

## CHAPTER III

### HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF VASTUPĀLA AND HIS ACHIEVEMENTS

#### A) Personal and Political History of Vastupāla

In order to assess properly Vastupāla's role as a great prime-minister of Gujarat and a patron of literature and art, it is necessary to narrate in brief his personal and political history. There is no dearth of material on the subject, though sometime we get conflicting and confusing statements. Two brothers Vastupāla and Tejapāla were born in an aristocratic Prāgvāṣa family of Anāhilavād Pāṭan. We get authentic information about their ancestry. The Chronicles begin the genealogy of Vastupāla from a man named Candapa.<sup>1</sup> According to Vastupāla himself and his friend Someśvara, Candapa was a minister.<sup>2</sup> Most probably, he was a minister of a Caulukya king at Anāhilavād. His son was Candaprasāda, whose hand was never without the ministerial seal.<sup>3</sup> He had two sons— Soma and Sura. Soma was a keeper of Jewels in the court of Jayasīmha Siddharāja.<sup>4</sup> His wife was Sītā.<sup>5</sup> She bore him a son named Aśvarāja, who also held ministerial position.<sup>6</sup> Aśvarāja had married Kumāradevī, daughter of a Prāgvāṣa Vaṇik named Ābhu, who was a Dandapati.<sup>7</sup> Aśvarāja and Kumāradevī were parents of Vastupāla.

A tradition has come down to this day, according to which, Kumāradevī was a widow, remarried to Aśvarāja. Merutunga<sup>8</sup> has noted this tradition for the first time, and three old Gujarati poems called *Vastupāla-Rāsa* by Lakṣmisāgara, Pārśvacandra<sup>9</sup> and Meruvijaya<sup>10</sup> have confirmed it. C.D.Dalal<sup>11</sup> and M.D.Desai<sup>12</sup> have, however, refused to accept the tradition as authentic on the ground that none of the contemporary works has mentioned it.

Kumāradevī and Aśvarāja had eleven issues in all — seven daughters named Jalhu, Mau, Dhanadevi, Sohaga, Vaiju and Padmaladevi, and four sons named Luṇiga, Malladeva, Vastupāla and Tejapāla.<sup>13</sup> Out of these four brothers, Luṇiga died at an early age, and Malladeva expired in youth, after becoming the father of a son Pūrṇasimha. Even though we have plenty of information about Vastupāla, we have no means of finding out the date of his birth. The earliest date that we find recorded is V.S.1249,<sup>14</sup> given in an inscription without date but epigraphically not later than Vastupāla's period, preserved in the Watson Museum at Rajkot. According to the inscription, Vastupāla and his younger brother Tejapāla had made the pilgrimage to Mt. Śatruñjaya with their father in that year. It may be assumed that this was in their childhood. Vastupāla had two wives — Lalitā and Vayajalladevī, and Tejapāla was married to Anupamā, who was famous as a wise counsellor of both the brothers, and to the less known Suhavadevī.<sup>15</sup>

Very little is known about the early life of Vastupāla and Tejapāla. In early childhood they were living with their father in a town called Sumalakapura which was given to him as a reward for services to the Caulukya king.<sup>16</sup> He (Asvaraja) was deeply devoted to his mother. He carried her with pleasure to many pilgrim-places. He built many lakes, wells, tanks, ārtches and temples.<sup>17</sup> After the death of Aśvarāja, the two brothers with their mother went to Maṇḍali,<sup>18</sup> when we have no means of ascertaining, lived there until the death of their mother, after which they seem to have begun their political career.<sup>19</sup> While returning from a pilgrimage to Mt. Śatruñjaya they came to Dhavalakka. The *Kīrtikaumudī*, the *Vasantavilāsa*, the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, and the *Prabandhakōśa* mention that the two brothers had gone to Dhavalakka and King Vīradhavaḷa had made their appointment, after they were introduced to him by Someśvara. The *Sukṛtasankīrtana*, the *Vastupāla-Tejapāla-Praśasti*, and the *Sukṛtakīrtikallolīni* of Udayaprabha on the other hand, inform us that they were already in the service of Bhīma II of Anahilavāḍ and that he had given them to Vīradhavaḷa at his request.<sup>20</sup> Vastupāla's own statement at the end of the *Naranārāyaṇānanda*, however removes all doubts and makes it quite clear that he was serving first under Bhīmadeva, and his services were lent to the court of Dhavalakka only afterwards.<sup>21</sup> We do not know when Vastupāla joined the service of Bhīma, but it is certain that he and his brother were appointed at Dhavalakka in V.S.1276.<sup>22</sup> It was after this that their great career began, which made its mark in almost all the fields of life.

It appears from the *Prabandhas* that after his appointment Vastupāla was placed as the governor of *Smbhatīrtha* or Cambay, and Tejapāla was in charge of the ministerial seal.<sup>23</sup> Vastupāla redressed many of the wrongs committed by previous governors. During his administration there was a marked improvement in the moral tone of the people, a check was placed on unscrupulous people making money by the base means, and all people carried on their business honestly in security. He put an end to piracy.<sup>24</sup> He checked corruption with a strong hand and overhauled the whole administration. He took a fine of 2100 dramass from an old corrupt official.<sup>25</sup> There were great arrears in state-revenue ; he employed the four means mentioned in the *Nīśīśāstra* to reclaim the arrears and made the state-treasury full.<sup>26</sup> He checked accounts of several high officers in *Stambhatīrtha*, who were reluctant to make a suitable report, and punished them.<sup>27</sup> He also punished several unjust heads-men of the villages roundabout *Stambhatīrtha* and erected temples with money recovered from them.<sup>28</sup> Thus he put an end to the *Matsya Nyāya* prevailing in the state,<sup>29</sup> and curbed the laxity of officials, both high and low, with commendable sternness. It is quite possible that the war-like deeds of Vastupāla and his brother were mostly undertaken with a view to end the law of jungle and to restore confidence among the people, as well as with the aim of filling the coffers of the state which had become quite empty during the weak rule of Bhimadeva. The *Vastupālacarita* states that in punishing Sādik, a wealthy Muslim merchant of *Stambhatīrtha*, Vastupāla's aim was to show that

now there was no place for the *Matsya-Nyāya*.<sup>29</sup> In short, the first work of Vastupāla after coming to power was to secure the economical as well as political consolidation of the Gujarat kingdom.

When Vastupāla had succeeded in restoring peace in the region round about Dhavalakka and Stambhatīrtha, Śaṅkha, the ruler of Lāta, made an attack on him, claiming that the port of Stambhatīrtha was a possession of the king of Lāta. After a fierce fight, at place called Vatakūpa near Stambhatīrtha, Śaṅkha found Vastupāla to be more than a match for him and made a hasty retreat. To commemorate this victory the citizens of Stambhatīrtha celebrated a festival in the shrine of Goddess Ekallavīrā, which was outside the town and the minister went there to pay his homage to the deity.<sup>30</sup> This incident must have occurred before V.S. 1279, because in that year Vastupāla entrusted the governorship of Stambhatīrtha to his son Jaitrasīma or Jayantasīma,<sup>31</sup> after overhauling the administration of that city, which was the principal port of Northern India and hence a place of great importance from the economical and commercial point of view.

The *Prabandhas* describe several other war-like deeds of Viradhavala associated with Vastupala. First of all they conquered the rulers of Vāmanasthali, Saṅgaṇa and Cāmuṇḍa, who were the brothers of Viradhavala's queen Jayataladevī, who declined to pay homage to Viradhavala inspite of repeated entreaties from their sister. They were slain in a combat and great

riches of the palace of Vāmanasthali came into the hands of Vīradhavalā.<sup>32</sup> Vīradhavalā led another attack against Bhīmasimha of the Pratihara clan ruling at Bhadreśvara in Cutch, but as Bhīmasimha was served by several powerful warriors who had come from Marvad, Vīradhavalā could not conquer him, but had to return after making a peace-treaty.<sup>33</sup> By this treaty a new friend was made and the Cutch border became free from danger. After this, Vīradhavalā thought of subduing Ghughulā, a chief ruling at Godraha in the Mahitātā region or the banks of the river Mahi. Ghughulā made an alliance with the Marvad kings when they attacked Gujarat, and was plundering the merchants, pilgrims and caravans coming to and going from Gujarat. Tejapāla was sent with a strong army. He captured Ghughulā and put him in a wooden cage and appointed one of his lieutenants as a governor of Godraha. Ghughulā, unable to bear this insult, committed suicide by biting his tongue.<sup>34</sup> As a result of this victory power of the Vaghelas extended upto the Eastern border of Gujarat and the trade-route to Malva was again made secure.

There is ample historical evidence to show that during the rule of Vīradhavalā, there was a Muslim attack on Gujarat and that it was successfully repulsed by the strategy of Vastupāla. Jayasimha Sūri has dramatized this event in his Sanskrit play *Hamīramadamardana*. The *Prabandhakōśa* describes how Sultan Mojdin of Delhi had invaded Gujarat, and how he was encircled by Dharavarṣa of Candravati from the North and Vastupāla from the South after his army had entered a Mountain pass near

Abu.<sup>35</sup> Consequently the Sultan had to retreat. <sup>36</sup> After some time the Sultan's mother was going on a pilgrimage to the holy Mecca, and had come to a port of Gujarat, most probably Stambhatirtha, to take a boat. Vastupāla ordered his men to take possession of the old woman's property. The captain of the ship came and complained before Vastupāla that the pirates had robbed the old woman. Vastupāla caught the pirates who were really sent by him, and returned the old woman's property after receiving her with great respect, and also provided for her comfort and safety journey. While returning from Mecca, she took Vastupāla with her to Delhi, and introduced him to the Sultan to keep friendship with Viradhavala, and thus made his kingdom safe. Coming back from Delhi Vastupāla was received by Viradhavala with great honor.<sup>37</sup>

## B) Vastupāla - A great Patron Of Literature And Art And A Man Of Letters

As can be seen from previous pages, Vastupāla and Tejapāla wielded great influence at the courts of Dhavalakka and Anahilavāḍ, and they consolidated the state of Gujarat politically as well as economically. But they are more remembered for cultural activities inspired by their splendid munificence. They brought a cultural renaissance in Gujarat, such as would remind one of the days of great savant Hemacandra, and which vied with the cultural glories of Malva under kings Muñja and Bhoja.

According to the *Prabandhas*, Vastupāla had made thirteen pilgrimages to Mt. Śatruñjaya and Girnar. In childhood he went to both the places with his father Aśvarāja, who was a *Sanḡhapati* or a leader of pilgrims caravan. After becoming minister he led the Saḡhas more than once, and undertook the pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya and Girnar five times. He also went to Śatruñjaya only with his family in the years A.D. 1227, 1228, 1229, 1230, 1231, 1232 and 1223<sup>38</sup> The last pilgrimage, which he desired to make, to Śatruñjaya, but could not complete owing to his death on the way, was begun in 1240 A.D., and has been poetically described by Balacandra Suri in the *Vasantavilāsa Mahākāvya*.<sup>39</sup> The pilgrimage which he did in 1221 A.D. was probably the most important one, as it is the only pilgrimage repeatedly mentioned in the Girnar inscriptions and presumably the same one is described with remarkable accuracy and poetic skill in contemporary works like the *Kīrtikaumudī*, the *Sukrtasankīrtana*, and the *Dharmābhyudaya*.

Even if we look to the accounts given in the contemporary literary works, which may be safely relied upon, the monuments and public works like temples, rest-houses, tanks, wells. etc. erected and sunk by the ministers were very numerous.<sup>40</sup> Even if we consider only the contemporary evidence, keeping aside the later *Prabandhas*, there is no doubt that their munificence and philanthropy extended to a large number of places in the whole of Gujarat, Saurāṣṭra and Marvad. Rājasekhara Sūri asserts that their public works extended to Śrī Śaila in the South, Prabhāsa in the West, Kedara in the North and Benaras in the East.<sup>41</sup> This does not seem improbable when we consider the fact that the scholars, poets and religious men from almost the whole of India were coming in those days to Aṇahilavāḍa and Dhavalakka, and were getting some patronage from Vastupāla and his brother. Public works of Vastupāla were not limited only to the Jaina religion which he professed. We are told that he also built hospitals, Brahmasalas, Mathas, Siva-temples and even mosques.<sup>42</sup> There might be some exaggeration in the later accounts, because places on which Vastupāla spent wealth in public works are about fifty in a contemporary source like the *Sukṛtasamkīrthana*. That number we find greatly increased in the works of Rājasekhara, Jinaharṣa and Jinaprabha; and some of the details seem ridiculous, because they are evidently exaggerations. But even if we look to plain facts given by contemporary authors, there is no doubt that Vastupala was one of the greatest philanthropists that Gujarat and perhaps India had ever produced.

Vastupāla and Tejapāla spent a large amount of wealth after their public works, and one would like to know where this wealth came from. We already know that the two brothers came from an aristocratic family, which was supplying statesmen to the state of Gujarat ; and hence they must be enjoying considerable affluence. The *Prabandhas* contains stories as to how they came to possess fabulous wealth. Though these read like folk-tales, it is probable that they contain germs of truth. When Vastupāla was appointed as the Governor of Stabhatīrtha, a Muslim merchant named Sādik refused to accept his authority. When Vastupāla tried to punish him, Sādik called Śāṅkha, the prince of Lāta to his aid. But Śāṅkha was defeated by Vastupāla and Sādik was captured with all his property. When this was reported to the king, he ordered that all the valuables of Sādik should go to the state, but assigned the dust of his house to Vastupāla. Much of the dust was gold-dust and a fire turned more of Sādik's gold and silver to dust. Thus Sādik's bulk of wealth passed to Vastupāla.<sup>43</sup> Another account states that while going on a pilgrimage to Jaina holy places in Saurāṣṭra, the two brothers went to bury their wealth amounting to a total value of about One lakh, near a village called Hadalaka. There, while digging the earth, they got more wealth. Vastupāla asked Anupamā, wife of Tejapāla as to what should be done with this treasure. Anupamā replied that "it may be kept on the peaks of the mountains, so that it may not fall in the hands of some other person, as it has fallen to ours." And

Vastupāla and Tejapāla spent it in building famous temples on Mt. Girnar and Mt. Abu, and leading Saṅghas to the holy place of Mt. Śatruñjaya.<sup>44</sup>

The advice of Anupamā has proved true, and no public works of Vastupāla and Tejapāla has been preserved to this day, except the temples on Mt. Abu and Mt. Girnar.<sup>45</sup> The temple on Mt. Abu was built by Tejapāla in 1231 A.D. and it has Neminātha the twenty-second Jaina Tirthankara, as the chief deity. Temples on Girnar were built by Vastupāla in A.D. 1232. The Abu temple, situated in the temple-city Delvada, is generally known as Luna-Vasati in memory of Vastupāla's elder brother Luniga.<sup>46</sup> It is one of the finest works of medieval Indian art, and of sufficient excellence to immortalise the name of its builder in the history of art.<sup>47</sup> Further, B.J. Sandesara states "This temple is wholly of white marble, though no quarries of that material, except of inferior quality, are known to exist within 20 or 30 miles of the spot ; The transporting and carrying it up the hill to the side of these temples must have added immensely to the expense of the undertaking. Externally the temple is perfectly plain, and one is totally unprepared for the splendour of the interior."<sup>48</sup> And also as Cousens remarks : "The amount of the beautiful ornamental detail, spread over these temples in the minutely carved decoration of ceilings, pillars, doorways, panels and niches is simply marvellous ; the crisp, thin, translucent, shell-like treatment of the marble surfaces anything seen elsewhere, and some of the designs are veritable dreams of beauty. The work is so delicate that ordinary chiseling would have been

disastrous. It is said that much of it was produced by scrapping the marbles away, and that masons were paid by the amount of marble-dust remained." "The pendant which hangs from the centre of the dome of the temple of Tejapala is particularly remarkable and rivets the attention of every visitor." Colonel Tod justly remarks, "the delineation of it defies pen, and would tax to the utmost the pencil of the most patient artist ; and he is secure in asserting that no ornament of the most florid style of Gothic architecture can be compared with it in richness. It appears like a cluster of the half-disclosed lotus, whose cups are so thin, so transparent, and so accurately wrought that it fixes the eye in admiration. The sculpture of the temples does not, however, confine to the representation of inanimate objects ; it exercises itself also upon the scenes of domestic life, the labours of navigation and commerce, and the struggles of battle-field ; and it may be safely asserted that the student of antiquities, who should devote sufficient attention to these bas-reliefs, would be amply repaid by a large increase of knowledge regarding many interesting points in the manners and customs of medieval India."<sup>49</sup> According to *Prabandhas* Vastupāla and Tejapāla spent eighteen crores and ninety six lakhs on Girnar, and twelve crores and fifty three lakhs after the erection of the Luṇavasati on Abu.<sup>50</sup> There might be exaggeration in these figures, but there is not the least doubt that vast amount of wealth, and immense labour must have been spent after the building of these monuments, which bespeak extraordinary liberality and religious devotion on

the part of their builders. The Chronicles say that not only was there no forced labour, as was the case in the erection of some similar buildings elsewhere in India and outside, but ample wages were being given, and utmost care taken for the amenities of the artisans who worked there.<sup>51</sup>

### C) Vastupāla -A Great Patron of Learning

Besides being a philanthropist and patron of art, Vastupāla was a great patron of learning. He had established three public libraries in Anahilavad, Śtambhatīrtha and Bhṛgukachcha by spending great sums of money for them.<sup>52</sup> His personal library was also very rich, and contained more than one copy of all important Śāstra-works.<sup>53</sup> He was highly liberal towards poets and scholars, and has been noted in his case that like Bhoja and Vikramaditya, he gave thousands to poets for the composition of one verse or even for a half. Long and detailed accounts of his enjoyment and patronage of poetry have been given in the works like the *Prabandhakośa*, the *Vastupalātarita*, the *Purāṇanaprabandhasamgraha*, and the *Upadeśasarāṅgiṇi*. Because of his liberality to the poets he was called Laghu Bhojarāja or Junior Bhoja. So many poets, both known and anonymous had profited by his liberality that Someśvara has expressed their gratitude in the following words.

सूत्रे वृत्तिः कृता पूर्व दुर्गसिंहेन धीमता ।

विसूत्रे तु कृता तेषां वस्तुपालेन मन्त्रिणा ।।<sup>54</sup>

“Formerly learned Durgasiṃha had composed the *Vṛtti* on the *Sūtras*, but the minister Vastupāla has given *Vṛtti* (means of maintenance) to the poets without any *Sūtra*”

While giving patronage to poets and making donations in the cause of learning Vastupāla made no distinction between a Jaina and non-Jaina. He donated ten thousand drammas to the Śaiva Tīrtha of Prabhāsa,<sup>55</sup> and gave great wealth to the Brahmins having poetic skill. Such occasions were not rare, but on the contrary very numerous. And the *Kīrtikaumudī* says about him

नानर्च भक्तिमाश्रेणी नेमी शङ्करकेशवी ।

जैनोऽपि यः सवेदानां दानाम्भः कुरुते करे । । 56

His tolerance of other faiths had become so proverbial that the *Purātanaprabandhasamgraha* has the following verse about him :

बौद्धैर्वीर्यो वौष्णवैर्विष्णुभक्तः शैवीः शैवो योगिभिर्योगरङ्गः ।

जैनैस्तावज्ञैर्न एवेति कृत्वा सत्त्वाधारः स्तूयते वास्तुपालः । । 57

Moreover, Vastupāla was credited with a critical faculty which enabled him to detect defects in poetic compositions by others, and to make improvements in them. He has been referred to as “the best among the appreciators of poetry and art” (*Sahṛdayacūḍāmaṇī*)<sup>58</sup> Not only did he appreciate poetry and art, but also requested others to write religious and

literary works for his instruction and delectation. The *Katharatnākara* of Naracandra Sūri and the *Alaṅkāramahodadhī* of Narendraprabha Sūri were composed at his request.<sup>59</sup> Greater part of his leisure hours was spent in the company of literary men.<sup>60</sup> He himself has said in the *Naranārāyaṇānanda Mahākāvya* that he could devote his time in the company of poets and scholars, because his younger brother Tejapāla looked properly after the state-affairs.<sup>61</sup> In spite of high position which he enjoyed his modesty was proverbial, and amidst the manifold engagements of state-affairs he found time to make a copy in his own hand of the *Dharmābhyudaya Mahākāvya* of Udayaprabha Sūri, a pupil of his preceptor Vijayasena Sūri. This manuscript, dated 1290 V.S., has been preserved in the Jaina Bhandara at Cambay and has been printed one palm-leaf manuscripts photograph by B.J.Sandesara,<sup>62</sup> and we are fortunate in having the handwriting of such a great personality even after the lapse of more than seven centuries. There was hardly a notable scholar, Jaina or non-Jaina, in Gujarat of those days who had not come in contact with Vastupāla in one way or the other. And there is no wonder that we find a large number of works written directly under his patronage or indirectly under the stimulus of his magnetic personality.

#### D) Literary Works of Vastupāla

It has happened many times in history that patrons of poets were themselves poets. We have many instances of Royal poets in Indian literature viz, Bhoja, Śrī Harṣa, Sūdraka, and Rājaśekhara among others. The name of Vastupāla also can be counted among such great persons. Just as he is praised as a patron of poets in the works which are the sources of much of our information regarding him, he is highly eulogized as a poet too. He is called *Kurcchāla Sarasvati*,<sup>63</sup> *Kavikuñjara* and *Kavicakravartin* and praised as a spiritual son of Sarasvati.<sup>64</sup> We are also informed that he had studied from Naracandra the three *Vidyas*, viz. *Nyāya*, *Vyākaraṇa* and *Sāhitya*, and also works on Jaina philosophy.<sup>65</sup> His poetic name was Vasantapāla, which was given to him by Harihara, Someśvara and other poets.<sup>66</sup> This is the reason why Balacandra has given the name *Vasantavilasa* to his poem giving an account of Vastupāla's life. At the end of the *Naranārāyaṇānanda*, Vastupāla says that his first poem was the result of an inspired outburst in the form of a hymn in the praise of Ādiśvara on the Śatruñjaya hills.<sup>67</sup> This hymn is none other than his *Adināta Stotra*. Vastupāla has also written several *Stotras* like the *Neminātha Stotra*, *Ambika Stotra* and a short *Aradhana* of ten verses. The *Aradhana* is probably the last composition of Vastupāla, because its first verse *Na kṛtam sukṛtam kiñcit* has been quoted by the *Prabandhakośa*, as spoken by the minister while on his death-bed.<sup>68</sup> The *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* says that the minister did his *Paryantārādhana* or the last devotional act by uttering this



of Devagiri.<sup>72</sup> In the *Sarngadharapaddhati* of Sarangdhara of Śakambari, a verse of Vastupāla has found a place.<sup>73</sup> In the *Prabandhas* a large number of verses have been put in the mouth of Vastupāla, as spoken by him on particular occasions, and it is certain that most of them are his own compositions, in view of his skill in this particular branch of poetry.<sup>74</sup> It can be imagined that he could compose Sanskrit *Suktis* on the spur of the moment on suitable occasions. In the *Abu-Prasasti*, Someśvara has spoken highly of his originality in the field of poetry and his strict administration in the domain of state-craft.<sup>75</sup> Verses spoken by him before his death, while he was on the way to Śatruñjaya express a deep-seated religious fervour and a humility, which only the great souls can show.

As remarked earlier, Vastupāla has composed the *Naranārāyaṇānanda a Mahākāvya* in sixteen cantos, describing the friendship of Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa, their rambles in the Raivataka Garden, and the consequent carrying away by Arjuna of Kṛṣṇa's sister Subhadra. At the end of the poem he has mentioned his numerous *Saṅghayātras*.<sup>76</sup> And we know from other sources that his first great pilgrimage was undertaken in 1221 A.D. Hence the poem must have been composed after that year. Praising Vastupāla, who did such a remarkable work in various fields of life and literature, Narendraprabha Sūri has given the following verse, which summarizes succinctly his manifold achievements<sup>77</sup>:—

त्यागाः कुङ्मलयन्ति कल्पविटपित्यागक्रियापाटवं  
 कामं काव्यकलापि कोमलयति द्वैपायनीयंवचः ।  
 बुद्धिर्धक्कुरुते च यस्य धिषणां चाणक्यचिन्तामणेः  
 सोऽयं कस्य न वस्तुपालसचिवोत्तंसः प्रशंसास्पदम् । ।

It appears rather unusual to modern readers that a man should be simultaneously a great statesmen and administrator as well as literary figure. Such people are known to patronize learning, but one feels some doubt when they are also credited with authorship of literary works. And such doubts are not altogether groundless, because it is believed by some scholars in the case of such famous kings as Bhoja and others that they are credited with the authorship of literary compositions coming from the pen of their proteges. Is such a doubt, then, not justified about Vastupāla's authorship of literary works attributed to him? Doubts in such cases can not be completely resolved, as it is a matter of interpreting evidence. But one thing is, however, certain that there is nothing inherently incompatible in a statesmen and administrator being also a literary writer. The literary history of Gujarat as well as of other parts of India supplies us with many such cases. Some of them may be mentioned here. Viśakhadatta, the famous author of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, was the son of Maharāja Bhāskaradatta and grandson of Sāmanta Vatesvaradatta, and belonged to a family of the ruling class under the Imperial Guptas. Vatsarāja the author of six *Rupakas*, was a minister of the Paramardideva of

Kalañjara. The names of the great Vedic commentator Sāyana and his brother Mādhava, who were ministers at the court of Vijayanagar, are well-known. They are great scholars as well as patrons of learning and their work is too well-known to require any introduction. It was a tradition in ancient and medieval India that persons of eminent position were also the cultural leaders of their time, and it was their highest ambition after doing their life's work to die in religious meditation, having renounced the worldly ties. On grounds of supposed incompatibility we are not justified in having doubts about Vastupāla's authorship of the works attributed to him, unless, as in other cases, there is some positive evidence, circumstantial or direct, which justifies us in raising such doubts.

### **E] Literary Circle of Mahāmātya Vastupāla**

After making a study of the life and works of Vastupāla we now come to the known figures of his Literary Circle. From the available biographical data about these persons we shall see how they came in contact with Vastupāla and how they entertained him with their poetic compositions, and what way the patron appreciated their work. We shall also see how some of them composed poems to express their admiration for him, and also how some works were written on the particular subjects in response to request from the patron. We shall find, moreover, how those poets and scholars were having contact among

themselves, and how they appreciated, helped and some times rivalled with each other. That these persons really formed a circle, and were not merely casual visitors, will be clearly seen. But here a question might naturally arise about the propriety of describing these writers as forming the 'Literary Circle of Vastupāla,' and not of the royal court of the Vaghelas. There is no doubt that these poets and scholars come to the Vaghela court, and some times received gifts from the king, as in the case of Harihara, Nānaka and Arisimha; but it is clear from the evidence, which will be presented here that these writers cared to bestow praise on the Vaghela-kings rarely, which indicates that all of them were dependent upon Vastupāla and it was mainly through him that their literary efforts flourished. And hence we are justified in claiming these writers as the literary circle of Vastupāla. A study of the activity of this circle throws a flood of light on the cultural life of the times of Vastupāla and also it is very important for understanding the literary and scholastic traditions of medieval Gujarat. We shall take these literary figures one by one.

## i) Someśvara

यस्यास्ते मुखपङ्कजे सुखमृचां वेदः स्मृतिर्वेद य-  
 स्त्रेता सद्यनि यस्य यस्य रसना सूते च सूक्तामृतम् ।  
 राजानः श्रियमर्जयन्ति महतीं यत्सूजया गूर्जराः  
 कर्तुं तस्य गुणस्तुतिं जगति कः सोमेश्वरस्येश्वरः ।। 78

Someśvara or Someśvaradeva was a close friend of Vastupāla and chief among the poets patronized by him. He was hereditary priest of the Caulukya-kings of Gujarat, and wielded great influence at the courts of Anahilavāḍ and Dhavalakka.

After eulogizing his ancestors, Someśvara has mentioned a few facts about himself in the *Suratotsava Mahākāvya*. He says how contemporary poets like Harihara and Subhata appreciated his poetry.<sup>79</sup> BY composing a work full of poetic merits, and a play, within only half of a *Yāma*, he had highly entertained the members of the court of Bhīma II<sup>80</sup>. After praising his own poetry, and also the poetry and munificence of Vastupāla in a number of verses,<sup>81</sup> he closes the canto, which shows that the author and the patron were fast friends before the composition of the *Suratotsava Mahākāvya*.

In addition to the *Suratotsava*, based on the *Devimahātmya* in the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, the poet composed other works. The *Kirtikaumudi*

*Mahākāvya* is a panegyric of the glorious deeds of Vastupāla and is very important for the study of contemporary history and society. He wrote a play - *Ullāgharāghava*,<sup>82</sup> dramatizing the *Ramāyana* story. It was acted in the famous temple at Dvāraka on the *Prabodhini Ekadasi*.<sup>83</sup>

In addition to these, Someśvara has composed an anthology of didactic verses called the *Karṇāmṛtaprapā*.<sup>84</sup> *Rāmasataka* a hymn to Rāma in one hundred verses is also a work of Someśvara,<sup>85</sup> and was once very popular, judging from the number of manuscripts of the poem and of its two commentaries - one by Ekanatha and the other by some unknown author.<sup>86</sup>

From his numerous compositions on various subjects, it appears that Someśvara was a man of liberal outlook. Though he was a devout Śaiva and Śākta and an adept in the Vedas, he wrote not only poems and plays praising Rāma, but also Prasātis for the Jaina temples.

### Stray Verses of Someśvara

The *Prabandhas* give a number of references and anecdotes which bear upon Someśvara's relation with Vastupāla. Here is are given some important and interesting references.—

“Once in a rainy season, Vastupāla and Someśvara had been to the port of Stambhatirtha. At that time horses imported from some foreign country were being brought down from the ships. Vastupāla looked at the horses and

gave the following *Samasyā* to Someśvara —

प्रावृत्काले पयोराशिः कथं गर्जितवर्जितः ।

to which Someśvara gave a swift answer as follows.

अंतःसुप्तजगन्नाथनिद्राभङ्गभयादिव । ।

—and he was promptly rewarded with a gift of sixteen horses.<sup>87</sup>

On another occasion members of the literary circle had assembled. Vastupāla and Tejapāla were also present. A *Samasyā* was given — काकः किं वा क्रमेलकः । Someśvara promptly composed a couplet and the seemingly irrelevant words of the *Samasyā* became full of meaning-

येनागच्छन्माख्यातो येनानीतश्च मे पतिः ।

प्रथमः सखि कः पूज्यः काकः किं वा क्रमेलकः । ।

Highly pleased at this gift of ready poetry, Vastupāla gave Someśvara a present of sixteen thous and Drammas.<sup>88</sup>

Once when Someśvara came to Vastupāla's court, he was given a seat, which he did not occupy. When asked the reason, he uttered the following verse.—

अन्नदानैः पयःपानैर्धर्मस्थानैश्च भूतलम् ।

यशसा वस्तुपालेन रुद्धमाकाशमण्डलम् । ।

-Having heard this Vastupāla gave nine thousand Drammas.<sup>89</sup>

During one of his Saṅghayātras to Satrunjaya, the minister was worshipping the Jaina, when the supplicants ran towards him all at a time. Looking to the crowd Someśvara spoke the following verse ....

इच्छासिद्धिसमुन्नते सुरगणे कल्पद्रुमैः स्थीयते  
पाताले पवमानभोजनजने कष्टं प्रणष्टो बलिः ।  
नीरागानगमन्मुनीन् सुरभयश्चिन्तामणिः क्वाप्यगात्  
तस्मादर्थिकदर्थनां विषहतां श्रीवस्तुपालः क्षितौ । ।

The Prabandhas say that for this he received a large sum as a gift.<sup>90</sup>

When Vastupāla returned from the campaign in which he defeated Śaṅkha, he was received by Someśvara with the following Śloka—

श्रीवस्तुपाल प्रतिपक्षकाल त्वया प्रपेदे पुरुषोत्तमत्वम् ।  
तीरेऽपि वार्द्धेरकृतेऽपि मात्स्ये दूरं पराजीयत येन शङ्खः । । 91

## ii) Harihara

मुधा मधु मुधा सीधु मुधा कोऽपि सुधारसः ।  
आस्वादितं मनोहारि यदि हरिहरं वचः ॥

- Vastupāla<sup>92</sup>

Harihara appears to be one of the prominent literary figures of the time, as Rajaśekhara has devoted one whole *Prabandha* to him in the *Prabandhakōśa*, and Vastupāla also held his poetry in high esteem. According to the *Prabandhakōśa*, Harihara was a descendent of Śriharsa, author of the famous *Naiṣadhīyacarita*,<sup>93</sup> one of the most formidable, yet poetic compositions in Sanskrit literature.<sup>94</sup> It was Harihara who had brought the first manuscript of the *Naiṣadha* to Gujarat and it was at the initiative of Vastupāla that the work got a wide currency in the province, as a result of which the oldest commentaries of the work were written solely in Gujarat.<sup>95</sup>

## iii) Yaśovīra

लक्ष्मीर्यत्र न वाक् तत्र यत्र ते विनयो न हि ।  
यशोवीर महद्वित्रं सा च सा च स च त्वयि ॥ 96

Yaśovīra was a close friend of Vastupāla. Someśvara has praised both these friends in a verse by describing them as "two sons of Goddess Sarasvati."<sup>97</sup> Yaśovīra was a *Vaṇik* and professed the Jaina religion, though

nothing is known about his specific caste. The *Kīrtikaumudī* has clearly mentioned him as "the minister of the Cola-King,"<sup>98</sup> though it has not given the ruler's name. In the drama *Hamīramadamardhana* of Jayasīṃha Sūri, Vastupāla has been represented as honouring Yaśovīra as his elder brother. It can be said on the authority of the same work that Yaśovīra had rendered considerable help to Tejapāla in making Vastupāla's strategy successful against the Muslim invasion, and that Yasovira's advice was sought by Tejapala on all important matters at that time, as Marvad and Mevad were the places of action.

From his verses quoted in the *Prabandhas* it seems that Yaśovīra was a Sanskrit-poet not devoid of merits. This is further corroborated by the fact that the *Kīrtikaumudī* has compared him with poets like Kālidāsa, Māgha and Abhinanda.<sup>99</sup> But no work of Yaśovīra has come down to us. B.J.Sandesara<sup>100</sup> opines about Yaśovīra that: "Being a man in an eminent position, he was also a patron of literature. In a palm leaf manuscript of a Sanskrit anthology of verses presented in the *Samghavi-Pada-Bhandara* at Pattan, I saw several verses in praise of minister Yasovira in the section called *Sajjanaprasamsa* or the praise of the good. As the manuscript is fragmentary, we do not know either the date of composition or of copying or the name of the anthology or of the compiler. But this is enough to show how Yasovira was held in high esteem by some poets. Jayasīṃha Sūri, grand pupil of Vadideva Sūri and author of the *Prasasti* of Cacigedeva on the Sūndha hills in Rajasthan, had

uttered the following verse, when Yaśovīra installed the image of Mahavira in a temple called the Candana Vasati built by him at Jhalor—

यत्तयोपार्जितं वित्तं यशोवीर प्रतिष्ठया ।  
तल्लक्षगुणितां नीतं यशो वीरप्रतिष्ठया ।

The rhetorician Mānikyacandra, author of a commentary *Samketa* on the *Kāvya prakāśa* thus praised Yaśovīra on an occasion : —

यशोवीर लिखत्याख्यां यावच्चन्द्रे विधिस्तव ।  
न माति भुवने तावदाद्यमप्यक्षरद्वयम् ॥

#### iv) Subhata

सुभटेन पदन्यासः सः कोऽपि समिती कृतः ।  
येनाधुनापि धीराणां रोमाञ्चो नापिचीयते ॥

--Somesvara.<sup>101</sup>

Nothing is known about the personal history of Subhata, but his connection with the Literary Circle of Vastupāla is attested by the fact that Someśvara has praised his poetry along with that of other poets of the Circle like Naracadra, Vijaysena, Harihara and Yaśovīra; and the *Surtotsava* informs us how Subhata and Harihara appreciated the poetry of Someśvara.<sup>102</sup> Only one act play of Subhata, the *Dutaṅgada*, which is called a *Chāyānāṭaka* by the author, has come down to us. As is mentioned in the prologue, it was acted in

Anahilavada, by the order of King Tribhuvanapāla on the occasion of a festival in honour of the late King Kumārāpāla.<sup>103</sup> But when we take into consideration the title of *Kavipravara* or 'the chief among the poets' bestowed upon Subhata by Somesvara, it appears that he might have written some greater works worthy enough to justify that title. Subhata has also described himself in the prologue as proficient in logic.<sup>104</sup>

#### v) Arisimha

यत्कवेर्लवणसिंहजन्मः काव्यमेतदमृतोददीर्घिका ।

वस्तुपालनवकीर्तिकन्यया धन्यया किमपि यत्र खलितम् ।।

--Amaracandra Suri.<sup>105</sup>

Thakkura Arisimha was the son of Lavanasimha.<sup>106</sup> He was a favourite of Vastupāla, and had received from him land and other gifts, just like Somesvara, the author of the *Kirikaumudī*.<sup>107</sup> According to the *Prabandhakosa*, he was a follower of Jinadatta Suri of the Vāyada Gaccha, and as such he may be considered a Jain. Though Arisimha was a layman, he was a Kulaguru or preceptor in fine arts of the famous poet and rhetorician Amracandra.<sup>108</sup> Amracandra held Arisimha and his poetry in high esteem, as is clear from his works, and both the literary men, one a layman and another a monk, worked in close collaboration.

Poetic fame of Arisim̐ha had spread outside Gujarat and a number of his verses have been included in the anthologies like the *Sūktimuktāvalī*<sup>109</sup> and the *Sarngdharapadhhati*.<sup>110</sup> The *Upadesātaraṅgini* has quoted a verse of Arisim̐ha in praise of Vastupāla, for which, according to their work, the former was awarded the sum of two thousand.<sup>111</sup> But most remarkable specimen of the poetic activity of Arisim̐ha is his *Mahākāvya Sukṛtasankīrtana* written in praise of his patron Vastupāla for commemorating his good deeds. Five verses at the end of each Canto of this *Mahākāvya* are the compositions not of Arisim̐ha, but of Amarcandra. It is stated in this work which Arisim̐ha composed, that Amarcandra wrote these five verses Canto by Canto.<sup>112</sup>

No work of Arisim̐ha, other than *Sukṛtasankīrtana* is extant. The present work is another historical *Mahākāvya*, which also has for its theme the life and works of Vastupāla. As its name suggests, it has been composed for commemorating the good deeds of Vastupāla. Just as the *Kīrtikaumudī* puts comparatively more emphasis on the political side of Vastupāla's life, the *Sukṛtasankīrtana* gives more space to his religious and public works. Thus the two poems supplement each other, and it is quite possible that they were written with the same end in view. The *Sukṛtasankīrtana* has eleven cantos and 553 verses in all.

## vi) Amaraçandra Sūri

ब्रह्मज्ञप्रवरो महाव्रतधरो वेणीकृपाणोऽमरः ।

Nayacandra Sūri. 113

Amaracandra Sūri is one of the remarkable names in the history of mediæval Sanskrit literature. He is best known as the author of the *Bālabhārata*,<sup>114</sup> and the *Kāvyaikalpatā*.<sup>115</sup> His *Bālabhārata* is a sort of epitome, in its subject-matter, of the famous *Mahābhārata*, as its very name suggests. Like its prototype, *Bālabhārata* is divided into 18 *Parvans*, each of which sub-divided into one or more cantos, the sum total being forty-four, including the last canto which gives the *Prāsaṅgi*. The *Granthāgra* of the whole work, as given in the last verse of the last canto is 6950 *Slokas*. The *Kāvyaikalpatā* is in the form of *Kārikas*, the number of *Kārikas* as printed in the edition of the Kāsi Sanskrit Series being 798. The *Padmānanda Mahākāvya* is another work of Amaraçandra, which has for its subject the mythical account of the first Jaina Tīrthankara Ādinātha. It is divided into nineteen cantos, and its *Granthāgra* is 6281 *Slokas*.

Some verses ascribed to Amaraçandra are preserved in the *Prabandhas*. Once Vastupāla was going to attend the sermon of Amaraçandra. But while at the door of the hall, he heard the Ācārya uttering the following line —

अस्मिन्नसारे संसारे सारं सारङ्गलोचना ।

— and Vastupāla, thinking that the Ācāryas mind was full with thoughts about women, did not salute him. Then the Ācārya recited the second foot of the verse —

यत्कुक्षिप्रभवा एते वस्तुपाल भवादृशः ।

— And being astonished, Vastupāla saluted him with honour.<sup>117</sup>

### vii) Vijayasena Sūri

मुनेर्विजयसेनस्य सुधामधुरया गिरा ।

भारतिमञ्जुमञ्जीरस्वरोऽपि पस्वीकृतः । ।

-- Someśvara. 118

Vijayasena Sūri was the Ācārya of the Nagendragachha, and Vastupāla's preceptor on the maternal side, and as such, the installation ceremony of the images in the temples built by Vastupāla was performed at his hands. It was the advice and instruction of Vijayasena which inspired the building of temples, establishment of *Bhandaras* and the undertaking of *Saṅghayātras* by Vastupāla and Tejapāla.<sup>119</sup>

Vijayasena's relation with the family of Vastupāla was naturally very cordial, being a *Kulaguru* or family-preceptor. It was at the instance of Vijayasena that Vastupāla had gone to salute Jagaccandra Suri (father of Vijayasena) of the Vṛddha Tapagachha,<sup>120</sup> and had honoured him and his pupils. Vijayasena was a scholar. Pradyumna Suri, the author of the *Samarādirya-Samkṣepa*, was taught *Nyāya* by him,<sup>121</sup> and had also received the *Vivēkamānjari Tika* of Bālacandra.<sup>122</sup> No other Sanskrit composition of Vijayasena has been found as yet, but judging from the way in which his poetic faculty has been referred to by contemporary authors, it is probable that he may have composed some Sanskrit poetic works worthy of note. We have an *Apabhramśa* work, the *Revantagiri Rāsa*,<sup>123</sup> from his pen. It was composed on the occasion of one of Vastupāla's pilgrimages to Girnar.

#### viii) Udayaprabha Sūri

गुरोस्तस्याशिषां पात्रं सूरिस्त्युदयप्रभः ।

मौक्तिकानीव सूक्तानि भान्ति यत्प्रतिभाम्बुधेः । ।

-- Somesvara. 124

Udayaprabha Sūri was the chief pupil of Vijayasena Sūri. It appears that he was considerably junior in age to Vastupāla, as Vastupāla had invited well-known scholars from long distance for teaching various *Śāstras* to

Udayaprabha .<sup>125</sup> Vastupāla also organised the function to install Udayaprabha as an *Ācārya* at a large expense.<sup>126</sup>

The main literary work of Udayaprabha is his *Dharmābhyudaya Mahākāvya*, which was probably composed on the occasion of Vastupāla's great pilgrimage in 1221 A.D. It must have been composed before 1233 A.S., because a manuscript of the work bearing the date, in Vastupāla's own hand-writing, has been preserved. Among other works of Udayaprabha there are two panegyrics called the *Sukṛtakīrtikallolīni* and *Vastupālastuti*, glorifying the good deeds of Vastupāla and Tejapāla.

### ix) Jinabhadra

Jinabhadra was a pupil of Udayaprabha Sūri. No more information is available about him ; but this much we know that he had composed in 1234-A.D. *Prabandhavalī* or a collection of historical and legendary anecdotes, which contained a number of stories, regarding Jaitrasīmha, Vastupāla's son,

**x) Naracandra Sūri**

कवीन्द्रश्च मुनीन्द्रश्च नरचन्द्रो जयत्प्रसी ।

प्रशस्तिर्यस्य काव्येषु संक्रान्ता हृदयादिव । ।

-- Someśvara.<sup>127</sup>

Naracandra Sūri was a pupil of Devaprabha Sūri<sup>128</sup> of the Maladhara Gachha. He was the preceptor of Vastupala on the maternal side, and was in close contact with Vijayasena Suri and his pupils<sup>129</sup> Vastupala held him in high honour, and he had taught Vastupāla the three *Vidyas* i.e. *Nyāya*, *Vyākaraṇa*, and *Sāhitya*, and also the Jaina works - *Sadāvaśyaka* and *Karmaprakṛti*<sup>130</sup>

Naracandra Sūri was a great scholar, and was highly proficient atleast in four *Śāstras* viz, *Nyāya*, *Vyākaraṇa*, *Sāhitya* and *Jyotis*. In *Nyāya* he has written a scholarly *Tippaṇī* on the *Nyāyakaṇḍali* of Śrīdhara, in *Vyākaraṇa* the *Prākṛtaprabandha* a treatise on the Prakrit grammar, in *Sāhitya* a *Tippaṇī* on the *Anargharāghava* of Murāri, and in *Jyotis*, the *Jyotissāra*.<sup>131</sup>

## xi) Narendraprabha Sūri

तस्य गुरोः प्रियशिष्यः प्रभुनरेन्द्रप्रभः प्रभावाढ्यः ।

योऽलंकारमहोदधिमकरोत् काकुत्स्थकेलिं च ।।

Rājasekhara Sūri<sup>132</sup>

“Once Vastupāla, folding his hands with devotion, thus requested Naracandra Sūri - ‘some works on *Alaṅkāra* are difficult to grasp, because they are lengthy, while some are not sufficiently clear, as they are too short. Some other books contain much that is irrelevant and can be understood with difficulty. My mind is tired of listening to such works, which give not judgment regarding the real nature of poetic art. So please expound to me a *Sastra*, which is not too long, which contains the essence of the poetic art and can be understood even by the less intelligent.” Hearing this, the Acarya suggested to his pupil Narendraprabha Sūri to write such a work, and the latter composed the *Alaṅkāramahodadhi*, the *Kārikas* and the *Vṛtti* thereon - for the delectation of Vastupāla.<sup>133</sup>

He also wrote two collections of verses on religious topics- *Vivekpadapa* and the *Vivekakalika* - from which we know that his pen-name was ‘Vibudhacandra Kavi’.<sup>134</sup>

## xii) Bālacandra Sūri

बहुप्रबन्धकर्तुः श्रीबालचन्द्रस्य का स्तुतिः ।  
मन्त्रीशिवस्तुपालेन यः स्तुतः कवितागुणात् ।।

Pradyumna Suri. 135

Bālacandra was a pupil of Haribhandra Sūri of the Candra Gachha. He has given at length the genealogy of his teachers in the *Prasastis* of his Commentaries on the *Upadeshakandali* and *Vivakamañjari* of Āśāda.

The *Prabadhas* mention that once young Bālacandra praised Vastupāla with a verse comparing him with God Śiva in every respect,<sup>136</sup> and Vastupāla, being pleased with it, spent several thousand Drammas in the ceremony for installing Bālacandra as an Ācārya.

The main work of Bālacandra is his *Vasantavilāsa*, depicting the life of Vasantapāla, a name given to Vastupāla by his poet friends.

*Karuṇāvajrāyudha* is one act play of Bālacandra, depicting the story of king Vajrāyudha.

Two other works of Bālacandra are his commentaries on the *Vivakamañjari* and the *Upadeshakandali* of Āśāda.

### xiii) Jayasimha Sūri

Jayasimha Suri was a pupil of Virasuri and head of the Muni Suvrata Caitya. He is the author of the play *Hammīramadamardana*, dramatizing Vastupāla's strategy in repulsing a Muslim attack on Gujarat. The play was acted at Stambhatīrtha at the instance of Jaitrasimha, Vastupāla's son, then the governor of that city. Another composition of Jayasimha Sūri is a panegyric in seventy-seven verses called the *Vastupāla-Tejapāla Prasasti*.<sup>137</sup>

### xiv) Mānikyacandra

Mānikyacandra was a Jaina ascetic of the Rāja Gachha, and a pupil of Sāgaracandra Sūri. He is the author of the famous *Samketa*, one of the oldest and most authoritative commentaries on the *Kāvya prakāsa* of Mammata. He also composed two *Mahākāvya*s—*Sāntināthacaritra* and *Pārsvanāthacaritra*.<sup>138</sup>

In addition to the poets and scholars mentioned above, there were a number of others comparatively of minor importance, who came in touch with Vastupāla according to the *Prabandhas*. But they are not mentioned here because no work is identified to the credit of any of them.

## F. Death of Viradhavala and Vastupāla

King Viradhavala died in 1238.A.D.<sup>139</sup> His popularity has created a tradition, which says that a large number of people burnt themselves on his funeral pyre and Tejapāla had come to the cremation ground with his army to check others from doing so.<sup>140</sup> Viradhavala had two sons-Pratāpamalla and Visaladeva. pratapamalla had died during the life time of Viradhavala, leaving a son, Arjunadeva, after him Visaladeva, the younger son of Viradhavala, came to the throne in 1238. A.D.<sup>141</sup> Vastupāla died in 1240 A.D.(1296 V.S), only two years after Visaladeva's coming to throne. Both the *Prabandhakosa* and the *Vastupālacarita* have given 1242 A.D.(1298 V.S.)as the date of Vastupāla's death. But the *Vasantavilāsa Mahākāvya* of the contemporary Bālacandra has the date of his death as Sunday the fifth day of the bright half of the month Magha in the year 1296.V.S. (1-1-1240 AD).<sup>144</sup> This statement is also supported by the dates in a palm-leaf manuscript, which mention that Vastupāla died in 1296 V.S.,<sup>145</sup> and in an Abu inscription, of the third day of the bright half of month Vaiśākha of the year 1296 V.S. (12-4-1240 A.D.), Tejapāla is referred to as *Mahāmārya*,<sup>146</sup> which corroborates the above statement that Vastupāla died in Magha month of the year, and Tejapāla took the charge of the office only after the death of Vastupāla.

So, there is no doubt that author Bālacandra Sūri was given a correct date of Vastupāla's death and the statements of the authors of *Prabandhakōśa* and *Vastupālacarita* about the date of Vastupāla's death is incorrect.

The *Prabandhas* say that Vastupāla expired in the village Ainkevalia, while he was going on his last pilgrimage to Mt. Śatruñjaya.<sup>147</sup> This statement may be reliable, but we do not find it mentioned in the *Vasantavilāsa*<sup>148</sup> The *Prabandhakōśa* refers to the loss of Vastupāla's ministerial power in favour of the minister Nāgaḍa. Elsewhere it is said that Vastupāla had incurred the anger of Viśaladeva, because of the punishment meted out by the former to a maternal uncle of the king, as that man had insulted a Jaina Sādhu; but the minister was saved by the intervention of Someśvara.<sup>149</sup> It is also mentioned that once Viśaladeva demanded from Vastupāla the accounts of the state-revenue, and finding that some of the money was spent after temples etc. decided to punish him; but here also the king was held back by Someśvara.<sup>150</sup>

Though we may not accept such stories in their entirety, they can be considered as indicative of the fact that the minister had incurred the displeasure of the new king in his later life. There is nothing inherently impossible in this, as we know several such instances in history, when a new king finds it difficult to pull on with the old minister. But here, there is no evidence to show that Vastupāla was actually displaced by Viśaladeva, though he was no more on very good terms with the young sovereign. It is not

unlikely that this may have been due to the machinations of Nāgara politicians led by Nāgaḍa or because Vīsaladeva might have felt the old minister rather too overbearing to be tolerated.

There is a very trustworthy evidence to show that Tejapāla, the younger brother, continued as the *Mahāmārya* or prime-minister for a few years after the death of Vastupāla, and that the king's displeasure was not so great as to displace him from office. The above mentioned Abu description shows that Tejapāla was the minister after the death of Vastupāla. We get first evidence mentioning Nāgaḍa as the *Mahāmārya* in 1310 V.S. (1254 A.D.),<sup>151</sup> which shows that Tejapāla died between 1247 and 1254 A.D. In any case, it can be definitely said that Nagara Brahmin Nāgaḍa became the *Mahāmārya* of Vīsaladeva only after Tejapāla's death.<sup>152</sup>

In the preceding chapters we have seen the literary and scholarly traditions of Gujarat in the ages that preceded Vastupāla. We had studied the historical and biographical accounts of Vastupāla and of the poets and scholars in his Literary Circle. And then we have reviewed the noteworthy contribution which they made to Sanskrit literature. The works of this Literary Circle range from stray verses to *Mahākāvya*s and also deal with various branches of *Śāstric* literature. Even if we do not consider the works which are known only through references and have not yet been discovered, there are Ten *Mahākāvya*s, four plays, eighteen *Prasastis*, six *Stotras* three

anthologies, a collective of *Prabandhas*, a collection of Jaina *Dharmakathas*, two works on *Apabramśā Rāsa*, three works on poetics, two works on grammar, a work on metrics, a work on *Nyāya*, two works on astrology, three commentaries on Jaina religious works and a gloss on the Sanskrit play *Anargharāghava*.<sup>153</sup> This contribution becomes all the more noteworthy of the great Literary and Scholastic activity that was going on in Gujarat in the 13th century A.D. under the direct patronization of Vastupāla.

The literary culture of Gujarat in these days was a composite one, in which there was an admirable cultural co-operation among the Brahminical and Jaina Scholars. We find that royal priests like Someśvara write *Prāsastis* of Jaina temples and a Jaina Sādhu like Bālacandra Sūri borrows literary motifs from a great Brahminical work like the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.<sup>154</sup> Moreover, we find that Amaraçandra, also a Jaina Sadhu, summarises the whole of the *Mahābhārata* in verse, and praises Vyāsa in the beginning of every canto.<sup>155</sup> It may be noted that the sacred book summarised by Amaraçandra is not the Jaina version of the *Mahābhārata*, but that great encyclopedia of Indian traditions and legends ascribed to sage Vyāsa.

This non-sectarian outlook in literary matters was not accidental, but it came from commendable toleration and the spirit of 'give' and 'take' which prevailed in contemporary life, represented by the great figure of *Vastupāla* in almost all its aspects as the preceding pages have shown.

## G. History of Śaṅkha

Śaṅkha, a chieftain of Lāṭa, comes as a major character in the fifth canto of the *Vasantavilāsa Mahākāvya* which summarizes the battle between Vastupāla and Śaṅkha. So, here is given a historical account of Śaṅkha briefly.

Śaṅkha a chieftain of Lata country was invariably referred to as Saṅgrāmasimha in *Hamīramadamardana*, whereas the *Kīrtikaumudī* and the *Vasantavilāsa* call him Śaṅkha, and all three works agree that he was the son of Sindhurāja ; the *Sukṛtakīrtikallolīni* definitely identifies Śaṅkha with *Saṅgrāmasimha*.<sup>156</sup>

In the *Vasantavilāsa* Śaṅkha is called a Cāhamāṇa,<sup>157</sup> and in the *Kīrtikaumudī* it is stated that the town of Cambay belonged to him by right of descent, as his ancestors had formerly held it.<sup>158</sup> The Hansot grant of Bhartrivaddha issued from Broach in V.S. 813, reveals the existence of a line of six generations of Cahamana's who appear to have resided in the region of Broach and held sway over Lāṭa.<sup>159</sup> As Broach according to the Chronicles was the seat of Śaṅkha's government, he might have belonged to the line of the Cāhamāṇa's mentioned above but no precise identification of his ancestry is possible.

Besides Simha, the uncle of Śaṅkha, the *Hamīramadamardana* (HMM) refers to another king of Lāṭa named Sahajapāla, who is spoken of in connection with a past event as well as with the events dealt with in the play.<sup>160</sup>

Śaṅkha's exact status is not mentioned in the *Ham̄mīromadamardana* except in the forged letter where he is designated as the *Mahāmaṅdalaśvara* of Devapāla, the Paramara king of Malava.<sup>161</sup> Both the *Kīrtikaumudī* (*KK*) and the *Vasantavilāsa* (*VV*) mention another king of Lāṭa who is not named.<sup>162</sup> Hence S.R.Bhandarkar suggested that Simha and Sahajapala were identical.<sup>163</sup> As the *HMM* does not call Śaṅkha the king of Lāṭa, this is probably what is meant, but in view of the testimony of the *VV* and the *KK* it has to be admitted that in that case Lāṭa was divided into two parts: one was being ruled by Śaṅkha from Broach, and the other by Sahajapāla, who might have been Śaṅkha's uncle Simha, or his cousin, that is Simha's son.<sup>164</sup>

In the *HMM*, Śaṅkha is said to be the nephew of Simha, King of Lāṭa;<sup>165</sup> but the *KK* and the *VV* does not mention Simha. The *VV* states that when Lavaṅprasāda and Subhatavarman were fighting with each other, and the Yadavas took advantage of it and invaded Lāṭa, it was Śaṅkha who repulsed the Yadavas. This indicates that Śaṅkha was wielding power as early as the first decade of the 13th century A.D., as the Subhatavarman was succeeded by his son Arjunavarman by A.D. 1210. In that case Śaṅkha must have come to power earlier. The *HMM* states that Simha was deserted by his friend the Malava king when attacked by Yadavas as a result of which he came to terms with Viradhavala.<sup>166</sup> About Śaṅkha's father, Sindhurāja, none of the Chronicles give any information, except stating that he was an enemy of Viradhavala and lost his life at the hand of the Yadavas.<sup>167</sup>

In the *HMM* Vastupāla praises Śaṅkha very highly for his victory over the army of Simhāṇa by which he put into shade the wonder which previously had been witnessed on the Reva when Rāvāṇa's pride was checked by Kārtavīrya.<sup>168</sup> Probably during this time Śaṅkha had been acting as a feudatory of the Parmaras. But later he was defeated and captured by the Yadavas and spent some time in a Yadava prison. The first invasion of Gujarat by Simhāṇa apparently ending in a truce, Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavalā left for Marwad. Taking advantage of their absence, Śaṅkha decided to attack Cambay where Vastupāla had been left in charge. According to Merutuṅga, a Muslim merchant named Sayyad had invited Śaṅkha, the *Maha-Sadhanika* of Broach to help him against Vastupāla.<sup>170</sup> Both the *VV* and the *KK* state that Śaṅkha sent an emissary to Vastupāla at Cambay demanding the surrender of the city. He threatened Vastupāla with dire consequences in case of refusal and promised him high officers under Śaṅkha if he complied with the demand. Vastupāla disdainfully dismissed the emissary. Śaṅkha attacked Cambay and in a well contested battle was decisively beaten and retired. The Muslim merchant Sayyad was killed by Vastupāla.<sup>171</sup>

It is probable that chagrined by this defeat, Śaṅkha again joined the Yadavas, and it was due to his incitement that Simhā led another attack on Gujarat. Śaṅkha after deserting Simhāṇa collected his troops and proceeded towards Cambay. This rendered Vastupāla uneasy and he threatened to destroy Śaṅkha. Probably Śaṅkha was coming with hostile intention, but he

had maintained a representative at Cambay to allay suspicion. That dignitary, when accused by Vastupāla of bad faith, assured the minister that Śaṅkha was coming with his troops to help Viradhavala against the Turushkas. Vastupāla appeared to be satisfied with his explanation, but made arrangements for the defence of Cambay.<sup>172</sup>

Nothing more is known about Śaṅkha. As Broach is known to have been under Viradhavala's son Viśaladeva<sup>173</sup> in V.S. 1298, presumably Śaṅkha was deprived of all power and position by that time. The last known date of Bhīma II is V.S. 1296; Broach might have once again come under the sway of the Caulukyas during the reign of Bhīma II; For, probably Śaṅkha was finally removed from Broach by Viśaladeva, who has been supposed to have defeated the Yādava-army under Rāma A.D. 1237 on the banks of the Narmadā.

## FOOT NOTES

## CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF VASTUPĀLA  
AND HIS ACHIEVEMENTS

1. Somesvara, KK, III.4.  
Balacandra, VV III.53,54 ;
2. Vastupala, NN, XVI.3  
Somesvara, KK.III,9.
3. Somesvara, KK III,5.
4. Ibid, III, 14.
5. Balacandra, VV, III, 57.
6. Ibid, III,58.
7. Somesvara KK, III, 22.
8. PCT, P.98.
- 9.10. cf. B.J.Sandesara, LMV, p.26.
11. VV, Intro. p.13
12. JSI, p.351.
13. Jinaharsa, VC, Ch.I p.26.

14. VV Intro. p.11.
15. LMV, p.27.
16. VC, Ch.I,p.8.
17. Ibid, Ch.I.p.8.
- 18.19. Rajasekhara Suri, PK, p.103; VC, Ch.I.8.
20. SS, IV; SKK, Verses 118-119;
21. Vastupala, NN, XVI, 35
22. B.J.Sandesara, LMV, p.28.
23. Rajasekhara, PK, p.102.
24. Somesvara, KK.IV, 16.
25. Rajasekhara, PK, p.103.
26. Jinaharsa, VC, Ch.II.
27. Ibid Ch.IV.
28. Ibid Ch.IV.
29. Ibid,Ch.IV.
30. VV, Canto V.3
31. PJLS No.40-3. cf. B.J.Sandesara, LMV p,30
32. Rajasekhara Suri, PK p,103
33. Ibid, p.104
34. Ibid, p.107
35. Ibid, p.117

36. **Bombay Gazetteer, Vol.I, pt.I, p.201. Consideres Mojdin to be  
Mohammad Ghorī**
37. **Rajasekhara, PK p.119,**
38. **Jinaharsa, VC Ch.VIII.**
39. **VV, XIV**
40. **Vastupala, NN, XVI. 37.**
41. **PK. p.130.**
42. **PK, p.101.**
43. **Puratana Prabandha Sangraha p.56.**
44. **Rajasekhara, Pk, p.101.**
45. **B.J.Sandesara, LMV, p.36-7**
46. **Merutunga, PCT, p.101.**
47. **Fergusson, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, Vol.II.p.36.**
48. **LMV, p.37.**
49. **Forbes, Rasamala, VOL. I ,p.257**
50. **Rajasekhara, PK, p.129.**
51. **Ibid, p.122.**
52. **Ibid, p.122.**
53. **Jinaharsa, VC, p.113.**
54. **Rajasekhara, PK, p.112**
55. **Ratnamandira Gani, Upadesatarangini, p.77.**

56. KK, IV,40.
57. PPS, p.68.
58. Somesvara, Ullagaraghava, II.
59. cf. B.J.Sandesara, LMV, p.39.
60. PPS. p.55.
61. NN, XVI, 36.
62. LMV, Photograph No.2.
63. PPS, p.55.
64. Somesvara, KK, I,29.
65. PK, p.113.
66. Vastupala, NN, XVI, 38.
67. Ibid, XVI.39.
68. PK, Verse No.96. PCT, V.No.234.
69. PCT. p.105.
70. UR, Act, VII, last Verse.
71. Quoted in PK, p.116.
72. cf. B.J.Sandesara, LMV, p.41
73. Verse No.66 of SM
74. PK,p.114. PCT, p.105.
75. PJLS, No.64.
76. NN XVI.33.

77. **Alankaramahodadhi**, p.2.
78. Quoted in **UR**, I.8.
79. **SU**, XV,44,47.
80. **Ibid**, XV,49.
81. **Ibid**, I, 48-66.
82. **Ibid**, Prologue.
83. **Ibid**, Prologue.
84. **Karnamrtaprapa**. Verse, 4.
85. **Ramasataka**, Verse, 101.
86. **B.J.Sandesara**, **LMV**, p.48.
87. **PK**, p.121.
88. **Ibid**, p.121.
89. **Ibid**,p.122.
90. **Ibid**, p.116.
91. **PPS**, p.71.
92. Quoted in **PK**, p.58.
93. **Pandita Sivadatta**, **Naisadacarita**, Intro, pp.9-13.
94. **Krishnamacariyar**, **Classical Sanskrit Literature** pp.177-78,
95. **B.J.Sandesara**, **LMV**, p.53.
96. Quoted in **PCT**, p.102.
97. **KK**, I, 29.

98. Ibid, I.28.
99. Ibid, I,26.
100. LMV, p.60.
101. KK, I,24.
102. SU, XV.44.
103. Subhata, Dutangada, prologue, p.2.
104. Ibid, p.2.
105. SS, X.46.
106. Ibid, VIII.48.
107. Ratnamandira Gani, UT, p.79
108. PK, p.61.
109. SM, p.30.
110. Verse No. 76.
111. Ratnamandira Gani, UT,p.21.
112. SS I.46.
113. Hammira Mahakavya, XIV. 31.
114. Published and edited by K.P.Parab. Bombay, 1894.
115. Published and edited by Pt. Jagannatha Sastri, Benaras. 1931.
116. Edited by H.R.Kapadia, Baroda, 1932.
117. Ratnamandira Gani, UT. p.74.
118. KK. I.23.

119. Jinaharsa, VC, V.420.
120. Ibid. VIII.31.
121. Pradyumna Suri, Samaraditya -Samksepa, I.24.
122. Peterson, Report II, p.100.
123. Printed in Pracina Gurjara Kavya Samgraha edited by C.D.Dalal.
124. Abu Prasasti, Verse. 71.
125. Puratana Prabandha Samgraha, p.64.
126. VC, VII, 60-61.
127. KK I.22.
128. Rajasekhara, PK. p.113.
129. Ibid. p.113.
130. Ibid, p.113.
131. cf.B.J.Sandesara, LMV. p.73.
132. Quoted by Peterson, Report III, p.275.
133. Alamkara-Mohodadhi, p.3.
134. cf. B.J.Sandesara, LMV, p.76.
135. Samaraditya - Samketa, I.26.
136. Merutunga, PCT, p.103. The same verse with little alterations has been given by Balacandra at the end of the canto III, of VV, in praising Jaitrasimha.
137. Printed in the Appendix, to HMM

138. P.V. Kane. **Sahitya - Darpana**, Intro. p.106.  
S.K. De, **Sanskrit Poetics**, p.167.
139. **Bombay Gazetteer**, Vol.I, pt.I.p.203.
140. **Merutunga**, PCT, p.105.
141. cf. B.J.Sandesara, **LMV**, p.32.
142. **Rajasekhara**. PK. p.127.
143. **Jinaharsa**. VC. Ch.VIII
144. **VV**. XIV.37.
145. **VV**. Intro of C.D. Dalal p.8.
146. cf. B.J.Sandesara, **LMV**. p.33.
147. **Rajasekhara**, PK p. 128.
148. **VV**. XIV
149. **PK**, p.126.
150. **Ibid** 125.
151. cf.B.J. Sandesara. **LMV**, p.34.
152. **Ibid**, p.34.
153. All this works are published, details available in bibliography,
154. **VV**, Canto IX. 1-34.
155. **Balabharata**, totally 43 Verses of the 44 cantos contains verse praising  
Vyasa.
156. **Udayaprabha Suri**. **SKK**. Verse 139.

157. VV, Canto V. 29,39.
158. Somesvara KK. IV. 75.87.
159. Epigraphic India XII, 197.
160. HMM Act. II.p.11.
161. Ibid Act.II. p.17.
162. VV Canto, V.16.
163. S.R.Bhandarkar, Search for Sanskrit MSS II, Report, 22.
164. A.K.Mujumdar, Caulukya of Gujarat, p.154.
165. HMM, Act.I, p.6.
166. Ibid, Act.I, p.4
167. Ibid, p.5;7.
168. Ibid, Act.II, p.21.
169. VV Canto V. 41.
170. Merutunga, PCT. p.162.
171. The Muslim merchant is only mentioned by Merutunga. For Samkha's defeat See KK, IV, 73-88. VV Canto V, 47-111.
172. HMM, Act, II, p.24.
173. cf. A.K.Mujumdar, Caulukyias of Gujarat, p.155.