukyan temple, usually on either side of the panels of gods and goddesses. Many of them are of singular beauty. The variety of the poses in which they are shown, sometimes very awkward and seemingly impossible, is reminiscent of the flexibility of the limbs of acrobatic dancers. These figures look charming when sculptured

[1] Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, pls. xciii, xcv, and ci.

[2] Unless the couples on either side of the door of the *garbhagṛha* of the Siva temple at Bhumara, *MASI.*, 16, pl., iii a, 54 be regarded as such.

in marble, and in them the temples at Delwara, Abu, abound.[1] Specimens of amorous couples seem to be best preserved on the old shrine at Motāb[2] and dancing figures in the temple at Modhera.[3]

Animal Sculpture

Figures of animals, lions and horses, are sculptured in the Uparkot and Bāvā Pyāra caves at Junāgarh.[4] Here they serve the same purpose as they do in the caves at Kārli, Bodsa, Nasik and Pitalkhorā. They decorate the pillars as capitals and abaci. The lions look as if cut in the round. They are placed back to back as in the pillars of Aśoka, a practice which can be traced back to the Sumerians through the Iranian and Assyrian times.[5]

Pre-Caulukyan temples have no animal figures. The river goddesses Gangā and Yamunā in the Varāha temple at Kadvār,[6] must have had a tortoise and *makara*, but their form is hardly visible now.

In Caulukyan temples a row of horses and elephants appear as basement mouldings. The horse-row (*aśvathara*) is supposed to be a feature of large temples only.[7] But in Gujarāt it is found on comparatively much smaller temples at Sūnak, Ruhāvi, and Motab,[8] besides the large temples at Modhera and Somnāth.[9] It is absent on the temple at Gumli.

The elephant course (*gajathara*) invariably decorates the temples of this period.

The horses, for instance at Sūnak, are shown prancing in profile, and their spirited action, on the whole, is well depicted. The elephants are sculptured side-wise, so that only their trunk and head are visible, but not the legs.

The reasons for introducing these animal courses seem to be the same as those for the introduction of 'man course.' When exactly these courses began to be used as temple decorations is uncertain, but it seems to be soon after the Gupta period.[10] For the treatment of animals is already conventional when we see them in the temples of the 10th and 11th centuries.[11]

Departure from the conventional use of animals is found in the Navalakha temple at Gumli. Here on one side of the shrine are sculptured two elephants. They seem to be doing something, fighting or playing with

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[1] See Fig. 54. [2] Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, pl. ci. [3] *Ibid.*, pl. lv.

[4] Burgess, *AKK.*, pls. xxiv and xxviii, 2.

[5] See *Illustrated London News*, 1938. [6] Cf. Cousens, *Somanātha*.

[7] *Ibid.* [8] Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, pls. ix, xciii and ci, respectively.

[9] Cousens, o. c., pls iv and ix.

[10] The animal courses do not occur in the Gupta temples at Bhumara and elsewhere.

[11] Though it remains to be studied, whether outside Gujarāt, animal courses were carved with as much regularity as in Gujarāt, and what its proportion was.

their trunks.[1] Outstretched front and slightly bent hind legs, uplifted trunks and protruding tusks vividly describe the elephants' action. They serve as a good specimen of animal sculpture in the round. But the Kāthiāwār artist, who sculptured it, need not be too highly praised for his work, as the elephant figure has been a forte of Indian artists from very early times.[2]

It is in the Navalākha temple again that we meet with other animal figures—lion, bull, monkey.[3] Here they are used as brackets of pillars. From their drawings, the best sculpture seems to be that of the bull which is seated in a crouching attitude facing the left.

Composite or Mythical figures

Among composite or mythical figures, the *Kīrtimukha* and *Makara* are most common in Gujarāt as well as Indian sculpture in general. The pre-Caulukyan monuments, including the temples at Thān and Sutrāpāda which form a transitional stage, are surprisingly devoid of this ornament. In Caulukyan temples, the *Kīrtimukha* figures almost invariably. The places it decorates are the basement (usually its top-most moulding),[4] shafts of short and long pillars (generally the top-most band, just below the annulets).[5] In the temple at Modhera, it is also found on the sur-capital of pillars of the *maṇḍapa*;[6] at Dilmal, inset on the slab (back-rest) of the *maṇḍapa*-wall,[7] whereas in the triple shrine at Kasarā, it is placed on each side of the threshold.[8]

The *Kīrtimukha* at all these places is sculptured facing the full front. The figures show that it is already stylised. Its evolution can be traced back to the Gupta temples[9] and Ajanta caves of the Vākāṭaka period,[10] where the form, inspite of being decorative, is realistic.

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[1] Cousens, *Somanātha*, pl. xxv. If there were an image in between them, we would have said, "Bathing the image."

[2] Excepting the figures on Mohenjo-daro seals where, besides the elephant, bull, rhinoceros and tiger are also realistically carved.

[3] Burgess, *AKK.*, pl. xliii, figs. 1, 11, 8, 10, 13 respectively.

[4] As in the temples at Sūnak, Kasarā, Ruhāvi, Motab, Kanoda, Dilmal, Modhera (?), except at Taringa, Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, pls. xciv, xc, xciii, ci., viii (?), xii respectively.

[5] *Ibid.* [6] *Ibid.* [7] *Ibid.*, pl. viii. [8] *Ibid.*, pl. xcii.

[9] Codrington, *Ancient India*, pl. xxxi showing sculptures from the 5th century temple at Deogarh; Banerji, "The Siva temple at Bhumara," *MASI.*, 16, pl. v. At Bhumara, they are like lion's head in Greek sculpture having fanciful eyes and manes, as pointed out by Banerji, *ASIWC.*, 1921, p. 96.

[10] Griffiths, *Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-temples of Ajanta*, pls. 145–146 (cave xvii) and pl 159 (cave xvi); see also Gangoly, "A note on the Kīrtimukha," *Rupam*, 1920, p. 11.

It must be noted here that the *Kirtimukha* even in its early form is absent in the cave architecture, as well as on the Jaina and Buddhist stupas. It seems to have been introduced during the Gupta period, after which it became a stock feature of the temples of Mediaeval India.[1]

The *Makara* as a *vāhana* of the river goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā is found at two places only—in the temples at Kadvār and Thān. The figure at the former place is too indistinct to make any comparison with figures outside Kāthiāwār. The figure at Thān, though not so indistinct, gives no indication of the shape of its mouth. Representation of its body with 4 feet looks naturalistic like the early figures,[3] but the tail is florid, like the tail of a similar figure from the 5th century Gupta shrine at Tigowa, C. P.[4]

Elsewhere in Caulukyan monuments, the *Makara* serves as a decorative figure, principally as a bracket of pillars with *makaratoraṇas*. Instances of these are found in the temple at Modhera,[5] Somnāth, Abu and in the *kīrtitoraṇas* at Sidhpur,[6] Vadnagar,[7] Kapadvanj[8] and Piludra[9] in North Gujarāt.

It is only the 'bust' of the *Makara* that is sculptured at these places. The tail, if any, has merged into the bracket. This form is more advanced than the earlier ones, but there is no striking difference. Even in the early stages a *Makara* was never realistically sculptured. Its mouth was like that of an allegator or crocodile, but the tail resembled that of a fish.[10] The Gujarāt *Makara* would stand 18th in Cousen's or Vogel's list.

Along with the *Makara* may be mentioned the fish which is sculptured on the brackets of pillars in the Navalākha temple at Gumli.[11] This motive is totally new to Gujarāt sculpture, and from the drawing it

[1] However, it appears that from the published photographs of the temples of Wr Cālukyas and the Haihayas of Tripuri, that the *Kīrtimukha* was not a popula. motive with them.

[3] Cousens, *Somanātha*, pls. xxxiv and l.

[3] Cf. Very early figures from Bhārhut, Cousens, *ASIAR.*, 1903–04, pl. lxv, fig. 6; Vogel, *Revue Des Asiatiques*, Tome VI, 1929–30, pl. xxxiiic.

[4] Codrington, o. c., pl. xxxiii.

[5] Burgess, *ASWI*, ix, pl. lv.

[6] Burgess, o. c., pl. xxxvii; here Fig. 55.

[7] *Ibid.*, pls. lviii–ix; here Fig. 56.

[8] *ASWI.*, VIII, pl. lxxxii. (It is not clear from the collotype photograph).

[9] *Annual Report Arch. Survey*, Baroda, 1936–37, pl. vi.

[10] For a full representation of the different forms see Cousens' or Vogel's articles cited above.

[11] Burgess, *AKK.*, pl. xliii.

appears to be most realistically done. Its presence at Gumli cannot be explained at present except as a clan (totemic) motive of the Jethvas of Gumli.[1]

An animal motive equally new as the fish is the 'griffon,' which is found in the same temple attached as brackets to small pilasters and colonnades.[2] Burgess at another place calls the griffon figure *śārdūla*. From the photograph given by him[3], it seems to be a prancing animal (horse or lion). Rare in Gujarāt, this motive is a common feature of the Candella temples at Khajurāho, C. I.[4]

The Navalākha temple has also given us a figure of a bird, swan.[5] The naturalness of its two poses, one turning back its long neck and ruffling or scratching its feathers, the other as if playing with its companion remind us of similar figures reproduced by Griffiths from the paintings at Ajanta.[6]

Dwarfs too are a common feature of Gujarāt sculpture. These nude, stunted, pot-bellied, oval-faced figures always facing the full front usually appear as pillar-brackets in temples, for instance, at Sūnak, Kasarā, Virta, Dilmal[7] and Gumli.[8] Looked straight from the front, they would pass off as figures cut in the round. From early times, such figures have been thought fit to bear heavy burdens. In Gandhāra and Amarāvati[9] sculptures they carry a heavy garland. Greek influence is held responsible for their introduction in the art of the former, and there they are called 'Amorini' figures. At Mathura they serve as footstools to the Yakṣiṇīs.[10] The dwarfs seem to be absent from some Gupta temples[11], but are found in a great number in the Śiva temple at Bhumara in a variety of delightful poses.[12] Post-Gupta architecture assigned them the position of a bracket to temple-pillars, a position which they enjoyed throughout the mediaeval period.

Design sculpture is divided into three classes :—

(1) Architectural Designs, (2) Geometric Designs and (3) Floral Designs.

[1] See above p. 31 and 105 and *IA.*, *XII*, p. 153.
[2] Burgess, *AKK.*, p. 180.
[3] *Ibid.*, pl. xliv., fig. 2.
[4] See below for references.
[5] Burgess, *AKK.*, pl. xliii, figs. 7 and 15.
[6] O. c., Vol. II.
[7] Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, pls., lxxxv, xc, ciii, viii.
[8] Burgess, *AKK.*, pl. xliii.
[9] See *Revue Des Arts Asiatique*, Tome V, 1928, plance vi & Tome VIII, 1934, pl. lxxiv.
[10] Smith, *Jain Stupa*, pls. lx-xi.
[11] Codrington, o. c., pls. 29-33.
[12] Banerji, *MASI.*, No. 16, pls. ix-xi. But like the 'Amorini' figures they are nude.

Architectural Designs

The *Caitya-window* ornament occurring almost invariably at all periods on Indian monuments may be called an architectural design. For the early form of this ornament imitates the window-like, hollow portion on the facade of the *caitya*-caves at Bhājā, Kondane, Bedsa, Kārli, Junnar, Nāsik, Pitalkhora, and Ajanta. In Gujarāt-Kāthiāwār, a cave of this type is not found so far. But the *caitya*-window design does figure in the caves at Talājā and Junāgarh and on the temple at Gop. On the facade of the Ebhal Maṇḍap cave,[1] Talājā, it appears that the architect had just begun to cut the design, or perhaps left it incomplete. The form on the facade of the Bāwā Pyārā caves[2] is more advanced than that at Talājā, but is similar in shape to that in the Uparkot caves, (where the design is sculptured on the walls of cells[3]) and on the temple at Gop.[4] But in finish and elegance of execution of the outline, the *caitya*-window designs at Uparkot and Gop are much superior to those at Talājā.

The inset figures at Uparkot, as well as the three-or five-petalled flower-ornament on the frame of the windows, seem to indicate that the design was to symbolize real windows as on the friezes of the *stupas* at Bhārhut, Sanchi, and Amarāvati. Identical symbolization is also noticed later in the caves at Ajanta. The same cannot be said of the *caitya*-window at Gop which also carries figures of gods and goddesses (?). By reason of its position, high-up on the *śikhara*, it looks more like a conventionalized window-ornament than the symbol of an actual window. This becomes apparent when in the later pre-Caulukyan temples at Visāvāda, Bileśvara, and Sutrāpāda, the inset figure disappears, but the number of *caitya*-windows increases as the *śikhara* rises higher.

The form of the *caitya*-window at Uparkot is more or less identical, almost a round window, cut within an oval frame with a finial and side-loops. The form exhibited in these Kāthiāwār monuments is different from that in the early monuments in Central India (Bhārhut[5], Sanchi[6]), the Deccan (Bhāja, Bedsa, Nasik, Karli, Ajanta, Kanheri[7]) or the Āndhra country (Amarāvati).[8] But it resembles the form in the Gupta temples at Nachna[9] and Bhumara,[10] the cave 19 at Ajanta[11] and the Varāha cave at Mahābalipuram.[12]

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[1] Burgess, *AKK.*, pl. xxviii. [2] *Ibid.*, pl. xix. [3] *Ibid.*, pl. xxi; here Fig. 22.

[4] *Ibid.*, pls. li-lii. [5] Codrington, *Ancient India*, pls. xi-xii.

[6] Marshall, *Monuments of Sāñchī*, II, pl. xxxiv.

[7] Codrington, o. c., pls. iv B and v B, C, D, A and vi B.

[8] *Ibid.*, pl. xxvc; Burgess, *Amaravati*, pl. xlii, 7. [9] *Ibid.*, pl. xxvc.

[10] Banerji, *MASI.*, XVI, pl. xiii. [11] Codrington, o. c., pl. xxxvi.

[12] Jouveu-Dubreuil, *Archéologie*, Tome I, pl. XV b.

The Gop-Uparkot *caitya*-window form persists in the rest of the pre-Caulukyan temples at Visāvāda, Bileśvara and Sutrāpāda[1] with hardly any modification. As the form now decorates the *śikhara*, its number is consequently increased.

Two changes are noticeable with regard to the *caitya*-window design in Caulukyan temples. The first is the change in its form, the second is the increased decorative use of it. Both these new features are fully exhibited in the old temple at Thān.[2] Here the form of the design has become complex with volute-like flourishes of the sides of the window. Again instead of ornamenting the *śikhara* only, (we have no means of ascertaining whether it decorated the *śikhara* here, as it is no more), the design is now carved on the pediment of niched figures in tiers, (an earlier stage in the development of this fashion is noticed in the Varāha temple at Kadvār,[3] where a double row of simple *caitya*-windows appears over the head of niched figures over the shrine door), so that every such figure looks as if enshrined within a pyramidal temple.

This pyramidal crowning of niched figures with *caitya*-window designs is a characteristic feature of Caulukyan temples without any exception.

Besides this use, the *caitya*-window was made to decorate other parts of the temple as well. As a rule it is found on the basement mouldings above the *aśvathara* (horse-course), on the projecting course between the wall of the base and the wall of the shrine, between the roof and the shrine-wall, arranged in tiers in the form of a pyramid over niched-figures, and lastly over the entire face of the *śikhara*. Departure from this exhaustive exhibition of *caitya*-window designs at Sūnak is noticed in the Jaina temples at Taringa,[4] and Sarotra,[5] where only the niched figures on walls are ornamented with this design.

Everywhere, in this period, the form of the *caitya*-window is ornate, rather intricate with slender curves within curves.

Such an extensive decorative use of the *caitya*-window ornament was then common in many parts of mediaeval India. Of course, the form is not identical in all details with that found in Gujarāt. But a parallel evolution in the *caitya*-window design as well as its increased ornamental use, can be traced, for instance, in the Deccan,[6] Karṇāṭaka[7], C. I., C. P.,[8] U. P. and Rājputāna.

[1] Cousens, *Somanātha*, pls. xliii, xl, xli. [2] *Ibid* , pl. xxxii.

[3] *Ibid.*, pl. xlii-viii. [4] Burgess, *ASWI.*, pl. lxxxi. [5] *Ibid.*, pls. cxi and x.

[6] Cousens, *Mediaeval Temples of the Dakhan*, *ASI.*, (*NIS*) , XLIII, pls. xvi-vii.

[7] Cousens, *Chalukyan Architecture*, *ASI.*, (*NIS*)., XIII, pl. I.

[8] Banerji, *Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments*, *MASI.*, No.23 pls. I, xxb.

Vedika Design

Vedikā or the rail-ornament is the other architectural design. It is found only at three places in Kathiawār; (1) on the facade of the Ebhal Mandap cave, Talāja;[1] (2) below the *caitya*-window ornament in the Uparkot caves, Junagarh[2], and (3) on the screen of the Jhinjuri Jhar caves near Dhank.[3]

The pattern of the *Vedikā* at the Ebhal Mandap and Jhinjuri caves is of a large bold variety of the type found on the screen of the early *caitya*-caves in W. India. But unlike the latter it is carved in very low relief. The pattern in the Uparkot caves is comparatively small, but cut similarly in low relief.

Geometric Designs.

Geometric designs are found on ceilings of monuments either excavated or built. The caves and pre-Caulukyan temples in Kāthiāwār do not seem to contain such sculptured ceilings. A study of the geographical evolution of the ceilings in the later temples is hence not possible.

The *sabhāmaṇḍapa* of every Caulukyan temple, it appears, had a sculptured ceiling. The surviving evidence shows that it was usually of a geometric pattern; but at times also of a floral, or mixed type or one containing human figures.

Purely geometric designs are seen in the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* of the temples at Sūnak,[4] Saṇḍera,[5] Dhinoj,[6] and in the tombs of Sheikh Farid[7] and Bawa Quazi[8] at Anahilvad; in the Jāmi and Māyāpuri Masjids[9] (Somnāth, Kāthiāwār); and in the Vimala and Tejaḥpāla's temple at Abu.[10] Briefly the design is as follow:—

Concentric circles of decreasing diameters are placed in an octagon. First three circles from below are cut deep and decorated with a tooth-like thing, which is nothing but the portion left out in cutting the cusps in each circle. The next four circles illustrate the geometric design of arch-like cusp and circle. The inner-most circle and the cusp look like a half-opened flower. This design may have developed from lotus or similar flower design, which is first noticed on the wooden umbrella over the *caitya* in the *caitya*-cave at Kārli[11]. The latter design may have been copied directly from nature, or it may be a truthful representation of an open umbrella.

[1] Burgess, *AKK.*, pl. xxviii. [2] *Ibid.*, here Fig. 22.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 152; here Fig. 24. [4] Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, pl. lxxxvi.
[5] Here Fig. 44. [6] Burgess, o. c., pl. xcviii. [7] *Ibid.*, pl. xv.
[8] *Ibid.*, pl. xvii. [9] Cousens, *Somanātha*, pls. xi and xviiia; here Figs. 47-48.
[10] Here Figs. 45-46. [11] Codrington, o. c., p. 28, fig. 8.

Anyway, the concentric circle design was very popular in early mediaeval temples. It occurs in the contemporary Cālukyan temples[1] and the mediaeval temples of the Deccan.[2] A few modern temples also have it. Gujarāti sculptors now-a-days call it 'Kāchalā'-and-'Zummar' (cocoanut-shell-and-pendant) design.[3]

Floral and geometric designs are found on ceilings in the porches of the temples at Gorad and Vadnagar.[4] In the former a conventionalized flower is placed inside a square; in the latter stylized floral design is cut out in very bold relief inside a parallelogram.

Floral Designs

Floral designs comprise leaf-and-flower, creeper and purely leaf decorations. The earliest use of floral designs in Kāthiāwār is noticed on the bases of pillars in the Uparkot caves at Junāgarh.[5] There nude figures, like the nude garland-bearers or 'Amorini' figures of Gandhāra sculptures, carry an inverted stylized lotus-leaf-like ornament. The moulding above it is decorated with festoons and lotus-like buttons.

In the Buddhist caves of Western India, such designs appear at a very late date, after 400 A. D., though lotus and leaf design in the shape of volutes and angular-turned leaves is seen in the friezes at Sanchi ;[6] later on the pilasters from Kankali *stūpa* at Mathura[7] and on the bases and capitals of the pilasters of the Gupta temple at Deogarh.[8] But such effulgence of festoons, creepers and flowers is noticed only in the later caves at Ajanta.[9] This evidence gathered from places separated by time and space is of little use in deciding the approximate age of the pillars at Uparkot. Occurrence of leaf and creeper design at Sanchi and Mathura may induce one to date the Uparkot pillars, if not so early as the monuments at these places, at least to the 3rd century A. D., and not to the 6th–7th century, as the comparison with the design in the late caves at Ajanta would, allowing a reasonable time for parallel development of architectural designs in Kāthiāwār.

[1] Cousens, *Chalukyan Architecture*, pls. lxxxiii, xcix, cxxxiv, cxlix.

[2] Cousens, *Mediaeval Temples of the Dakhan*, pl. viii.

[3] For these terms I am thankful to Mr. Mistri, who has built many temples Only last year a Jaina temple of the Abu-type was constructed under his supervision near Mādhavbag, Bombay.

[4] Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, pls. cliii and lx respectively.

[5] Burgess, *ARK.*, pl. xxiv; here Fig. 22.

[6] Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, pl. xiii.

[7] Smith, *Jain Stupa*, pl. xlviii, 2, 3, and pl. xi.

[8] Codrington, *o. c.*, pl. 31.

[9] *Ibid.*, pl. 35.

Another design, closely related with the preceding one, is what is known as the pot-and-foliage motive. It is almost an invariable feature of the Caulukyan temples. There a conventionalized vase, from which spring forth buds and flowers, and a broad indented leaf falling down on either side of the vase, decorates usually the middle part and capitals of short pillars of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*. Examples of these may be taken from the temples at Sūnak, Saṇḍera, Kasarā and Modhera,[1] Somnāth, Sejakpur and Gumli.[2]

More or less identical foliage design is found on the pillars of the Gupta temples at Deogarh[3] and Bhumara,[4] and then on many early mediaeval[5] and mediaeval temples.[6] This may have descended from the floral motive on the medallions on the railings of Bharhut[7] and Sanchi[8] *stūpas*. It is absent in the earlier cave architecture, but occurs later in the Rāmeśvara cave at Ellora.[9] The design thus presents a remarkable continuity with this exception that at Deogarh and Bhumara, though the design forms part of a pilaster, it looks as if cut in the round, and the leaves more real; in the later temples these appear stylized.[10]

The design which is called 'string course', 'scroll' or 'creeper' is essentially floral. Among the pre-Caulukyan monuments, it is found only on the entrance of a Bawa Pyara Cave at Junāgarh[11] and to a certain extent on the door frame of the Kadvār temple[12], where it is mixed up with a diamond design. In the Caulukyan temples, its principal place is on the shrine-door way,[13] the outer side of the wall of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*[14] and the basement moulding.[15] At the last mentioned place its form is in the

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[1] Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, pls. lxxxv, xciv-v, xc.

[2] Cousens, *Somanātha*, pls. iv, and ix, lxii, and lxiii, and xxv and xxvi.

[3] Codrington, o. c., pl. 31. [4] Banerji, *MASI.*, 16, pl. v.

[5] Cousens, *Chalukyan Architecture*, pls. xxxiii and cxv.

[6] Cousens, *Mediaeval Temples of the Dakhan*, pl. xxiv.

[7] Barva, *Bharhut, Aspects of Life and Art*, pl. xxxii.

[8] Codrington, o. c., pl. 17; it also occurs on a pillar from Kankali Tila, Mathura, (Smith, o. c., pl. xlvi, 3), but this appears to be a late piece.

[9] Codrington, o. c., pl. 51. [10] Cf. Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, pl. xciv.

[11] Burgess, *AKK.*, pl. xviii, 2. [12] Cousens, *Somanātha*, pl. xxxiv.

[13] E. g., the temples at Modhera, Saṇḍera, Kasarā, Delmal, Vadnagar. Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, pls. li, xcv, xcii, xii, lxvii, lxiii.

[14] E. g., the temples at Saṇḍera, Kanoda, Delmal, Modhera, *Ibid.*, pls, xciv, xii, lxv., vii; and Gumli, Sejakpur and Parbadi. *AKK.*, pl., xlii and *Somanātha*, pls. lxii, and lxxi.

[15] E. g., the temples at Sūnak, Ruhāvi, Gorad, Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, pls. lxxxi, xciii and cii and Somanātha and Gumli, Cousens, o. c., pls. iv, and ix and xxv and xxvi.

shape of a broad indented leaf which is more or less the same everywhere, whereas slight variations do occur in the other two.

The fashion of decorating the door-jambs does not seem to be popular in the ancient period, for the door-jambs of all early cave-temples[1] are devoid of any floral or geometric design though we have to note that such decorations are found in profusion on the railing pillars and lintels of the Buddhist *stūpas*. Floral and other designs appear on the Gupta cave at Udayagiri, and structural temples at Deogarh, and Bhumara.[2] Since then the door-jamb decorations of the type found in later temples became common. These remarks also hold good with regard to the designs at other two places on temples. For the basement design it may be added that there are hardly any pre-Gupta structural temples. And though all the Gupta temples do not seem to have elaborately moulded bases, still, it appears, that their flat bases were ornamented with designs.[3]

With the vogue of moulded bases, the designs on them degenerated into conventional forms: indented lotus leaf, diamond set in with a flower, and others, some of which we find in the temples of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār.

A study of the evolution of designs above referred to is deferred at present for lack of clear, well-defined photographs from the Gujarāt-Kāthiāwār temples.

[1] For instance the Lomas Rishi Cave and the Caitya Caves at Ajanta, Bhaja, Bedsa, Nasik; cf. Codrington, o. c., pls. 1 A, 4, 5 B, C.

[2] *Ibid.*, pls. 29 and 31; Banerji, *MASI.*, No. 16, pl. iv.

[3] Codrington, o. c., pl. 31, B; at Bhumara, (Banerji, o. c., pl., ii), however, the base is moulded still unadorned.

PART III

CHAPTER V

CULTS

ARCHITECTURAL style classified temples of Gujarāt into pre-Caulukyan and Caulukyan and various sub-groups. Religion would classify them into Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Brāhma, Saurya, and so forth. But this is not enough. It is interesting to know whether there were any special signs or features of each shrine, and to what extent these were common.

Classification of Temples

The inquiry is directed to a shrine which is designated according to the cult image placed in it. This is analysed under the following heads:—

(a) Cult image. (b) Image on the door-lintel. (c) Images on the panel above the door-frame. (d) Images on the principal niches round the shrine. (e) Orientation of a shrine. (f) *Pradakṣiṇāmārga* or Ambulatory passage. (g) Nandī, Śiva's bull, in the *maṇḍapa* facing the shrine.

Saiva Temples

The temples designated as Śaiva are situated at (a) Bileśvara,[1] (b) Sūnak[2], (c) Saṇḍera[3], (d) Ruhāvi[4], (e) Gorad[5], (f) Virta,[6] (g) Kamboī-Solaṅki[7], (h) Wadhwān (Rāṇakdevī's),[8] (i) Sejakpur (Navalākha),[9] (j) Ānandapur (Ananteśvara),[10], (k) Somnāth[11] (l) Gumli (Navalākha)[12] (m) Sarnāl (Galteśvara).[13]

At (b), (d), (f), Śiva is called Nīlakaṇṭha; at (e), Someśvara; at (k), Somanātha; at (g), Sandaleśvara; at (j), Ananteśvara; at (a), perhaps Bileśvara; while at (c), and (l), the shrines are no more in use, as the *liṅgas* are removed[14]; for (h), Cousens gives no name.

[1] Cousens, *Somanātha*, p. 40.
[2] Burgess *ASWI.*, IX p. 103.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 109.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 108.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 111.
[6] *Ibid.*,
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 91.
[8] Cousens, o.c., p. 54.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 57.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 60.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 60.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 36; also Burgess, *AKK.*, p. 179.
[13] Burgess, *ASWI.*, VIII, p. 95.
[14] Also at (k) Somanātha.

Cult Image

But though Śiva is so differently called, the cult image everywhere (except where it is removed) is or was a *liṅga*[1]. At some places, it must be said that the *liṅga* is not old.

Image on the door lintel

The image on the door-frame or lintel at (c), (d), (e), (f), and (h) is that of Gaṇeśa; for (a), and (b), it is not recorded; while at (i), (j), (k), and (l), it seems to have been destroyed.

Images on the panel above the door-frame

(C) and (d) have Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva on the panel above the door-frame; (h) has Gaṇeśa, Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu; at (a), (b), (g), (i), (j) and (l), either they have been not recorded by oversight, or they did not exist, or if they did exist, are now destroyed or removed; at (k), the panel seems to have been replaced by ordinary slabs of stone.

At (a), there are no niches.

(b) has:

Images in the principal niches round the shrine

in the back-niche facing west Naṭeśa;
in the niche „ north Kālī;
in the niche facing south Tripurāntaka.[2]

(c) has:

in the back niche (west)		Śiva;
in the niche facing	north	Viṣṇu;
„ „ „ „	south	Brahmā.

(d) has:

in the back niche	west	Umāmaheśvara;
in the niche facing	north	Brahmā-Sarasvatī;
„ „ „ „	south	Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa.

(e) has:

in the back niche	(east)	Mahākāla;
in the niche facing	north	Naṭeśa;
„ „ „ „	south	Bhairava.

(f) has same as (e).

[1] At Somanātha, according to Alberuni, the cult image was a *liṅga*. It may be a *liṅgodbhavamūrti* also, as some Muslim writers allege that they saw an idol. See Cousens, o. c., p. 20–21.

[2] Burgess, here, as at many places, calls the image Bhairava, which is not quite correct.

For (g), there is no mention; (h) has niches but no images; for (i), Cousens' information is not specific; he says "among the principal images on the walls are Bhairava, Mahākālī, (Naṭeśa), Śiva-Pārvatī, Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa, Vishṇu, Gaṇapati, Brahmā, and Sitalā-Mātā."

(j) has:

the back-niche (west) empty;		
in the niche facing	north	Kāla Bhairava;
„ „ „ „	south	Cāmuṇḍā.

(k) had niched-images, but they are completely mutilated, while the back of the shrine is destroyed.

(l) has:

in the back niche	(west)	Śiva-Pārvatī;
in the niche facing	north	Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa[1];
„ „ „ „	south	Brahmā-Sarasvatī.

Orientation (a), (b), (c), (d), (i), (j), (k), and (l) face the east; while (e), (f), (g) face the west; for (h), there is no information.

Pradakṣinamarga Only (a), (i), (k) and (l) have had *pradakṣiṇāmārga.*

Nandi At (a), (b), (i), there is a Nandī; for the rest there is no indication.

This analysis shows that the majority of the old Śaiva temples in Gujarāt have or had, besides a *liṇga,*

(1) Gaṇeśa on the door-frame;
(2) the triad with Śiva in the centre, and sometimes Gaṇeśa also on the panel above the door-frame;
(3) in the niches round the shrine:
  (a) Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā, sometimes with their consorts also;
  (b) only Śaiva gods and goddesses;
(4) sometimes (often in larger temples) a *pradakṣiṇāmārga*;
(5) the face on the east or the west;
(6) Nandī.

Vaisnava Temples Vaiṣṇava temples, so far found, are at Kadvār[1] and perhaps the "Old temple" at Thān[2] and the one at Manod.[3]

[1] Cousens, o. c., p. 38.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 48.
[3] Burgess *ASWI.*, ix, p. 109–110.

At Kadvār the cult image is of Varāha; on its pedestal are Narasiṁha, Viṣṇu on Garuda, and Śiva-Pārvatī. On the door-frame is Viṣṇu, while Gaṇeśa is a little above him. Above this, there is a panel with Sūrya, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Soma or Candra. On either side of the doorway, at the bottom are the river-goddesses Yamunā and Gaṅgā, now much defaced. On the outside there are no niches. Cousens does not mention what side it faces; but, I think, it faces the east[1]. It has a *pradakṣiṇāmārga*.

At Thān the "Old temple" has:

(a) no cult image now, but has an *āsana*-seat-for the image; (b) in the niches, on the south, Gaṇapati, with a female;[2] on the north Gaṅgā, upon a *makara*; on the west (back) Varāha.

(c) The face to the east.

The temple at Manod, Burgess calls it on the plan, that of Nārāyaṇa, but gives no details in the text. Its analysis is therefore not possible.

Temples of Brahma

Very few temples of Brahmā are known; none, so far, from Kāthiāwār. In Gujarāt there is one at Khed-Brahmā[3], Idar State, Mahīkāntha; outside Gujarāt, at the foot of the hill at Vasantgaḍh[4], Sirohi State; also near Prayagtīrtha, Delwada,[5] (this is very recent, built in 1832 A D.); at Dudahi[6], in Lalitpur; at Khajraho[7]; and at Sevadi[8], in the Jodhpur State.

The Khed-Brahmā temple in Gujarāt is here discussed.

Its sculptured walls seem to be as old as the 12th century,[9] but the temple might have been renovated. It is still in use, being worshipped by

[1] The plan does not say anything, but the two photographs, (Cousens, o. c., pl. xxx-xxxi), indicate this.

[2] Cousens, *Ibid.*, suggests it may be Vāmanāvatāra.

[3] *ASIAR.*, 1906-7, p. 174.

[4] *ASIWC.*, 1905-6, p. 50, photo. no. 2672. This could not be traced in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

[5] *Watson Museum Report*, Rajkot, 1902-3, p. 15.

[6] *ASIWC.*, 1905-6, p. 51; also Cunningham, *ASI.*, X, p. 93.

[7] *Ibid.* [8] *ASIAR.*, 1906-7, p. 174.

[9] Cousens, *ASIAR.*, 1906-7, p. 174; fig. 6. *ASIWC.*, 1908, p. 6, refers to photographs nos. 3039-51. These could not be traced in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

the Khedāvāla Brāhmans, who are Audīchas and followers of Śukla Yajurveda.[1]

The temple is oblong[2] and has:

(a) a cult image of Brahmā;

(b) on the door lintel, Gaṇeśa;

(c) in the principal projecting niches, figures of Brahmā;

(d) the face to the east.

Another of its peculiarities may be noted. There is an unusually large number of female figures on the walls, and the *aṣṭadikpālas* are represented in female form.[3]

On the essential nature of a Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Brāhma shrine some light is thrown by the triple shrine at Kasarā.[4]

Here the Śaiva shrine has:

(a) a *liṇga*;

(b) Gaṇeśa on the door lintel;

(c) in the niches only Śaiva gods and goddesses;

(d) the face to the east. Other details are not mentioned.

The Vaiṣṇava shrine (a) had an image which is now removed; (b) has the face to the south; and (c) all the figures on the walls and niches Vaiṣṇava. Burgess does not mention what the "dedicatory image" on the door frame was.

The Brāhma shrine had an image of Brahmā, which now seems to be removed; has the face to the north; and (c) on the walls figures of Brahmā either standing or with Sarasvatī seated on his knee.

Śaiva Temples

Correlating now the results of the essential characteristics of each shrine as shown at Kasarā with those of individual temples of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā, the Śaiva temples may be grouped into two main classes:—

(a) Pure–having Śaiva figures only;

(b) Mixed–Śiva as the principal, other gods–Viṣṇu and Brahmā—subsidiary.

[1] For details of worship see *Ibid.*

[2] Cousens seems to regard this as a special feature of a Brahmā temple.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 176; rather *devīs* of these gods?

[4] Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, p. 1051. Cousens reports another triple shrine at Parbadi, o.c., p. 62, and says that it was dedicated to Śiva, Viṣṇu, Sūrya or Brahmā.

To (a) thus belong the temples at Sūnak, Gorad, Virta, Ānandapur, and perhaps Somnāth; to (b) those at Saṇḍera, Ruhāvi, Sejakpur, and Gumli.

Vaisnava Temples

For Vaiṣṇava temples no definite results can be gathered because of dearth of material. But it may be said that the temple at Kadvār and the "Old temple" at Thān continue the Gupta tradition, in as much as they include the goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā; while the Kasarā (triple) shrine is after the Caulukyan fashion.

As regards the orientation nothing can be said definitely, for the temples in two instances face south or east.

Temple of Brahma

For the temple of Brahmā the following facts emerge, that it has:

(a) a cult image of Brahmā;

(b) *niches containing figures of Brahmā*;

(c) Gaṇeśa on the door-lintel;

(d) the face to the east or north.

Temples of Surya

Temples of Sūrya are found at (a) Gop (?)[1], (b) Visāvāda[2] (?) (c) Kinderkhedā[3], (d) Pāsthar,[4] (e) Sutrapādā,[5] (f) Thān,[6] (g) Bhīmanātha, (Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa),[7] (h) Triveṇī near Somnāth,[8] (i) Bagavadar,[9] and (j) Modhera.[10]

Cult Image

(a) and (b) have no cult image now but might have had a Sūrya image. (c), (d), (e), (f), (h), (i) have images of Sūrya, but they may not be as old as the temples themselves. Positively at (f) and (i) they are modern. At (j) the image has disappeared, but the *āsana*-seat-remains, on which are carved seven horses of Sūrya.

Image on the door-lintel

No information for (a), (b) and (c). At (d), (e), (f), and (i) there is Gaṇeśa on the door-frame. For (g), and (h) there is no information. At (j) the figure is destroyed.

Images on the panel above the door-frame

For (a), (b), (c), (d), (e), and (g) there is no information.

At (f), (h) and (i) are *navagrahas;* and at (j) there are seated figures of Sūrya.

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[1] Cousens, *Somanātha*, p. 37; also Burgess, *AKK.*, p. 187.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 44. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 42. [4] Burgess, *AKK.*, p. 186.

[5] Cousens, o. c., p. 41. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 46. [7] Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, 73.

[8] Cousens, o. c., p. 28. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 71. [10] Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, p. 71.

Images on the principal niches round the shrine

At (a), (b), (c), (d), (e) there are no niches; for (i) and (g) there is no information. At (f) and (j) there are standing figures of Sūrya; at (h) on the north niche is Laksmi-Nārāyaṇa; on the south Brahmā and Sarasvatī; on the west Umā-Maheśvara.

Orientation

(a), (e), (f), (g) and (h) face the east; for others there is no information.

Pradaksinamarga

All have *pradakṣiṇāmārga* except (c), (f), and (i), for which there is no specific information.

Summarising these results it can be said that Sūrya temples have:

(a) a cult image (mostly standing);

(b) the image of Gaṇeśa on the door-lintel;

(c) on the panel above the shrine-door either *navagrahas* or Sūrya figures;

(d) in the niches (i) Sūrya figures; and (ii) in some temples also other gods and goddesses;

(e) the face to the east;

(f) and usually a *pradakṣiṇāmārga*.

Temples of Goddesses

Old temples of goddesses, found till now, are two: (1) Limboji Mātā,[1] at Delmāl, (2) Vyāghreśvarī at Dhinoj[2]. To this may be now added the Śītalā Mātā at Piludrā.[3]

The first temple is not very old, but it is a reconstruction of the old one. It is now dedicated to Limboji Mātā, so called because her image was found under a nimb tree (*Meliaazadirachta*); and this tree is said to be the home of Viṣṇu, and worshipped in the case of smallpox.[4]

The temple of Limboji-Mātā has:

(a) a cult image[5];

(b) Gaṇeśa on the door-lintel;

(c) a panel of seated *devīs* above the door;

(d) the face to the north;

No information on the niched-figures round the shrine and the *pradakṣiṇāmārga* is available.

[1] Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, p. 87. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 110

[3] *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department*, Baroda State, 1936-37, p. 6, pl. vii.

[4] Burgess, o. c., p. 88 citing *BG.*, IX, p. 385. Even now on the first of Chaitra sudi, observed as the new year day, people in Gujarāt and particularly in the Deccan eat and drink the juice of nimb leaves with sugar.

[5] It is described under Iconography.

For the temple of Vyāghreśvarī[1] there is not much information. As it now stands, it is rebuilt. But it faces the east.

The temple of Śītalā Mātā has:

(a) or had an image of Śītalā[2];

(b) an image of a 4-armed goddess on its door-lintel;

(c) the face to the east;

(d) various gods and goddesses on the outside of the shrine-wall;

(e) an image of Umā-*sahita*-Śiva on the *śikhara*, just above the shrine-wall.

Conclusion

The result of our analysis of shrines dedicated to different gods and goddesses shows that:—

(a) Temples of
- i Śiva generally face the east or west;
- ii Viṣṇu even south;
- iii Brahmā east or north;
- iv Sūrya usually east;
- v A *devī* north or east;

(b) Gaṇapati is in the centre of the door-lintel generally in all shrines.

(c)
- i A purely Śaiva shrine has Śaiva *parivāradevatās*;
- ii An ordinary Śaiva shrine has other deities as well;
- iii A purely Vaiṣṇava shrine has Vaiṣṇava gods and goddesses;
- iv A shrine of Sūrya has Sūrya figures in niches besides those of other gods on walls;
- v A purely Brāhma shrine has figures of Brahmā in the principal niches round the shrine.

Remarks

The conclusion indicates that there were no hard and fast rules for the orientation of a shrine, but generally the east was preferred. Gaṇapati had come to occupy, at least in Gujarāt, the position which he occupies now, the position of an auspicious deity, *Maṅgalamūrti* or *Vighnahartā*, 'Remover of obstacles' and as such was placed in the centre of the door-lintel in almost every temple. And this, in no way, indicates (or indicated) that the temple was dedicated to Śiva.[3]

[1] She is said to be the patron goddess of Sonīs (goldsmiths), and of the Meśri Srimāli Vāniyās. Burgess, o. c., p. 110.

[2] The *Report* does not mention it, but I owe this information and the details given here to Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Director of Archaeology, Baroda State, who kindly sent me other photographs of the temple for study.

[3] Cousens admitted this in *ASIAR.*, 1906-7, p. 177, though he still doubted if Gaṇeśa would be so placed in a Vaiṣṇava temple. However, in his *Somanātha*, he seems to follow Burgess, and regards Gaṇeśa on the door-lintel as an indication of a Śiva temple.

CHAPTER VI

ICONOGRAPHY

CLASSIFICATION of temples on the basis of the cult image illustrated the popularity and distribution of different cults. More light on these various gods and goddesses of each cult is thrown by a discussion of images found in Gujarāt.

Description of images broadly falls into the following groups:

(1) Śaiva or Śivite images, which include Śiva, his various forms, his *gaṇas*, and goddesses.

(2) Vaiṣṇava or Viṣṇuite images, which include 24 forms of Viṣṇu, his *avatāras*, and goddesses.

(3) Brāhma, or images of Brahmā, Sarasvatī and others.

(4) Saurya or images of Sūrya, his consorts, attendants and *navagrahas*.

(5) Miscellaneous (Hindu): River goddesses, Vāyu, Ṛṣis etc.

(6) Jaina or images of Jinas, Yakṣas, Yakṣiṇīs and others.

Majority of the images discussed here exist today in the temples mentioned before, and they are arranged into various groups according to the architectural style of the temples. This enables us to treat the images chronologically. Loose sculptures are subsumed under the various groups on stylistic considerations.

In each group of images the order followed is the one observed by Gopinath Rao[1] and often his terminology is adopted. But it must be said that this is for the sake of convenience and clarity only. For many of his terms are late and South Indian in origin,[2] and rarely used in Gujarāt.

Ganapati

Among the earliest Śaiva images is the one of Gaṇapati. It is seated on one of the *caitya*-windows on the west side of the *śikhara* of the Gop temple.[3] Its detailed description is not possible as the photograph[4] does not show the figure clearly. Perhaps it is seated in *ardhaparyaṅka*. Gaṇeśa in this position is found in a medallion in a *caitya*-window once adorning some part of the 5th century Gupta temple at Bhumara.[5]

[1] *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, 4 volumes.

[2] They are too much Sanskritized. [3] Burgess, *AKK.*, p. 187. [4] *Ibid.*, pl. li.

[5] Banerji, *MASI.*, No. 16, pl. xii-xiii; also *ASIWC.*, 1920-21, pl. xxiii. Coomaraswamy says that the earliest image of Gaṇapati, now known, is perhaps the one represented on the Amarāvati coping. See his *Yakṣa*, I, p. 7, pl. 23, fig. 1 and Burgess, *Stupas of Amarāvati*, pl. xxx, 1.

Next in time is the Gaṇapati figure(?) standing in a niche on the south side of the "Old Temple" at Thān.[1]

After this, Gaṇapati is usually found seated on the lintel of the door-frame of the shrine. At Kadvār he is seated on one knee, the other is raised up. The trunk is turned to the left. The symbols are not visible.[2]

Gaṇapati figures in a similar position elsewhere are not published. In the 14th century temple at Thān[3] Ganapati is seated in the position described previously. But his head is too large and resembles a real elephant head.

Standing figures of Gaṇapati were also current. A huge (about 6 feet) mutilated figure now lies near the sun temple on the Hiraṇyā, near Somnāth.

One such figure is found in a panel from Kapadvanj, now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. The figure[4] stands in *dvibhaṅga* pose between two pilasters; has four arms: the hands on the right carry a stick (bamboo), and *aṅkuśa* (?): the objects in those on the left are not clear. The trunk is turned to the left. As the belly is not very bulging, the figure may be called a Taruṇa Ganapati.[5] The figure is to be placed in the late 13th or 14th century on the style of the accompanying figures.[6]

Śiva

The earliest Śiva image, so far available, is found on the door-frame of the Kadvār temple.[7] It is seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* on a lotus; the right knee is bent, and the left raised up; has 4 hands: the right ones hold a *triśūla*, and *akṣamālā;* the left ones a *sarpa* (?) and *kamaṇḍalu*. Evidently it is a Sukhāsanamūrti, but none of such images described by Rao[8] holds a *kamaṇḍalu* and a *mālā*.

From the same place comes the Umā-Maheśa image.[9] Śiva is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *nandī;* on his left lap is Umā, now much defaced. All the hands of Śiva (and even of Umā) are broken, except the upper right one bearing a *triśūla*.[10]

[1] Cousens, *Somanātha*, p. 48, pl. l. Cousens says in a footnote (*Ibid.*, 1) that it may be Varāha, but the head is missing and no further comment is possible.

[2] *Ibid.*, pl. xxxiv.

[3] *Ibid.*, pl. xlix.

[4] See Fig. 66.

[5] Cf. Rao, *Iconography*, I, i, p. 52.

[6] I cannot say quite positively; for similar figures found from Satruñjaya, and now in the India Museum, London, Nos IM 100–1916, are placed in A. D. 1000, though it must be said that they are totally different from the known Caulukyan figures of the period.

[7] Cousens, o. c., pls. xxxii and xxxiv.

[8] See, o. c., II, i, pp. 129-130.

[9] Cousens, o. c., pl. xxxv.

[10] Cf. Rao, o. c., II, i, p. 133; the figures here correspond very much to the description given in *Rūpamaṇḍana*.

Identical is the figure from Navalakha temple, Gumli,[1] and the other from Kapadvanj, now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. In the last Śiva's lower right hand is in *varadamudrā*, while the left embraces Umā, who seems to hold in her left hand a lotus stalk or mirror (?). Her left leg hangs down, as is usual in such figures.[2] The Gumli and Kapadvanj figures resemble much in motive and treatment of the facial expression, and may be placed in the late 13th century, the Gumli a little earlier of the two.

Samharamurtis of Siva

The Nīlakaṇṭha temple at Sūnak presents us with an Aṅdhakāsūravadha-mūrti. It is in a niche on the south side of the shrine.[3] Burgess calls it Bhairava,[4] but, as the description will show, it is a form of Śiva, assumed while killing the demon Aṅdhaka.

Śiva stands in an *ālīḍha* posture; his left leg is bent, and the right carried a little backwards and held stiff. He had 8 arms (or perhaps more), but now only 4 remain. His upper left hand holds (?) the demon, while the other upper left and right hold the stretched elephant-skin in the shape of a *prabhāmaṇḍala*;[5] the lowest right hand seems to hold a disc-like object (?) Below him stands perhaps the *apasmārapuruṣa* in *ālīḍha* posture; on the right stands a figure (indistinct); on the left a figure with a short curved dagger (?), perhaps Kālī or Yogeśvarī.[6] The figure resembles in a few respects a similar form of Śiva from the Kailāsa temple, Ellora.[7]

A slightly different figure is illustrated from the Vāyad step-well.[8] Burgess again calls it Bhairava, but here the scene is more clear. The demon is pierced by the sword (or *triśūla*[9]) of the lower right hand. There are no other figures, except one at the foot of Śiva holding something (?).

Though both the Sūnak and Vāyad figures are similar in motive, the treatment of the physical features and ornaments is very different. The Sūnak figure is refined and its facial features are well cut;[10] while the Vāyad figure is more expressive of fierceness, but lacks the fineness of Sūnak's. These differences correspond to the age of the sculptures: Sūnak, 11th century, Vāyad late 13th or 14th.

[1] Cousens, o c., pl., xxvi; also Fig. 60 now in the Rajkot Museum.

[2] See Rao, II, i, pls. xxi and xxvi, fig. 1.

[3] Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, p. 104, pl. lxxxv, fig. 2.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Adopted with modifications from Rao, o.c., II, i, p. 193.

[6] Cf., *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*, pl. xlvii.

[8] Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX pl. cvi.

[9] Cf. Rao, o. c., II, i, p. 193.

[10] Particularly of the nose and eyes.

Nrttamurtis

Dancing postures of Śiva are often met with in Gujarāt temples, usually on the back niche of a Śiva shrine. But majority of them are severely destroyed, rendering them useless for description.

One of such mutilated Śiva sculptures is figured by Burgess from the Nīlakaṇṭha temple, Sūnak.[1] The legs are completely broken, so also the right arms excepting the upper one holding a *triśūla*; the back hands seem to stretch the elephant-skin in the form of a *prabhāmaṇḍala*.[2] Without the exact position of hands and legs it is difficult to name the dance; that it is dancing is supported by the side figures, one of which is playing on a flute, the other on a drum (or drums). It may be the Tāṇḍava dance of Śiva, or the Gajahāmūrti in which Śiva is represented holding the skin of an elephant; and this seems to be done by the Sūnak image by its back hands. Its pose also resembles that of the Gajahāmūrti.[3]

Bhairava

Real Bhairava is found among one of the sculptures on the Baroda Gate, Dabhoi.[4] It is dancing; has a grinning face and 4 arms. The hands on the right hold a sword, and something which is now indistinct; those on the left, a *kamaṇḍalu* or *agnipātra* (?) and a rosary (?). There is a garland of skulls; below, on the leftside, is a dog. Stylistically it is to be placed in c. 1250 A. D.

Cousens mentions two other Bhairavas: (1) from the temple of Somanātha, lying among the loose sculptures; (2) from the central niche on the south wall of the shrine of Anantesvara Mahādeva, Ānandpur.

The Somanātha image is standing, has a moustache and beard; had 8 arms of which only 3 remain; of these one holds a sword, another a *vajra*, and the third, perhaps a decapitated head by the hair.[5] In none of the varieties described by Rao[6] has Bhairava a beard. The figure seems to be a late production.

The Ānandpur image is described as rude, having a dagger in one of his 4 hands and trampling upon a human being.[7] The description accords

[1] O. c., pl. lxxxv.

[2] This is unusual, not found in the modes described and illustrated by Rao, o. c., pp. 252–270.

[3] Cf. Rao, II, i, pl. xxxii images from Dārāsuram.

[4] Burgess, *Antiquities of Dabhoi*, pl. xx, fig. 3. [5] *Somanātha*, pl. vii.

[6] See o.c., II, i. pp. 176–182. [7] Cousens, o.c., p. 60.

in many respects with the known images of Bhairava,[1] but in the plate cited by Cousens the figure is quite indistinct.[2]

Agni

The figure at Modhera, "to the north of the entrance, among the larger reliefs on the wall" worshipped now as Kāla-Bhairava is really a figure of Agni as suggested by Burgess.[3] "It is a standing male figure, with three faces[4] and three arms—one left and two right; and three legs—two left (one behind the other) and one right." In his upper right hand there is a curved dagger. This figure in some respects resembles the Agni figure in the Śiva temple at Kandiyur, Travancore, which has two heads, three legs and among the weapons a curved dagger in the left hand.[5] On this analogy therefore the Modhera figure may be identified with that of Agni.[6]

Another image from Modhera described by Burgess as "Śiva standing with Nandī beside him"[7] may be called Vṛṣavāhanamūrti representing the milder aspects of Śiva, which is so popular in South India.[8]

Lakulisa

Śiva as Lakulīśa is found at Kārvān[9] (Kāyāvarohaṇa), said to be the home of the Lakulīśa cult. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar wrote an exhaustive article[10] on the subject and illustrated two images from the temples of Nakleśvara and Rājarājeśvara. Here the figures form part of a *liṅga*, and so only the head and part of the body are shown. We miss therefore the real representation of Lakulīśa, hence it is difficult to decide the age of the images.[11]

Usually Lakulīśa is represented as seated on *padmāsana*, with penis erect, and a citron fruit (*mātuliṅga*) in the right hand and a staff in the left.[12]

[1] See Rao, o.c., II, i, pl. xlii, Bhairavas from Calcutta, Madras and Bombay[2]

[2] Cousens, o. c., pl. lxx. [3] *ASWI.*, IX, p. 77.

[4] *Ibid.* I have myself seen this figure and so the words "appears" etc. have been omitted from Burgess' description. [5] Rao, o. c., II, ii, pl. clii.

[6] The three legs of Agni denote triple existence: on earth as fire; in the atmosphere as lightning; in the sky as the sun. Cf., *Ibid.*, p. 521.

[7] Burgess, *ASWI.*, p. 78. [8] Cf., Rao, II, i, p. 353, pl. cviii.

[9] In the Gaikwār's territory, 15 miles south of Baroda and 8 miles north-east of Miyāgām railway station. *BG.*, I, p. 33 and fn. 1. At Negapatam, Tanjore, there is a temple of Kāyārohaṇaswāmi.

[10] *ASIAR.*, 1906–7, pp. 185–6, figs. 4 and 5.

[11] *BG.*, I, 83, says that from some of the figures on the door-frame and loose sculptures lying about Kārvān the Lakulīśa temple seems to be of the 10th or 11th century.

[12] Sometimes the positions of these emblems is reversed. See Bhandarkar, o. c., p. 186; also for figs. from other places.

Very often a band of cloth, called *yogapaṭṭa*, is seen going round the knee-cap, symbolizing that the god is in meditation.[1]

Unfortunately no image of Lakulīśa is reported[2] and illustrated from Northern Gujarāt or Kāthiāwār, though epigraphic evidence[3] shows that the Lakulīśa cult flourished at Somnāth in Kāthiāwār.

Outside Gujarāt,[4] Lakulīśa is found at Achaleśvar,[4] Mt. Abu; at Kāyādrā, at the foot of the same mountain on the door of the ante-chamber of the temple of Kāśiviśveśvara; at Chohtaṇ and other places in Rājputāna. Without seeing these images it is not possible to date them, but the Chohtan image is found along with an inscription of V. S. 1365 (A.D. 1308–9). Lakulīśa is also found on the monoliths at Lālpeṭh, near Chanda, C. P. and at Ujjain.

Saiva goddesses

Very few images of the goddesses of the Śaiva pantheon have been preserved and illustrated.

Figures of Pārvatī are found on the Baroda gate, and the temple of Kālikā Mātā, Dabhoi. The figure on the Baroda gate is in *lalitāsana;* has 4 hands: the upper right holds a *liṅga* in a circle, lower a *padma* (?), upper left has Gaṇapati, lower a *kamaṇḍalu*. The *vāhana* is an alligator.[5] According to Rao[6] this would be an aspect of Pārvatī.

The second figure on the west face of Kālikā Mātā's temple stands in *samabhaṅga (erect*, without any bends); has 4 hands: the lower two are broken, the upper right holds a *liṅga*, the left a Gaṇapati.[7] The inscription on the pedestal calls it *Śrī Ārugadevī*.[8] But this representation is identical with that of Pārvatī given by *Rūpamaṇḍana*;[9] the lower hands, now broken, should have held an *akṣamālā and kamaṇḍalu*.[10]

At the same place[11] is a figure which may be identified with Mahākālī. It stands in *tribhaṅga*; the right hands hold a *ḍamaru*, and *triśūla*, the left

[1] For a Lakulīśa-like figure from native America, see Sankalia, 'An American Fertility Figure and Lakulīśa,' *Indian Culture*, January 1938, p. 358.

[2] Excepting one from Devki Vansol, Mehmadābād *tālukā*, Kaira Dist. *PRASWC.*, 1915, p. 8.

[3] See below.

[4] See *ASIAR.*, 1906–7, p. 184.

[5] Burgess, *Dabhoi*, pl, xx, fig. 11.

[6] O.c., I, ii, p. 360.

[7] Burgess, *Dabhoi*, pl. xv.

[8] *Ibid.*, reads, *Śrī-Devi*.

[9] Cf. Rao, I, ii, p. 120 and p. 360.

[10] Cf. also Pārvatī from Ellora, *Ibid.*, pl. cviii, fig. 1. It differs only in the cutting and modelling, otherwise the motive is identical.

[11] Burgess, *Dabhoi*, pl. xiv (14), Fig. 1.

khaṭvāṅga with the head of a skull, and the lower is in *abhaya*. She is not a "skeleton with long pendant shrivelled breasts" as Burgess[1] describes her, but as prescribed by her *sādhana*, she has a thin waist.[2]

Mahisasuramardini

Figures of Mahiṣāsuramardinī are frequently met with in Gujarāt and elsewhere. At Sūnak there is an old temple which seems to be dedicated to this goddess, as her figures are sculptured on the walls,[3] and two others, one of marble and the other of sandstone, are lying about the temple. Here the figure from the back niche of the shrine is described. It stands in *tribhaṅga*, with its right leg on a lion, and the left on a buffalo, whose head is cut off. She seems to have had at least 8 hands, if not ten as prescribed by *śāstras*. In the right hands I can see only a *khaḍga*, and long *triśūla*; in the left a *kheṭaka*; the rest of the emblems are not clear to me. The figure corresponds to the description given by Rao of Mahiṣāsuramardinī from *Śilparatna*.[4]

Her representation, however, has its local touch, and differs from those at Bhumara of the 5th century[5], where the figure has 4 hands only and there is no lion; also from those cited by Rao and Kramrisch from Mahābalipuram,[6] Gaṅgaikoṇḍasolapuram,[7] Ellora,[8] Madras,[9] Mayurbhanj,[10] and Mukhed.[11] (Hyderabad-Deccan).

Sitala

Interesting figures of local goddesses come from Modhera, Sejakpur and Delmāl. At Modhera, there is a figure which is riding naked on an animal (an ass or a buffalo).[12] It seems to have 10 hands. The lowest two hold *akṣamālā*, (?) and *kamaṇḍalu*, while two others hold up a winnowing basket on her head; others are indistinct. This description answers to some extent[13] the description of the goddess Śītalā cited by Burgess[14] from Hindu Mythology, wherein she rides naked on a donkey, wearing a broken winnowing basket on her head, with a water-jar in the left hand and a beson (besom?) in the right.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 10. [2] Cf. Rao, o. c., I, i, 358, p. cvii, fig. 1.

[3] Here Fig. 61. The temple's base and shrine-walls are at least of the 12th century as their style of architecture shows. On one of the pillars in the front porch is an inscription of V. S. 1356.

[4] Rao, o. c., I, ii, p. 345–46. [5] Banerji, *MASI.*, No. 16, pl. xivb.

[6] Rao, o.c., ii, pl. ci, cv. [7] *Ibid.*, pl. ciii. [8] *Ibid.*, pl. civ.

[9] *Ibid.*, pl. cii. [10] Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture*, fig. 110. [11] *Ibid*, fig. 99.

[12] Here Fig. 62; *ASWI.*, IX, p. 80. [13] If not in all the details.

[14] *Ibid.*, citing *Rās Mālā*, II, p. 327; Wilkins, *Hindu Mythology*, (1882) p. 394; Wilson's *Works*, II, pp. 21, and 192.

That the figure is of Śītalā is confirmed by a similar figure reported by Cousens from Sejakpur,[1] where too the goddess is seated on an ass and holds a winnowing basket upon her head.[2]

It is interesting to get archæological evidence of the Śitalā-cult (from these images as well as the Śitalā temple mentioned before) dating as far as, atleast, the 12th century A. D.[3]

Bhattacharya suggests[4] that the image of Śītalā might have evolved from the image of Kālarātri, whom Hemādri in his *Viṣṇudharmottara* describes as having a single braid of hair,[5] naked, riding an ass, her body besmeared with oil, and having *kuṇḍalas* and *karṇapūra* flowers in her ear.[6]

The Śitalā-cult was prevalent also outside Gujarāt. Temples and sites dedicated to her still exist in the Punjab and Bengal, and are visited every year by thousands of people.[7]

The goddess—now worshipped as Limboji Mātā at Delmal,[8] represented with four arms, and her head surmounted by a snake-hood; in her upper right hand a *triśūla*, the lower in *abhaya*,[9] in the upper left a *ghaṇṭā*, and in the lower a *kalaśa*; on her right side a tiger, on the left a lion—Burgess thinks may be a form of Durgā. But she may be identified with the goddess Manasā, because of the snake-hood, which is said to be a true mark of her identification.[10]

[1] Cousens, *Somanātha*, p. 58.

[2] This association of the winnowing basket with Sitalā has perhaps given rise to a superstition in Gujarāt that a winnowing basket should not be held over one's head, even in sport, because it would cause small-pox (*Śītalā*) on one's body. The superstition is not mentioned by Underhill, *Hindu Religious Year.*, pp. 42, 105, 167.

[3] It is rather strange that Rao (*Iconography*) has no reference to this goddess, though Burgess says "Śītalā is the same as Māriamann of the Tamils, also called Māttāngi and Vadugantāī". Burgess, o. c., p. 80.

[4] *Indian Images*, p. 40.

[5] Bhattacharya's translation here as "having a vīṇā" seems to be wrong.

[6] *Ibid.*, footnote 3; also Rao, o. c., I, ii, p. 359 and Appendix, p. 119.

[7] See *Imp. Gaz.*, XII, p. 412; XXIII, p. 360-61.

[8] Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, p. 88.

[9] Burgess' description "hand open with the palm turned outwards and the finger pointing upwards", called by him *varadamudrā* is wrong. See *Ibid.*

[10] *Cf.* Bhattacharya, o. c., p. 39. Her figures are said to be in the Rangpur Parishad Museum. Vasu, *Mayurbhanja Arch, Survey*, p. xxxviii, cited by *Ibid.*

Visnu: Twenty-four Forms

Description of Viṣṇu, his forms and *avatāras* must also begin with the figures found in the Varāha temple at Kadvār. Here, on a panel above the door-frame of the shrine, the central figure[1] on *padmapīṭha*, in *utkaṭikāsana*, with 4 hands bearing: upper right *gadā*, lower in *varada*; upper left *cakra*, lower *śaṅkha(?)* and resting on the raised knee—may be identified with Trivikrama, one of the 24 forms of Viṣṇu according to the *Padmapurāṇa* and *Rūpamaṇḍana*.[2]

The figure illustrated by Burgess from Suan Kansāri Talao, Gumli[3] and called simply 'Viṣṇu' is also Trivikrama.

Other varieties of the 24 forms of Viṣṇu are shown by a panel[4] from Taibpur, Kaira District, now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. There are three figures all standing. The first figure, from the right, has in its upper right hand *padma*, lower right hand *cakra;* upper left hand *śaṅkha*; lower left hand *gadā*; and may be identified with Puruṣottama.[5] The second has in the above order: *gadā*, *padma*, *śaṅkha*, (the fourth is broken, but must have held *cakra*) and is to be identified with Adhokṣaja.[6] The third has *cakra*, *padma*, *gadā* and *śaṅkha* and is to be identified with Vāsudeva, according to *Padmapurāṇa*, and with Janārdana according to *Rūpamaṇḍana*[7] *and Agnipurāṇa*.[8] Stylistically the sculptures belong to the 13th century.[9]

Laksmi Narayana

Among the sculptures on the wall at Kadvār is a mutilated standing figure of Lakṣmī-Nārāyana.[10] Viṣṇu held in his right hands *gadā*, and *varadamudrā;* the upper left *cakra*, the lower embraced Lakṣmī who in her left hand held a lotus stalk, and with her right embraced Viṣṇu.

Seated representation of this form is shown by a figure from Taibpur, Kaira District, now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Viṣṇu is in *lalitāsana*, the right leg dangling down; on the left is seated Lakṣmī. His upper right hand holds a *cakra*, the lower is in *varada*. Lakṣmī in her

[1] Cousens, *Somanātha*, pl. xxxii.

[2] Rao, o. c., I, i, p. 229 and 231. This Trivikrama is different from another form, but having the same name assumed at the time of sending Bali to *pātāla*.

[3] *AKK*., pl. xlvi, fig. 2. [4] Fig. 63. It is lying unidentified.

[5] *Padmapurāṇa*, Rao, o. c., I, p. 232; *Agnipurāṇa*, Bidyabinod, *MASI*., No. 2, p. 25. *Rūpamaṇḍana*., *Ibid*., p. 229.

[6] *Ibid*. [7] Rao, o. c., p. 230; [8] Bidyabinod, o.c., pp. 25 and 29.

[9] This and other questions are discussed at some length by me in *JBU*., VII. iv, pp. 3–4. [10] Cousens, o. c., pl. xxxv.

left hands holds a lotus. Below, under the left leg, is Garuḍa in human form. Iconographically these figures are correct.[1] But the Taibpur figure on stylistic grounds–the peculiar cut of eyes, roundish face, and the head-dress–is to be dated in the 13th century.

Almost similar figure is found in a niche of the Viṣṇu shrine at Kasara.[2] It is a pity that it is almost destroyed, otherwise, we could have a specimen of the type of Viṣṇu figure of a purely Caulukyan style.

Trailokyamohana

Some rare figures of Viṣṇu I found at Saṇḍera, in N. Gujarāt and in the museums at Bombay and Rajkot. The Saṇḍera figure[3] is carved in white marble (probably from Chandrāvati, near Pālanpur). Viṣṇu is seated on his *vāhana* (Garuḍa which is shown here in a human form), and has 20 arms, perhaps the largest number of arms endowed to Viṣṇu either in sculpture or texts. The two proper hands are held in *dhyāna* or *yogamudrā*. Of the remaining 18 hands, the 9 on the right (beginning from below) are either held in a *mudrā* or carry symbols. 1 is in *varadamudrā* and also carrying a rosary; 2 *cakra*; 3 broken, but carried perhaps a citron; 4 *vajra*; 5 *bāṇa*; 6 *gadā*; 7 *pāśa*; 8 *khaḍga*; 9 in *abhayamudrā*. The corresponding left hands hold a *kamaṇḍalu*, *śaṅkha*, 3, 4, 6, 7 seem to hold a *dhanuḥ* with three bends, 8 *kheṭaka*; 9 in *abhayamudrā*.

This unique figure seems to be a variety, as I have shown elsewhere,[4] of Trailokyamohana or Viśvarūpa form of Viṣṇu.

The figure from the Rajkot Museum[5] is also of white marble, and is identical—not only in general iconographical features, but also in the respective positions of the different symbols and in the shape of the *mukuṭa* and facial expression of Viṣṇu—with that of the Saṇḍera figure. Both the figures, therefore, are of the same period, 12th or 13th century, as they resemble very closely the composite figure of Viṣṇu[6] at Delmāl, N. Gujarāt.

The Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, possesses two figures of this variety of Viṣṇu. Both are reported to have been found at Taibpur, Kaira District, and belonged originally to a parapet wall of a temple.[7] The first figure[8], astride on Garuḍa, is sculptured between two ringed-pilasters. It has 10 hands, of which the two proper hands are in *yogamudrā*. Of the rest, the 4 hands, on the right beginning with the lower right, are: 1 in *varadamudrā*; 2 holding *khaḍga*: 3 *cakra*; 4 in *abhayamudrā*.

[1] Cf. Rao, o. c., I, i, p. 258–259. [2] Burgess, *ASWI*, IX, pls. xc-xci.

[3] Fig. 64. [4] *JBU.*, VII, i, pp. 5–6. [5] Fig. 65. [6] See below and Fig. 73.

[7] Here Fig. 66. [8] For comment on this see *JBU.*, VII, i. p. 6.

Those on the left have in the above order a *kamaṇḍalu*; a round citron-like object which is half broken; *gadā*; the 4th is in *abhayamudrā*. Iconographically it seems to be a variety of Trailokyamohana or Viśvarūpa, while stylistically, though the figure comes from the Kaira District, that is from outside the Saraswatī Valley, still it betrays affinities with the figures from N. Gujarāt and may be dated in the 14th century.

The other figure[1] is similar to the above in pose, and in the number of hands it has. But it is dissimilar from it because the position of some of the symbols is different, and has a different kind of *mukuṭa* and facial features. The two proper hands are in *yogamudrā*, (observe that the manner of showing it is also different); while the remaining 4 hands on the right are: 1 in *vardamudrā*; 2, 3, 4 carry *cakra*, *gadā* and *khaḍga* respectively; those on the left 1 *kamaṇḍalu*; 2 a round, *śaṅkha*-like object; 3 a *daṇḍa*—like object; 4 *kheṭaka*.

This figure also seems to be a type of Trailokyamohana or Viśvarūpa form of Viṣṇu, but in point of time, on stylistic grounds, is at least a century later than similar figures noticed above.

Avataras of Visnu: Varaha

The shrine at Kadvār is dedicated to the Varāha *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. The image, as reproduced by Cousens,[2] stands in *ālidhāsana*: the right foot is placed on the coils of the serpent Śeṣa (who is represented with 5 hoods and *añjalihasta*.) It has two arms: the right is on the *kaṭi* and thigh; and so also the left. The Varāha-head rises a little above that of Bhudevī, who is seated on the left shoulder of Varāha in *lalitāsana*. The figure is almost cut in the round and is well modelled, except the right hand which looks stiff and lifeless,[3] and the left does not bend sufficiently but abruptly curves from the wrist.[4]

Neither in the Gupta figure at Udaygiri, nor in the illustrations given by Rao from Mahābalipuram,[5] Bādāmi,[6] Rājim (C. P.),[7] Phalodi,[8] (Mārwār) is Varāha so unadorned, even without the long garland, nor does Bhudevī sit in such a way on the shoulder, nor Śeṣa represented thus.

Another figure of Varāha is found in the Viṣṇu shrine at Kasarā in a niche on the *śikhara*.[9] It is much mutilated, but the bent right hand

[1] Here Fig. 67. [2] *Somanātha*, pl. xxxv.

[3] Stiff it should be, as it bears the weight of Bhu, but the fingers of the hand cannot be in the position shown by Cousens. They should be as in the Udaygiri figure.

[4] Cf. in this respect the Udaygiri figure, Gwalior (c. 400 A. D.) Coomaraswamy, o. c., fig. 174; Kramrisch, o. c., fig. 63.

[5] Rao, o. c., I, i, pl. xxxvi. [6] *Ibid.*, pl. xxxvii. [7] *Ibid.*, pl. xxxviii.

[8] *Ibid.*, pl. xxxix. fig. 2. [9] Burgess, *ASWI.*, pls. xc-xci.

supporting Bhudevī, the forward thrust of chest and a long garland can be seen.

Varāha with 4 hands (of which, of those on the right, one bears a *gadā*, the other is placed on the *kaṭi*; of the hands on the left one is bent, supports Bhudevī who sits in *lalitāsana* with *añjalihasta*; the other is on the forward thigh and the right foot supported by Śeṣa and his wife by their hands), is depicted in a niche in the Old Temple at Thān.[1] Artistically this figure is the best of the three discussed, particularly the positions of hands is perfectly natural. Unfortunately the face is completely peeled off. The Śeṣa and his wife are in striking contrast from other figures cited before, the nearest parallel being one from Phalodi,[2] Mārwār, but even this differs considerably in details.

Narasimha

Narasiṁha, as found at Kadvār, is rather peculiar. Here the figure is standing, or sitting (?); its right leg is bent and placed on the back of a man (Garuḍa on Śeṣa?), the other falls down. It has four hands: the two back ones are thrown up, almost vertically; the front ones disembowel Hiraṇyakaṣipu, who is lying on the lap of Narasiṁha, with his head towards the right. The face of Narasiṁha is that of a lion, with the tongue coming out.

None of the figures reproduced by Rao,[3] or Coomaraswamy[4] resemble this. The one from the Sirohi state, shown by Kramrisch, has some resemblance with the pose of Narasiṁha, but it is otherwise too much complicated and advanced.[5] This pose, though having its local variations, was known at Garhwa, Allahabad, as shown by Bhattacharya.[6]

The figure of Narasiṁha on the Baroda gate, Dabhoi, seems to be unique.[7] It has 3 faces, all human; is standing, and Hiraṇyakaṣipu is on its knees, being disembowelled by the lower two hands; the upper two hold club-like weapons.

Trivikrama

A sculpture at Modhera[8] portrays Viṣṇu as Trivikrama, taking three strides. It is badly destroyed, but preserves the main facts of the story. Its left leg is carried backwards, the right is stretched up to the chest, and seems to touch a

[1] Cousens, o. c., pl. I.

[2] Rao, o. c., I, i, pl. xxxix, fig. 2.

[3] O. c., I, i, pl. xlii-vii.

[4] O. c., fig. 170.

[5] See Kramrisch, o. c., fig. 35. Originally from Devangana (Anadra), Sirohi state, c. 1100 A. D., *ASIWC.*, 1906-7, p. 29.

[6] O. c., pl. viii, fig. 4 (about 400 A. D.).

[7] Burgess, *Dabhoi*, pl. xx, fig. 16. It seems to be unknown to canonical works as cited by Rao, I, i, p. 149 ff.

[8] Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, pl. lvi, fig. 1.

solitary head. This is inexplicable.[1] Below, on the left, is Vāmana receiving gift from Bali; the figure on the right is, perhaps, the demon Namuchi.[2]

The weapons, in hands on the right, are scarcely distinguishable, and in the left hands, they are completely broken off. When complete the figure must be a nice piece of sculpture, as it is partly shown by the spirited action, indicated by the backward throw of the head and curve in the back. No parallels can be cited from the illustrations published by Rao,[3] or others, which resemble this figure in the details of composition. The solitary head with Trivikrama's foot in the mouth remains unique.

Anantasayin

Viṣṇu as Anantaśāyī or as called by Rao[4] Śayanamūrti, is found in one of the niches on the east side of the *kuṇḍa* at Modhera.[5] The whole figure may be divided into three sections. In the central, Viṣṇu lies, facing right, on Śeṣa which is shown by his hoods only. Of the 4 hands, 2 are broken; of the rest one holds a *cakra*, the other lies along the body in *varada* pose; the legs cross each other; the right perhaps lay in the lap of Bhudevī, on the extreme right, now destroyed beyond recognition. Behind the head, is Śeṣa with 7 hoods; below this, is a horse, facing left. Above Viṣṇu, in the same section, are an elephant, a bull, and a man. In the section above Viṣṇu there are niches having seated Sūryas (?), separated by warriors. In the lowest section are perhaps the Devas and Asuras churning with a rope (in the shape of Vāsuki's body).[6]

The figures in sections one and three are unlike any seen in the sculptures of Anantśāyin, whereas in the central section a horse below Śeṣa's hoods is unparalleled; only in facing towards the right does Viṣṇu resemble the Deogarh figure of the Gupta period.[7] The sculpture belongs to about the 11th century A. D., the time of the temple of Sūrya at Modhera.

A form of Visnu

Burgess illustrates a figure from Modhera,[8] which stands in *samabhaṅga*, has 4 hands, 3 of which are now completely broken off, the upper fourth holds a *cakra*. It wears a *kirīṭamukuṭa*, *kuṇḍalas* and a long *upavīta*.

[1] It might be Brahmā, for according to the story Viṣṇu's one foot reached *svarga*, and was worshipped by Brahmā. See Rao, o. c., I, pl. xlix, scene from Mahābalipuram and p. 166.

[2] See *Ibid.*

[3] See Rao, o. c., I, i, pls. xlviii-liii.

[4] O. c., I, i, p. 90 ff.

[5] Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX. p. lvi, fig. 3.

[6] Slight resemblance to figures in the lowest section is found in the figure from Rājputānā. See Rao, I, i, o. c., pl. xxxiv.

[7] See Rao, o. c., I, i, pl. xxxii, p. 110.

[8] *ASWI.*, IX, pl. lvii.

Behind the head is a canopy of 5 hooded cobra; below, on either side is an attendant. Burgess calls it a "Nāga figure."

But for the *cakra* in the left hand, the figure may be identified with Nāgadeva described by Rao from *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*[1] which has 4 hands, stands on *padmapīṭha*, is profusely decorated and has a canopy of five-hooded cobra. But its two back hands are said to carry snakes, whereas the Modhera figure has a *cakra*. This makes me feel that the figure is a form of Viṣṇu, canopied by Śesa and should be called a figure of Viṣṇu.

Kaliyamardana scene

At Manod, on a roof panel is a sculpture which Burgess calls Viṣṇu seated on Śeṣa, and describes as follows:–whose (Śeṣa's) tail and those of the attendant snake devīs, interlaced and knotted together, form the border of the panel. The tails, in crossing from one side of the border to the other, enclose eight, somewhat oval, spaces round the circle, and in these are small sculptured figures, among which Narasiṁha and Varāha avatāras can be recognised.[2] Burgess further says that Śeṣa, who is usually represented as a couch and canopy of Viṣṇu, is here represented as the *vāhana* of the god, and portrayed with a human face with three snake-hoods, and with hands joined in reverence, and on either side the Nāgīs; in the same attitude is Śeṣa's wife Anantaśirṣā shown perhaps twice (?)

According to Burgess, Viṣṇu's right foot and left knee rest on the shoulders of Śeṣa, and the left foot is turned up towards the elbow. Further he says that Viṣṇu who has 4 hands holds a *cakra*, and *śālūka* in his right hands; the emblem in the left cannot be identified. All round, from behind Viṣṇu and Śeṣa, project what seem to be large flower-buds.

The description is mostly correct except in a few points, but the identification of the scene, I think, is wrong.[3] First, the emblems in the hands of Viṣṇu are *cakra*, *padma*, *gadā*, and *śaṅkha*. Of the last three, *gadā* in the upper left hand is clear enough; *padma* is shown perhaps full-

[1] O. c., II, li, p. 556. [2] Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, p, 109, fig. 10.

[3] And his reference to Viṣṇu in the Bādāmi cave, *ASWI.*, I, pl. xxx, (also *MASI.*, No. 25 pl. xvii, a), seated on Seṣa is misleading. Here there is no doubt about the identification. Viṣṇu is seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* on the coils of Śeṣa, with 5 hoods. But it has no resemblance to the Manod sculpture as described above.

However, a relief on a ceiling at Bādāmi cave III where Viṣṇu is seated in *lalitāsana*, with a female (devī?) on either side, having the outer rim 8 oblongs which perhaps contain Viṣṇu *avatāras* (the photo is too indistinct for their identification) has some resemblance as far as the oblongs are concerned with the Manod scene. But the latter is much more advanced, as it must be.

blown, and therefore Burgess mistook it for a *liṅgapīṭha*; the hand bearing *śaṅkha* is broken off.

As regards the identification, I think, the scene depicts *Kāliya-mardana-Kṛṣṇa*, Kṛṣṇa trampling over the serpent Kāliya, who with his two consorts is shown as praying, and asking for forgiveness. Kṛṣṇa is represented four-handed as Viṣṇu, and the position of his feet and head suggests trampling. Lastly, the projections, which look like flower-buds, seem to be fishes.

This scene was suggested to me by similar but stylishly variant sculptures: one on a ceiling in the temple of Somanātha at Somnāth, the second in the Vimala temple at Ābu, and the third an illustration published by Cousens from a ceiling, Jami Masjid, Māṅgrol[1].

In the sculpture at Somnāth[2], Śeṣa is represented as before, but the number of Nāgīs is seven. Kṛṣṇa seems to have two hands only; the right is held up and carries a *cakra*,[3] and with the left he holds a noose, which seems to pass through the nostrils of Kāliya.[4] There are no fishes and representations of other *avatāras* in the circle, but perhaps there are sculptures in the corners of the square-frame enclosing the inner circle.

At Māṅgrol, the scene is similar. Besides a number of Nāgīs, there are in the ovals, formed by interlocking serpent-bodies, various figures: elephants, dog, fish, etc. Kṛṣṇa has two hands, the right is held up and seems to hold a twig of a tree (?), the left is held near the chest in *jñānamudrā*.[5]

The figure in the Vimala temple is not published in any English book. I saw it in a Gujarāti book.[6] Here the scene is almost identical with that at Somnāth.

As suggested before, the scene at Manod, Somnāth, Māṅgrol and Ābu seems to be the Kāliyamardana with local variations in details, and not Viṣṇu on Śeṣa. And though no temples exclusively dedicated to Kṛṣṇa are found, still, it appears that scenes from his life were depicted. In the Vimala temple, Ābu, there is a ceiling which shows Kṛṣṇa fighting with other *mallas*;[7] and in the Harsat Mātā temple at Verāval,[8] Kṛṣṇa is

[1] *Somanātha*, pl. lxxviii. [2] See Fig. 45.

[3] Here it is a simple wheel without spokes.

[4] As depicted in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

[5] The tips of the middle finger and thumb are joined together and held near the chest. In the figure it is not clear whether it is the forefinger or the middle; if the former the *mudrā* may be *Vyākhyāna*.

[6] Jayantavijaya, *Ābū*. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 77. [8] Cousens, *Somanātha*, pl. xxiii.

shown holding up the mountain Govardhana with his small finger. He is here given all the emblems of Viṣṇu as at Manod; among these the *cakra*, *gadā* and *padma* are still visible. No doubt exists as to the identity of the scene, for in various sections are shown *gopas*, *gopikās* and cows.

As a sculpture the figure at Somnāth is well executed. The intricate details do not hide the principal actors of the scene; on the contrary these seem to show them at a greater advantage, while Kṛṣṇa's rhythmic trampling is contrasted with the utmost reverence of Śeṣa.

Vaisnava goddesses

Two illustrations of the Vaiṣṇava goddesses are here discussed. The first is published by Burgess from among the sculptures at Modhera. The figure is seated in *padmāsana* on two lions. She had 4 hands, now broken. They might have had a lotus with a long stalk, a *bilva* fruit, an *amṛtaghaṭa* and a *śaṅkha*.[1] If so, this figure should be identified with Lakṣmī.[2] It is to be noted that on her head in the *keśabandha* is a *kīrtimukha*.

The second figure is from Taibpur, Kaira District, now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.[3]

A curious female figure is illustrated by Burgess from the sculptures on the Baroda gate, Dabhoi.[4] It has a lion's head crowned by a crest. Except the lower right hand and upper left, other hands are broken. Below the figure is an elephant, suggestive perhaps of the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu. Burgess calls it a female counterpart of Narasiṁha.[5]

Brahma

The temple at Kadvār[6] gives us the earliest image of this god on a panel, above the door-frame. The figure is seated in *ardhaparyaṅka* on a lotus. The left knee is folded up, the right raised. It has 4 hands: the upper right holds a *sruk*, the lower is placed on the knee and holds *akṣamālā*; the upper left is not distinct, perhaps it holds a bunch of *kuśa* grass; the lower holds a *kalaśa*.[7] It has 3 faces, but without beard on any; a large belly, over which falls the *upavīta*. A long, garland-like thing falls in front of him from the shoulders which may be the deer-skin worn in the *upavīta*-fashion, or a garland of white flowers.[8] Round the neck is an ornament. The sitting posture of Brahmā deserves to be noted, as it is not found in the figures illustrated by Rao[9] and Bhattacharya.[10]

The shrine-wall of the Sūrya temple at Modhera preserves a beautiful figure of Brahmā.[11] It is standing in *tribhaṅga*, with a smiling face.

[1] Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, pl. [2] Rao, o. c., I. ii, p. 374. [3] See Fig. 67.

[4] Burgess, *Dabhoi*, pl. xiv, fig. 3. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[6] Cousens, *Somanātha*, pls. xxxii and xxxiv.

[7] Called sometimes *ājyasthali* (ghee-pot), cf. Rao, II, ii, p. 504.

[8] *Ibid.* [9] *Ibid.*, pls. cxlii-ix. [10] O. c., pls. ii, ix. [11] See Fig. 68.

Only one face is visible (or has it only one?), and it has a beard. Of the 4 hands, the two right are destroyed; what the upper left carries is not clear, it may be *akṣamālā*; the lower seems to have held a *kamaṇḍalu*, (or is it *kaṭaka hasta*?).[1] The figure is profusely ornamented; the *mukuṭa* is not distinct, but must be a *jaṭāmukuṭa*. On Brahmā's right stands a female figure with the left hand raised up, the right on the *kaṭi*; on the left is a male.[2] There is also an animal (indistinct) to the right of Brahmā.

The next in time, or perhaps even earlier, would be the image sculptured on the south door of the triple shrine at Kasara.[3] But it is too indistinct for detailed description.

Burgess illustrates another figure of Brahmā from Delmāl.[4] It stands in *samabhaṅga*, and has 3 faces, the front one only bearded; the upper right hand carries a *sruk*[5] (which is very large and is surmounted by a seated figure in *ardhaparyaṅka*); the lower is peeled off; the upper left carries a well-tied manuscript of Veda, the lower carries a decorated *kamaṇḍalu*. Ornaments are many: *jaṭāmukuṭa*, *kuṇḍala*, *hāras*, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, *kaṭisūtra*. To the left is a small *haṁsa*. On either side a *ṛṣi* (?) and a female, may be Sarasvatī and Sāvitrī. Behind the head is the *prabhā* in the shape of a lotus. The ornaments (and their make) as well as the peculiar glassy steadfast expression of the eyes relegate this figure to a late period. In profuseness of the ornaments, but not in their simplicity and even the pose, it resembles the Brahmā from Sopārā,[6] Bombay.

Similar is the figure of Brahmā of white marble,[7] now in the Rajkot Museum. All its arms are broken, but the *sruk* of the upper right hand can be seen. On its either side are the females–Sāvitrī and Sarasvatī.

Figures of Brahmā are common in Gujarāt temples, specially in one of the niches of a shrine, but very few are illustrated or described. Nevertheless, the figures described here show three ways of representation, and perhaps indicate[8] the sculptural development and deterioration.

[1] As the tips of two figures are joined with the thumb forming a ring or *siṁhakarṇa*. Cf., Rao, o. c., I, i, p. 15. It very much resembles the pose of the head of Brahmā from Sind. See o. c., II, i, pl. cxlviii.

[2] I am unable to identify these figures. They seem to be attendants.

[3] Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, pl. xcii, fig. 6. [4] *Ibid.*, pl. lxxx, fig. 6.

[5] Rao, o. c., I, i, p. 12 19 shows such a large *sruk* in the hands of Annapurṇā.

[6] See Rao, o. c., II, ii, pl. cxlv. But the Delmal figure has no *udarabandha*.

[7] Said to be originally from Chandanagari (Chandrāvati?). See Fig. 68.

[8] I am aware of the fact that they are from different places, and only one of them definitely dated, *viz.*, the one from Modhera.

Surya

The panel on the door-frame at Kadvār temple has an image of Sūrya, first from right.[1] It is seated on a lotus in a peculiar pose, may be described as *utkaṭika*[2] or 'raised hips'. It very much resembles the pose of Maheśa from Kaveripakkam.[3] The figure seems to have had two hands only which bear a lotus each, as high as the shoulder. Perhaps it wore boots too.[4] As said elsewhere, the figure is pre-Caulukyan as it is found in a temple of this period.[5] But this is also indicated by its pose which is rare afterwards, though in other iconographic points it does not materially differ from later figures. Facial expression and other features are too indistinct to throw any light on its age.

The Sūrya temple at Modhera has numerous figures of Sūrya in niches and on walls. Of these Burgess illustrates two[6], and one in the southern niche[7] of the shrine is shown from my photographs.

Figure 5 of Burgess stands in *samabhaṅga*, in a chariot drawn by seven horses; it had two hands, both of which are now broken, and carried a full blown conventional lotus[8]; it is richly adorned with a *kirīṭamukuṭa*, *kuṇḍalas*, *hāras*, an armour covering the chest, and a girdle, *avyaṅga*,[9] high boots and an *uttariya vastra* in the shape of a long garland. Below, on the right is Piṅgala, on the left Daṇḍa, and behind each of these attendants are Aśvins, the horse-faced gods.

[1] Cousens, *Somanātha*, pls. xxxii and xxxiv.

[2] Strictly, according to Rao, o. c., I, i, p. 19, a person sits in this posture with his heels kept close to the bottom; or better crossed, as the illustrations cited by him show. See pls. xlii, and lxxiv.

[3] *Ibid*, II, ii, pl. cxvi. Rao does not name the pose. In identical pose are the figures of Viṣṇu and Candra on the same panel at Kadvār; and almost similar pose is noticed in a Sun image on a panel at the Sun temple at Thān, See Cousens, o. c., pl. xlix. Cf. Sūrya from Mathurā, Kuṣāna period, Coomaraswamy, *HIIA.*, fig. 103.

[4] From the photographs it is not clear whether the marks on legs are of the dress or the boots.

[5] The shape of the pilasters deserves to be noted; it is square as the actual photograph shows and not round as in the drawing, pl. xxxiv. The later pilasters are invariably round and ringed.

[6] *ASWI.*, IX, pl. lvi, figs. 5 and 6. [7] Fig. 67.

[8] Is it not really Sūryamukhī, a sunflower rather than a lotus? The earliest authority, *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, prescribes a lotus. See Kern, o. c., p. 320–1, verses 46–48.

[9] The origin of this is discussed by Rao, o. c., I, ii, p. 308, fn. 1.

No. 6 differs in a few points; it is less richly carved; the lotuses stand above the shoulders, and the boots seem to be impressed; there are no Aśvins and the attendants are not seated, but standing; there are no horses also; the figure stands on a lotus; above it on either side is a devotee or *vidyādhara* in the act of praising.[1]

The figure on the southern niche is similar to No. 5. Instead of the Aśvins on either side is a female, which may be Rājñī and Nikṣubhā, goddesses associated with Sūrya.[2]

The Sūrya image in Rajkot Museum, of white marble, resembles the Sūrya figures from Rājputānā,[3] particularly in its peculiarly flat top and vertical-sided *mukuṭa*. It has also a circular *prabhā*, and below Piṅgala, Daṇḍa, and the goddesses.[4]

Junagarh Torana

On a stone frame,[5] now lying outside the Junāgarh Museum, Sūrya is represented in two slightly different ways. In the niche, on the pediment the figure is seated in *utkaṭikāsana* in a chariot drawn by seven horses. In his hands he carries lotuses with long stalks. Outside the niche is Uṣā and Pratūṣā, chasing away darkness with a bow and arrow. In other niches on sides and on the pediment, Sūrya is standing, with an attendant on either side in the lowest niche; in others with garland-bearers. In all there are eleven figures,[6] which together with the one enshrined in a temple would make up the twelve Ādityas, according to *Āñśumadbhedāgama*[7] and *Suprabhedāgama*, which prescribe only two hands for each Āditya, bearing lotuses.

The *Viśvakarmāśāstra*, however, gives 4 hands to each Āditya which carry different objects.[8] Evidently, the latter text is not here followed[9].

[1] As seen in the Pallava figures at Mahābalipuram.

[2] Cf., Rao, o. c., II, ii, p. 305 citing *Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa*.

[3] See Rao, o. c., I, ii, pl. xc.

[4] Cf., a figure from Kanthkot, Burgess, *AKK.*, pl. lxv, fig. 1.

[5] See Fig. 72; also Rao, o. c., I, ii, pl. xcv. Rao calls it a *toraṇa*. For the evolution of this design see Sankalia, 'Jaina Iconography', *NIA.*, November p. I found a complete frame at Dhānk. See Fig. 70.

[6] Rao's statement "which.....with the one in the central shrine make up the usual twelve Ādityas" is a little misleading, for on the frame there are only eleven.

[7] Quoted by Rao in the Appendix, o. c., I, ii, p. 83–85. Each of these gives different names for the Ādityas, which also differ from those given by the *Viśvakarmāśāstra*.

[8] See *Ibid.*, p. 310, also Appendix, p. 86–87.

[9] Or it may be *vice versa*, that is, the text, if later, did not know this form.

The narrow waist of many of the Ādityas in this *toraṇa* and long lotus stalk remind us of a similar figure at Ellora[1]; the shape of the *mukuṭa* and roundish face resemble those of the Rājputānā figures cited before.

Almost similar *toraṇa*, sculptured with Ādityas, with inset central figure of Sūrya, I found at Dhānk.[2] But it seems to be a little later than the one from Junāgarh.

Consorts of Surya

Of the goddesses associated with Sūrya, I found two figures differently sculptured: one in the Rājkot Museum, and the other at Dhānk.

The Rājkot figure[3] is of white marble and said to be "from Siddhapur." It stands in *samabhaṅga*, and has two hands. The left seems to hang down on one side; of the right only the elbow remains. The arms were held up to the waist, and carried a lotus each (?) shoulder-high. The figure is richly adorned; the headdress is differently done, perhaps it is *keśabandha*[4]; behind the head there is a circular lotus-*prabhā*; below, on either side is a female, a *cāmara*-bearer.

The Dhānk figure[5] differs in a few points. First, only the right hand carries a lotus, the left falls down on one side, and carries a *bijorā* fruit. Iconographically this is important, indicating that Sūrya's consort did not carry two lotuses, but only one[6]. Second, there are two female (?) figures on each side. Third, the head-dress, as well as the facial features which are round and contrast with those of the Rajkot figure, and lastly the *prabhā*, though lotus-shaped, is not perfectly circular.

In respect of time it is later than the Rājkot figure and has affinities with the Western Kāthiāwār sculptures.

There are two difficulties in the exact identification of these images. If they are consorts of Sūrya it is not easy to say who they are, for some books speak of 4 consorts of Sūrya: Rājñī, Savarṇā, Chāyā and Suvarcasā;[7] others two:[8] Nikṣubhā (on the right) and Rājñī on the left.

[1] Burgess, *Cave Temples*, pl. lxxxiii, fig. 2., also Rao, o. c., I, ii, pl. lxxxviii, fig. 2.

[2] See Fig. 70. [3] See Fig. 71. [4] Cf., Rao, o. c., I, i, p. 30.

[5] See Fig. 70. I noticed a similar figure in the Bhadrakāli temple at Somnāth.

[6] Perhaps this was the case in Rājkot figure as well, as the position of broken arm shows.

[7] *Matsya Purāṇa*, quoted by Rao, o. c., I, i, Appendix, p. 88.

[8] *Agni Purāṇa*, *Ibid.*, for Nikṣubhā it reads Niṣprabhā; also *Viśvakarma Silpa*, quoted by Bhattacharya, o. c., p. 17, fig. 1.

Bhattacharya says that Nikṣubhā, and Chāyā are one, and so also Rājñī, Prabhā and Suvarcasā.[1] *Matsya Purāṇa*, however, definitely calls these "four wives" (*catasraḥpatnyaḥ*), though they may be reduced to two from their etymological meaning. Other works mention Uṣā and Pratuṣā.[2] Rao[3] identifies them with two female archers, one on each side of Sūrya. But the authorities cited by him do not describe Uṣā and Pratūṣā.

The second difficulty is that it is uncertain whether these female figures should be regarded as consorts of Sūrya or attendants.[4] They are depicted in a very early railing pillar from Bodhgayā (c. 100 B. C.).[5] Here they cannot stand for Uṣā and Pratusā because both of them are supposed to dispel darkness with their arrows, and herald day, a sense connotated by Usā only; Pratusā, meaning dusk, harbinger of night. At Bhājā, however, Sūrya is represented with two females, one on either side,[6] which look like his consorts[7] and not archers.

The *Matsya Purāṇa*, an early canonical work (c. A. D. 540) mentions four consorts of Sūrya, the rest two, but none of them specify the symbols to be carried by these. Thus, though the Dhānk and Rājkot figures cannot be definitely identified, they add to our knowledge of the iconography of Sūrya's consorts.

Navagrahas

With Sūrya are also found Navagrahas, usually on a panel on a door-frame of the shrine, on the entrance doorway and sometimes on the *torana* of a Sūrya image.

In the Sūrya temple at Somnāth on the panel above the shrine-door[8] there are 9 figures: (1) is Sūrya, in the conventional standing pose. (2), (3), (4), (5), (6) and (7) all have identical pose, *tribhaṅga*, with their right hand raised (in *abhaya*?); the left hangs down and bears the *upavīta*. They may be identified respectively with Candra (or Soma[9]), Maṅgala,

[1] Nisprabhā=Chāyā=Pratūsā meaning without light, shadow; Rājni=Prabhā=Suvarcasā, shining (from *rāj* to shine); lustre, well-clothed or good-looking, dawn, light.

[2] *Suprabhedāgama*, Rao, o. c., I, i, Appendix p. 84. Even these correspond to the above equivalents.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 313.

[4] They are called 'goddesses' *devī* by *Ibid.* Rao, o. c., I, i, 307 does not discuss the question besides citing the references; Bhattacharya, o. c., p. 17-18, does not mention them at all.

[5] Coomaraswamy, o. c., fig. 61. [6] *Ibid.*, fig. 24.

[7] Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture*, p. 160 calls them 'consorts.'

[8] Cousens, o. c , pl. xiv.

[9] A separate figure of Candra is found in the Sūrya-*kuṇḍa* at Modhera. See *IHQ.*, *XIV*, 1938, plate opposite p. 560.

Budha, Guru, Śukra, and Śani. (8) is represented with a head on a pot (sacrificial pot, *kuṇḍa*).[1] (9) is upper part man, with hands in *añjali*, the lower an entwined serpent.

The last two answer to the description of Rāhu and Ketu given by *Rūpamaṇḍana*,[2] though they have nothing in common with the Rāhu and Ketu described by other authorities.[3]

On a panel, on the outer door-frame of the Sūrya temple at Thān[4] all the figures are seated.

(1) is Sūrya, seated in *utkatika* pose as at Kadvār.

(2) is Soma seated in *lalitāsana* and is shown by a horn-like object on the head signifying moon's disc. What his hands hold is not clear.

(3), (4), (5), (6), (7) are similar, and may be identified with Mangala, Budha, Guru, Śukra, and Śani, though they do not seem to have borne their distinguishing marks.

(8) is a bust.

(9) is a flabby figure seated in *lalitāsana*.

These must be identified with Rāhu and Ketu.

Rāhu, Ketu and two other *grahas* are also figured on the *Sūryatoraṇa* from Junāgarh discussed above.[5] Of Rāhu there is a bust and Ketu is in *añjali* pose, with a serpent's body as in the Sun temple at Somnāth.

These iconographical representations of Navagrahas do not seem to follow canonical works. Even in the representation of Rāhu and Ketu, where the instructions of *Rūpamaṇḍana* seem to have been observed, a little confusion is made. All the three cases therefore must be dated in a time when canonical art had deteriorated—about 1300 A. D.[6] This is also evidenced by the irregular introduction of attendants to figures in the panel from the Sun temple at Somnāth.

It is a pity that no Navagrahas from early Caulukyan temples–for instance, from the temple at Modhera–have been illustrated, for it would have been interesting to compare them with their description in the *śāstras*. Perhaps they did follow the latter, as did the contemporary Haihaya temples, though even here Rāhu is sculptured as a bust, whereas other *grahas* have the *vāhanas* etc., laid down by the *śāstras*.[7]

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[1] Rao, o. c., I, i, p. 323.

[2] *Ibid.*, though Rao does say that the lower portion of Rāhu's body should be that of a snake. [3] See *Ibid*, pp. 321–323. [4] Cousens, o c., pl. xlix.

[5] It is strange how Rao, who publishes this frame, could not identify these figures. Cf. o. c., I, ii, p. 317–18, "figures whose significance is not known."

[6] Cousens arrived at the same conclusion regarding the Sūrya temple at Somnāth.

[7] See Banerji, *MASI.*, No. 23, p. 75, *toraṇa* from Gurgi, (c. 10th Century A.D.)

Among the many loose sculptures lying near the Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa temple at Somnāth, (locally known as Prabhās), in Kāthiāwār, I found a figure[1] seated in *padmāsana* in *dhyāna*, on a chariot. It is symbolically represented by 7 horses and is driven by a small charioteer, who is seated in front of the figure. The figure has 3 faces: the one facing the full front is disfigured, but the profile ones are more distinct.[2] Originally it had, perhaps, 8 hands, but now the stumps alone of the 4 (?) hands on the right and of two on the left remain. Of the remaining two left hands, the lowest hand seems to have been placed on the upturned sole of the right foot. The other hand, perhaps, holds a *cakra*. The figure seems to have worn an *udarabandha* and a girdle (*avyaṅga*?) also. Behind the head is the *prabhā*.

If the figure were identified with that of Sūrya, only on the evidence preserved, but in the absence of symbols in the hands, it would be a unique image of that deity.[3] If it had four faces and eight hands, it would be undoubtedly Sūrya, as described by the *Śāradātilaka*, cited by Bhattacharya.[4] But as there is no fourth face, and as the hands are destroyed, the only possibility is that the image may be a *trimurti* with Sūrya as the principal god,[5] similar in a few respects to the image from Dilmāl cited before.

[1] See Fig. 74. I am indebted to Rev. H. Heras, S. J., for the photograph.

[2] The faces resemble in their modelling the faces of another composite figure, called Vaiṣṇava Trimūrti, on a temple of Limboji Mātā at Dilmāl, N. Gujarāt. See Burgess, *ASWI.*, Vol. IX, pl. lxix. Here Fig. 73.

[3] It differs radically from the Sūrya images found in Northern as well as in Southern India, for instance, from the representations of Sūrya at Bhājā, Bodhgayā, Mathura and Bhumara. See Coomarswamy, *HIIA.*, figs, 24, 61, 103 and Banerji, *MASI.*, No. 16, pl. xiva. For Southern Indian Sūrya images, see Gopinath Rao, o. c., I, i, pl. xlix (image from Mahābalipuram), pls. xlxxxvii-viii, fig. 2 and xci-ii. It is also different from the Sūrya image recently discovered by the French Delegation in Afghanistan. See Hackin, *Recherches Archéologiques Au Col de Khair Khaneh Près. de Kabul*, pls. xiv-xv and pl. xxiii, fig. 31 (Kabul, 1936). Cf. also, the Persian Journal *Kabul*, Vol. VII, Nos. 76 and 78, pp. 257 and 562 respectively, where the photographs of the image found by the French Delegation and of another recently discovered from Jalalabad are published [4] *Indian Images*, p. 18.

[5] In this composite image the attributes of Sūrya seem to be: the *vāhana*, and the *udarabhandha;* and perhaps lotuses which once adorned the two uplifted hands; traces of lotus-stalks are perhaps preserved in the armlet-like objects on the arms, though it is possible that these are traces of *uttarīyavastra* and not those of lotus-stalks.

The sitting posture is not that of Sūrya; it denotes either Brahmā or Viṣṇu. If the posture were different, an effort might have been made to show boots as in the images from Dilmāl and Chitorgarh. For the latter, see Gopinath Rao, o. c. I, i, pl. lxxxix.

To summarize, stylistically the figures of Sūrya, here discussed, fall into three groups:

(1) Purely Caulukyan—Modhera figures.

(2) So-called "Rājputānā type"–Rājkot, Dhānk, and Junāgarh figures.

(3) Mixed, comprising figures at Kadvār, Thān and Prabhās.

Characteristics of each have been already noted, and need not be repeated. Evidence is not sufficient to throw any new light on the iconography of Sūrya, or the introduction of the sun-cult. Iconographically the images bear out the description in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* and other works. Archaeologically these resemble the Gupta images of Sūrya from Bhumara[1] in having thick boots, *uttarīyavastra* in both arms falling down like a garland in front of it, and hands raised up to the waist; but they differ from the representation of Sūrya at Bhājā[2], where it is symbolized but not conventionalized; also from that at Bodhgāyā,[3] though here Uṣā and Pratusā are already in their recognized form. To the Mathura figure[4] they bear some resemblance—in the *utkaṭikāsana* and the *kavaca*, (armour).[5] But the Mathura figure does not seem to carry two lotuses in the conventional fashion and has a chariot of 4 horses only. The *kavaca* is important. It seems to me that the conventional representation of Sūrya, as known in the North, originated somewhere between the Mathura figure and the one from Bhumara.

In the south the process was different. Beginning with semi-naturalistic representation at Mahābalipuram[6]—where the Sūrya figure is in mid-air, its two hands in *añjali* pose, and recognizable by the *prabhā* only, the later iconography represents him with half-blown lotuses, raised shoulder-high, an *udarabandha* and, in particular, without boots[7]. The chariot with 7 horses and Uṣā and Pratusā are also represented, but the chief points of contrast are the absence of boots, and to some extent the *udarabandha* and the position of hands.

Trimurti

A unique figure is preserved in a niche on the shrine of Limboji Mātā at Dilmāl.[8] It is seated on Garuḍa with legs crossed in front, below which are shown small figures of a *haṁsa* and a lion or a tiger. The figure has 3 heads,[9] the middle one has a crown similar to that of Sūryas from Sidhpur and Dhānk.

[1] See Banerji, *MASI.*, No. 16, pl. xiv, a.

[2] See *ASWI.*, also Coomarswamy, *HIIA*, fig. 24; Kramrisch, o c., fig. 39.

[3] Coomaraswamy, o. c., fig. 61. [4] *Ibid.*, fig. 103.

[5] It does not seem to have drawn the attention of Coomaraswamy. See o. c., p. 68, though he does note "a cuirass and boots" in other examples from Boston and Mathura.

[6] See Rao, o. c., I, i, pl. xlix. [7] *Ibid.*, pls. lxxxvii, lxxxviii, fig. 2; XCI–II.

[8] See Fig. 73. [9] or 4—the fourth at the back.

The side heads have different headgears. It seems to have had 8 hands, four of which are broken; of the extant hands the lower right is in *varadamudrā*, the left holds a *kamaṇḍalu;* and above these the broken hands held a lotus each, which are seen even now; the back hands hold: (right) *triśūla*, left a hooded serpent; on the chest is perhaps a *kavaca*; on the feet impressed boots can be clearly seen. The figure seems to combine Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Sūrya, as shown by *vāhanas* and emblems, but greater emphasis seems to have been laid on Sūrya.[1] The representation of *vāhanas* slightly resembles the Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha figure from Ajmer,[2] though there each figure is distinct.

It appears from this figure that Sūrya's face is purposely rounded, and perhaps it does not indicate a late date, because the side-faces unlike the middle one seem to be oval, and well suggest meditation and inward peace. Stylistically the sculpture is to be placed in about 1200 A. D.

A mutilated Trimūrti is illustrated by Cousens from Muni Bava's temple, Thān.[3] The central figure seems to have been Brahmā; the two front hands carrying *akṣamālā* and *kamaṇḍalu* can be seen; others are not clear.

Rama

A standing figure in the Kadvār temple,—which has two hands: the right bearing a sheath of arrows and the left a large bow, which reaches the ground on the lower end,—may be identified with Rāma and not Paraśurāma, as Cousens calls it,[4] for the essential symbol of the latter is a *paraśu*.[5] More precisely it is Rāghava Rāma being a standing image in *tribhaṅga*.[6] On the artistic side may be noted the spirited attitude suggested by the outward thrust of the chest and firmly planted feet; also the suppliant crouching attitude of a small figure on the right of Rāma.

So far, this is the only figure of Rāma that has been illustrated. But in later temples figures of Rāma are seldom seen. Kadvār, as said elsewhere, must have been a Daśāvatāra temple embodying Gupta tradition.

Scenes from Puranas

Two scenes from Purāṇas can be recognised among the sculptures on the Kālika Mātā temple, by the side of the Hīra Gate, Dabhoi. On its western front[7] is the *Samudramanthana*, 'Churning of the Ocean'. *Samudra* is shown

[1] An image in which Brahmā, Viṣnu, Śiva and Sūrya are blended into one is reported from Kirāḍu, Rājputānā. It has one head and ten hands. Another from Pāvāgarh has Sūrya, Brahmā and Śiva. See *ASIWC.*, 1907-8, p. 41 and 1912, p. 58.

[2] See Rao, o. c., I, i, pl. lxxiv. [3] Cousens, *Somanātha*, pls. liii and lxvii.

[4] O. c., p. 39, fig. 2, also pl. xxxv.

[5] See Rao, o. c., I, i, p. 186. Only when he has 4 hands that he carries a bow and arrows.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 389, though the three curves are not well demarcated.

[7] Burgess, *Dabhoi*, pl. xv.

as an ornamental waterpot while in the same panel are seen the finds from it, the elephant Airāvata, the horse Uccaśravas, Dhanvantari, and Viśvakarmā.

On the eastern face of the temple Burgess recognised a scene from *Mahābhārata*.[1] Here King Parīksita is seated on a single pillar in a lake, where serpents sent by the serpent Takṣaka go in ships in the form of Brāhmaṇas with fruits.

These sculptures must be placed in about the 13th century, the time when the fort of Dabhoi was repaired.

Ganga

Figures of the goddess Gaṅgā are found at Kadvār[2] on the door-frame and on the old (Sūrya) temple at Thān.[3] At the former the figure is obliterated, but the outlines suggest that it stood in *samabhaṅga*.

At Thān Gaṅgā stands in *samabhaṅga* on a *makara* (which is much conventionalized); has 4 hands, now only the stumps remain; the face is completely disfigured. On either side is a female figure in *tribhaṅga*, but what they hold is not clear. The Thān figure of Gaṅgā is to be contrasted with the Gupta figures at Tigowa and Kharod in the Central Provinces.[4] In the latter, in both cases the figure has two hands only, and the figures do not stand so erect as at Thān. Again they hold a *kumbha*; whether the Thān figure held it cannot be said. Figures of Gaṅgā are rarely found in the Caulukyan temples.

Vayu

Burgess reports an image of Vāyu at Vāyad,[5] North Gujarāt, but unfortunately neither is it illustrated nor described. It is to be noted that the town of Vāyad itself is regarded as the ancient Vāyuvaṭa of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*,[6] and an annual fair, *jātrā*, is held at the place.[7] Anyhow a minor cult of Vāyu is indicated.

Rsis

Among the old sculptures in a small tank at Vadnagar, is a representation of seven Ṛṣis (sages) and Kāmadhenu.[8] Burgess says there are eight sages who attend upon the cow Kāmadhenu, a wish-fulfiller-cow. But in fact there are seven only, the figure on the extreme left is not a Ṛṣi as his dress and

[1] *Ādiparva*, ślokas 40-44 cited by *Ibid.*, p. 9, pl. xv.

[2] Cousens, o. c., p. 39. pl. xxxiv. [3] *Ibid.*, pl. l.

[4] See Rao, o. c., II, ii, pls. clv-vi; also cf Udayagiri, Gwalior and Deogarh, Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣa*, II, pl. 20-21. [5] *ASWI.*, IX p. 113.

[6] Rao, o. c., II, ii, p. 532 describes the figure of Vāyu according to the *śāstras* but does not cite any sculpture.

[7] Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, p. 113. [8] Burgess, o. c., p. 86, pl. lxiv, fig. 3.

añjali pose show, while the sages have their right hands in *abhaya*. This does not accord with the pose mentioned by Rao[1], according to whom the hands may carry a stick and an umbrella or the right hand may be in *jñānamudrā*. But that the figures are those of Ṛṣis is indicated by their *kaupīna*, and beard and *kamaṇḍalu* in the left hand. Their *jaṭāmukuṭa* (in the case of those who are not defaced) is clearly visible.

The names of the Ṛsis are said to vary with each *manvantara* (cycle or period of Manu) and they are usually seven[2], though Burgess cites eight from the *Vāyu Purāṇa*.[3]

Jaina Iconography

The earliest Jaina images in Gujarāt–Kathiāwār seem to be, as said before[4], the figures carved in the caves at Dhānk. Here it is possible to identify the figures of the 1st Tīrthaṅkara Ādinātha (Ṛṣabhadeva), the 16th Tīrthaṅkara Śāntinātha, the 23rd Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha, and the 24th Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra and the Yakṣiṇī and goddess Ambikā.

Figures of Ādinātha are carved in the cell at the lower end of the hill. This cell has three niches, one facing the opening and one on either side of it. Each side-niche has a nude figure seated in *padmāsana*, its body erect and motionless. *The right hand is placed over the left in the lap, with the* palm upwards. Over the head is a triple umbrella, shown by three strokes; on each side is a *cāmara* bearer, and small *vidyādharas* are above. The figure in the central niche is similarly seated on a *simhāsana*, with a *cāmara*-bearer on each side. Perhaps all these figures are of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras and very probably of Ādinātha, as I have shown elsewhere.[5] The sculpture carved in low relief on the face of the rock, higher up the ravine, is definitely of Ādinātha.[6] Here adjoining Śāntinātha is a figure standing in *kāyotsarga*-pose.[7] It has long ear-lobes, and ringlets of hair on the shoulders. This latter symbolizes an event in the life of Ādinātha. He, before taking the *dīkṣā* (Jaina sacrament), was removing his beard, moustache and hair on the head in four 'handfuls' (*muṣṭiloca*). When he was taking out the hair on the back of the head with the 'fifth handful,' he was requested by Indra to desist from doing so. Thus a few hairs were left on the head of Ādinātha, which are found portrayed on a few images from Mathura and

[1] O. c., II, p. 567. [2] *Ibid.* [3] Burgess, o. c., p. 86.

[4] See above p. 53. [5] *JRAS.*, July, 1938, p. 427. [6] See below.

[7] Here Fig. 76. For an explanation of this term see Sankalia, 'Jaina Iconography,' *New Indian Antiquary*, November, 1939, p. 503.

elsewhere.[1] Immediately preceding Ādinātha, in the same row is a nude figure[2] in *padmāsana* posture; its right hand is laid over the left in the lap with the palm upwards. The *simhāsana* has a wheel and a deer in the centre and a lion at each end. Over the head is a triple umbrella shown by three strokes. On either side is an attendant standing with a *cāmara* in his hand. The deer is a *lāñchana* of the 16th Tīrthaṅkara of the Śvetāmbara Jainas or of Ara, the 18th Tīrthaṅkara of the Digambara Jainas. The Dhānk sculpture is either of these.[3]

The best and clearest representation is of Pārśvanātha, the 23rd Tīrthaṅkara.[4] He stands erect, in *kāyotsarga*, on a triple cut, stool-like, pedestal which is really the three-fold coils of the serpent which rises from behind in five coils, and makes a canopy of seven hoods over his head. The manner of representing the coils of the serpent seems to be unique.[5]

Mahāvīra and some other Tīrthaṅkaras also seem to be sculptured in the same row, but their symbols, if any, are not clearly visible now.

Among the many *parivāradevatās* and other subsidiary figures that are associated with Tīrthaṅkaras in Jaina iconography at Dhānk, we have first the figure of a "woman with a child on her left knee, her right elbow resting on her right knee, and her hand pointing up. She has heavy earrings, and apparently a frontal ornament in the parting of her hair, which is wavy and clustering."[6] This woman is evidently Aṁbā or Aṁbikā, who is usually sculptured with a child in Jaina iconography. But it is not certain whether she is figured here as a Yakṣiṇī to Pārśvanātha (to whose immediate left she is) or as an independent Jaina goddess. Likewise it is not clear whether other attendants to the Tīrthaṅkaras are ordinary *cāmara* bearers or *yakṣas, (yakṣiṇīs* there seem to be none).[7]

The Tīrthaṅkaras seem to be *nirvastras*. Do they therefore belong to the Digambara sect or to the time before which the differentiation between the sects was not so rigid, about 300 A. D., a period which is suggested by the style of the sculptures?

[1] Based on a note by Chimanlal Goculdas, Editor of the *Jaina Satya Prakāsha* (Gujarati), August-September, 1938, p. 151.

[2] Here Fig. 76.

[3] Because in early Jaina sculpture nudity alone is not a sure index of the sect to which it belongs.

[4] See Fig. 75.

[5] For a discussion on this, see *JRAS.*, 1938, p. 428, n. 4.

[6] See Fig. 75.

[7] For a discussion on this see *JRAS.*, 1938, p. 428.

Between the Dhānk sculptures and those of the Caulukyan period, a period of about 600 years intervenes, but so far[1] no sculpture has come to light to represent it at any stage. In the later period, there are any number of sources, but unfortunately they are not yet systematically tapped[2], nor is it so easy to do so owing to the orthodoxy of the Jainas. Still a few images have reached some museums in India, one of whose collections are described at length by the author elsewhere.[3] From that a unique figure of 'Jaina' Gaṇeśa and Sarasvatī are reproduced here.[4]

[1] However, a few images have been recently found in the Baroda state, which seem to be Jaina. See Sankalia, 'The So-called Buddhist Images from the Baroda State' *BDCRI.*, *I*, pp. 185–188.

[2] Those from the temples at Abu are described by Jayantavijaya in his *Ābū*.

[3] 'Jaina Iconography' *NIA.*, November, 1939, pp. 497–520.

[4] See Frontispiece.

PART IV

CHAPTER VII

EPIGRAPHY

EPIGRAPHY is reviewed under the following heads:—

(*a*) Material.

(*b*) Size—measurements in case of copperplates.

(c) Script.

(*d*) Era.

(*e*) Style and Matter.

(*f*) Emblems, seal etc.

Material

Stone is the common material for the Maurya, Kṣatrapa and Gupta inscriptions found from Gujarāt. The Traikūṭakas seem to be the first to use copperplates in Gujarāt.[1] They are followed by the Kaṭaccūrīs, Gurjjaras, Cālukyas and even the Rāṣṭrakūtas,[2] though the last two do resort to stone in their respective home provinces.

The exclusive use of copperplates may indicate two things: (1) The scarcity of stone, and even absence of stone buildings, such as temples where in later times, Caulukyan, for instance, inscriptions were inscribed. (2) The nature of the country of the Traikūṭakas, (of the rest we know for certain). They might have been accustomed to an alluvial plain like southern Gujarāt, where stone is not easily available. This explains, perhaps, the exclusive use of copperplates, by them and their successors, even though they (the Traikūṭakas) were acquainted with Kanheri,[3] and also perhaps with its inscriptions.

It is a little curious how the Maitrakas of Valabhī give so much preference to copperplates as stone is abundant in Kāthiāwār. The two fragmentary inscriptions of the time of Guhasena,—one on a potsherd from

[1] It would be interesting to trace archaeologically the first use of *tāmrapatras* (copperplates) or other metal for writing purposes. Barring the copper tablets found at Mohenjo daro, the Mayiḍovalu plates of Sivaskandavarman (*EI.*, VI, p. 84), so far, seem to be the earliest copperplates in Southern India; in Northern India these appear to be a few Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions. See Konow, *Kharoshthi Inscriptions*, pp. 4, 23, 138. They become fairly common in the Gupta period. See *EI.*, XV, p. 113; XVII, p. 345; XX, p. 59 and XXI, p. 80.

[2] See Appendix, pp. 2–6 and 22–23.

[3] See *Ibid.*, p. 2, No. 17.

Valabhī,[1] and the other on a slab of stone from Bānkoḍi,[2] are really exceptions which seem to prove the Valabhī preference.

This feature is also noticeable in the few records of other dynasties in Kāthiāwār till we arrive at the Caulukyan period.

With the Caulukyas of Anhilvāda, copperplates and stone share almost equally. Here too it is to be noted that copperplates are usually found where stone is rather scarce, for instance the Saraswatī valley,[4] embracing Anhilvāda, Sūnak, and Kadi, (the last mentioned place has yielded the largest number of copperplates), while stone inscriptions are commonly confined to temples and wells.

Size

The size of the Traikūṭaka plates is almost uniform, approximately $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3''$.[5] About the same size is found in the stray plates of the succeeding period,[6] whereas the three Kaṭaccūrī plates[7] are considerably large in breadth. The Gurjjara plates, though they vary very much in size, still roughly fall in two divisions[8]: (1) $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. (2) $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9''$.

The Cālukya plates also vary, but they may be divided into two groups[9]: (1) $8'' \times 5''$. (2) $12'' \times 8''$. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa plates, differing individually *inter se*, seem to conform to two standard sizes[10]: (1) $10'' \times 8''$. (2) $13'' \times 9''$.

The size of the great mass of Valabhī plates cannot be reduced to any definite scale. But their size increases, and this increase falls into three groups. In the first, from Droṇasiṁha to Dhruvasena I, it fluctuates near $10'' \times 6''$[11]; in the second, from Guhasena I to Dhruvasena II, it fluctuates near $12'' \times 8''$[12]; in the third, from Dharasena IV to Śīlāditya VII, the fluctuations are great. Generally they are about $12'' \times 10''$ and below $18'' \times 12''$.[13]

The copperplates of the Caulukyas of Anhilvāda, compared with their greatness and long rule, are few. They grow in size and fall into three periods. The plates of the early rulers, from Mūlarāja to Karṇa,

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[1] See *Ibid.*, p. 8, No. 81. [2] See *Ibid.*, l. c., No. 83.

[3] See *Ibid.*, pp. 21–22, Nos. 250–254.

[4] Though it contains a number of stone temples, evidently built of imported material.

[5] See Appendix, p. 2. [6] *Ibid.*, Nos. 256, 257, 261. [7] *Ibid.*, Nos. 258, 260.

[8] One formed by Nos. 26 and 27, and the other by 24, 25, 28–30.

[9] See *Ibid.*, pp. 3–4. [10] *Ibid.*, pp. 4–6.

[11] *Ibid.*, Nos. 56–77. [12] *Ibid.*, Nos. 78–120. [13] *Ibid.*, Nos. 121–150

are below 10″ × 7″ and above 5″ × 4.″[1] Between these two limits they vary considerably. Unfortunately no copperplates of Jayasiṁha and Kumārapāla are found so far. The size of the plates of Ajayapāla and Bhīma II varies between 14″ × 15″ and 9″ × 11.″[2] That of the 'usurper' Jayavantasiṁha is almost square, 14″ × 15.″

A study of the variation in size of plates of any dynasty and its comparison with that of the plates of the preceding and succeeding dynasty in the same region is useful. Since the Traikūṭakas did not embellish the genealogical portion of the inscription, their plates are small. The Kaṭaccūrī records, under the Gupta influence[3], depart from this practice and surcharge their genealogies with grandiloquent praises. This the Gurjjaras borrow, though they were not justified in doing so, while the Kaṭaccūris were, to some extent. The Cālukyas and Rāṣṭrakūṭas were successors of other traditions,[4] consequently their plates are also large, and increased in size as necessity arose for incorporating exploits in wars.[5] In the case of Valabhī plates, the growth in their size indicates not only the growth of power but also the age of the plates. For, the larger the plates, the later they are, more space being taken up by the genealogical portion.[6]

Script

The script of the Girnar edicts, together with that of the Siddapurā is held to constitute the Southern variety of the Asokan Brāhmī.[7] But on comparing the chief characteristics[8], in which the Girnar alphabet differs from that of the Northern variety, with those of the recently found edict at Maski and Brahmagiri, it appears that, barring a few points in which the Siddapurā and Girnar show close resemblance, the Girnar script forms a class by itself,[9] say a sub-group of the Southern variety. For the affinities which the Siddapurā script exhibits with that at Girnar are not found in those at Maski and Brahmagiri,[9] though these two are close to Siddapurā and form one geographical area.

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[1] *Ibid.*, Nos. 158–168. [2] *Ibid.*, Nos. 205–226.

[3] This point will be explained below. [4] To be pointed out later.

[5] Cf., for instance, the size of the Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarṣa I, *EI.*, XVIII, p. 235.

[6] Thus a grant attributed by Fleet to Bhīma II, *IA.*, XVIII, p. 108–9, on the evidence of its size, excluding other internal evidence, may be shown to be of Bhīma I.

[7] Bühler, *Indian Palaeography*, p. 34.

[8] These, according to Bühler, *Ibid.*, are noticed in the signs for the Mātṛkas: *A*, *Ā*, *kha*, *ja*, *ma*, *ra*, *sa*; the medial *i*, and *ī*, and the ligatures.

[9] This point I have discussed at length separately elsewhere.

Two forms of Brāhmī are visible in the Kṣatrapa inscriptions from Cutch and Kāthiāwār. The script in the Andhau inscriptions belongs to the "Northern variety of Brāhmī," having more affinity with the Mathura inscription of Sodāsa[1] and also with the Nasik inscription of Uṣabhadāta[2]. But the subsequent inscriptions[3], particularly that of Rudradāman at Junāgarh, show less archaic forms, and an increased number of curved strokes,[4] the script resembling thereby or actually regarded as "the precursor of the Southern alphabet,"[5] used in the Girnar inscription of Skandagupta.

Whether the alphabet of the Skandagupta's record is a further development of the type already seen at Girnar, or whether it is a development from some other type, an earlier instance of which is found at Sanchi,[6] cannot be ascertained. It is possible therefore that the former is only a meeting place of the Northern and Southern Brāhmī, having perhaps little to do with the full-fledged Southern Brāhmī in most of the Valabhī plates from Kāthiāwār, and those in the Traikūṭaka and other post-Gupta inscriptions from southern Gujarāt. These latter might have been influenced by the type of script which is available in the Kadamba plates.[7]

Though the plates of the successors of the Traikūṭakas are engraved in Southern Brāhmī, nevertheless, stray traces of the Northern Brāhmī occur in the signature of the grantors of Gurjjara plates, whereas the Dhinki Grant of Jaikadeva[8] is entirely in this form of Brāhmī. This solitary exception, (a few years earlier than the Samangadh Plates of Dantidurga,[9] and from the western coast of Kāthiāwār), to the 'prevailing' or conventional script of the court is, indeed, important. It, together with the stray cases above mentioned, indicates that, perhaps, the living script

[1] *EI.*, II, p. 199, plate facing p. 200. Banerji's remarks, *EI.*, XVI, p, 21, that at Andhau we find three varieties of *Sa*, and that the third is similar to the form in the Mathura ins. of Sodāsa, do not seem to be correct. On comparing the two writings the *Sa* in the latter appears to be similar to type I at Andhau. At Andhau, therefore, we have two varieties of *Sa* only.

[2] *EI.*, VIII, p. 78, pl. IV. [3] See Appendix, Nos. 6–8.

[4] For example in *ka*, *ja*, *ṇa*, *na*, *ba* and *ya*, though minor differences may be found among the alphabet of these inscriptions.

[5] *EI.*, VIII, p. 38.

[6] Sanchi Inscription of Candragupta II, *CII.*, III, pl. iii B.

[7] Of Kākusthavarman, *IA.*, VI, p. 22.

[8] Appendix, No. 251 ; cf. Bühler's remarks thereon. [9] *IA.*, XI, p. 110.

of Gujarāt was the northern—the Nāgarī form of Brāhmī, from which the latter Devanāgarī developed.

But before we arrive at this stage, an intermediate stage is provided by the Rāstrakūṭa inscriptions. It may be said that with the Rāṣṭrakūtas, the Nāgarī is beginning to become the script of inscriptions in Gujarāt proper. They do not maintain the same firmness which they show with regard to the use of the era.[1] As a consequence a free mixture of the Northern and Southern forms of letters, corresponding to some extent to the fact whether the plates belong to the Deccan or Gujarāt branch, is visible. Some plates use the Northern alphabet,[2] others Southern,[3] while in a few the text is in Northern, the signature in Southern.[4]

By the 10th century the Nāgarī of almost the mediaeval or Devanāgarī type was current in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār as the plates of the Caulukyas[5] and a little earlier plates from Una[6] show.

Era

A survey of the eras used in Gujarāt epigraphs brings to light a number of currents and cross-currents running through Gujarāt culture.

Aśoka's edicts are not dated but they mention in what particular year of his reign they were issued. Through Ksatrapa coins and inscriptions Gujarāt first received an era which is now known as the Śaka. But it never became popular there.

The Guptas introduced their own era, which survived till, at least, the 13th century in Kāthiwār, after having been appropriated with slight

[1] See below.

[2] The following: of Govinda III, *IA.*, XI, p. 157; *EI.*, VI, p. 239; of Amoghavarṣa, *EI.*, XVIII, p. 234; of Kṛṣṇa II, *IA.*, XIII, p. 65; of Indra III, *EI.*, IX, p. 30; of Dhruva III, *IA.*, XII, p. 179; of Govinda IV and V, *EI.*, VII, p. 83, and *IA.*, XII, p. 251.

[3] The following: of Kakka II, *JBBRAS.*, XVI, p. 108; *JASB.*, VIII, p. 292; of Govindarāja, *EI.*, II, p. 56; *IA.*, V, p. 144; of Kṛṣṇa II, *EI*, I, p. 52.

[4] The following: of Dhruva II, *EI.*, XXII, p. 71; of Karka II, *Ibid.*, p. 77.

[5] Of the numerous plates only four—two of Mūlarāja, Appendix, Nos. 159-60; one of Karṇa, *Ibid.*, No. 168; and one of Bhīma II, *Ibid.*, No. 210—are published with their facsimilies.

[6] No facsimilies published; cf. Kielhorn, *EI.*, IX, p. 1.

modification'[1] by the Maitrakas of Valabhī, though it is significant that in their epigraphs they neither call it Gupta nor Valabhī. Only in a tenth century inscription, for the first time, is the era called 'Valabhī.'[2]

The Traikūṭaka epigraphs mention an era, which might have been founded by them,[3] and which is known later as the Cedi or Kalacchurī. Anyhow the use of their own era shows the Traikūṭaka power in the 5th century, contemporary as they were of the Guptas, in Lāṭa.

Continuance of the Traikūṭaka influence in the region even when they had departed or ceased to rule is implied by the use of the era, though unnamed, by the Kaṭaccurīs, Gurjjaras and Cālukyas.

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[1] 'The slight modification' is that whereas in the true Gupta era the year is calculated to commence with *the Caitra Śukla*, (Fleet, *CII.*, III, Introduction, p. 128), the same year, in the era used by the Maitrakas of Valabhī, commenced with *the Kārttika Śukla* 1, (immediately preceding *the Caitra Śukla* 1, *of that very year*), as evidenced by the Kaira Grant of Dharasena IV (*IA.*, XV. p. 335) and the Veraval Inscription of Valabhī Saṁvat 927. (Fleet, o. c., p. 90; *EI.*, III, p. 303). These are the only two inscriptions which afford us details for calculating the date and thus make it possible for us to know the commencement of the era used in Valabhī inscriptions. Fleet regarded these two cases as exceptions and held that all the other inscriptions of the Valabhī dynasty should be regarded as dated after the true Gupta era. But I am inclined to differ from him because (1) there are two inscriptions—one of a Valabhī ruler himself and the other from Veraval, using an era called Valabhī—which depart from the true Gupta era and introduce a 'slight modification' in the Gupta era, as explained above. Whereas there is only one inscription (*IA.*, XI, p. 242)—and that too of a much later date and not belonging to or of the reign of one of the Valabhī rulers—which follows the true Gupta era. (II) Other grants of the Maitrakas of Valabhī afford no "exact details for calculation" of the commencement of the era, as Fleet himself has admitted. (o. c., p. 126).

Hence it is not improbable that the era used in the Valabhī grants was the modified Gupta era and not the true Gupta era. Fleet's view (*Ibid.*, pp. 72–73 and p. 95) that the era was modified because the Kaira grant of Dharasena was recorded in Gujarāt where the Vikrama era was popular is open to doubt, because the earliest inscription dated in the Vikrama era found, so far, from Gujarāt is the Hansot grant of Bhartṛvaḍḍha, *EI.*, XII, p 197. This is later than the grant of Dharasena IV cited above. In short there is no evidence (archaeological) to presume the prevalence, much less popularity, of the Vikrama era in Gujarāt before the 8th century. But if that presumption is made, it can as well be made in the case of Kāthiāwār, which was then politically related with Malwa,—(as Hiuen Tsiang tells us, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 267)—, the traditional home of the Vikrama era. If this presumption is made, then it is not improbable, as I hold, that the grants of the Maitrakas of Valabhī were affected by the prevalence of the Vikrama era in Gujarāt and Kathiāwār.

[2] See below.

[3] However, see above, p. 12, f. n. 1.

With the Rāṣṭrakūṭas the Śaka era reappears (or is introduced for the first time[1]) in Lāṭa, with a new feature. This is the specification of the Saṁvatsara, (which is different for every year), along with the usual details about date in a few epigraphs of the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas from Gujarāt[2]. But as a rule no inscription of the Gujarāt branch mentions it, and even now the practice of recording the Saṁvatsara is not popular in Gujarāt. In the Deccan, however, the practice coming down from the Cālukya and Rāṣṭrakūṭa days still survives.

As early as the Gurjara-Pratihāra penetration in Gujarāt,[3] the Vikrama era was introduced there, replacing the Cedi in vogue. And though the Rāṣṭrakūṭas invariably used the Śaka, still in the 10th century, their feudatory, Paramāra Siyaka gave preference to the Vikrama,[4] owing mainly to northern contacts.

The Caulukyas continued the practice and tried to introduce the Vikrama era in southern Lāṭa, but the local tradition seems to prefer the Śaka.[5]

Northern Gujarāt, their home province, as well as the outlying provinces used the Vikrama. But in Kāthiāwār, the Valabhī era as 'Valabhī' is called so for the first time by the Una Inscription of Balavarman.[6] His successor,[7] however, uses the Vikrama, perhaps because the province was under the Gurjara-Pratihāras.

In the local inscriptions the Valabhī tradition persists, though in a few cases it seems to be ousted by the Śaka,[8] Vikrama and Siṁha eras. The last is mentioned four times in Kāthiāwār,[9] and twice in Rājputāna. Whatever be the initial year of its foundation, A. D. 1109 or 1113, it never seems to have become popular, for it is invariably used with other eras.

The cosmopolitan nature of southern Kāthiāwār is further illustrated by the Veraval Inscription wherein, besides Siṁha, Valabhī and Vikrama, the Hijari era is also mentioned.[10]

Style and Matter

In style and matter a few aspects of inscriptions,—their nature and language, mythological allusions, imprecatory and benedictory verses,—are here briefly discussed with a view to finding out, if possible, cultural impacts on each dynasty as far as epigraphy is concerned.

[1] If it was not current there during the Kṣatrapa period.
[2] See Appendix, Nos. 42, 44, 47, 52, 56, 57.
[3] See Appendix, No. 262. [4] See *Ibid.*, Nos. 263–64.
[5] See *Ibid.*, Nos. 166–67 and also 265–66.
[6] Appendix, No. 253 A. [7] *Ibid.*, No. 253 B. [8] *Ibid.*, 251 and 254.
[9] *Ibid.*, Nos. 254, 214, 236. [10] *Ibid.*, No. 236.

The Girnar edicts of Aśoka are 'Rescripts of Morality' written in a Western dialect of the Prākrit, still influenced a great deal by the Māgadhan dialect.[1] And what we have to note is that the language in which these rescripts are couched was perhaps more suitable for the period to which they belong than, for instance, the imprecatory and benedictory verses of later epigraphs.

From the Kṣatrapa periods onwards the Gujarāt inscriptions may be divided into four broad classes: (1) Eulogy (Praśasti-type).
(2) Commemorative.
(3) Donative.
(4) Mixed: Eulogistic and Donative.

The Junāgarh Inscription of Rudradāman is a Praśasti, whereas the four earlier records of his are commemorative epigraphs. The former is composed in plain yet forcible Sanskrit prose, which by a detailed study has been proved to belong to a period between the epic and classical literature.[2] It is free from too long and difficult compounds and conventionalities. The commemorative epigraphs, on the other hand, are in simple Prākrit. The language, however, in all the subsequent epigraphs[3] of a similar nature tends towards purer Sanskrit, (as do the legends on coins).

Classical style in Praśasti is heralded by the Skandagupta Inscription. From the dry prose of the earlier epigraphs, the poetry of it is a happy relief. Its music, from the start, rings in our ears.

All the three Traikūṭaka inscriptions are donative, but whereas the first[4] is written in simple, matter-of-fact language, with only a part of the imprecatory verse, the second, Surat Plate of Vyāghrasena[5] contains a long eulogy of Vyāghrasena, a compound running into three lines, full of set phrases[6] which seem to have been borrowed and which did influence not only the phraseology of the eulogistic portion of the later epigraphs of the region but also that of Valabhī.[7]

The Kaṭaccūrī records are of similar nature. Their eulogistic portions show distinct signs of Traikūṭaka as well as Gupta influence,[8] which is subsequently reflected in all the Gurjjara[9] and a Cālukya[10] records. But the

[1] For details see Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, *CII.*, I, pp. lvi-vii.
[2] See Bühler, 'Inscriptions...and Artificial Poetry.....' *IA.*, XLII, p. 190.
[3] Appendix, Nos. 7-13. [4] *Ibid.*, No. 15.
[5] *Ibid.*, No. 16. [6] Viz., *Sphītāparānta...draviṇavisṛānanāvāpta*, ll. 2-4.
[7] Appendix, No. 60, line 9.
[8] For details see Kielhorn *EI.*, VI, p. 300, notes 1-4. The influence of Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala* and *Raghuvaṁśa* is also apparent in lines 7-8.
[9] Appendix No. 24, lines 1-2. [10] *Ibid.*, No. 34.

Cālukya records exhibit other features[1] also which can be traced back, through the Kadamba records, to the Cutu Sātakarṇis.

To these common characteristics of the early mediaeval epigraphs of Lāṭa, the epigraph of Bhartṛvaḍḍha, though alike in nature, is an exception. Though it immediately succeeds the Gurjjara plates, still its phraseology does not follow that of the latter.

None of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions is a pure *praśasti* composed entirely in verse. The purpose of all is donative. Nevertheless, with the exception of one inscription[2], the genealogical part of the rest of the inscriptions is not different from *praśastis* in pure verse. Yet all the inscriptions are absolutely identical in their descriptions of any king. Some give the facts in detail, others in brief, while a third group may omit them completely.

This living interest we miss in the Valabhī records, all of which are in prose excluding the imprecatory and benedictory verses, and in which the conventional eulogy of Dhruvasena I, for instance, never varies for 200 years.

Fortunately the stray inscriptions of other dynasties that have been discovered are free from the Valabhī stamp, as they are in respect of script and era also. This may indicate how little cultural influence the Valabhī regime had on the contemporary or later court epigraphy of Kāthiāwār. These inscriptions, except the grant of Dharaṇīvarāha, are in prose and donative; Dharaṇīvarāha's genealogical portion is in verse.

Inscriptions of the Caulukya period may be grouped into two classes:—(1) Donative, (2) Praśasti. Majority of inscriptions belong to the first class. They are no more than deeds of grants, briefly referring to the donor (*and only at times to his family*) *without any eulogy and mentioning finally* the donee and the object granted. Even the imprecatory and benedictory verses, which were the stock feature of the earlier inscriptions, are perfunctorily given[3] or not given at all.[4] The date is usually given in the beginning, followed by the place of origin and the name of the donor—features which remind us of the later style in Gujarāti letters and documents.

The language of these records reveals the influence of Prākrits as we pass on from the inscriptions of earlier Caulukya kings to those of the later, and as we meet with donations of public and private men. Thus, for instance, the only Prākrit words in the records of Mūlarāja and Bhīma I[5] are the names of villages; whereas a series of Prākrit words occur in the

[1] For example, reference to *Hārīti putra, Mānasa-gotra etc.*

[2] Appendix, No. 47.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 161.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 162.

[5] *Ibid.*, Nos. 158–165.

inscription of a feudatory of Kumārapāla[1]; the Jaina inscriptions from Ābu have invariably the proper names in Prākrit;[2] and the common people and their occupations are referred to in the Veraval inscription of Arjunadeva.[3]

To the Praśasti class belong a few records of Kumārapālaś period,[4] and certain others.[5] These inscriptions are in verse, and describe the exploits of a king or the deed of an individual in a language which though conventional does not seem to be used for false, vainglorious praises only. And there is variety too. For no less than three records praise the heads of religious sects, and only incidentally the king.

Mythological Allusions

Not only the Asokan edicts, but also the Junāgarh Inscription of Rudradāman is devoid of mythological allusions such as comparison of the king's deeds with those of the gods[6]. This is first noticed in the record of Skandagupta,[7] but is surprisingly absent from those of the Traikūṭakas. The Kaṭaccūrī grants, imitating the Gupta records, compare their kings in their various virtues and powers with Dhanada, Varuṇa, Indra etc. But the Gurjjara records, sensibly enough, omit this feature in their borrowing from those of the Kaṭaccūrī, though we do find a few references to gods.[8] The Cālukyas pick up the fondness for Varāha incarnation, in addition to that for Subrahmaṇya and the Saptamātṛs, which they inherit from their Deccan and Karṇāṭaka predecessors.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions in this respect are considerably rich. They show acquaintance not only with the various aspects of Śiva, and *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, which is not unusual, but also with that of Viṣṇu as Kṛṣṇa, while there are allusions to important personalities of the *Mahābhārata* and Sahasrārjuna. But references to the Rāmāyāṇa heroes are very few. There is one reference, important for settling the antiquity of certain parts of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, which says that Karkarāja made Dharma fourfold.[9]

The Valabhī inscriptions, in spite of their conventional outlook, contain very few mythological allusions or comparisons with gods. The inscription of Droṇasiṁha,[10] perhaps the first Maitraka king, has no eulogy; that of his successor[11] compares him to Dharmarāja; while Śīlāditya III is

[1] *Ibid.*, No. 181. [2] *Ibid.*, No. 220. [3] *Ibid.*, No. 236.

[4] *Ibid.*, Nos. 184, 187, 202. [5] *Ibid.*, Nos. 215, 233, 244.

[6] Though both the records show high respect for Brāhmaṇas.

[7] Appendix, No. 14, lines 1–3 etc.

[8] In lines 3 and 4, for instance, of the Kavi Grant of Daddá.

[9] *IA.*, XII, p. 156. [10] *Ibid.*, No. 59. [11] *Ibid.*, No. 60.

compared to Puruṣottama who produced the Cintāmaṇi,[1] and Śīlāditya VI to Puruṣottama as Govardhanadhara and Nṛsiṁha.[2]

The purely donative inscriptions of the Caulukyas avoid eulogy as a rule, though it is difficult to account for this practice, for almost the first inscription of Mūlarāja[3] compares him to Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and other gods. Inscriptions of the subsequent rulers always refer to Śiva as Bhavānīpati, and occasionally to Viṣṇu.

The Vadnagar Praśasti[4], (which for our purpose is more important than others which are in praise of religious heads), invokes Śiva and praises Brahmā, but except Kumārapāla who is compared to Varāha, none of his predecessors is compared in virtue or exploits with any god. The Cintra Praśasti[5] speaks of Arjunadeva as an *avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa, and of Sāraṅgadeva as Śāraṅgadhara.

Opening & Closing Formula

No particular opening formula or words are found in the Ksatrapa inscriptions from Andhau, but the word *Siddham* occurs in all the subsequent inscriptions.[6] And the same formula occurs in Skandagupta's inscription. The inscriptions of the Traikūṭakas, Kaṭaccūrīs, Gurjjaras and Cālukyas have *Om Svasti* or only *Svasti*. A little variety is afforded by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records. The earliest inscription of Kakka[7] has no auspicious formula to begin with, whereas the subsequent inscriptions have first only '*Sa vo...*', which is immediately supplemented by prefixing *Om*. Then, from the time of Dhruva III, we find generally '*Svasti*' added on to *Om*.[8] To this general rule an exception is found in an inscription of Dantivarmā[9], which has the formula '*Om, Om Buddhāya*, and another in a grant of Govinda V[10] which after *Om* begins with the verse '*Jayati*...The Maitraka inscriptions have either the formula *Om Svasti* or *Svasti*.

In the Caulukya records the formula may be said to vary according to the nature of the inscriptions. Purely donative records of the kings themselves have no auspicious formula, but simply the words '*Rājāvali*... or, in the earlier records simply *Om*; and in later records *Svasti* or *Om Svasti*.[12] *Om Namaḥ Bhagavate* is found in an inscription of Karṇa,[13] and *Om Namaḥ Śivāya* in the Mangrol, and Vadnagar Praśastis of Kumārapāla

[1] *Ibid.*, No. 128. [2] *Ibid*, No. 148. [3] *Ibid.*, No. 159.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 187. [5] *Ibid.*, No. 244.

[6] According to Stein, *IHQ.*, IX, p. 226 this may be due to the Sātavāhana contact.

[7] Appendix A, No. 41. [8] *Ibid.*, No. 50. [9] *Ibid.*, 51.

[10] *Ibid.*, No. 57. [11] E. G., *Ibid.*, Nos. 158–59

[12] *Ibid.*, No. 210 and 213 respectively. [13] *Ibid.*, No. 166.

(or his time) and Śrī Dhara's Praśasti.[1] *Om Svasti Jayaścābhyudayaśca* occurs in two inscriptions from Kāthiāwār and in an inscription of Ajayapāla. The Jaina Inscriptions from Ābu have *Om Vaiade Sarasvatī.*

No closing formula is found in the Kṣatrapa, Traikūṭaka and the Kaṭaccūrī records. All the Gurjjara records, except one,[2] and all the Maitraka records close with the words *'Svahasto mama.'*

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa records supply interesting variations. Earlier grants merely mention the writer's name;[3] the later either *Svahasto mama*[4] or its equivalents *Mataṁ mama* or *Rājāsvamukhādeśena,* but in two cases *Maṅgalaṁ Mahā Śrīḥ,* or only *Śrīḥ*[5] and once *Om Namaḥ Śivāya.*[6]

Donative grants of the Caulukyas usually end with the words, By the (king).....;or By the writer.....; once with the words *Svahasto mama;* once with *Maṅgalaṁ Mahāśrīḥ*[8] and twice or so with *Śubhaṁ Bhavatu.*

This study of the opening and closing formulas from Gujarāt inscriptions shows that the word *'Siddham'* which became current in early Brāhmī inscriptions[10] somehow did not become popular in later Gujarāt epigraphical writings. In its place were substituted *'Svasti'* and *Om* and later, with the spread of Bhakti cult (?), names of deities—Śiva, Vāsudeva, Sarasvatī, for instance.

The same tendency is indicated in the closing formulas. The practice of putting the writer's name and the expression to the effect 'This is by king's order'—found for the first time in a few Asokan edicts—appears to undergo a modification for the first time in Southern Gujarāt at about the 9th century by the addition of auspicious or religious formulas. In Northern Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār this change is noticed in about the 12th century.

Invocations Etc.

Invocations at the outset, beginning with the inscription of Skandagupta, are usually to Brahmā, Viṣṇu, or Śiva, at times to Viṣṇu and Śiva, sometimes to all of them, and in a few cases to Buddha. But that to a devī or Gaṇeśa is found for the first time in an inscription of Kumārapāla's time from Somnāth.

[1] *Ibid.*, Nos. 181, 187 and 215.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 26. Note that only the order is changed, *svahasto.....* being placed earlier.

[3] *Ibid.*, Nos. 41–44 and 47. [4] *Ibid.*, Nos. 45, 49–55.

[5] *Ibid.*, Nos. 56–57. [6] *Ibid.*, No. 58. [7] *Ibid.*, No. 205.

[8] *Ibid.*, Nos. 205 and 215. [9] *Ibid.*, Nos. 187 and 218.

[10] For their distribution see Stein, *IHQ.*, IX, p. 226.

The imprecatory and benedictory verses, warning the future kings against depriving the donee of the grant and extolling the benefits of making a grant, are of a stereotyped nature right from the Traikūṭaka to the end of the Caulukyan period. Variation in details, terminology[2], quantity etc., however, are found. More matter is found, for instance, in some Rāṣṭrakūṭa records[3] than in those of other dynasties, whereas some of the Caulukyan records give these verses very briefly or omit them entirely.

Do these verses owe their origin to the Purāṇas[4], or to the ideas which were current in India from a remote antiquity, and echoes of which are also found in Aśoka's edicts[5] ?

Emblems

No seal or any other emblems are found on the Maurya and Kṣatrapa inscriptions nor on the Trikūṭaka and Kaṭaccūrī copperplates.

The Gurjjara copperplates have usually a "roughly circular seal", in relief, on a countersunk surface with a device[6] and below the legend; "*Sāmanta Daddaḷ.*" On the Ilao Grant the figure may be that of a Garuḍa (?).[7]

Only one of the plates of the Gujarāt Cālukyas has preserved its seal which is round, having a diameter of $1\frac{1}{2}$"; on it there are the letters *Śrī-āśraya.*[8] But another plate found from the Nasik district has on its seal the letters *Śrī Jayā Śraya* and below them a half lotus and above a crescent moon.[9]

Majority of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa plates have a seal. Unfortunately very few of these seals are published. But on the strength of their description by the various editors we can trace a kind of evolution in their device.

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[1] *Ibid.*, No. 202; Gaṇeśa as Vighnahartā is also referred to in the Vadnagar Praśasti of Kumārapāla, verse 18; then in Cintra Praśasti, *Ibid.*, No. 244.

[2] E. G., in the Valabhī records, *Ibid.*, Nos. 60–63. [3] E. G., *Ibid.*, No. 43.

[4] A few have been already traced by Pargiter in some Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata. See *JRAS.*, 1912, pp. 248–254.

[5] Cf. Girnar edicts No. 6, line 13–14, No. 9, line 8–9, No. 11, line 4 which say that Aśoka's descendants should act for the welfare of the people; that charity in this world begets Svarga and *puṇya* in the next world. In the Sānchi and the Delhi Pillar edicts is found the expression 'as long as the Sun and the Moon shall shine', while in the Mysore group of edicts we find the important expression, '*Esā Porāṇā pakitī*', 'This is an ancient rule.'

[6] Fleet further adds that the meaning of this is not apparent, but may be some emblem of Sun worship. *Ibid.*, No. 24. Very rarely the seal is reproduced, and whenever it is, it is not distinct.

[7] *Ibid* No. 33. [8] *Ibid.*, No. 35. [9] *Ibid.*, No. 39.

The seal of the Gujarāt Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kakka (Śaka 679) had a Garuḍa but it is now broken.[1] That of Govinda III (Śaka 730) is said to have on it a seated Śiva.[2] On looking at the indistinct photograph[3], I find that the nose of the central figure is very prominent and the face very peculiar, which may be Garuḍa's and not that of 'Śiva'. Moreover some representation, like wings, is seen on either side of the central figure.

The seal on Amoghavarṣa's Sanjan Plates has, as described by Bhandarkar,[4] "a Garuḍa in high relief on a countersunk surface on a lotus seat facing full front, with his prominent beak nose and holding a snake in each hand. Two discs are seen above the ears of Garuḍa.....on Garuḍa's proper right, there is a representation of Gaṇapati in the upper corner and lower down an indistinct *Chauri* and a lamp. On his left, near the top is the same goddess standing in front of an animal (perhaps a lion) and holding a ladle in her right hand, below her a *Chauri*, and near the bottom a Svastika."

Keeping the central figure Amoghavarṣa's successors incorporate more symbols. For instance, on the seal of Kṛṣṇa II (A.D. 910)[5] there is no goddess; on that of Indra III there are the emblems: a *liṅga, aṅkuśa* and a lamp, whereas on that of Govinda IV (A.D. 930) there are found a dagger, a bow and an arrow.

In all the seals from Amoghavarṣa onwards, the central figure is definitely Garuḍa. On this analogy the figures on earlier seals must be identified with that of Garuḍa. No room for doubt exists, apart from this objective evidence, because the Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarṣa actually mention Garuḍa as the *mudrā*[6] of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

This Garuḍa-motive is also found on the seals of the Paramāras of Malwa,[7] and this is, I think, another proof of their relationship, both through blood and politics, with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

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[1] *Ibid.*, No. 37. [2] *Ibid.*, No. 42. [3] *Ibid.*, No. 42.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 52. The recently published Brahmanpalli grant is said to have Garuḍa only. *Ibid.*, No. 46.

[5] *Ibid.*, No. 55. Though in the New Copperplate of Dhruva II (Saka 806) Altekar mentions only Garuḍa, holding hooded snakes in either hand. *Ibid.*, No. 53.

[6] Cf. *Bhagnā samasta bhupāla mudrā garuḍa mudrayā. Ibid.*, No. 52, p. 249.

[7] For instance the Harsola and Ahmedabad Plates of Siyaka. *Ibid.*, Nos. 263-66, have Garuḍa with serpents and wings, though other objects are missing. For others see Ray, *DHNI.*, II, p. 852. Indore Grant, *IA.*, VI, p. 48 and p. 862-863, which describes grants of Bhoja of Malwa; also p. 873, Mandhata Plate of Jayasiṁha, *EI.*, III, p. 46 after which it seems to disappear. It is also found on the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Betul, Ray, o.c., I, p. 557 citing *IA.*, XVIII, p. 230. However, if there were no other points of contact, not much reliance can be placed on this point as Garuḍa-motive was very common.

All the seals of the Maitrakas of Valabhī, which have been preserved, have generally an oval surface and a round back. It is at times divided into two sections. In the upper is a bull (Nandī) with the face to the right; below are the words *Śri Bhaṭṭakaḷ*.[1] Very rarely is the face of the Nandī to the left.[2]

None of the seals of the Caulukyas of Anhilvāda have been preserved. But the extant copperplates definitely indicate their existence in some cases. A few inscriptions show other features. For instance the Kadi plates of Mūlarāja have at the end of the first plate a bull couchant and facing the right.[3] The Chitor inscription of Kumārapāla has some figure in its middle[4] which is not identified; while on the left hand of the second plate of Ajayapāla's copperplates[5] at the end of the writing, says Fleet, are the figures of the Moon, and the Sun and a god seated on a lotus, with 4 hands and 4 heads, which must be Brahmā.

[1] Cf. Ganesagadh Plates of Dhruvasena I, *Ibid.*, No. 64.

[2] A bull, couchant and facing the proper right, is also found on the seals of early Pallavas. See *EI.*, VI, p. 84.

[3] Appendix, No. 159, p. 191-93.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 184.

[5] *Ibid.*, No. 205, p. 80.

CHAPTER VIII
NUMISMATICS

A brief survey of the evolution of coinage in ancient Gujarāt is best understood by treating it under its various subdivisions:—

(*a*) Form and fabric.

(*b*) Symbols.

(*c*) Coin legends, (their character).

(*d*) Date.

(*e*) Bust of the king etc.

The Greeks in a sense laid the foundation of Gujarāt coinage[1] on which the superstructure was built by the succeeding rulers[2].

Pre-Greek Coins

The pre-Greek, perhaps indigenous, coins of Gujarāt are a few very small coins of silver, weighing about 5 grains; they have the symbols: *Svastika, Triśūla,* and *Cakra*; some have on the obverse a misshapen elephant, on the reverse something like a circle.[3]

This dearth of information we are now able to supplement by the coins recently acquired from Kamrej, Navsari district, Southern Gujarat, and those excavated from Amreli, Kāthiāwār, by the Baroda Archaeological Department.

From Kāmrej various kinds of coins were obtained. Among these are some punch-marked, supposed to be *Kārṣāpaṇas*, and a few cast and Avanti or Ujjain coins. No information about the punch-marked coins is yet published. The Avanti coins are of various types. A few are of silver and the rest of copper; (both) are either square or circular in shape.[5]

Only one cast coin and a few 'Tribal' coins are described,[6] whereas Avanti coins from Amreli are not discussed at all.

Greek Coins

The Bactrian Greeks did away with everything but the fabric. Though they issued many varieties of coins in their north-western dominions their Gujarāt coins have:

[1] As perhaps in other parts of India. [2] Mentioned in Chapter II.

[3] *BG.*, I, p. 17. May we regard the symbols on Gujarāt coins as Maurya? They resemble to some extent those mentioned by Jayaswal in *JRAS.*, July 1936, p. 437, pls. II–IV.

[4] *JNSI.*, 1939, p. 20.

[5] Details are not given here, for those given by the writer in *Ibid.*, are not possible to check in the photographs (pl. IV), which are indistinct. [6] *Do.*

i. Form: round or square.[1]

ii. Fabric: silver and copper.[2]

iii. Weight: Drachm, (about 60 grains) and obol (o).[3]

iv. Coin legend in Greek, round the helmeted bust of king, on the obverse; on the reverse the legend in Kharoṣṭhī.[4]

v. A monogram.

vi. A bust of the king with head either helmeted or bare and filleted–generally on the obverse.[5]

vii. On the reverse, figure of a standing god or goddess.[6]

None of the coins is dated.

Kṣaharata Ksatrapa Coins

Kṣaharāta Ksatrapas, the successors of Greeks in Gujarāt, discarded many of the Greek features.

The coins of Bhumaka[7] are:

i. of copper.

and have

ii. among the symbols an arrow, discus, thunderbolt, *dharmacakra*, lion-capital.

iii. for legend, inscription in Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī and sometimes in both.

iv. bust on the obverse.

It would be apparent that the traces of Greek influence are few.[8] It is probable that there was not enough time for this influence to work on the Kṣaharātas, as they were in Gujarāt for a short while only, and during that period were mainly connected with the Deccan.

[1] Drachm of Menander and Apollodotus; square, copper coins of Apollodotus.

[2] Silver of Eucratides, Menander and Apollodotus; copper of the latter only.

[3] Obols of Eucratides: drachmae of Menander and Apollodotus.

[4] These are here omitted; but they mention the name of the king who issues the coins thus, "of the King, saviour, Apollodotus or Menander," as the case may be. For details see Brown, *Coins of India*; Gardiner, *British Museum Catalogue*; Whitehead, *Punjab Museum Catalogue*.

[5] The copper coins of Apollodotus–both round and square–have no bust of the king either on the obverse or reverse; instead they have the standing Apollo with an arrow in his right hand, bow in the left and the tripod respectively.

[6] Athene on Menander's; Apollo on Apollodotus'.

[7] Of his successor Nahapāna's not yet found in Gujarāt.

[8] Of course there is the bust in imitation of the Greek coins, but it is considerably different from the Greek bust.

The symbols and the legend, on the contrary, show contact with the early Āndhras and Kuṣānas, and the prevalence of Buddhism in the province.

Kṣatrapa Coins

Most interesting are the coins of the second dynasty of the Kṣatrapas. All the varied influences are clearly reflected in them, which will be evident by a detailed examination. The coins are:—

i. of silver, lead, and copper.[1]

ii. round, and square.

and have

iii. bust of the king on the obverse.

iv. legend in Greek characters on the obverse.

v. and on the reverse legend (in early coins) both in the Brāhmī and *Kharoṣṭhī*; *later only in Brāhmī.*

v. among the symbols, a star, a cresent surmounting the *caitya* and beneath wavy line.

vi. date in Śaka era and in Brāhmī numerals, on the obverse, behind the king's head.[2]

The Greek features still surviving are noticed in the fabric, bust of the king, and in the legend on the obverse.

In respect of weight the silver coins are usually 34 grains, called "hemidrachms," thus differing a little from those of the Greeks. The Greek legend gradually died out[3]; first it becomes a meaningless imitation, while a few words continue to appear on the Gupta coins. The bust is immortalised; it is accepted by the Kṣatrapas, and handed over to the Guptas who retain it in their Gujarāt coinage, though stamped with their personality.

[1] Potin coins, are as a rule, confined to Mālwā; whereas only one coin of copper, that of Jīvadāman, son of Caṣṭana, is found.

[2] This feature is not found on the coins of earlier rulers—even those of Rudradāman (c. 150 A. D.) It is noticed for the first time on the coins of Jīvadāman (c. 178); a change in the fashion was made by Īśvaradatta, the intruder; he dated his coins in regnal years. Svāmi Siṁhasena (c. 382 A. D.) added the words *'varṣe'*, 'in the year', before the date.

[3] Legible Greek inscriptions are found on the coins of Caṣṭana and his son Jīvadāman. From the time of Rudradāman I (c. 130 A. D.—150 A. D.) they become meaningless, but their traces continue to appear up to the end of the dynasty (c. 390 A. D.).

In Kharoṣṭhī on the Greek and early Kṣatrapa coins is visible the spread of a new influence from north-western India into Gujarāt. But its source soon dried up, which is evident from its disappearance on the later Kṣatrapa coins.[1]

The symbols—*caitya*[2] etc.—reveal the early Āndhra contact. This replacement of the Greek by the native symbols suggests that the ideas brought by the new rulers with them were not significant to the people so that the old symbols had to be reintroduced.

The Brāhmī coin-legend[3] is in the ascendant as far as its language is concerned; it tends towards pure, classical Sanskrit, gradually displacing the Prākrit.[4] But the script towards the end of the dynasty becomes unreadable[5], as letters lose their individuality, indicating perhaps that as scholarship advances art deteriorates.

Roman Coins

Before passing over to the coins of the Guptas, reference must be made here to the Roman coins and influence in Gujarāt. Though, till now, only one coin (of Lucius Virus) is found[6], The Roman influence must be very great, from about the 1st century A.D., as direct sailing between Broach and the Mediterranean ports was then established,[7] and also as, owing to the preponderance of Indian exports, Rome had to pay in silver dinarii and gold aurei[8] instead of goods. But it is suggested by Warmington[9] that the coins were melted down by the Śakas (Kṣatrapas). Hence they are rare in Gujarāt and have left little influence on the local coinage[10], except perhaps with a single trace of the Roman alphabet mixed with Greek on the coins of Nahapāna.

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[1] Found on the coins of Bhumaka and Nahapāna, a few traces on that of Caṣṭana, but no more afterwards.

[2] Now identified as mountain. *Cf.* a similar representation of a mountain on a seal impression from the Palace of Knossos. Morgan, *Prehistoric Man*, fig. 155.

[3] Usually in the form "*Rājño Mahākṣatrapasa Rudrasiṁhasa* (this name of course changes) *putrasa rājño Mahākṣatrapasa Dāmasenasa.*"

[4] Cf. above the evidence from inscriptions; the best instance is the transformation of the genitive *sa* to *sya*. For details see Rapson, *CAD.*, p. cxxviii.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. cxxxviii and cxliv.

[6] At Nagdhara, Jalalpur Taluq, Surat Dist. *JRAS.*, 1904, p. 599.

[7] Warmington, *Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, p. 46.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 270, interpreting the words of *The Periplus* that at Broach exchange was made to the advantage of the Romans because the latter at times got in exchange silver coins of Śaka and Āndhra kings.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 290. [10] *Ibid.*, p. 297.

Gupta Coins

Gupta coins indicate further play of new forces (which may be called Gangetic or Madhyadeśi) upon Gujarāt. The coin-types vary with each successive ruler, but still their features may be summed up and discussed as follows:—

(i) Shape: round.

(ii) Fabric: silver, and copper coated with silver.[1]

(iii) Obverse: bust of the king.

Date, behind the king's head, in Gupta era.[2]

Traces of corrupt Greek legend.

Reverse: symbol, Garuḍa, cluster of dots, wavy line beneath border of dots, bull couchant to the right[3], altar with fire burning on it.[4]

(iv) Legend, usually on the reverse thus:

Paramabhāgavata mahārājādhirāja śrī Kumāragupta Mahendrāditya.[5]

Here the new features are the various symbols, and purely Sanskrit legend in the nominative. Of the existing features, the Guptas kept the bust, bearing, however, their personality. The manner of putting the date they retained, introducing, however, their era.

But both in fabric and weight they closely follow their predecessors. Why did the Guptas not give a gold currency to Gujarāt, which they had introduced in all other parts of their empire? Whether the reasons were economic or political it is difficult to say now.

So also in the matter of the legend. Though it shows a definite departure from that on the Kṣatrapa coins, the latter being always in the genitive, still we miss the fulness, variety and the poetry noticed on their coins in other parts of the empire, while the nominative form of their legend is also found on the coins of the Traikūṭakas.[6] As regards

[1] All of Kumāragupta and found from Valabhī, hence called the Valabhī fabric.

[2] Indicated by the letter (*va*) instead of '*varṣe*'.

[3] Found on coins of Skandagupta—of base metal. See Allan, o. c., p. 121.

[4] On the coins of Skandagupta from Cutch. The interpretation is Allan's (*GC.*, p. ci.). The *BG.*, I, i, p. 71 read it as altar and one upright and two side-jets of water. Neither of these readings seems to be correct. The things look more like a plant and basin; though not *Tulsī* plant, as it is totally different. It has very small leaves.

[5] It varies a little with other kings, but there is not that rich variety which is found in the coins of the home provinces.

[6] See below.

the matter on Gujarāt coins, for the first time the rulers proclaim their faith on coins (though immediately to be followed by the Traikūṭakas), thus introducing to Gujarāt, by more ways than one, to their pursuit of the old cults, perhaps fallen into abeyance.

The symbols: Bull, Garuda, etc., are new to Gujarāt, though Garuda is found on early Greek coins,[1] and Bull on those of the Kusānas. But of these only the Bull survives through Valabhī coins and plates right down to the time of Mūlarāja.[2]

From the Gupta coins, then, Gujarāt partook of all the varied foreign and indigenous, old and new, influences, which the Guptas had absorbed in the Gangetic delta, maintaining at the same time its constitution.

The Traikūṭaka coins have :—

Traikutaka Coins

(i) Shape: round.

(ii) Fabric: silver.

(iii) On the obverse a bust but no traces of date behind the king's head; nor the decadent Greek inscription; on the reverse, a *caitya*, star and an inscription as in the case of the Gupta coins.

The indigenous[3] features here are the symbols; the foreign, Greek or Kṣatrapa bust. The legend is partly Kṣatrapa and partly Gupta. The former because it is patronymic; the latter as it is in the nominative, and uses the prefix *śrī* before the name of the king and declares the Vaiṣṇava faith of the rulers.

The Traikūṭaka coins are the best illustration of the condition of southern Gujarāt. In them are treasured all the native and foreign influences of about 500 years or more, though a few features—for example, the Greek characters, are absent.

The outstanding features of Gujarāt coinage during this period must be noted: the continued preference given to silver and its almost uniform standard; second, the use of bust for representing the king. A typical instance of the survival of the Greek tradition.

[1] Though perhaps with the Greeks Garuḍa had not the same significance as with the Guptas.

[2] On one of his plates, See above p. 183,

[3] They may be imitations of the Āndhra or the Kṣatrapa ; 'indigenous' is used in the sense of the earliest.

Coins: Mediaeval Period

The early as well as the late mediaeval periods are both remarkable so far as coins are concerned. Curiously no coins of any dynasty except those of the Maitrakas of Valabhī have yet turned up. Even these are few. They are noticed by Allan[1] and the present writer had the opportunity to study them in the British Museum. They are very rough, irregular in shape and bear on one side the figure of a Bull.

Even more curious is the absence of any coins of the Caulukyas of Anhilvāda. A vast and prosperous empire as theirs must have had its own coinage. People in Gujarāt (particularly in Pātan) hardly realise this. They began to wonder when I inquired of the Caulukya coins at Pātan.[2] Perhaps a systematic exploration and even trial diggings at the site of the Sahasraliṅga talao may turn up a few coins besides other material.[3]

[1] *GC.*, p. cxxx, citing *JBBRAS*, 1861, p. liv—xxi and 1867, p. xiii, and recently some in the *Numismatic Supplement*, *JRASB.*, 1937.

[2] Muni Punyavijayaji of the Sāgar Apāsarā, Pātan, told me that a few years back some coins were dug up while preparing a road outside the city limits, near the site of the Sahasraliṅga talao. Unfortunately they were not brought to the notice of any numismatist, and have since then disappeared.

[3] The view that the Caulukyas must have had their own coinage surprisingly receives support from the discovery of a gold coin from U. P. which is believed to be of Siddharāja Jayasiṁha. See *JRASB.*, Letters, III, 1937, No. 2, article 348.

PART V

CHAPTER IX

ADMINISTRATION

LITTLE evidence exists at present to form any idea of the political status of Gujarāt and its administrative machinery prior to the Maurya period. The village, and groups of villages, might have been some of the territorial units governed by the *Grāmādhipati* or *Grāmaṇī*, and other local officers as described, incidentally, by the epics and some pre-Maurya works.[1]

Maurya

Contemporary and subsequent epigraphic evidence indicates that Gujarāt-Kāthiāwār were included in the Maurya empire from the time of Candragupta. However, it is not known for certain what territorial name or names were given to these parts of Western India, nor what the position of their ruler or rulers was. It is possible that the whole of Gujarāt-Kāthiāwār was also called *jānapada*,[2] and its constituents: *rāṣṭra*,[3] *viṣaya*,[4], *pradeśa*,[5] *āhāra*[6] and *grāma*, as somewhat similar territorial division[7] can be made out from the

[1] Recently the existence of town and village officers has been noted also in the Ṛgvedic period. See Joshi, *Conceptions Economiques et Politiques Dans L'Inde Ancienae D'Apres La Rigveda*; cf. *CHI.*, I, p. 91–2.

[2] It meant a "country" in general. Cf. Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, *C.I.I.*, (New Edition), I, pp. 14, 123. Kauṭalya, *Arthaśāstra*, *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*, No. LXXXII, Vol. I, p. 343 also uses it in this sense. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, (Second Edition), p. 64, thinks that it was applied to the territory under the direct sway of the emperor.

[3] *Rāṣṭra* does not occur in Aśokan inscriptions, but its existence seems to be implied by such officers as Ri (Rā) ṣṭrika and Raṭhika Hultzsch, o. c., pp. 10 and 74. Kauṭalya, o. c., I, pp. 37, 61, 131, 136, 230, etc., uses it in a general sense meaning a 'country'; at p. 78 perhaps in a technical sense. He frequently refers to the officer who governed it, *viz*., Rāṣṭrapāla.

[4] *Viṣaya* is not used in Aśokan inscriptions in the sense of a district. In the Sārnāth pillar it is used along with *Koṭa*, and Hultzsch translates it as a territory surrounding forts. Kauṭalya, o. c., III, 181 etc., uses it in a general sense meaning a 'country'

[5] From Pradeṣika, Hultzsch, o. c., pp. 52 and 73; and Pradeṣṭā, Kauṭalya, o.c., I, p. 346.

[6] Cf. Hultzsch, o. c., pp. 162 and 166: and *ahale* from Sārnāth and Rupnāth Edicts.

[7] Whether the units *grāma*, *āhāra*, etc., were originally natural divisions, i. e., based on the lie of the land or on other reasons cannot be decided until detailed information is available which can be used for intensive geographical study.

Aśokan inscriptions and Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra*, and because, excepting the third unit, other territorial terms are found in later epigraphs.

The status of Gujarāt-Kāthiāwār at this period seems to be that of an outlying 'province' of the empire ruled by a Rāṣṭriya (governor ?) or Rājā who was, probably, directly under the 'viceroy' of Mālwā.[1] Within this framework it is possible the 'province' was autonomous, independent with regard to its internal administration only,[2] as some scholars think.[3] But its 'governor' was, in the first instance, appointed by the emperor himself, who, under Candragupta and Aśoka, were Vaiśya-Puśyagupta and Yavana Tuṣāspha respectively. Aśoka's reason for selecting an Iranian (?) might have been dictated by the cultural contacts established by him, besides the political exigencies of the time.[4]

For the internal administration no evidence is available at present. Granting the existence of local forms of territorial units and names of officers, some sort of a system consisting of a Mantri, Amātya or Saciva, and a Mantriparisad to advice the Mahāmātra ('provincial governors') or Rājā[5], various district, judicial, revenue and police officers such as Rāṣṭrapāla, Sthānika[6], Gopa[7], Pradeśika[8], or Pradeṣṭṛ[9], Dharma-mahāmātras[10], Rājukas[11], Yutas[12], (or Yuktas)[13], Upayuktas[14], Nagaravyavahārikas[15], Nāyaka[16] which existed in the Mauryan administration, may be expected.

As soon as the Mauryan power became weak, it appears that this region which formed the western fringe of the empire was split up into several completely autonomous states, for the Indo-Greeks met with local kings of Cutch and Surastrene.[17]

[1] Perhaps it was this practice which was continued by the Śaka and Kuṣāna emperors and their satraps.

[2] More or less like our present British Indian provinces.

[3] Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 193 and p. 196, because Kauṭalya, o. c., III, p. 144 refers to *Saurāṣṭra-saṅgha*.

[4] Parts of Sind and the Punjab, before the invasion of Alexander, were under Darius, the emperor of Iran, and Gujarāt-Kāthiāwār had commercial relations with ports on the Persian Gulf, Egypt and Babylonia. So there might be some foreign population and influence in the 'province'.

[5] Kauṭalya, o. c., II, p. 186. [6] *Ibid.*, head of ½ of a *jānapada*.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, p 348, head of five or ten villages. [8] Hultzsch o c., p. 52.

[9] Kauṭalya, o. c., II, p. 202-3. [10] Hultzsch, o. c., p. 8-9.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 4. [12] *Ibid.* [13] Kauṭalya, o. c., I.

[14] *Ibid.*, I, p. 160. [15] *Ibid.*, II, 202-03 (as Paura-vyavahārika).

[16] *Ibid.* [17] Tarn, *Greeks of Baotria and India*, p. 169.

Greek

Under the Greeks Gujarāt–Kāthiāwār, (from the formation of the word Surastrene), is believed to have become a Greek province like the Seleucid eparchies, but with this difference that it was not a full-fledged eparchy, that is, subdivision of a satrapy, but was a full satrapy with a governor responsible only to the king. These governors were usually generals, *strategoi*[1]. How far Tarn is justified in arriving at this conclusion from the mention of differently named provinces by Greek merchants and geographers cannot be checked from the Indian side[2]. But it is possible that the difference in status of an eparchy in India from that of the Seleucid was due perhaps to the Greeks' retention or imitation of indigenous organizations.

Gujarāt again became an outlying province during the early rule of the Śakas or during the Āndhra conquest, when for a brief period Surāṭha formed part of the Āndhra empire.

Ksatrapa

Its status must have improved considerably when Rudradāmā established himself in Mālwa more or less as an independent king of Western India. Under him the entire province of Ānarta and Surāṣṭra was governed by his Amātya, a Pāhlava Suviśākha.[3]

Further details of territorial division and administration are not available from the Kṣatrapa inscriptions. But it appears that names of territorial units like *raṭṭha* (*rāṣṭra*?), or *āhāra* might have been prevalent in Gujarāt-Kāthiāwār as they were in Aparānta (part of modern Koṅkaṇ),[4] the Deccan,[5] Karṇāṭaka,[6] and the south[7] under the Āndhras, Cutu-Sātakaṇṇis, Kadambas and the early Pallavas, from the 2nd to the 5th century A. D. Like these immediate and further neighbours of Gujarāt, the province might have had Amātyas, Raṭṭhikas, Deśādhikas, Daṇḍanāyakas[8], Senāpati and other officers[9] to govern the province, its

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 240.

[2] Many of Tarn's deductions are questioned, and rightly, by Johnston in *JRAS.*, April, 1939, pp. 217-40.

[3] *EI.*, VIII, Nasik Ins. No. 2 and Junagadh Ins., p. 60 and pp. 44-45, respectively.

[4] Cf. Sopāraka-*āhāra*, Kanheri Ins., *ASWI.*, V, No. 5, p. 75.

[5] Cf. Govadhana and Kāpura-*āhāra*, Nasik Ins. *EI.*, VIII, pp. 65 and 82.

[6] Ins. of Cutu family in N. Mysore, *EC.*, VII, No. 263, p. 251.

[7] Cf. Sātahani-*raṭṭha*, Hirhaḍagalli Pls., *EI.*, I, p. 2 and VI, p. 88.

[8] Cf. Māt Ins. of Huvishka; also Sanchi Ins. of Svāmī Jivadāman, *EI.*, XVI, p. 232.

[9] For a fuller list see references cited in Notes 6 and 7.

subdivisions, and to manage different functions of the state. One of the functions of the Senāpati seems to have been to superintend over the composition of a grant by supplying to the composer information about king's conquests, etc.[1], for many of the Āndhra grants assign this work to a Senāpati. The practice, as will be noticed below, was also observed by the Guptas, and became common with the Maitrakas of Valabhī and other early mediaeval dynasties.

Gupta

The Guptas, being conquerors from eastern India, appointed like their predecessors, a "governor" called Goptā, named Parṇadatta, to protect the entire "province" of Surāṣṭra.[2] How the province and its components were called and ruled is not mentioned by the inscription. But a contemporary record tells us that Lāṭa (southern Gujarāt) was called a *visaya*[3]. It is doubtful if any part of Kathiāwār or Gujarāt was named a *bhukti* as in Bihar and Bengal[4]. The territorial division might have been into the following graded series: *grāma*,[5] *sthalī*[6], *pathaka*[7], *maṇḍala*[8], *āhāra*[9] and *visaya*.[10] For these are some of the names of units which are regularly mentioned in the contemporary inscriptions from the neighbouring countries[11] and later on from those of Gujarāt-Kāthiāwār.

[1] Cf. The expression *Etacca kāvyam ... Sāndhivigrahika ... Harisenasya*, Allahabad Pillar Ins. of Samudragupta, *CII.*, III, p. 10. The expression, translated literally, would imply that all Senāpatis were poets.

[2] Junāgadh Ins. of Skandagupta, *Ibid*, p. 59.

[3] Unless the word is used in a general sense, meaning a 'country'. Mandasor Ins. of Kumaragupta, *Ibid.*, p. 81.

[4] Cf. Tīra and Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* in E. and N. Bengal respectively.

[5] This was the lowest unit everywhere. Lower than this was a 'piece of land'.

[6] Only in Kāthiāwār, under the Maitrakas of Valabhī.

[7] Common in C. I. and U. P. also.

[8] Found in later records from Kāthiāwār, Gujarāt, C. I. and U. P.

[9] Was common in Kāthiāwār, C. I. and U. P.

[10] No specific case from Kāthiāwar; was common in C. I., U. P., Bihar, Bengal and Karnāṭaka.

[11] In some parts of C. I. and C. P, which were ruled by the Vākāṭakas, kings of Ucchakalpa, and Parivrājaka Mahārājas the highest unit seems to be *viṣaya*; under it were *āhāra*, *bhoga* and *peṭha*. The last two, particularly *peṭha*, are rare in N. India; the latter word is said to be derived from *pratiṣṭhā*. Cf. the street names in Poona, Budhavārpeṭh, etc.

Goptā[1], literally a 'protector' may have been one of the titles of the provincial governors[2]. The names of other officers have to be supplied once again from the contemporary records. The Goptā was probably assisted by a Saciva or Amātya and perhaps a council.

The administration of justice, police, and military functions were discharged by officers who in Gupta and other contemporary inscriptions are called Daṇḍapāśādhikaraṇika,[3] Mahādaṇḍanāyaka[4], Rāṇabhāṇḍāgārādhikaraṇika,[5] Mahāsandhivigrahika,[6] Senāpati,[7] whereas the revenue and finance duties were performed by Ayuktakas, Viniyuktakas, Prāyuktakas[8] and others.

Whether the town or city administration was carried on by such a series of officers as Nagara-śreṣṭhin,[9] Sārthavāha,[10] Prathamakulika[11], Pustapāla and so forth in the western parts of the Gupta empire as in the eastern

[1] Cf. the expression *sarveṣu deśeṣu vidhāya goptṛn*, Junagadh Ins., CII., III, p. 59, and *Goptā nṛpa Viśvakarmmā* in Mandasor Ins., *Ibid.*, p. 82.

[2] In the eastern parts of the empire the rulers of a *bhukti* or *viṣaya* were sometimes an *Uparika*, *Uparikamahārāja*, *Mahārāja*, *Viṣayapati* and *Kumārāmātya*. It may be that these are personal titles derived partly from the past and partly from the present nature of the post. Thus the term Kumārāmātya (K. A.), literally a 'minister of a prince', might have acquired the sense of a 'minister' or 'officer'. It appears from Gupta inscriptions that at that period as soon as a person was appointed an officer of the state he was called a K. A. And in order to distinguish different K A.s, the name of the particular portfolio, each was in charge of, was added on to the title of the K. A. Thus we hear of a K. A. who was a *Mahābalādhikṛta*, another was attached to a king, third to an heir-apparent. The term *kumārāmātya-pādīya* does not seem to mean, as explained by the late Mr. Banerji, that K.A. was equal to a king or an heir-apparent; Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, pt. I, p. 123, translates it as 'councillor of a prince'.

[3] Literally, 'An officer (Adhikaraṇika) in charge of punishment.' Cf. Vogel o. c, p. 129.

[4] Literally 'Great chief of the police.'

[5] Literally, 'Officer in charge of war material.'

[6] Literally, 'Officer in charge of war and peace.'

[7] Literally, 'Captain of the army'.

[8] All these are derivatives of the past participle *Yukta* ($\sqrt{yuj}$) and should be related in sense. Kauṭalya discusses the qualities and duties of an Upayukta (o. c., Vol. I, p. 160). From it appears that this was an officer superior to an *Yukta*; likewise the officers mentioned in Gupta and other records must be special officers.

[9] Literally, 'a town-elder'; cf. the modern 'mayor' or 'sheriff'. Such persons called 'Nagar-śeṭh' still survive in many parts of Gujarāt.

[10] Literally, a 'caravan-leader', i.e., a merchant. [11] 'First-householder'.

cannot be ascertained. But some such officers must have existed as some of them are mentioned in the subsequent period[1].

Traikutaka

In the latter half of the 5th century A. D., southern Gujarāt was under the Traikūṭakas who were independent and their king was called a Mahārāja[2]. There is no information regarding the capital. The country was divided into different territorial units, names of some (?) of which are mentioned in inscriptions but not of the officers who administered them.

The territorial units are:[3] *deśa*, *viṣaya*, *āhāra*, *pura*, *pallikā* and *grāma*. Among these, *deśa* seems to have been the largest territorial unit, as this term is given to the whole of Aparānta. The *viṣaya* came next to it, and then the rest, in the order mentioned here. The name of *viṣaya* is Antarmaṇḍali and it is said to be situated between the rivers Miṇḍholā and the Pūrnā. If this were so, it is possible that sometimes the territorial limits of a unit were fixed by geographical conditions.[4]

Kataccuri Etc.

A new unit and names of more *viṣayas* occur in the inscriptions of the successors of the Traikūṭakas–Kaṭaccūrīs and others–in southern Gujarāt.[5] The new unit is *bhoga*. It is not mentioned in later inscriptions but occurs frequently as noted above in the inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas and their eastern neighbours.[6] Probably the existence of this unit and the officer in charge of it, called *Bhogika*,[7] in the inscriptions of southern Gujarāt at this period, are due to the influence of its south–eastern neighbours.

The names of *viṣayas* and cities of interest are Bharukaccha, Antarnarmadā and Ānandapura. The mention of the first and the last indicates that Broach was the headquarters of a district[8] before the Gurjjaras, and Ānandapura an important town.[9] Antarnarmadā-*viṣaya*

[1] As will be pointed out later in detail, the influence of the Guptas in administration seems to have been more, and survived till very late in the eastern provinces, than in Central and Western India. The administrative units and a few names of officers are found in Gurjara-Pratihāra, Pāla and other inscriptions from U. P., Bihar and Bengal.

[2] If there were no other evidence to show their independent status, this title may denote a 'provincial governor' only, as it did under the Guptas.

[3] For their names see *Appendix*, p. 34.

[4] Other instances of *doabs* forming a *viṣaya* are Antarnarmadā and Antarvedi (Gangā-Yamunā).

[5] For full list see *Appendix*, p. 34–35. [6] See above, p. 194, *n.* 11.

[7] It also occurs in Chamba inscriptions; see Vogel, o. c., p. 130.

[8] Under the Kaṭaccūrīs. See Appendix p. 34. [9] *Ibid.*

is the territory between the Narmadā and the Tapti (?). Whether it was the name of a district[1] or merely a general name of the territory, and if the latter, what its relation was with the Bharukaccha-*visaya*, cannot be ascertained till further details of the places within them are forthcoming.

Besides this there was another unit called *draṅga*,[2] as it appears from a reference to the officer in charge (?) of it called Drāṅgika.[3]

The officers mentioned are: (1) Rājasthānīya, (2) Uparika, (3) Kumārāmātya, (4) Viṣayapati, (5) Ārakṣika, (6) Drāṅgika, 7) Bhogika,[4] (8) Bhogikapāla, (9) Mahāpalu (i?)pati,[5] (10) Rāṣṭra-grāma-mahattara-adhikārika, (11) Mahābalādhikrta, (12) Mahāsāndhivi-grahādhikaraṇādhikṛta,[6] (13) Kulaputraka, (14) Cāṭa, (15) Bhaṭa.[7]

Numbers (4), (6), (7), (8), (9) were evidently officers in charge of a *visaya*, *draṅga*, *bhoga* and *palli*[8] respectively; number (10) seems to be an officer superior to the Mahattara of a *rāṣṭra*, and a *grāma*. Numbers (11) and (12) were primarily connected with the army and questions of war and peace, though they did perform other duties also, for instance, conveying of and superintending over the making of a grant of land, while the former was at times in charge of a district. The exact position and duties of numbers 1, 2, 3 cannot be ascertained.

Rājasthānīya literally means 'a person in the place of a king', that is, a governor or a viceroy. It is in this sense that the Gupta inscriptions use it.[9] But in the inscription of a feudatory (sāmanta), the word can only mean a petty governor, perhaps of royal blood.[10]

Both Uparika and Kumārāmātya at times are used as a designation of district officers in Gupta inscriptions.[11] Kulaputraka might stand for a nobleman. Cāṭa and Bhaṭa are taken for irregular and regular soldiers,

[1] Under Saṁgamasiṁha, predecessor of the Kaṭaccūrīs. See *Appendix* p. 34.

[2] This unit occurs in Valabhī inscriptions, and the name of the officer also in Gupta inscriptions.

[3] Sunao Kala Pls. of Saṁgamasiṁha, *EI.* X., p. 72.

[4] From the Sarsavani Pls. of Buddharāja, *EI.*, VI, P. 298.

[5] Grant of Santilla, *EI.*, II, p. 23. [6] *Ibid.* [7] Cf. Note 4, above.

[8] The view that the Gujarātī word "*pole*", meaning a street, is derived from this, does not seem to be correct.

[9] Fleet, *CII.*, III, pp. 154–157 and Fleet's note thereon.

[10] Vogel, o. c., p. 122 has pointed out that the officer might have been connected with the administration of justice.

[11] Damodar Pls., *EI.*, XV, pp. 130–133. See above p. 195, n. 2.

but the former might have been the head of a district who was responsible for the internal management of his district[1] (and therefore specifically forbidden to intervene in grantee's land, etc, as *acāṭabhaṭaprāveśya* conveys) and the latter "an official subordinate to the head of the district". Āraksika might have been a watchman or a village magistrate, and if the officers are mentioned exactly according to the positions occupied by them in the administrative machinery, then Draṅgika might not be an officer in charge of a *draiṅga*, a territorial unit, but perhaps a fort.

Gurjjara

The Gurjjaras, who succeeded the Kaṭaccūrīs, seem to have retained the old division of the country into *viṣayas*, the latter into *āhāras*, the *āhāras* into *paṭhakas* and the latter into *pallis* and *grāmas*,[2] besides introducing(?) one more unit *bhukti*, perhaps larger than the *viṣaya* which existed in U. P. and Bengal during the Gupta times. It seems that the four *viṣayas*, Antarnarmadā, Aṅkuleśvara, Bharukaccha and Saṅgamakheṭaka, were all the large units of Gurjjara territory comprising the modern Northern Surat district, Broach and part of the Baroda territory, Baroda and Sankheda standing respectively on the northern and eastern frontiers of the kingdom.[3]

The officers spoken of are: Rājasāmanta, Bhogika, Rāṣṭrapati, Viṣayapati, Grāmāyuktakas, Niyuktakas, Adhikārikas, Mahattaras, Sāndivigrahika, Balādhikṛta and Dūtaka.

This list seems to be fairly representative of the Gurjjara administration. Grāmāyuktakas may be Yuktas who were in charge of the revenues(?) of a village, whereas Adhikārikas may be judges.

Calukya

The Western Cālukya records give us some information with regard to the territorial units[4] immediately to the north and south of the Tapti. Among these we have to note *Goparāṣṭra*, perhaps in *Nāsika-deśa*. Though Rāṣṭrapati is mentioned, no reference to a *rāṣṭra* is found so far in Gujarāt.

The officers referred to are Viṣayapati, Grāmabhojika, Vāsāvaka, Āyuktaka, Viniyuktaka and Sāndhivigrahika. Of these the Grāmabhojika is mentioned for the first time in Gujarāt inscriptions. He may be no other than a Grāmika, a village headman.

[1] As suggested by Vogel, o. c., p. 132 from the significance of the word '*chār*' in the Chamba State at present.

[2] For their names see *Appendix* pp. 35-37.

[3] See *BG.*, Vol. VII (Baroda), 1883, map facing p. 1.

[4] For their names see *Appendix*, p. 37-38.

Rastrakuta

Gujarāt, under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, formed a province of their empire In the earlier period of their rule, it was governed by their relatives and feudatories who were called Mahāsāmanta or Sāmantādhipati; later by the emperors themselves with the aid of a governor.

The names of units met with are: *āhāra, bhukti, deśa, maṇḍala, pathaka, viṣaya, group* of villages and a village[1]. Among these it appears that *deśa* was the largest unit; under it came *maṇḍala*[2], *bhukti* and *viṣaya*. But it is not possible to decide what the relation between the last two was. Perhapsa *bhukti* did not exist in Gujarāt proper, for the two cases[3] in which it is mentioned seem to come from outside Gujarāt. The units of administration after *viṣaya*, in decreasing denomination, were *āhāra, pathaka, group* of villages and a village. The last-but-one deserves to be noted. A number of instances are mentioned, and it is not impossible that it is due to the southern or Karnāṭaka influence brought by the rulers.

There are no signs of this influence, however, in the list of officers which included Mahāsāmanta, Amātya, Balādhikrta, Bhogika, Viṣayika or Viṣayapati, Rāṣṭrapati, Grāmakūṭa, Mahattara, Dharmādhikaraṇika, Rāṇaka, Mahāsāndhivigrahika and Dūtaka.

Though the Dharmādhikaraṇika occurs for the first time, he does not seem to be new. A similar officer–a judge or a magistrate is known from earlier inscriptions.[4] The Rāṇaka[5] is important. For about this period he appears in many mediaeval records, and his mention in the records of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas indicates that they were not slow to introduce this new(?) officer to their administrative staff.

Maitraka

Kāthiāwār under the Maitrakas of Valabhī presents us with a number of new territorial units. We hear of the *āhāra, bheda, bhukti, bhumi, drainga, grāma, maṇḍala, maṇḍali, padraka, pathaka, petha, prāpa, prāveśya, sthali* and *viśaya*.[6]

Of these the smallest unit was a *grāma*. *Bheda, bhūmi maṇḍali, padraka, prāpa, prāveśya, pathaka* and *sthali* were larger than it, but

[1] For their names see *Appendix*, pp. 43.

[2] Though at times they seem to be co-extensive, as Lāṭa is once called *maṇḍala*, another time *deśa*.

[3] For their names See *Appendix*, p. 43.

[4] For example from those of the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas.

[5] Vogel, o. c., p. 110, thinks that the word *rāṇā* is derived directly from *rājan*. It is now the title of many Rājput kings, particularly those of Udaipur and Chamba States.

[6] For their names see *Appendix*, p. 52–55.

what their relation *inter se* was there is no evidence to decide. But all these were smaller than the *āhāra*, which was smaller than the *viṣaya*. This unit was, perhaps, equally large as the *bhukti*,[1] which is found so far only once.

Some of the smaller units are interesting and important for the development of administrative machinery. *Bheda* and *bhūmi* are found very rarely outside Kāṭhiawār. The existence of a *draṅga* was implied in the reference to Drāṅgika but no name of the unit was found. *Peṭha* is mentioned only once. As said before, it was popular in the C. P. Though *pathaka* occurs in the Gupta and other early mediaeval inscriptions, its frequent mention in the Valabhī records shows that it was very popular in Kāthiāwār. *Prāpa* and *prāveśya* (which are regarded as territorial units[2]) and *sthali* seem to be confined to Kāthiāwār only. *Sthali*, particularly, appears to be the Maitraka's contribution to our knowledge of the history of administration in India[3].

The list of officers is also fairly large. There were: (1) Rājasthānīya, (2) Kumārāmātya, (3) Viṣayapati, (4) Drāṅgika, (5) Sthānādhikaraṇika, (6) Bhogādhikaraṇika,[4] (7) Dhruvādhikaraṇika,[5] (8) Daṇḍabhogika,[6] (9) Daṇḍapāśika, (10) Daśāparādhika,[7] (11) Avalokika, (12) Vartmapāla,[8] (13) Coroddharaṇika,[9] (14) Pratisāraka,[10] (15) Āyuktaka, (16) Viniyuktaka, (17) Śaulkika,[11] (18) Anutpannasamudgrāhaka,[12] (19) Sandhivigrahika, (20) Balādhikṛta, (21) Cāṭa, (22) Bhaṭa, (23) Kaṭhebhārika,[13] (24) Dūtaka, and (25) Mahattara.

These twenty-five officers give us a detailed picture of Valabhī administration. The territorial administration seems to have been carried

[1] But once the whole of Surāṣṭra is called a *viṣaya*, which if it were used in a technical sense would imply that even a *bhukti* was smaller than a *viṣaya*.

[2] Sukthankar, *EI.*, XVII, p. 107.

[3] The best known instance of it is Vāmanasthali, also mentioned in the *Purāṇas* and now known as Vanthali in the Junāgarh state.

[4] An officer in charge of a *bhoga*; cf. Bhogika.

[5] Explained as 'collector of fixed revenue;' cf. it with the modern surname 'Dhruva' among the Gujarātis.

[6] Police chief.

[7] Literally an officer who took cognizance of ten faults; comparable to a 'Justice of the peace.'

[8] Guardian of roads.

[9] 'Uprooter of thieves,' a policeman.

[10] Perhaps connoting secret police. Literally it means 'one who goes against,'

[11] 'Superintendent of tolls and customs'. *Cf.* Vogel, o.c., p. 127.

[12] 'Collector of unpaid taxes?

[13] Compared with the Gujarāti 'Kārbhāri', a manager.

on by Nos. (1)–(6). We do not know, however, how the officers in charge of a *bhūmi* and *sthali*, for instance, were called. Nos. (6) and (14) between them discharged perhaps all the functions of the police and the magistrate. Revenue and Finance Departments were constituted, probably, by Nos. (15)–(18) and Military by Nos. (19)–(22). Nos. (23) and (24) were responsible for general work; No. (24), Dūtaka, particularly, as a conveyer of grants. The last, Mahattara[1], is mentioned very low in the list of officers. In the mediaeval period he was regarded no more than a village elder. The omission of Rāṣṭrapati, an officer who is regularly mentioned by early mediaeval records, is perhaps significant.

Post-Maitraka

The inscriptions of the successors of the Maitrakas, Jaikadeva of Bhūmilikā, Dharaṇīvarāha of Wadhwan, and the feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratihāras, though very few, are important for the history of administration. From them we learn that Surāṣṭra, consisting of the whole of modern Kāthiāwār, was called a *maṇḍala*, which contained smaller *maṇḍalas*.[2] Under the Gurjara-Pratihāras, particularly, the term stood for a 'province' and it was applied to Saurāṣṭra because it constituted the westernmost part of the empire of Mahendrapāla and Mahīpāla.

Rulers of independent provinces like Bhūmilikā[3], (modern Gumli in the Porbandar State, Kāthiāwār), claimed the title of a Mahārājādhirāja and the subordinates that of a Sāmantādhipati.[4] The officers who assisted the king or the chief were: (1) Amātya,[5] (2) Rāṣṭrapati, (3) Grāmapati, (4) Bhogika, (5) Mahattara, (6) Kuṭumbika,[6] (7) Pañcakulika[7], (8) Daṇḍapāśika, (9) Madhyoga,[8] (10) Mahākṣapaṭalika,[9] (11) Sāndhivigrahika, and (12) Dūtaka.

The officers whom we have not met before are Nos. (6), (7) and (9). They seem to be petty officers connected with town or village administration.

[1] His duties may be to some extent like those of the Mauryan Mahāmātra, but philologically the former word has no relation with the latter.

[2] See *Appendix*, p. 56.

[3] Dhinki Grant of Jaikadeva, *IA.*, XII, p. 155.

[4] Grant of Dharaṇīvarāha, *Ibid.*, p. 193.

[5] See above Note 3.

[6] A "householder".

[7] A member of a *pañca*, committee of five people, either in a town or a village.

[8] May mean an 'umpire'. The word seems to be unknown to Sanskrit.

[9] Kauṭalya, o. c., I, p. 143, devotes a separate chapter to this office, which was connected with treasury and accounts and has therefore been explained as 'Record Office' or 'Accountant General's Office'. See also Vogel, o. c., p. 133.

Caulukya

The administrative history of Gujarāt, which so far appeared sketchy, begins to take shape in the Caulukyan period. Not only do we know the names of different units and names of officers, but we can trace the territorial expansion unit by unit, and identify all of them and their rulers.

Mūlarāja established himself in the Sārasvata-*maṇḍala* (the valley of the Saraswatī) with his capital at Aṇahillapāṭaka. To this he added Satyapura-*maṇḍala* (territory round modern Sanchor, in the Jodhpur or Mārwār State) and his son, Bhīma I, acquired Kaccha-*maṇḍala* (Cutch). Karṇa annexed Lāṭa-*maṇḍala* (southern Gujarāt) and Jayasiṁha conquered the Surāṣṭra-*maṇḍala* (Kāthiāwār), Avanti, Bhāillasvāmi-*mahādvādaśaka* (*i. e.* the whole of Mālwā), Dadhipadra-*maṇḍala* (territory round modern Dohad) and some *maṇḍala* (not named) in Rājputāna comprising modern Jodhpur and Udaipur States. His successors, Kumārapāla and Ajayapāla, retained their hold over these far-flung provinces, constituting modern Gujarāt, Kāthiāwār, Cutch, Mālwā and southern Rājputāna, but the later rulers' control over Mālwā, southern Gujarāt and Rājputāna was precarious. Till the very end, however, Cutch remained part of the Caulukya empire.

Maṇḍala, it seems, was the largest territorial division, corresponding to a modern province, though at times Lāṭa and Surāṣṭra are called *deśas* and Gūrjjara (the whole of Gujarāt?) a *maṇḍala*. The other units in descending order of size were a *viṣaya*, *pathaka*, *group* of villages and a village. But it appears that there was no hard and fast distinction between the limits of a *pathaka* and a *visaya*, for Gāmbhuta is once called a *viṣaya*, another time a *pathaka*.[1]

Absence of units like *āhāra*, *draiṅga*, *maṇḍali* and *sthali* so common in Valabhī records is surprising, and can be explained either on the score of insufficient epigraphical evidence from Kāthiāwār, or on the ground that these were a special feature of Valabhī administration, which became obsolete after the Maitrakas.

With the king was a minister called 'Mahāmātya,' Mantri or Saciva. Thus Jayasiṁha had Muñjāla;[2] Ajayapāla Nāgaḍa[3] and Someśvara[4]; Bhīma II Ratnapāla;[4] Vīradhavala Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla;[5] Visaladeva Nāgaḍa;[6] Arjunadeva Mūladeva;[7] and Sāraṅgadeva Madhūsūdana and Vāḍhyya (?)[8]

[1] See *Appendix*, p. 64.

[2] Not mentioned in inscriptions.

[3] *IA.*, XVIII, p. 347.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 113.

[5] *EI.*, VIII, p. 209.

[6] *IA.*, VI, p. 112.

[7] Rao Ins.

[8] *IA.*, XLI., p. 212; *Poona Orientalist*, July 1931, p. 71.

The governor of a *maṇḍala* was usually styled a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara. That of Dadhipadra–*maṇḍala*, during Jayasiṁha's time, was Vāpanadeva;[1] Somasiṁhadeva and Vaijalladeva were, during Bhīma II's reign, of Arbuda[2] (Ābu) and Narmadātaṭa-*maṇḍalas*;[3] and Vijayānanda was of Surāṣṭra-*maṇḍala* with its capital at Vāmanasthali (Vanthli, near Junāgarh), during the reign of Sāraṅgadeva.[4] But sometimes, perhaps when the province was newly conquered, the governor was a Daṇḍādhipati (commander of the forces or a police chief)[5], as Vimala was under Bhīma I[6].

Each *viṣaya* or *pathaka* was placed under a separate chief who was responsible to its immediate suporior. We are thus told that in the reign of Viśaladeva the chief of Varddhi-*pathaka*, *viz.*, Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rāṇaka Sāmantasiṁha was subordinate to Amātya Nāgaḍa[7]; whereas the chief of Vāmanasthali, Mahattara Sobhanadeva, was responsible in the first instance to Somarāja, the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara of Surāṣṭra.[8]

We should not expect a rigid, clearly defined, bureaucratic or feudal administrative system, for that is not possible even in this age of paper-made constitutions. Allowance should be made for the conditions of the time, when the rulers must have been guided, as now, by the varying needs of the different parts of the empire. As far as the material permits, it can be said that a kind of administrative machinery, here set forth, seems to have existed in Gujarāt during the Caulukya rule. Thus including the officers mentioned above, the officers were:

(1) Amātya, (2) Saciva, (3) Mantri, (4) Mahāpradhāna, (5) Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara, (6) Daṇḍādhipati, (7) Daṇḍanāyaka, (8) Deśarakṣaka, (9) Adhiṣṭhānaka, (10) Karṇapuruṣa, (11) Śayyāpāla, (12) Bhaṭṭaputra, (13) Viṣayika, (14) Paṭṭakila, (15) Sāndhivigrahika, (16) Dūtaka, (17) Mahākṣapaṭalika, (18) Rāṇaka, and (19) Ṭhakkura.

Nos. (1)–(4) were advisers to the king; Nos. (5)–(7) provincial or district governors and chiefs of army; No. (8) might, perhaps, be a police-chief; No. (9) a judge. No. (14) a village revenue head.[10] No. (18) Rāṇaka, we have met before, but in this period, he is almost invariably mentioned not only in Gujarāt, but also elsewhere, and appears to be the forerunner of the Rājput title 'Rāṇā'.

[1] *IA.*, X, p. 159. [2] *EI*, VIII, p. 219. [3] *IA.*, XVIII. p. 83. [4] *PO.*, III, p. 28.

[5] As in the case of Non-Regulation provinces where to preserve order and peace usually an army chief was appointed.

[6] *EI.*, IX, p. 151. [7] *IA.*, IX. p. 151. [8] *Ibid*, XVIII, p 113.

[9] Nos. (1)-(4) are mentioned once only, in a grant of Ajayapāla, *IA.*, XIII, p. 83.

[10] Cf. the modern term Patil or Patel. Paṭṭakila occurs in the inscriptions of the Śilāhāras of Konkaṇ. See *EI.*, XXIII, p. 274.

This survey of the territorial units and administrative officers shows that Gujarāt epigraphs (c. 150 A.D.—1300 A.D.) do not give as much detailed information about administration in ancient and early mediaeval Gujarāt as the Gupta, Gurjara-Pratihāra, and the Pāla epigraphs, for instance, give about Central India, the United Provinces and Bengal. Barring the names of a few units mentioned in Valabhī plates, and the names of officers and units in Caulukya inscriptions, the names of units and specially officers in records of other dynasties would seem to be wooden, in absence of further evidence. And it may be asked whether those units and officers did really exist or whether they found place in the records as a matter of conventional practice. If it was the latter, the practice may be due to the influence of Gujarāt's conquerors or powerful neighbours.

With regard to the first question, our suspicion is particularly raised by the mention of officers like Rāṣṭrapati and Kumārāmātya. Though they frequently occur, no specific name of such an officer, or a unit governed by him is found. These and similar cases may be therefore attributed to a conventional practice.

The source of this convention, in our present state of knowledge, may be traced to the Gupta period,[1] when many of the units and officers mentioned in the epigraphs of Gujarāt and other provinces did really exist. The ultimate influence may be therefore Gupta. But it is noteworthy that this influence does not seem to be so much and so lasting in Western India as in Central and Eastern India.

[1] For, as said in the beginning of this chapter, we have hardly any material for the pre-Gupta and pre-Maurya period.

CHAPTER X

SOCIETY

ON the state of society there is not much epigraphical evidence. Much less is it possible to assert that Brāhmaṇas gradually rose in power in about the beginning of the Christian era by converting foreign tribes and by giving preference to Dharmaśāstra over the Arthaśāstra.[1] Though from the pre-Aśokan and Aśokan period, owing to the advent and spread of Buddhism, the Brāhmaṇas might have lost many of their powers and privileges, still they had not forfeited esteem and respect of their rulers. For Aśoka enjoined upon his people to respect Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas alike, whereas, right from the 2nd century B. C. to the 2nd century A.D., we find the Sātavāhanas, Kṣaharātas and the Kṣatrapas making munificent donations to Brāhmaṇas at Nānāghat,[2] at Prabhās, on the Tāpi, at Daman[3] and at Junāgarh[4] respectively which not only confirm this conclusion, but give the earliest epigraphic evidence of the existence of a flourishing Brāhmaṇa community in the Deccan and Gujarat-Kāthiāwār.

Brahmanas B.C. 300–A.D. 400

With the Guptas and Traikūṭakas begin regular grants to Brāhmaṇas. No specific donation is recorded in Skandagupta's record from Girnar, but we are told that Cakrapālita, before commencing to repair the dam of the Sudarśana lake, first gave gifts to Brāhmaṇas.[5]

The Traikuṭaka copperplates, however, do not tell us much about the Brāhmaṇas themselves. But their successors' inscriptions—mostly from southern Gujarāt and spread over a period of about 400 years—mention meticulously their (Brāhmaṇas') names, *gotras*, education, place of residence, and the purpose for which the grant is made to them. From this information[6] some light can be thrown on the state of the Brāhmaṇa society in early mediaeval Gujarāt.

Brahmanas Epigraphs: Lata c.A.D. 400-c.A.D. 1000

This evidence indicates that there was perhaps a preponderance of Yajurvedi and Sāmavedi Brāhmaṇas over that of Ṛgvedis and Atharvavedis. Though the number of Ṛgvedis was small, we are told, that one of them belonged to the Āśvalāyana-*caraṇa*[7]. This one instance contradicts

[1] D. R. Bhandarkar, *Some Aspects of Hindu Polity*, p. 32-33.

[2] Nanaghat Ins., *BG.*, XVIII, iii, p. 220.

[3] Nasik Ins. (No. 10) of Uṣavadāta, *EI.*, VIII, p. 78, l. 2.

[4] Girnar Ins. calls Rudradāman a 'protector of Brahmānas'. *Ibid.*, p. 44, l. 15.

[5] *Appendix* A, No. 14, l. 19. [6] *Ibid*, *B to E*, pp. 65-77. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 67.

the view of Bühler[1] that the adherents of the Āśvalāyana Śāstrā were imported by the Deśasthas (in the 17th century and later). For their existence in Gujarāt can be now placed at least in the 7th century A. D.

Among these Brāhmaṇas, there were many who belonged to the Bhāradvāja-*gotra*[2], and a considerable number to the Lakṣmaṇa, and Vatsa *gotras*, for instance;[3] whereas a number of other *gotras* were represented. Evidence is also available, though meagre, of the Brāhmaṇa immigration into Gujarāt from such distant places as Pāṭaliputra and Kānyakubja[4] in the north, or Vanavāsi and Karahāḍa[5] in the south, while within Gujarāt itself, migration from one place to another seems to be common.

Brahmanas Valabhi Epigraphs c.A D. 500-c.A.D. 1000

Though the same preponderance of the Yajurvedis and Sāmavedis is seen in the donees of the Valabhī records, still the number of the Ṛgvedis and Atharvavedis does not appear negligible.[6] Likewise not only do we find the *gotras* well spread out, but we find almost an equal number of Brāhmaṇas of the Ātreya, Bhāradvāja, Gārgya, Kauśika, Parāśara, Śāṇḍilya, Śārkarakṣi and Vatsa *gotras*.[7] It is important to note that a number of grants are made to Brāhmaṇas who are resident of or have come from Ānandapura or Ānartapura,[8] while a good number of them belong to Daśapura and Kheṭaka.[9]

Brahmanas Caulukya Epigraphs c. 970 A.D.-c.A.D. 1300

During the mediaeval or Caulukya period, little information is available about Brāhmaṇas, for, firstly, grants to Brāhmaṇas are few, and these give, for some reason, no details about them.[10] But this negative epigraphic evidence does not show that the Brāhmaṇas had lost their importance. Rather it brings to light or points to another important role Brāhmaṇas played in the social and religious life of the period. Many of the grants are to temples, of which Brāhmaṇas act as priests or trustees. Of these in four cases, the Brāhmaṇa family migrates from an important *maṭha* in Kanauj and Ujjain and becomes the founder or head of a similar *maṭha* in Gujarāt. Thus Ujjain, which was long before this period a home of different sects of Śaiva worshippers, now seems to have become a radiating centre for the Brāhmaṇas of Mahākāla, Pāśupata, Āmarddaka and Cāpala sects, who serve as head priests of the Śaiva temples in Gujarāt, Kāthiāwār and Ābu.[11]

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[1] Preface, *Report, Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, 1871, p. 5.

[2] *Appendix*, pp. 66,·69, 70. We later learn from Hemacandra, *Dvyāśraya*, VI, 2 that Bhāradvājas were the religious preceptors of the Caulukyas.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 70. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 71 and 68 [5] *Ibid.*, p. 69 and 71.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 74. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 72-73. [8] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

[9] *Ibid.*, 75 and 76. [10] *Ibid.*, 77. [11] *Appendix* A, Nos 254, 202, 213, 244

Antiquity: Brahmana Subcastes

Epigraphic references to Brāhmaṇas enable us to push back the antiquity of certain Brāhmaṇa communities or subcastes in modern Gujarāt. The designations, Kanojiā, Vadnagarā, Sihoriā etc. may have originated at this period (?) and applied to Brāhmaṇa settlements who then resided in or came from Kānyakubja, Ānandapura and Sihor[1] respectively. Definite evidence of such a settlement is provided by a Rāṣṭrakūṭa record.[2] It mentions one Mottaka as a *Brāhmaṇa-sthāna*. This Mottaka is now identified with Mota, 16 miles south-east of Surat. Enthoven[3] observed that Motālā Brāhmaṇas were chiefly found there and thought that they had migrated to Gujarāt in the 14th century. But the Rāṣṭrakūṭa reference would show that the Motālā Brāhmaṇas were already in Gujarāt in the 9th century, where they might have emigrated from the Deccan during the Rāṣṭrakūṭa occupation, if they are supposed to be Deśastha as Enthoven thought.[4]

The antiquity of Nāgara Brāhmaṇas is taken back at least two centuries by a Paramāra record[5], which calls the Brāhmaṇas of Ānandapura 'Nāgaras', while the city itself is called later in the Vadnagar Praśasti,[6] a *Dvija-mahāsthāna*, *Viprapura* etc.[7]

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[1] Sihor (Siṁhapura) Brāhmaṇas are found patronised during the Valabhī period, but a large settlement of theirs, at the place, is credited to Siddharāja Jayasiṁha. See Hemacandra, *Dvyāśraya*, *XV*, verse 247.

[2] *Appendix* A, No. 50. [3] *Castes and Tribes of Gujarat* I, p. 234.

[4] *Ibid.* [5] *Appendix*. A, No. 263. [6] *Ibid.*, No. 187, ll. 28 and 34.

[7] *Ibid* On the origin of the Nāgaras, Enthoven, *o. c.*, I, p. 234, is not very clear. From the "Sharman", the Brāhmaṇas of Ānandapura mentioned in the Valabhī Inscriptions are proved to be Nāgars. They are supposed to have emigrated to Ānandapur from either Nagar or Ahichhatra (modern Ramnagar, U. P.), first called it Nagar and then Vadnagar. Now the question is when did they settle down at Ānandapur, in the Valabhī period, or under the Caulukya? In the *Harsola Grant*, and then in the *Vadnagar Praśasti* the word "Nagara", and "Viprapura" are used, which suggest that Nāgars, if they at all came from the north, settled down at Vadnagar after the Valabhī period; because though there are numerous references in the Valabhī plates to Brāhmaṇas from Ānandapura, not once are they called Nāgara.

Moḍha Brāhmaṇas are noticed for the first time, employed in different departments of administration, but mainly as Mahākṣapaṭalikas.[1]

From another inscription[2] is gleaned the existence of Rāyakavāla Brāhmaṇas. Members of this subcaste are said to be living on *dakṣiṇā* and cultivation, and found chiefly in Ahmedabad and a few in Baroda.[3] It is interesting to note that even in the Caulukya period the Rāyakavālas were being settled in these regions as the inscription grants some land to them near Mahisāṇā. Though it is not possible to fix their original home, which Enthoven thought was Raika, near Dhandhuka, still it should be pointed out that an earlier reference, in a Gurjara-Pratihāra record, mentions some Brāhmaṇas, who were called Rāyakkabhaṭṭes, after the town Rāyakka.[4]

As regards Brāhmaṇas known as Audīcyas, (Northerners, from *Udīc*, northern) who are supposed to be invited by Mūlarāja from the north,[5] and granted several villages in Kāthiāwār and Gujarāt,[6] it must be stated that epigraphical evidence available so far is not encouraging. Only one inscription[7] mentions by name a "Udīca Brāhmaṇa". Unless, therefore, the Brāhmaṇas who are reported to have come from Kanauj and Mālwā be regarded as *Audīcas*, there is no epigraphical evidence to warrant the presumption that many Brāhmaṇas from the north settled in Gujarāt under the Caulukyas.

[1] This is according to the interpretation of Dhruva, *IA.*, XI, p. 73, who takes the writer Kumyareṇa "of the Moḍha family" and similarly others, though not called expressly Moḍha, as Moḍha Brāhmaṇas. Enthoven, o. c., I, p. 233, is not inclined to accept that these Brāhmaṇas are from Modhera on the Vatrak river. It should be pointed out that from the manner in which the Kadi Ins. of Mūlarāja, (*IA.*, VI, p. 191) mentions Modhera (S'rī Modhera.....) certain sanctity is suggested. Even now in Modhera, there is a temple of the family goddess of Moḍha Brāhmaṇas and Vāṇiās. There is thus strong traditional and epigraphical evidence for the antiquity of Moḍhas and Modhera. Hemacandra, the great Jain priest and counsellor of Kumārapāla, was a Moḍha. See Merutunga, *PBC.*, p. 127, and p. 158 where "Srī Moḍhera", is called a holy bathing place for the Jainas.

[2] *Appendix* A, No., 210. [3] Enthoven, o. c., I, p. 238.

[4] Siyadoni Inscription (A.D. 907). *EI.*, I, p. 178. Kielhorn was also struck by this similarity of names.

[5] *Rās Mālā*, I, p. 65. Enthoven, o. c., p. 228-229 follows *BG.*, IX p. 4-7, but does not cite any more authoritative evidence than tradition.

[6] Bühler in *IA.*, VI, p. 183, following *Rās Mālā*, I, p. 65.

[7] *Appendix* A, No. 162.

Work of Brahmanas

Why were the Brāhmaṇas patronised? The Girnar inscriptions of Rudradāman and Skandagupta neither give specific reasons why they protected or satisfied the Brāhmaṇas, nor do they refer to the work to be done by the Brāhmaṇas in return for this protection.[1]

Inscriptions of all the subsequent dynasties mention either both or at least the first purpose[2], namely that the grant to a Brāhmaṇa was expected to bring *puṇya* to its grantor. But, while this purpose is always mentioned more or less in the same phraseology, it is the consideration of the second purpose that is important from our point of view. The Traikūṭaka records say nothing about the work of the Brāhmaṇas; the Kāṭaccūrī, Gurjjara and a few of the Cālukya records say that the grant was made to the Brāhmaṇas for the performance of 'five great sacrifices, *(paīca mahā yajñas)*, Bali, Caru, Vaiśvadeva, Agnihotra and Atithi[3]. The purpose of all the Rāṣṭrakūṭa grants, except three, is the same. Of these three, two are merely Brahmadevas, grants to Brāhmaṇas for no specific object, while the third, of Govinda IV, includes among the sacrifices to be performed, Darśa Pūrṇamāsa, Rājasūya, Vājapeya, Agniṣṭoma etc.,[4] besides the usual ones. It is the first time that these major Vedic sacrifices are referred to in a Gujarāt record. One may doubt whether they were ever performed. Consideration of other evidence would however suggest that these sacrifices were not in abeyance. They were, if not a regular feature of ancient and mediaeval Gujarāt, performed in a period of peace and prosperity, particularly when the king was zealous about them. And such a time once came in Caulukyan Gujarāt when Siddharāja built the Sahasraliṅga talao and erected on its banks shelters (*maṭhas* and *śālās*) for performing different kinds of sacrifices, for reciting the Purāṇas and for the study of astrology, Kalpa-sūtra and all the ancient Brahmanic lore. At that time, indeed, Brāhmaṇas must have attained immense power, prestige, and prosperity.

This may be true, but it is not supported by epigraphical tradition of the Maitrakas and Caulukyas. Majority of the grants of the former are for no specific purpose, while a few are given for the performance of 'usual' sacrifices; whereas grants of the latter, very few of which are to Brāhmaṇas, do not refer to the purpose at all.

[1] Of course, looking to the nature of the inscriptions these details cannot be expected.

[2] The second purpose was the performance of five great sacrifices, which are mentioned in Note 3.

[3] The term '*mahāyajñas*', applied to these daily sacrifices, *viz.*, propitiation of the manes (*Bhutabali*), keeping the sacred fire (*Agnihotra*) and inviting a guest, to be performed by the poorest Brāhmaṇa, may be doubted.

[4] For details see *Appendix* A, No. 57, lines 54-58.

Brāhmaṇas also served as ministers to the king, and their participation in the administration of the country as counsellors, is perhaps implied by the words in the Vadnagar Praśasti, "who protect the king and the country by their....."[1] Other Brāhmaṇas are found working as Dūtakas, Mahākṣapaṭalikas and others.

Rise (?) of the Vaisyas in Gujarat

If the Brāhmaṇas were responsible for the preservation of Brahmanic tradition, for the spread of various cults in, and at times for the administation of, Gujarāt, the Vaiśyas (also Vanik or Vanij) were responsible for the spread of Jainism, for placing the name of Gujarāt on the art-map of India by building magnificent temples and finally for entering into politics and seizing the reins of government. Of these, the Prāgvāṭas[2] (now known as Porvāḍs) and Moḍhas are the best known. Vastūpāla and Tejaḥpāla have left numerous epigraphs of theirs and their relatives in the Delwara temples, of which they were the builders. But besides being the pillars of Śvetāmbara Jainism, they and their ancestors were able ministers of the crown.

So also were the Moḍhas, who, as one inscription[3] says, "were considered high, splendid, and fit to be praised even by kings." Among them as well as the Porvāḍs were both Jainas[4] and others[5] cherishing different creeds.

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[1] *Appendix* A, No. 187, line 34.

[2] It is strange that Enthoven, o. c., III. p. 429, does not refer to Prāgvāṭas. "Prāgvāṭ" seems to be a sanskritized form of "Poritya-Voḍāṇa" mentioned in the Nāḍol plate of Kumārapāla's time. (*IA.*, XLI. p. 203). It should not be interpreted as "Voḍāṇā family of the eastern section," as done by Bhandarkar, *Ibid.* Further, voḍāṇā does not seem to be "a Rājput clan now extinct," but it seems to survive in the modern Porvāḍ Vāṇiās, who, as numerous inscriptions show, were administrators under the Caulukyas. It will be of interest to note that according to the tradition current among Porvāḍ Vāṇiās, (to whom the author belongs), their ancestors lived in the eastern part of Bhinmāl, or Śrīmāl, and were therefore called Prāgvāṭ or Porvāḍ. So also the Śrīmāli Vāṇiās and very probably the Moḍhas. As a matter of fact, in the transference of the Gurjjara capital from Bhinmāl to Kanauj and its subsequent breaking up, the Vaiśya as well as the Brāhmaṇa population flocked to growing Gujarāt, which became their second home.

[3] *Appendix* A, No. 247.

[4] Only one inscription, (*Ibid*) has so far been discovered which mentions the building of a Sūrya temple by a Jaina family in Cambay. It appears that Moḍhas and Prāgvāṭs were related as an Ābu Inscription, No. 32, *EI.*, VIII. p. 229, V. S. 1297, says that Vastupāla, a Prāgvāṭ, built something (?) for.....who was a Moḍha.

[5] S'rīmāla and Osawāla (Uēsavāla) are mentioned in a Jaina Ins. from Ābu. *EI.*, VIII, p. 229.

Kāyasthas were another sub-caste of the Vaisyas (?), who in this period are regularly spoken of as writers of epigraphs, particularly land-grants. It is owing to their association with this work, perhaps, that the term 'Kāyastha-Nāgarī,' popularized by Bühler, came into existence.

In this steady rise of the Brāhmaṇas, coupled with the boldness, initiative and liberality of the Vaisyas; in the encouragement and protection afforded by the strong hand of the Kṣatriyas, and finally in the discharge of its duties by a contented fourth caste, lay the prosperity of early mediaeval Gujarāt.

CHAPTER XI

RELIGION

NO archaeological evidence in any shape has yet come forth to enable us to know the form or forms of religion that existed in pre-Maurya Gujarāt.[1] Other sources, however, indicate the possibility of the existence of certain aspects of Brahmanism.[2] Each of these aspects is taken up individually and its course traced through several historical periods, and different dynasties in the three divisions of Gujarāt or in Gujarāt as a whole, so that the missing link at any period, in any regime, may be apparent, and attempts may be made to seek for the necessary evidence.

Sun-worship

The history of Sun-worship may be taken up first as the evidence available for it, though slender, seems to be the earliest. And this evidence lies in the probability that an early form of the Sun-cult of the type[3] we find later in Kāthiāwār might have reached that region as early as the 5th century B.C., through the Magas, when North Western India formed a part of the empire of Darius.

From the Maurya Gujarāt there is no archaeological evidence to substantiate this belief, nor is there any reference to a Sūrya-temple, as there is to the temples of other deities by Kauṭalya. The Kṣatrapa period is barren also. In the Gupta period there is no evidence from Gujarāt proper, but, if the guild of silk weavers, who migrated to Daśapura from Lāṭa and built a magnificent temple to Dīptaraśmi there,[4] were originally sun-worshippers when they were in Lāṭa[5] and not converted to that faith after settling down at Daśapura, then the existence of the Sun-cult may be expected in Lāṭa, in and sometime before the 5th century A. D.

This inference is corroborated to a certain extent by the subsequent evidence from southern Gujarāt. The early Gurjjara kings, Dadda I and II, and Raṇagraha are called devotees of the Sun, implying thereby that Sun-worship was existent at the close of the 6th and the

[1] If the few finds from Rangpur, Limdi State, Kāthiāwār had turned up *liṅga*-or *yoni*-type objects or a seal of Śiva-Paśupati type, it would have been possible to start with proto-Śaivism.

[2] This is used for the sake of convenience only, for Hinduism etc. are still less suitable terms.

[3] This is to be noted, for, otherwise, mere worship, consisting of prayer etc. is known to us from a remote antiquity.

[4] See Mandasor Inscription of Bandhugupta, Fleet, *CII.*, III., p. 83.

[5] This is probable because Lāṭa is said to have temples and *vihāras*. *Ibid.*, p. 81, line 3.

beginning of the 7th century, though confined perhaps to a small section of the people or the royalty. And it did survive later, for in the 9th century a temple of Sūrya, called Jayāditya, stood at Kāvi to which a Gujarāt Raṣṭrakūṭa king Govindarāja made a grant.[1] And this incidentally is the only instance where a Rāṣṭrakūṭa king patronizes the Sun-cult. It was never a creed with any of the Cālukyas or the Rāstrakūṭas.

In spite of the absence of evidence for ever 300 years, we find the Sun-cult still flourishing in Lāṭa in the 13th century. Whether its survival was due to the philip all Brahmanic religions received during the Caulukya rule is not easy to ascertain. The fact remains that in A.D. 1265 Vīsaladeva restored a Sun temple by the name of Mūlasthāna, (perhaps at or near Dabhoi),[2] whereas as late as 1296 A.D., a Sūrya temple flourished at Cambay to which a *maṇḍapa* was added by Vikala, a Jaina, in the reign of Rāmadeva.[3]

In Kāthiāwār, Dharapaṭṭa (bhaṭṭa) alone,[4] among the Valabhī *rulers*, professes the Sun-faith; whereas, out of scores of Valabhī plates, only one refers[5] to a Sun-temple. The fact that it is a private temple throws a good deal of light on the practice of cults in early mediaeval period. Early worship of Brahmanic gods was essentially private, performed in the seclusion of one's home, of which the Valabhī plate is a typical instance. Later, with the growth of public temples in Caulukyan times, the worship became both public and private, a character which Gujarāt (and perhaps India) retains till today.[6] To come to the Valabhī example. Though referred to in the 7th century, it may be existing from the middle of the 6th century, the time of Dharapaṭṭa, devotee of the Sun. The village in which it was situated is not identified, so actual confirmation is not possible.

Though the epigraphical evidence is meagre, rather a wide-spread Sūrya-cult is attested to by the remains of the early Sūrya temples at Visavāda, Gop (?) and Kinderkheda, and a little later temples at Sutrapāḍā and Thān in south-western Kāthiāwār.

This in its turn is confirmed by the late 9th century inscriptive evidence which tells us of gifts to the temple of Sūrya, called Taruṇāditya, on the Kaṇavīrikā river by the Cālukyas Balavarman and Avanivarman II in A.D. 893 and 899 respectively. The river and other places have

[1] See *Appendix*, No. 48. [2] *Ibid.*, No 233. [3] *Ibid.*, No. 247.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 87. [5] *Ibid.*, No. 106.

[6] Nowadays every orthodox Gujarati (Hindu) has some cult-object at home. Nevertheless, at least once a day, he would go to a 'public' temple of Siva, Viṣṇu, or of Hanumān, or even to all of them.

not been identified but the findplace of the plates, Una, together with the general topography of the places mentioned therein,[1] perhaps, fixes the position of the temple to the extreme south of Kāthiāwār, where ruins of later Sun-temple are still to be found.

Other epigraphical references from the mediaeval period proper are, so far, not many. Before considering them, it must be noted that none of the Caulukyas bears a *biruda*, indicating his devotion to the Sun. This inference from negative evidence is supported by the chief literary evidence of the period, namely Hemacandra's *Dvyāśrayakāvya* which credits Jayasiṁha with the building of temples, to several gods and goddesses, but among them there is no mention of that of Sūrya. Even the recently discovered *Sarasvatī Purāṇa* makes a cursory reference to a temple of the Sun, known as Bhāyala Svāmi, who is said to be formerly worshipped by Jayasiṁha, when it stood on the banks of the Sahasralinga talao.[2]

All the epigraphical references belong to the late mediaeval period. The first tells us that Vastupāla, the famous Jaina minister, had installed (somewhere) two images of the consorts of Sūrya, Ratnadevī, and Rājadevī.[3] Besides Sun's consorts, his son, Revanta, was also worshipped in certain parts of Kāthiāwār, as that is referred to in an inscription of Sāraṅgadeva from Vanthli.[4] The instance from northern Gujarāt is interesting. It says that a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara of Varddhi-*pathaka* gave some grants for the maintenance of the temples of Bāla-Nārāyaṇa and Rūpa-Nārāyaṇa.[5] These temples, unless they be of Viṣṇu, under his local names, seem to be of Sūrya, or of a composite aspect of Sūrya and Viṣṇu. Even now there are some temples in Gujarāt which are called by the name of Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa, the cult image being a combination of Sūrya and Viṣṇu.

Instances mentioning Sūrya-cult in southern Gujarāt, at this period, have already been considered before.[6]

Widespread prevalence of the Sun-cult all over Gujarāt is thus indicated by epigraphical evidence, which, though meagre, is representative, coming as it does, from the various divisions of Gujarāt. This view is strengthened by the distribution of monumental remains of the cult at Modhera, Thān and Prābhas,[7] and by a number of stone sculptures of the pantheon, among which the two composite images of Sūrya[8] seem to support the interpretation of the names Rūpa-Nārāyaṇa and Ballāla-Nārāyaṇa.

[1] *Appendix*, No. 253 A-B.
[2] See Dave, *Mahārājādhirāj*, p. 291.
[3] *Appendix*, No. 224.
[4] *Ibid.*, No. 245.
[5] *Ibid.*, No. 235.
[6] Above, p. 213.
[7] Above, p. 137.
[8] Above, p. 162-63.

Saivism

For other forms of Brahmanism there is no evidence from Gujarāt proper at present. Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra* and the earliest Jaina Sūtras, both presumably from and of the Gangetic plains, speak of temples of Aparājita (Viṣṇu), Śiva, Apratihata (Kārttikeya), Indra, Vaijayanta, Vaiśravaṇa,[1] and festivals in respect of Indra, Rudra, Mukunda[2] respectively. Epigraphical evidence from nearer Gujarāt, from Rājputāna in the north, and Deccan-Konkan in the south, indicates the existence of Vāsudeva-Saṅkarṣaṇa worship[3], as well as that of the Vedic gods Indra, Yama and Varuṇa[4]—practically in the whole of Western India. Gujarāt could have hardly remained unaffected from either or both of its neighbours. That it did not remain unaffected is proved by the Uṣavadāta inscription which, about two centuries later, informs us of the Brahmanic (?) holy places in Kāthiāwār, northern and sourthern Gujarāt, and records gifts to gods and Brāhmaṇas there. Unfortunately these 'gods' were so well-known that they are not specified. Nor was it thought desirable or necessary to do so in the Girnar Inscription of Rudradāman. But one of these gods might be Śiva and his cult popular, for it is one of his epithets—Rudra—that the Kṣatrapas choose to adopt and use in their names, though profession of Śiva-cult is not found in their *birudas*, used in their Gujarāt inscriptions.[5]

Of Śaivism in the Gupta period in Gujarāt, till now, no traces have been found. But monuments from Mālwā, C. P., and U. P., for instance, speak of its flourishing state. Guptas' contemporaries in Lāṭa, the Traikūṭakas, seem to be 'Vaiṣṇavas'. Their successors, the Kaṭaccūrīs, were followers of Śiva as Paśupati. It is in their records that we get the earliest epigraphical allusions to Pāśupata forms of Śaivism, for we are first told that Kṛṣṇarāja was solely devoted to Paśupati, whereas his *dūtaka* actually calls himself a Pāśupata.[6]

Śaivism perhaps missed the royal patronage during the rule of early Gurjjaras, who worshipped the Sun.[7] But the later ones, with Dadda III,

[1] Kauṭalya, *Arthaśāstra*, *ISS.*, I, p. 129.

[2] *Ācārānga Sūtra*, *SBE.*, XXII, p. 92.

[3] *EI.*, X, Appendix, p. 2, No. 7 and *EI.*, XXII, p. 198.

[4] Nanaghat Inscription, *BG.*, XVIII, iii.

[5] But an inscription (*EI.*, XVI. p. 232) from Mālwā of Svāmi Jīvadāman calls him worshipper of Svāmi Mahāsena.

[6] Cf. *Appendix*, No. 258.

[7] Could it be because they belonged to the Gurjara tribe, which is supposed to be allied to Mihiras?

(c. 680 A. D.) became Śaivas, but of what particular sect is not suggested by the epithet *paramamāheśvara*. This conversion to Brahmanism is also indicated by the fact that these 'foreigners' now trace their descent from the Puranic Karṇa, study Manu and other *smṛtis*, and become protectors of the *Varṇāśrama*. Only one epigraphical reference to a temple (which might become archaeological by the find of the actual temple) of Āśramadeva bears out this conversion to Śaivism. The temple, from its very name,[1] appears to be that of Śiva.[2] It was situated in Karajju or the modern Kimoj village, and some land was granted to it by Jayabhaṭṭa III (736 A. D.). So far this is the earliest reference to a temple in Gujarāt anti-dating the Sun temple at Kāvi by about a century.

Both Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism of Gujarāt should have been enriched by the Cālukyas and Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who did enrich Karṇaṭaka and the Deccan with cave and structural temples. Not only is there an absence of archæological evidence but their epigraphs also make no mention of a Śiva or Viṣṇu temple erected or patronized by them. We are therefore left to fall back upon their profession of faith and its likely influence upon Gujarāt.[4]

Some of the Cālukya kings were Śaivas.[5] In particular, their inscriptions mention Svāmi Mahāsena[6] or Kārttikeya,[7] son of Śiva, and the seven Mātṛkas (Mothers or śaktis). It is difficult to say how far these particular leanings of the Cālukyas influenced Gujarāt. As far as I know, figures of Kārttikeya are very rare on Gujarāt temples, and much less the cult, though according to the *Kaumārikākhaṇḍa* of the *Skandapurāṇa*, the region near

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[1] Temples of Siva are usually known by the place, a tree (under which the *liṅga* is set up), name of the donor etc.

[2] This inference is supported by Bühler, who found an old *liṅga* in the modern temple, and numerous others with curious brick structures, in Kimoj and other neighbouring villages. *IA.*, V, p. 109.

[3] Possibly not sought for.

[4] Archaeological survey, earlier in this work, has shown no positive evidence of Cālukya or Rāṣṭrakūta architectural or sculptural influence upon that of later Gujarāt, but it is perhaps because southern Gujarāt is not thoroughly explored, and so very few old temples have come to light.

[5] The epithet 'Paramamāheśvara' is not used with any uniformity in the Cālukyan inscriptions.

[6] *Appendix*, No. 34.

[7] *Ibid.*, No. 35 and 39, I do not think 'Kārttikeya' here means 'six mothers', as sometimes it does, as pointed out by Ramachandran, *Three Main Styles*, p. 7, fn. 12, because *saptamātṛs* are also mentioned. Or does *saptamātṛbhiḥ* mean seven elements and nurtured (*abhivardhita*) on them, as it is further qualified?

Cambay was called Gupta or Kumārikākṣetra. And here, after the battle with Tārākāsura (who was killed by Skanda), *liṅga* worship was established.[1]

Whether this story has any relation to the Guptas (under whose influence the Purāṇas are believed to have come into prominence) who are known to be admirers, if not worshippers of Skanda,[2] cannot be decided at present.

It should be noted that whereas the Gupta inscriptions and coins mention Kumāra, Kārttikeya and Skanda, the Cālukya mention only Kārttikeya and Svāmi Mahāsena.[3] According to the *āgamas* these are a few of the many names of Subrahmaṇya, an "exclusively South-Indian deity."[4] But among them I do not find Svāmi Mahāsena, though it may be Svāminātha of the list.[5] The origin of this name is not given, but it, as well as Svāmi Mahāsena of the inscriptions, seems to owe to the fact that Skanda or Kārttikeya was the leader of the army of gods (cf. Devasenāpati).[6]

Gopinath Rao does not trace the evolution of the cult of Subrahmaṇya in South India. But his figure at Ellora,[7] if it could be dated, might point to one of the stages. In this connection may be cited the Mānasāra, a work of the 6th-8th century,[8] which mentions Subrahmaṇya.[9]

Though the early Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan were great Śaivas, the inscriptions of their successors and of the branch line from Gujarāt rarely call themselves "Paramamāheśvaras".[10] So from this source[11] also we cannot estimate the influence of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Śaivism on Gujarāt.

The Valabhī rulers, with the exception of Dhruvasena I (A.D. 519-49), who was a Bhāgavata, and Dharapaṭṭa (c. A.D. 550), who was a devotee of the Sun, all the rest were Śaivas. However, the Valabhī rulers were very catholic in their religious outlook, as all kings from Guhasena I downwards, irrespective of their creed, patronise Buddhism.

[1] First cited by Ratnamanirao Bhimrao in his *History of Cambay*, (in Gujarāti), p. 27; *Skanda Mahāpurāṇa*, *Kaumarikākhaṇḍa*, particularly *adhyāyas* 4 and 55.

[2] Cf. the names Skandagupta, Kumāragupta etc. and peacock on Gupta coins.

[3] Epigraphically, in South India, the earliest profession of this creed can be traced to the Ikśvākus of the Āndhradeśa, (*E.I.*, XX, p. 6); and to the Cutu Sātakarṇis of the Deccan and Karṇāṭaka, through the Kadambas and early Pallavas.

[4] Gopinath Rao, *Iconography*, II, ii, 415 and 428. [5] *Ibid.*

[6] For the iconographical description of Kārttikeya, Skanda and Devasenāpati, see *Ibid.*, pp. 433, 434 and 436.

[7] *Ibid.*, pl. cxxiv. [8] Acharya, *Indian Architecture*, p. 198.

[9] See Ramachandran, o.c., p. 7, fn. 12. [10] Though many of them were Saivas.

[11] As regards the so called Śiva figure on the seals of early Rāṣṭrakūṭas see above p. 181–82.

Insight into the nature of Valabhī Śaivism is given by only one inscription.[1] In it Śīlāditya I (A.D. 599–614) grants land to a temple of Mahādeva made by one Harināṭha. It has been supposed[2], and perhaps rightly, that the cult-object was a *liṅga* and not an image. Along with it there must be *Nandī*, (the vehicle of Śiva), as it figures on a few Valabhī coins and the seal of copperplates. Probably the temple was private. But that in no way lessens its importance. The remark made on the sun-temple holds good here as well.

Goddesses also played an important part in the Valabhī Brahmanism.[4] Inscriptions mention two such goddesses, Pāṇarājyā[5] or Pāṇḍurāja[6] and Koṭṭammahikādevi.[7] Droṇasiṁha (AD. 502–03) granted a village for the maintenance and upkeep of the temple of the first goddess. So already as early as the end of the 5th century, temples of goddesses existed in Hastavapra (modern Hathab) in Kāthiāwār, (of which Pāṇarājyā is an instance).

The temple of Koṭṭammahikādevi, we are told, was first built by Droṇasiṁha in the *svatala* (boundary) of Trisaṅgamaka (modern Tarsamiā).[8] For some reason, the royal grant to the temple was stopped. It was resumed, and made permanent by Dhruvasena II (A.D. 639–40), who also repaired the temple. In Tarasamiyā a temple dedicated to Koṭṭarādevi existed when Jackson edited the grant. Unfortunately, he does not describe the temple, nor the image of the goddess. She might be some *śakti* of Śiva or a local goddess, as also the goddess Pāṇarājyā. Further identification of the goddesses is not possible, unless more details are available.

For the history of temples in Kāthiāwār, these references are of considerable importance. Chronologically they rank second, the first being that of Viṣṇu at Girinagara, built by Skandagupta.

Without any data, it is useless to speculate on the style or nature of the material used for these temples. It is not impossible that they could

[1] *Appendix*, No. 106. [2] Bühler, *Ibid.*

[3] *B. G.*, I, i, p. 83 suggests that Valabhī Saivism belonged to the old Pāśupata School of Nakuliśa or Lakuliśa. There are no data whatsoever for this assumption. That Kārvān (in Gujarāt, Gaikwar's territory) was the seat of Pāśupata worship proves nothing.

[4] Brahmanism is used advisedly, because the goddesses cannot be definitely relegated to the Śaivite pantheon.

[5] *JBBRAS.*, XX, p. 2. [6] *EI.*, XVI, 17.

[7] *JBBRAS.*, XX, pp. 9-10 [8] *Ibid.*, p. 6

be of stone. For the Gop temple (in Kāthiāwār) is not further removed from them in time, and is of stone.

Archaeology adds very little to this scanty epigraphical evidence of Śaivism in early mediaeval Kāthiāwār. The only definitely Śaiva temple of this period is the one at Bileśvara.[1] But there must be many more which await discovery.

Unlike the preceding periods, there is no dearth of materials to find out the religions prevalent in mediaeval Gujarāt. On the contrary, the literary evidence is abundant, and the aim of archaeology is to see how far it can be corroborated.

The leading religion of Gujarāt, according to the chronicles, Hindu as well as Jaina,[2] was Śaivism.[3] Somnāth (Somanātha) in Kāthiāwār was the most holy and famous shrine even in the 10th century, when Mūlarāja founded the Caulukya dynasty at Anahilvāda[4]. By building the Rudra-mahālaya at Sidhpur (Siddhapura), Mūlarāja sowed the seeds of its greatness in Northern Gujarāt. And it blossomed forth under Siddharāja Jayasiṁha, who built the Sahasraliṅga Talao, the lake with a thousand *liṅgas* of Śiva placed in small temples all round the bank of the lake, and further decorated the lake with temples of other gods and goddesses.[5] Kumārapāla did not give the same amount of patronage to Śaivism as Jayasiṁha, rather he preferred Jainism to it, though according to Hemacandra himself, he built a temple of Śiva, named Kumārapāleśvara at Aṇahilapura,[6] repaired the temple of Somnāth[7] and instructed Vāgbhaṭa to restore the

[1] See above p. 59 and 132.

[2] Hemacandra's *Dvyāśraya*, perhaps the earliest work in Caulukya Gujarāt, in cantos dealing with Mūlarāja and his successors till Jayasiṁha, hardly touches Jainism.

[3] It is used in a broad sense, including the cults of Devīs and so on.

[4] *Dvyāśraya* mentions Mūlarāja's pilgrimage to Somnāth after he defeated Graharipu of Saurāṣṭra, while the Bilhari Inscription of the Cedi rulers says that King Lakṣmaṇa-rāja about A. D. 960 worshipped Someśvara (Somanātha), whose shrine, from the context, was undoubtedly in the western region. *EI.*, I, p. 268.

[5] This famous lake and the various buildings on it are described by *Dvyāśraya*, XV, *ślokas*, 114-122. *KK.*, I. *ślokas*, 72-81. *HMM.*, act V, and others. But the most detailed description is in the *Sarasvatī Purāṇa*, which I believe is not yet published but an extract of it is given and discussed by Dave, *Mahārājādhirāj*, a small pamphlet in Gujarātī. Mr. P. L. Modi of Patan has also prepared a plan of the lake with all the temples on it. *It was shown to me when I was at Patan in 1936.*

[6] *DMK.*, XX, *śloka* 101. [7] *Ibid.*, *śloka* 95.

temple of Kedāra.[1] His successor, Ajayapāla, championed Śaivism with a ferocious zeal. And henceforward till the close of the dynasty, it received a steady support.

The ministers Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla did much for Jainism under the Vāghelās, still the state religion was Śaivism, which it remained upto the end of the dynasty.

Epigraphical evidence, if not overwhelming, is quite conclusive. It shows the same preponderance of the Śaiva cults over others. Again it also shows the fashion of the age, namely, to make grants to a temple which was but faintly visible in the preceding period.

Mūlarāja himself seems to have set the practice. One of his grants[2] is to a temple of Mūlanātha (perhaps called after him) in Maṇḍalī in Varddhi *Viṣaya*.[3] In this very inscription, a reference is made to the Rudramahālaya at Śrīsthala (Sidhpur). According to Merutuṅga[4] it was Somanātha of Kāthiāwār who inspired Mūlarāja to build Śiva temples in Gujarāt, which led to the increased spread of Śaivism in the province.

No epigraphs of his successors, Cāmuṇḍa and Bhīma, have yet been discovered, which mention grants to temples. Nor do the few extant inscriptions throw any light on their religious tendencies;[5] a later inscription, however, does credit Bhīma I with the building of the Somanātha temple in stone.[6] Karṇa granted some land to the temple of Ṭhakkura Mahādeva at Sūnak[7].

Of Jayasiṁha, whom the chronicles and legends of Gujarāt credit with the building of temples, almshouses, wells and so on, unfortunately very few inscriptions have been found in Gujarāt proper. One of these[8] refers to the building of a temple of Vināyaka (Gaṇeśa) and Goddess Bhaṭṭārikā. Surprisingly none of the inscriptions of his successors also

[1] *Ibid*, *śloka* 91–92. [2] *Appendix*, No. 159.

[3] Modern villages of Maṇḍala in Wadhwan. Bühler, *Ibid.*, p. 193, f. n. says that he searched for this temple at Maṇḍala, but found no traces. But he believed that the temple stood on the south side of the *talao*, where there were many stone sculptures.

[4] This is how I interpret Merutuṅga's words:

He (Mūlarāja) went continually every Monday on a pilgrimage to Someśvarapattana out of devotion to God Siva.....(Somanātha) was so pleased with his devotion that he came to the town of Maṇḍalī. *PBC.*, p. 25.

[5] Bhīma I, however, does seem to be a Saiva, for he is said to worship "Bhavānīpati", while Karṇa may be a Vaiṣṇava; one of his inscriptions, *JBBRAS.*, XXVI (N. S.) p. 26 begins with an invocation to Vāsudeva.

[6] *Appendix*, No. 202. [7] *Ibid.*, No. 168. [8] *Ibid.*, No. 177.

mentions the famous Sahasraliṅga Talao. His claim to be a great champion of Śaiva cults, therefore, rests on the chronicles only.

Kumārapāla may have championed Jainism, but he did not neglect the cause of Śaivism. He built a Śiva temple at Ānandapura[1] (modern Vaḍnagar), repaired the temple of Somanātha,[2] and granted villages to the temples of Samiddheśvara and Ūḍaleśvara in Chitor[3] and Udayapur[4] (Gwalior) respectively.

The last of the Caulukyas, Bhīma II, also seems to be a great worshipper of Somanātha. He built the Someśvara *maṇḍapa* called Meghadhvani[5] (in front of or adjoining the Somanātha temple), donated villages for the maintenance of Bhīmeśvara and Līleśvara temples[6] and for others built by his queen and vassals.

Rulers of the branch line, from Vīsaladeva to Sāraṅgadeva, were all followers of Śiva, though the last was also inclined towards Kṛṣṇa-worship.[7]

But, besides the Caulukya kings, feudatories as well as citizens actively patronized Śaivism. In Kāthiāwār Somanātha was not the only Śaiva temple. Five others temples of Śiva were built by Tripurāntaka in A. D. 1287 during the reign of Sāraṅgadeva.[8] They were situated to the north of the temple of Someśvara, close to the old Ghaṭikālaya, and called (1) Mālhaṇeśvara, after Tripurāntaka's mother Mālhaṇa; (2) Umeśvara; (3) Urneśvara; (4) Tripurāntakeśvara and (5) Rameśvara after Tripurāntakā and his wife. "The temples were surrounded by a wall and an arch adorned the principal entry into the enclosure, which had to be made on the north side, as the great temple of Someśvara lay to the south and east and to the west, the sea."[9] While in the centre of the town stood the temples of Śrī Baūleśvara and Śrī Naghaṇeśvara.[10]

Another important religious centre seems to be Talājā (Talājhā), in south-eastern Kāthiāwār. Here no less than six temples of various Hindu and Jaina deities existed in the 13th century, to which a grant of land was made by Mehara king Jagamalla in the reign of Bhīma II.[11] Four of these, (1) Sūisareśvara, (2) Sohiṇeśvara, (3) Caūṇḍeśvara, and Pṛthivideviśvara seem to be Śaiva.

Further up, in northern Gujarāt, besides the temple of Mūleśvara at Maṇḍali and of Ṭhakkura Mahādeva at Sūnak, feudatories of Bhīma II, Vīrama, son of Lūṇapasāka, built the temple of Vīrameśvara at Ghusaḍī,

1 *Ibid.*, No. 200. 2 *Ibid.*, No. 202. 3 *Ibid.*, No. 184.
4 *Ibid.*, No. 196. 5 *Ibid.*, No. 228. 6 *Ibid*, No. 211
7 See below. 8 *Ibid.*, No. 244, verse 40. 9 *Ibid.*, p. 276.
10 *Ibid.*, No. 236 11 *Ibid.*, No. 212.

and Rāṇā Luṇapasāka himself built the temples of Salakhaṇeśvara and Ānaleśvara at Salakhaṇapura; while Bhīma's wife, Sūmaladevī, built a temple called Sūmaleśvara.[1]

In southern Gujarāt a Śiva temple stood at Sārnal, which was patronised by the Paramāra Sīyaka in the 10th century.[2] Three centuries later the temple of Uttareśvara was repaired at Mahiṁsaka, near Ahmadabad in the time of Vīsaladeva[3]; while further south, this king himself built and restored the temple of Vaidyanātha at Dabhoi,[4] near Baroda.

Śaivism of this period, according to the chronicles, embraced many aspects that we now know of. Liṅga-worship, of course, was the most popular. The famous shrine of Ṣomanātha had no image but a *liṅga*, while the building of Sahasraliṅga talao at Anhilvāda is another indication of its popularity. But many other forms of gods and goddesses connected with Śiva were common as well. Hemacandra, for instance, mentions that Jayasiṁha had built 108 temples of the goddess Caṇḍī and others on the bank of the lake.[5]

Epigraphs do not enlighten us much. The names of temples, very often, are after the name of the builder,[6] a tendency which, so far as the epigraphical evidence from Gujarāt is concerned, seems to be peculiar to this period, but outside Gujarāt it is found as early as the 4th century A.D.[7] These, therefore, do not tell us anything about the nature of the deity. But probably it was the *liṅga*[8] which was enshrined in these temples. The kings usually are called worshippers of *Aṁbikāpati* and *Bhavānīpati* which are synonyms of Śiva.

It was, perhaps, either the manner of worshipping the *liṅga*, according to the rules of various Śaiva sects, which we meet with now, or the particular aspect of Śiva they emphasized, that really differentiated the various forms of Śaivism, the cult image being the same in all sects.

[1] *Ibid.*, Nos. 219, 224, 226.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 263.

[3] *Ibid*, No. 232.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 233.

[5] *Dvyāśraya*, XV, 118. The Sarasvatī Purāṇa mentions all the 108 goddesses, and adds the following temples: Nakuliśa, Mahāsena, Mahākāla, Kapāleśvara etc. See Dave, o. c., p. 290.

[6] Cf. above, p. 121.

[7] Cf. the names of the images Upamiteśvara and Kapileśvara, after the teachers Upamita and Kapila, in the Mathura Pillar Ins. of Candragupta II. *EI.*, XXI, pp. 8-9.

[8] Cf. Bhandarkar, *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Pasupata Sect

Existence of the Pāśupata (or Lakulīśa) sect in Kāthiāwār is implied by the Prabhās Pātaṇ Inscription of the time of Kumārapāla[1] and its continuance there by the Cintra Praśasti of Sāraṅgadeva.[2] According to one way of interpreting the text[3] of the first record, it may be said that the cult of Pāśupata spread, through the efforts of Gaṇḍa Bṛhaspati, to Gujarāt, from Benares, through Kanauj and Mālwā, and was established at Somanātha under Gaṇḍa himself.

The other interpretation[4] would suggest that the temple of Somanātha was a home of the Pāśupata sect before Gaṇḍa visited it. But the temple (and also perhaps the cult) had fallen into disuse and ruin, so Gaṇḍa came to Somanātha to protect it. This interpretation is supported by the Cintra Praśasti, which traces the origin of the sect at Kārohaṇa in Lāṭa (S. Gujarāt).[5]

The inscription does not give sufficient indication to decide whether the Pāśupata sect was allied to the worshippers of Lakulīśa or not, though Gaṇḍa himself is compared to Nakulīśa;[6] whereas there is no evidence that the shrine of Somanātha had any other image but *liṅga*.[7] As

[1] *BPSI.*, p. 186. Its chief, Gaṇḍa Bṛhaspati, according to the inscription, started from Benares (where Nandiśvara, a gaṇa of Śiva, was born and worshipped Paśupati) and after preaching Pāśupata worship in Dhārā, Mālava and Kānyakubja came to Jayasiṁha in Gujarāt, who gave him the greatest respect. And when he entreated Kumārapāla to repair the temple of Somanātha, the king agreed and appointed him head priest of the temple.

[2] *Appendix*, No. 244.

[3] The expression "with a view to make the kings adopt the cult of....." line 7, *BPSI.*, p. 186.

[4] Based on the text that "Gaṇḍa wanted to protect the abode of Pāśupata".... and "he found Somanātha's temple in a dilapidated condition and requested Kumārapāla to repair it," lines 7 and 11.

[5] *EI.*, I, p. 281.

[6] Bhandarkar equated the Lakulīśa sect with Pāśupatas; and he places the origin of the sect in about 1st century A.D. See *ASIAR.*, 1906-7, p. 189; *JBBRAS.*, Vol. XXII, p. 151 and *EI.*, XXI, pp. 4-8. According to Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, I. i. p. 17, the Lakulīśa sect was first known as Pāśupata, but later as Lakulīśa Pāśupata. He pushes back the antiquity of the sect to the 7th century, and gives a useful summary of the philosophy and subdivisions of the sect.

[7] Unless it was a *Liṅgodbhavamūrti* as at Kārvan. This would also support the statement of a Muslim chronicler, Habi Bu-S Siyar, (Elliot, IV p 181) that the Ghazni army obtained the idol whose name was Lāṭ.

The above discussion is undertaken under the presumption that the mention of Lakulīśa implies the existence of cult-image of that deity as known in iconography.

a matter of fact *liṅga pratiṣṭhā* is actually mentioned by the Cintra Praśasti.[1]

Further evidence of the Pāśupata sect is given by the Mangrol Inscription[2] which records the building of a temple called Sahajigeśvara, and is signed by "Pra", the great Pāśupatāchārya. Unfortunately, the inscription tells us nothing about the temple itself, from which it can be said that the image it contained was that of Lakulīśa.

Under the circumstances, it is best to say that a sect of Pāśupatas existed in Kāthiāwār, and perhaps in Northern Gujarāt also[3], in the 12th and 13th centuries A. D.

No sculptures of Lakulīśa have so far been published or reported from Gujārat or Kāthiāwār. But they have been found in abundance from Rājputāna and elsewhere,—all however of the mediaeval period.[4] Of the early period only two sculptures have been noticed till now,—the first[5], a standing figure, really a statue, carved on a pilaster which bears the Gupta inscription cited above and belonging to the 4th century A. D., the second a sculpture in the Dumar Lena cave at Ellora.[6]

Amarddaka Sect

Another Śaiva sect was Āmarddaka,[7] whose followers were called *Āmarddakasantāna*. Āmarddaka is a name of Bhairava (meaning one who kills bad persons)[8] who is a form of Śiva himself.[9] But it appears from the names of the ācāryas mentioned—Maheśvarācārya and Śivadevācārya, and also from the fact that Bhairava is not mentioned among the deities worshipped by the Pāśupatas, that this sect is not connected with Pāśupata worship.[10] It is worth noting that this inscription throws important light

But it is not improbable that the cult-image was a *liṅga* only, which was however worshipped under the name of Lakulīśa or Paśupati.

[1] *Appendix*, No. 244. [2] *Appendix*, No. 181.

[3] Perhaps the temple and *maṭha* at Maṇḍali built by Mūlarāja had also come under the Pāśupata sect, as the ending *rāśi* of the head priest Vedagarbharāśi, a test suggested by Bhandarkar, o. c., p. 188, would show. See *Ibid.*, No. 217.

[4] See *ASIAR.*, 1906-07, pp. 184-88. [5] See *EI.*, XXI, p. 8.

[6] *ASWI.*, Vol. V, pl. 37 fig. 1.

[7] In the introduction to this inscription Bühler spelt the word with a single 'd', though the text gives double, 'd'.

[8] Rao., o c., II, i, p. 176.

[9] *Śiva Purāṇa* regards him as a full form of Siva. *Ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 20-30; though to a lay Hindu, Pāśupatas, Bhairava worshippers, etc. are all one.

on the forms of Bhairava. Perhaps he was worshipped under this name, Āmarddaka, which though known, is not found among the sculptures at Ellora nor anywhere in South India.[1]

The inscription does not give any clue as to whether the sect was founded in Kāthiāwār or elsewhere. But two other inscriptions[2] from outside Gujarāt mention Āmardaka as a *tīrtha* where, it appears, the sect was first started. Unfortunately they supply no details to identify the place.[3]

Capala Sect

Another sect connected with Śaivism is mentioned by an Ābu inscription of the reign of Bhīma II.[4] It is called Cāpala or Capalīya after the Capaliya *gotra* of Tāpasa, who belonged to the Nūtana *maṭha* in Āvanti, and later became the head of Caṇḍikāśrama there. From that place, its priests migrated to Kanakhala[5] in Achalgadh, Mt. Abu, where they built and repaired Śiva temples known as Koteśvara, Aṭulanātha, Śūlapāṇi, and Kanakhala Śaṁbhu.[6]

Three points may be noted as to the nature of this sect:—

(1) It might have been a branch of the Pāśupata sect of Ujjain, as the names of the majority of its ācāryas end in '*-rāśi*'.[7]

(2) A woman also could be the head of the *maṭha*, for the inscription mentions one Yāgeśvarī, pupil of Maunirāśi and the teacher of Durvāsarāśi.[8]

(3) It might have also been a branch of the Lakulīśa sect, as a figure of Lakulīśa is sculptured on the gateway of one of the ancient temples found in the vicinity of Acaleśvara.[9]

[1] The evidence is not exhaustive, being based on Rao, o.c., who does not give a single figure of Bhairava under Āmarddaka.

[2] Ranad Ins., *EI.*, I, p. 352 and Rajor Ins. of Mathanadeva, *EI.*, III, p, 264.

[3] Cf. Saletore, *Ancient Karnataka*, Vol. I., p. 391, where an attempt is made to identify the Āmaṛtaka *Maṭha*. From the discussion it would appear that Lakulīśa sects existed in Karṇāṭaka in the 10th century. But, in the present state of our knowledge, it is not possible to fix the birth-place of these Lakulīśa sects.

[4] *Appendix*, No. 213.

[5] Represented perhaps by the modern hamlet of Uria, where there are ruins of very old temples, See *Raj. Gaz.*, Vol. III-i, p. 296.

[6] Remains of these temples might be found among the ruins strewn about the modern temple of Acaleśvara. See *Ibid.*, and *ASIWC.*, 1906-07, p. 28 and also for 1900-01.

[7] E.g. Vākalarāśi, Jyeṣṭarāśi...Kedārarāśi. *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.* Cf. Saletore, *l. c.* where the sage Durvāsas is mentioned as a spiritual founder of a Śaiva (Lakulīśa) sect. [9] See *ASIWC.*, 1906-07, p. 28.

Ganesa

Temples to Gaṇeśa exclusively are rarely found in Nothern India, though his sculptures are met with in almost all temples. When, therefore, an inscription of Jayasiṁha refers to a temple of Bhaṭṭārikādevī together with that of Vināyaka (a name of Gaṇeśa),[1] it is of great consequence for the history of the cult in Northern India. It is possible, as the editor says, that the temple referred to is the ruined temple now existing,[2] on the southern side of which there is a shrine which contains a broken image of Gaṇeśa. The name of the goddess Bhaṭṭārikā means nothing iconographically.

Another inscription[3] also refers to a temple of Gaṇeśa under the name Gaṇeśvara. It records that Vastupāla built a *maṇḍapa* of the temple of Gaṇeśvara in the village of Ganuli. Though the place is not identified, the find-place[4] suggests the existence of Gaṇeśa cult in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār in the 12th century A. D.[5]

Archaeology confirms the testimony of chroniclers and the records of inscriptions. It has shown a vast and close distribution of Śiva temples in the Saraswatī valley, the home of the Caulukyas, and also in Kāthiāwār, even from a partial exploration of the country.[6] Also it has given insight (though not much, because of the difficulty of identifying the figures in the absence of descriptions and photographs) into the nature of Śaivism. Briefly, *liṅga* was the cult image, but Śiva was known in many forms. Unfortunately no evidence has been secured for Lakulīśa worship except from Kārvān. And though no temple of Gaṇeśa and a few only of Devīs have been discovered, their sculptures have shown their widespread influence among the people. What is now required is to take up the clue given by epigraphs, and search for the temples mentioned by them at Somnāth, Talājā and elsewhere.

Vaisnavism

There are no clear indications for the prevalence of Vaiṣṇavism in Gujarāt-Kāthiāwār, prior to the Gupta contact in the 4-5th century A. D. What has been said before in the introduction to Śaivism should be borne in mind. With

[1] *Appendix*, No. 177.

[2] Between Gala and Dudapura, 8 miles (or 4 east) of Dhragadhara, Kāthiāwār. At present there exists only the hall and the outer entrance 8′4″ × 6′4″ and on the south the shrine mentioned above.

[3] *Appendix*, No. 224. [4] As suggested by the previous inscription.

[5] It should be noted that though the shrines of Gaṇeśa may be very common in South India, as Rao, o. c , I, i. p. 47 says, still he has not cited any shrine of Gaṇeśa that is older than the 11th or 12th century A. D. The earliest seems to be the Nṛtta Gaṇapati, Hoysaleśvara temple, Haleḅidu. *Ibid*,, pl. XVI.

[6] See above p. 132.

definite evidence of the existence of Viṣṇu cult at Nagari, Besnagar and Nānāghāt, it is, perhaps, sheer ill-luck and partly apathy on our part that Kāthiāwār, which Pauranically was the second home of Kṛṣṇa, has so far not provided us with evidence of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa-cult.

Be that as it may, at about the end of the ancient period, the existence or the introduction (?) of the Viṣṇu-worship in Kāthiāwār is proved by the mention of a temple of Cakrapāṇi at Girinagara in Skandagupta's inscription, while its prevalence in southern Gujarāt, at about the same time, may be sought for in the titles '*Parama Bhāgavata*' and '*Parama Vaiṣṇava*' of the Traikūṭakas.

Its subsequent history in southern Gujarāt is pessimistic. None of the rulers of the three successive dynasties after the Traikūṭakas even calls himself a '*Parama Bhāgavata*', though allusions to the *avatāras* or stories of Viṣṇu are found in the eulogistic portions of their inscriptions. But this may be a conventional usage, often bodily borrowed from some illustrious predecessors, and not a true index to the religious susceptibilities of the kings or even of the writers of these records.

With the Cālukyas, Varāha and Nṛsimha *avatāras*, and stories of Kṛṣṇa and Purāṇas, were popular as shown by their inscriptions and monuments in Karṇāṭaka. But the brief duration of their rule, and the comparative absence of materials to excavate caves or build temples in southern Gujarāt after the Karṇāṭaka fashion, were perhaps the reasons why these Viṣṇu forms did not get a footing in Gujarāt.

Identical may be the case with that of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Vaiṣṇavism and its effect on Gujarāt. Their seal however has a figure of Garuḍa[1], which usually symbolises Viṣṇu cult. But in some cases it has a figure of *devī* and so many other symbols[2], that it can only be said that the cult was strongly tinged with that of Śiva.

The evidence from Kāthiāwār is also scanty. Only one of the rulers of Valabhī, Dhruvasena II, seems to be a Vaiṣṇava, as he calls himself a *Parama Bhāgavata*. But some important information is casually given by an inscription of the Senāpati Simhāditya.[3] 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 Kāthiāwār. Now this is the first and perhaps the only early epigraphical reference to Kṛṣṇa's Dwarka and its supposed survival upto the 7th century.

Excluding the Varāha temple at Kadvār, which, as said before, seems to continue the Gupta tradition,[4] and the holy places at Junāgarh,

[1] See above p. 182
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Appendix*, No. 250.
[4] Above p. 137.

Dāmodara-*kuṇḍa* etc., (which might date back to the Gupta period or to the 16th century when Narasimha Mehta greatly popularised the Kṛṣṇapūjā), no archaeological evidence has yet come forth to throw light on the early mediaeval Vaiṣṇavism.

For Vaiṣṇavism in mediaeval Gujarāt, chroniclers have not much to say. None of the Caulukyas built a temple of Viṣṇu in the spirit in which he built temples to Śiva. Hemacandra, no doubt, says that Jayasiṁha built a temple containing the ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu on the banks of the Sahasralinga Talao.[1] This, however, shows nothing but the eclecticism of the period, and the fact that Viṣṇu worship did exist. But the contrast it affords is evident.

Epigraphic evidence fully confirms this view. So far, only one inscription has been found which refers to a Viṣṇu temple exclusively, while another refers to a Viṣṇu temple along with Śiva's. Reference to Viṣṇu *avatāras*, however, is quite common. According to the former, the Dohad inscription of the time of Jayasiṁha and Kumārapāla[2], a *mantri* appointed by Jayasiṁha at Dadhipadra (modern Dohad) built a temple of Goga Nārāyaṇa. To this some further donation was made in the time of Kumārapāla. Besides this, there is a reference to two temples of Rūpanārāyaṇa and Ballālanārāyaṇa.[3] All the three seem to be local names of Viṣṇu as Nārāyaṇa, or of the composite forms of Sūrya and Viṣṇu, as suggested above[4]. An indirect reference to a Viṣṇu temple is made by Śrīdhara's Deva-Patan Praśasti.[5] Here we are told that one Śrīdhara built a temple called Rohiṇīsvāmi containing the images of Keśava and others.[6] The name of the temple suggests that it was dedicated to Balabhadra, brother of Kṛṣṇa and the husband of Rohiṇī.

Existence of Kṛṣṇa cult is indicated by the Anāvāḍā stone inscription of Sāraṅgadeva of (V). S. 1348.[7] From it, it appears that the cult was perhaps spread by Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*. For the inscription quotes the opening stanza of the work mentioned and records gifts etc. for the worship, offering and theatricals in honour of Kṛṣṇa.[8]

Here then we have important evidence of the rise (?) of Kṛṣṇa worship in Gujarāt, and of Gujarāt's connection with the outer world, for Jayadeva

[1] *Dvyāśraya*, XV, *śloka* 119. [2] *Appendix*, No. 173 and 182.

[3] *Appendix*, No. 235. [4] Above pp. 162–64. [5] *Appendix*, No. 215.

[6] I do not see how the editors get two temples. I interpret the broken line no. 34 : *Rohiṇīsvāmināmnā Keśavādayaḥ*, as mentioned above.

[7] *Appendix*, No. 245 A.

[8] Also the name of Sāraṅgadeva himself reminds us of Kṛṣṇa's famous bow, Sāraṅga.

flourished under King Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal in the last quarter of the 12th century.

Comparative silence of contemporary literature and scanty epigraphic references to Viṣṇu temples are borne out by the monumental survey. Exclusive Viṣṇu shrines are few, though figures of Viṣṇu and his *avatāras* are found in Sūrya and Śiva temples.

On the forms of Viṣṇu, particularly Kṛṣṇa, archaeology has not thrown much light, excepting such forms as Trailokyamohana, which seem to be peculiar to Gujarāt. Familiarity only with the two famous episodes from Kṛṣṇa's life,—the Kālīyamardana and the Govardhanoddharaṇa,—is evinced by the ceilings at Mt. Abu, Manod, Somnāth and Mangrol.

Buddhism

The edicts of Aśoka on the way to Mt. Girnār furnish us with the earliest evidence of the existence of Buddhism in Kāthiāwār. It might have been promulgated there, as in Southern Gujarāt (Aparānta), the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions tell us,[1] by the Buddhists of Ceylon (Siṁhaladvipa). The name of one of these Buddhists, according to Aśoka's edicts[2] from other places, and the *Dīpavaṁśa*[3] and *Mahāvaṁśa*,[3] was Dharmarakṣita.

Besides Junāgarh, other places where the Buddhists, seem to have colonised were Talājā and Sānā, where caves and sanctuaries of the early type survive.[4] The character of these monuments suggests that this Buddhism was of early Hīnayāna type (as it must be, for Mahāyāna developed later).

No direct evidence of its continuance here is available after Aśoka. But it would appear that during the Indo-Greek occupation of Kāthiāwār and Southern Gujarāt or during the Kṣaharāta regime, the religion flourished in the whole of Western India. For a number of Buddhists from this region contributed to the excavation of caves at Kanheri, Karli, Junnar and Nasik. Among these donors we have to note the work of two brothers Buddhamitra and Buddharakṣita. They lived in Bhṛgukaccha, having gone there from Laṅka (Ceylon), and were the sons of Assamasa (Aśvaśarma?), perhaps a Vaiśya dealer in horses. That is their father and they were not originally Buddhists. But Aśvaśarman's sons, on being converted to Buddhism, donated a two-celled cave at Junnar.[5]

1 *EI.*, XX, p 22 (Ins. F.)

2 Fifth Edict.

3 Ch. XVI and VIII respectively.

4 See above pp. 51-53.

5 *ASWI.*, IV, p. 96, No. 19; *Luders's List* No, 1169; *EI.*, X, App., p, 133.

This solitary instance indicates in no uncertain degree the strength of Buddhism in southern Gujarāt and of its contacts with the outer world.

How long the Buddhists were a force in these parts cannot be ascertained now. Very little archaeological or other evidence of their settlements can be had from the Kṣatrapa and Gupta periods (c. 100 A. D.–475 A. D.)

But we know from the inscriptions of the kings of Valabhī and the accounts of the Chinese travellers Hiuen Tsiang and I-Tsing that both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna flourished there for about 250 years (c. 520 A. D.–770 A. D.)

How did these branches of Buddhism which seemed to be obsolete in the preceding age suddenly spring up at Valabhī in the 6th century A. D.? Correlation of the hitherto unused epigraphical evidence and the testimony of the Chinese travellers seem to provide an explanation of Buddhism's resurgence and nature at Valabhī. When Hiuen Tsiang visited Western India, everywhere he found monasteries and followers of the Hīnayāna Sammatīya and Mahāyāna Sthavira Schools. The former was more powerful. In Sind it had hundreds of monasteries and 10000 followers, in Cutch 80 monasteries and 5000 followers, and in Valabhī about 100 monasteries and 6000 followers.[1] The Sthavira School was stronger in a few places like Broach and Junāgarh.[2] I-Tsing[3] amply confirms Hiuen Tsiang's testimony. He says that the Ārya Sammatīya Nikāya was most flourishing in Lāṭa (Southern Gujarāt) and Sindhu (Sind).

The Sammatīya School, though as old as the 3rd century B. C., is believed to have come into prominence in the 5th century A. D., and established itself in Mālwā.[4] From here it spread to the west, and there revived with necessary modification (?) the Buddhism of Aśoka's time. The tenets of this school are not detailed by the travellers, but since Hiuen Tsiang calls it the Hīnayāna Sammatīya School and I-Tsing as Ārya Sammatīya Nikāya, it would seem that its tenets were not fundamentally different from those of the school described by the *Kathā Vatthu*, the fifth book of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. This work, though composed originally in the 3rd century B. C., is dated in its present form in the 5th century A. D., approximately contemporary with the rise and spread of the Sammatīyas in Western India.[1]

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[1] *Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, p. 266; Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 246.

[2] Beal, o. c., pp. 260 and 269 respectively; Watters, o. c., pp. 241 and 248 respectively.

[3] *Records of the Buddhist Religion*, p. XXIV.

[4] Dutt, *History of the Spread of Buddhism and Buddhist Schools*, pp. 296–302.

The Sammatīyas held "that an arhat, already in possession of Nirvāṇa, can fall away; that there is an 'intermediate state' (*antarbhava*); regarding the *karman*, that while there is a merit in giving, there is also a merit accruing to the giver by the use which a monk makes of the objects given; that even the declaration of non-killing etc., is a moral act; that a *pudgala*, a sort of body or soul, which was permanent, existed." The last was the most important tenent of the Sammatīya school, and for it they were violently condemned by all other Buddhist Schools. For this view went against the very basic principle, Kṣaṇikavāda, of Buddhism.

The epigraphical evidence corroborates to a certain extent the accounts of the travellers, whereas the true archaeological evidence, in its present state, is contradictory. According to the Valabhī inscriptions "Queen" Duḍḍā, cousin of King Dhruvasena I (A. D. 519-549) laid, perhaps, the temporal foundation of Buddhism by erecting a *vihāra* in or near Valabhī. Subsequently other *vihāras* were built by different persons or by the kings themselves. Of these the copperplates give the following names:—

1. Dūḍḍa Vihāra (A.D. 519-49).
2. Ācārya Bhadanta Buddhadāsa Vihāra (Do).
3. Mimmā near Bhaṭṭāraka's (A.D. 554-569).
4. Bappapāda Vihāra of Ācārya Bhadanta Sthiramati.
5. Yakṣāsura Vihāra for nuns–in Duḍḍa's (A. D. 599–614).
6. A Vihāra in Viṁśakata by Śīlāditya I (Do.)
7. Gohaka Vihāra in Duḍḍās (A.D. 627-42).
8. Puṇabhaṭṭa's Vihāra near Yakṣāsura for nuns (Do).
9. Skandabhaṭṭa's Vihāra in Yodhāvaka village (A.D. 642-89).
10. Vimalagupta Vihāra in Sthiramati's (A.D. 659-89).

Duḍḍā's Vihāra was very large, as it is often called a *Vihāra maṇḍala*, and, as mentioned above, many of the *vihāras*, were located in it. Irrespective of the number of *vihāras*, the epigraphs show that from King Dhruvasena I onwards, every Valabhi king upto Śīlāditya VII (c. 770 A.D.) actively patronised Buddhism.

These *vihāras* were built, as the inscriptions tell us, for three things:—

(1) To lodge the Buddhist Saṅgha which gathered together from different quarters, and consisted of Bhikṣus who practised the 18 Nikāyas.

(2) For the worship of the Buddha image.

(3) For the installation and maintenance (of a library) of books.

[1] *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, 11, pp. 168-169.

The reference to the Bhikṣus who practised the 18 Nikāyas would imply some Hinayāna school, most probably the Sammatīya, whereas the mention of the Buddha figure would ordinarily suggest the existence of Mahāyānists, unless the Hīnayānists at this period also worshipped the Buddha image. The latter alternative seems to be probable, because, though the excavations conducted by Father Heras at Valā did not bring to light any Buddhist sculptures, still the numerous finds of such figures from Brahmanabad, Mirpurkhas and other sites in Sind prove that in this province where the Sammatīyas numbered in thousands, the Buddha figure was worshipped. At Valabhī, therefore, the Hīnayānists might have been worshipping the Buddha.

If this interpretation be not accepted then the epigraphical references may be taken to refer to the Buddhist Saṅgha in general, a section of which was Mahāyānist and worshipped the Buddha. That Mahāyāna was also prevalent at Valabhī is suggested by Hiuen Tsiang who tells us that Sthiramati, a famous pandit of Nālandā had built a *vihāra* at Valabhī. This is confirmed by the epigraphs. It is possible that this intellectual contact might have been responsible for the growth of Mahāyāna at Valabhī. Its nature may be the same as practised by the Sthavira School, for followers of this school were found by Hiuen Tsiang in Junāgarh.

The reference to a library or libraries and the existence of so many *vihāras* would also imply an establishment, something like a university, to which an explicit reference is made by I-Tsing.[1] He compares Valabhī with Nālandā, and from his account it would appear that the courses of study at both the universities were more or less identical. (Valabhī might have laid greater emphasis on the study of Hīnayāna doctrines than those of the Mahāyāna). For the students who had passed a couple of years at these universities became famous for their knowledge.

Though Valabhī was a receiving centre of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhism, it should have been a radiating centre as well. Its thousands of monks and nuns should have influenced the culture of the sixth and the post-sixth-century Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwār. Little evidence now survives to show that it did.

Buddhism disappeared from Valabhī in the 8th century, and perhaps a couple of decades before from Sind, when the Arabs occupied the latter and destroyed the former. But in other parts of Western India it lingered on for a few centuries more, in Lāṭa at least till the 10th and in Koṅkan till the 12th century.

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1. *O. c.*, p. 177.

For the history of Buddhism in Lāṭa there is not much information. But a few references, epigraphical and others, prove beyond doubt that it did flourish in some part of Lāṭa. No hint whatsoever as to the prevalence of Buddhism can be had in the inscriptions of the Traikuṭakas, Kaṭaccūris, Gurjjaras and Cālukyas; nor from those of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas during their first 100 years rule in Lāṭa. But we are suddenly apprised of the existence of the religion when two solitary records of Dantivarmā and Dhruva[1] give preference to the salutation to Buddha over the usual Rāṣṭrakūṭa ones to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and others, and grant villages to the *Mahāvihāra* built by Kāmpilya Muni at Kāmpilya-*tīrtha*, (for the worship of Buddha and maintenance etc. of Buddhist Bhikṣus, who had come from Sind (Sindhu-*viṣaya*)[2] and who belonged to the Āryasāṅgha), at the request of Bhikṣu Sthiramati, in A.D. 857 and 884 A.D. respectively.

From the geographical information contained in both the inscriptions, it would appear that the *vihāra* was situated somewhere near Surat,[3] and not in U. P. as previously thought.[4]

The nature of the Buddhist School at Kāmpilya is perhaps explained by the terms 'Āryasaṅgha' and 'Sindhuviṣāyaśri Bhikṣusaṅgha.' These may refer to the Ārya Sammatīya Nikāya, which, as said before on the testimony of the Chinese travellers, flourished in Lāṭa.

Jainism

When did Jainism spread to Gujarāt-Kāthiāwār? The Jaina Sūtras and later literature would tell us that it had spread there from a remote antiquity, for the scene of the Renunciation of Neminātha, the 21st Tīrthaṅkara, was laid in Kāthiāwār.[5] For the present there is no archaeological evidence to substantiate this statement.

It is possible that the first wave of Jainism passed over Gujarāt-Kāthiāwār when Bhadrabāhu went to the south in the 4th century B. C. Definite evidence of its existence, however, in these parts is available from the Kṣatrapa period only. It consists primarily in the use of a Jaina technical term, '*Kevaliññāna*' etc. by an inscription of Jayadāman's grandson,[6] which was found in a cave at Junāgarh.

[1] *Appendix* Nos. 51 and 53.

[2] *Ibid.*, p 75, line 53. The editor of the inscription has missed this fact.

[3] As already pointed out by Dr. Altekar, *Ibid.*, p. 64.

[4] Bhandarkar, *EI.*, *VI*, p. 285.

[5] See Sankalia, 'The Great Renunciation of Neminātha', *I H Q.*, June 1940.

[6] *Appendix*, No. 10.

Confirmation of this interpretation comes from archaeological finds. The symbols[1] carved in the Bawa Pyara caves at Junāgarh seem to be Jaina, indicating that its occupants once were Jainas. Existence of similar early settlements in other parts of Kāthiāwār is attested by Jaina sculptures at Dhank.[2]

Of the condition of Jainism during the early mediaeval period in any of the sub-divisions of Gujarāt, there is a little epigraphical evidence, but none archaeological. Two Gurjjara kings, Jayabhaṭṭa and Dadda, bear the titles *Vītarāga* and *Praśāntarāga* respectively. These terms, which are almost exclusively applied to Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, may have been bestowed upon or adoped by the kings themselves, because they patronised Jaina religion, though their own creed was that of Sūrya. If this interpretation of the kings' *birudas* is correct, we may expect a small Jaina community in and around Broach, which in Jaina literature is famous for its attachment to Jainism from very early times.

No archaeological information is available of the prevalence of Jainism under the Gujarāt Cālukyas. But, from very early times, Digaṁbara Jainism was prevalent in Karṇāṭaka.[3] And it was patronised in the 7th and 8th centuries by the Cālukyas of Bādāmi, (Pulakeśin II, Vijayāditya and Vikramāditya II).[4] It got much encouragement under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Dantivarman, Govinda III, and Amoghavarṣa in the 8th and the 9th centuries. During the reign of the first of these kings, Sāmantabhadra preached Digaṁbara Jainism far and wide in Mālwā, Magadha, Sind etc.[5] It was perhaps through his efforts that it spread to Lāṭa, probably after Dantivarman overran it in the first half of the 8th century.[6] Evidence of its existence in the 9th century at Nāgasārikā, (mod. Navasāri?), is vouched for by a Rāṣṭrakūṭa copperplate of A.D. 821.[7] It mentions a Jaina temple *(Caityālayatana)*, monastery, *(vasahikā*, not *vasatikā* as transcribed) and Senasaṅgha, a branch of the Mūlasaṅgha. Now the latter constitutes the

[1] See above pp. 47–48. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 166.

[3] From the time of Bhadrabāhu who is placed before the Christian era. See Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 431.

[4] Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Deccan*, (1928), p. 102.

[5] *EI*, III, pp. 186, 199 first cited by Pathak, *'Bhartṛhari and Kumārila; JBBRAS.*, XVIII, p. 213 and Fleet in *BG.*, I, ii, p. 407. See also Rice, *Kanarese Literature*, p. 26.

[6] It may have spread there in the 7th, under the Cālukyas, but the probability is in favour of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

[7] Surat Plates of Karkkarāja Suvarṇavarṣha, *EI.*, XXI, pp. 136 and 144.

main Digambara church.[1] This Digambara Jainism seems to have been ousted by the Śvetāmbara, between probably the 11th and the 13th[2] centuries. For the present Jaina temple of Pārśvanātha[3] is said to be Śvetāmbāra, built by Vastupāla in the 13th century.[4]

Of considerable consequence, however, is the reference to a Jaina temple and monastery. With its temple of the sun and these Jaina edifices, Navasāri of the 8th and 9th centuries must be a beehive of religious activities. In the absence of monuments and literary notices, the epigraphs but convey a faint idea of this religious centre of southern Gujarāt.

Though Valabhī is traditionally known to be the home of Jainism in early mediaeval times,[5] after its shifting from Magadha, the Valabhī inscriptions are absolutely silent about it. This non-confirmation by epigraphical evidence, let alone archaeological, is really surprising.[6] Among the latter material are a few images.[7]

Śvetāmbara Jainism, of which Gujarāt became the greatest centre in the Caulukya period, was brought into prominence by Haribhadra in the 8th century. He lived at Citrakūṭa, (mod. Chitor), in Rājputāna. He was followed by a series of teachers.[8] Prevalence of Jainism in Rājputāna and Northern Gujarāt is also indicated by the Jaina temple in the 10th century at Jodhpur built by Vidagdharāja, a Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of the Hastikundi family, and by the tradition that Vanarāja, the founder of the Cāpa (Cāvadā) family, was brought up by a Jaina Sūri.

However, it was under Hemacandra, that not only did Jainism gain a foothold in Gujarāt, but became a state religion for some time. How this

[1] *Encyclopaedia* of *Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VII, p. 474, first cited by Altekar, *EI.*, XXI, p. 136.

[2] During its ascendancy in Northern Gujarāt under Hemacandra.

[3] *B. G.*, VII, p. 564.

[4] Altekar, o. c., p. 136. His authority is local tradition which is recorded in the *Gazetteer*.

[5] Particularly in the 5th century A.D. It was here that the Svetāmbara canons were collected and published according to a tradition cited by Shah, *Jainism in Northern India*, p. 73 from Premi Nathuram, *Darśanasāra of Devasūri*, Bombay 1918, p. 31, and Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 15. Farquhar, o. c., p. 162–63, places this event in the VII century.

[6] Out of more than eighty copperplates, not one refers to a Saṅgha or some Jaina religious order, Jaina images etc., as some of them do to Buddhist *vihāras*, *saṅghas* and images.

[7] See *Appendix* K, pp. 83–84.

[8] See Winternitz, o. c., II, p. 482.

happened may be briefly gathered from its greatest preacher, Hemacandra. He notes in his *Dvyāśraya* that none of the earlier kings was really enthusiastic about the Jaina faith.[1] Occasionally they might have given their blessings to it or built a temple to its Jinas, but that can in no way be construed to mean that the king was a Jaina. Indeed, Jayasiṁha, according to Hemacandra, worshipped Neminātha on his way back to Anhilvāda from Somnāth,[2] and also built a *'caitya'* to Mahāivīra at Sidhpur.[3] But this only shows, if true, that Jainism was gaining ground in Gujarāt. Under Kumārapāla, not only did it secure the royal patronage, but made itself felt throughout the length and breadth of Gujarāt. Hemacandra convinced the king of the ethical soundness of non-killing—one of the main tenets of Jainism. Thereupon Kumārapāla proclaimed the famous *Amārighosaṇā*, the order prohibiting killing of any animal in his reign.[4] And to this day, due principally to this order passed 800 years ago, Gujarāt is still mainly "vegetarian". Jaina temples etc. were built as a matter of course.[5]

From this pedestal Jainism fell under Ajayapāla. Never did it regain that status under the succeeding kings, though it gained an amount of success and prosperity not known before under the Vāghelā ministers Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla.

Epigraphs, found so far, point to the same conclusion. Except the one inscription of Kumārapāla from Jalor[6] (Jodhpur state), none of the others of his, or of the dynasty, refers to the building of a Jaina *caitya* or even a grant to one. Other inscriptions of Kumārapāla, as stated above, relate to Śiva temples, a fact which must be remembered in estimating the state patronage gained by Jainism. It may not be so much as the Jaina chronicles claim to be. The inscription, above mentioned, says that Kumārapāla, being enlightened by the preachings of Hemacandra built a *vihāra* of Pārśvanātha, called 'Kumāravihāra', at Kāncanagiri in Jābālipura.

Besides this solitary reference, however, there are inscriptions of Kumārapāla's time[7] which refer to the prohibition of animal slaughter.

[1] But this must be said to the credit of these kings that they never came in the way of Jainism. For, otherwise the famous Vimalavasahi at Ābu could never have been built by Vimala, the minister of Bhīma I.

[2] *Dvyāśraya*, XV, *ślokas* 69-75. [3] *Ibid.*, *śloka* 16. [4] *Ibid.*, XX, *śloka* 34.

According to the *Kumārapāla Prabandha*, p. 201, the order was proclaimed in Karnāṭaka, Koṅkana, *rāṣṭra* of Kira, Jālandhara, Sapādalakṣa, Mewar, Dvipa and in all countries under the suzerainty of Kumārapāla. Of these, evidence of the order having been proclaimed in Rājputāna is afforded by the inscriptions discussed below.

[5] These are not mentioned here, but a number of them are attributed to Kumārapāla. [6] *Appendix*, No. ~~189~~. [7] *Ibid.*, No. 190.

But these show that in the beginning (cf. the Kiradu ins. of V. S. 1209, of the early period of Kumārapāla's reign), prohibition of killing did not extend to all the days in a month, but only to the 8th, 11th, and 14th of each fortnight.[1]

Jainism, however, did flourish under Jaina ministers and other rich merchants. But here too the inscriptions discovered till now are mostly of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, and very few of other merchants or citizens, a fact which forces the conclusion that Jainism was confined to a few rich ministers and comparatively to a larger mass of people—but on the whole to a small portion of the population.

From these stray inscriptions we learn that a temple of Vardhamāneśvara existed at Talājā ;[2] of Sumatinātha, the 5th Jaina, (perhaps at Āmaraṇ, on the Dadhimati in Surāṣṭra ?)[3], and of Pārśvanātha at Cambay.

The Jainism that flourished under the Caulukya kings of Gujarāt was Śvetāmbara, though Digambara Jainism also did exist. According to *Kīrtikaumudī*[4], the number of followers of the former was 12,100, whereas that of the latter amounted to 1100 only. Often a discussion took place between the *ācāryas* of these sections of Jainism, as each was trying to secure[6] royal favour. The Digambara section was represented by the *ācāryas* from Karṇāṭaka[7], which was its stronghold even in the 11th century, as it was in the 9th[8]. But the Śvetāmbara sect had already

[1] Or it is probable that formerly on these days, Aṣṭamī, Ekādaśī and Caturdaśī —particularly on the last—sacrifice of animals was allowed, they being sacred to Viṣṇu or Śiva. And the inscription now refers even to the prohibition on these days, which was not ordered, but, as the inscription says, " the significance and virtue of non-killing were explained to all the people. "

This interpretation is also supported by *KBPC*,, VII, *śloka* 618 which states that Kumārapāla stopped killing of animals even in the Navarātri festival.

[2] *Appendix*, No. 212. [3] *Ibid.*, No, 242. [4] *Ibid.*, No. 247. [5] Intro., p, XVI.

[6] It is interesting to note the 'agreement' which the disputants were to observe on the defeat of either of them, "If the Svetāmbaras were vanquished, they should adopt the views and practices of the Digambaras; but if the Digambaras were beaten, they should leave the country." *PBC* , p, 101. This shows clearly that the Svetāmbaras were anxious to drive out the Digambaras, while the latter were keen on converting the opponents.

[7] Merutunga, *PBC.*, pp. 97-104, gives a detailed description of the controversy between Hemacandra, Devasūri and other famous Śvetāmbara *ācharyas* on one side and Kumudacandra, the Digambara exponent, from Karṇāṭaka. The latter lost because he was, as the Queen-mother Mayaṇalladevi said, "a man utterly unacquainted with the usages of society", advocating that women and those who wore clothes could not attain salvation. [8] See above p. 234.

established itself, if not succeeded in becoming a state religion, and so the Digambara was always worsted in discussion. Nevertheless it had a few followers, as stated before.

The predominance of the Śvetāmbara over the Digambara is also shown by the absence of any epigraphs of the latter, and the small number of its temples in Gujarāt. Further insight into Śvetāmbara and Digambara Jainism can best be had, when details can be gathered and some illustrated from the existing temples.

The distribution of Jaina temples in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār sufficiently corroborates the testimony of chronicles.

Ritual

What was the ritual in ancient, early mediaeval and mediaeval Brahmanic, Buddhist and Jaina temples? Did it have a special form, as it now has in some of the Vaiṣṇava temples of the Vallabha sect, for instance? Neither the Gujarāt inscriptions nor the inscriptions of its neighbours supply any detailed information on the subject.

In the two cases in which a grant is made to a temple in the early mediaeval inscriptions of Kāthiāwār[1] and Lāṭa,[2] one is for the worship of a goddess, the other for that of Sūrya. But in both the cases it is for *Gandha, Dhūpa, Puṣpā, Dīpa, Taila, Mālā...(Snāna).....*That is (every morning) the idol was to be first bathed (in water), then dressed, and anointed with sandal-wood paste and other scents and decorated with garlands and dress. Afterwards incense was to be burnt before it, and then worshipped with rice, *Kumkum* etc.

This seems to be the general form of worship, common to the temples of all the Indian religions. For two centuries later a Rāṣṭrakūṭa grant from Lāṭa mentions the very same particulars for the worship of a Buddha idol[3], whereas an identical ritual was followed by the Buddhists at Valabhī[4].

The details did not vary in the Caulukyan period, though the quality of the materials used did, for it depended upon the devotee's purse. For the manner in which Jayasiṁha worshipped Somanātha and Neminātha was identical,[5] only the jewels and (rich) clothes he used made the difference.

The Brahmanic as well as the Jaina inscriptions of the period which refer to temples do not give more details. One inscription, however, refers

[1] *Appendix*, No. 59 and 118; also similar for Mahādeva worship. *Ibid.*, No. 106.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 29. [3] *Ibid.*, No. 51.

[4] *Ibid.*, Nos. 72, 73, 78, 93, 96, 100, 101, 103, 114, 121, 129.

[5] Hemacandra, *Dvyaśraya*, XV, *ślokas* 42-44 and 78 respectively.

to the theatricals to be performed in the honour of Kṛṣṇa. This may imply the *Līlās*, acts performed by Kṛṣṇa at Gokul and Vṛndāvan, some of which are incorporated into several *darśanas* by the Vallabha sect temples.

The ritual thus consisted in bathing the idol, then it was anointed, (as it is done in some temples now-a-days), with sandal-paste and other scents, and dressed with clothes, and then worshipped with a *naivedya* which consisted of *Akṣat* (red-coloured rice), *Kumkum*, fruits, (and at times sweets), flowers, and sandalpaste, followed by an *ārti* (ceremonial waving of a lamp in front of the image), in which camphor and other kinds of incenses are put.

Outside Gujarāt, the earliest references to temples and details of worship are to be found so far in the Gupta period. And here too the details mentioned are almost identical[1] with those specified in early Gujarāt records. However, one additional fact occurring in a Gupta record may be noticed. An inscription of Kumāragupta's reign tells us that the image of Śiva was carried in a procession.[2] This fact reminds us of a similar practice all over South India even today.[3]

But the main form of worship, it would appear, has continued to be the same all over India throughout these centuries, except in some sectarian temples where modification is made by adding other details.

Maintenance of Temples

In the maintenance of temples, a striking contrast is noticed between the early mediaeval and mediaeval period Gujarāt. The few grants in the former are made by kings to temples which seem to be private; they do not mention in detail how the temple was maintained. Similar is the case with temples of the mediaeval period which were either built by kings or to which grant of an entire village was made by them.

But those temples which were built by private enterprise were maintained from a special tax on the public, and sometimes even the royal custom-house had to pay some share of its revenue to the temple. Thus, for instance, Māngrol[4], Timāṇa[5] (Bhavanagar) and Cintra (praśasti)[6] inscriptions, give minute details of taxes which were levied on custom and gambling houses, and on different professions; of voluntary contributions by

[1] Gadhwa Stone Ins. (A.D. 467–68), *CII.*, III, p. 268; and another of A.D. 436, *EI.*, X, p. 70–72.

[2] *EI.*, X, p. 70–72.

[3] I do not know if it is prevalent in Northern India, except, at Puri in Orissa. In Gujarāt it is not.

[4] *Appendix*, No. 181. [5] *Ibid.*, No. 212. [6] *Ibid.*, No. 244.

shopkeepers and merchants; of the salary of temple-boys (*baṭukas*), priests and others for the maintenance and working of the temple of Sahajigeśvara Somanātha, Kṛṣṇa and others.

That this practice was also observed in the case of Jaina temples is evident from inscriptions at Mt. Abū[1] and the Cambay inscription of Rāmadeva[2]. They also mention the share of different Jaina familes in the maintenance of temple-worship as well as taxes to be paid in money and in kind by the inhabitants.

Auspicious Occasions

Another way in which the religious tendency of the king and people expressed itself was the observance of certain days as auspicious, to make grants on which to Brāhmaṇas or to perform certain acts was considered meritorious. A study of the epigraphic material from Gujarāt tends to show a gradual development in this practice.

No Valabhī grant as a rule is made on a special occasion, either a solar or a lunar eclipse, for instance, though an eclipse might have taken place when the grant was made on a *purṇimā* or an *amāvāsyā* for there are instances of this nature. But in none it is specified. On the contrary it would appear that any *tithi* of the month was chosen.[3]

A similar practice is noticed in the Traikūṭaka, Kaṭaccūri, Gurjjara and Cālukya records. But it should be mentioned that all the Gurjjara grants except one, and two of the Cālukya grants, are announced on either a *purṇimā* or an *amāvāsyā*.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭas, however, show a strong predilection for auspicious occasions. Fifteen out of about twenty land-grants are made on such occasions. Two on a Sūryagrahaṇa, two on a Candragrahaṇa, one on Mahākārttikī, four on Mahāvaiśākhī, three on Uttarāyaṇa Saṁkrāti and two on the Paṭṭabandhotsava. Some of these occasions are called *mahāparva, mahotsava* or *parva*.

A similar religiosity is exhibited by the Caulukyas of the main line. More than half of their grants are made on auspicious occasions. Among these, besides the *grahaṇas*, we come across Akṣayatṛtīyā, Yugādi, Vyatīpātaparva, Kārttika-ekādaśi or-udyāpanā-parva Dīpotsava-dina and Śivarātri; whereas a grant of Vīsaladeva mentions the *Śrāddhadinas* and *Śrāddhas* and every *amāvāsyā* on which Brāhmaṇas were to be fed.

[1] *Ibid.*, No. 218 and 220. [2] *Ibid.*, No. 247.

[3] It would be interesting, however, to find out the preference for a particular *tithi* or *tithis*.

Due to Jaina influence, the 8th, 11th, and 14th of each fortnight, had come to acquire a religious significance.

Some of these and other occasions are also mentioned by Hemacandra. He refers incidentally to Svarṇapaṭṭabandha, Ahani or Amala-ekādaśi, Indra, Bali, Grīṣma, Dola, and Dīpālikā-*Mahotsavas*.

To this day all these *parvas*[1] are observed in Gujarāt and elsewhere in India. Even in Bombay an eclipse is still observed as a religious occasion, a large number of Hindu inhabitants of the city fast, bathe in the sea and give gifts to Brāhmaṇas and the poor.[2] So also the Uttarāyaṇa Saṁkrānti[3]. The full-moon day of any month is regarded as auspicious and festive in Guajrāt, because people can enjoy the moonlight on that day. But among these the full-moon days in Āśvin and Kārttika (October-November and November-December) are liked more, because perhaps it is on these days that the sky is very clear. A number of functions, particularly the *Garbā* dance, are held then. No special significance is attached to the Vaiśākhi (*purnimā*) in Gujarāt, so far as I know. But Buddhists even today regard it as auspicious. Kārttika-ekādaśi or Udyāpanaparva is still a sacred occasion, when according to some, Viṣṇu is supposed to wake up from his slumber, according to others he is married to the Tulsi plant (who in a former life was the wife of the demon Jālandhara.)[4]

Dīpotsavī, now called Diwālī, was observed then, as now, in Gujarāt on the last day of Āśvin and the first of Kārttika (October-November).[5] At present, as Underhill has well analysed, it consists of (i) the worship of wealth; (ii) the celebration of Viṣṇu's victory over Naraka, a demon; (iii) Lakṣmī worship; (iv) the celebration of Viṣnu's victory over Bali and (v) the expression of brotherly and sisterly affection. From a comparison of the description of the modern and the 12th century Dīpotsavīs, it appears that many of the features, noted by Underhill and found to exist even now among the Gujarātis in Bombay, seem to be of a later growth, brought about by subsequent contacts with the Deccanis.

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[1] It means, as pointed out by Abbott, *The Keys of Power*, 'a 'knot' or 'juncture', and when applied to time 'indicates the presence of power.' He cites and explains a number of such *parvas*. p. 252 ff.

[2] In this connection it is worth quoting the phrase, constantly heard in the streets, '*Āpe dān chuṭe gharan*', the eclipse will be over if you give in charity.

[3] A new feature of this festival may be noted, the old and young, men and women, everywhere in Gujarāt fly kites on this day, which falls on the 13th of January.

[4] A Gupta inscription places this event on the 13th of Kārttika. For the discussion on the question see Patil, "Gupta Inscriptions and Puranic Tradition," *Bulletin Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. II.

[5] Hemacandra, o. c., II, p. 106, and Tīmāṇā Ins. of Bhīma II, *IA.*, XI, p. 337.

Akṣaya Tṛtīyā is regarded as the commencement of the Kṛtayuga, and religious ceremonies in honour of the dead are prescribed on that occasion as well as on *Yugādi*.[1] At present also it is regarded as a great festive occasion among Gujarātis and other Hindus of Bombay. Locally it is called *Akhāḍ Trij*, observed as a public holiday and considered a very auspicious day for performing marriages. Underhill[2] describes the different ways in which this festival is observed. The underlying idea now, as before, is the appeasement of the spirits of the dead.

Śivarātri[3] is the birthday of Śiva, and celebrated even now under the same name. It falls on the 14th of the dark-half of the month of *Māgha* (January-February).

The Grīṣma, Dola, Indra, Bali and Svarṇapaṭṭabandha-*mahotsavaṣ* do not seem to be current now. According to the commentator on the *Dvyāśraya*[4], the Grīṣma-*mahotsava* fell on a full moon day when children played with wooden swords and thereby got freed from the harassment by a Rākṣasī, called Dhunḍhā. It is further explained as follows:—In the evening, thresholds were besmeared with cowdung, and they were protected with wooden swords by a few people who imitated children. Afterwards they were given *gul* (jaggery). This *parva* was observed by all the four castes.

This festival is not mentioned by Underhill.[5] It might have reference to some aspect of Holi, which falls on the full moon day of Phālguṇ.

"The Dola was observed on the 14th of the bright half of C'aitra. On this day Śiva was supposed to sit in a swing. It was observed by all castes."

It is now mainly a festival of the Vaiṣṇavas of Vallabha Saṁpradāya when Child Kṛṣṇa is put in a swing. It is observed on the 1st of the dark half of Phālguṇ (March-April). Underhill says that a swinging festival called Puṣpadola is now held in Orissa, in the same month as above[6].

Indramahotsava, we are told,[7] began from the Śvetāṣṭami of Āśvin and ended with the *purṇimā*. The object of celebrating it was to have plenty of grain. So on this day a high post was erected, on which was hung a flag of Indra[8].

[1] Kielhorn, *IA.*, XVIII, p. 343, citing *Dharmasindhu*, p. 72.

[2] O. c., p. 64. [3] *EI.*, I, p. 64. [4] V, *śloka*, p. 141.

[5] O. c., p. 46. It is, however, referred to by Abbott, o.c., p. 197. [6] O. c., p. 82.

[7] *Dvyāśraya*, III, *śloka* 8, commentary quoting *Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa* and *Varāhamihirasaṁhitā*.

[8] A Gupta inscription also mentions this festival but places it in the beginning of the rainy season. See Patil, o. c.

No such festival seems to be now observed in Gujarāt, though festivities begin from the first of Āśvin and end on the ninth, the whole period being called Navarātra. Perhaps the Govardhanamahotsava of the *Bhāgavat Purāṇa*, which is now observed by the Vaiṣṇavas of Vallabha sect, usually at the end of Āśvin, may be this Indramahotsava. For the *Bhāgavat* says that it was originally an Indramahotsava, but was converted into a Govardhanamahotsava by Kṛṣṇa.

Balimahotsava was observed on the *amāvāsya* of Kārttika and on the new-moon-day (of Mārgaśīrṣa ?), when people dressed themselves handsomely and wished each other that the whole year should go well.[1]

Now-a-days good-wishes are exchanged on the 1st of Kārttika and not on that of Mārgaśīrṣa. Moreover the occasion is not known as Balimahotsava. If the commentator is right, we get some new information on the observance of the New Year Day in the 12th century Gujarāt, though Dīpālikā, we are told by Hemacandra himself,[2] was exactly a fortnight from Āśvayujyā (Āśvin-*purṇmā*).

The Svarṇapaṭṭabandha-mahotsava, mentioned by Hemacandra, seems to be the same as the Paṭṭabandhotsava for which the two Rāṣṭrakūta kings Indra III[3] and Govinda IV[3] went to the Godāvarī, weighed themselves in gold and gave away hundreds of villages to Brāhmaṇas in charity. It was an occasion on which, according to the commentator on the *Dvyāśraya*,[4] warriors were made heads, (*i.e.* commanders). In the case of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings, the performance of this ceremony may not signify their coronation, for they were already sovereigns, but increased power and prestige as, for instance, the performance of the Rājasūya did.

Besides these Hindu festivals, the 8th, 11th and 14th of each fortnight had come to acquire a religious significance, for Kumārapāla, under Jaina influence, had ordered complete prohibition of animal slaughter on these days. But Kumārapāla was not alone in following this procedure for introducing *ahiṁsā*. Aśoka, long before him, had forbidden the selling of fish on certain days of the year[5]. Even today the 8th and 14th days of each fortnight are considered as *parva kālas*, as pointed out by Abbott[6], as the 11th is.

Epigraphically, then, the observance of many 'powers of the time' in the present day Gujarāt can be traced back to the early mediaeval period.

[1] *Dvyāśraya*, o. c., *śloka* 32,

[2] *Dvyāśraya*, II, *śloka* 106

[3] *Appendix* Nos. 56-57.

[4] *Dvyaśraya*, III, *śloka* 115.

[5] See Hulzsch, *CII.*, I, Delhi Topra, 5th Edict, ll. 11-12, pp. 126-128.

[6] O. c., p. 251.

CHAPTER XII

GUJARAT AND INDIAN CULTURE

A study of Gujarāt's contribution to Indian culture or affinities with and differences of its culture from those of its neighbours anticipates a detailed and exhaustive cultural study of the whole of India or at least of its neighbours. Such a survey is beyond the scope of this work. An attempt may, however, be made to compare and contrast the outstanding features of Gujarāt's culture as revealed by our study with those of its neighbours which are already known or have come to light in our study.

Administration

The political status of 'Gujarāt' did not materially differ from that of other feudatory provinces, as long as it was not independent. But as soon as it assumed independence, the entire country, directly under the king's rule, began to be called Gurjjra-*maṇḍala* or *deśa*.[1] The administrative machinery,—names of territorial units and officers,—that was current during the Gupta period, persisted for a long time. But in many parts of India, as pointed out before, a similar machinery existed. To this, Gujarāt or properly Valabhī contributed a few local names of territorial units'.[2]

Everywhere in the mediaeval period but particularly in Gujarāt the 'Gupta tradition' begins to disappear. The units—*Rāṣṭra, Āhāra, Bhukti* and even *Viṣaya*, as well as the officers named after them, occur less and less, whereas *Maṇḍala* and Maṇḍaleśvara[3] seem to acquire an increased popularity not only in Gujarāt but also in the 'countries' around it.

Society

In the chapter on 'Society' we saw three things. First, that in the ancient period nothing specific is mentioned about the Brāhmaṇas; in the early mediaeval period grants to them become usual, whereas in the mediaeval period very few grants are made to Brāhmaṇas, consequently details about them are also rare. Secondly, that right from the early mediaeval period Brāhmaṇas of certain *gotras* and Vedic *śākhās* were always in preponderance over those of the Ṛgvedic *śakhā*, for instance. Thirdly, that certain Vaiśya sub-castes, Prāgvāṭ, Moḍha etc. figure not only as commercial communities, but as communities capable of producing able administrators.

[1] See above p. 202. [2] See above 201.

[3] Both these terms and their application are familiar to us, as Kauṭalya uses them extensively, but they seem to acquire a peculiar, say 'time' connotation in the mediaeval period.

How far these features are reflected in the epigraphs of the neighbours of Gujarāt remains to be investigated.[1] So far as I know, the epigraphs of the Gurjara Pratihāras, Haihayas, Candrātreyas, and Gāhadvālas, from Rājputāna, C. I., C. P. and parts of U. P. or of the Cālukyas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Western Cālukyas, Śilāhāras, and Yādavas from the Deccan and Karṇāṭaka, do not fully exhibit the first two features observed in Gujarāt epigraphs. Among them grants to Brāhmaṇas and temples are almost equal. What the proportion of Brāhmaṇas of different Vedic *śākhās* and *gotras* was, cannot be said at present, nor is it possible to say definitely about the Vaiśyas and their subcastes,[2] excepting, however, about the Lingāyāt sect which arose in the Deccan–Karṇaṭaka during the Kalacchūri regime in the 12th century.

Religion

In the domain of religion, Gujarāt, it would appear, neither gives us the earliest traces of any form of Brahmanism nor do we find any of its forms taking a dynamic force as Śvetāmbara Jainism did. No doubt, in the mediaeval period is visible not only a catholic outlook in religious matters, but more or less of popularity of all the Brahmanic cults—Sūrya, Śiva or Viṣṇu. But here Gujarāt offers nothing new. This popularity seems to be, as a survey of the archaeological evidence from the neighbouring countries would show, but a part and parcel of the general impetus all Brahmanic cults received during the early mediaeval and mediaeval period.

Gujarāt, thus, cannot tell us anything about the antiquity of the Sun-cult in India, which can be definitely traced back to the Gupta period, whereas representations of Sūrya are known from the first and second centuries B. C. Nor can it answer the question how Sūrya-cult became so popular in Gujarāt in the Caulukya period. For at this period evidence of its popularity comes from all the neighbouring countries of Gujarāt.

Multān is known to be a great centre of Sūrya worship in the 7th century from the accounts of Hiuen Tsiang and Arab historians.[3] A temple of the Sun called Bhāsvat existed in the 9th century, perhaps at Dholpur,[4] in Rājputāna; a temple of Indrāditya at the village of Ghoṇṭavārsika (mod. Ghotarsi,

[1] Ganguly in the *Paramāras* of *Mālwā* and Tripathi in the *Gurjara Pratihāras* have mentioned some Brāhmaṇa *gotras* etc. but their treatment is not exhaustive.

[2] D. R. Bhandarkar in *IA.*, LXI, pp. 41–55 and 61–72 has traced the evolution of Bengal Kāyasthas.

[3] Watters, o. c., II, p. 254. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I. pp. 116-117, 121.

[4] Dholpur stone Ins. of Cāhamana Caṇḍa Mahāsena, *ZDMG.*, XL, pp. 38-42, first cited by Ray, *DHNI.*, II, p. 1058-9.

7 miles east of Partabgarh) in V. S. 999 (A.D. 942),[1] which seems to have kept up the Daśapura (mod. Mandasor) tradition, at least going back to the 5th century. A Sun temple (Lolārka) is also mentioned in a grant of the Gāhaḍvālas of Kanauj, dated A.D. 1177.[2] In Bhinmāl the existence of the cult has been proved both by archaeological and epigraphical evidence.[3] The latter records that the temple of Jagatsvāmi was in a flourishing condition throughout from the 11th to the 13th century[4] (A.D. 1060, '66, '83, 1206, '18, '49, '64, '78, '83, '86, '89), whereas earlier references carry it back to the 10th century. Remains of this temple have been found.[5] It faces the east, and consists of a shrine and a hall. The former has a *pradakṣiṇāmārga*,[6] as at Modhera and elsewhere. Other ruins of mediaeval Sun temples are reported from Ranpur,[7] and Bāmnerā[8] both in the Jodhpur State; Vāsā[9] in the Sirohi State; Satwas,[10] Bharatpur state and Cutch.[11] As the photos cited below could not be traced in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, no comparison could be instituted between these and Gujarāt temples. No definite evidence of the Sun-cult in the shape of a Sun temple can be produced from the Deccan-Karṇāṭaka of the ancient and mediaeval periods.[12] But solitary images of Sūrya, Navagrahas, and Aṣṭadikpālas are found in the caves at Bādāmi, Ellora, and in the later temples of the Cālukyas of Kalyānī.

Sūrya-cult may then be really very old, though admittedly of a different kind from that of the modern and mediaeval period, as it is vouched for by numerous Vedic hymns.

The case of Śaivism is not different. In the ancient or early mediaeval Gujarāt we have not much evidence of its strength. But its various forms—

[1] Pratabgarh stone Ins. *EI.*, XIV, p. 160-161 cited by *Ibid.*, p. 1060. Also I, p. 586.

[2] Plate of Jayacandra, (V). S. 1233, *EI.*, IV, p. 128-29.

[3] Inss. from Bhinmāl, *BG.*, I, i, pp. 471-488. Nos. 1-16.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 471. Date not mentioned, but on palaeographical grounds only.

[5] *ASIWC.*, 1908, p. 37.

[6] For description of its ruins see *Ibid.* From the mere description I am not inclined to compare it with that of Modhera.

[7] *ASWC.*, 1908, p. 5, photos 2981–84; and p. 58.

[8] *Ibid.*, 1905–6, p. 6, photos 2682–4; and p. 54.

[9] *Ibid.*, 1901–9, p 8, photos. 3249–50; p. 52.

[10] *Ibid.*, 1921, p. 116–17., pl. xxxiii (b).

[11] *ASWI.*, II, p. 214. and *Ibid.*, 1905–6, p. 37. Photos 2610–13.

[12] The temple at Anamkond, Hyderabad State, was, according to the inscription (A.D. 1162-63) dedicated to Śiva, Viṣṇu, and Sūrya.

among which the Lakulīśa form seems to be very popular, appear to have gathered strength in mediaeval Gujarāt.

But, at this period, even outside Gujarāt, Lakulīśa cult was strong and wide-spread. It had a great centre in Dāhala, the modern Jubbulpore district in C. P., which was patronised by the Haihaya kings from the 10th century onwards.[1] And it is of interest to note that one of the later inscriptions of the dynasty (of Narasiṁha A.D. 1155) mentions a Pāśupata ascetic, Rudrarāśi, of Lāṭa lineage.[2] He might have probably migrated from Kārvān. Rai Bahadur Hiralal has also pointed out[3] that the Sixty-four Yoginī Maṭha of Bheraghāt, called the Golikā Maṭha, the first stronghold of the sect in Dāhala, had its branches in Cuddapa, Karnool, Gunjim and North Arcot districts in the Madras Presidency as well as in Karṇāṭaka, as pointed out before.[4]

In Mewar[5] the cult existed in the 7th and 8th centuries and since then it has continued to flourish. One of the Ekalingaji inscriptions (V. S. 1028, A. D. 971) mentions Kāyārohaṇa (Kārvān).[6] Thus, more and more evidence comes forward which strengthens Kārvān's claim to be the first home of Lakulīśa worship. When it began here, it is difficult to say now. It seems to be as old as Śaivism. Bhandarkar traces it back to Kaniṣka's time[7], whereas *liṅga*-cult is now traced in the Mohenjodaro finds. Here the reign of probabilities is wide where this sketch may stop.

Archaeological evidence, so far available, has not supported the traditional antiquity of the Kṛṣṇa-cult (apart from that of Viṣṇu) in Gujarāt Kāthiāwār. As a matter of fact it cannot be traced there earlier than the 12th or 13th century.[8] But, outside Gujarāt, it seems to be at least 7th

[1] For reference to inscriptions see Ray., *DHNI.*, II, p. 762-3; Banerji, *MASI.*, No. 16.

[2] Bheraghāt Ins., *EI.*, II. p. 13.

[3] *ABOI.*, 1927-28, p. 290.

[4] See above p. 225, n. 3.

[5] Evidence of its exsitence in other parts of Rājputāna is shown by the Harsha Stone Inscription of Cāhamāna Vigraharāja II, A. D. 973 (V.S. 1030) which gives history of Pañcārthala (Lakulīśa ?) sect, and refers to its doctrine. *EI.*, II, p. 122.

[6] *IA.*, XXV, p. 80.

[7] See Bhandarkar, *JBBRAS.*, XXII, (1905), pp. 166-67, also *ASIAR.*, 1906-7, p. 189.

[8] Bhandarkar, *IA.*, 1912, p. 29, f.n. 1, said that he knew of no Kṛṣṇa image except one referred to in Harsauda Stone Ins. of Devapāladeva of Dhārā, V. S. 1275. *IA.*, XX, p. 312, line 14. But here the reference to Kṛṣṇa image is casual only; along with it are mentioned Nakulīśa, Gaṇeśa and Ambikā.

century old, for a definite reference is made to the installation of an idol of Kṛṣṇa in a cave at Barabar Hill by the Maukhāri king Anantavarman.[1] Stories of Kṛṣṇa were familiar since, at least, the first century B. C. as a play[2] of Bhāsa (?) shows. They were definitely known to the Guptas[3], while they were depicted in sculptures in the Kuṣāṇa (?), Gupta, post-Gupta or pre-Pāla, and Cālukya periods, as evidence from Mathura,[4] Mandor,[5] Bhitargaon,[6] Pāhārpur[7] and Bādāmi[8]–Pattadkal[9] shows. It is probable therefore that Kṛṣṇa cult did exist before the 12th century, of which no evidence has yet come forward from Gujarāt.

Among Caulukya's contemporaries, Viṣṇu worship seems to be more popular with the Kacchapaghātas of Gwalior. Their kings, Devapāla and Mahipāla (c. A. D. 1093), built the famous Sāsbahu temple of Viṣṇu at Gwalior, called "Hari" in the inscription.[10] Before this we have evidence of a Viṣṇu temple built by Mahendrapāla (c. 813–90 A. D.) on the banks of the Saraswatī in the Punjab;[11] while the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Pathari in C. I., according to the Pathari Pillar Inscription of Parabala,[12] seem to be followers of Viṣṇu and the Gāhaḍvālas of Kanauj claim to be the worshippers of Kṛṣṇa.[13]

From the mediaeval temples in Gujarāt, Rājputāna, C. I. and U. P., Viṣṇu worship can be traced back through the sculptures at Ellora (8th, 9th centuries), Bādāmi (6th century) to the Gupta cave temples in C. I. of the 5th century A. D. At this stage, the popularity of the cult is also evidenced by legends on both the Gupta and Traikūṭaka coins. This simultaneous reference seems to be independent of each other as there is no indication of borrowing either in their coins or inscriptions. And this perhaps points to the existence of a third or independent source for both.

[1] *CII.*, III, p. 222, line 2.

[2] *Bālacaritam.* [3] Bhitari Ins. of Skandagupta, *CII.*, III p. 54, l. 13.

[4] See *D. R. Sahani*, *ASI*, *AR.*, 1925-26, p. 183-84.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1909-10, p. 98, pl xliv, b. [6] See *Ibid.*, 1908-09, p. 5, pls. i-vii.

[7] See *MASI.*, No. 55, pls. xxvii, c, xxix, a, b, xxxvi, c.

[8] Banerji, *MASI.*, No, 25, pl. xxiv-v.

[9] Cousens, *Chalukyan Architecture*, pl. xlviii.

[10] Sāsbahu Ins. of Mahīpāla, V, S. 1150; *IA.*, XV, pp. 33–46; also note the discovery of a Viṣṇu temple at Gyaraspur, Gwalior State. *An. Bib. Ind. Arch., 1935*, pp. 34-36

[11] The undated Pehow Praśasti, *EI.*, I, pp. 242. [12] *EI.*, IX. p. 248-56.

[13] Kamauli Plates of Vijayacandra (V.) S. 1224, A. D. 1168, *Ibid.*, IV. p. 119, lines 18-19.

This source is perhaps the Heliodorus inscription at Besnagar[1] and the Nagari,[2] Ghasaundi,[3] Nānāghāṭ[4], and Mathura[5] inscriptions, which mention Vāsudeva and Saṅkarṣaṇa. Between the last of these references and that of the Gupta period, there intervenes a gap of about four centuries, still in them Chanda finds the prevalence of Vaiṣṇva cult. This view is not universally accepted. Here it may be said that the references only prove the antiquity of the seeds of the cult. For in form the latter must be different from that of the Gupta of the fifth century or from still more elaborate form of the 10th century or of the present day. The term "Viṣṇu cult", therefore, as it is understood now, is not strictly applicable to the pre-Christian forms (of Viṣṇu) known as Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa and Bhāgavata.[6]

Buddhism gradually became extinct and disappeared by the 10th century. But this happened at least a couple of centuries later than, perhaps, in Rājputāna, Central India or the Central Provinces. In the Konkan-Deccan it seems to have survived till about the 13th century as it did in Eastern India.

Jainism (Śvetāmbara) which might have been dormant before in Gujarāt not only spread there far and wide in the mediaevel period, but broke its borders and spread to Mālwā, Rājputāna and beyond. Similar but a little earlier religious movements were Tāntrism in Bihar and Bengal, which spread to Nepal and Tibet, whereas, in Karṇāṭaka, it was first Digambara Jainism and then the Liṅgāyat cult.

Literature

For the history of literature of ancient period (apart from epigraphical) we have at present no material. Its nature cannot be guessed, though the Rudradāman's inscription at Junāgarh suggests that Sanskrit was known and perhaps understood by a large number of people.

The same is the case with the early mediaeval period. But here it is possible that the Council at Valabhī which collected and published Jaina texts in the 5th-6th century gave a great impetus to the Prākrit religious literature in Kāthiāwār and Northern Gujarāt.[7] Similar results might have followed from the Digambara Jaina movement under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in Southern Gujarāt.

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[1] Chanda, *MASI.*, No. 5. 1920, p. 152. [2] *Ibid.*, No. 4. p. 119.

[3] *EI.*, XXII, pp. 196-205.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 5. p. 164. *Luder's List*, No. 6. Burgess, *Elura Cave Temples*, (*ASWI.*, V), p. 60. [5] Chanda, o.c., p. 169-171.

[6] For the name Viṣṇu is, perhaps, significantly absent.

[7] *One of such works of the period is Kuvalayamālā, of the 7th-8th century*, written in Prākrit at Jālor (Jābālipura), Rājputāna. It is being published at Patan.

In the late mediaeval period we witness a strong literary fervour in Northern Gujarāt. It appears sudden, but it was born of the patient work of the Jaina priests in their cloisters, called *apāsaro* (Skt. *Upāśraya*), and nurtured by the patronage of Jayasiṁha and Kumārapāla. Soon it spread to other classes also, with the result that Gujarāt was enriched with a vast quantity of literature—religious and secular—written in Sanskrit, Prākrit, Apabhraṁśa and Old Gujarātī. Much of it is even now treasured in Jaina Bhaṇḍārs. Brief contents of the palm-leaf Mss. from Patan Bhaṇḍārs are recently published.[1] From this a brief survey of the different branches of Caulukyan literature—Grammar, Drama, Poetry, Poetics, Logic, Philosophy, Vedānta, History and Literature proper[2] is here given with a view to knowing the position of Gujarāt in the then contemporary literature.

Some nine Mss. on Grammar, written in Sanskrit, have turned up. Among them one is of V. S. 1080, called *Buddhisāgara*[3], composed at Jābālipura (Jālor in Rājputāna). But until this or others are published Hemacandra will remain the foremost and one of the earliest writers on Grammar. He wrote both in Prākrit and Sanskrit. His best known work in the former is *Śabdānuśāsana*. In it may be traced the links between the modern and old Gujarātī and Apabhraṁśa of the 11th–12th century. His *Dvyāśraya* is both a grammar (part in Saṇskrit and part in Prākrit) and history of the Caulukyavaṁśa till Kumārapāla.

Among the Mss. of Dramas may be noted six Mss. of the dramas of Vatsarāja, the minister of Paramārdideva of Kālañjar (A.D. 1165-1203).[4] They might show, when published, the intimate contact Gujarāt had with contemporary literature. Some of the remaining Mss. are Jaina, and written in Sanskrit. Of these *Hammīramardana*[5] by Jayasiṁha and *Mohaparājaya*[6] (primarily didactic) by Yaśaḥpāla are of historical importance.

Of the Mss. on Poems in Sanskrit, *Udayasundarīkathā*, which has already been published,[7] seems to be the most important. For it is a work written by Soḍḍhala, who was a resident of Lāṭadeśa, giving useful information on contemporary history and literature.

[1] *Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts* in the Jain Bhandars at Pattan, *GOS.* LXXVI, Baroda, 1937.

[2] Winternitz, *History* of *Indian Literature*, II, pp. 503–14, 519-21, 537, 545 and 567 classified the material then known to him into *Prabandhas*, *Kathā*, *Kāvya*, *Kośa* and Didactic works; whereas Munshi, *Gujarāta and Its Literature*, 1935, has discussed the material available to him differently; see pp. 36–47, 48–73, 83–111.

[3] *Descriptive Catalogue*, o. c., p. 55. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 59.

[5–6] These are published in *GOS.*, Nos. 9 and 10. [7] *Ibid.*, No. 11.

Mss. on Poetics, some of which are published, all belong to the mediaeval Gujarāt. When they will be properly studied, some light may be thrown on Gujarāt's contribution to this branch of literature.

A number of Mss. on Logic, Philosophy, Vedānta etc. have been discovered. But, except some of Hemacandra's, *Yogaśāstra* or *Adhyātmopaniṣad*, for instance, which were previously known, none other is published. We have, therefore, to content ourselves with the view expressed above. At present, however, we have to note the existence among these Mss. of a copy of *Tattvasaṅgraha*[1] by Śāntarakṣita together with a commentary on it, called *Pañjikā*, by Kamalaśīla and *Tarkabhāṣā*, works composed at Nālandā and Rājagaddala in Eastern India. This testifies not only to the influence Nālandā exerted upon its distant contemporary countries, but also to the interest Gujarāt took in philosophical works produced on the other side of India.

Mss. of purely historical value include some on Kumārapāla; others—*Vasantavilāsa, Sukṛtakallolinī, Vastupāla Tejaḥpāla-praśasti*.[2] These as well as those already published—*Kīrtikaumudī* of Someśvara, *Prabandhacintāmaṇi, Vicāraśreṇi, Therāvali* etc. by Merutuṅga, await a critical and exhaustive study.

From the purely literary point of view, however, the recovery of a few Mss. of Apabhraṁśa literature and poems or properly folk-songs in old Gujarātī—*Jaṁbusvāmi* and *Revantagiri Rāsas*, for instance, is important. When these will be studied, it will be possible to take back the history of Gujarātī language and literature at least by three centuries.[3]

This brief review shows that no means exist today to ascertain Gujarāt's contribution to Indian literature in the ancient, and to some extent, in the early mediaeval period.

In the subsequent period we notice the birth (?) of vernacular and a great increase in the output of Prākrit as well as Sanskrit literature. But Gujarāt was not the only country where such literary movements were born. Tāntrism—Buddhist as well Śākta—had produced a similar movement in Bengal and Bihar, a century or two earlier than in Gujarāt, whereas in Rājputāna and Mālwā, the movement was almost coeval with that in Gujarāt. What the mutual repurcussions were, let apart the question who the borrower was, is too early to say for want of exhaustive research. But the echo of Vaiṣṇava (Kṛṣṇaite) movement in Bengal is recorded in a Gujarāt inscription[4]; whereas nearer home Mālwā of Bhoja,

[1] The original was found at Jaisalmer. [2] All of these are published.

[3] There are a few Mss. on Erotics, Art, Architecture etc. [4] See above p. 228.

as Merutuṅga tells us[1], was the first to inspire the Gujarāt kings to patronise culture, but later Gujarāt became the model for its neighbours.

Epigraphy and Numismatics

The coins and inscriptions of Gujarāt, at any period, are neither rich in variety, quality or quantity as to compare them with those of Gujarāt's neighbours. Excluding the ancient and early mediaeval period when it was mostly ruled by outsiders or their feudatories, even in the mediaeval period, excepting a few Praśastis and a solitary coin of Siddharāja Jayasiṁha from U. P., there is nothing to place against the epigraphs and gold coins of the Haihayas and the Candrātreyas, for instance.

Fine Arts & Sculpture

In Fine Arts we have no materials for the earlier periods to compare with those of other parts of India. Kāthiāwār caves have not yielded anything like the cave paintings at Bāgh, Bādāmi, Ajanta, Ellora, Aurangābad, or Sittanvasal in the far south. But in the late mediaeval period paintings on Jaina and Hindu Mss.—palm-leaves, paper, and textiles—may be compared, not in their treatment and style, which appears crude, but in the originality of their motive with those on Tāntric Mss. from Nepal and Tibet which copied Magadha. Some of them–mostly Jaina–are of the early 13th century (A.D. 1237–38[2]), others of the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries, indicating the Caulukyan origin of the art and its subsequent development.

Gujarāt sculpture, in any of its sub-branches discussed previously[3], does not afford that variety which we notice in countries adjacent to it, right from the ancient to the mediaeval period. But whatever has survived of the Caulukyan Gujarāt is not inferior to the contemporary Paramāra, Haihaya, Candella or even Pāla art (which, owing to Tāntric influence, is unusually rich) in northern India and Cālukya or Hoysala in Karṇāṭaka in delicacy and minuteness of carving; whereas a few figures of the Trailokya-mohana form of Viṣṇu[4] and of the composite aspect of Sūrya seem, in

[1] See in *PBC.*, particularly "Bhoja-Bhīma-*prabhandha*".

[2] See *Descriptive Catalogue of Mss.*, LXXVI, pl ii. The most representative collection is given by Nawab in his *Jaina Citrakalpadruma*, Ahmedabad 1936. According to him there are a few such Mss. (*Ibid.*, pls, III and IV) of the 12th century also. For later studies see the works of N.C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926; Norman Brown, *The Story of Kālaka*, 1933; M. R. Majumdar's articles in the *Journal of the Bombay University*, and Ajit Ghosh "Development of Jaina Painting" in *Art. As.*, 1928, pp. 187–202, 272–282.

[3] See above p. 116 ff.

[4] An earlier stage in the development of this form of Viṣṇu seems to be the figure (c. 500 A. D.), recently found from Rājgir. See *An. Bib. Ind. Arch.*, *1934*, p. 6, pl. ii b.

our present state of knowledge, to be unique and may be regarded as Gujarāt's contribution to Indian sculpture and iconography.

Architecture

Gujarāt architecture of the earlier period cannot boast of the vastness of the cave architecture of Western India, or of the grandeur and beauty of the structural buildings of Central India (at Bharhut and Sanchi), and a little south at Amarāvāti and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. But in its contemporary cave architecture, the two pillars in Uparkot caves at Junāgarh are perhaps unique in style and decoration.

In the later period Gujarāt does not stand back. Not only does it march along with its neighbours but evolves its own style of architecture from the traditional which is here called Caulukyan. This will be evident from a little detailed consideration of the temple architecture of its neighbours.

Cutch Temples

Cutch was connected culturally and politically with both Northern Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār from very early times.[1] But definite evidence of this can be had only in the Caulukyan period. Mūlarāja took shelter in the fort of Kanthakot in eastern Cutch, while under Bhīma I and his successors Cutch formed a province (*maṇḍala*) of the Caulukyan empire. Traces of this contact are found in a few temples that have been reported from Cutch.

At Bhadreśvar or ancient Bhadrāvatī, the Jaina temple, called Vasai or temple of Jagadevasāh, as Burgess says, may be as early as the 12th century A. D., of the time of Jagadeva, a wealthy merchant of Bhadreśvara(?).[2] It has been several times repaired and reconstructed, but the general plan[3] resembles that of other Jaina temples at Ābu, Tāringa, Sarotra in Gujarāt. The *śikharas*, perphaps, are carefully repaired, but still they seem to be after the old style which resembled the Caulukyan. So also the *jaṅghās* (walls) of the shrine with their recesses, and mouldings recall the similar style of Gujarāt temples. These, as Burgess has already noted, are perhaps the oldest of all.[4]

The old Śaiva temple at Kheda or Kera, about 13 miles south of Bhuj, is assigned to the end of the 10th century by Burgess,[5] but appears to be later. Anyhow a peculiar triangular decoration, consisting of eight small triangles, formed by *caitya*-window ornament,, receding and becoming

[1] Cf. for instance, the four Andhau inscriptions of Rudradāman I, *EI.*, XVI, p. 19.

[2] *AKK.*, p. 206-7. For earlier traditional history of the temple see *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, pl. lviii. [4] For other details, see *Ibid.*, and pls. lvii, and lix-x.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 212, pl. lxii.

smaller as they rise on each face of the *śikhara*, differentiates this temple from those of the Caulukyan.

The Sun temple at Kotai,[1] (c. 10th century), draws our attention by the peculiar construction of the roof of its *maṇḍapa*, which is not found in Gujarāt. "The aisles are covered by a sort of groins, like the side-aisles in some *chaitya* caves; the nave is roofed the same way as at the Ambarnāth temple—the central area being covered with massive slabs hollowed out in the centre, in which a pendentive has been inserted. Outside it has a slanting roof divided into four sections of slightly different heights, that next to the spire being the highest, and the remote end the lowest; each section is terminated by neatly carved gable end."[2] The *śikhara*, however, is like those of Gujarāt temples.

Of its sculptures may be noted the rampant lions carved in wall-recesses. These are not common in Gujarāt, but are found in the Navalākha temple, Gumli, indicating a closer contact between Cutch and Western Kāthiāwār.[3]

Rajputana Temples

Temples, contemporary with the Caulukyan, have been reported from Rājputāna. Unfortunately, photographs of these cited by the *Reports*, could not be traced in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, hence they have been merely noted here.

The temple of Kāmeśvara at Anwa,[4] Sojat Dist. Jodhpur State, is dated in the 9th century A. D. The *śikhara* and the wall mouldings resemble those of the Caulukyan in some degrees. The *caitya*-window ornament, however, here, is very delicately carved in a scroll fashion.[5]

The temple at Kiradu, Jodhpur State, is called Rudramāla,[6] and is said to be much akin to the Rudramāla at Sidhpur. Another temple at the same place[7] has the full course of basement mouldings: *grāspati* or *kīrtimuka*, *gaja-aśva*-and-*naratharas*, indicating that the temple, when complete, must be of a large size.

At Jālor (Jābālipura) there is said to be a temple of Kumārapāla[8], while at Ābu, the temple of Madhusūdana is placed in the 11th century[9].

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 214, pl. lxiv. [2] Burgess, *Ibid.*

[3] It also indicates perhaps the origin of the *śārdūla* motif at Gumli.

[4] *ASWIC.*, 1908-9. Photo no.323 7.

[5] This is compared with a similar triangular representation on the *śikhara* of a temple at Keda (Kera) in Cutch. *ASWI.*, II, pl. *lxii*.

[6] *ASIWC.*, 1916, p. 67. [7] *Ibid.*, 1907, p. 41.

[8] *ASIWC.*, Photos no, 3268-72.

[9] *Ibid.*, 1906-7, p. 26. Photos No. 2764-5. V. S. 1150.

These places lay within the influence of the Caulukyan power, and it would be interesting to see, when the photographs can be had, whether the Caulukyas introduced their own style in these temples or followed the local style.

At Gwalior, in the Gwalior Residency in Eastern Rājputāna, there are temples of the Kacchapaghāta dynasty built in the 11th century. The temple of Sās-Bahu (really Padmanābha) was constructed by the kings Devapāla and Mahīpāla between 1075-1100 A. D.[1] Unfortunately its *śikhara* is destroyed, but the remains indicate that it was at least a two storied building. As Burgess has pointed out, the Rudramāl at Sidhpur might have been like this.[2]

At Nāgdā the ceilings of the dome of the Sāsu and Bahu temples,[3] recall the ceilings at Ābu, as well as those at Sunak, Sandera and others in style of decoration, while the pillars[4] in the Bahu temple, in their decoration of the base, shaft, and capital-brackets, resemble those of Gujarāt. Unfortunately the *śikharas* are partly destroyed, that of Sāsu completely.[5]

Paramara Temples, Malwa

The contemporary Paramāra temples at Udayapur,[6] Un,[7] Nemwar[8] and Makla[9] in Mālwā, Central India, show two distinct influences as far as their style of the *śikhara* is concerned but they differ at the same time from the purely Caulukyan style of Gujarāt.

[1] The Sāsu Bahu Temple Ins. of Mahipāla *IA.*, XV, p. 33, first cited by Ray, *DHNI.*, II, p. 826; also Fergusson, *Ind. and East, Arch.*, II. p. 137.

[2] See above p. 93, n. 7.

[3] Le 'Bon, *Les' Monuments*, figs. 112, 113, 114 and 118. Description also in Fergusson, o c., II, pp. 148-9. [4] *Ibid.*

[5] Fergusson is inclined to place the Sāsu temple in the 14th century and that of Bahu a little later. But there is no reason why they should not be at least two centuries earlier; for similar temples, definitely of that period, c. 1000-1100 are known.

[6] Built by Udayāditya in A. D. 1059. See *JASB.*, IX, p. 548; Cunningham, *ASR.*, VII, o. c., p. 85, pl. 3; Fergusson, II, p. 147. Ganguly, o. c., p. 258.

[7] In Nimar dist. Indore state; built c. 12th cent. *ASIWC.*, 1919, pp. 61-64, pls. xviii, xix-xxi; Ganguly, o. c., p. 263.

[8] In Indore state, on the Narbada, 12 miles from Harda station. *ASIWC.*, 1921, pl. xxvi.

[9] In Mehidpur dist, Indore state. *ASIWC*, 1920, p. 101, pl. xxiii; Ganguly, o. c., p. 269.

The *śikharas* of the Udayeśvara[1] (or Nīlakaṇṭheśvara) at Udayapur and of the temple of the same name (Nīlakaṇṭheśvara) at Un[2] are of the Ambarnāth and Sinnar type. "There are four large bands on the exterior of the śikhara between which a miniature replica of the temple is repeated thirty-five times divided into seven tiers[3]." But the Udayeśvara as well as Goaleśvara temple[4] at Un have an *antārala* between the *śikhara-maṇḍapa* which I believe is due to the Candella influence. The *śikhara*-shape of the Goaleśvara, however, otherwise resembles the temple at Sunak, in having a cluster of *śikharas* round the main *śikhara*.

The small temple of Makāleśvara at Makla[5], with its large *amalaka* and *kalaśa*, has a peculiar *śikhara*, resembling somewhat the small temple at Sandera, but it has an *antarāla* also, which is proportionately larger than the size of the temple. The *garbhagṛha* is believed to be of the 11th or 12th century[6] but it seems to be later.

Regarding the interior, the pillar decoration in the Chaubera Dera temple, No. 1 at Un,[7] reminds us by its series of small figures on the shaft, above the *jaṅghā*, similar decoration on the pillars at Rudramahālaya,[8] Sidhpur, and the pillars of the octagon in the Somanātha temple. But the decoration has its own indescribable local touch. The dome of the *maṇḍapa* of the Siddhanātha temple[9] at Nemawar, not only in its tiers of concentric circles, but also in its decoration,[10] resembles the similar ceilings at Ābu, and the smaller ones at Sunak and Sandera.

Candella Temples, Khajraho

Between the temples at Khajraho[11] (10th-12th century),[12] of the Candellas of Jejābhukti and the temples of the Gujarāt Caulukyas, points of resemblance exist in general plan only. Otherwise, in details of architectural style as well as of decoration there are many points of variance. For instance, the Candella temples

[1] *Modern Review*, 1938, pl. facing p. 607. [2] *ASIWC.*, 1919, pl. xxx.

[3] Jayaswal, *Modern Review*, 1932, p. 606. [4] *ASIWC.*, 1919, pl. xxi.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1920, p. 101, pl. xxiii. [6] Banerji, *Ibid.*, p. 101. [7] *Ibid.*, 1919, pl. xviii.

[8] See above p. 89. [9] *ASIWC.*, 1921, pl. xxvii.

[10] There are 16 female figures as in the Vimala and Tejahpāla's temples at Ābu, but they are too indistinct in the photograph for any comment.

[11] Griffin, *Famous Monuments of Central India*, pls. xlviii-lxvii. There are some thirty temples almost equally divided between the three sects: Jaina, Saiva, and Vaiṣṇava. In each group there is one large temple round which small ones are clustered. Thus in the Jaina group is Jinanātha, *Ibid.*, pl. xlviii-ix and l-li; Saiva, Kandarya Mahādeva, pl. lii; Vaiṣṇava, Rāmacandra, pls. liii-lvii.

[12] See Ins. from Khajraho, *El.*, I, pp. 121-153.

are built on very high plinths consisting of two or three mouldings; their wall mouldings are consequently more;[1] while the *jaṅghā*, wall proper, is considerably higher, and has three registers of panelled niches and figures, opposed to one of the Caulukyan; and among them leonine figures are introduced which are absent in the Gujarāt temples. Shafts of the pillar are again different though annulet capitals and dwarf brackets do occur.

Externally, again, the *śikhara*s are much taller and much rounder; the *amalaka* surmounting is also higher, with a large *kalaśa*; between the *śikhara* and the *maṇḍapa* there is an *antarāla* as in the Haihaya temples. The *maṇḍapas* are enclosed in the same way as at Sunak, and they are similarly roofed, but in details again variations are introduced.

Haihaya Temples

In fact there are points of resemblance between these and Gujarāt temples in the general style of architecture, as well as in details, pointing to a common stock. However, it is more important to stress the differences which characterize them.

The Haihaya temples are more varied in plan,[2] and in style of the *śikhara*.[3] The latter, again, has a circular medallion in its centre, which is at times empty.[4] The *maṇḍapas* have pyramidal roofs, and the interior of the dome rises in concentric circles, as at Sunak, but on the roof they have not got small *amalakas*. Striking also is the *antarāla*, a projection intervening between the *śikhara* and the *maṇḍapa*, a feature also found at times in Khajraho temples[5] and the Paramāra. Instead of figure-sculptures in the niches outside the shrine walls, there are diamonds or rosettes.[6] Lastly, the basement mouldings of the first-period-temples at Chandreha, Gurgi, Sohāgpur, though deeply cut, have no *aśva*, *gaja* or *nara-tharas*[7] (mouldings).

[1] Specially some temples have double *kumbhi*, e. g. Chaturbhuj temple, *Ibid.*, pl. lxiv.

[2] E. g. the Bheraghāt circular temple of 64 Yoginīs, Jubbulpore Dist., about 11th century A. D., Banerji, *MASI.*, No. 23, pl. xxii.

[3] E. g. the circular *śikhara* at Chandreha, 10th century, *Ibid.*, p. 33, pl. i,

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 34. [5] E. g. temple of Devi Jagdambā, *Ibid.*, pl. xvii.

[6] The temple of Virāteśvara, Sohāgpur, Rewa State, about 11th-12th century, has divine figures in the niches. *Cf.* *Ibid.*, pl. xli, p. 53.

[7] At Sohāgpur, there is a course of dancing figures interspersed with Vyāli, standing horses, below which there are rosettes, above a course of lozenges. See *Ibid.*, pl. xi.

Ambarnath Temple Konkan-Deccan

Burgess thought that the temple at Sunak[1] resembled the one at Ambarnāth, near Bombay. But it differs from the latter both in general outline of the plan, and the style of the *śikhara*[2]. The *maṇḍapa* of the temple at Ambarnāth is *gūḍha* (closed) and has three distinct porches, consisting of complete pillars and pilasters. Its pyramidal roof, crowned with small cupola-like members, no doubt, resembles similar roofs at Sunak and Sandera. But the *śikhara* is strikingly different, in particular, its long, almost perpendicular rise, with a circular medallion with an inset figure, placed at its bottom.

Ambarnāth and Sinnar,[3] near Nasik, seem to be the archetypes[4] which developed under the later Rāṣṭrakūṭa regime in the Deccan, though popularly they are called "Hemādpanti" in style.

Calukyan Temples Karnataka

Among the Cālukyan temples of the Kanarese districts, the temples that approach nearest in style of *śikhara* to those of Gujarāt–pre-Caulukyan or Caulukyan– are:—

(1) The Huchchimaligudi,[5] at Aihole,

(2) Aihole temple, No. 24,[6]

(3) The temple of Galagnātha at Pattadkal[7],

and (4) The temple of Gaṇapati at Hangal[8].

No. (1) closely resembles the Sūrya temple at Sutrapādā in its *śikhara*, and in its plain massive walls. But a circular *caitya* window at the bottom of the *śikhara* distinguishes it from the latter; also may be noted the big porch, which we miss at Sutrapādā. With No. (2) Aihole, No. 24, points of variance are more. Among these the most striking are the roundish *amalaka*, and the closed hall with a series of pillars forming the *prākāras*. Similar points of variance are offered by No. (3), the temple of Galagnātha at Pattadkal. No. (4), the temple of Gaṇapati at Hangal, is the only temple with a cluster of smaller *śikharas* round the main *śikhara*. In this respect it may be compared with that at Sunak in Gujarāt. But the finials

[1] Burgess, *ASWI.*, IX, p. 105.

[2] See Cousens, *Mediaeval Temples in the Dakhan*, pls. iii-v and ix.

[3] *Ibid.*, pls. xlii-iii.

[4] For a discussion about the origin of their *śikhara*-style, see *Bulletin Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. I, pp. 175-77.

[5] Cousens, *Chalukyan Architecture*, pl. xii.

[6] *Ibid.*, pl., xxii. [7] *Ibid.*, pl. lii. [8] *Ibid.*, lxxxvii.

of the former are more conical, whereas the decoration on the *śikharas* seems to be different.[1]

So far the external appearance. Internally, the massiveness of the pillars of Huchchimalliguḍi may be compared with the similar pillars at Sutrapādā.

From among the later Cālukyan temples, the ceiling of the hall of the Kallaguḍi temple, Degam,[2] may be compared with similar ceilings of Sandera, and other Gujarāt temples. In both the series of concentric circles are cut into cusped arches, while from the centre of the ceiling hangs a lotus-like ornament. Lastly the circular star-shaped shrine of the Dodda Basappa temple at Dambal[3] bears resemblance to the Galtesvara shrine at Sarnal in Gujarāt.

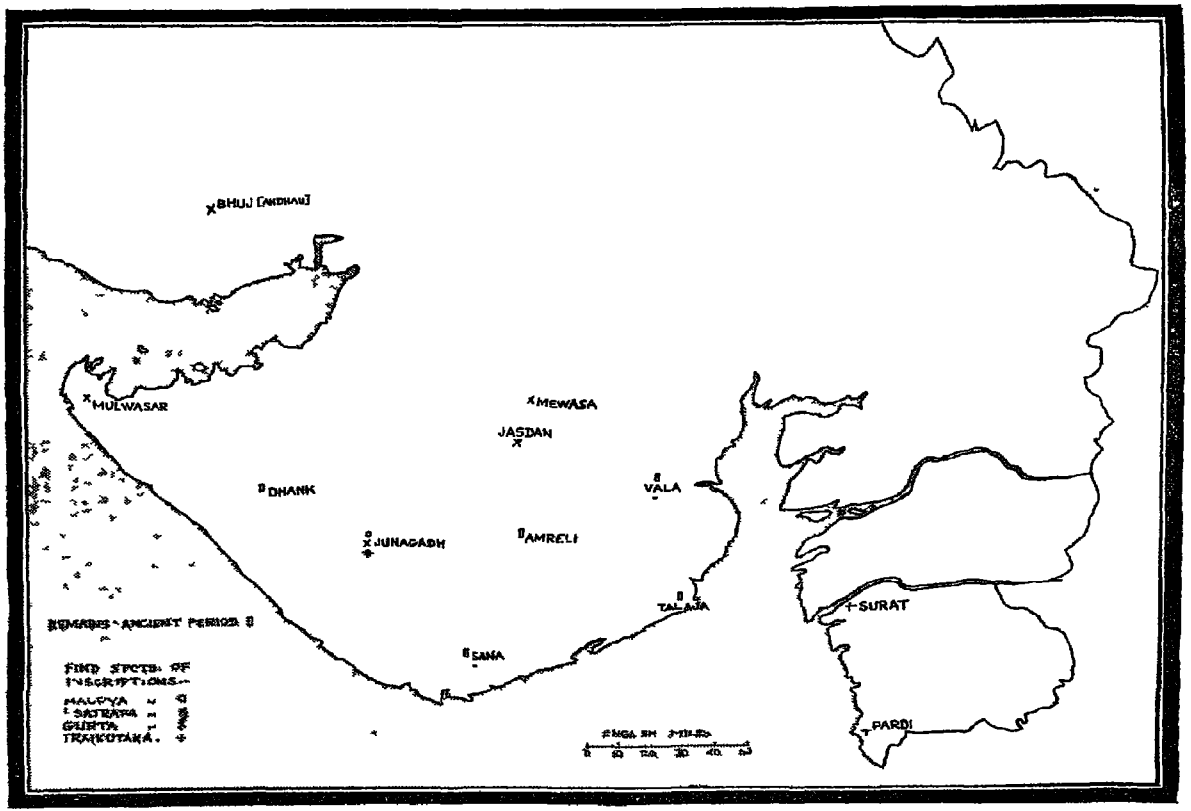
The points of difference otherwise between the Kanarese and Gujarāt temples are many and striking, showing a distinct, independent development. With regard to the temples noted, some of the Cālukyan temples of the Kanarese districts are at least a century or two earlier than Sutrapādā;—the Huchchimalliguḍi is placed in about the 6th–7th century.

Comparison with the contemporary temples of the neighbouring countries, Cutch, Rājputāna, Mālwā, and the parts of C. I., C. P. and U. P., Koṅkaṇ and Karṇāṭaka has revealed the true character of Gujarāt temples. Their *śikhara*-style, particularly, stands out and is different from that of the Paramāra, the later Rāṣṭrakūṭa-Śilāhāra (Ambarnāth), Haihaya and Candella, as well as from that of the Cālukya; while with Cutch and Rājputāna temples resemblances are many, because, perhaps, they were under the Caulukya influence; the few points of difference may be ascribed to local influences. This style of the Gujarāt temples is here designated as Caulukya after the dynasty which built them.

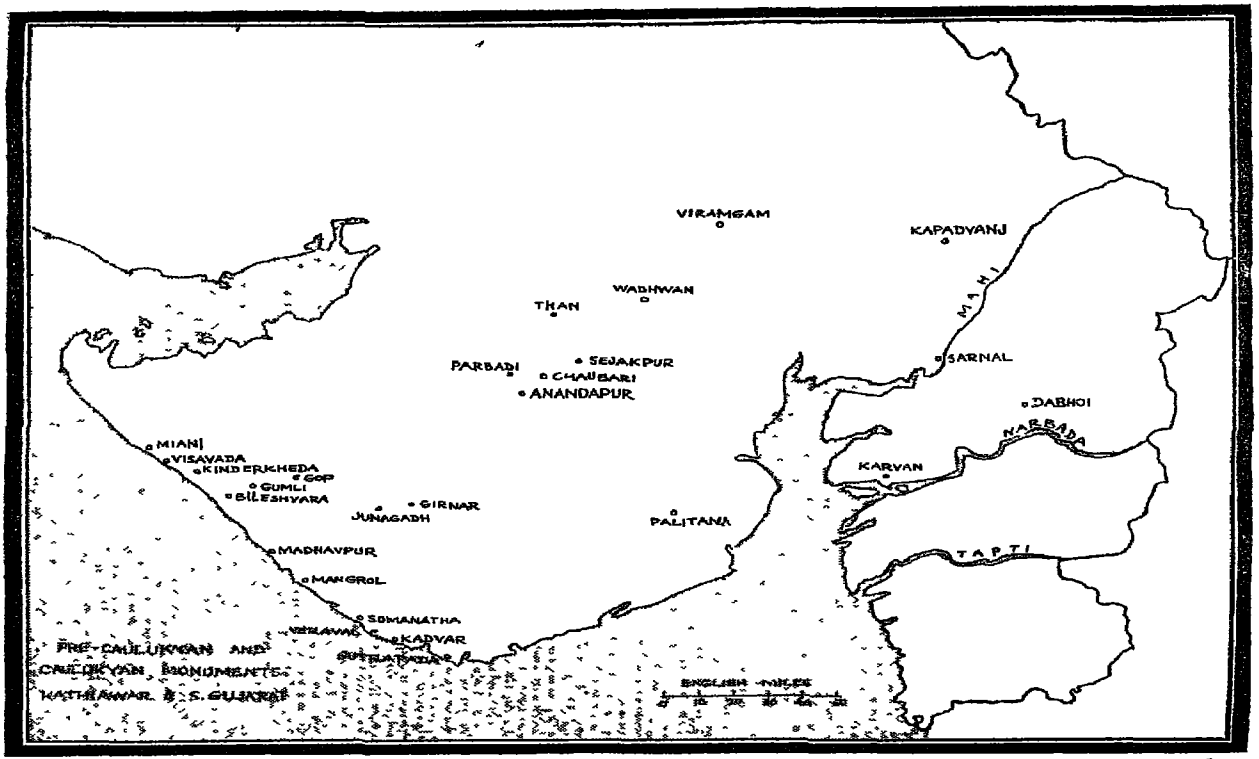
Gujarāt thus seems to have had two cultural phases. In the first, from the early historical times upto the 10th century A. D., the available evidence shows it to be purely receptive. It then imbibed cultural movements which had developed outside, but with which it came into contact. From this role it emerged as a creator in the next, when (as a politician would put it) it got rulers who became one with it. With the acquisition of independence, Gujarāt began to create (as well as receive) in every sphere of life—art, architecture, literature and religion. These creative activities resulted in a cultural unity which was later called Gujarāt.

[1] *Caitya*-windows are not clearly seen. [2] Cousens, o. c., pl. cxxxiv.

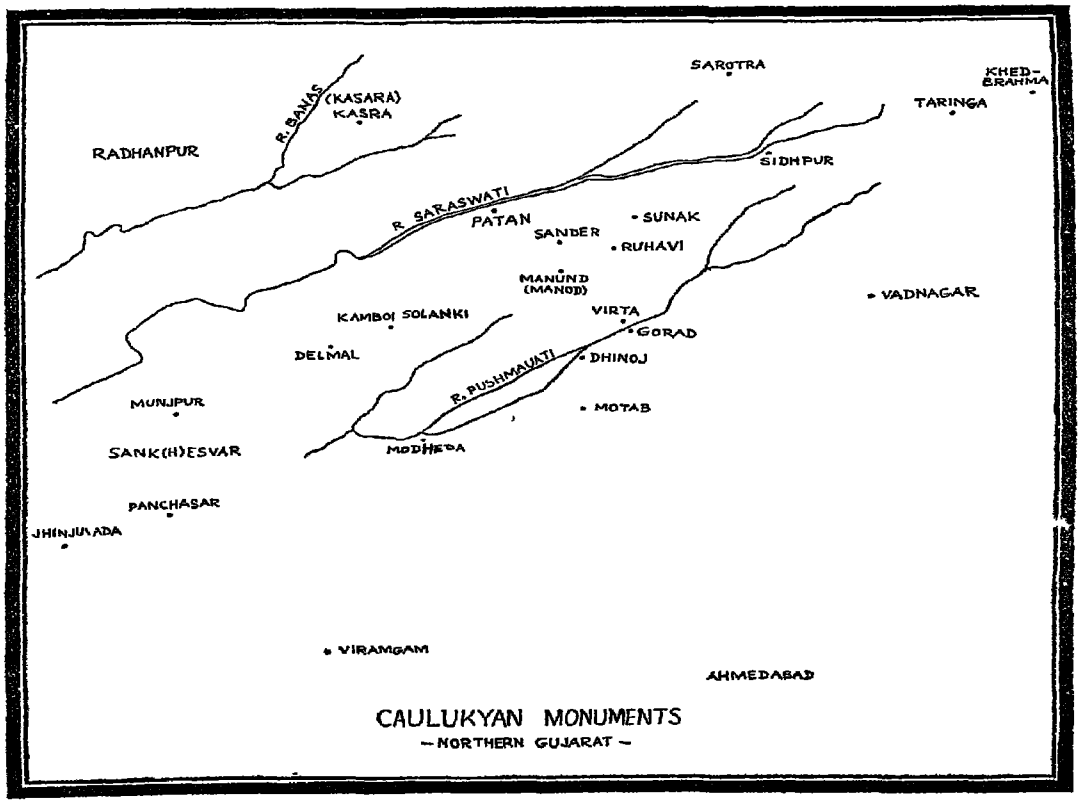
[3] *Ibid.*, pl. cxxv.



MONUMENTS and INSCRIPTIONS ANCIENT PERIOD



MONUMENTS: EARLY MEDIAEVAL and MEDIAEVAL PERIOD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KHED-BRAHMA
TARINGA
(KASARA) KASRA
R. BANAS
RADHANPUR
SIDHPUR
R. SARASWATI
PATAN
SUNAK
SANDER
RUHAVI
MANUND (MANOD)
VADNAGAR
KAMBOI SOLANKI
VIRTA
GORAD
DELMAL
DHINOJ
R. PUSHMAVATI
MUNJPUR
MOTAB
SANK(H)ESVAR
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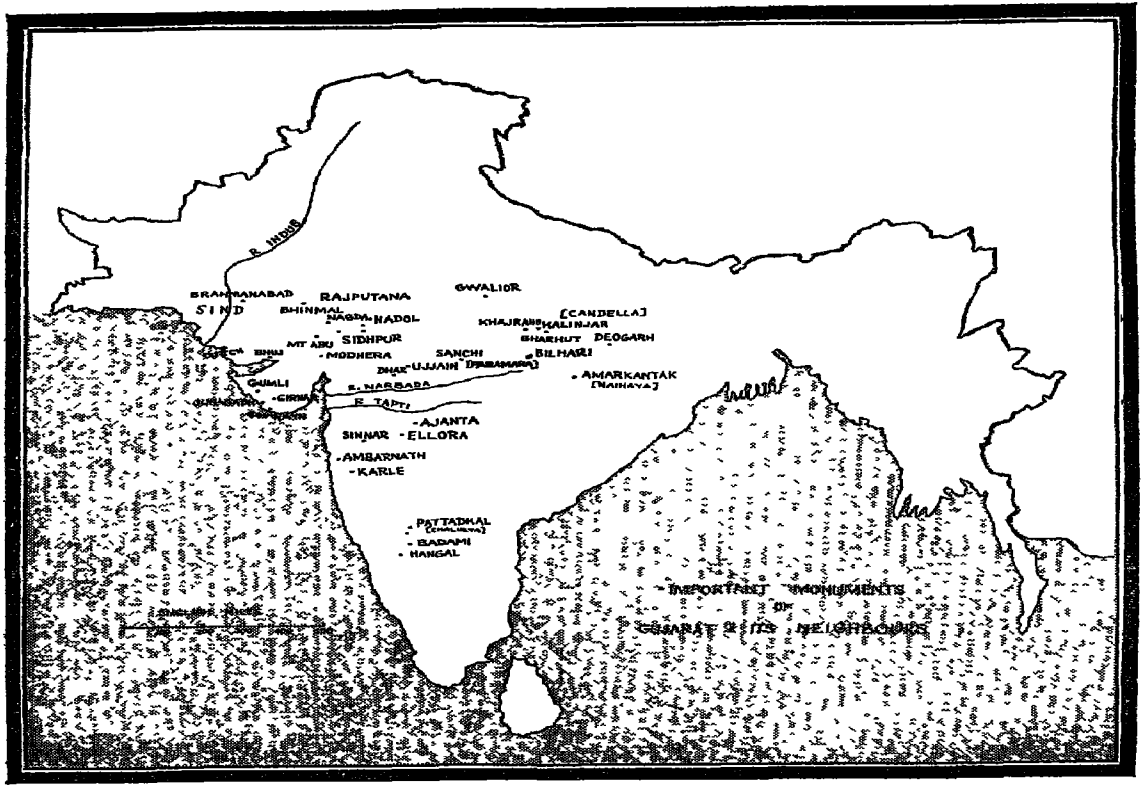
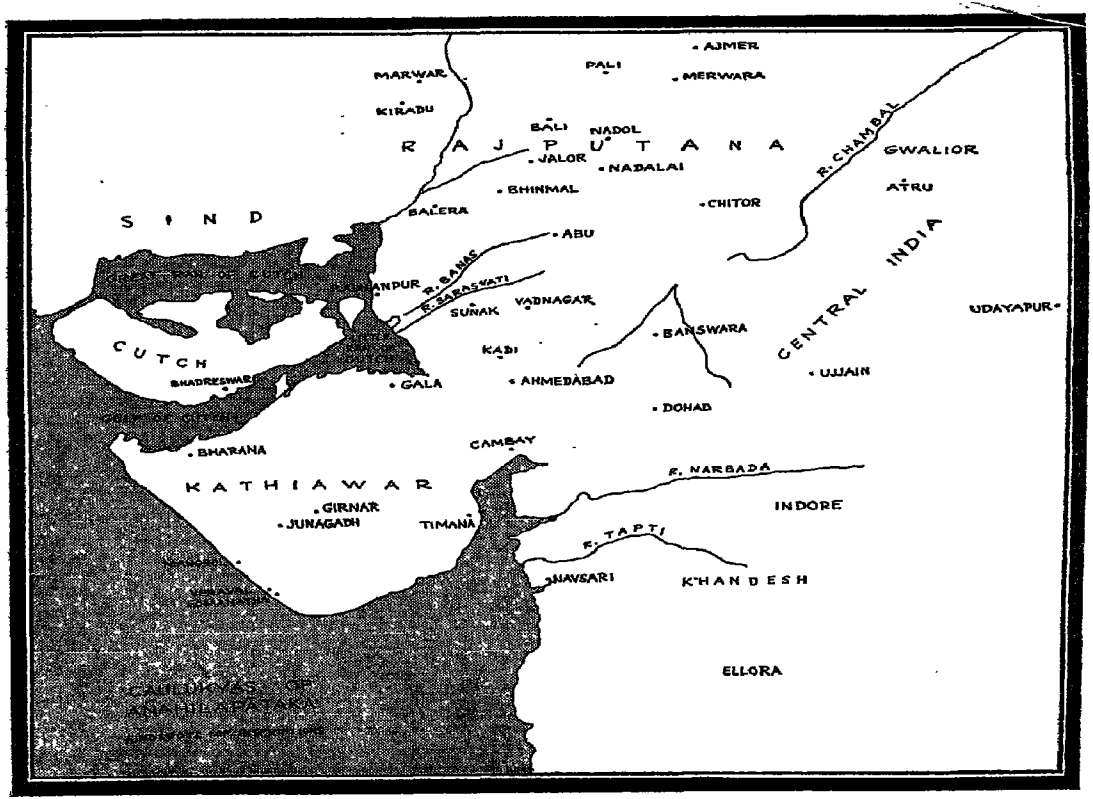
JHINJUVADA
VIRAMGAM
AHMEDABAD
CAULUKYAN MONUMENTS
— NORTHERN GUJARAT —



MONUMENTS : GUJARAT and ITS NEIGHBOURS


AJMER
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BALI
NADOL
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GWALIOR
BHINMAL
ATRU
CHITOR
S I N D
BALERA
ABU
R. BANAS
R. SARASWATI
SUNAK
VADNAGAR
CENTRAL INDIA
UDAYAPUR
BANSWARA
CUTCH
KADI
BHADRESWAR
GALA
AHMEDABAD
UJJAIN
DOHAD
BHARANA
CAMBAY
R. NARBADA
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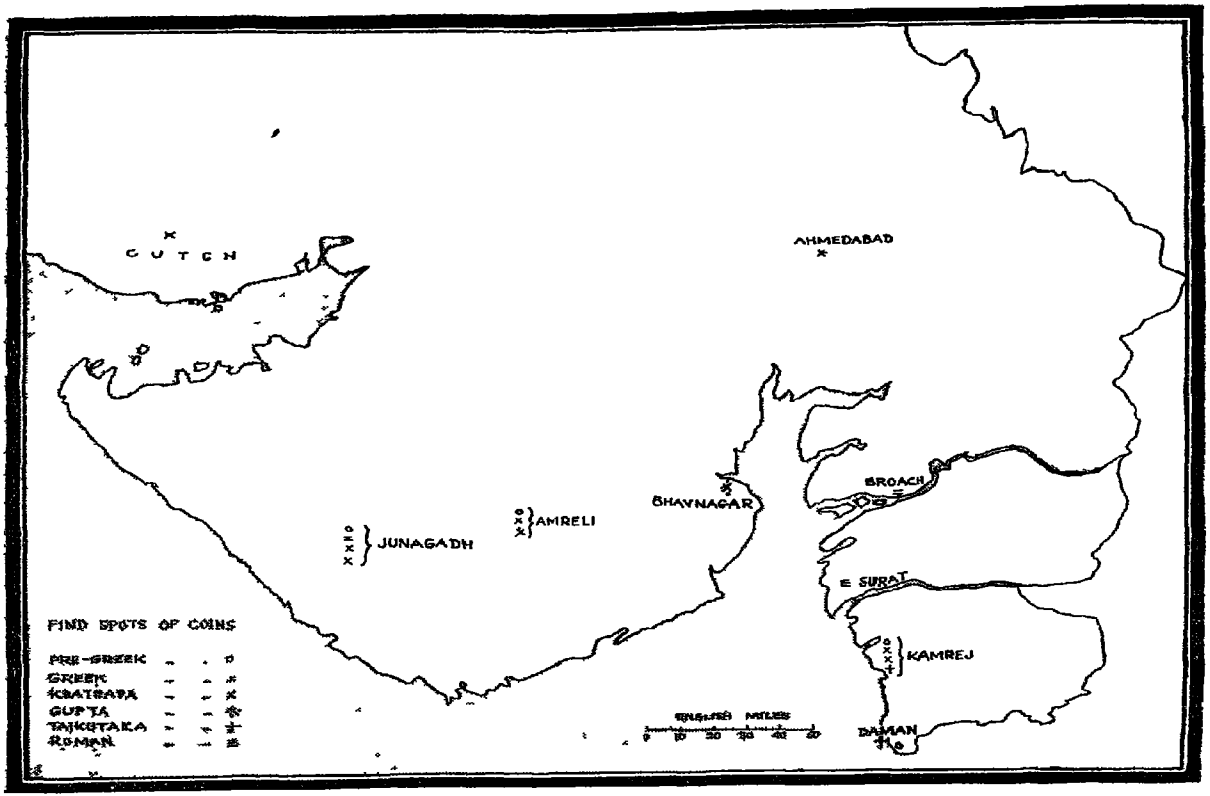
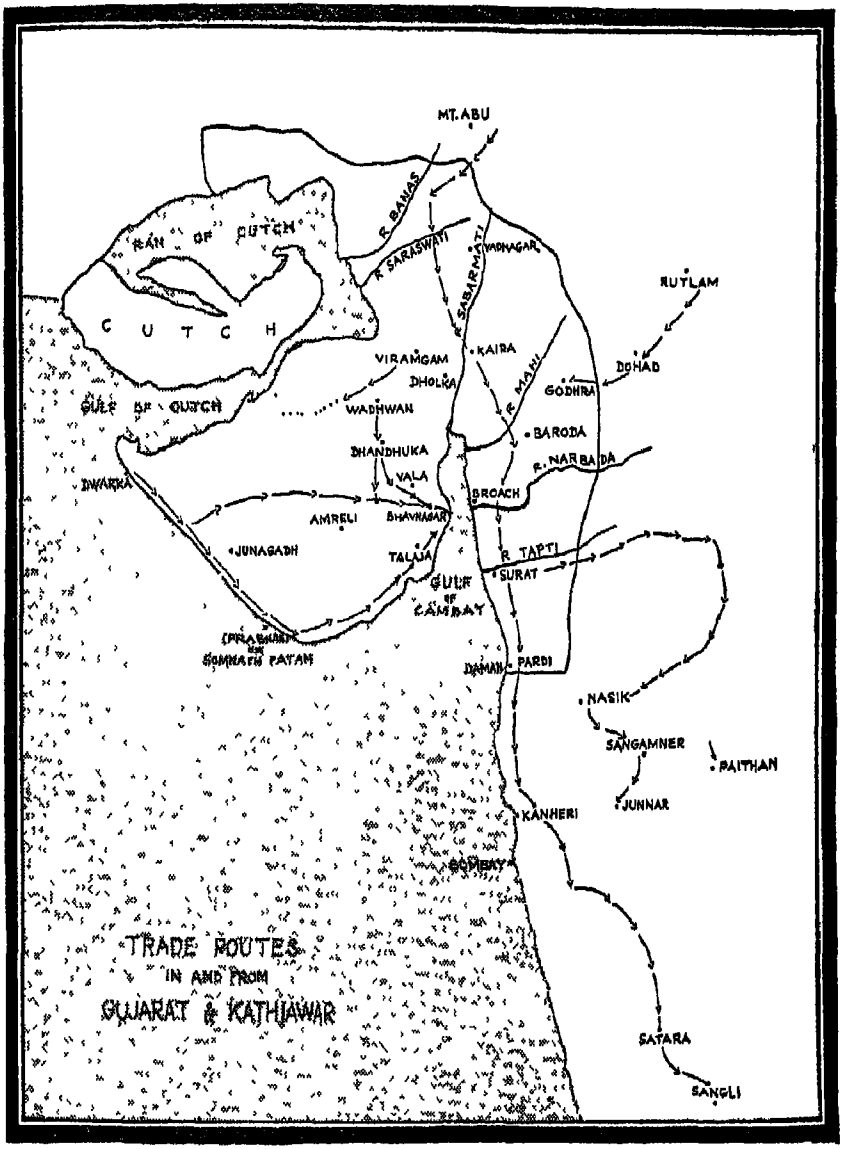


COINS: ANCIENT PERIOD

VII



TRADE ROUTES: GUJARAT and KATHIAWAR

The Plates have been arranged to show the development of architecture and sculpture in Gujarāt. It was not possible to mention the source of each illustration below the illustration itself, except in a few cases, without overcrowding the plate. But it must be recorded here that the copyright of illustrations, Nos. 1-20, 23, 27-28, 30-32, 37, 51-52 56-57, 59-60, 62 and 73 is reserved by the Archaeological Survey of India and of others by persons and institutions mentioned under "Acknowledgments."

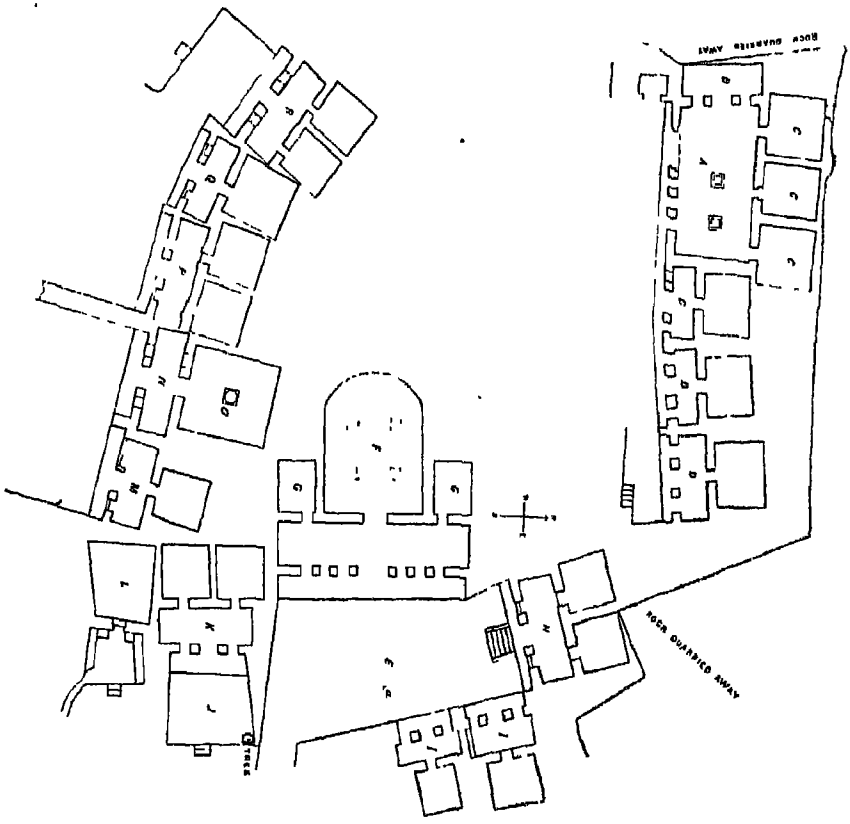


FIG. 1 CAVES, BAWA PYARA MATH, JUNAGARH I. 47

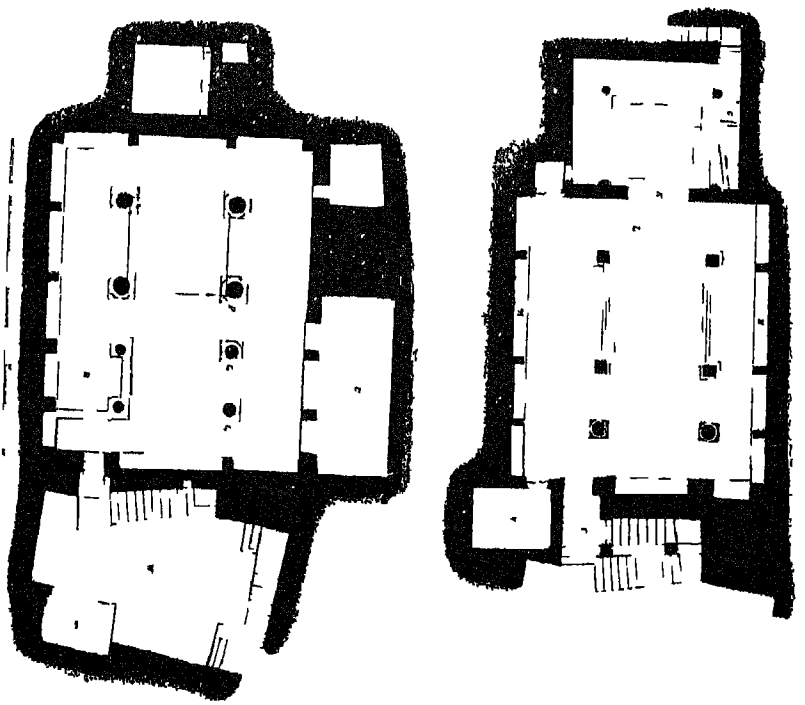


FIG. 2 CAVES, UPARKOT, JUNAGARH I 50

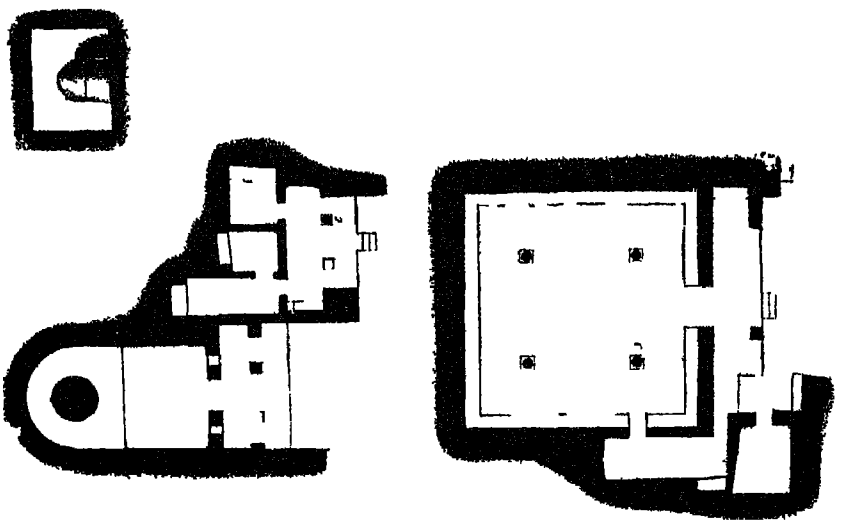


FIG. 3 CAITYA CAVE AND VIHARA, SANA I 52

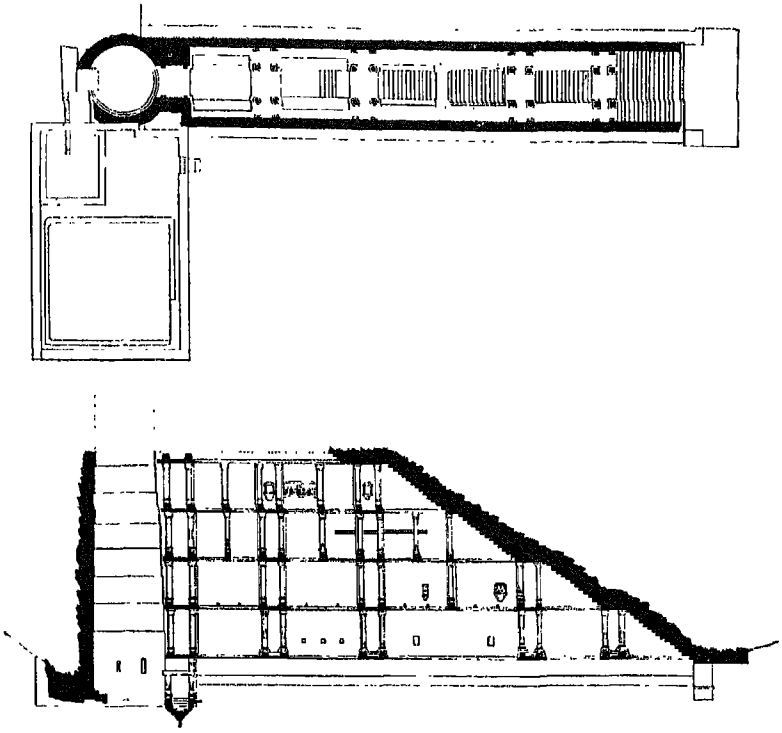


FIG. 4 PLAN, VAV, VAVAD P. 71

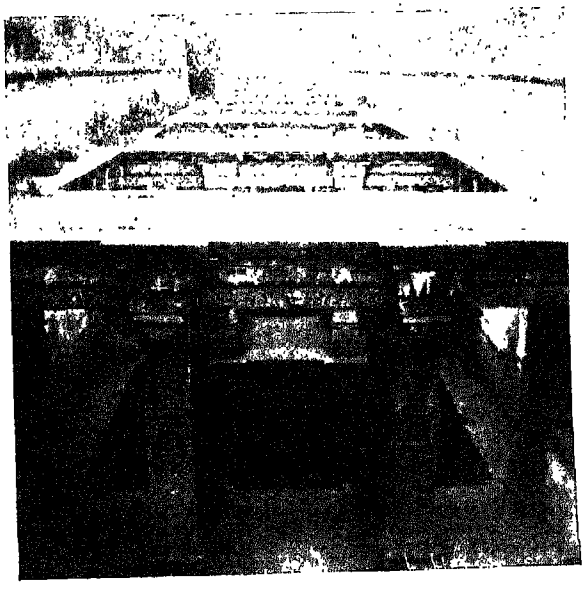


FIG. 78 BAROT VAV, PATAN P. 71

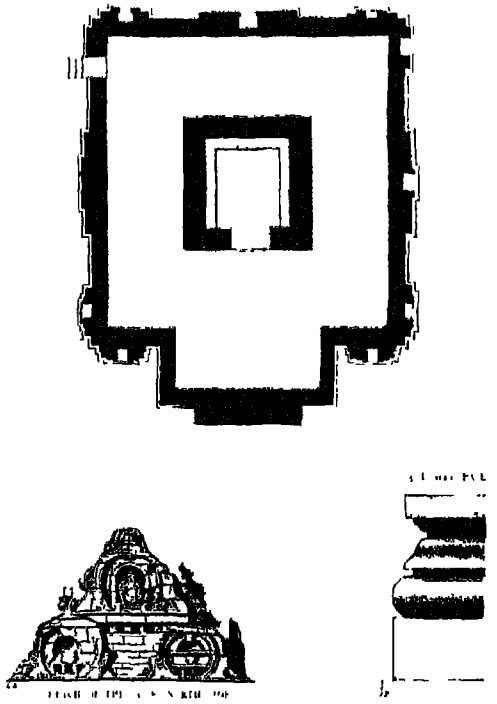


FIG. 5 PLAN AND DETAILS OF THE TEMPLE, GOP P. 55

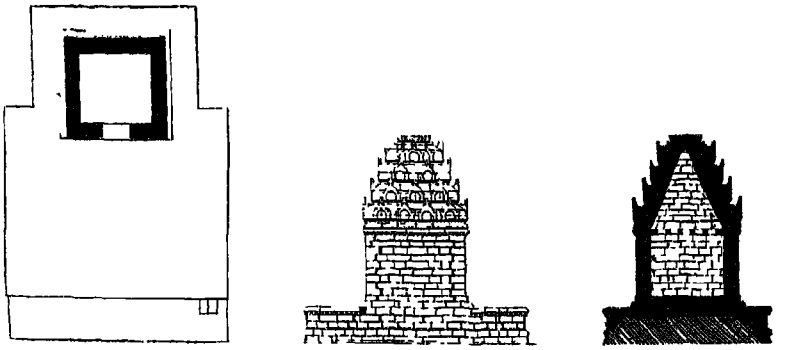


FIG. 6 PLAN OF THE OLD TEMPLE, VISAVADA P. 59

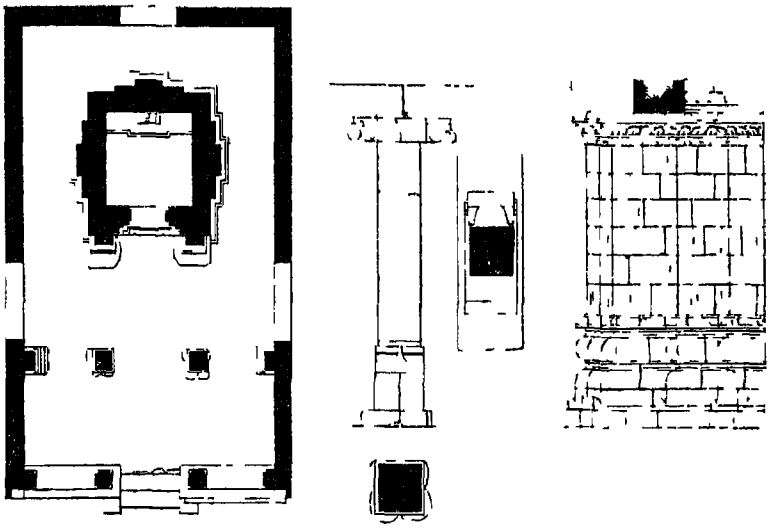


FIG. 7 PLAN, TEMPLE, VISAVADA P. 59

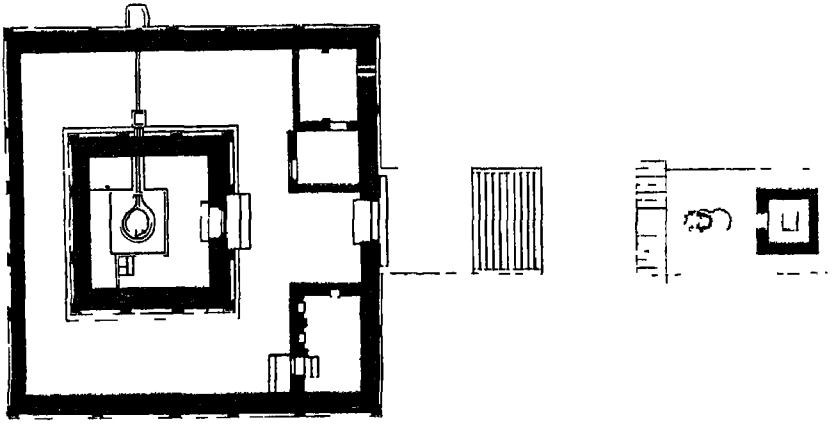


FIG. 8 PLAN, TEMPLE, BILESVARA P. 59

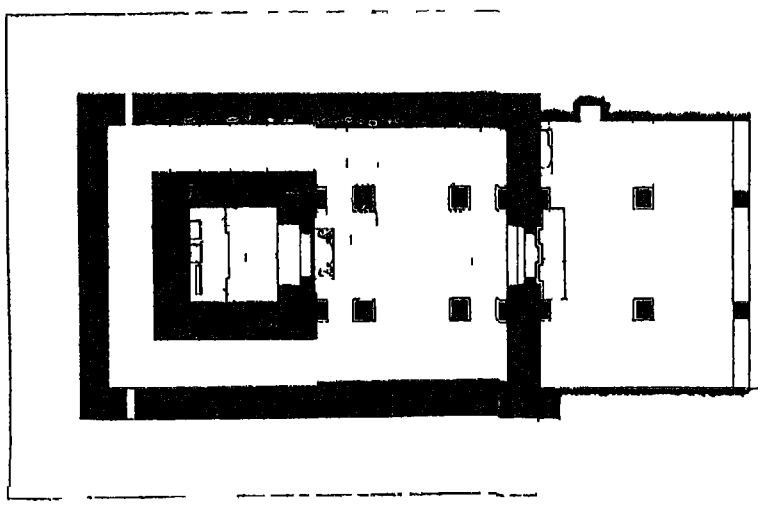


FIG. 9 PLAN, SUN TEMPLE, SURAPADA P. 59

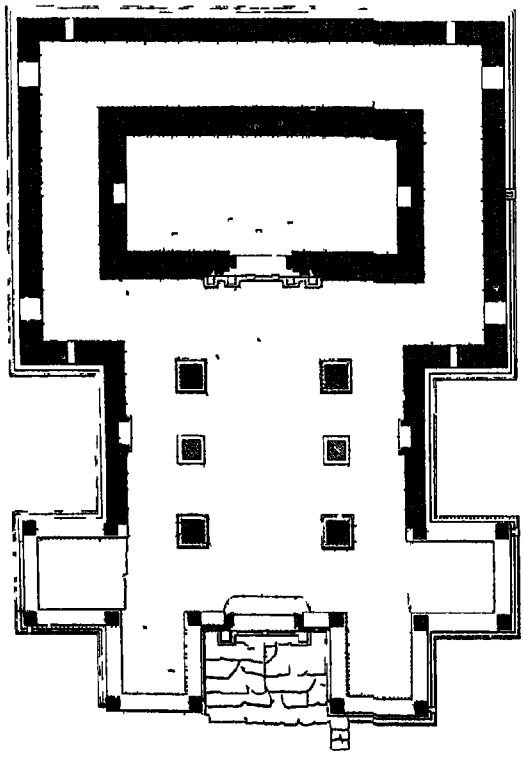


FIG. 10 PLAN, TEMPLE, KADVAR P. 63

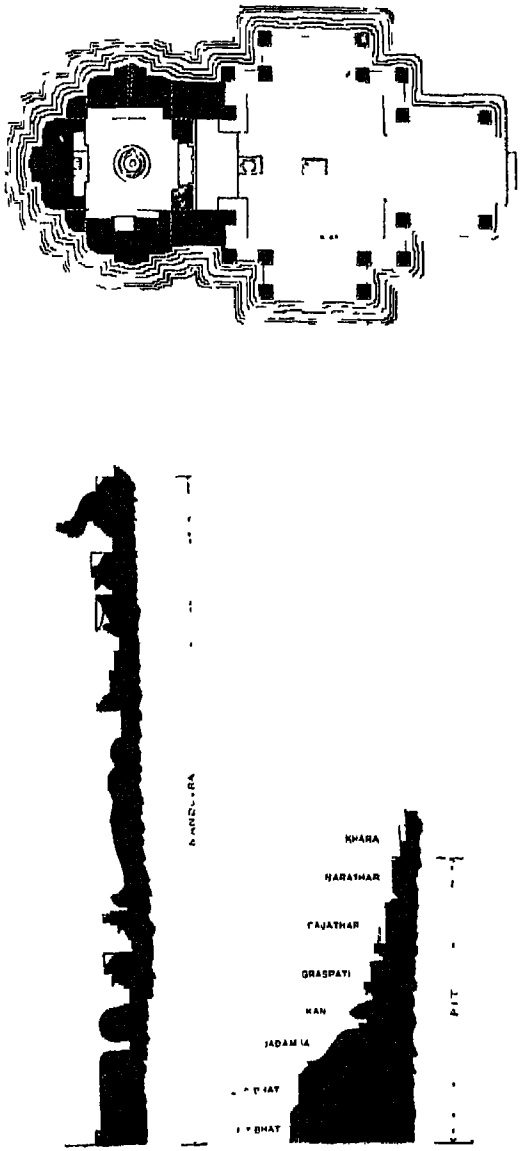


FIG. 11 PLAN AND DETAILS, TEMPLE, SUNAK P. 71

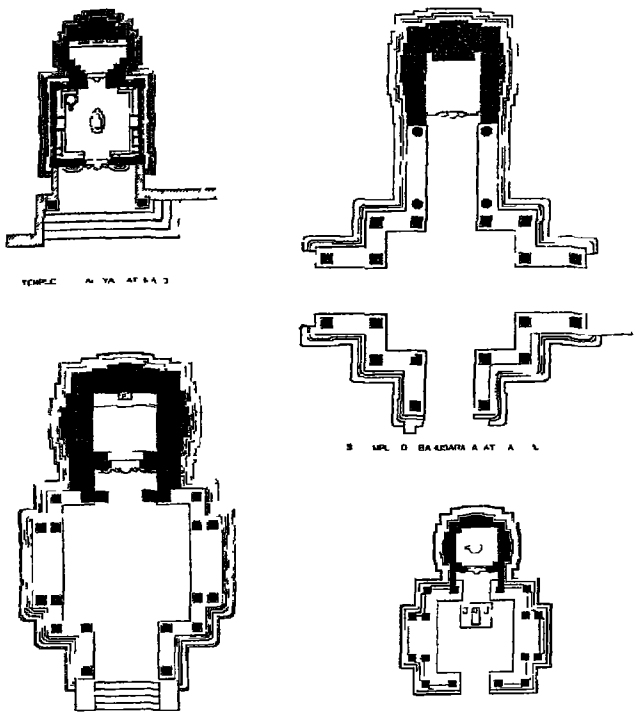


FIG 12 PLAN, TEMPLES, MANOD, KANODA, DHINOJ AND VIRTA P. 77

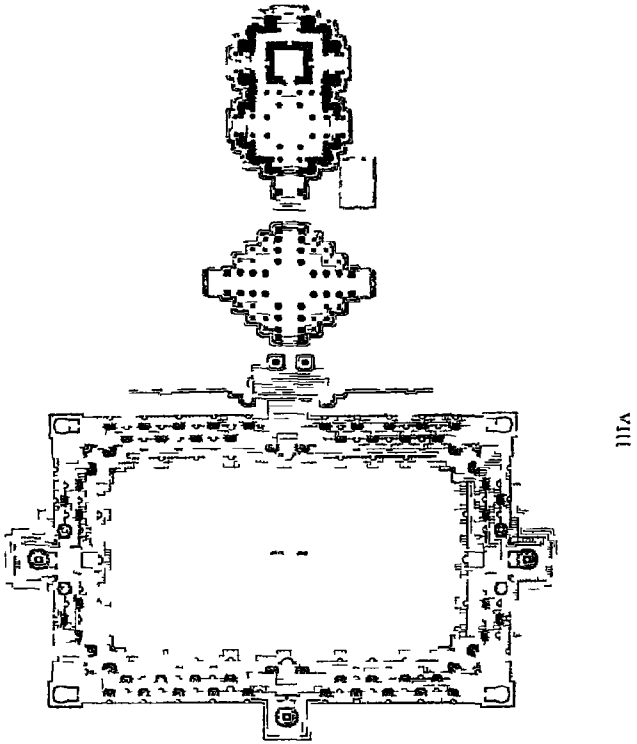


FIG 13 PLAN, KUNDA AND TEMPLE, MODHERA P 70 & 84

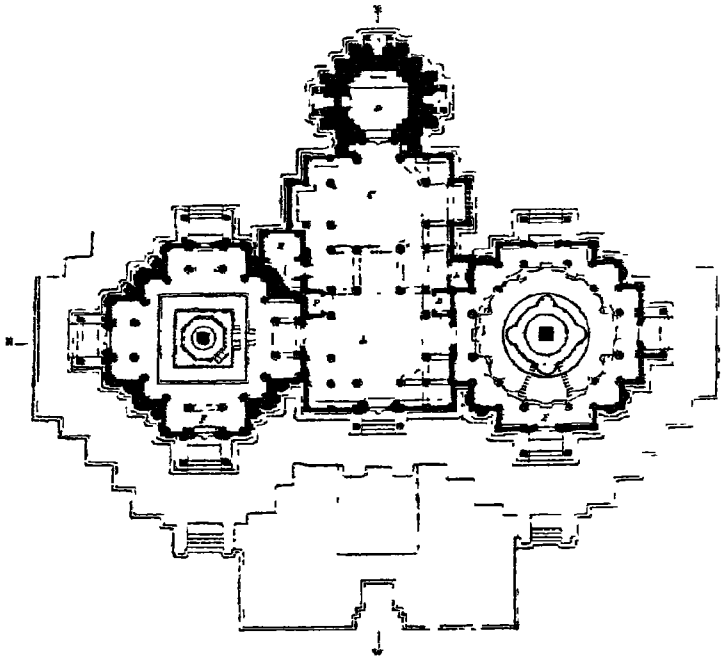
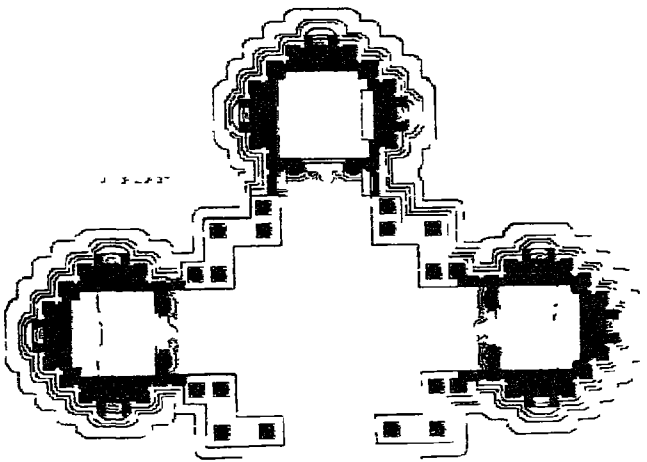


FIG. 20 PLAN, TRIPLE SHRINE GERNAR P 110



PLAN TRIPLE SHRINE, K S

FIG. 4. CAITYA WINDOWS AND PILLARS, UPARKOT CAVE, JUNAGADH

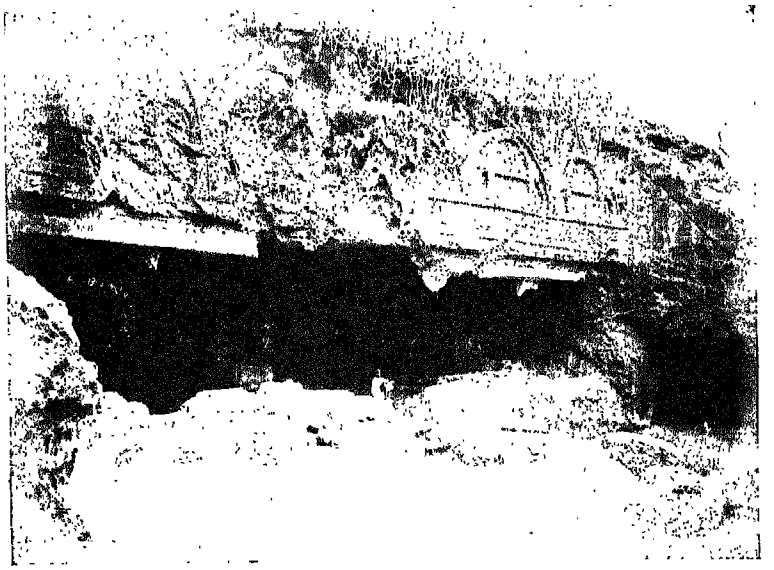


FIG. 23 CAITYAWINDOW DESIGN, EBHAL MANDAP, TALAJA P. 53

FIG. 24 PILLARS AND VEDIKA DESIGN, P. 54 & 128
JHINJHURIJHARA CAVES, NEAR DHANK

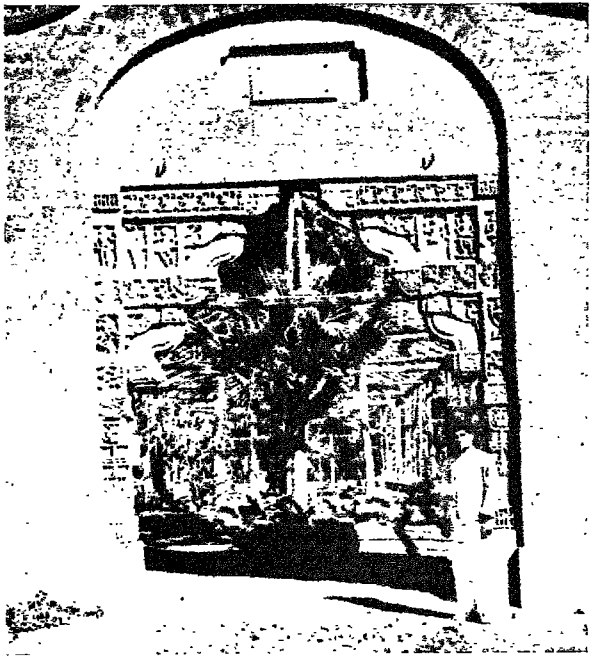


FIG. 25 GATEWAY FROM GUMLI P. 67

Courtesy: RAJKOT MUSEUM

FIG. 26 GATEWAY, UPARKOT, JUNAGARH P. 68

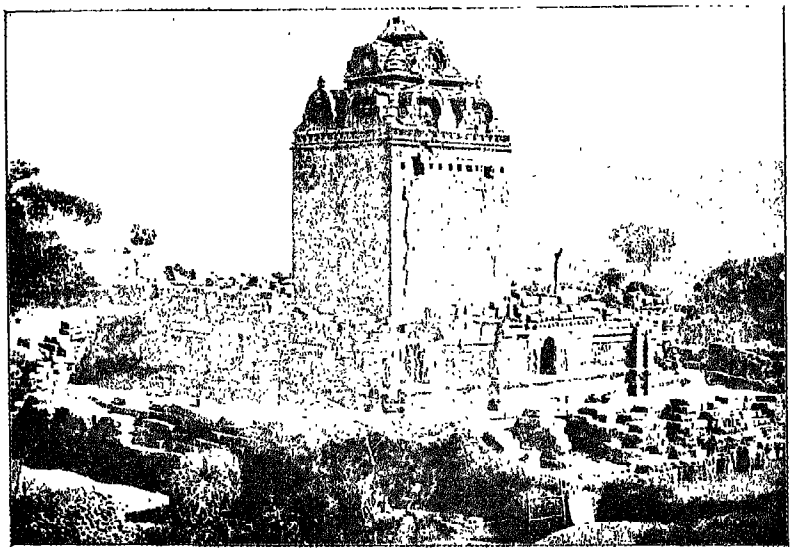


FIG. 27 TEMPLE AT GOP P. 55

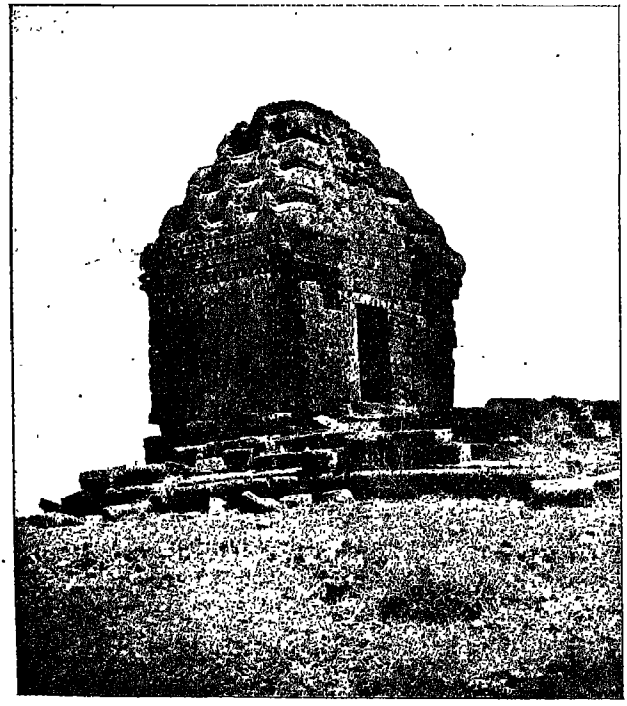


FIG. 28 OLD TEMPLE, VISAVADA P. 59

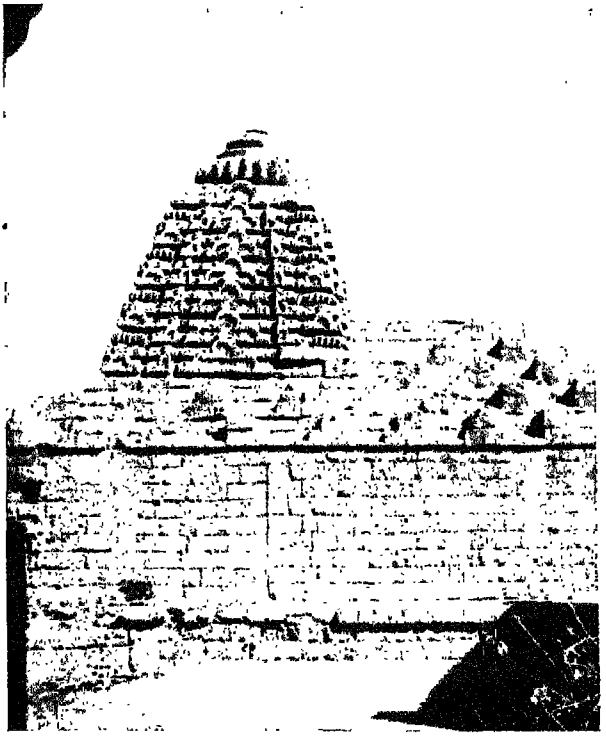


FIG. 29 BACK VIEW, SURYA TEMPLE, SUTRAPADA P. 59

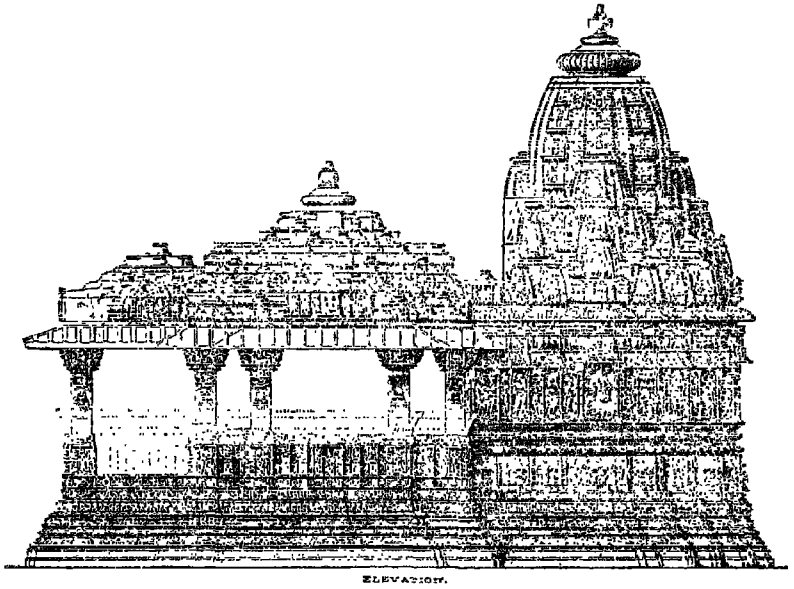


FIG. 30 NILAKANTHESVARA TEMPLE, SUNAK P. 74

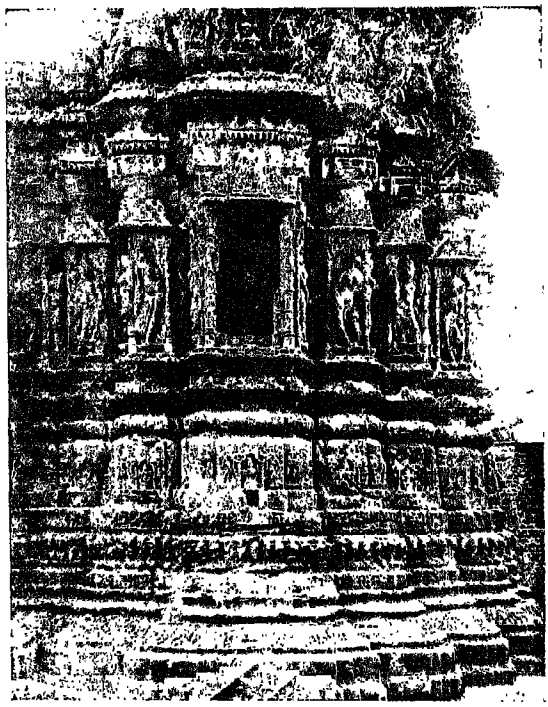


FIG. 31 BACK VIEW, NILAKANTHESVARA TEMPLE, SUNAK P. 75

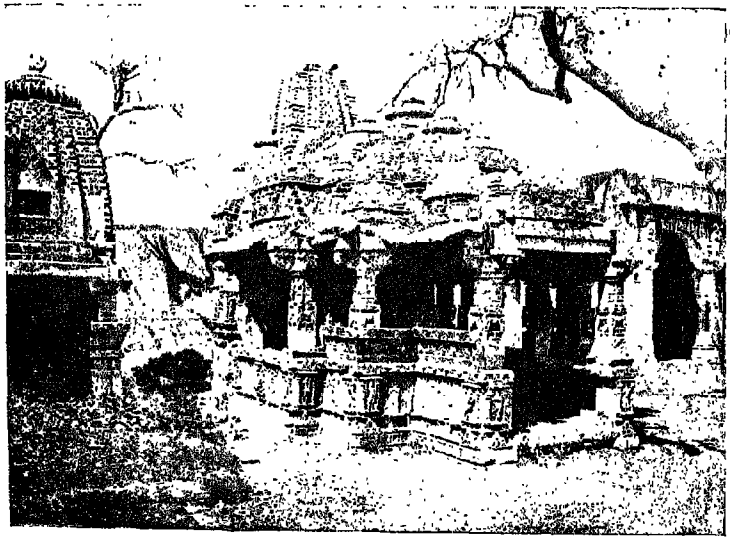


FIG. 32 TEMPLES AT SANDERA P. 78-79

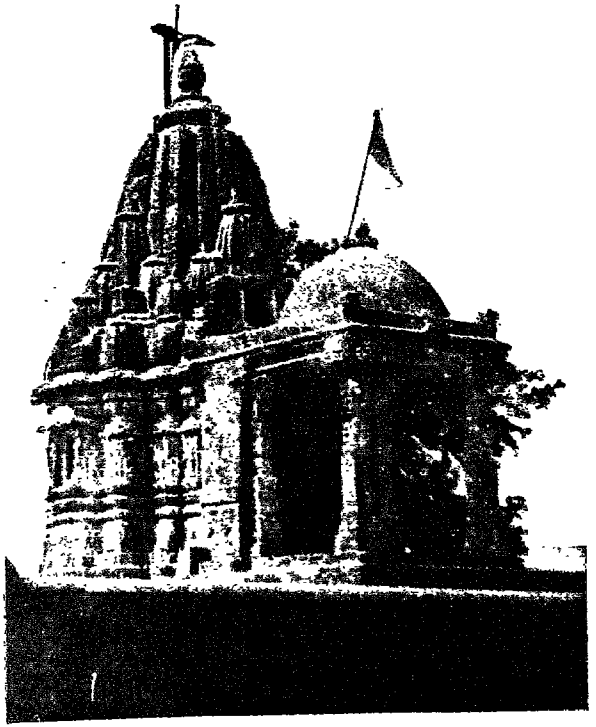


FIG. 33 TEMPLE AT RUHAVI P. 77

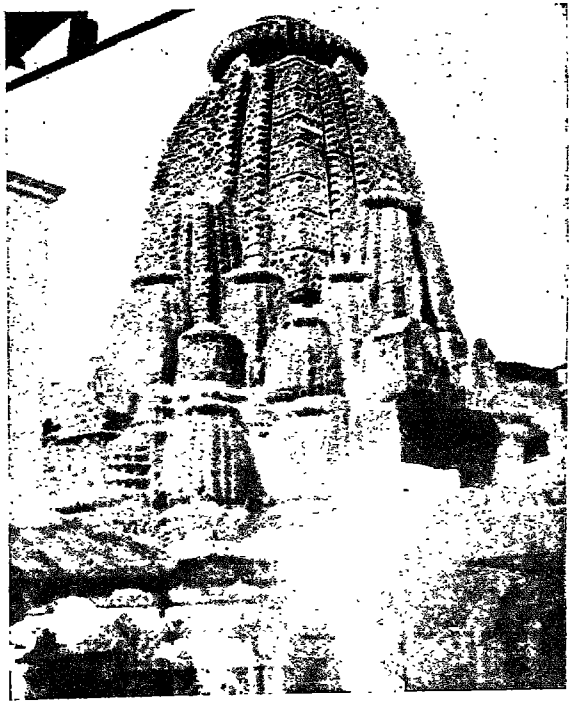


FIG. 34 TEMPLE, RUDRAMAL, SIDHPUR P. 94

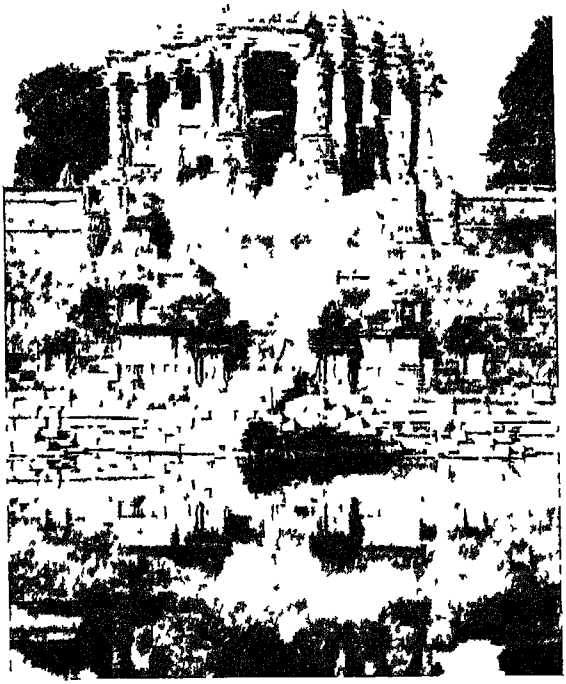
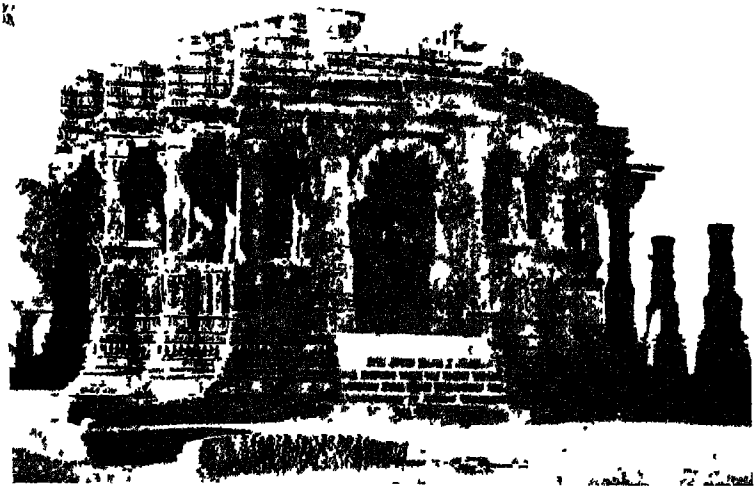


FIG. 35 KUNDA & SABHAMANDAPA, MODHERA P. 51



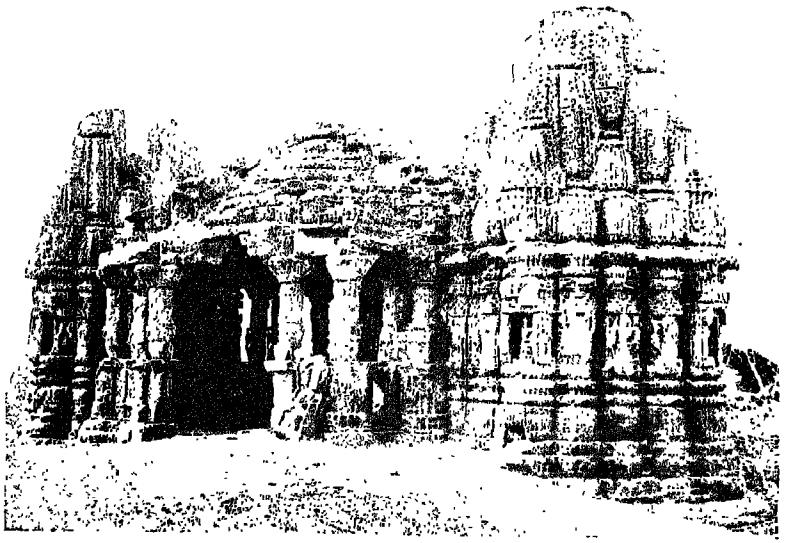


FIG. 37 TRIPLE SHRINE, KASARA P. 81

FIG. 38 JAINA TEMPLES AND THE VALLEY OF LAKE SUDARSANA? GIRNAR P. 46

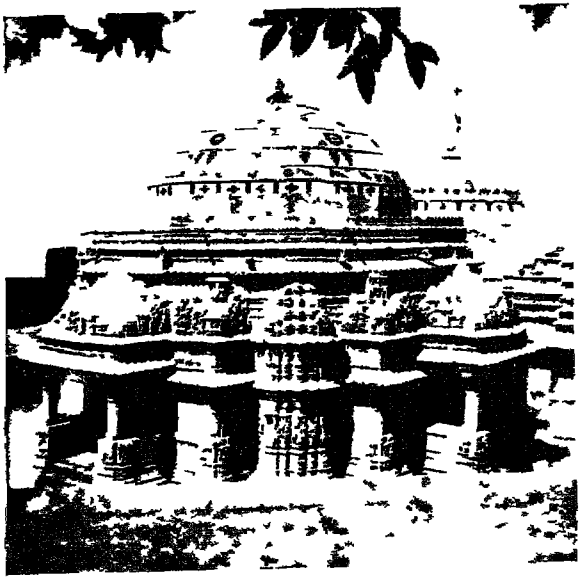


FIG 39 MANDAPA WITH LATER DOMES, TRIPLE SHRINE GIRNAR P 110

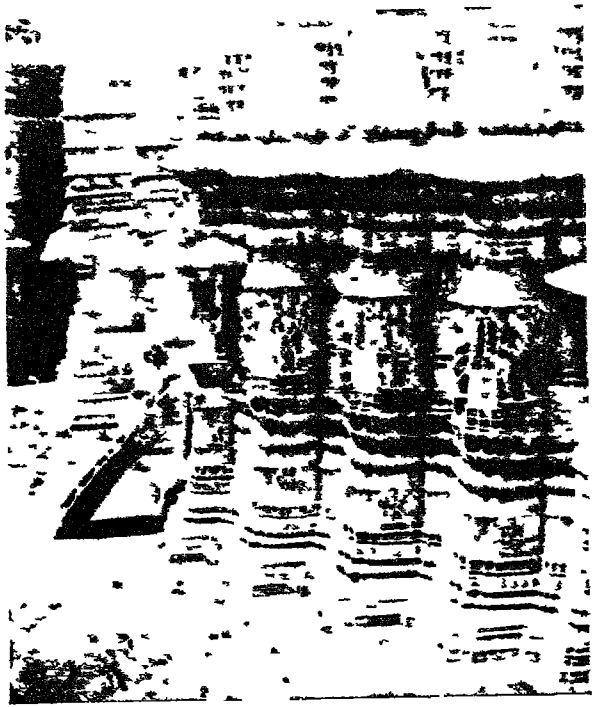


FIG 40 SIDE VIEW VASTUPALA TEMPLE GIRNAR P 110

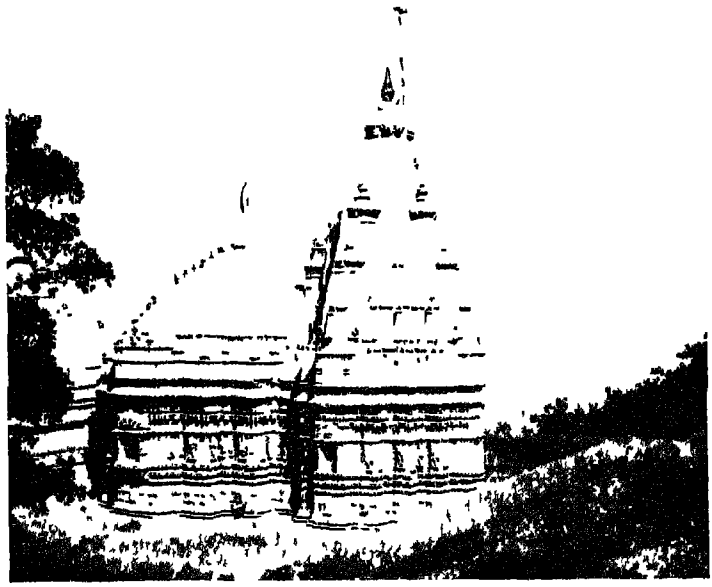


FIG. 41 TRIPLE SHRINE, GIRNAR P. 110

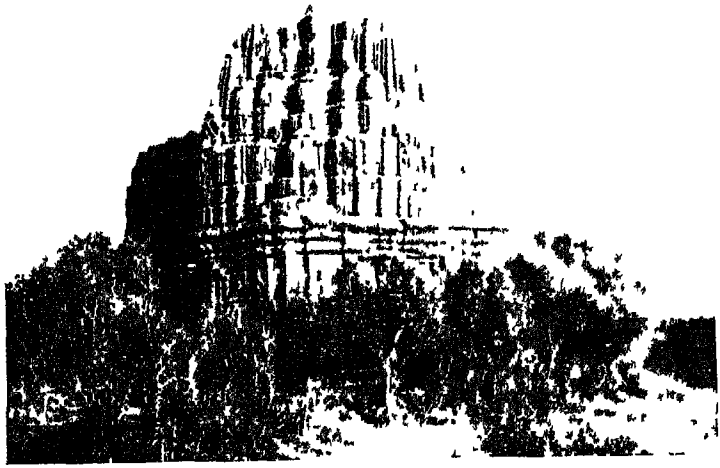


FIG. 42 SURYA NARAYANA TEMPLE, PRABHAS P. 95

FIG. 43 ENTRANCE DECORATION, SOMANATHA TEMPLE P. 107

FIG. 44 CEILING, MANDAPA, SANDERA TEMPLE P. 78 & 128

FIG. 45 CEILING, SABHAMANDAPA, VIMALA TEMPLE, ABU P. 107 & 121

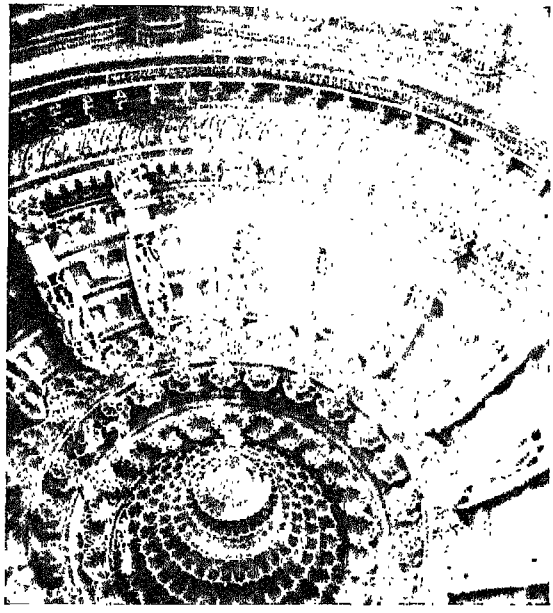


FIG. 46 CEILING, SABHAMANDAPA, TEJAHPALA TEMPLE, ABU P. 109 & 1

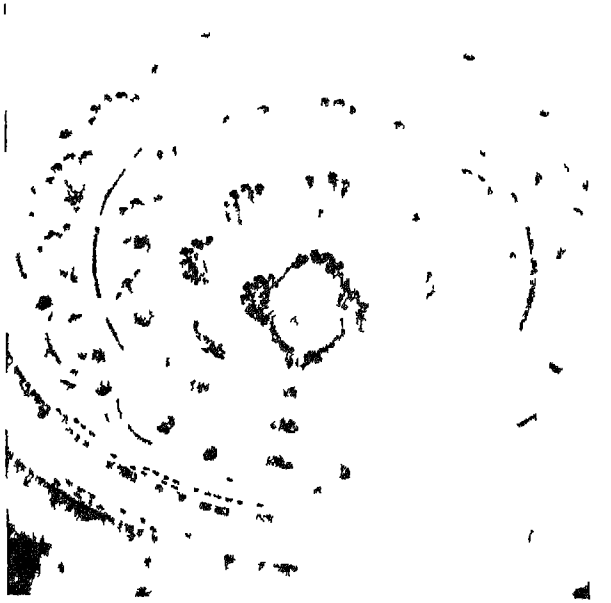


FIG. 47 CEILING, JAMI MASJID, SOMNATH [101 & 121

FIG. 48 CEILING, MAIPURI MASJID, SOMNATH [101 & 121

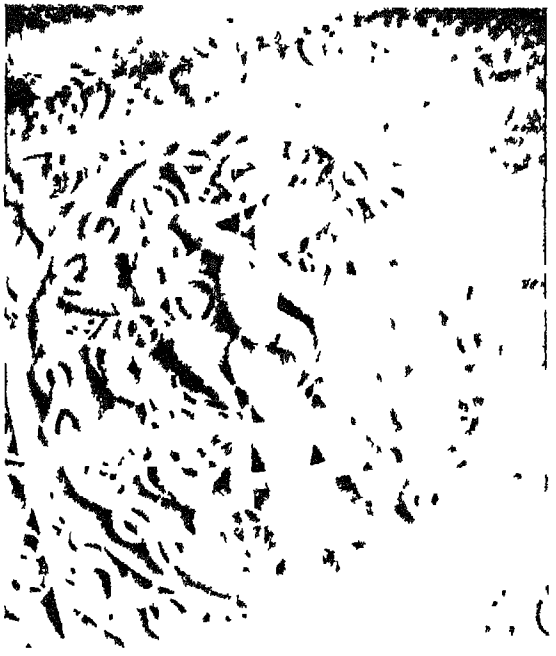


FIG 49 KALYANMANDAPA, CEILING, SOMANATHA TEMPLE p 101 & 154

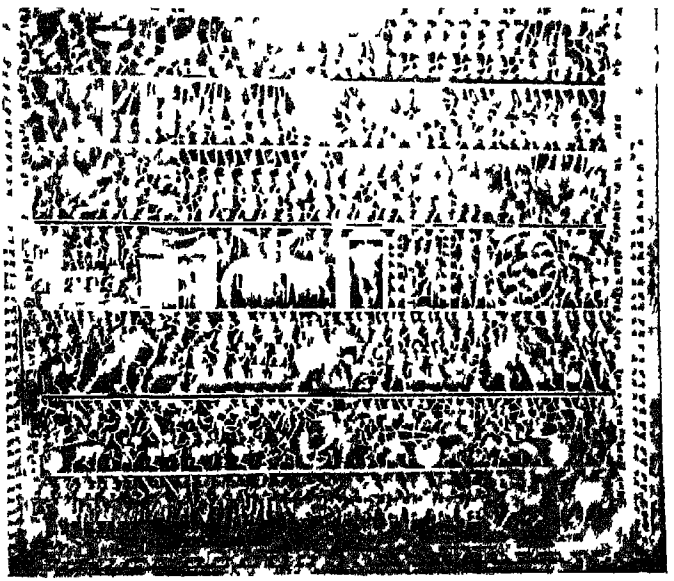


FIG 50 CEILING DEPICTING THE RENUNCIATION OF NEMINATHA, TEJAHPALA TEMPLE, ABU p 103 & 119

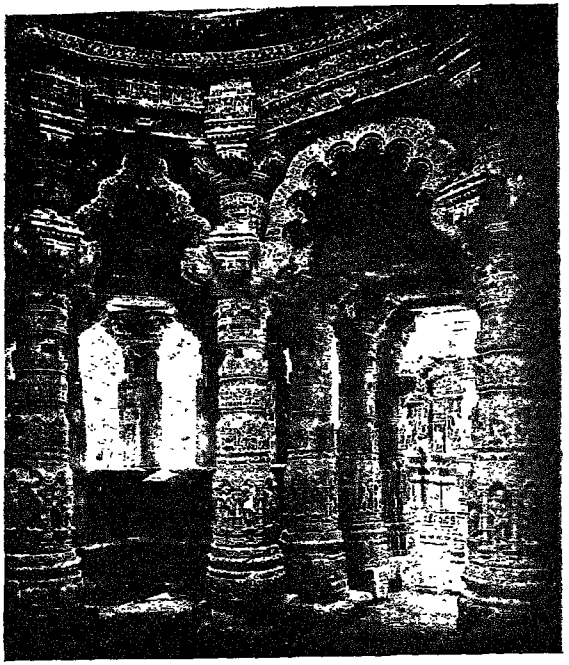


FIG. 51 PILLARS AND TORANAS, MODHERA P. 88

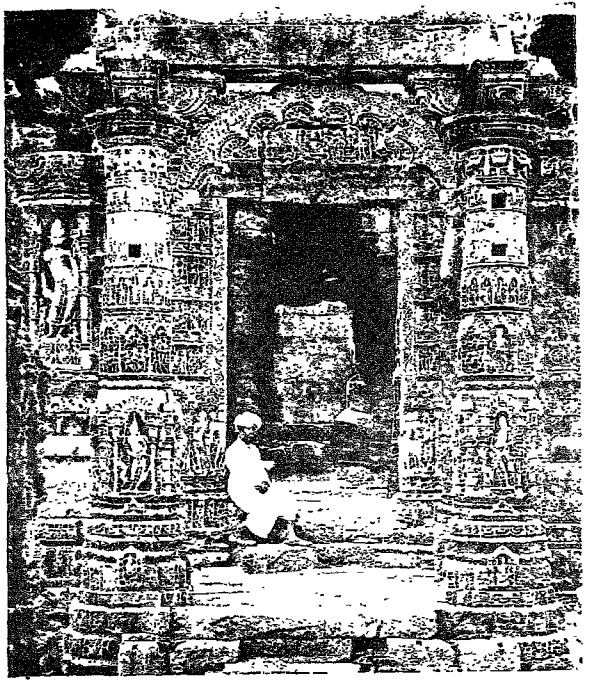


FIG. 52 TORANA AND PILLARS, MODHERA P. 85

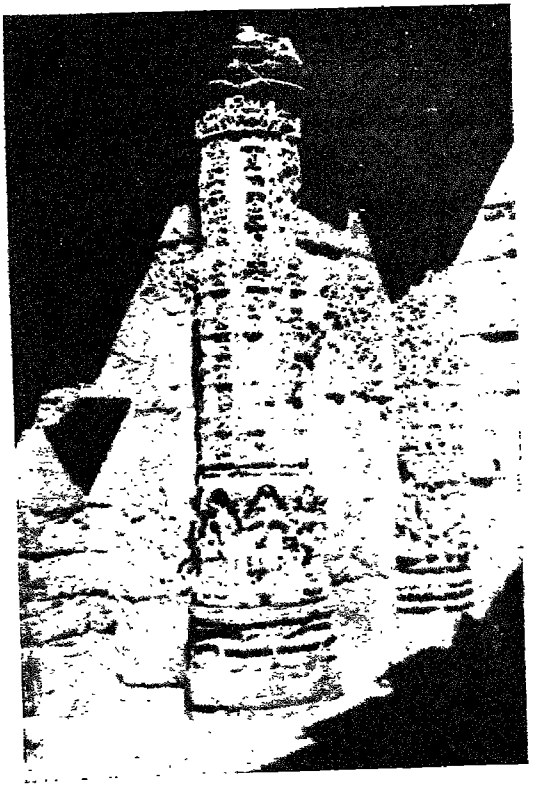


FIG. 53 PILASTERS, SUN TEMPLE ON THE HIRANYA, SOMNATH P.

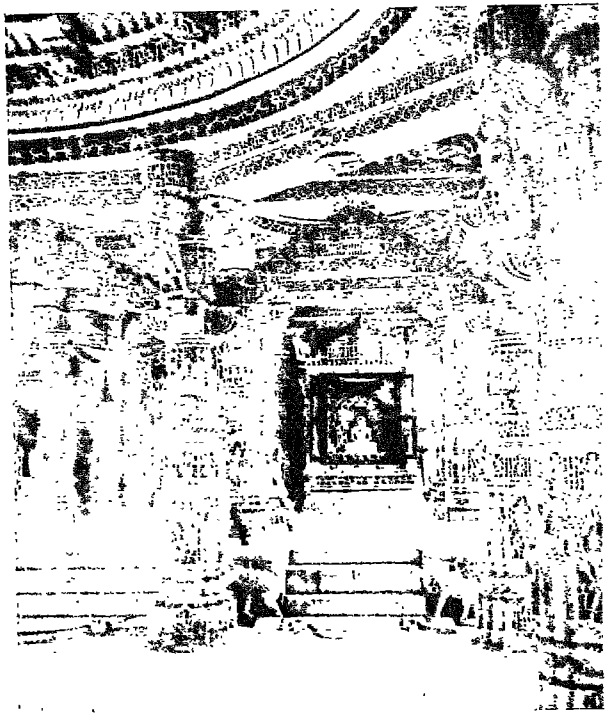


FIG. 54 TORANA AND PILLARS, TEJAHPALA TEMPLE, ABU P. 108

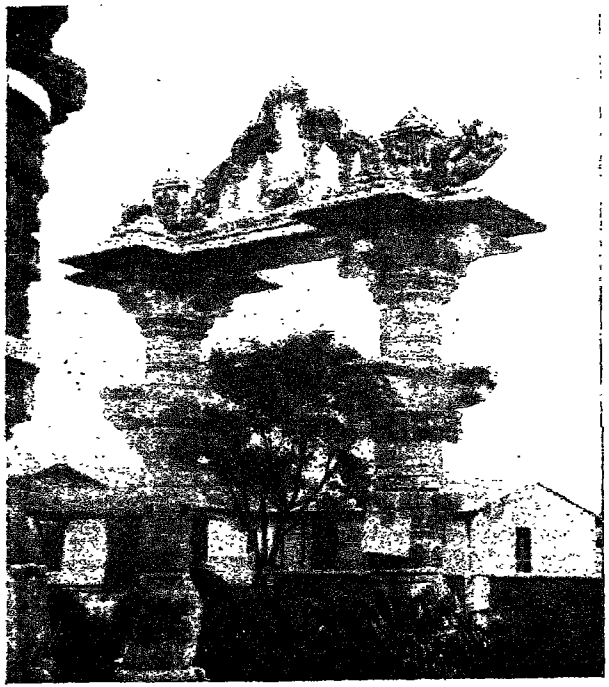


FIG. 55 KIRTITORANA, RUDRAMAL, SIDHPUR P. 96

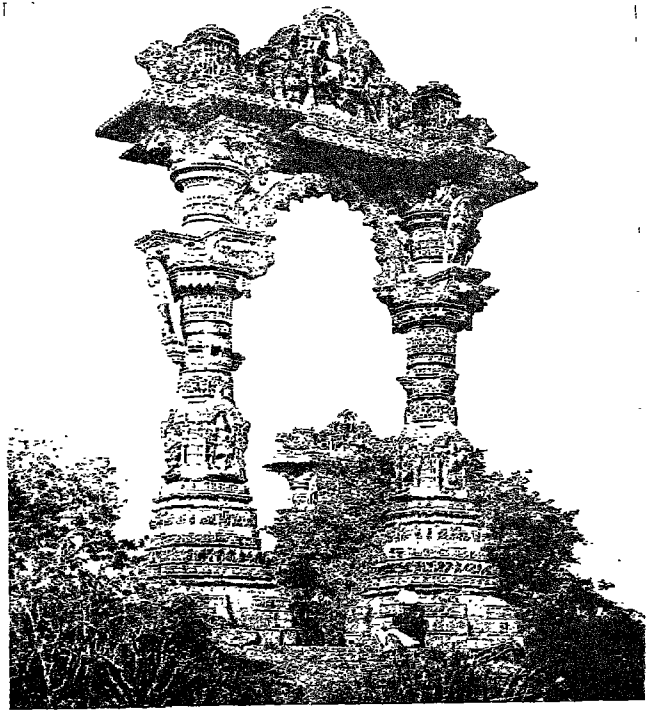


FIG. 56 KIRTITORANA, VADNAGAR P. 56

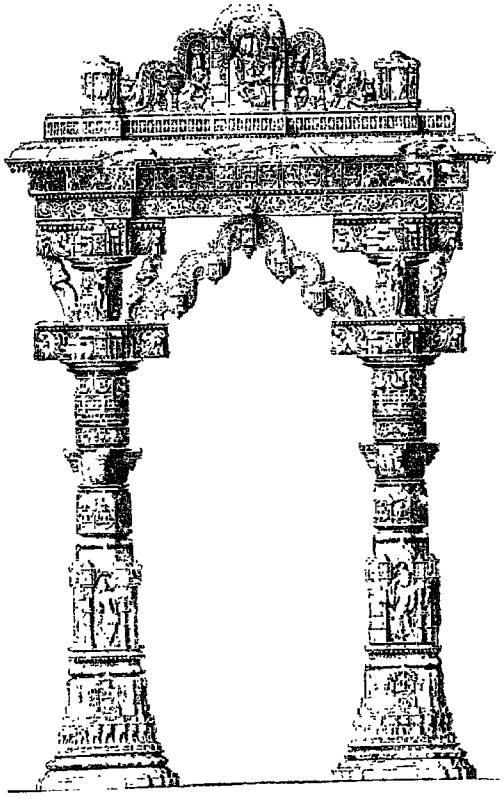


FIG. 57 KIRTITORANA, KAPADVANJ P. 97

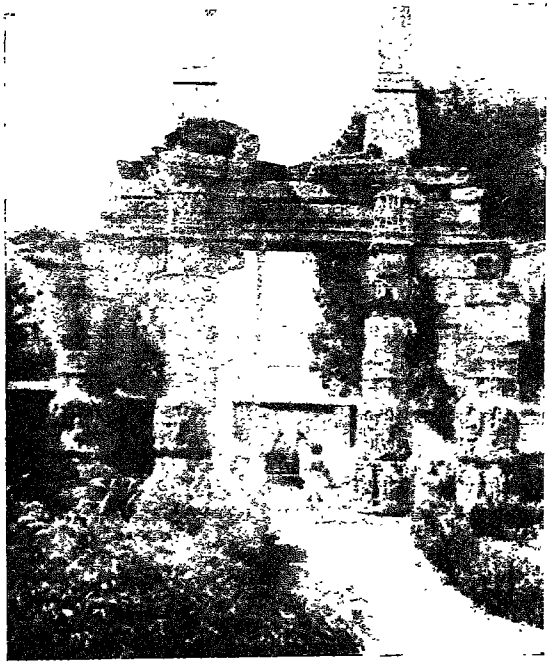


FIG. 58 PILLARS, RUDRAMAL, SIDHPUR P. 94

FIG. 59 REMAINS, RUDRAMAL, SIDHPUR P. 94

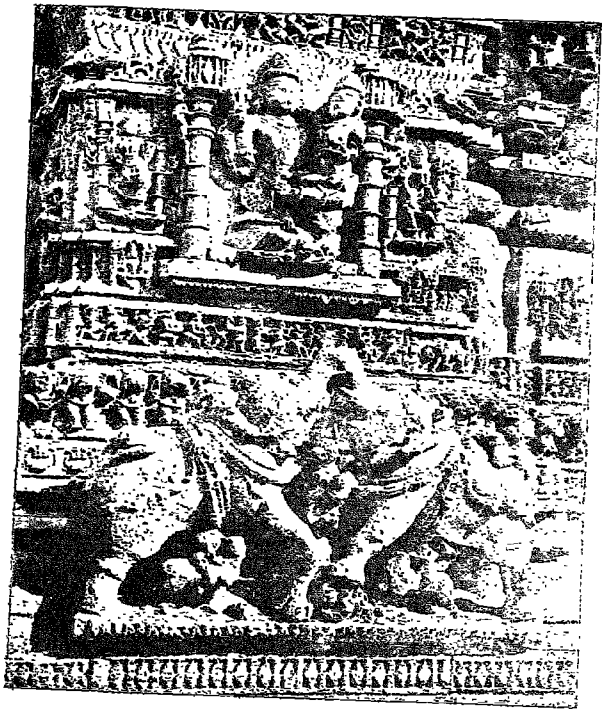


FIG. 60 UMA-MAHESVARA, NAVALAKHA TEMPLE, GUMLI P. 112

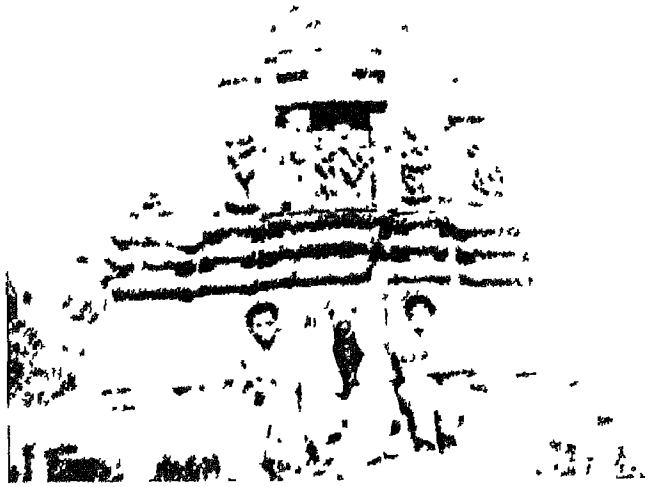


FIG. 61 MAHISASURAMARDINI OLD TEMPLE, SUNAK P. 116

FIG 62 SITALA MODHERA P. 116

FIG. 63 PURUSOTTAMA, ADHOKSAJA AND VASUDEVA OR JANARDANA, PAIRPUR — P. 148

Courtesy. P. W. M. Bombay

FIG. 64 TRAILOKYAMOHANA OR VISVARUPA FORM OF VISNU, SANDERA — P. 149

Courtesy: A. S. I., Bombay

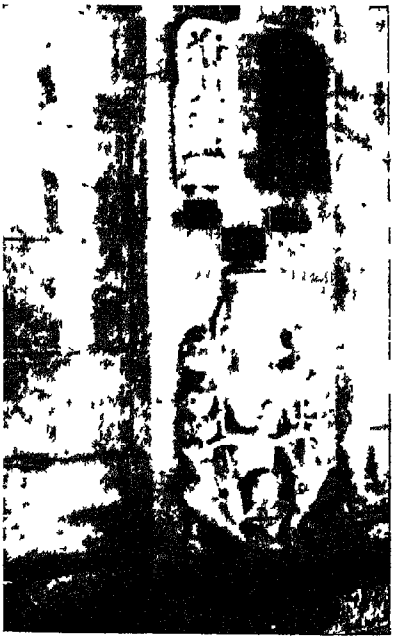


FIG. 65 TRAILOKYAMOHANA OR VISVARUPA FORM OF VISNU — P. 149

Courtesy: Rajkot Museum

FIG. 66 TARUNA GANAPATI, VAMANA (?) AND VISNU, AS TRAILOKYAMOHANA OR VISVARUPA, TAIBPUR p. 141 and 149

Courtesy: P. W. M., Bombay

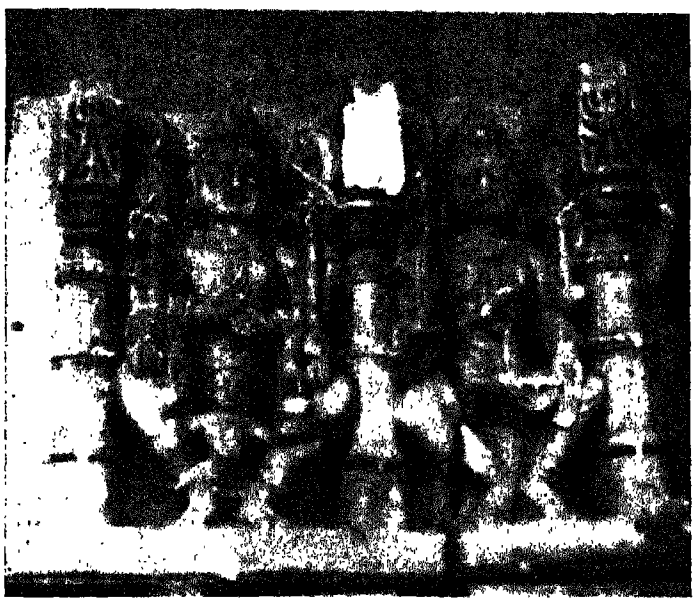


FIG. 68 BRAHMA P. 156

Courtesy : Rajkot Museum

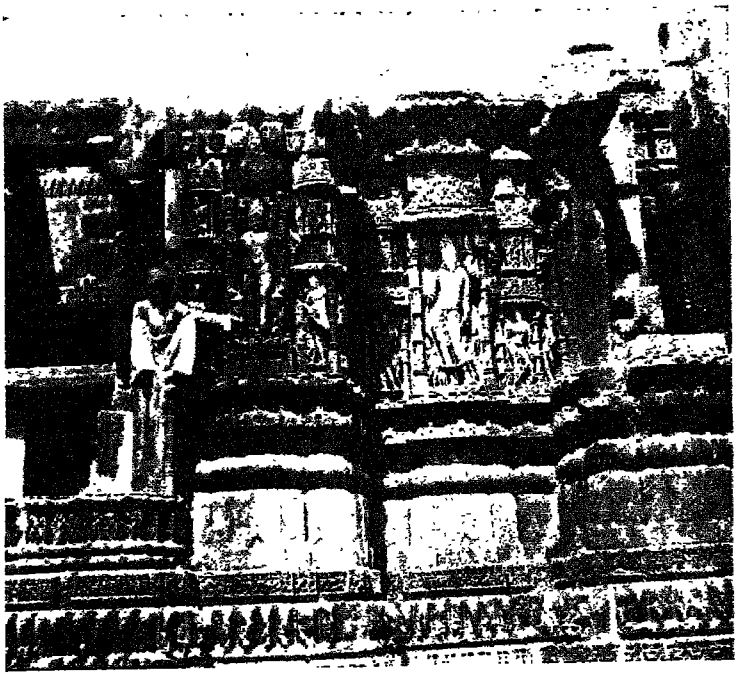


FIG. 69 BRAHMA AND SURYA, MODHERA P. 155 and 157

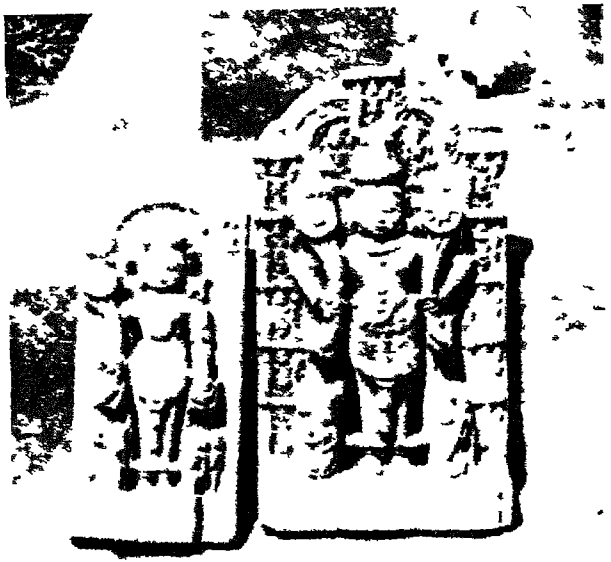


FIG. 70 SURYA AND HIS CONSORT, DHANK (c. 15

FIG. 71 SURYA'S CONSORT (c. 15

Courtesy Rajkot Museum

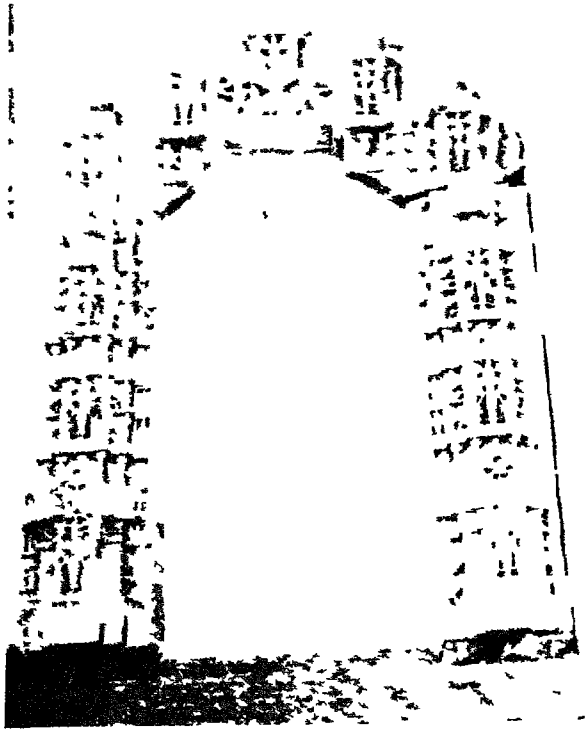


FIG 72 TORANA OF A SURYA IMAGE JUNAGARH P. 158

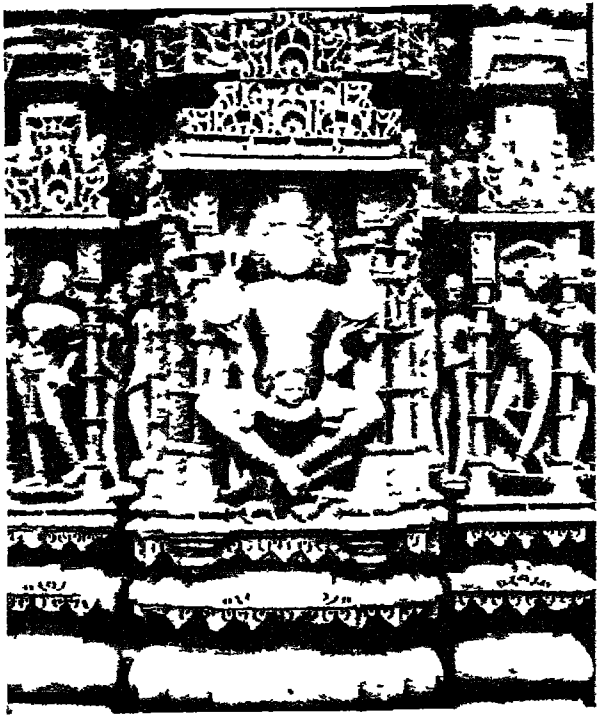


FIG 73 TRIMURTI, DELMAL P 163 4

FIG. 74 A UNIQUE IMAGE OF SURYA, PRABHAS P. 162
Courtesy Rev H Heras, S J.

FIG. 75 AMBIKA AND PARSVANATHA, DHANK P. 167

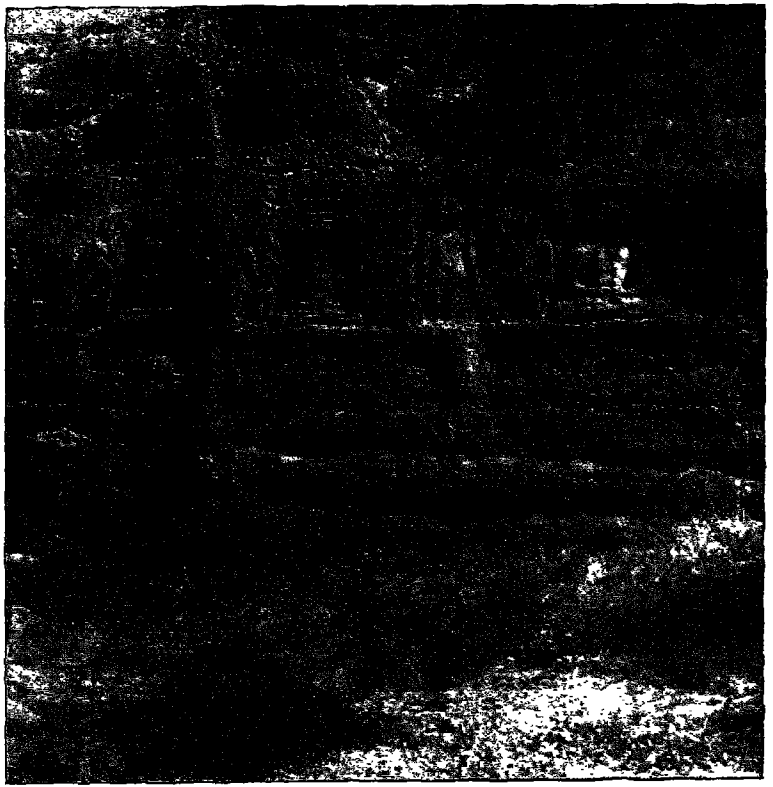


FIG. 76 JAINA TIRTHANKARAS, DHANK P. 66

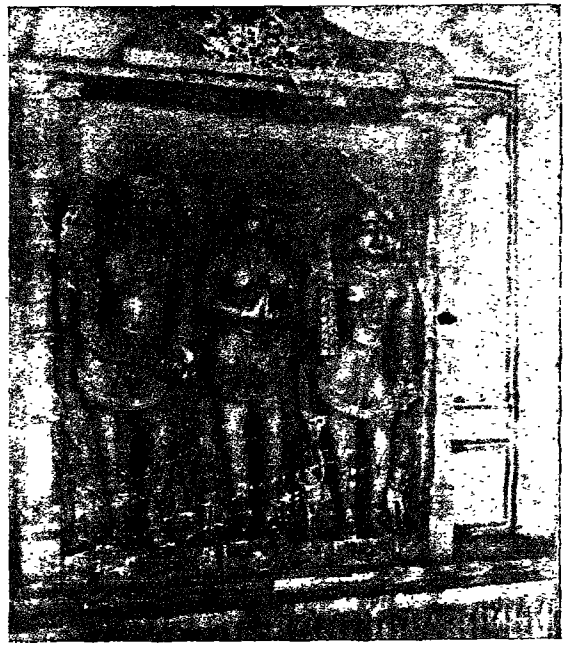


FIG. 77 TEJAHPALA AND HIS TWO WIVES, P. 118
TEJAHPALA TEMPLE, ABU

APPENDIX A

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS FROM GUJARAT

Order followed: Name of Inscription. Findspot. Contents. Date. Where published.

Maurya Dynasty

1. *Fourteen Rock-edicts of Aśoka*, Junāgarh. Mentions 10, 12, and 13 years of Aśoka's coronation besides his precepts. *CII.*, I, (New Edition), 1-26.

Ksatrapa Dynasty

2–5. *Andhau Inscriptions of the time of Rudradāman*, Andhau, Cutch. Mentions Ysāmotika, Cāṣṭana, Jayadāman and Rudradāman. Record erection of memorial stone *(lasṭi)*. (Śaka) 52. *EI.*, XVI, 19–26.

6. *Junāgadh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman*, Junāgarh. Omits Ysāmotika, refers to Candragupta and Aśoka and the *Rāstriyas* Pusyagupta and Tuṣāspha. (Śaka) 72 of the repairing of the dam by a Pāhlava Suviśākha, son of Kulaipa. *EI.*, VIII, 36–49. Luder's *List*, *EI.*, X, Appendix, No. 965.

7. *Stone Inscription of the time of Rudrasimha*, Gundā, Halar, Kāthiāwār. Mentions Rudrasīha, son of Rudradāman and others as in 2–5. (Śaka) 103. *EI.*, XVI, 233. Luder's *List*, No. 962.

8. *Stone Inscription of the time of Rudrasena*, Gadhā near Jasdaḥ, Kāthiāwār. Records erection of a *satra*. (Śaka) 12 (7). *EI.*, XVI, 236. Luder's *List*, No. 967.

9. *Junāgadh Inscription of Jīvadāman*, *EI.*, XVIII, 339.

10. *Junāgadh Inscription of the time of the grandson of Jayadāman*, Bāwā Pyārā caves, Junāgarh. Names of Cāṣṭana and Jayadāman preserved. Refers to Jain technical term *kevalijñāna*. Date lost *EI.*, XVI, 239. Luder's *List*, No. 966.

11. *Stone Inscription of Rudrasiṁha (II)*, Junāgarh. Mentions Rudrasiṁha, son of Jīvadāman. (Śaka) 228. *WMR.*, 1919–20, 7.

12. *Stone Inscription of the time of Rudrasena*, Mulavāsar, Okhamandal, Kāthiāwār. Erection of a memorial stone (?) (Śaka) 232. *BPSI.*, 23. Luder's *List*, No. 962.

13. *Stone Inscription from Mewasa*, Mewasa, Kāthiāwār. Mentions son of the grandson of Bhaṭṭidāma (?), the great grandson of Castana. Date 3... *WMR.*, 1923-*24*, 12.

Gupta Dynasty

14. *Junāgadh Inscription of Skandagupta*, Junāgarh. Records reconstruction of the dam on lake Sudarśana, and construction of a Viṣṇu temple by Cakrapālita, son of Parnadatta, governor of Skandagupta over Surāṣṭra. Gupta Saṁvat 136, 137, 138. *CII.*, III, 56–65. Kielhorn's *List*, *EI.*, V, Appendix, No. 446; Bhandarkar's *List*, *EI.*, XX, Appendix, No. 1276.

Traikutaka Dynasty[1]

15. *Copperplate of Dahrasena*, $9\frac{1}{16}''$ x 3″, Pārdi, Surat District. Mahārājā Dahrasena grants a village in Antarmandali-*viṣaya*. (Traikūṭaka) Saṁvat 207. *EI.*, X, 51. Kielhorn's *List of the Ins. of N. Ind.*, *EI.*, Appendix, No. 391.

16. *Copperplate of Vyāghrasena*, $9\frac{1}{2}''$ x 3″, Surat. Mahārājā Vyāghrasena grants in Purohitapallikā in Iksaraki-*āhāra*. (Traikūṭaka) 241. *EI.*, XI, 219. Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1200.

17[2]. *Kanheri Copperplate*, Name lost. Records the erection of a *caitya* at the Mahāvihāra of Kṛṣṇagiri. *Cave Temples of Western India*, *ASWI.*, X, 58-59. Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1202. Kielhorn's *List*, No. 393. (Traikūṭaka) 245.

Gurjjara Dynasty

24. *Plates of Dadda II*, $11\frac{1}{2}''$ x $9\frac{3}{8}''$, Kaira. Mentions Sāmanta Dadda, his son, Jayabhaṭa, his son Dadda Praśāntarāga. Grant of the village Śirisapadraka in Akrureśvara-*viṣaya*. S. 380. *IA.*, XIII, 81–87. Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1209.

[1] Henceforward, the name of the inscription is followed by the measurement of plates.

[2] Chronologically and geographically come here Ins. Nos. 255 and 256–260 (of the Kataccūrīs) and should bear the Nos. 18 and 19–23 respectively.

25. *Plates of Dadda II*, $10\frac{1}{8}'' \times 7\frac{1}{8}''$, Kaira. Same as in 24. S. 385. *IA.*, XIII, 88. Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1210.

26. *Plates of Raṇagraha*, $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$, Sankheda. Raṇagraha, son of Vītarāga. Land grant (?). S. 391. *EI.*, II, 20. Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1211.

27. *Plates of Dadda (IV)*, $10'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$, Sankheda. Dadda Praśāntarāga grants land to Brāhmanas. Not given. Genealogy as in 24 and 25. S. 392. *EI.*, V, 37–41. Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1212.

28. *Plates of Jayabhaṭa (III)*, $12'' \times 9''$. Navsāri. In the family of Karṇa, Dadda I, Jayabhaṭa, Dadda II, Jayabhaṭa II. Land grant in the village of Samīpadraka. S. 456. *IA.*, XIII, 70. Ascribed by Bhagwanlal Indraji to Jayabhaṭa III. Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1218.

29. *Plates of Jayabhaṭa (III)*, About $10'' \times 13''$, Kāvī, Jambusar. Second half only. Genealogy not mentioned. Grant to a temple of Āśramadeva at Kemajju. S. 486. *IA.*, V, 110. Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1219.

30. *A Grant of the Gurjara King Jayabhaṭa (III)*, $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10''$, F. P. unknown. Mentions Dadda, his son Jayabhaṭa, his son Dadda Bāhusahāya, his son Jayabhaṭa, his son Ahirola, his son Jayabhaṭa. S. 486. *EI.*, XXIII, 147–155 and XXIV, pp. 176-78.

The Following Are Regarded as Forgeries

31. *Plates of Dadda II*, $12'' \times 17\frac{1}{2}''$, Umeta, Kaira District. Mentions Dadda, his son Jayabhaṭa (Vītarāga), his son Dadda (Praśāntarāga). Saṁvat[1] 400. *IA.*, *VII*, 61–63. Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1079.

32. *Plates of Dadda II*, About $10\frac{1}{4}'' \times 7''$, Bagumrā ,Navsari District. Genealogy as in 31. Saṁvat 415. *Ibid.*, XVII, 183–200. Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1080.

33. *Plates of Dadda II*, $11\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}''$, Ilao, Broach District. Genealogy as in 31. Saṁvat 417. IA., XIII, 115. Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1081.

Calukya Dynasty (Of Navasarika)

34. *Plates of Vijayarāja*, $13\frac{5}{8}'' \times 8\frac{7}{8}''$, Kaira. Vijayarāja, son of Buddhavarmā, son of Jayasiṁha grants Pariyaya village to the Brahma-

[1] Believed to be Śaka. See below for discussion.

cāris of Jambusar. Saṁvat 394. *IA.*, VII, 211. Believed to be a forgery. Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1214.

35. *Plates of Śryāśraya Śīlāditya*, $8\frac{5}{8}''$ x 5″, Navsari. Mentions in the Cālukya family Pulakeśi Vallabha, his son Dharaśraya Jayasiṁhavarmā, his elder brother, MRD. P. Bhaṭṭāraka Vikramaditya, his son Śryāśraya Śīlāditya. Grant of Āsaṭṭi village in Bāhirika-*viṣaya*. Saṁvat 421. *EI.*, VIII, 229. Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1216.

36. *Plates of Śryāśraya Śīlāditya*, Surat. Genealogy same as above. Saṁvat 443. *VOCR.*, Aryan Section, 225. Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1217.

37. *Plates of Maṅgalarāja*, Balsār. Mentions Kīrtivarmā, his son Pulakeśi Vallabha, his son Jayasiṁhavarmā, his son Vinayāditya Maṅgalarāja. Śaka Saṁvat 653. Noticed in *JBBRAS.*, XVI, 5. Bhandarkars' *List*, No. 1949.

38. *Plates of Pulakeśi Janāśraya*, $11\frac{1}{2}''$ x $9\frac{1}{2}''$, Navsāri. Same as above. Pulakeśi Janāśraya, brother of the last grants Padraka village in Kārmaṇeya-*āhāra*. Saṁvat 490. *VOCR.*, p. 230; *ABORI.*, *X*, 31. Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1220.

39. *Plates of Nāgavardhana*, $8\frac{5}{8}''$ x $5\frac{3}{4}''$, Nirpan, Igatpuri Tālukā, Nāsik Dist. Grant by Nāgavardhana, son of Jayasiṁhavarmā, brother of Pulakeśivallabha of Balegrāma in Goparāṣṭra to the temple of Kapāleśvara. Date lost. Genuineness doubted. *IA.*, IX, 123.

40. *A New Cālukya Copperplate from Saṅjān*, Umbagaonpetha, Dahanu Tālukā, Thāna Dist. Of the reign of Vikramāditya I. Grant to a Brāhmaṇa. Date not mentioned. *JBBRAS.*, *XX*, 40.

Rastrakuta Dynasty

41. *New Copperplate Grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dynasty*, $8\frac{7}{8}''$ x 13″, Antroli-chharoli, 10 NE. of Surat. Grantor Kakka II. Genealogy: Kakka (I), Dhruva, Govinda and Kakka (II). Grant of a village. Śaka 679. *JBBRAS.*, XVI, 105-113. Kielhorn's *List*, *EI.*, VII, Appendix, No. 54.

42. *Rāṣṭrakūṭa Grant of Govinda Prabhūtavarṣa*, $10\frac{3}{4}''$ x $7\frac{3}{4}''$, Wanī, Dindori Tālukā, Nāsik Dist. Govinda III from Mayurkhandi grants a village. Śaka 730. *IA.*, XI, 156-63. Kielhorn's *List*, No. 63.

43. *Navsāri Copperplate of the Gujarat Rāṣṭrakūṭa Karkka II*, 10″ x $6\frac{1}{8}''$, Navsāri. Karkka Suvarṇavarṣa grants two villages. Śaka 738, *JBBRAS.*, XX, 131-149. Kielhorn's *List*, No. 68.

44. *Radhanpur Plates of Govinda III*, $11\frac{3}{4}'' \times 7\frac{7}{8}''$, obtained from Rādhanpur Durbar. Govinda Prabhūtavarṣa grants a village Raṭṭajjuna in Rasiyana Bhukti. Śaka 730. *EI.*, VI, 239. Kielhorn's *List*, No. 64.

45. *Baroda Plates of Karka II*,[1] 11" x 8", Baroda. Karka, son of Indrarājā grants a village Vaḍapadraka in Ankoṭṭaka Eighty-four. Śaka 734. *JASB.*, VIII. 292; also *IA.*, XII, 156. Kielhorn's *List*, No. 65.

46. *Brāhmaṇapalli Grant of Karkka Suvarṇavarṣa*, 11" x 8", obtained from a resident of Baroda. Karkka Suvarṇavarṣa, son of Indra, of Gujarāt Branch, grants the village of Brāhmaṇapallikā in Mahiṣaka-*viṣaya* of 42 villages, under his overlord Amoghavarṣa I. Śaka 746. *EI.*, XXII, 77.

47. *Torkhade Copperplate of the time of Govindarāja of Gujarāt*, $11\frac{5}{8}'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}''$. Grant by Mahāsāmanta Buddhavarṣa of the Śālukika family of a village Govaṭṭana in Sīharakkhi Twelve. Śaka 735. *EI.*, III, 53. Kielhorn's *List*, No. 67.

48. *Kāvī Grant of Govindarāja*, 12" x 10". Grant by Govindarāja younger brother of Karkka I, of the village Thurnāvi for the maintenance etc. of the temple of Jayāditya. Śaka 749. *IA.*, V, 144. Kielhorn's *List*, No. 69.

49. *Copperplate Grant of the Gujarāt Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhruva II*, $11\frac{3}{4}'' \times 7\frac{3}{4}''$, Baroda. Dhruva II, son of Karkka II of Gujarāt branch grants the village of Pūsilāvalli in Kāsahraḍa. Śaka 757. *IA.*, XIV, 196. Kielhorn's *List*, No. 70.

50. *Grant of Dhruva III of Bharoch*, $12'' \times 10\frac{1}{4}''$, Bāgumrā. Grant of a village Parahanaka in Karmāntapura 116 by Dhruva III, son of Akālavarsa Subhatuṅga. Śaka 789. *IA.*, XII, 179. Kielhorn's *List*, No. 77.

51. *Plates of Dantivarmā of Gujarāt*, $13'' \times 9\frac{1}{4}''$. Dantivarmā and Dhruva, sons of Akālavarṣa make a grant to a *vihāra* at Kāmpilya. Śaka 789. *EI.*, VI, p. 285. Kielhorn's *List*, No. 78.

52. *Sanjān Plates of Amoghavarṣa I*, $18\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10\frac{5}{8}''$, Sanjān, Thānā Dist. Amoghavarṣa, son of Jaggattuṅgadeva grants the village of Jhari-

[1] Actually the title of the article is 'Account of Tāmbā Patrā dug up at Baroda.'

vallikā in the Twenty-Four-village group adjacent to Sanjaṇa. Śaka 793. *EI.*, XVIII, 235.

53. *New Copperplates of Dhruva II*, 11.8″ x 8.3″. Dhruva, son of Akālavarṣa grants a village to the Buddhist *vihāra* at Kāmpilya. Śaka 806. *EI.*, XXII, 64.

54. *Grant of Kṛṣṇa II*[1] *of Aitkuleśvar*, 11″ x 8″. Bāgumrā. Kṛṣṇarāja Akālavarṣa grants the village of Kaviṭhasāḍhi in Variāvi Sixteen in Koṅkana-*viṣaya*. Śaka 810. *IA.*, XIII, 65. Kielhorn's *List*, No. 81.

55. *Rāṣṭrakūṭa Grant of Kṛṣṇa II*, 11½″ x 8½″, Kapaḍvanj, Gujarāt. Kṛṣṇa Akālavarṣa, son of Mahārājā Ṣaṇḍa and Mahāsāmanta Pracaṇḍa, son of Dhavalappa grant the village of Vyāghrāsa or Vallurikā. Śaka 832, *EI.*, I, 52. Kielhorn's *List*, No. 84.

56. *Two Grants of Indra III*, 13″ x 9⅜″, Bāgumrā. Indra Nityavarṣa, grandson of Akālavarṣa (Kṛṣna II) grants the villages of Umvarā and Tenna near Kammaṇijja in Lāṭadeśa. Śaka 836. *EI.*, IX, 24. Kielhorn's *List*, No. 86.

57. *Cambay Plates of Govinda IV*, 13⅝″ x 10⅜″, Cambay. Govinda, son of Indra III grants the village of Kevañja, near Kāvikā Mahāsthāna in Kheṭakmaṇḍala in Lāṭadeśa. Śaka 852. *EI.*, VII, 26.

58.[2] *Sangli Plates of Govinda V*, 13″ x 9″. Genealogy as in 57. Śaka 855. *IA.*, XII, 247. Kielhorn's *List*, No. 92.

Maitraka Dynasty of Valabhi[3]

DRONASIMHA

59. *Bhamodra Mohota Plate*, 13″ x 5¾″, Bhamodra Mohota near Bhāvnagar (Valabhī)[4]. Saṁvat 183. *EI.*, XVI, 17. Bhandarkar's *List*, *EI.*, XX, Appendix No. 1289.

[1] On the photo of the plate 'Krishṇa III.'

[2] For miscellaneous incriptions of this time and after from Southern Gujarat see Ins. Nos. 261-266.

[3] As the Valabhi plates merely give genealogy and record grants of land to Brāhmaṇas in majority of cases, their contents are not given here. The order followed is measurements of copperplates, findspot, date, where published.

[4] Henceforward it is to be understood.

DHRUVASENA I

60. *Pālitānā Plates*, $9\frac{7}{8}''$ x 7", Pālitānā. S. 206. *EI.*, XI, 105. *List*, No. 1293.

61. *Second Plate* (only), $11\frac{1}{4}''$ x $6\frac{1}{2}''$, F. P. not mentioned. S. 206. *EI.*, XVII, 109. *List*, No. 1294.

62. 13" x 8". Bhāvnagar State. S. 207. *IA*, V, 204. *List*, No. 1297.

63. $11\frac{1}{2}''$ x $6\frac{3}{4}''$, Not mentioned, S. 207. *EI.*, XVII, 105. *List*, No. 1295.

64. 11" x $7\frac{5}{8}''$, Gaṇesgadh, Dāmnagar Tālukā, Amreli Dist. S. 207. *EI.*, III, 318. *List*, No. 1296.

65. 11" x $6\frac{1}{2}''$, Not known. S. 210. *EI.*, XV, 255. *List*, No. 1299.

66. $10\frac{1}{2}''$ x $6\frac{5}{8}''$ (about), Pālitānā. S. 210. *EI.*, XI. 109. *List*, No. 1300.

67. Second half only, (size not mentioned), Iyāveja, Gohilwād Prant. S. 210. *EI.*, XIX, 125, *List*, No. 1301.

68. $10\frac{3}{4}''$ x $6\frac{1}{2}''$, Pālitānā. S. 210. *EI.*, XVII, 108 and XIX, 125.

69. $10\frac{1}{2}''$ x $6\frac{1}{2}''$, Not known. S. 210. *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I. 65. *List*, No. 1302.

70. $10\frac{1}{4}''$ x $6\frac{7}{8}''$, Pālitānā. S. 210. *EI.*, XI, 109. *List*, No. 1303.

71. $10\frac{1}{4}''$ x 7", Pālitānā. S. 210. *EI.*, XI, 112.

72. 11" x 8", Valā. S. 216. *IA.*, IV, 104. *List*, No. 1304.

73. Broken, Not mentioned. S. 217, *JRAS.*, 1895, 379. *List*, No. 1305.

74. $10\frac{1}{2}''$ x $7\frac{1}{2}''$, Vāvdi Jogiā near Manekwādā (Gaikwar State). S. 221. *VOJ.*, VII, 297. *List*, No. 1306.

75. Broken, Not mentioned. S. 226. *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 16. *List*, No. 1308.

76. Same as 74. One plate only. *Ibid.*, 18-19.

77. Same as 74. *Ibid.*, 20.

GUHASENA I

78. 11.9″ x 77″, Not mentioned. S. 240. *IA*, VII., 66. *List*, No. 1311.

79. $12\frac{5}{16}$″ x $8\frac{7}{8}$″, Valā. S. 246. *EI.*, XIII, 338. *List*, No. 1312.

80. 12″ x 9″, S. 24 (6) 6. *IA.*, IV, 174. *List*, No. 1313.

81. *An Earthenware Fragment Inscription of Guhasen*, Valā. S. 247. *IA.*, XIV, 75. *List*, No. 1314.

82. 14″ x 9″, Not mentioned. S. 248. *IA.*, V, 206. *List*, No. 1315.

83. *Stone Inscription of the time of Guhasena*, Bānkodı, 20 NE. of Porbandar. Stone broken. Only three small lines. *BPSI.*, 30.

DHARASENA II

84. $11\frac{1}{8}$″ x $7\frac{1}{4}$″, Not mentioned. S. 252. *IA.*, VII. 301.

85. $11\frac{1}{2}$″ x 8″, Jhar, Amarelı, Kāthıāwār. S. 252. *IA.*, XV, p. 187., also *BPSI.*, 30. *List*, No. 1316.

86. 10″ x 7″, Katapur, 2 E. of Mahua, Kāthıāwār. S. 252. *BPSI.*, 35-39. *List*, No. 1322.

87. $10\frac{3}{4}$″ x $8\frac{3}{8}$″, Bhādvā, 15 SE. of Rājkot. S. 252. *ABORI.*, IV, 33-37. *List*, No. 1317.

88. $11\frac{1}{8}$″ x $7\frac{1}{4}$″, S. 252. *IA.*, VIII, p. 301. *List*, No. 1321.

89. $11\frac{1}{8}$″ x $7\frac{7}{8}$″, Pālıtānā. S. 252. *EI.*, XI, 80. *List*, No. 1318.

90. $11\frac{3}{8}$″ x $7\frac{3}{4}$″, Māhyā, Junāgarh. S. 252. *IA.*, XIII, 160; *CII.*, III. 164-165. *List*, No. 1319.

91. 12.5″ x 8.5, Soraṭh. S. 252. *IA.*, VII, p. 68. *List*, No. 1320.

92. 12″ x 6″ (about), Banṭıyā, Bantva Tālukā, S. W. Kāthıāwār. S. 257. *WMR.*, 1925-26, p. 13; *JBBRAS*, (NS)., Vol. III, 184. *List*, No. 1324.

93. $9\frac{1}{2}$″ x $16\frac{1}{2}$″, Valā. S. 259. *IA.*, VI, 9. *List*, No. 1326.

94. Broken. S. 270. *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 66. *List*, No. 1327.

95. 12.8″ x 6.5″, Alīnā, Kaira. S. 270. *IA.*, VII, 70-71. *List*, No. 328.

96. 12″ x $8\frac{1}{4}$″, Not mentioned. *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 21.

97. 9″ x 12″. One plate only. Same as 96.

98. $10\frac{1}{2}$″ x $7\frac{1}{4}$″ (forged plates). Śaka Saṁvat 400. *IA.*, X. 277.

ŚILADITYA I (Dharmāditya)

99. $11\frac{1}{2}$″ x $11\frac{3}{4}$″. First plate only, Pālitānā. S. 286. *EI.*, XI, p. 115. *List*, No. 1334.

100. Valā. S. 286. *IA.*, I, 46. *List*, No. 1330.

101. $11\frac{7}{16}$″ x $8\frac{1}{2}$″, Valā. S. 286. *IA.*, XIV, 327. *List*, No. 1331.

102. 10.8″ x 9″. From Navalākhi near Shāhpur, 8 or 10 miles from Junāgarh. S. 286. *EI.*, XI, 174. *List*, No. 1332.

103. $10\frac{1}{2}$″ x $7\frac{1}{2}$″. Second plate only. Not mentioned. S. 286. *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I. 26. *List*, No. 1333.

104. $11\frac{1}{4}$″ x $8\frac{3}{4}$″. S. 287. *Ibid.*, 28. *List*, No. 1335.

105. Valā. S. 287. From a Note by Ojha.

106. Not mentioned, Dhānk. S. 290. *IA.*, IX, 237. *List*, No. 1338.

107. *Plates from Valā.* S. 290. From a Note by Ojha.

108. Same as No. 107. Summary published by Acharya, *HIG.*, I, 134.

109. *Bhareṇiyaka Plate.* S. 290. *PRASWC.*, 1919–20. *List*, No. 1337.

110. 11″ x $8\frac{1}{2}$″, Not mentioned. *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 31–32.

111. S. 292. *EI.*, *XXI*, 116.

DHARASENA III

112. $12\frac{1}{2}$″ x $8\frac{1}{2}$″, Bhāvnagar. S. 304. *WMR.*, 1925–26, 14; *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., III, 185.

113. 14″ x 10″. First plate only, Gopnāth. *IA.*, XII, 148. *List*, No. 1340.

DHRUVASENA II (Bālāditya)

114. 10″ x $12\frac{1}{2}$″, Botad, Bhāvnagar. S. 310. *IA.*, VI, 12. *List*, No. 1341.

115. $10\frac{5}{8}'' \times 10\frac{1}{2}''$, Not mentioned. S. 312. *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 69. *List*, No. 1342.

116. $15\frac{1}{2}'' \times 11\frac{1}{4}''$, Goras, Mahuva, Kāthiāwār. S. 313. *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 50–53. *List*, No. 1343.

117. Valā. S. 319. From a Note by Ojha. Acharya, *HIG.*, 156.

118. $13'' \times 9\frac{3}{4}''$, Not mentioned. S. 320. *JBBRAS.*, XX, 6. *List*, No. 1345.

119. $9'' \times 11\frac{1}{4}''$, (about), Nogāwā, 10 N. of Ratlam. S. 320. *EI.*, VIII, 188. *List*, No. 1346.

120. $9'' \times 11\frac{1}{8}''$ (about). Same as No. 119. S. 321. *Ibid.*, 194. *List*, No. 1347.

DHARASENA IV

121. $12\frac{1}{4}'' \times 10\frac{3}{4}''$. Second plate only. S. 326. *IA.*, I, 45. *List*, No. 1348.

122. Not mentioned. S. 326. *JBBRAS.*, X, 66 and *IA.*, I, 14. *List*, No 1349.

123. $14.5'' \times 11''$, Ālinā, Kaira S. 330. *IA.*, VII, 73. *List*, No. 1350.

124. $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10\frac{1}{1}''$, Kaira, S. 330. *IA.*, XV, 335. *List*, No. 1351.

DHRUVASENA III

125. $13'' \times 10\frac{3}{4}''$, Kapadvanj. S. 334. *EI.*, I, 85. *List*, No. 1352.

126. $12'' \times 8''$, Not mentioned. Date destroyed. *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 35.

KHARAGRAHA II

127. $15'' \times 12''$ (about), Not mentioned. S. 337. *IA.*, VII, 76. *List*, No 1353.

SILADITYA III

128. $16'' \times 13''$, Not mentioned. S. 342. *IA.*, V, 207.

129. $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 11\frac{1}{2}''$. Second plate only. *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 37.

130. *Valā Plates.* S. 343. *WMR.*, 1922–23, 11. *List*, No. 1354.

131. $13\frac{3}{4}''$ x 11", Not mentioned. S. 346. *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 71. *List*, No. 1355.

132. 16" x $12\frac{1}{2}''$, *Ibid.*, as No. 131. *List*, No. 1356.

133. Not mentioned. S. 347. Noticed in *ASIWC.*, 1915–16, 55. *List*, No. 1357.

134. $15\frac{1}{2}''$ x $13\frac{5}{8}''$, Lunsadi, Mahuva. S. 350. *EI.*, IV, 74. *List*, No. 1358.

135. $12\frac{1}{8}''$ x $13\frac{5}{8}''$, (Śīlāditya II ?), Not mentioned. S. 352. *IA.*, XI, 305. *List*, No. 1359.

136. 18" x $12\frac{1}{4}''$, Not mentioned. S. 356. *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 57. *List*, No. 1360.

137. Not given. S. 365 (?) *JASB.*, VII, 966. *List*, No. 1361.

138. 15" x $12\frac{1}{2}''$. First plate only. *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 70.

139. 15" x $10\frac{1}{2}''$, Not mentioned. Second plate. *Ibid.*, 40.

SILADITYA IV

140. *Bhavnagar Plates.* S. 372 (?). *IA.*, V, 209. *List*, No. 1362.

141. $14\frac{1}{2}''$ x 12", Devali, 3 E. of Talājā, Kāthiāwār. S. 375. *BPSI.* 54. *List*, No. 1363.

142. Not mentioned. S. 376. *EI.*, V, Appendix, 69. *List*, No. 1364.

143. $13\frac{1}{2}''$ x 12". S. 381. *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I. 75. *List*, No. 1365.

144. Not mentioned. S. 382. Noticed in *EI.*, V, Appendix, 69. *List*, No. 1366.

145. Not mentioned. S. 387. Noticed in *ASIWC.*, 1915–16, 55. *List*, No. 1368.

SILADITYA V

146. *Plates received from Gondal State.* S. 403. *JBBRAS.*, XI, 335. *List*, No. 1369.

147. Same as No. 146. S. 403. *Ibid.*, *List*, No. 1370.

SILADITYA VI (V?) Dhruvabhaṭa

148. 11″ x 17¾″, Lunāvāda, Rewa Kāntha. S. 441. *IA.*, VI, 16. *List*, No. 1374.

149. 15″ x 13.5″, Ālinā, Kaira. S. 447. *IA.*, VII, 79. *List*, No. 1375.

SILADITYA VII (Dhruvabhaṭa)

150. 14⅝″ x 13⅕″ (about), Ālinā, Kaira. S. 447. *CII.*, III, 171.

FIRST PLATES ONLY

151. 8⅜″ x 11½″. *JBBRAS.*, (NS), I, 43.

152. 8¾″ x 13″. *Ibid.*, 44–45.

153. 14½″ x 12½″. *Ibid.*, 46.

154. Broken pieces. *Ibid.*, 48.

155. Broken pieces. *Ibid.*, 49.

156. 15″ x 12½″. *Ibid.*, 70.

157. 11″ x 6¼″. *EI.*, XI, 114.

Caulukya (Solanki) Dynasty, Main Line

MULARAJA (I)

158. **Baroda Grant*, Pāṭan (Anhilvāda). Mūlarāja grants a plough of land. (V). S. 1030. Noticed in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, V, 300. *List*, No. 83.

159. *Kaḍī Grant*, 7″ x 10″, Kaḍī. Genealogy: M. Rāji, his son M. Mūlarāja, who grants Śrīsthala to Mūlanāthadeva. S. 1043. *IA.*, VI, 191–93. *List*, No. 91.

160. *Bālera Grant*, 7½″ x 5″, Bālera, Sanchor Dist., Jodhpur State. Pb. M.R.D. Mūlarājadeva grants Varanaka village in Satyapura-*maṇḍala*. S. 1051. *EI.*, X, 76–79. *List*, No. 93.

CAMUNDA	No Inscription found.
VALLABHA	" "
DURLABHA	" "

BHIMA I

161. *Rādhanpur Grant*, 9″ x 7″, Unknown. M. Bhīmadeva grants Masūra village in Ghaḍahaḍikā-*dvādaśa* in Kaccha-*maṇḍala*. S. 1086. *IA.*, VI, pp. 194–95. *List*, No. 117.

162. *Muṇḍaka Grant*, $4\frac{7}{8}$″ x $3\frac{3}{4}$″, Unknown. M. Bhīmadeva grants land in the village of Muṇḍaka, in Vardhi-*viṣaya*. S. 1086. *JBBRAS.*, 1900, *Extra Number*, 49. *List*, No. 118.

163. *Bombay Royal Asiatic Society Grant*, $9\frac{1}{4}$″ x $6\frac{1}{8}$″, Unknown. Credited to Bhīma I, though date not clearly mentioned. S. (10) 93. Grant of land in Sahasacāṇā village, Kaccha-*maṇḍala*. *IA.*, XVIII, 108–10[1]; also see *IA.*, VI, 185, fn. *List*, No. 1464.

164. *Abu Stone Inscription*, incised in the Vimala temple, Mt. Abu. Reference to the temple having been built in the time of Bhīma I. S. 1119. *EI.*, IX, 148. *List*, No. 137.

165. *Pālanpur Grant of Bhīma*, $7\frac{1}{4}$″ x $4\frac{1}{8}$″, Pālanpur. Bhīma grants land in Varaṇāvadā village to a Modha Brāhmaṇa. S. 1120. *EI.*, XXI. p. 171.

KARNA I

166. *Navsāri Plate*, $9\frac{1}{8}$″ x $6\frac{3}{4}$″, Navsāri. Two pairs of plates A and B. A: Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Durlabharāja under Karṇa grants Dhāmaṇāchā village in Talabhadrikā-*ṣaṭtriṁśat-pathaka*. Genealogy omits Cāmuṇḍa and Vallabha. Śaka Saṁvat 996. *List*, No. 1098.

167. B. Donor Karṇa. Object and donee same as above. Genealogy omits Vallabha only. S. 1131. *JBBRAS.*, XVI, 250. *List*, No. 141.

168. *Sūnak Plate*, $11\frac{1}{4}$″ x 8″, Śūnak. Karṇa grants land in Laghu Ḍābhi village. S. 1148. *EI.*, I, 316–318. *List*, No. 155.

JAYASIMHA

59. *Atru Stone Inscription*, Gaggaccha temple, Atru, 14 miles from Sirod, Rājputāna. Grant of Mahisadā temple in the reign of Jayasiṁha. (Siṁha) Saṁvat 14. Noticed in *ASIWC.*, 1905–06, 56–57.

[1] Fleet credits it to Bhīma II and calls 93 Siṁha Saṁvat. This view, however, seems to be erroneous, because the place names etc. agree more with those of Bhīma I's. Secondly, the measurements of the plates are more in keeping with those of the first period of Caulukya plates.

170. *Bhinmāl Inscription*, Bhinmāl, Jodhpur State. (V) S. 1186 in the reign of (Jayasiṁha) Siddharāja. Noticed in *ASIWC.*, 1907–8, 38, *List*, No. 219.

171. *Ujjain Fragmentary Stone Inscription*. Mentions Jayasiṁha as holding Avanti-*maṇḍala*, after defeating Yaśovarmā of Malwā. S. 1195, *ASIWC.*, 1912–13, 54–55 and *IA.*, XLII, 258. *List*, No. 240.

172. *Bhadreśvar Inscription*, Temple of Chokhanda Mahādeva, near Bhadreśvar, Cutch. In the reign of Jayasimha. S. 1195. *ASWI.*, II, Appendix, xiii–iv. *List*, No. 241.

173. *Dohad Pillar Inscription*, Dohad. Of the time of Jayasiṁha. Gift to the temple of Gogga Nārāyaṇa by a Mahāmandaleśvara of Dadhipadra-*maṇḍala*. S. 1196–1202. *IA.*, X, 158–60, *List*, No. 245.

174. *Talawara Image Inscription*, Banswara State. Date defaced. *EI.*, XX, Appendix, 209.

175. *Udaypur Stone Inscription*, incised on the entrance of Udāleśvara temple, Udaypur, Gwalior State. In the reign of Jayasiṁha. Noticed in *IA.*, XVIII, 341.

176. *Sambhar Stone Inscription*, on a wall at Sambhar, Jaipur State. Of Jayasiṁha's time. Mentions Mūlarāja's accession in V.S. 998. *IA.*, 1929, 234–36.

177. *Gālā Stone Inscription*, in a ruined temple, near Gālā, Dhrāṅgadra State. In the reign of Jayasiṁha. S. 1193. *JBBRAS.*, XXV, 322. *List*, No. 236.

178. *Bālī Inscription*, Bāli, Jodhpur State. Of the time of Jayasiṁha. S. 120. *EI.*, XI, 33. *List*, No. 261.

179. *Kirāḍū Inscription*, Śiva temple, Kirāḍu, Jodhpur State. Of Jayasimha's time. S. 1198 (?). *List*, No. 250.

KUMARAPALA

181. *Mangrol Inscription*, incised in a *vāv* at Māṅgrol. Of the time of Kumārapāla. Records the erection of and grant to a temple of Sahajigeśvara by Mulaka, of the Guhila family, Nāyaka of Surāṣṭra. V.S. 1202. Siṁha Saṁvat 32. *BPSI.*, 158. *List*, No. 268.

182. *Dohad Inscription*, Dohad. Of the time of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Vāpanadeva of Godrahaka. *IA.*, X, 159. *List*, No 270.

183. *Kiraḍu Stone Inscription*, Kirāḍu, Jodhpur State. Of the time of Kumārapāla. S. 1205. *List*, No. 274.

184. *Chitodgaḍh Inscription*, incised in the Mokalji Temple at Chitor. Records Kumārapāla's visit to Chitrakūṭa (Chitor) and his gifts to the temple of Samiddheśvara. (V). S. 1207. *EI.*, 421. *List*, No. 279.

185. *Mt. Abu Inscription.* Of the time of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Yaśodhavala. *List*, No. 280.

186. *Chitor Stone Inscription.* Of Kumārapāla. Date worn out. *ASIWC.*, 1905–6, 61.

187. *Vaḍnagar Praśasti*, incised in Arjuna Bārī (window), near Sāmelā talao, Vaḍnagar. Gives full Caulukya genealogy from Mūlarāja, including Cāmuṇḍa, Vallabha and Durlabha and records the building of a fort wall by Kumārapāla. S. 1208. *EI.*, I, 293. *List*, No. 286.

188. *Pālī Inscription*, engraved on a pilaster close by the sanctum in the *sabhāmaṇḍapa of* Somanātha temple, Pālī, Jodhpur State. In the reign of Kumārapāla, S. 1209. *ASIWC.*, 1907–8, 44–45. *List*, No. 288.

189. *Kirāḍu Inscription.* Of Kumārapāla's time. Forbids killing of animals on Śivarātri etc. S. 1209. *EI.*, XI, 44. *List*, No. 287.

190. *Ratanpur Stone Inscription*, incised on the dome of an old Śiva temple, outside Ratanpur, Jodhpur. Undated. Object same as in No. 189. *BPSI.*, 205–7. *List*, No. 1523.

191. *Bhātuṇḍ Stone Pillar Inscription*, incised on a pillar of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* of a ruined temple, Bhātuṇḍ, Jodhpur. S. 1210. *ASIWC.*, 1908, 51–52.

192. *Nāḍol Plate.* Of the time of Kumārapāla. Nāḍol, Desur. Dist., Jodhpur. Grant to Jaina temples. S. 1213. *IA.*, XLI, 202–3. *List*, No. 296.

193. *Bālī Inscription*, on a lintel in the temple of Bahuguṇā, Bālī, Jodhpur. Grant of land in the reign of Kumārapāla. S. 1216. *ASIWC.*, 1907–8, 54–55. *List*, No. 307.

194. *Kirāḍū Inscription*, incised in a Śiva temple, Kirāḍū, Jodhpur. S. 1218. Of Kumārapāla's time. *IA.*, LXI, 135. *List*, No. 312.

195. *Girnār Inscription*. Of the time of Kumārapāla. S. 1215. *RLARBP.*, 346.

196. *Three Inscriptions from Udaypur, Gwalior State*. (*A*) Incised on the eastern entrance of the great temple, Udayeśvara at Udaypur, Gwalior. Of the reign of Kumārapāla. Issued by his feudatory. Date defaced. *IA.*, XVIII, 341. *List*, No. 315.

197. (*B*) Incised on a pillar at the same time as No. 196. Of the time of Kumārapāla. (V.) S. 1222. *IA.*, XVIII, 343–44. *List*, No. 322.

198. *Jālor Stone Inscription*. Of the time of Kumārapāla. Incised on a lintel in the second storey of a mosque now used as *topkhāna*, Jālor, Jodhpur State. Records the erection of a Jaina temple, called Kum(ā)ara Vihāra of Pārśvanātha on the fort of Kāñchanagiri, Jābālipura (Jālor) by Kumārapāla, who was enlightened by Prabhu Hemasūri. S. 1221. *EI.*, XI, 54–55. *List*, No. 321.

199. *Girnār Inscription*. Of the time Kumārapāla. S. 1222 and 1223. *RLARBP.*, 359.

200. *Junāgarh Inscription*, incised on the Bhūtanātha temple, Jūnāgarh. Of the time of Kumārapāla. Records erection of two temples by the wife of Dhavala of Aṇahillapāṭakapura. Valabhī Saṁvat 850. (?) Siṁha 60. *BPSI.*, 184. *List*, No. 1381.

201. *Nāḍlai Stone Inscription*, found near the temple of Mahādeva, S.W. of Nāḍlai, Jodhpur. Of the reign of Kumārapāla. S. 1228. *EI.*, XI, 47–48. *List*, No. 352.

202. *Prabhās Pāṭan Inscription*, incised on a stone near the temple of Bhadrakāli, Prabhās or Somanāth Pāṭan. Of the time of Kumārapāla. Refers to the reconstruction of the Somanātha temple by Gaṇḍa Bṛhaspati. Valabhī Saṁvat 850. *BPSI.*, 186. *List*, No. 1380.

AJAYAPĀLA

203. *Three Inscriptions from Udaypur, Gwalior*. (*C*) Inscription of the time of Ajayapāla. The temple of Udayāditya, Udaypur. Grant by Ajayapāla's governor, Lūṇapasāka, to Śrī Vaidyanātha at Udayapura of the Umarātha village. S. 1229. *IA.*, XVIII, 344. *List*, No. 355.

204. *Unjhā Temple Inscription*, Kāleśvar Mahādeva temple, Unjhā, Baroda State. S. 1231. *List*, No. 363.

205. *Copperplates of Ajayapāla*, $14\frac{1}{4}'' \times 9\frac{5}{8}''$, Unknown. Of the time of Ajayapāla. Grant of a village by Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Vaijalladeva, a Cāhuyaṇa, for the maintenance of a *satra* etc. S. 1231. *IA.*, XVIII, 80. *List*, No. 361.

BHIMA II

206. *Kirāḍu Inscription.* Of the time of Bhīma II. Refers to the installation of Someśvara's image. S. 1235. *EI.*, XI, 72. *List*, No. 381.

207. *Kirāḍu Inscription*, Śiva temple, Kirāḍu, Jodhpur State. Of Kumārapāla's time. *IA.*, LXII, 42. *List*, No. 381.

208. *Pāṭaṇ Inscription of Bhīma.* S. 1236. *List*, No. 386.

209. *Dīwrā Image Inscription*, Dīwrā, Dungarpur. S. Rājputānā. S. 1253. *An. Report Rājputānā Museum*, 1914–15, 2. *List*, No. 435.

210. *Copperplate grant of Bhīma II*, Pāṭaṇ. Grant by Bhīma of a plough of land to a Brāhmaṇa. S. 1256. *IA.*, XI, 71. *List*, No. 438.

211. *Kaḍī Plates of Bhīma II*, $11'' \times 12\frac{1}{3}''$. Grant of the Indilā village to the temples of Bhīmeśvara and Līleśvara between the villages Karīrā and Mālakalari by Bhīmadeva. S. (12) 63. *IA.*, VI, 194. *List*, No. 451.

212. *Ṭimāṇā Plates*, $10\frac{1}{3}'' \times 7\frac{5}{8}''$, Ṭimāṇā, Bhāvnagar. Grant of land to 2 temples of Śiva at Talajhā by a Mehara King Jagamalla, under Bhīma II. S. 1264. *IA.*, XI, 337. *List*, No. 452.

213. *Abu Inscription.* Of the time of Bhīma II. Records the erection of and repair to several temples at Kanakhala by a priest Kedārarāśi. S. 1265. *IA.*, XI, 220. *List*, No. 454.

214. *Plates of Bhīma II*, $11\frac{3}{8}'' \times 7\frac{5}{8}''$, Unknown. Records grants of land etc. by Somarāja, M. Pratihāri of Surāṣṭra-*maṇḍala*, under Bhīma. S. 1266. Simha S. 96. *IA.*, XVIII, 108–116. *List*, No. 455.

215. *Śrīdhara's Devapāṭaṇ Praśasti*, Devapattan or Somnāth. Inscribed on a stone now in the wall of the fort at the same place.

Of the time of Bhīma II. Records the erection of two Viṣṇu temples and one of Śiva by Śrīdhara at Devapattan. S. 1273. *EI.*, II, 437. *List*, No. 467.

216. *Bharāṇā Inscription*, Bharāṇā, Jāmnagar. Of the time of Bhīma II. Records the building of a *vāpikā* (well) and provision for its upkeep by Sāmvatsīha, a governor of Bhīma. S. 12 (7)6. *BPSI.*, 204. *List*, No. 471.

217. *Plates of Bhīma II*, $9\frac{1}{2}''$ x $11\frac{1}{2}''$, Kadī (?). Records grant of Natāulī village by Bhīma to the temple of Mūleśvara at Maṇḍalī. *IA.*, VI, 199. *List*, No. 481.

218. *Three Jain Inscriptions of the time of Bhīma II*, temple of Neminātha, Ābu. Record the construction of the temple of Neminātha at Ābu by Tejaḥpāla. S. 1287. *EI.*, VIII, 200, 204, 203. *List*, No. 487.

219. *Plates of Bhīma II*, 14" x 15". Records grant of a village to the temples of Ānaleśvara and Salakhaṇeśvara built by Soluṅkī Rāṇā Lūṇapāsaka at Salakhanapura. V.S. 1287. *IA.*, VI, 201. *List*, No. 486.

220. *Jain Inscriptions of the time of Bhīma II*, Neminātha temple Abū. Nos. IV–XVIII. Refer to the construction of *Devakulikās* by Tejaḥpāla. S. 1288. *EI.*, VIII, 223–226. *List*, Nos. 492–506.

221. *Plates of Bhīma II*, $11\frac{1}{2}''$ x 14", Kaḍī (?). Grant of a village by Bhīma to the same temples as in No. 219. S. 1288. *IA.*, VI, 203. *List*, No. 490.

222. *Jain Inscriptions of the time of Bhīma II*, Neminātha temple, Ābu. Nos. XIX–XXIII. Refer to the construction of *Devakulikās* by Tejaḥpāla and others. S. 1290. *EI.*, VIII, 226. *List*, Nos. 510–14.

223. As in No. 222. Nos. XXIII–XXXI. Object same as in No. 222. S. 1293. *EI.*, VIII, 227–29. *List*, Nos. 518–24.

224. *Gaṇesar Inscription*, Gaṇesar, near Dholka. Records the erection of a porch of Gaṇeśvara temple by Vastupāla. S. 1291. *WMR.*, Rajkot, 1923–24, 18. *List*, No. 516.

224 (a). *Plates of Bhīma II*, $11\frac{1}{2}''$ x $14\frac{1}{2}''$, Kaḍī (?). Grant of some land by Bhīma II to Viramesvara temple built by Rāṇā Virama, son of Lūṇapāsaka in Ghūsaḍi. S. 1295. *IA.*, VI, 205. *List*, No. 526.

225. *Nagar Inscription*, Nagar, Kāthiāwār. Records repairs to the images of Ratnadevi and Rājadevi, wives of Jayādityadeva. S. 1292. *WMR.*, Rajkot, 1923–1924, 18. *List*, No. 517.

226. *Plates of Bhīma II*, 13″ x 15″, Kaḍī (?). Grant of Rājayasīyāṇī village by Bhīma to the temples of Virameśvara and Sumaleśvara S. 1296. *IA.*, VI, 206. *List*, No. 527.

227. *Jain Inscription of the time of Bhīma II*, Neminātha temple, Ābu. Object same as in No. 222. V. S. 1297. *EI.*, VIII, 229.

228. *Verāval Inscription of the time of Bhīma II*, Verāval. Records that Bhīma (?) built the temple of Somanātha, called Meghanāda. Date missing. *BPSI.*, 208.

229. *Mount Abu Inscription of Tejaḥpāla*. S. 1297. *EI.*, VIII, 229. *List*, No. 531.

MISCELLANEOUS

230. *Plates of Jayantasiṁha* or Abhinava Siddharāja, 14″ x 15″, Kaḍī (?). Records that Jayantasiṁha, successor of Mūlarāja (II), granted Sāmpavāḍā village to the temples Ānaleśvara and Salakhaṇeśvara. S. 1280. *IA.*, VI, 196. *List*, No. 478.

231. *Plates of Tribhuvanapāla*, 11″ x 13½″, Kaḍī (?). Records that Tribhuvanapāla, successor of Bhīma II, granted Bhāṁsara village to a *satra*. S. 1299. *IA.*, VI, 208. *List*, No. 534.

Caulukya (Vaghela) Dynasty, Branch Line

VISALADEVA

232. *Ahmadābād Pillar Inscription*, on a pillar in the mosque of Ahmad Shāh I, Ahmadābād. Records the making of a *Jālī* in the *maṇḍapa* of god Uttareśvara in the reign of M. Visaladeva. S. 1308. *EI.*, V, 102–3. *List*, No. 547.

233. *Dabhoi Stone Inscription*, incised on a large stone fixed in the inner side-wall of the Hīra Bhāgolā Gate, Dabhoi. Building or restoration of a temple of Vaidyanātha at Darbhāvati (Dabhoi) by Visaladeva. S. 1311. *EI.*, I, 20–32. *List*, No. 549.

234. *Porbandar Inscription*, Porbandar. Of the time of Visaladeva. S. 1315. *WMR.*, 1921–22, 15. *List*, No. 556.

235. *Kaḍī Grant*, 11″ x 13$\frac{3}{4}$″. Grant of land etc. for the feeding of Brāhmaṇas, and the maintenance of Bālanārāyaṇa and Rūpanārāyaṇa temples by Rāṇaka M. Maṇḍaleśvara Sāmantasiṁha of Varddhi-*paṭhaka*. S. 1317. *IA*., VI, 210–13. *List*, No. 557.

ARJUNADEVA

236. *Verāval Grant*, temple of Harṣata Mātā, Verāval. Of the time of M. Arjunadeva. Grant for maintenance of a *mijigiti* (masjid). Four eras. (1) *Rasula Mahmada (Hijra)* 622, (2) V. S. 1320, (3) Valabhī 945, (4) *Siṁha* 151. *IA*., XI, 241–45. *List*, Nos. 565 and 1384.

237. *Kāṇṭelā Inscription*,, Kāṇṭelā, Kāthiāwār. Of the time of Arjunadeva. S. 132. *MSQJ*., XIV, 242. *List*, No. 566.

238. *Rāv Stone Inscription*, engraved on a memorial slab at Rāv, 60 E. of Bhuj, Cutch. Of the time of Arjunadeva. Building of a step-well at Rāv. S. 1328. Noticed in *IA*., VI, p. 191. *BG*., I, 204, fn. 3. Published in *ASWI*., II, (*AKK*)., and in *PO*., III, 20.

239. *Girnār Stone Inscription*, in the *maṇḍapa* of Gaṇadhara, situated to the west of the main temple of Neminātha. Of the time of Arjunadeva. Grant of the right of engraving inscriptions. S. 1330. *MSQJ*., XIV, 242–43. *PO*., III, 21. *List*, No. 580.

SARANGADEVA

240. *Cutch Inscription*, Unknown. Date missing, before S. 1332 (?). *PO*., III, 22.

241. *Khokhrā Stone Inscription*, incised on a *pālia* at Kholkhrā, Cutch. Mutilated. Of the reign of M. Sāraṅgadeva. Mentions a minister Kānha. S. 1332. *IA*., XXI, 276–77. *List*, No. 585.

242. *Āmaraṇ Inscription*, Āmaraṇ, Navānagar State. Of the reign of Sāraṅgadeva. Benefaction of a garden for the worship of Sumatisvāmi. S. 1333. *PO*., III, 25. *List*, No. 589.

243. *British Museum Inscription*. Of the reign of Sāraṅgadeva. S. 1335. *List*, No. 594.

244. *Cintra Stone Inscription*, incised on a long slab of black stone, now at Cintra, Portugal. "Originally belonged to a temple at Soma-

nātha". It is a *praśasti* and records benefactions of a Lakulīśa Pāśupata ascetic Tripurāntaka to Somanātha. Mentions *liṇga-pratiṣṭhā mahotsava*, which took place in S. 1343. *EI.*, I, 271–87. *List*, No. 611.

245. *Vanthli Inscription*, Vanthli, Kāthiāwār. A memorial stone in memory of Haripāla, a Rāṣṭrakūṭa, a friend of the M. M. Vijayānanda, of Vāmanasthali. S. 1346. *PO.*, III, 26. *List*, No. 624.

245A. *Anāvāḍā Stone Inscription*, Anāvāḍā, Pāṭan. In the reign of Sāraṅgadeva. Gifts etc. for the worship of Kṛṣṇa. S. 1348. *IA.*, XLI, (1912), pp. 20–21. *List*, No. 631.

246. *Ābu Inscription*, Temple of Vastupāla, Ābu. Levying tax for the upkeep of the temple. Noticed in *IA.*, VI, 191. S. 1350. *PO.*, July, 1938, 69.

247. *Cambay Stone Inscription*, Temple of Cintāmaṇi Pārśvanātha, Cambay. In the reign of Sāraṅgadeva. S. 1352. *BPSI.*, 227. *List*, No. 639.

248. *Verāval Image Inscription*, Verāval. Dedication of an image of Govardhana. "Valabhī S. 927 = V. S. 1302." *EI.*, II, 302.

KARNA II

249. *Māngrol Inscription*, on a stone pillar, near Jumma Masjid, Māngrol. Fragmentary. Of Karṇa II (?). S. 135. *PO.*, III, p. 73.

Miscellaneous Inscriptions

(a) KĀTHIĀWĀR

250. *Pālitānā Plates of Sāmanta Siṁhāditya*, $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$, Pālitānā. In the Gārulaka family, Senāpati Varāhadāsa (I), his sons Sāmanta Mahārājā Bhaṭṭisūra and Varāhadāsa (II), the latter's son Siṁhāditya who grants a field etc. (G.) S. 255. *EI.*, XI, 17. *List*, No. 1323.

251. *Dhinki Grant of Jāïkadeva*, $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5''$, Dhinki (or Dhingi or Dhaniki), S. E. of Dwārkā. Śrī Jāïkadeva, lord of Soraṣṭra-*maṇḍala*, grants the village Dhenika in Bhūmilikā-*maṇḍala*. (V) S. 794. *IA.*, XII, 155. *List*, No. 17.

252. *Morbi Plates of Jāïnka*, Second plate only. (G.) S. 585. *IA.*, II, 257. *List*, No. 1378.

253. *Two Copperplates of the time of Mahendrapāla of Kanauj.* A. Plates of Balavarman. Not mentioned, Unā, Kāthiāwār. Mahāsāmanta grants the village of Jayapura to a temple of the Sun. *Valabhī Saṁvat* 574. *EI.*, IX, 1. *List*, No. 1379.

B. *Plates of Avanivarman II.* Mahāsāmanta Yoga (Avanivarman II) grants Ambuka village to the same Sun temple as in A. (V.) Samvat 956. *Ibid.*, 2. *List*, No. 41.

254. *Grant of Dharaṇīvarāha of Vaḍhvān*, 12″ in height, Haddala, near Wadhwān, Kāthiāwār. Mahāsāmantādhipati Dharaṇīvarāha, feudatory of Rājādhirāja Mahīpāladeva grants the Viṁkala village to Maheśvarācārya, son of Śivadevācārya of Āmarddaka sect. Śaka 839. *IA.*, XII, 190. *List*, No. 1086.

(b) SOUTHERN GUJARĀT

255. *A New Copperplate Grant from the Broach District*, $12\frac{1}{2}$″ x $6\frac{1}{2}$″. Sunev Kulla, Hansot, Broach District. Saṁgamasiṁha grants Sonavvā village to some Brāhmaṇas of Broach (Cedi or Kaṭaccūri) S. 292. *JBBRAS.*, XX, 211; *EI.*, X, 72. Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1204.

KATACCURI INSCRIPTIONS

256. *A Gurjara Grant*, 8″ x $3\frac{3}{8}$″, Sankheḍā. Second plate only. Writer Sāndhivigrahika Āditya Bhogika. S. 346. *EI.*, II, 20. Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1205. Supposed to be a Gurjara grant but should be assigned to the Kaṭaccurī period.

257. *A grant of Śāntilla, General of Nirihullaka*, $8\frac{1}{2}$″ x $3\frac{1}{8}$″, Sankhedā. Second plate only. Śāntilla, a general (Balādhikṛta) under Bhogikapāla Nirihullaka, a vassal of Śaṁkarana (*i. e.*, Śaṁkaragaṇa) grants a village. No date. *EI.*, II, 21.

258. *Ābhoṇā Plates of Śaṁkaragaṇa*, $9\frac{3}{4}$″ x 7″, Kalavana, Nāsik District. Śaṁkaragaṇa grants some land in Kallavana village. S. 347. *EI.*, IX, 296. Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1206.

259. *Vadner Plates of Buddharāja*, $10\frac{1}{2}$″ x 8″ (about), Vadner (?), Nāsik District. Buddharāja grants the village Vaṭanagara (Vadner) in Vaṭanagar-*bhoga* to a Brāhmaṇa. S. 360. *EI.*, XII, 30. Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1207.

260. *Sarsavani Plates of Buddharāja*, $10\frac{3}{8}''$ x $7\frac{3}{8}''$, Pādra, Baroda State. Buddharāja grants a village in Bharukaccha-*viṣaya*. S. 361. *EI.*, VI, 294. Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1208.

261. *Bāgumrā Grant of Nikumbhallaśakti*, $7\frac{7}{8}''$ x $5\frac{1}{2}''$, Bāgumra. Grant of a village Balisa in Treyaṇṇa-*āhāra* to a Brāhamaṇa from Vijaya Aniruddhapurī by Nikumbhallaśakti of the Sendraka family. S. 406. *IA.*, XVIII, 265. *List*, No. 1215.

CAHAMANA

262. *Hāṁsot Plates*, $11\frac{3}{4}''$ x $8\frac{1}{4}''$, Hānsot, Broach District. Grant of a village etc. by the Cāhamāna Bhartivaḍḍha, a vessal of Nāgāvaloka in Akrureśvara-*viṣaya*. (V.) S. 813. *EI.*, XII, 197. *List*, No. 20.

PARAMARA INSCRIPTIONS

263. *Two Harsola Copper Plates*, Harsola, Prāntij Tālukā, Ahmadābād District. Grant of two villages Kumbhāroṭaka and Sīhakā in Mohaḍavāsaka-*viṣaya* to a Nāgara Brāhmaṇa from Ānandapura by Sīyaka. S. 1005. *EI.*, XIX, 236. *List*, No. 64.

264. *An Odd Plate*, Ahmadābād, $13\frac{7}{8}''$ x $7\frac{1}{2}''$. Second half of a grant. Of (Paramāra) Sīyaka. S. 1026. *EI.*, XIX, 178. *List*, No. 78.

CAULUKYAS OF LATA

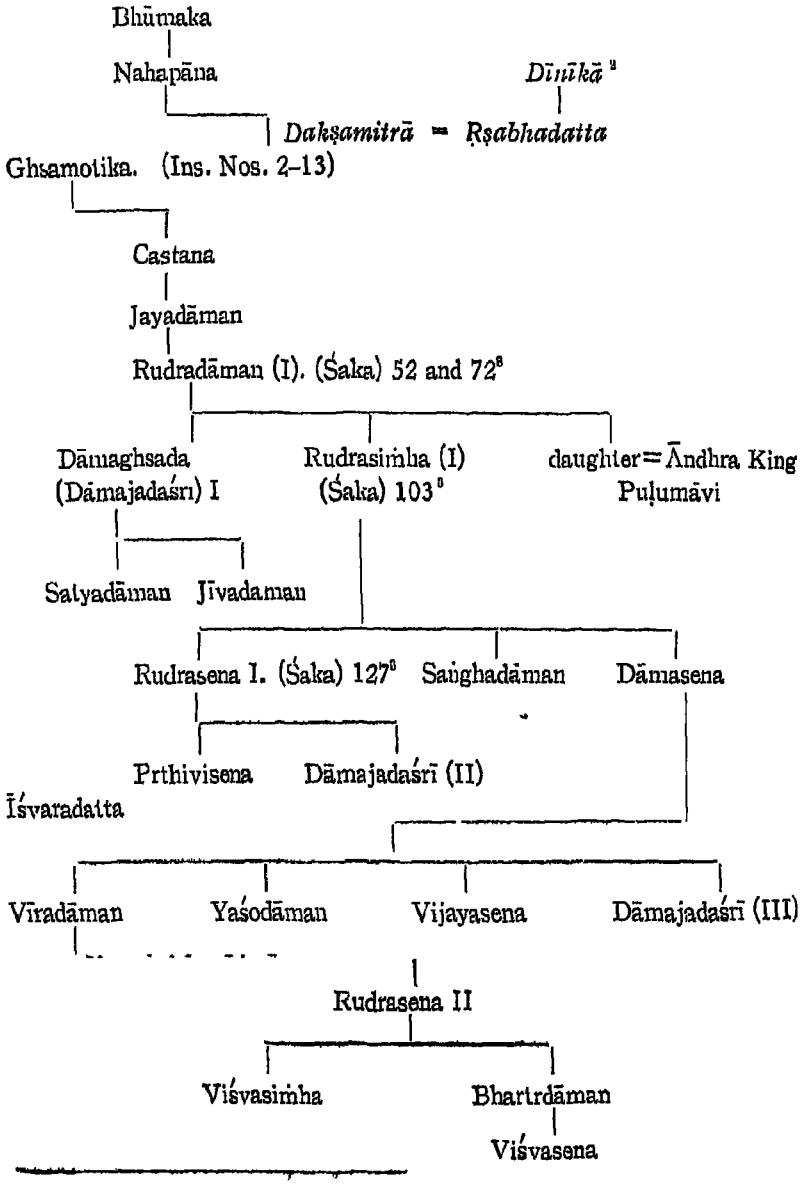
265. *Surat Plates of the Cālukya Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Kīrtirāja of Lāṭadeśa*. Grant by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Chief Samburāja. Kīrtirāja, son of Goggirāja, grandson of Bārappa, who was the son of Nimbārka, Śaka 940. Noticed in *VOJ.*, VII, 88. *List*, No. 1088.

266. *Surat Plates of Trilocanapāla*, Not known. Trilocanapāla, son of Vatsarāja, son of Kīrtirāja grants a village in Erathana 900. Śaka 972. *IA.*, XII, 201. *List*, No. 1092.

APPENDIX B

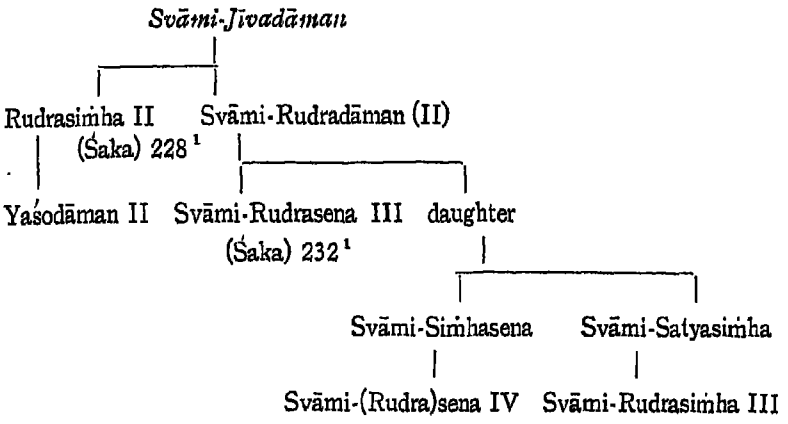
GENEALOGICAL TABLES

(1) Western Ksatrapas (including the Ksaharatas)[1]



[1] After Rapson, *Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, p. cliii.

[2] Those in italics did not rule. [3] Known dates from inscriptions.



(2) Guptas. (Ins. No. 14)

Candragupta II, son of Samudragupta.

Kumāragupta I.

Skandagupta G. (S.) 136–138.

(3) Traikutakas. (Ins. Nos. 15–17)

Indradatta

Dahrasena (Cedi) S. 207.

Vyāghrasena (gaṇa). (Cedi) S. 241, 245.

(4) Kataccuris. (Ins. Nos. 256–60)

Kṛṣṇarāja

Śaṅkaragaṇa (Cedi) S. 347.

Buddharāja (Cedi) S. 360, 361.

[1] Known dates from inscriptions.

(5) Gurjjaras of Broach. (Ins. Nos. 24–33)

Dadda (I)
|
Jayabhaṭa (I) Vītarāga
|
Dadda (II) Praśāntarāga (Cedi) S. 380, 385, 391, 392.
|
Jayabhaṭa (II)
|
Dadda (III) Bāhusahāya
|
Jayabhaṭa (III) (Cedi) S. 456.
|
Ahirola
|
Jayabhaṭa (IV) (Cedi) S. 486.

(6) Western Calukyas of Navasarika. (Ins. Nos. 34–40)

Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarman, son of Pulakeśin II
|
Śryāśraya Śīlāditya (Cedi) S. 421, 443.

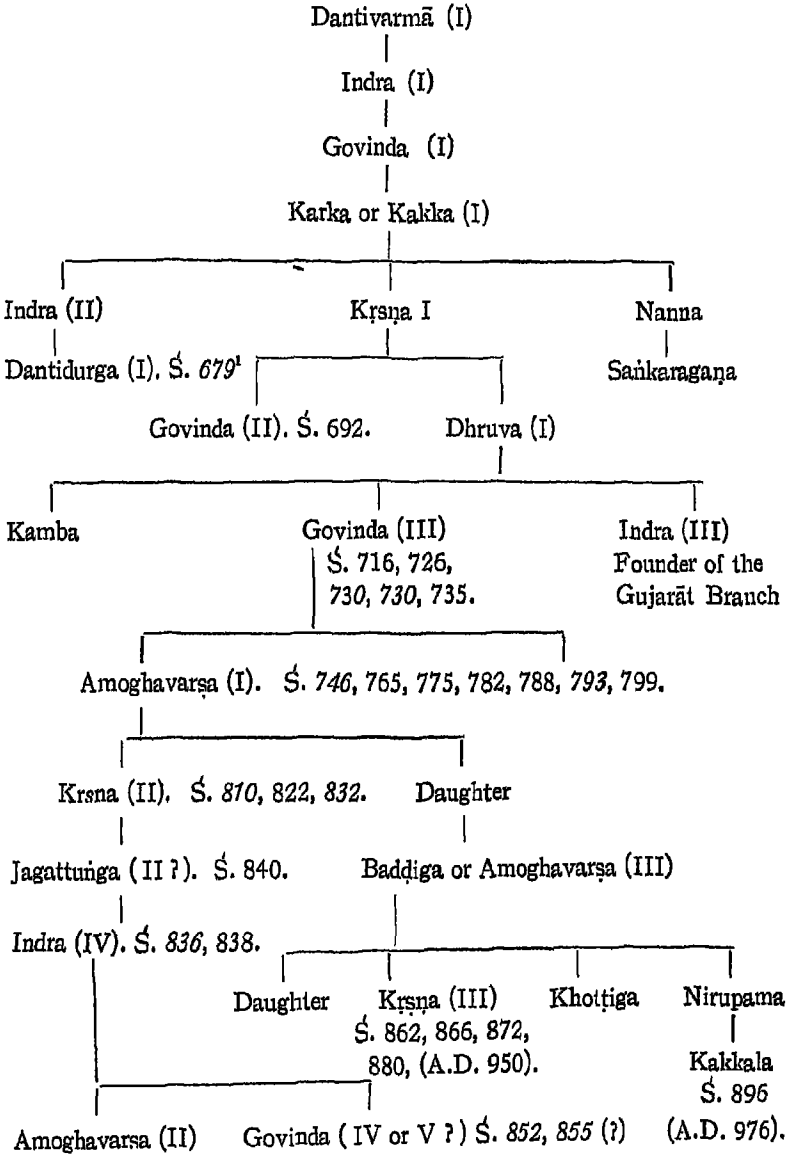
Jayāśraya Maṅgalarāja Ś. S. 663.

Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśirāja (Cedi) S. 490.

(7) Cahamanas of Bhrgukaccha. (Ins. No. 262)

Maheśvaradāman
|
Bhīmadāman
|
Bhartṛvaḍḍha (I)
|
Haradāman
|
Dhrubhaṭadeva
|
Bhartṛvaḍḍha (II). V. S. 813.

(8) Rastrakutas (Imperial). (Ins. Nos. 42,44, 52, 55–58)



[1] Inscriptions with dates in italics have direct or even indirect bearing on Gujarāt.

(9) Rastrakutas (Feudatory) of S. Gujarāt. (Ins. Nos. 41, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54)

Kakka (I)
|
Dhruva (I)
|
Govinda (I)
|
Kakka (II). Ś. *679*.
|
Indra (I) or (III) of the Imperial Branch
|
Karka (III). Ś. *734, 738, 743, 746*. — Govinda (II). Ś. *735, 749*.
|
Dhruva (II). Ś. *757*.
|
Akālavarsa (I)
|
Dhruva (III). Ś. *789, 806*. — Unnamed — Govinda (III)
|
Dantivarmā (I)
|
Kṛṣṇa (I). Ś. *810*.

(10) Paramaras[1]. (Ins. Nos. 263–64)

Sīyaka (I), son of Vairisiṁha
|
Vākpati (I)
|
Vairisiṁha
|
Sīyaka (II) Śrī-Harṣa V. S. 1005, 1026, 1029.

[1] I have not included here the later Paramāras of Mālwa who in the 13th and 14th centuries temporarily held parts of Southern Gujarāt.

(11) Caulukyas of Lata. (Ins. Nos. 265-66)

Bārapparāja
|
Goggirāja
|
Kīrtirāja Ś. 940
|
Vatsarāja
|
Trilocanapāla Ś. 972.

(12) Maitrakas of Valabhi. (Ins. Nos. 59-157)

Senāpati Bhaṭakka (Bhaṭārka)

Senāpati Dharasena (I) | *Mahārāja* Droṇasiṁha (G.) S. 183 | M. Dhruvasena (I). (G.) S. 206, 207, 210, 216, 217, 221, 226

Dharapaṭṭa

M. Guhasena S. 240, 246, 247, 248.

M. Dharasena (II). S. 252, 257, 269, 270.

Śīlāditya (I) Dharmāditya. S. 286, 287, 290.

Kharagraha

Dharasena (III). S. 304. | Dhruvasena (II) Bāladitya S. 310, 312, 313, 320, 321.

P. MRD. Dharasena IV. S. 326, 330.

M. Dharasena (II). S. 252, 257, 269, 270.

Ḍerabhaṭṭa

Dhruvasena (III). S. 332 (?), 334.

Kharagraha (II) Dharmāditya (II). S. 337. Śīlāditya (II)

MRD. Śīlāditya (III).
S. 343, 346, 347, 350, 352, 356, 365 (?).

MRD. Śīlāditya (IV). S. 372, 376, 381, 382, 387.

MRD. Śīlāditya (V). S. 403.

MRD. Śīlāditya (VI). S. 441.

MRD. Śīlāditya (VII) Dhrubhaṭa. S. 447.

(13) Capas of Surastra. (Ins. No. 254)

Vikramārka

Aḍḍaka

Pulakeśi

Dhruvabhaṭa

Dharaṇīvarāha, feudatory of Mahipāla of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty

(14) Caulukyas of Surastra. (Ins. No. 253 A.B.)

Kalla

Rājendra (?)

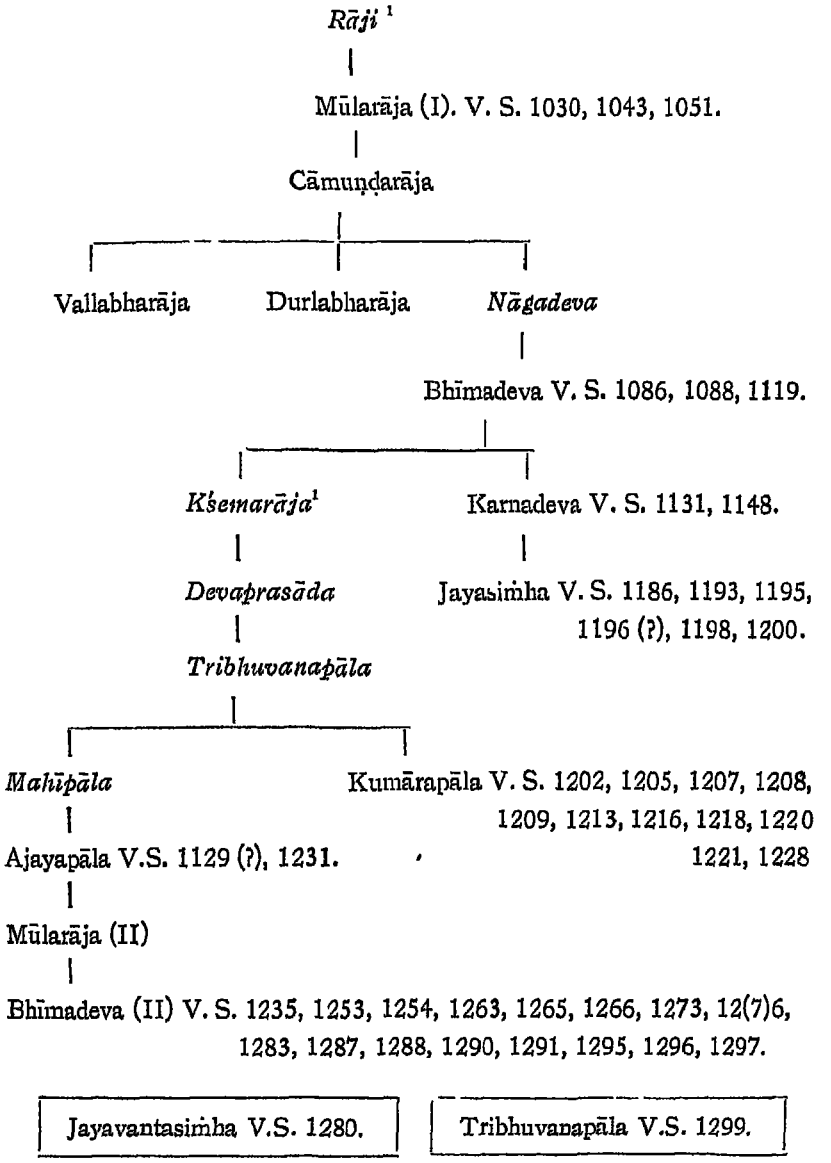
Bāhukadhavala

Avanivarman (I)

Balavarman, feudatory of the Imperial Pratihāra Mahendrapāla. Valabhī S. 574.

Avanivarman (II), feudatory of the Imperial Pratihāra Mahendrapāla. V.S. 956.

(15) Caulukyas—Solankis. (Ins. Nos. 158-231)



[1] Names in italics did not rule,

(16) Caulukyas—Vaghelas (Ins. Nos. 232–49)

Arṇorāja (of Vyāghrapalli)

|

Lāvaṇyaprasāda (of Dhavalakka)

|

Vīradhavala V. S. 1287, 1288.

|

Vīrama — Viśvamalla or Vīsaladeva V. S. 1308, 1311, 1315, 1317. — *Pratāpamalla*

|

Arjunadeva V.S. 1320.

|

Sāraṅgadeva V.S. 1332, 1333, 1335, 1343, 1346, 1348, 1352.

|

Karṇadeva (II) V.S. 135 + ?

APPENDIX C

MULARAJA'S ANCESTRY

The Gujarāt chronicles connect Rāji, Mūlarāja's father, with a king[1] of Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka in Kānyakubja (Kanauj). Neither this king nor the place is identified. But it is believed that Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka might be in Kānyakubja, and does not necessarily suggest Kalyāni of the Cālukyas.[2]

I think that Mūlarāja was by race a Cālukya or Caulukya,[3] but in the service of the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj. When the latter broke up in about the 10th century after Mahīpāla, Mūlarāja, perhaps his general, who had married in the Cāpotkaṭa family, overthrew the Cāpotkaṭas of Aṇahillapura and founded a new dynasty. It was in essence a Cālukya or Caulukya family, a character which it maintained till the end. But, because it ruled over the country of the Gurjaras (and perhaps many of Mūlarāja's followers were Gurjaras) the names Gurjaratrā etc., came to be used with the country over which it ruled. It is not necessary, as it is suggested by Bühler,[4] that Mūlarāja, if a Cālukya, should have brought the southern element in Gujarāt, which is actually missing. He or his family might have been long in the service of the Gurjara-Pratihāras.

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[1] *PBC.*, p. 22 calls him Mūlarājadeva, of the family of Bhuyagada; while *KPBC.*, I. 15 calls him Bhuvanāditya.

[2] Cf. Ray, *DHNI.*, II, p. 936.

[3] It is difficult to agree with Smith (*EHI.*, p, 396. n. 2) who thinks Rāji, Mūlarāja's father, the same as King Mahīpāla of Kanauj. The latter was a Gurjara-Pratihāra, Mūlarāja and his ancestors were Caulukyas. Smith's suggestion, however, that Mūlarāja may be Mahīpāla's viceroy, I have developed a little differently.

[4] *IA.*, VI, p. 180.

APPENDIX D

PLACE-NAMES (INCLUDING THOSE OF TERRITORIAL UNITS, RIVERS AND MOUNTAINS) FROM INSCRIPTIONS

(1) Ksatrapa Inscriptions (Nos. 2–13)

Akrāvantī *pūrva=apara*	*EI.*, VII, 41–42
Anūpa	,,
Ānartta	,,
Aparānta	,,
Dakṣiṇāpatha	,,
Girinagara	,,
	and *EI.*, XVI, 241
Kaccha	*EI.*, VIII, 41–42
Kukura	,,
Maru	,,
Niṣāda	,,
Rasopadra-grāma	*EI.*, XVI, 235
Sindhu-Sauvīra	*EI.*, VIII, 41–42
Surāṣṭra	,,
R. Suvarṇasikatā (Sonarekhā)[1]	,,
M. Ūrjayat (Girnār)	,,

(2) Gupta Inscription (No. 14)

Surāṣṭra	*CII.*, III, p. 60
R. Palāsinī	,,
M. Raivataka (Girnār ?)[2]	,,
M. Ūrjayat (Girnār)	,,

[1] Modern equivalents are given in brackets,

[2] For a proper identification of this place see *EI.*, XXIV, 221–22.

(3) Traikutaka Inscriptions (Nos. 15–17)

Āmrakā (Ambach, 25 W. of Kāpura)	*EI.*, X, 52
Antarmaṇḍali-*viṣaya*	*Ibid.*, p. 53
Aparānta-*deśa*	*Ibid.*, XI, 220
Kanīyas-Taḍākāsarikā (Tarsari, 15 W. of Kapura)	
Kāpura (Kapura, Ind. Atlas Sheet No. 23 (1888) 21°4′, 73°25)	*Ibid.*, X, 52
Purohita-*pallikā*	*Ibid.*, XI, 221

(*b*) *Territorial Units*

Āhāra	Kāpura[1]	*EI.*, X, 52
Deśa	Aparānta	*EI.*, XI, 220
Pallikā	Purohita	,,
Viṣaya	Antarmaṇḍalī (territory between the rivers Mindholā on the north, and Purna on the South)	*EI.*, X, 53

(4) Kataccuri Inscriptions (Nos. 256–60)

Ānandapura (Ānand ? Kaira District)	*EI.*, VI, 297
Bharukaccha-*visaya*	,,
Bṛhannārikā (Banaiya, 4½ S. of Kawarawara)	*Ibid.*, 298
Debhaka (Dabka, 8 from Padra, Baroda State)	,,
Gorajja-*bhoga* (Goraj, Halol, Pānch Mahāl)	,,
Kumārivadao (Kawarawara, 11 W. S. W. from Goraj)	,,

(*b*) *Territorial Units*

Bhoga	Gorajja	*EI.*, VI, 298
Visaya	Bharukaccha	,,

(5) Inscription of Samgamasimha (No. 255)

Antarnarmadā-*visaya*	*EI.*, X, 272
Bharukaccha (Broach)	,,
Śoṇavvā (Sunao Kala, 21°28½′ N, 72°54°E)	,,

[1] Also mentioned in the Nasik Ins. of Uṣavadāta, *EI.*, VIII, 82.

(*b*) *Territorial Units*

Visaya	Antarnarmadā ("between the Tāpti and the Narmada)."	*EI.*, X, 72

(6) Inscription of Santilla (No. 257)

Niguṇḍipadraka (Nāgarvādā, 6 *Kos* from Dabhoi)	*EI.*, II, 23
Pāṣāṇihrada (Saṇīdrī, 14 *Kos* from Dabhoi)	,,
Śrī Parṇākā (Paniu, 5 *Kos* from Dabhoi)	,,
Taṇḍulapadraka (Tāndalajā, 14 *Kos* from Dabhoi)	,,

(7) Gurjjara Inscriptions (Nos. 24–33)

Abhicchatra	*IA.*, XIII, 119
Akruresvara-*visaya*	*IA.*, XIII, 82
Aralûam	*IA.*, XIII, 116
Aṭavīpāṭaka	*EI.*, V, 40
Bharukaccha	*IA.*, VII, 61–63, XVII, 183–200, XIII, 86, 115
Bherajjikā	*IA.*, XIII, 87
Chhīrakaha (E)[1]	*IA.*, V, 114
Dahithali (N) = (Dethali)	*IA.*, VII, 61–63
Daśapura	*EI.*, V, 38
Dhāhaddha	*IA.*, XIII, 78
Girinagara	*Ibid.*, 80
Golikā (E)	*Ibid.*, 78
Goliavali (W)	*IA.*, V, 140
Iṣi (S) = (Isi)	*IA.*, XVI, 183
Jambhā (W)	*IA.*, V, 114
Jambusaras	*IA.*, XIII, 87
Jaravadra (N) = (Jolva)	*IA.*, XVII, 183
Kaira	*IA.*, XIII, 81–87, 88

[1] This letter in bracket after the name indicates the direction in which the place is situated to the village granted in the inscription.

Kānyakubja	*IA.*, XVII, 183
Kāyāvatāra = (Kārvān, near Baroda)	*IA.*, XIII, 70
Kemajju in Bharukaccha-*viṣaya*	*IA.*, V, 114
Korillā-*pathaka*	*IA.*, XIII, 78
Kookreylu	(?)
Kṣīrasara in Saṅgamakheṭaka-*viṣaya*	*EI.*, V, 39
Kukkuṭavallikā	*Ibid.*
Lohika (?) kṣa-*pathaka*--*āhāra*	*EI.*, V, 147
Mannātha in Bharukaccha-*viṣaya*	*EI.*, XXIII, 147
Nāndipuri	*IA.*, XIII, 81–87 and 88; *EI.*, V, 37–41
Nigūda = (Nagod) in Kamaṇīyaṣodaśata-*bhukti*	*IA.*, VII, 61–63
Phalahavadra (S) = (Phalod)	*Ibid.*
Rāïdham in Akruresvara-*viṣaya*	*IA.*, XIII,115
Samīpadraka in Korilla-*pathaka*	*IA.*, XIII, 78
Saṁkiya (W) = (Sanki)	*IA.*,XVII, 183
Sihugrāma (N)	*IA.*, V, 114
Śirīśapadraka in Akruresvara-*viṣaya*	*IA.*, XIII, 91
Śrāddhikā	*IA.*, XIII, 80
Śuṇṭhavaḍaka = (Sunthwāḍ)	*IA.*, XIII, 116
Suvarṇapalli in S. K.-*viṣaya*	*EI.*, V, 39
Tathāumbarā = (Bagumrā)	*IA.*, XVII, 183
Uṣilathaṇa (E)	*Ibid.*
Vaghaurai (E)	
Varṇera (W) = (Walner)	*IA.*, VII, 61–63
Vihānā (W) = (Vihān)	*IA.*, XIII, 116
R. Varaṇḍā = (Wandkhari)	*IA.*, XIII, 116

(b) Territorial Units

Āhāra

Lohigakakṣapathaka	*EI.*, XXIII, 147

Bhukti

Kamaṇīya-ṣoḍa-śata	*IA.*, VII, 60

Pathaka

Korillā	*IA.*, XIII, 70
Lohikakṣa	*VOC.*, 55.
Lohigakakṣa	*EI.*, XXIII, 147

Viṣaya

Akkru-or Akruru-Aṅkuleś-śvara	*IA.*, XIII, 81-87 and 88 *IA.*, XIII, 115
Bharukaccha	*IA.*, V, 114
Saṅgama-Kheṭaka	*EI.*, V, 38

(8) Cahamana Inscription (No. 262)

Arjunadevigrāma in Akruresvara-*viṣaya*
Bhṛgukaccha
Sanjñapadra (?)
Valabhī
Varamadevī (?)
(b) Territorial Units
Viṣaya
Akruresvara
} *EI.*, XII, 202–03

(9) Gujarat Calukya Inscriptions (Nos. 34–40)

Allūraka = (Alurā)	*IA.*, XVII, 198
Āsaṭṭi = (Astgām)	*EI.*, VIII, 229
Bāhirika-*viṣaya*	*EI.*, VIII, 230
Balisa in Treyaṇṇa-*āhāra*	*IA.*, XVIII, 266
Belegrāma in Gopa-*rāṣṭra*	*IA.*, IX, 123
Jambusara	*IA.*, VII, 250
Kaṇhavalāhāra-*viṣaya* in Bāhirika-*viṣaya*	*EI.*, VIII, 230
Kārmaṇeya	
Navasārikā	*EI.*, VIII, 229
Pariyaya (also called Sandhiyara) in Kāśakula-*viṣaya*	*IA.*, VII, 241

Osumbhala = (Umbhel) in Kārmaṇeya-*āhāra*	*VOC.*, 225
Vijaya-Aniruddhapuri	*IA.*, XVIII, 266
Vijayapura	*IA.*, VII, 249

(b) Territorial Units

Āhāra

Kārmaṇeya	*VOC.*, 225
Treyaṇṇa	*IA.*, XVIII, 266

Viṣaya

Bāhirika	*EI.*, VIII, 229
Kaṇhavalāhāra	*EI.*, VIII, 229
Kāśakula	*IA.*, VII, 250
Gopa-*rāṣṭra*	*IA.*, IX, 124

(10) Rastrakuta Inscriptions (Nos. 41–58)

Ambapātaka (attached to Nāgadarika)	*EI.*, XXI, 147
Ambakagrāma (N)=(Ambach)	*EI.*, I, 53
Aṅkoṭṭaka (W)=(Ankoṭ)	*IA.*, XII, 164
Aṅkuleśvara	*IA.*, XIII., 69
Apasundara	*EI.*, VI, 292
Apūvalla (W)=Abuvel	*EI.*, I, 55
Araluvaka (S)	*EI.*, I, 55
Bādāvi (W)	*JBBRAS.*, XX, 140
Bharthārṇaka=(Bharthanā)	*Ibid.*
Brāhmaṇapallikā=(Bāmroli)	(1) *JBBRAS.*, XX, 140
Brāhmaṇapallikā in Māhiṣaka 42 *viṣaya*	(2) *EI.*, XIII, 80
Bharukaccha	*IA.*, V, 147 and XII, 185
Chatuḥsarī	*IA.*, XIV, 202
Chokhkuṭi	*EI.*, VI, 292
Choruṇḍaka=(Chornda)	*JBBRAS.*, XX, 140
Ḍāhala	*EI.*, XVIII, 252–56
Da(ut)ellemka	*EI.*, VI, 292

Dhaḍayasaha = (Dhuṇḍesā)	*EI.*, XXII, 70–71
Dhāhadva (N) = (Dhāvaṭa)	*JBBRAS.*, XX, 140
Dhāyappa (W)	*EI.*, XXII, 77
Dhannavallikā (N) = (Dhānoli)	*EI.*, XVIII, 250
Gaṅga	*EI.*, XVIII, 252–56
Gauḍa	*EI.*, XVIII, 252–56
Golel	*IA.*, V, 112
Golikā (E)	*JBBRAS.*, XX, 140
Govaṭṭana in Sīharakhi Twelve	*EI.*, III, 55 ?
Harṣapura	*EI.*, I, 55
Helāpura	*EI.*, XVIII, 252–56
Jadrāṇa (S) = (Jantrān)	*IA.*, V, 148
Jambuvāvikā (E) = (Jambuvā)	*IA.*, XII, 164
Jambusara	*JBBRAS.*, XVI, 109
Javalakūpakam (N) = (Jolwa)	*EI.*, IX, 32
Jharivallikā = (Zaroli)	*EI.*, XVIII, 250
Joṇandhā in Troṇṇa-*āhāra*	*IA.*, XII, 181
Kaliṅga	*EI.*, XVIII, 252–56
Kālīyara (W) = (Kalier)	*IA.*, V, 148
Kallupallikā	*EI.*, VI, 292
Kammaṇijja = (Kamrej)	*EI.*, IX, 36
Kāviṭhesādhi in Variāvi-*ṣoḍaśagrāma* in Koṇkaṇa-*viṣaya*	*IA.*, XIII, 69
Kāñcī	*EI.*, XVIII, 252–56
Kaṅtāragrāma (= Katārgam, near Surat)-*viṣaya*	*EI.*, XXII, 70–71
Kapitha	*EI.*, VII, 26
Kāpikā-*mahāsthāna*	*EI.*, VII, 36
Kārañjavasahikā	*JBBRAS.*, XX, 140
Karahnda-*viṣaya*	*EI.*, XVIII, 249
Kavaloṭka (N)	*EI.*, XXII, 77
Kārpaṭavāṇijya = (Kapadvanj)	*EI.*, I, 52
Kāśadraha	*EI.*, I, 55
Kāśahrada	*IA.*, XIV, 202
Kāṣṭhāmaṇḍapa (N) = (Kāthmaṇḍvā)	*JBBRAS.*, XX, 140

Kāṣṭapurī (W)	*JBBRAS.*, XVI, 105
Kavarika-*viṣaya*	*EI.*, XXII, 70–71
Keradavallī (S)	*EI.*, I, 55
Kerala	*EI.*, XVIII, 252–256
Kevañja in Kheṭaka-*maṇḍala* in Lāṭa-*deśa*	*EI.*, VII, 40
Khaurachhaka in Treṇṇa-*āhāra*	*IA.*, XII, 185
Kheṭaka	*EI.*, XVIII, 252–56; *JBBRAS.*, XX, 140; *EI.*, I, 55
Koṭipura in Kāpikā	*IA.*, V, 147
Kośala	*EI.*, XVIII, 252–56
Khairoda (E and N)	*JBBRAS.*, XVI, 105
Kundīravallikā (E)	*IA.*, XII, 185
Kurundaka = (Kurundwād on the *saṅgama* of the Krishna and the Godāvari)	*EI.*, IX, 28
Lāṭa-*deśa*	*EI.*, IX, 32
Likkavallī	*EI.*, XXII, 77
Liṅgataḍāgikā (E) = (Śankartalao)	*Ibid.*
Magadha	*EI.*, XVIII, 252–56
Mālava	"
Māhiṣaka-42-*viṣaya*	*EI.*, XXII, 77
Mānyakheṭa	*EI.*, VII, 40; XVIII, 249
Māṇkanikā-*bhukti* = (Māṇkani)	*JBBRAS.*, XX, 140
Mayūrakhāṇḍi	*EI.*, VI, 242
Miriyaṭhana (Meerajgaon)	*EI.*, VI, 242
Mogalikā (S)	*EI.*, IX, 32
Moïvāsaka (N)	*IA.*, XII, 185
Mottaka (*Brāhmaṇa Sthāna*)	*IA.*, XII, 185
Nāgasārikā	*EI.*, XXI, 147
Nāmbhi (Nadida)	*EI.*. IX, 36
Nāvḍa	*EI.*, XXII, 77
Nandagrāma (W)	*EI.*, XVIII, 250
Nāsika-*deśa*	*IA.*, XI, 162

Nāvālikā (W)	*EI.*, I, 55
Odraka	*EI.*, XVIII, 252
Padhamastana (N) = (Pathron)	*EI.*, XXI, 70–71
Paḍhavaṇaka	*IA.*, XIII, 69
Panthoḍā (E) = (Panthora)	*EI.*, I, 55
Pārāhaṇaka in Karmāntapura 116	*IA.*, XII, 181
Pāṭaliputra	*EI.*, IX, 28
Pippalāchcha (S)	*JBBRAS.*, XVI, 109
Pūsilāvalli in Kāśahrada	*IA.*, XIV, 202
Rattajjuna = (Rātajan, 24 N. N. E. of Rasin)	*EI.*, VI, 242
Ruhṇāḍa (N) = (Ruṇād)	*IA.*, V, 148
Runand	*IA.*, V, 112
Rūriddha-*Daśaka*	*EI.*, I, 55
Rurivallikā	*EI.*, XVIII, 250
Sajjoḍaka (E) = (Sajod)	*JBBRAS.*, XX, 140
Sambandhi in Maṅkaṇikā-*bhukti*	*JBBRAS.*, XX, 140
Saṁkī (W) = (Sanki)	*EI.*, IX, 32
Samipadraka	*JBBRAS.*, XX, 140
Sāmbapura	*JBBRAS.*, XXI, 147
Saṁjāṇapattana	*EI.*, XVIII, 250
Samagaon	*EI.*, VII, 40
Sarvamaṅgalāsattā outside Kheṭaka	*IA.*, XIV, 202
Sihuka	*EI.*, VII, 40
Sthāvarapallikā-*visaya*	*JBBRAS.*, XVI, 109
Suhilā-*viṣaya*	*EI.*, XXII, 70–71
Tasilāvalli	*IA.*, XIV, 196
Ṭenna = (Ten)	*EI.*, IX, 36
Tigavi (Tugaon)	*EI.*, VI, 242
Thurṇavi	*IA.*, V, 151
Tolejaka (E)	*EI.*, IX, 32
Ujjayini	*EI.*, XVIII, 252–56
Umbara = (Bāgumra)	*EI.*, IX, 32
Uppalahatthaka (S) = (Uplat)	*EI.*, XVIII, 250

Uttarapaḍhāvaṇaka	*IA.*, XIII, 69
Vaḍḍavalli (W) = (Valoḍ)	*EI.*, XXII, 70–71
Valīsā	*EI.*, IX, 36
Vaṭanagara-*viṣaya* in Nāsika-*deśa*	*IA.*, XI, 162
Vaṭapadraka (E)	*IA.*, V, 151
Vaḍapadraka = (Baroda) in Aṅkoṭṭara 84	*IA.*, XII, 164
Vagghāccha (N) = (Vaghoḍiā)	*IA.*, XII, 164
Valacha (E)	*IA.*, XIII, 69
Vallurikā or Vyāghrāsa in Rūriddhā-*Daśaka* in Karpaṭavāṇijya = (Vaghās NE. of Kapadvanj)	*EI.*, IX, 55
Varaḍapallikā (E) = (Bārdoli)	*EI.*, IX, 36
Variāvi-*ṣoḍaśagrāma* in Koṅkaṇa-*viṣaya*	*IA.*, XIII, 69
Variāvipattana	*IA.*, XIII, 69
Vaṭṭāra (W)	*JBBRAS.*, XVI, 109
Vaṅga	*EI.*, XVIII, 252–56
Veṅgi	"
Vavviyana (N) = (Baben)	*EI.*, IX, 36
Vavulāla (Baboolgaon)	*EI.*, VI, 242
Vasavaka	*IA.*, XIII, 69
Vasuhārika (N)	*IA.*, XIII, 69
Varāhagrāma (Wurgaon)	*EI.*, VI, 242
Viñhuchavalli	*IA.*, XIV, 196
Vitkhāvallī	*EI.*, I, 55
Voṛīvadraka	*IA.*, XIV, 202
Zaroli	*EI.*, XVIII, 250

Rivers

Kalluvi = (Kālū)	*EI.*, XVIII, 250
Godāvarī	*EI.*, VII, 40
Maddāpi = (perhaps Mindhola)	*EI.*, XXII, 70–71
Mandākinī	*EI.*, VI, 287
Narmmadā	*IA.*, XII, 185

Purāvī = (Purṇā, near Navsari)	*EI.*, VI, 286; XXII, 70–71
Sinhā = (Sīnā)	
Vehicchā	*IA.*, XIV, 202

(b) Territorial Units

Āhāra

Treṇṇa	*IA.*, XII, 185

Bhukti

Rāsiyana	*EI.*, VI, 242
Maṅkaṇikā	*JBBRAS.*, XX, 140

Deśa

Lāṭa (containing Kheṭaka-*maṇḍala*)	*EI.*, VII, 36
Nāsika	*EI.*, IX, 32

Maṇḍala

Kheṭaka	*EI.*, VII, 40
Lāṭa	*EI.*, III, 55

Pathaka

Uppala	*EI.*, XVIII, 250

Viṣaya

Kantāragrāma	*EI.*, XVIII, 249
Karahnda	*EI.*, XVIII, 249
Kāśakula	*JBBRAS.*, XVI, 109
Kavarikā	*EI.*, XXII, 70–71
Koṁkaṇa	*IA.*, XIII, 69
Māhiṣaka 42	*EI.*, XXII, 77
Sthāvarapallikā	*JBBRAS.*, XVI, 105
Vaṭanagara in Nāsika-*deśa*	*EI.*, IX, 32

Group of Villages

Aṅkoṭṭaka 84	*IA.*, XII, 160
Harṣapura 750	*EI.*, I, 55
Karmāntapura 116	*IA.*, XII, 181
Kārpaṭavāṇijya 84	*EI.*, I, 55
Ruriddhā 10	*EI.*, I, 55
Sīharakhi 12	*EI.*, III, 53
Variavi 16	

(11) Paramara Inscriptions (Nos. 263–64)

Ānandapura = (Vadnagar, Kherālu tālukā)	*EI.*, XIX, 243
Kheṭaka-*maṇḍala*	*EI.*, XIX, 240
Kumbhāroṭaka-*grāma* = (Kāmrod, 13 E. of Modāsā)	*EI.*, XIX, 242
Mohaḍavāsaka-*viṣaya* = (Mohaḍāsā or Modāsā, Prantij tālukā)	*EI.*, XIX, 242
Sīhakāgrāma = (Sīkā, 85 of Modāsā)	*EI.*, XIX, 242

(b) Territorial Units

Maṇḍala
Kheṭaka — *EI.*, XIX, 240

Viṣaya
Mohaḍavāsaka — *EI.*, XIX, 242

River
Mahīnadī (having a temple of Śivanātha) — *EI.*, XIX, 242

(12) Caulukya Inscriptions (from Lata) (Nos. 265–66)

Agastyatīrtha
Bahunadāśva (W)
Erathāṇa-900
Indotthāna (S.W.)
Kānyakubja
Kuruṇagrāma
Lāṭa-(*deśa*)
Nāgāmbā (E)
Talapadraka (N)
Tembarūka (N.W.)
Taṅtikā (E)
Vaṭapadra (S.E.)
Vi(di?) elīśvara-*pathaka*
— *IA.*, XII, 202

(b) Territorial Units

Deśa
Lāṭa

Pathaka
Vi(di?) elīśvara

Group of Villages
Erathāṇa-900

(13) Maitraka Inscriptions (Nos. 59–157)

Agastikāgrahāra in Mālavaka	*EI.*, VIII, 189
Aikalika	*EI.*, XI, 83
Akrolaka	*EI.*, XI, 112
Akṣasaraka-*prāpa* in HVA.	*EI.*, III, 318
Aksarasaka-*praveśya* in HVA.	*EI.*, XI, 109
Ālindaka	*IA.*, VII, 76
Amakarkūpa in HVA. in Surāṣṭra-*viṣaya*	*WMR.*, 1925–6, 14
Amadasaputra in Ghasaraka-*pathaka*	*JBU.*, III, I, 83
Ānandapura	*IA.*, VII, 79; *CII.*, III, 173
Ānartapura	*IA.*, VII, 72; *ABOI.*, IV, 40
Antaratrā in Surāṣṭra	BPSI., 63, 54; CII., III, 164
Antarapallikā in Surāṣṭrā	
Anumamji-*praveśya*	*EI.*, XIII, 339
Aśilāpathaka in Khetaka-*āhāra-viṣaya*	
Bahumūla (1) Vaṭapallikā-*sthali* in Surāṣṭra	*JBBRAS.*, I, 52
(2) belonging to Vaṭsathalikā-*prāya*	*IA.*, V, 206
Bahubataka in Sūryapura-*viṣaya*	*IA.*, VI, 12
Baṇḍarijidri-*pathaka*	*IA.*, VII, 72
Barataka	*IA.*, IX, 238
Bhadradraṇaka	*IA.*, IX, 238
Bhadreṇikā in Surāṣṭra	(1) *VOJ.*, VII, 297 (2) *EI.*, XVII, 109 (3) XIX, 125 (4) *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 65
Bhadrapattana	*BPSI.*, 35
Bhallara in HVA.	*EI.*, XI, 109
Bharukaccha	*IA.*, XV, 336
Bhasanta in Kala-*pathaka* in Surāṣṭra	(1) *BPSI.*, 42 (2) *IA.*, VI, 13

Bhaṭṭakapatra in Surāṣṭra	*WMR.*, 1925–26. 13; *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., III, 184
Bhaṭṭika	*JBBRAS.*, I, 74
Bhoṇḍānaka in Vaṭanagara-*sthali*	*EI.*, XI, 180
Bhrāma	*IA.*, XV, 188
Bhramapura	*IA.*, XV, 187
Bhumbhusa	*IA.*, XIII, 160
Bramilanaka	*IA.*, IX, 238
Candraputraka in Malacaka-*visaya*	*EI.*, VIII, 194
Chhedakapadraka in HVA.	*EI.*, XV, 255
Citrakasthalya in Kadampadraka- *sthali*	*EI.*, XI, 83
Coṭṭiyānaka	*JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 29
Cossārim in Kheṭaka-*āhāra*	*EI.*, XIII, 339
Dābhaka in Kālāpaka-*pathaka*	*WMR.*, 1925–26, 14; *JBBRAS*, (NS)., III 186
Deccāṇaka in HVA.	*JBBRAS.*, I, 73
Ḍāmaripāṭaka in Vahapalika-*sthali*	*BPSI.*, 35–39
Dandāsa	*BPSI.*, 48; *IA.*, XI, 309
Danturapura in Maṇḍali-*draiiga*	*JBU.*, III, 87
Daśapura	*IA.*, X, 284
Desenaka	*EI.*, IV, 74
Desuraksṭijja in Siṁhapallikā-*pathaka* in Kheṭaka-*āhāra*	*IA.*, VII, 75
Devabhadrapallikā in Dharakotha-*sthali*	*IA.*, VI, 9
Devarakṣitapāṭaka in Nimbakupa-*sthali*	*EI.*, XI, 83
Devakulapāṭaka	(1) *JBBRAS.*, I, 72 (2) *EI.*, VIII, 195
Deyāpalli in Nagara-*pathaka* in Kheṭaka-*kedāra* (*āhāra*?)	*JBAS.*, X, 972
Deyathaligrāma	*IA.*, X, 284
Dhammaṇahaḍḍika	*EI.*, VIII, 194
Dhamnar	

Dhulusa in Salpasa-*sthali*	*BPSI.*, 48
Dhūṣā in Śalyāsa-*sthali*	*IA.*, XI, 309
Dinnānaka	*IA.*, IX, 238
Dinnaputra in Surāṣṭra	*JBBRAS.*, XI, 344
Dipanaka in Bilvakhāṭa-*sthali*	*IA.*, XV, 187
Dombhi	*IA.*, XIII, 160
Dombhi-*grāma*	*CIII.*, III, 164
Droṇika	*VOJ.*, VII, 297
Duhuduhu in Nagaraka-*pathaka*	*IA.*, XV, 337
Gahana	*JBAS.*, VII, 972
Gaṇduka	,,
Ghrtālaya-*bhūmi* in Śivabhāgapura-*viṣaya*	*IA.*, VII, 79
Giriviligrāma (E)	*IA.*, X, 284
Gorakeśa	*JBBRAS.*, *I*, 52
Guddapallikā	*IA.*, XV, 337
Hariyāṇaka in Akṣasaraka in HVA.	*EI.*, III, 319; *JBBRAS.*, I, 21
Hastihṛdaka in Sirivāṭaka-*sthali*	*WMR.*, 1925–26, 14
Hastikapallikā in Koṇaka-*pathaka* in Kheṭaka-*āhāra-viṣaya*	*JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 69
Hastavapra	(1) *IA.*, V, 314 (2) *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., III, 186; (3) *Ibid.*, (NS)., I, 65
Hastavapra-*āhāra*	(1) *EI.*, XVI, 17; (2) *JBBRAS.*, XX, 2; (3) *EI.*, XV, 257
Indrāṇipadraka in Puṣyānaka-*sthali*	*IA.*, XIV, 328
Iṣikānaka in Ambareṇu-*sthali*	*ABOI.*, IV, 33–37
Īśvaradevasenaka	*IA.*, VIII, 304–5
Jambusara	*EI.*, VIII, 189
Jāṇṇapalli	*IA.*, XV, 337
Jotipadraka	*IA.*, VII, 70
Jyeṣṭanaka in HVA.	*EI.*, XIX, 304

Kadambapadraka-*sthali*	*EI.*, XI, 83
Kalahaṭaka in HVA.	*EI.*, XIX, 304
Kalakṣeyataka in Surāṣṭra	*JBBRAS.*, I, 72
Kālapaka-*pathaka* in Surāṣṭra	*ASRWC.*, 1915–16, 53
Kālāpaka	*WMR.*, 1925–26, 14; *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., III, 186
Kālāsamaka	*JBBRAS.*, I, (NS)., 29
Kakkapadra in Kālāpaka-*pathaka*	*ASRWC.*, 1915–16, 55
Kakkijja in Puṣyāṇaka-*sthali*	*IA.*, XIV, 328
Kantāragrāma-*ṣoḍaśata-viṣaya*	*IA.*, X, 284
Karkijja	*JBBRAS.*, XI, 363
Karilyāvika	*JBAS.*, VII, 972
Karhada-*visaya*	*EI.*, XVIII, 249
Kāśahraḍa	*JBBRAS.*, I, 35
Kasaka	*JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 58
Kauṇḍinyapura	*WMR.*, 1925–26, 13; *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., III, 184
Kavitthāvika	*JBAS.*, VII, 972
Kāṇḍajja in Surāṣṭra	*JBBRAS.*, XI, 33
Kheṭakapadraka	*JBBRAS.*, I, 72
Kheṭaka	*IA.*, XV, 340; *JBBRAS.*, XI, 335; *JBAS.*, VII, 972
„ pradvāra	*JBBRAS.*, (NS)., III, 185; *EI.*, IV, 76
Kheṭaka-*āhāra-viṣaya*	*IA.*, VII, 72
Kikkātaputra in Kālāpaka-*pathaka*	(1) *JBBRAS.*, X, 80; (2) *IA.*, I, 16
Kolamba in Kheṭaka-*āhāra*	*IA.*, XV, 336
Kortapadraka	*EI.*, XXII, 115
Kukkurāṇaka	*JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 37
Kukkuta in HVA.	(1) *IA.*, IV, 204; (2) *IA.*, V, 204
Leśudaka	*IA.*, VII, 68

Liptikhaṇḍa in Varddhamāna-*bhukti*	*JBBRAS.*, XI, 344
Lohārapādaka	*JBAS.*, VII, 973
Loṇapadraka in Loṇapadraka-*sthali*	*IA.*, V, 207
Madakoṇā in HVA.	*EI.*, XI, 106
Maḍasara	*ASRWC.*, 1915–16, 55
Maḍasaras	*IA*, VIII, 304–5
Maḍasara in Madasara-*sthali* in Surāṣṭra	*EI.*, XXII, 119
Maheśvaradasanaka in HVA.	*IA.*, VI, 9
Mahicchaka	*EI.*, I, 88
Mahilābalī in Uppalaheṭa-*pathaka* in Kheṭaka-*āhāra*	(1) *IA.*, VII, 85; (2) *CII.*, III, 179
Mālavaka-*bhukti*	*EI.*, VIII, 188
Maṇḍali-*draṅga*	*EI.*, XIII, 339
Moraṅjijja in Antratrā in Surāṣṭra	*BPSI.*, 58; (2) *Ibid.*, 63
Mūlavarmapāṭaka	
Naddīyam in Ḍeṭaka-*āhāra*	*EI.*, XIII, 339
Nagadinnaka in Rohanaka in Surāṣṭra	
Nagara-*pathaka* in Khoṭaka-Kedāra(?)	*JBAS.*, VII, 972
Nandīara in Kaṅtāragāma-16	*IA.*, X, 284
Naṭṭakaputra	*JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 65
Nāṭyoṭka in (Baṁbu) vanaka-*sthali*	*EI.*, XI, 83
Navagrāmaka in Mālavaka-*bhukti*	*EI.*, VIII, 181
Niggud in Ghasaraka-*pathaka*	(1) Note (2) *JBU.*, III, p. 1
Nimbakupa-*sthali*	*EI.*, XI, 83
Pahmavāṭikā in Kalakṣayaṭaka in Surāṣṭra	*JBBRAS.*, I, 72
Palatirolahma	*IA.*, I, 46
Paṇḍarakupikā(?) (1) (2) in Puṣāṇaka-*sthali*	*JBBRAS.*, XI, 363 *IA.*, XIV, 328
Paṅgulapallikā in Ghṛtālaya-*bhumi* in Śivabhāgapura-*viṣaya*	*IA.*, VII, 79
Patanaka	*JBBRAS.*, X, 80

Paṭṭaparaka in Dakṣiṇa-*patha* in Śivabhāgapura-*viṣaya*	*EI.*, I, 88
Pethavata in Bilvakhāta-*sthali*	*BPSI.*, 32
Piñchhakūpikāvaha	
Pippalarumakhari	(1) *IA.*, IV, 104 (2) *EI.*, XIII, 339
Pṛthaputra	*IA.*, VIII, 304–5
Puliṇḍaka	*IA.*, VII, 76
Pulidānaka-*grāma*	*EI.*, VIII, 189
Pushmilānaka	*IA.*, IX, 238
Rakṣaraputra in Palatirolakura	*IA.*, I, 46
Rākṣasaka in Kāśahrada	*JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 36
Samihambara	*VOJ.*, VII, 297
Śamīpadravātaka	*EI.*, XIII, 339
Saṅgamānakam in Maṇḍali-*draṅga* in Kheṭaka-*āhāra*	*EI.*, XIII, 339
Santaputra	*JBBRAS.*, I, 72
Sarvativata	*VOJ.*, VII, 297
Śarkkarāpadraka	(1) *JBBRAS.*, X, 80 (2) *IA.*, I, 16
Sīhamuhijja	*IA.*, XV, 336
Sihanaka in Bavanaka(?)-*sthali*	*JBBRAS.*, I, 37
Siṁhapallikā-*pathaka* in Kheṭaka-*āhāra*	
Siṁhapura	(1) *JBBRAS.*, X, 79 (2) *EI.*, XI, 111
Sinakapadraka in Antaratrā-*viṣaya*	*IA.*, XIII, 160
Sirivātikā-*sthali*	*JBBRAS.*, (NS)., III, 186
Śivabhāgapura-*viṣaya*	*IA.*, VII, 79
Śivatrātaijja	*EI.*, IV, 75
Sudattabhaṭṭānaka	*JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 66
Sūryadāsa	*IA.*, VII, 68–70
Tapasapallikā	*JBAS.*, VII, 972
Tāpasia in HVĀ.	*EI.*, XI, 106

Tiniṣaka in HVA.	*EI.*, XI, 106
Trisaṅgamaka = (Tarsamia) in HVA.	(1) *EI.*, XVI, 18 (2) *JBBRAS.*, XX, 2
Uchchāpadra in Puṣyānaka-*sthali*	*JBBRAS.*, XI, 361
Udrapadraka	*IA.*, I, 46
Udumbaragahvara	(1) *IA.*, XV, 336 (2) *EI.*, VIII, 189
Uppalaheṭa-*pathaka* in Kheṭaka-*āhāra*	*CII.*, III, 171–73
Usingha in Surāṣṭra	*JBBRAS.*, XI, 33
Uṭṭapālaka	*JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 67
Vaḍḍasomālikā in Kolamba in Kheṭaka-*āhāra*	*IA.*, XV, 336
Vajra	*IA.*, XIII, 160
Vajra-*grāma*	*CII.*, III, 164
Valapadraka	*EI.*, XV, 257
Valabhī	(1) *JBBRAS.*, XX, 1, 8; (2) *Ibid.*, (NS)., I, 65, 16, 25, 51, 58 (3) *EI.*, III, 319; VIII, 188; XI, 81, 106, 109 112, 116; XVI, 17; XVII, 106 (4) *IA.*, XV, 187; X, 283; XII, 148 (5) *ABOI.*, IV, 38, etc.
Vanditapalli	*EI.*, VIII, 194
Vaṅśakaṭa	(1) *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 26, 32; (2) *BPSI.*, 24
Varahṭaka	*EI.*, VIII, 189
Vasukiya	*EI.*, XI, 109
Vaṭadraha in Ghāsaraka	Note
Vaṭa-*grāma* in Dipanaka *Petha* in Bilvakhāta-*sthali*	*IA.*, XV, 187
Vaṭanumaka	*JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 73
Vaṭapadra (1) (2) in Ghasaraka-*pathaka*	(1) *IA.*, IX, 238 (2) *JBU.*, III, 83

Vaṭaprajyaka	*JRAS.*, 1895, 379
Vatsathalika-*prāya*	*IA.*, V, 206
Vaṭapadraka in Jhara-*sthali*	(1) *BPSI.*, 32
	(2) *IA.*, XV, 187
Vīraputra	*IA.*, 304–5
Viśālapāṭaka	
Viśvapalli	*IA.*, XV, 336
Vītakhatta	*IA.*, IX, 238
Vyāghradinnānaka in Akṣasaraka	*JBBRAS.*, (NS)., (1) 32
Yodhāvaka in HVA. in Surāṣṭra	(1) *IA.*, I, 45
	(2) *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 31–32

Rivers

Madāvi, S. of Nandiaraka-*grāma*	*IA.*, X, 284
Māṇijjkā in Surāṣṭra	*EI.*, IV, 75
Madhumati „	
Vatsavahaka „	*EI.*, XI, 83

(b) Territorial Units

Āhāra or *Āharaṇī*

Hastavapra = (Hāthab)	(1) *IA.*, I, 45
	(2) *Ibid.*, IV, 204
	(3) *Ibid.*, V, 204
	(4) *Ibid.*, VI, 9
	(5) *EI.*, III, 319
	(6) *Ibid.*, V, 204
	(7) *Ibid.*, XI, 106
	(8) *Ibid.*, XVI, 17
	(9) *Ibid.*, XIX, 304
	(10) *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 72
	(11) *Ibid.*, I, 73
	(12) *Ibid.*, XX, 2
	(13) *Ibid.*, (NS)., III, 116

Kheṭaka	(1) *IA.*, VII, 72 (2) *Ibid.*, 85 (3) *Ibid.*, XV, 336[1] (4) *EI.*, XIII, 339 (5) *JBBRAS.*, I, (NS)., 70 (6) *JBAS.*, X, 972[2] (7) *CII.*, III, 171
Bheda	
Bhaṭāraka	*IA.*, XV, 187
Bhukti	
Mālavaka	*EI.*, VIII, 189
Varddhamāna	*JBBRAS.*, XI, 344
Bhumi	
Ghṛtālaya in Śivabhāgapura-*viṣaya*	*IA.*, VII, 76
Drainga	
Maṇḍali	(1) *JBU.*, III, 87 (2) *EI.*, XIII, 339 (3) Note
Maṇḍali	
Sopokendraka	*JBBRAS.*, I, (NS)., 16
Pathaka	
Baṇḍarijidra in Kheṭaka-*āhāra-viṣaya*	*IA.*, VII, 72
Dakṣiṇā-*patha*	*EI.*, I, 88
Ghasaraka	*JBU.*, III, 83
Kālāpaka in Surāṣṭra	(8) *ASRWC.*, 1915–16. 55 (2) *JBBRAS.*, X, 79 (3) *IA.*, I, 16 (4) *Ibid.*, VI, 13 (5) *Ibid.*, (NS)., 186

[1] It mentions or is read as "Deṭaka", but is evidently "Kheṭaka". The reading is "Kheṭaka Kedāra".

Koṇaka in Kheṭaka-*āhāra-viṣaya*	*JBBRAS.*, I, (NS)., 70
Nagara	(1) *IA.*, XV, 337
	(2) *JBAS.*, VII, 972
(Akṣa?) saraka	*JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 32
Siṁhapallikā in Kheṭaka-*āhāra*	*IA.*, VII, 75
Uppalaheṭa	(1) *IA.*, VII, 85
	(2) *CII.*, III, 179
Padraka	
Bhuṁbhusa	*IA.*, XIII, 160
Śivaka	
Peṭha	
Dīpanaka	*IA.*, XV, 187
Prāpa[1]	
Aksasaraka	*EI.*, XIII, 339
Prāveśya[1]	
Ānumamji	*Ibid.*
Pippalaruṁkharī	*Ibid.*
Sthalī	
Ambareṇu	*ABOI.*, IV, 40
Bavanaka (?)	*JBBRAS.*, I, 37
Bilvakhāta	(1) *BPSI.*, 32
	(2) *IA.*, XV, 187
(Biṁbu) vānaka	*EI.*, XI, 83
Dharaketha	*IA.*, VI, 9
Jhara	(1) *BPSI.*, 32
	(2) *IA.*, XV, 187
Loṇapadraka	*IA.*, V, 207
Maḍasara in Surāṣṭra	*EI.*, XXII, 119
Maṇḍali	*JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 51
Niṁbukūha	*EI.*, XI, 83

[1] Regarded as territorial units smaller than the *āhāra*.

Pusyanaka	*JBBRAS.*, (NS)., XI, 361
Salpasa	*BPSI.*, 48
Sirivāṭaka	*WMR.*, 1925–26, 14; *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., III, 186
Vahapalikā	*BPSI.*, 35–39
Vaṭanagara	*EI.*, XI, 180
Vaṭapallikā in Surāṣṭra	*JBBRAS.*, I, (NS)., 52
Viṣaya	
Antaratrā[1]	*IA.*, XIII, 160
Kheṭaka-*āhāra*	*IA.*, VII, 72
Mālavaka	*EI.*, VIII, 194
Śivabhāgapura	(1) *IA.*, VII, 19 (2) *EI.*, I, 88
Sūryapura	*IA.*, VI, 12
Surāṣṭra	*WMR.*, 1925–26, 14
Surāṣṭra	(1) *ASRWC.*, 1915–16, 55 (2) *BPSI.*, 54, 63 (4) *IA.*, I, 16, 45 (6) *IA.*, VI, 13 (7) *JBBRAS.*, (I), (NS)., 37, 52, 66, 72, 74, XI, 345 (14) *WMR.*, 1925–26, 14; *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., III, 184, 186 (15) OJha, *Note* (16) *EI.*, XVII, 109

(14) Palitana Inscription of Simhaditya (No. 250)

Darbhācāra Dvārkā Elāpadra Phaṅkaprasravana	*EI.*, X, 16–22

[1] Also called a *pathaka*.

(15) Dhinki Inscription of Jaikadeva (No. 251)

Bhūmilikā = (Ghumli or Bumli)

Dhenikagrāma = (Dhinki) in Bhumilikā-*maṇḍala*

Sorāṣṭra-*maṇḍala*

(b) Territorial Units

Maṇḍala

Bhumilikā

Sorāṣṭra

(16) Wadhwan Inscription of Dharanivaraha (No. 254)

Aḍḍaṇa-*deśa*	*IA.*, XII, 193

(17) Inscriptions of the time of Mahendrapala of Kanauj (Nos. 253A–B)

Ambulaka in Nakṣiṣapura 84 in Saurāṣṭra-*maṇḍala*	*EI.*, IX, 5
Jayapura	*Ibid.*
Peḍhillikā	*Ibid.*
Rājyasthala	*Ibid.*
Seṇḍuvakakoriṇṭhaka	*EI.*, IX, 10
Sīhavāhalaka	*Ibid.*, 5
Vāvulika	*Ibid.*, 10
Viyaraka	"

River

Kaṇavirikā	*Ibid.*, 5, 10

(b) Territorial Units

Nakṣiṣapura-84	*Ibid.*, 5

Maṇḍala

Saurāṣṭra	*Ibid.*, 10

(18) Caulukya Inscriptions (Nos. 158–249)

Abūya = (Ābu)	*EI.*, VIII, 20
Adhivāḍā (N)	*IA.*, VI, 198
Ahīrāṇā (S)	*IA.*, VI, 209–10
Aikāyikā in Kaccha-*maṇḍala*	*IA.*, VI, 193
Akavaliyā	*IA.*, XVIII, 111
Ākhi	*EI.*, VIII, 200–22
Alvida in Makhulagāmva-42 in Purṇa-*pathaka*	*IA*, XVIII, 83
Ānandapura-126	*EI.*, I, 303, 317
Ānagṇavādā	*IA.*, VI, 204
Aṇahilapāṭaka	(1) *IA.*, VI, 192–93, 200, 210; XVIII, 82; XLI, 21; X, 159; (2) *EI.*, VIII, 200–22; (3) *BPSI.*, 184; *PO.*, III, 20, etc.
Arathaura (W)	*IA.*, VI, 209
Āśāpalli	*IA.*, VI, 212
Asavilnyā in Ūṛbhalodaka-*pathaka*	*IA.*, X, 159
Ayayāṇija	*IA.*, VI, 200
Āvalasaḍhi-*grāma* = (Amalsad)	*JBBRAS.*, XXVI, 257
Avanti	*BPSI.*, 186
Bhaṁsara	*IA.*, VI, 209
Bhadrāṇaka = (Bharaṇā)	*BPSI.*, 205
Bhāllasvāmi-[1]*mahādvādaśaka-maṇḍala*	*IA.*, XVIII, 347
Bhālibhāḍā	*EI.*, VIII, 200–222
Bhṛṁgāri-64	*IA.*, XVIII, 344
Bhāuṭṭapadranagara = (Bhatuṇḍ)	*ASIWC.*, 1908, 52
Bhojuya	*IA.*, VI, 205–6
Bhūbhṛtpalli = (Ghumli)	*PO.*, III, 26
Brahmāna	*EI.*, VIII, 200–22

[1] Ins. found at Gwalior. Place idf. with modern Bhilsa.

Brahmapurī	(1) *BPSI.*, 187; (2) *IA.*, VI, 212
Brāhmapāṭaka	*IA.*, XVIII, 82
Candrāvati	*PO.*, July, 1938, 71
Camatkārapura = (Vadnagar)	*PO.*, III, 28
Caṇḍāvasaṇa	*IA.*, VI, 209
Coruyāvaḍa = (Chorwaḍ)	*BPSI.*, 159
Cuyāntija	*IA.*, VI, 199
Cunnari (E)	*IA.*, VI, 213
Dadhiyapaka	*IA.*, VI, 199
Dālauḍḍa (N)	*IA.*, VI, 208
Dāngaraua (E)	*IA.*, VI, 209–10
Dāsayaja (E.N)	*IA.*, VI, 209
Dāvaṇī	*EI.*, VIII, 220–22
Devapattana	*EI.*, I, 283; II, 445; III, 305
Devau	*IA.*, VI, 201
Deülavāḍā = (Delwara)	*IA.*, VI, 196
Deuli (W)	*IA.*, XVIII, 347
Dhaṇāra (E)	*EI.*, X, 78
Dhaüli	*IA.*, XVIII, 347
Dhāmaṇaccha-*grāma*	*JBBRAS.*, XXVI, 257
Dharavadrikā in Kaccha-*maṇḍala*	*IA.*, VI, 193
Dhārā	*EI.*, I, 302
Dohalika (Dholka ?)	*IA.*, XI, 73
Doḍhiyāpaka (N)	*IA.*, VI, 199
Duchana	*IA.*, VI, 205
Dudhukhā (W)	*IA.*, VI, 213
Filigrāma	Abu Ins., 1287
Gaṁbhūtā-*pathaka*	*IA.*, VI, 195
Ghaḍahaḍikā-Twelve in Kaccha-*maṇḍala*	*IA.*, VI, 193
Ghaṁtelāṇa	*IA.*, XVIII, 111
Ghārīyāvali (N)	*IA.*, VI, 196

Ghusaḍī	*IA.*, VI, 205
Godrahaka = (Godhra)	*IA.*, X, 159
Guṁdauka	*EI.*, X, 78
Guṇṭhāvāḍā (S)	*IA.*, VI, 204
Gurjaratrā	*EI.*, II, 445
Gurjaradharā	*EI.*, XI, 55
Gurjjara-*maṇḍala*	*IA.*, X, 159; *BPSI.*, 186
Hadanda	Abu Ins. 1287
Hāṁsalapura	*IA.*, VI, 198
Hānīyānī	*IA.*, VI, 201
Hethūñji = (Hetamji)	*EI.*, VIII, 200–22
Indravāḍā	*IA.*, VI, 239
Indilā-*grāma* in Gaṁbhūtā-*pathaka*	*IA.*, VI, 196
Iṭilā (E)	*IA.*, VI, 198
Jāvālipuri	*EI.*, XI, 55
Karīrā	*IA.*, VI, 196
Kasadraha	Abu Ins., 1287
Kacchāvalī-*grāma*	*JBBRAS.*, XXVI, 257
Kadā-*grāma*	*IA.*, XI, 73
Kālā-*grāma*	*JBBRAS.*, XXVI, 257
Kaliyana	*IA.*, VI, 205–6
Kāṁbalī (N)	*IA.*, VI, 209
Kaṁboï	*IA.*, VI, 192
Kānhesvara	*EI.*, II, 441
Kānyakubja	*EI.*, X, 78; *BPSI.*, 188; *Ibid.*, 209
Kālhari (S)	*IA.*, VI, 196
Karṇṇaṭa	*IA.*, VI, 210
Khambhila	*IA.*, VI, 198
Khaṁḍohaka	*IA.*, XVIII, 83
Kirāṭakūpa (Kirāḍu)	*EI.*, XI, 43
Kisrauli	Abu. Ins., 1287
Kuilaya	*IA.*, VI, 210
Kulavasana	*IA.*, VI, 209

Kuralī (E & S)	*IA.*, VI, 210
Kuṣalodā (N)	*IA.*, VI, 205
Koṭadi = (Kotra)	*EI.*, VIII, 200
Laghuḍābhi	*EI.*, I, 316
Laghu Ubhāḍa (S) = (Ubhḍa nāma)	*IA.*, VI, 208
Luṇḍāvasana	*IA.*, VI, 212
Lakhaṇaūda (N)	*IA.*, XVIII, 347
Laṭhivadra (near Māṅgrol)	*BPSI.*, 159
Lāṭarhada in Jodhpur State	*EI.*, XI, 44
Lavadadi-*grāma*	*IA.*, XLI, 203
Madahada	Abu. Ins., 1287
Māhimsaka	*EI.*, VI, 103
Mahisānā	*IA.*, XI, 71
Mālakatri	*IA.*, VI, 196
Maṇḍali in Varddhi-*viṣaya*	*IA.*, VI, 193
Maḍucāṇā (W)	*IA.*, VI, 205
Masūra in Ghaḍahaḍikā-Twelve.	*IA.*, VI, 193
Mangalapura = (Māṅgrol)	*BPSI.*, 159–60
Mākhulagāmva-42 in Purṇa-*pathaka* in Narbadā-*taṭa-maṇḍala*	*IA.*, XVIII, 83
Metravala in Satyapura-*maṇḍala*	*EI.*, X, 78
Medhurā	*IA.*, VI, 201
Mehūṇā	*IA.*, VI, 212
Moḍhera in Kamboī-*grāma*	*IA.*, VI, 192
Muṇḍasthala = (Murthala)	Abu. Ins., 1287
Muṇḍaka in Varddhi-*viṣaya*	*JBBRAS.*, Extra Number, 49
Nāḍulyapura	*EI.*, XI, 48
Naduṭadāgikā = (Nadlai, Jodhpur)	*IA.*, XLI, 202
Nāgasārikā in Lāṭa-*deśa*	*JBBRAS.*, XXVI, 250
Nandāvasaṇa	*IA.*, VI, 209
Nagara = (Vadnagar)	*EI.*, I, 303
Nāha-*grāma*	*IA.*, XVIII, 345
Nalodā (S)	*IA.*, VI, 213

Narmadā-*taṭa-maṇḍala*	*IA.*, XVIII, 83
Naṭāuli	*IA.*, VI, 199
Nāyakā (N)	*IA.*, VI, 213
Navaṇisaka	*IA.*, VI, 193
Nīlachī	*IA.*, VI, 205
Omkurāla (N)	*IA.*, VI, 199
Orāsā	*EI.*, VIII, 200–22
Paladjya-*grāma*	*VOJ.*, V, 300
Pālhaṇapura	*IA.*, XLI, 21
Pattana = (Pāṭan)	*EI.*, VIII, 229
Philini	*EI.*, VIII, 200–22
Phimchadi = (Punchar)	(1) *IA.*, VI, 203; (2) *Ibid.*, 198
Phulasara Ṭimāna	*IA.*, XI, 338
Prazarikā (N) in Kaccha-*maṇḍala*	*IA.*, VI, 193
Prabhāsa	*EI.*, I, 283
Rājapuri	*IA.*, VI, 209
Rāī-*grāma*	*JBBRAS.*, XXVI, 258
Rajayasiyāṇi = (Rakhiānā)	*IA.*, VI, 208
Rāṃeśvara	*EI.*, I, 283
Rāṇelaya	*IA.*, VI, 198
Rāṇavāḍā	*IA.*, VI, 204
Rīvādī (E)	*IA.*, VI, 208
Ratnapura-84 in Jodhpur	*BPSI.*, 206
Rauni	*IA.*,VI, 213
Rava-*grāma* = (Rāv in Cutch)	*PO.*, III, 20
Rūpāpura	*IA.*, VI, 212
Riṇasihavasana	*Ibid.*, 208
Sahasacāna-*grāma*	*IA.*, XVIII, 110
Sahajavasaṇa (N)	*IA.*, VI, 208
Sāhilvāḍā	Abu. Ins. 1287
Sāla = (Salgaon)	*EI.*, VIII, 200
Saṁgavaṭṭa in Bhṛṁgāri-64	*IA.*, XVIII, 344
Sākalī	*IA.*, XVIII, 111

Sampara	*IA.*, VI, 204
Samaḍiyā	*IA.*, XVIII, 111
Sampavāḍā in Varddhi-*pathaka*	*IA.*, VI, 198
Sāmparā (E)	*IA.*, VI, 204
Saṁḍera	*EI.*, I, 317–18
Saratūli	*EI.*, VIII, 200–22
Sāpavāḍā	*IA.*, VI, 202
Satyapura = (Sanchor)-*maṇḍala*	*EI.*, X, 78
Seṣadevati in Gaṁbhūtā-*pathaka*	*IA.*, VI, 198; *Ibid.*, 196
Sāṇḍikā (S)	*IA.*, VI, 213
Sirasavi (W)	*IA.*, VI, 209
Sivalīyā	*IA.*, XVIII, 111
Sīhara (Ser)	
Śrīsthala	*IA.*, VI, 192
Śrīmātāmahabu	*EI.*, VIII, 200–22
Stambhatīrtha	*BPSI.*, 230
Sūrayaja (N) = (Sooraj in Vīramgaṁ tālukā)	*IA.*, VI, 201
Surāṣṭra	(1) *BPSI.*, 158 (2) *JMS.*, XIV, 243
Surāṣṭra-*maṇḍala*	*IA.*, XVIII, 111; *PO.*, III, 73
Sūnaka	*EI.*, I, 316
Suhāsadā (E)	*IA.*, VI, 213
Talajhā-*mahāsthāna*	*IA.*, XI, 338
Talara	*BPSI.*, 159
Talabhadrikā-36-*pathaka*	*JBBRAS.*, XXII, 257
Ṭheṭavaṣaṇa (E)	*IA.*, VI, 208
Timvāṇaka = (Timanā, near Bhavnagar)	*IA.*, XI, 338
Tribha	*IA.*, VI, 209
Trayṁbaka	*EI.*, I, 283
Trihaṭi (N)	*IA.*, VI, 205
Toraṇa-*grāma* = (Taran or Torangām)	*JBBRAS.*, XXVI, 250
Udayapura, Gwalior State	*IA.*, XVIII, 343
Uli-*grāma*	*IA.*, XI, 73

Ulāva (saṇa) (E)	*IA.*, VI, 210
Umratha-*grāma* in Bhrṁgāri-64	*IA.*, XVIII, 347
Umbaraṇikā = (Umrani)	
Uñjhā (N)	*IA.*, VI, 209–10
Uṇtaūyā (N.W)	*IA.*, VI, 210
Undirā (N)	*IA.*, VI, 204
Ūtaracha = (Utraj)	*EI.*, VIII, 200
Uvaram	Abu. Ins., 1287
Vaḍasara (N)	*IA.*, VI, 199
Vahichara (E) = (Becharaji)	*IA.*, VI, 198
Vahiḍa (S)	*IA.*, XVIII, 347
Vāhiranadi containing Ḍavaṇi	*EI.*, VIII, 200–222
Valaijja	*BPSI.*, 159–60
Vāmanasthalī = (Vanthali)	*BPSI.*, 159; *IA.*, XVIII, 111; *PO.*, III, 28
Varadi	*IA.*, XVIII, 111
Varddhi-*pathaka*	*IA.*, VI, 212
Varddhi-*viṣaya*	*IA.*, VI, 192
Varaṇaka in Satyapura-*maṇḍala*	*EI.*, X, 78
Vārāṇasī	*BPSI.*, 188
Vekāriyā (grāma?) in Kaccha-*maṇḍala*	*IA.*, XVIII, 110
Visanali-*grāma*	*BPSI.*, 159
Voḍha-*grāma* (W)	*EI.*, X, 78
Vṛddhinagara	*BPSI.*, 295

(*b*) *Territorial Units*

Deśa

Lāṭa	*JBBRAS.*, XXVI, 250
Saurāṣṭra	(1) *BPSI.*, 205; (2) *PO.*, III, 25

Maṇḍala

Avanti	*IA.*, XLII, 258
Bhāillasvāmi-12	*IA.*, XVIII, 347

Dadhipadra	*IA.*, X, 159
Gūrjjara	*Ibid.*
Lāṭa	*IA.*, X, 158–60
Kaccha	(1) *IA.*, VI, 193 ; (2) XVIII, 109
Narmmadā-*taṭa*	*IA.*, XVIII, 83
Satyapura = (Sānchor)	*EI.*. X, 76
Sārasvata	*IA.*, VI, 191
Surāṣṭra	(1) *IA.*, XVIII, 111; (2) *PO.*, III, 73

Pathaka

Bhṛṁgārikā-64	(1) *IA.*, XVIII, 347; (2) *Ibid.*, 344
Cālisā	*IA.*, VI, 200
Daṇḍahi	(1) *IA.*, VI, 210 ; (2) *Ibid.*, XI, 71
Gaṁbhūtā	IA., VI, 196 , 198
Lathivadra	*BPSI.*, 159–60
Purṇṇa in Narmmadā-*taṭa-maṇḍala*	*IA.*, XVIII, 83
Talabhadrikā-36 in Lāṭa	*JBBRAS.*, XXVI, 257
Ūrbhaloḍa = (Abhlod, 12 from Dohad)	*IA.*, X, 159
Varddhi	*IA.*, VI, 198; 203; 205; 208
Vālanya	*IA.*, VI, 204

Viṣaya

Gaṁbhūtā	*VOJ.*, V, 300
Nāgasārikā containing Talabhadrikā-36 in Lāṭa-*deśa*	*JBBRAS.*, XXVI, 250
Varddhi = (Vadhiar between N. Gujarāt and Cutch)	(1) *JBBRAS.*, Extra No. 49 ; (2) *IA.*, VI, 193

Groups of Villages

Ānandapura-126	*EI.*, I, 317
Bhṛṁgāri-64	*IA.*, XVIII, 344

Bhāillasvāmi-32	*IA.*, XVIII, 347
Ghadabadikā-12	*IA.*, VI, 193
Mākhulagāmve-42	*IA.*, XVIII, 83
Ratnapura-84 in Jodhpur	*BPSI.*, 206
Talabhadrikā-36	*JBBRAS*, XXVI, 250
Rivers	
Dadhimatī	*IA.*, X, 159
Dadhimati (in N. Kāthiāwār, modern Dewai)	*PO.*, III, 25
Ksāravāhā = (Khāravo)	*IA.*, X, 159
Prācī Sarasvatī	*IA.*, VI, 192
Sosadī	*IA.*, XVIII, 111
Mountains	
Arbuda	*EI.*, VIII, 200–229
Raivataka	*EI.*, VIII, 222

APPENDIX E

BRAHMANAS

(generally donees): their *(a) Gotra*, *(b) Veda*, *(c)* the place where they came from *(Vinirgata)* and *(d)* the place of residence *(Vāstavya)* from inscriptions.

I Ksatrapa Inscriptions (Nos. 2–13)

(a) Gotra[1]

Mānasa	*EI.*, XVI, 238
Opaśati (Aupaśaṭika)	*EI.*, XVI, 23, 24
Śenika (Śinika) = (Śrenika)	*Ibid.*, 25

II Traikutaka Inscriptions (Nos. 15–17) *EI.*, XI, 221

(a) Gotra	*(b) Veda*	*(c) Vinirgata*
Bhāradvāja	Not mentioned	Not mentioned

[1] May not be that of a Brāhmana; in the inscription the persons are called 'Sramanaś' who may be Buddhist or Jain.

(d) Vāstavya	
Kāpura	*EI.*, X, 53

III Inscription of Samgamsimha (No. 253) *EI.*, X, 72

(a) Gotra	*(b) Veda*	*(d) Vāstavya*
Cāndogya	Sāma	Bharukaccha
Gālava	Sāma	
Lauhāyana	Yajur	
Laukakṣi	Yajur	
Pauṇḍri(?)	Ṛg	

IV Inscription of Santilla (No. 255) *EI.*, II, 24

(a) Gotra	*(b) Veda*	*(c) Vāstavya*
Kautsa	Yajur (Vājasaneya śākhā)	Pāsánihrada = (Saṇiadrā)

V Kataccuri Inscription (No 258) *EI.*, VI, 298

(a) Gotra	*(b) Veda*	*(c)* Ḍebhaka = (Dabka, 40 N. of Broach)
Parāśara	Yajur	

(Vājasaneya Kāṇva śākhā)

VI Inscription of Nikumbhallasakti (No. 259) *IA.*, XVIII, 265

(a) Gotra	*(b) Veda*	*(c) Vinirgata*
		Aniruddhapurī

VII Inscriptions of Gurjjaras of Broach (Nos. 24–33)

(a) Gotra	
Bharadvāja	*IA.*, XIII, 87 and 88; *EI.*, V, 37–41
Cauli	,,
Cāndogya	*JBBRAS.*, XX, 213
Ḍauṇḍakkīya	*IA.*, XIII, 87 and 88
Dhoṇḍi(?)	*JBBRAS.*, XX, 213
Dhūmrāyaṇa	*IA.*, XIII, 87 and 88

Gālava	*JBBRAS.*, XX, 213
Hārita	*IA.*, XIII, 87 and 88
Kauśika	*IA.*, XIII, 87 and 88 ; *IA.*, XVII, 183
Kauṇḍinya	*IA.*, XIII, 87 and 88 ; *EI.*, XXIII, 151
Kāśyapa	*IA.*, XIII, 87 and 88 ; *IA.*, XIII, 119
Lakṣmaṇyasa	*IA.*, XIII, 87
Lohāyana	*JBBRAS.*, XX, 213
Lokākṣī	*JBBRAS.*, XX, 213
Māthara	*IA.*, XIII, 87
Śravayaṇasa (?)	*IA.*, XIII, 80
Vatsa	*IA.*, XIII, 87
Vaśiṣṭha	*IA.*, VII, 61–63

(b) Veda

Ṛg	Caturvedī	*IA.*, VII, 61–63
		IA., XIII, 115
Āśvalāyana-*caraṇa*		*IA.*, XIII, 87,
Yajur	Vājimādhyandina	*JBBRAS.*, XX, 213
	Sabrahmachāri Caturvedi	*EI.*, XXIII, 147
	Trivedi	*IA.*, XIII, 70
	(Śukla)	*EI.*, V, 37–41
Vājasaneya Kāṇva śākhā		*IA.*, XIII, 87
Sāma	Cāndogya	*JBBRAS.*, XX, 213
(Kauthumasabrahmacāri)		*IA.*, XIII, 81–87
	Caturvedi	*IA.*, XVII, 183–200
		JBBRAS., XX, 213
Atharva	Pippalādasabrahmacāri	*IA.*, XIII,81–87

(c) Vinirgata	*(d) Vāstavya*	
Jambusara in Akrureśvara-*viṣaya*	Śirīṣapadraka	*IA.*, XIII, 81–87
Bharukaccha	Bharajjka	

Daśapura	Kṣirasara (not resident) in Saṅgama Kheṭaka-*viṣaya*	*EI.*, V, 37–41
	Kānyakubja (should be *vinirgata* as the place granted is in Kamaniya-ṣoḍaśata-*bhukti* in Gujarāt)	*IA.*, VII, 61–63
	Kānyakubja (should be *vinirgata* as the village Umbara is in Gujarāt	*IA.*, XVII, 183–200
	Ahichhatra (should be *vinirgata* because the village granted is in Aṅkuleśvara-*viṣaya*)	*IA*, XIII, 115
Girinagara	Śrāddhikāgra-*āhāra*	*IA.*, XIII, 70
Lohigikakṣa-*patha-āhāra*		*EI.*, XXIII, 151

In the list of *Vinirgata* and *Vāstavya*, it will be noticed that two Brāhmaṇās come from Kānyakubja, one from Ahichhatra and Daśapura (Mandasor) and one from Girinagara (Junāgarh). The Kānyakubja and Ahichhatra cases may be doubted as the plates in which they are mentioned are not genuine. Moreover, the term *Vāstavya*, if it is correctly used, suggests that the Brāhmaṇas lived in Kanauj and Ahicchatra while their lands were in Gujarāt, which is ordinarily not believable.

The Daśapura instance, according to Buhler, suggests that the limits of Gurjjara rule in the west extended up to the frontier of Mālwā and Khandesh.[1]

Anyhow, there are instances of intimate contacts between Mālwā and Saurāṣṭra with Southern Gujarāt. Whether this should be regarded as an instance of the migration of Daśapuriā Brāhmaṇas, who are not found nowadays in Gujarāt, is doubtful.

[1] The grant of Dadda II, *EI.*, V, 38.

VIII Inscription of Cahamana Bhartrvaddha (No. 260)

EI., XII, 197

(a) Gotra	*(b) Veda*	*(c) and (d)*
Kauṇḍinya	Yajur (Mādhyandina-Vājasaneya)	not mentioned
Mathara	,, ,,	

IX Gujarat Calukya Inscriptions (Nos. 34–40)

(a) Gotra

Bhāradvāja	(1) *IA.*, XVIII, 266 (2) *Ibid.*, VII, 250
Dauṇḍakīya	*IA.*, VII, 250
Dhumrāyaṇa	*Ibid.*
Gautama	*Ibid.*
Hārita	*Ibid.*
Kāśyapa	*EI.*, VIII, 229
Kauṇḍinya	*IA.*, VII, 250
Lakṣmaṇa	*Ibid.*
Mād(+)hara	*Ibid.*
Vaiṣṇava	*Ibid.*
Vatsa	*Ibid.*

(b) Veda

Yajur	(1) *EI.*, VIII, 229 (2) *JBBRAS.*, XVI, 3
(Vājasaneya Kāṇva śākhā)	(1) *VOCR.*, p. 226 (2) *IA.*, VII, 250
Kṛṣṇa Taittirīya śākhā	*VOCR.*, 230
Śukla Mādhyandina śākhā	*IA.*, XVIII, 266

(c) Vinirgata

Banavāsi	*VOCR.*, 230

(d) Vāstavya

Aniruddhapurī	*IA.*, XVIII, 268
Jambusara	*IA.*, VII, 250

Navasārikā	(1) *JBBRAS.*, XVI, 2 (2) *EI.*, VIII, 229

X Rastrakuta Inscriptions (Nos. 41–58)

(a) Gotra

Bhāradvāja	(1) *EI.*, I, 52 (2) *EI.*, III, 58 (3) *EI.*, XVIII, 249 (4) *JBBRAS.*, XX, 132 (5) *IA.*, XI, 162
Gautama	*EI.*, III, 58
Kātyāyana	*Ibid.*
Kauṇḍinya	*EI.*, XXII, 77
Kuṇḍina	*IA.*, XIII, 69
Kau(t)sa	*EI.*, III, 58
Lakṣmaṇa	(1) *EI.*, IX, 36 (2) *Ibid.*, 32
Lākṣakāyaṇa or Lākṣayāṇa	*IA.*, XII, 181
Lāvāyana	*EI.*, III, 58
Lāvāṇas	*IA.*, XIV, 202
Māthara	(1) *EI.*, VII, 40 (2) *Ibid.*, III, 58
Motālā	*IA.*, XII, 181
Mudgala	*EI.*, III, 58
Parāśara	*EI.*, III, 58
Śāṇḍila	*EI.*, III, 58
Sauṇḍāna	*EI.*, III, 58
Vatra(?)	*JBBRAS.*, XVI, 105
Vatsa	(1) *EI.*, III, 58 (2) *EI.*, XVIII, 249 (3) *JBBRAS.*, XVI, 109
Vaḍḍamukha	*EI.*, XVIII, 249
Vārṣṇeya	*EI.*, III, 58
Vātsyāyana	*IA.*, XII, 164
Yaugana	*EI.*, III, 58

(b) Veda

Yajur (Śukla)	
(a) Śākhā Kāṇva	(1) *JBBRAS.*, XVI, 105
	(2) *EI.*, VII, 40
(b) Mādhyandina	(1) *IA.*, XII, 164; XIV, 202
	(2) *EI.*, I, 55
	(3) *EI.*, IX, 32 and 36
	(4) *EI.*, III, 58
(c) Śākhā not mentioned	(1) *IA.*, XIII, 69
	(2) *EI.*, XXII, 77
	(3) *IA.*, XII, 184
Yajur (Kṛṣṇa)	
Śākhā Taittirīya	(1) *JBBRAS.*, XX, 140
	(2) *IA.*, XI, 152
Ṛg	*EI.*, XVIII, 250

(c) Vinirgata

Mahasena (?)	*IA.*, XII, 164
Karahada	*EI.*, VII, 40
Kāvikā (*mahāsthāna*)	*EI.*, VII, 40
Pāṭaliputra	*EI.*, IX, 36
Valabhī	*IA.*, XII, 164

(d) Vāstavya

Bādāvī	*JBBRAS.*, XX, 140
Badarasiddhi	*EI.*, III, 58
Jaṁbusara	*JBBRAS.*, XIV, 109
Kaḍḍibharavā	*EI.*, XXII, 77
Kapithaka (near Godāvarī)	*EI.*, VII, 28
Kheṭaka	(1) *JBBRAS.*, XX, 131
	(2) *IA.*, XIV, 196
Kurundaka	*EI.*, IX, 25

Mottaka (*Brāhmaṇasthāna*)	*IA.*, XII, 181
Variāvi	*IA.*, XIII, 69
Vadarasiddhi	*IA.*, XIV, 202

XI Paramara Inscriptions (Nos. 263–64) *EI.*, XIX, 242

(a) Gotra	*(b) Veda*	*(c) Vinirgata*	*(d) Vāstavya*
Gopāli (with 3 *pravaras*)	Not mentioned	Nagara-Ānandapura	Not mentioned

XII Caulukya Inscriptions from Lata (Nos. 265–66)

(a) Gotra	*(b), (c) and (d)*	
	Not mentioned	*IA.*, XII, 202

Kúsika (with 3 *pravaras*: Vaiśvāmitra, Devarāta and Audāla)

XIII Maitraka Inscriptions (Nos. 59–157)

(a) Gotra

Audarśani	(1) Note, Ojha
	(2) *JBU.*, III, 87
Ātreya	(1) *WMR.*, 1925–26, 14
	(2) *EI.*, XVII, 109
	(3) *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., III, 186
Aupasvati	*EI.*, XI, 112
Bhāradvāja	(1) *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, p. 28, 73, 70; X, 77
	(5) *IA.*, I, 116
	(6) *EI.*, XIX, 304
	(7) *VOJ.*, VII, 297
Bhārgava	(1) *IA.*, XV, 187
	(2) *BPSI.*, 32
	(3) *JBBRAS.*, I, 65
Dāṇḍavya	*EI.*, IV, 74
Darbhasa	*EI.*, III, 318
Droṇāyaṇa	*IA.*, V, p. 204

Gārgya	(1) *JBBRAS.*, XI, 344 (2) *BPSI.*, 48 (3) *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 71, 78–79
Jābāla	*EI.*, XI, p. 109
Kairadi	*IA.*, VIII, 305
Kapiṣṭhala	*JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 51
Kāśypa	*BPSI.*, 37
Kauśika	(1) *ASIWC.*, 1915–16, 55 (2) *EI.*, XXII, 119 (3) *Ibid.*, VIII, 189 (4) *Ibid.*, I, 92
Kauśaravasa	*ABOI.*, IV, p. 33–37
Mānavasa	*EI.*, XV, 257
Parāśara	(1) *EI.*, VIII, 189; *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., III, 184; (2) *Ibid.*, 194 (3) *IA.*, XV, 336
Śāṇḍilya	(1) *WMR.*, 1925–26, 13 (2) *EI.*, XI, 106 (3) *IA.*, VII, 70 (4) *BPSI.*, 58
Śārkarāksi	(1) *IA.*, VII, 76; (2) 85 (3) 73; (4) 81 (5) *CII.*, III, 179
Sunaka	*EI.*, XVII, 106
Tāpasa (?)	(1) *JBBRAS.*, X, 305 (2) *JBAS.*, VII, 972
Traivālambayāna	*IA.*, VIII, 305
Vatsa	(1) *IA.*, XIII, 160 (2) *JBBRAS.*, I, 73 (3) *CII.*, III, 170
Vrajagaṇa	*EI.*, XVII, 109

(b) Veda

Ṛg	(1) *IA.*, VII, 81; (2) 70; (3) 73; (4) 76, 85; (5) VIII, 305 (6) *JBBRAS.*, XI, 344 (7) *Ibid.*, (NS)., I, 65 (8) *CII.*, III, 179
Atharva	(1) *IA.*, V, 204 (2) *ABOI.*, IV, 40 (3) *WMR.*, 1925–26, 14; *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., III, 186
Sāma	(1) *BPSI.*, 37 (2) *EI.*, XI, 106; (3) XVII, 106 (4) *JBBRAS.*, I, (NS)., 28-36, 51, 70, 73; X, 77 (5) *JBU.*, III, 87 (6) *IA.*, VII, 68; X, 284 (7) *EI.*, XV, 257
Yajur	*ASIWC.*, 1915–16, 55
Śukla and Maitrāyaṇi Saṁhitā	(1) *BPSI.*, 32, 58 (2) *IA.*, XV, 187 (3) *WMR.*, 1925–26, 13 (4) *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., III, 184
Mādhyandina śākhā	*EI.*, VIII, 194
Kāṇva śākhā	*CII.*, III, 170
Unspecified śākhā	(1) *EI.*, XI, 109; 112 (2) *Ibid.*, XVII, 108 (3) *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 73 (4) *IA.*, XV, 336; XIII, 160
Kṛṣṇa Vājasaneya Saṁhitā	(1) *EI.*, I, 12; IV, 74; III, 321; VIII, 189 (2) *IA.*, XV, 336 (3) *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 73

(c) Vinirgata

Anandapura	(1) *BPSI.*, 48 (2) *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 75 (3) *Ibid.*, 71
Anartapura	(1) *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 16 (2) *Ibid.*, 28–31 (3) *IA.*, VII, 70; (4) 72; (5) 75
Daśapura	(1) *JBU.*, III, 87 (2) Ojha, Note (3) *EI.*, VIII, 194 (4) *IA.*, X, 284
Dvīpa	*EI.*, IV, 74
Girinagara	(1) *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 69 (2) *JBAS.*, VII, 972
Jaṁbūsara	*EI.*, VIII, 189
Kheṭaka	*IA.*, VII, 76
Kuśahrada	*JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 73
Mahicchaka	*EI.*, I, 88
Puśyasāmbapura	(1) *ASIWC.*, 1915–16, 55 (2) *EI.*, XXII, 119
Saṁgapurī (40 Brāhmaṇas)	*EI.*, XI, 179[1]
Siṁhapura	(1) *JBBRAS.*, X, 79 (2) *IA.*, I, 16
Vardhamāna-*bhukti*	*JBBRAS.*, XI, 332
Velāpadra	*JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 51
Viñchudasapura	*BPSI.*, 54
Udumbaragahvara	(1) *IA.*, XV, 336 (2) *EI.*, VIII, 189; (3) 194

(d) Vāstavya

Akrolaka	*EI.*, XI, 112
Agastikāgrahāra	(1) *EI.*, VIII, 194; (2) 189
Ānandapura	(1) *IA.*, VII, 74; 85 (2) *VOJ.*, VII, 297 (3) *CII.*, III, 179

[1] This grant from Navalakhi of Śīlāditya I, Valabhī Saṁvat 286, mentions 44 Brāhmaṇas, who came from this place and settled in Bhondanāka in Vaṭa-*sthali*.

Ānarttapura	*ABORI.*, IV, 40
Ayānakagrahāra in (Mālavaka)	(1) *EI.*, VIII, 189; (2) 194
Brahmapura	(1) *BPSI.*, 32 (2) *IA.*, XV, 187
Gorakeśa	*JBBRAS.*, (NS.,) I, 51
Jyeṣṭanaka in HVA.	*EI.*, XVIII, 105
Hastavapra-(*āharāṇi*) in HVA.	(1) *WMR.*, 1925–26, 14 (2) *IA.*, V, 204 (3) *JBBRAS.*, I, 65
Liptikhaṇḍa in Vardhamāna-*bhukti*	*JBBRAS.*, XI, 332
Kāsara-*grāma*	*IA.*, VII, 73
Khetaka	(1) *IA.*, VII, 71; (2) 79; (3) XV, 336 (4) *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 70 (5) *Ibid.*, X, 76 (6) *EI.*, IV; (7) *JBAS.*, VII, 972
Kikkāṭāputra	(1) *IA.*, I, 16 (2) *JBBRAS.*, X, 79
Mahicchaka	*EI.*, I, 92
Nagaraka	*EI.*, XVIII, 109
Śaṅkaravāṭaka	*EI.*, XI, 106
Siṁhapura	(1) *EI.*, XI, 109; (2) XVII, 109 (3) *JBBRAS.*, (NS)., I, 73
Unnata	(1) *CII.*, III, 170 (2) *IA.*, XIII, 160
Valabhī	(1) *ASIWC.*, 1915–16, 55 (2) *BPSI.*, 48 (3) *EI.*, III, 318 (4) *JBBRAS.*, I, 28–31; (5) 71; (6) 75 (7) *JBU.*, III, 87
Vaṭapadra	*EI.*, XV, 257
Viṁśakaṭa	*BPSI.*, 58

XIV Palitana Inscription of Simhaditya (No. 250) *EI.*, X, 116–2

(a) Gotra	*(b) Veda*	*(c) and (d)*
		Not mentioned
Kṛṣṇātreya	(Yajur) Maitrāyaṇī śākhā	

XV Dhinki Inscription of Jaikadeva (No. 251) *IA.*, XII, 155

(a) Gotra *(b), (c) and (d)* Not mentioned

Munthalla (Mudgalla) with 3 *pravaras*

XVI Caulukya Inscriptions (Nos. 158–249)

Two things are to be noted regarding *gotras* of Brāhmaṇas from these inscriptions :—

(1) Grants are very often made to temples and not to Brāhmaṇas.

(2) Even where grants are made to Brāhmaṇas, the *gotras*, etc., of the latter are not mentioned.

As not more than two cases occur, they are not mentioned, so also their '*vinirgatas*' and '*vāstavyas*'.

APPENDIX F

THE SPURIOUS GURJJARA GRANTS OF THE SAKA YEARS 400, 415 AND 417

Fleet and Bhagwanlal Indraji declared the Gurjjara Grants, Umeta-Bagumra and Ilao[1] dated in the Śaka era 400, 415 and 417 respectively, spurious on the grounds that :—

(1) their perfect agreement in character and forms showed them to have been written by one and the same person ;

(2) they closely resembled the admittedly forged grant of Dharasena II, dated Śaka Saṁvat 400 ;

(3) that the writer of *I* was stated to be the same person as that of Kaira plates *I* and *II*[2] ;

[1] Hereinafter referred to as *U*, *B*, and *I*, respectively.

[2] Referred to as *K I* and *K II*.

(4) the description of Dadda I in *I* and *U* agreed literally with that given in *K I* and *II* of Dadda II;

(5) the *K I* and *II* offered better readings in the passage dealing with the description of Dadda I in *I* and *U*;

(6) the reference to the solar eclipse in the *I* in no way harmonised with the calculation of the date and the year referred to in the *I*; hence the forger seemed to have made a mistake in putting the date.[1]

Bühler, against these, contended that they were genuine and pointed out that:—

(1) though *U* and *I* were similar, still many differences in detail were observable;

(2) both *U* and *I* materially differed palæographically from the forged Valabhī grant;

(3) the identification of the writer of *I* with that of *K I* and *K II* was not justified;

(4) though the description of Dadda I in *I* and *U* agreed literally with that of Dadda II in *K I* and *K II*, and though the latter offered better readings in the passage of the description of Dadda II, still they were no arguments against the genuineness of *I* and *U*;

(5) there might be an error in referring to the eclipse or an invisible eclipse might have been regarded as visible.

Moreover, he put forward three points supporting their genuineness;—

(1) the characters in which they were written were ancient;

(2) the statement that the first—Umeta—was written by Mādhava, the son of Gilaka, and the second by Reva, the son of Mādhava, was of some importance, as a forger would not think of such a collateral circumstance;

(3) their historical contents, taken by themselves, were perfectly believable.[2]

[1] Above is a summarized statement of the arguments collected by Bühler in *IA.*, XVII, 188–191.

[2] *IA.*, 191.

Yet Fleet regarded them as forgeries, and even grouped the newly discovered Bagumra grant with them, adding that neither Bagumra nor Ilao were satisfactory on the date-question, and suggested that the forger had possibly forgotten to substitute the *pūrṇimānta* arrangement for the *āmānta* months in his results and hence the mistake in dates.[1]

From a close comparison of the contents of 'forged' grants with those of the genuine, I find that the 'forged' grants :—

(1) do not say anything about the religion of the kings ;

(2) are silent about contemporary events ;

(3) give *birudas* of kings which are contradictory, e.g., Sāmanta and Mahārājādhirāja ;

(4) mention donees who are residents of far off places—Kānyakubja and Ahichhatra—while the villages granted to them are in Gujarāt [2] ;

(5) grant a whole village ;

(6) mention Rāṣṭrapatis first and Viṣayapatis afterwards ;

(7) give dates in the middle of the inscription and in words only.

(1), (2) and (3) show ignorance about the Gurjjaras ; (6) and (7) ignorance about the Gurjjara inscriptions—their method of writing ; (4) and (5) give the motive. The donees were obviously foreigners who wished to possess charters under kings who had no control over them ; and secondly, whole villages were granted which was never the practice with the Gurjjaras.

For these reasons also, the Umeta, Bagumra and Ilao may be regarded as 'forged' grants.[3]

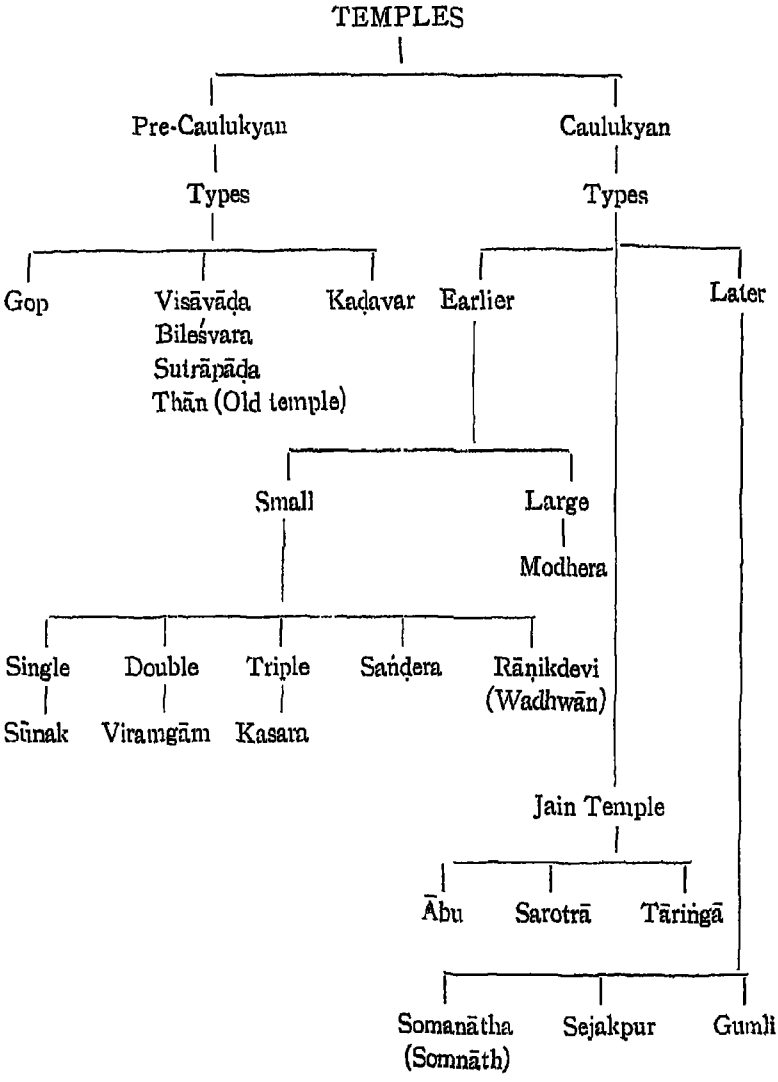
---

[1] *Ibid.*, XVIII, 91-93.

[2] The argument holds good comparatively only. It would lose its force if the Gurjjaras of Broach commanded an empire like the Cālukyas of Bādāmi in whose epigraphs such donations are met with.

[3] The comparison of sizes of the 'forged' grants with those of the genuine does not yield any fruitful result. It may be, however, noted that the size of the Umeta plates is unusually large.

APPENDIX G


TEMPLES
Pre-Caulukyan
Caulukyan
Types
Types
Gop
Visāvāḍa
Bileśvara
Sutrāpāḍa
Thān (Old temple)
Kaḍavar
Earlier
Later
Small
Large
Modhera
Single
Double
Triple
Saṅḍera
Rāṇikdevi
(Wadhwān)
Sūnak
Viramgām
Kasara
Jain Temple
Ābu
Sarotrā
Tāriṅgā
Somanātha
(Somnāth)
Sejakpur
Gumli

APPENDIX H

BUILDING MATERIAL

The material with which temples were built during the Caulukyan and even pre-Caulukyan period varies from place to place.

In Northern Gujarāt, the most common material is grey sandstone with which is used marble in many of the Jain temples, as at Sarotrā,[1] and in many modern Jain temples in Pātan. The share of marble increases as we go northwards to Candrāvati, and thence to Ābu. But in some of the Jain temples, which were repaired during the Mughal period, like Tāringā,[2] the material is brick and sandstone, or only brick, as in the temple at Sankheśvara.[3]

In Kāthiāwār, different varieties of sandstone are used. At Sejakpur, it is reddish yellow,[4] at Gumli calcareous, of the type of the caves at Dhank; elsewhere, the grey variety is common.

This corresponds to some extent to the geological distribution in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār. Candrāvati, as was pointed out by Burgess,[5] was the source of marble, and Northern Kāthiāwār of grey sandstone, whereas the hills in Western Kāthiāwār at Barda, Dhank and elsewhere are of calcareous sandstone.

APPENDIX I

GUJARAT TEMPLES AND THE TRADITIONAL STYLES OF ARCHITECTURE

A few words might be said on the three known styles of architecture, Nāgara, Vesara and Drāvida, and the style of the Gujarāt temples. Detailed comparison with *Mānasāra*, the best known book on architecture is not useful, because the latter seems to belong to South India,

[1] Burgess *ASWI.*, IX, 99.
[2] *Ibid.*, 115.
[3] *Ibid.*, 95. Here the brickwork is not cut, but moulded to various shapes.
[4] Cousens *Somanatha.*, 57.
[5] O. c, 29.

(probably the Kanarese districts of the Western Cālukyas)[1] rather than to North India as suggested by Acharya.[2] The *Mānasāra*[3] precedes the Gujarāt Caulukyan temples at least by two centuries, so in the matter of pillars etc., Gujarāt temples show a greater diversity and complexity than the types[4] — Viṣnukānta (octagonal), Rudrakānta (16 sided or circular), Śivakānta (pentagonal), Skandakānta (hexagonal) mentioned in the *Mānasāra*.

As regards the terms Nāgara etc., it is suggested[5] that they refer to to the *vimāna*[6] (tower), over the shrine rather than to other parts of the building. Further detailed considerations of the terms and the existing temples lead Gravely and Ramchandra to alter the classification of temples corresponding to these styles and they suggest that Vesara refers only to the circular part[7] — *āmalaka* or clog-wheel-like-member which binds the whole tower and as this is the characteristic of a few temples in the Kanarese country, and almost all the temples in Northern India, those temples should be classed under the Vesara style.

Nāgara refers to those temples in which the *vimāna* is quadrangular throughout.[8] It thus comprises the early Cālukyan temples,[9] for instance the Saṅgameśvara temple at Paṭṭadkal (between A.D. 696 and 733)[10] though they bear " superficially close resemblance to the Drāviḍa style."

[1] Gravely and Ramachandran. *Three Main Styles*, 21.

[2] *Indian Architecture.*, 194.

[3] It is provisionally placed between A.D. 500 – 700, *Ibid.*, 198.

[4] Acharya, *Dictionary.*, 643.

[5] Gravely and Ramachandran, *Three Main Styles.*, 2.

[6] Gravely and Ramachandran perhaps point out correctly that the word *vimāna* should be applied to the whole tower whereas the word *śikhara* should be restricted only to the 'head' of the tower which bears *śikhā* (flame), or tuft of hair, here *kalaśa*. Acharya, *Dictionary*, p.588, gives the same meaning from numerous references, but unfortunately in references themselves, *śikhara* is translated as a " tower ".

But it needs to be pointed out that in Gujarāt and in inscriptions of Northern India (so far as I am aware) the word *vimāna* is never met with. In Gujarāt, traditionally *śikhara* is loosley applied to the whole tower, though the correct meaning of *śikhara* is known to be a peak (*ṭoṅch* in Gujarāti).

[7] *Ibid.*, 22.

[8] *Ibid.*, 22–23.

[9] And perhaps the early Kadamba temples also. *Ibid.* For these temples see Moraes, *Kadamba Kula*, fig, 25., and *Ibid.*, pl. I, fig. 2.

[10] *Ibid.*, pl. II, fig. 2.

Drāviḍa refers to those temples in which the *vimāna* was crowned by an octagonal or hexagonal *śikhara* above the neck. It thus comprises, it is suggested, the Pallava temples at Mahābalipuram.[1]

According to this interpretation of the *Śilpaśāstras*, and its application the Gujarāt temples may be classed under the Vesara style. Otherwise according to the old interpretation, the distinction is difficult to make between the Nāgara and Vesara.[2]

APPENDIX J

KAVI (JAMBUSAR)

Archaeological evidence for the Sun temple at Kāvi is perhaps to be found in an image said to be of the Sun now lying in the interior of the Kapileśvara temple.[3]

Two other images at Kāvi seem to be of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī. They now lie in the compound of the Tārakeśvara temple. The male figure is about 5 ft. high; it had four hands, but they are now broken off. The hands of the female figure are similarly dealt with. Evidently they were standing, and are profusely decorated. From the cutting of the eyes, facial expression and head-dress, they seem to belong to the late mediaeval period.

APPENDIX K

FIGURES FROM VALA

The report[4] mentions the following figure as found from Vala?

"A Bronze image of Buddha (?) with halo as background, standing on circular lotus seat, over square pedestal (ht. 10"); the protuberance of the

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 22-26.

[2] Cf. Acharya, *Architecture*, 178-9 who classes the temples of Northern India once under Vesara and then under Nāgara, and on p. 180 under Vesara, he classes the Orissan temples.

[3] Dr. Vyas of Bombay has given me this information, and I am much obliged to him for it, as well as for the two photographs of two Viṣṇu images and modern temples at Kāvi.

[4] *ASIWC.*, 1915, p. 30.

skull (uṣṇīṣa) and long ear-lobes well marked out; hair arranged in ringlets; right hand broken; left hanging at side; clad in a lower garment, (*saṁghaṭi*) which reaches almost to the ankle and is tied in a knot about the waist." On the pedestal is an inscription in characters of the 6th century A.D. As said in the text, the only objection against identifying the figure with Buddha is that the hands perhaps did not show any *mudrā*; probably it was a Śvētāmbara Jain Tīrthaṅkara in *kāyotsarga* pose.

Similar bronze[1] figures, said to be from Valā, are now exhibited in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. They are numbered A. 28, 29, 30 and 31. A. 28 is a male figure, 8.6″ high, standing on a pedestal (which is square at the base and circular on the top). Arms fall down vertically at sides. It is dressed in a *dhoti* which touches the ankle and falls in a wavy fold between the legs. The *dhoti* is tied at the waist by a double string in a knot on the left of the image; the upper part is bare; the hair worn in curls, having a *uṣṇīṣa*; two lines on the neck and long ear-lobes. The figure was meant for suspension as there is a contrivance at the back for suspending it.

Slight differences distinguish A. 29, 30, 31, but otherwise they are all identical. From the position of the hands they seem to be Jain Tīrthaṅkaras, and not Buddhas.

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[1] They are extremely light in weight.

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APPENDIX M

ABBREVIATIONS

AKK	*Antiquities of Kachh and Kāṭhiāwaḍ*
AAK	*Ain-i-Akbari*
ABOI	*Annals Bhandarkar Oriental Institute*
ASI	*Archaeological Survey of India*
ASIAR	*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*
ASIWC or PRASWC	*Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*
BHG	*Bailey, History of Gujarāt*
BG or Bom. Gaz.	*Bombay Gazetteer*
BPSI	*Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions Published by the Bhāvnagar Archaeological Department*
CA	*Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*
CHI	*Cambridge History of India*
CII	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*

CT	*Cave Temples of India*
DHNI	*Dynastic History of Northern India*
EI	*Epigraphia Indica*
GC	*Gupta Coins*, etc., by Allan
GOS	*Gaekwad Oriental Series*
HIG	*Historical Inscriptions of Gujarāt*
HIIA	*History of Indian and Indonesian Art*
HISI	*Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*
HMM	*Hammīramadamardana*
IA	*Indian Antiquary*
IG or Imp. Gaz.	*Imperial Gazetteer*
JAOS	*Journal American Oriental Society*
JASB	*Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal*
JBBRAS	*Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society*
JBU	*Journal Bombay University*
JRAS	*Journal Royal Asiatic Society*
KZA	*Kitab Zain ut Akhbar*
MASI	*Memoir Archaeological Survey in India*
MA	*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*
NS	*Numismatic Supplement*
PBC	*Prabandhachintāmani*
PO	*Poona Orientalist*
RLARBP	*Revised List Antiquarian Remains Bombay Presidency*
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SKK	*Sukṛta Kīrtikallolinī*
Somanatha	*Somanātha and Mediaeval Temples of Kāṭhiāwaḍ*
TFSB	*Tari-i-Firuzshahi*
TSW	*Tree and Serpent Worship*
TN	*Tabaqut-i-Nasiri*
VOCR	*Vienna Oriental Congress Report*
VPTP	*Vastupāla Teja(ḥ)pāla Praśasti*
WMR	*Watson Museum Report, Rājkot*

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