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 Prāgvāta family of Anahilavad Pātañ. We get authentic information about their ancestry. The Chronicles begin the genealogy of Vastupala from a man named Candapa.¹ According to Vastupāla himself and his friend Someśvara, Candapa was a minister.² Most probably, he was a minister of a Caulukya king at Anahilavad. His son was Candaprasāda, whose hand was never without the ministerial seal.³ He had two sons— Soma and Sura. Soma was a keeper of Jewels in the court of Jayasimha Siddharāja.⁴ His wife was Sītā.⁵ She bore him a son named Āsvarāja, who also held ministerial position.⁶ Āsvarāja had married Kumārādevī, daughter of a Prāgvāta Vanik named Ābhu, who was a Dandapati.⁷ Āsvarāja and Kumārādevī were parents of Vastupāla.
A tradition has come down to this day, according to which, Kumaradevi was a widow, remarried to Aśvarāja. Merutunga has noted this tradition for the first time, and three old Gujarati poems called Vastupāla-Rāsa by Lakṣmisāgara, Pārvacandra and Meruvijaya have confirmed it. C.D.Dalal and M.D.Desai have, however, refused to accept the tradition as authentic on the ground that none of the contemporary works has mentioned it.

Kumaradevi and Aśvarāja had eleven issues in all — seven daughters named Jaihu, Mau, Dhanadevi, Sohaga, Vaiju and Padmaladevi, and four sons named Luniga, Malladeva, Vastupāla and Tejapāla. Out of these four brothers, Luniga 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, 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. Satruñjaya with their father in that year. It may be assumed that this was in their childhood. Vastupāla had two wives — Lalitā and Vayajalladevi, and Tejapāla was married to Anupamā, who was famous as a wise counsellor of both the brothers, and to the less known Suhavadevi.
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. He (Asvaraja) was deeply devoted to his mother. He carried her with pleasure to many pilgrim-places. He built many lakes, wells, tanks, cisterns and temples. After the death of Asvaraja, the two brothers with their mother went to Mahādali, when we have no means of ascertaining, lived there until the death of their mother, after which they seem to have began their political career. While returning from a pilgrimage to Mt. Śatrubhuvya they came to Dhavalakka. The Kīrtikaumudi, the Vasantavilāsa, the Prabandhināmapi, and the Prabandhakośa mention that the two brothers had gone to Dhavalakka and King Viradhavala had made their appointment, after they were introduced to him by Somesvara. The Sukṛtasaṅkirtana, the Vastupāla-Tejapāla-Prasasti, and the Sukṛtaśāk Kalollini of Udayaprabha on the other hand, inform us that they were already in the service of Bhima II of Anahilavat and that he had given them to Viradhavala at his request. Vastupala's own statement at the end of the Naranārāyaṇaṇanda, however removes all doubts and makes it quite clear that he was serving first under Bhimadeva, and his services were lent to the court of Dhavalakka only afterwards. We do not know when Vastupāla joined the service of Bhima, but it is certain that he and his brother were appointed at Dhavalakka in V.S.1276. It was after this that there 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 Sambhatirtha or Cambay, and Tejapāla was in charge of the ministerial seal. 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. He checked corruption with a strong hand and overhauled the whole administration. He took a fine of 2100 drams from an old corrupt official. There were great arrears in state-revenue; he employed the four means mentioned in the Nīśāstra to reclaim the arrears and made the state-treasury full. He checked accounts of several high officers in Sambhatirtha, who were reluctant to make a suitable report, and punished them. He also punished several unjust heads-men of the villages roundabout Sambhatirtha and erected temples with money recovered from them. Thus he put an end to the Matsya Nyāya prevailing in the state, 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 Bhima-deva. The Vastupālacarīa states that in punishing Sādik, a wealthy Muslim merchant of Sambhatirtha, Vastupāla's aim was to show that
now there was no place for the *Matsya-Nyāya*. 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 Stambhatirtha, Saṅkha, the ruler of Lāṭa, made an attack on him, claiming that the port of Stambhatirtha was a possession of the king of Lāṭa. After a fierce fight, at place called Vatākūpa near Stambhatirtha, Saṅkha found Vastupāla to be more than a match for him and made a hasty retreat. To commemorate this victory the citizens of Stambhatirtha 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. This incident must have occurred before V.S. 1279, because in that year Vastupāla entrusted the governorship of Stambhatirtha to his son Jairasiṁha or Jayantasiṁha, 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, Saṅgāna and Cāmuṇḍa, who were the brothers of Viradhavala's queen Jayataladevi, who declined to pay homage to Viradhavala inspite of repeated entreaties from their sister. They were slain in a combat and great
Viradhavala led another attack against Bhimasimha of the Pratihara clan ruling at Bhadresvara in Cutch, but as Bhimasimha was served by several powerful warriors who had come from Marvad, Viradhavala could not conquer him, but had to return after making a peace-treaty. By this treaty a new friend was made and the Cutch border became free from danger. After this, Viradhavala thought of subduing Ghughula, a chief ruling at Godraha in the Mahītāta region or the banks of the river Mahi. Ghughula made an alliance with the Marvad kings when the 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 Ghughula and put him in a wooden cage and appointed one of his lieutenants as a governor of Godraha. Ghughula, unable to bear this insult, committed suicide by biting his tongue. As a result of this victory power of the Vaghelas extended up to 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 Viradhavala, there was a Muslim attack on Gujarat and that it was successfully repulsed by the strategy of Vastupala. Jayasimha Sūri has dramatized this event in his Sanskrit play *Hammiramatamardana*. The *Prabandhakosa* describes how Sultan Mojdin of Delhi had invaded Gujarat, and how he was encircled by Dharavāraṣa of Candravati from the North and Vastupāla from the South after his army had entered a Mountain pass near
Consequently the Sultan had to retreat. 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.
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 Muṇja and Bhoja.

According to the Prabandhas, Vastupāla had made thirteen pilgrimages to Mt.Śatruṅjaya and Girnar. In childhood he went to both the places with his father Āsvaṁja, who was a Saṅghapati or a leader of pilgrims caravan. After becoming minister he led the Saṅghas more than once, and undertook the pilgrimage to Śatruṅjaya and Girnar five times. He also went to Śatruṅjaya only with his family in the years A.D. 1227, 1228, 1229, 1230, 1231, 1232 and 1233. The last pilgrimage, which he desired to make, to Śatruṅjaya, 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 Mahākāvyya. 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 Kirtikaumudi, the Sukṛtasanākīrṇana, and the Dharmabhīṣyudaya.
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. 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, Saurashtra and Marvad. Rajasekhara Suri asserts that their public works extended to Sri Sails in the South, Prabhasa in the West, Kedara in the North and Benaras in the East. 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 Apahilavada and Dhavalakka, and were getting some patronage from Vastupala and his brother. Public works of Vastupala 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. There might be some exaggeration in the later accounts, because places on which Vastupala spent wealth in public works are about fifty in a contemporary source like the Sukratasamkirtkana. That number we find greatly increased in the works of Rajasekhara, Jinaharsa and Jinaprabhaj, 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 Stabhatirtha, 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. Another account states that while going on a pilgrimage to Jaina holy places in Saurāstra, the two brothers went to bury their wealth amounting to a total value of about One lakh, near a village called Haḍalaka. 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 Tejaśāla spent it in building famous temples on Mt. Girnar and Mt. Abu, and leading Sanghas to the holy place of Mt. Satruñjaya.

The advice of Anupamā has proved true, and no public works of Vastupāla and Tejaśāla has been preserved to this day, except the temples on Mt. Abu and Mt. Girnar. The temple on Mt. Abu was built by Tejaśāla in 1231 A.D. and it has Nemiṇātha 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 Luṣa-Vasati in memory of Vastupāla's elder brother Luṇiga. 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. 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.” 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." 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. 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.\textsuperscript{51}

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,
Śtambhāṭīrtha and Bhūgukachcha by spending great sums of money for them.\textsuperscript{52}
His personal library was also very rich, and contained more than one copy of
all important Śāstra-works.\textsuperscript{53} 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 Vastupālācarita, the
Purātanaprabandhasamgraha, and the Upadeśasarāngī. 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.

\textit{सुन्ते वृत्ति कुल्ला गूढ़ सुर्वसिंहेन भीमता।}

\textit{विसूचे तु कुल्ला तेश्व वस्तुपालेन मन्निना।} \textsuperscript{54}
“Formerly learned Durgasīṁha 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, and gave great wealth to the Brahmins having poetic skill. Such occasions were not rare, but on the contrary very numerous. And the *Kirtikāumudi* says about him

\[ \text{nānādhi bhavitaṃśeṣeṇi nēṣeṇi śaṣṭruṃkeśeṇa} \]
\[ \text{jaṇeṣeṇyāḥ yāḥ sabdeṇānā śaṇāpyaḥ ċuṛṣaḥ prājey} \]

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

\[ \text{bhrāṇvāhīṁ śrī śaṇvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvाहīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvāhīṁ śrīvाहīṁ śrīvाहīṁ śrīvāhī.grey} \]
\[ \text{jaṇeṣaṃtāṅkeṇeṇa eveti kṛtva ṣaṁcāraḥ ṣaṁy advate vaṣṭupālaḥ} \]

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” (*Sahādayacūḍāmaṇī*) Not only did he appreciate poetry and art, but also requested others to write religious and
literary works for his instruction and delectation. The Katharatnakara of Naracandra Suri and the Alankāramahodadhi of Narendraprabha Sūri were composed at his request.\textsuperscript{59} Greater part of his leisure hours was spent in the company of literary men.\textsuperscript{60} He himself has said in the Naranārāyaṇagāṇanda Mahākāvya that he could devote his time in the company of poets and scholars, because his younger brother Tejapaḷa looked properly after the state-affairs.\textsuperscript{61} Inspite 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 Dharmābhūdaya 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.\textsuperscript{62} 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 Vastupaḷa 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, Śūdraka, and Rājasēkhara 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 Kurvīlā Sarasvatī, KaviΚuñjara and Kavīcakravartin and praised as a spiritual son of Sarasvatī. We are also informed that he had studied from Naracandra the three Vidyas viz. Nyāya, Vyākaraṇa and Śāhīra, and also works on Jaina philosophy. His poetic name was Vasantapāla, which was given to him by Harihara, Someśvara and other poets. This is the reason why Balacandra has given the name Vasanta-vilasa to his poem giving an account of Vastupāla’s life. At the end of the Naranārayapānanda, Vastupāla says that his first poem was the result of an inspired outburst in the form of a hymn in the praise of Adīśvara on the Satruñjaya hills. 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 kṛtāṁ sukṛtāṁ kīcīt has been quoted by the Prabandhakośa, as spoken by the minister while on his death-bed. The Prabandhacintāmani says that the minister did his Paryantārdhana or the last devotional act by uttering this
verse when nearing death in the course of his journey to Satruñjaya, and it seems that he had composed the Ardādhana during his last pilgrimage, while his health was failing.

We also gather from the literary sources that Vastupāla was proficient in composition of Sukris. Śomeśvara, in one place, writes as follows above this particular faculty of his patron:

अभोजसभमवसुता वक्त्राभोजेन सत्ति वस्तुपालस्य
यद्वीणारणितानि श्रूयते सूक्तिदम्भन ॥ ॥

And Udayaprabha, in the first verse of his Vastupalastuti has praised the Sukris of Vastupāla in a simple poetic verse:

पीयूषादि पेशला शशाधर्मयोत्सत्कलापादि
स्वच्छा नूतनशतमन्नम्मिररदपृलसतीरभाग ॥
वार्देवमुखसमसूक्तिविशारदारादि प्राणलां
केणां न प्रधयपस्ति चेतसि युदं श्रीवस्तुपालोक्त्यं ॥ ॥

Vastupāla has been quoted in anthologies, which shows that his poetic fame had spread far and wide outside the borders of Gujarat. His four verses are found in the Suktimukti-Vali of Jaḥlaṅa, keeper of elephants of king Kṛṣṇa.
of Devagiri.\textsuperscript{72} In the \textit{Sarngadharpaddhati} of Sarangdhara of Śakambari, a verse of Vastupāla has found a place.\textsuperscript{73} In the \textit{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.\textsuperscript{74} It can be imagined that he could compose Sanskrit \textit{Suktis} on the spur of the moment on suitable occasions. In the \textit{Abu-Prātasa}, Somesvara has spoken highly of his originality in the field of poetry and his strict administration in the domain of state-craft.\textsuperscript{75} Verses spoken by him before his death, while he was on the way to Śatrānjaya express a deep-seated religious fervour and a humility, which only the great souls can show.

As remarked earlier, Vastupāla has composed the \textit{Narayanaśānti} a \textit{Mahākavya} in sixteen cantos, describing the friendship of Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa, their rambles in the Raivatāka Garden, and the consequent carrying away by Arjuna of Kṛṣṇa's sister Subhadra. At the end of the poem he has mentioned his numerous \textit{Śaṅkhyāśtras}.\textsuperscript{76} 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\textsuperscript{77}:

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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 protégés. 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 Śāmanta Vaiśesvaradatta, 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...
Kalsājara. 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.

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 Anisimha; 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.
Somesvara or Somesvaradeva 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 Dhavalkakka.

After eulogizing his ancestors, Somesvara has mentioned a few facts about himself in the *Suratotsava Mahākāvya*. He says how contemporary poets like Harihara and Subhata appreciated his poetry. By composing a work full of poetic merits, and a play, within only half of a Yama, he had highly entertained the members of the court of Bhima II. After praising his own poetry, and also the poetry and munificence of Vastupāla in a number of verses, 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 *Devimahāśmya* in the *Mārkandeyapurāṇa*, the poet composed other works. The *Kīrtikaumudi*
Makākavya 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, dramatizing the Ramāyaṇa story. It was acted in the famous temple at Dvāraka on the Prabodhini Ekadasi.

In addition to these, Someśvara has composed an anthology of didactic verses called the Karnamrta-prapā. Rāmaśataka a hymn to Rāma in one hundred verses is also a work of Someśvara, 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.

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 Someśvam'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 Somesvara —

प्राकृतकाले पथोराशिः कथं गर्वितवजितः ।

to which Somesvara gave a swift answer as follows.

अंतसुमनन्तग्रामयनिवामविरगमयादिब ।

—and he was promptly rewarded with a gift of sixteen horses.  

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

येनागच्छन्नमाख्यातो येनानीतख्य से पति ।
प्रथमास सिखि कस पूजयस काकं किं वा क्रमेलकस ।

Highly pleased at this gift of ready poetry, Vastupāla gave Someśvara a present of sixteen thous and Drammas.  

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 —

अन्नदाते पदकानीर्जनस्यानेत्र भूतलम् ।
यस्या वस्तुपालेन रुखमाकाशगण्यलम् ।
Having heard this Vastupāla gave nine thousand Drammas.\(^9\)

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

\[
\text{द्रष्टासिद्धिसमुच्छये सुरुणयो कब्जुपन्त स्थीतये}\\
\text{पाताले पवमनभोजनजने कर्त्त प्रणयो बलिद्} \\
\text{नीरागानगनमनुमीत कुरमविर्भिन्नामिं निग्रहणवत्}\\
\text{तस्मादर्थिकर्षन्त्वं विष्फलं श्रीवस्तुपालः किती} \\
\]

The Prabandhas say that for this he received a large some as a gift.\(^10\)

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

\[
\text{श्रीवस्तुपाल प्रतिपक्षकाल लवण प्रपेते पुरुषोत्तमवम्} \\
\text{तीरे}5\text{पि वार्तेकृते}5\text{पि मात्रे दूरं पराजीयत येन शांखः} \\
\]
\(^9\)
Harihara appears to be one of the prominent literary figures of the time, as Rajasekhara has devoted one whole Prabandha to him in the Prabandhakośa, and Vastupāla also held his poetry in high esteem. According to the Prabandhakośa, Harihara was a descendent of Śrīhāra, author of the famous Naiṣadhiyacarita, one of the most formidable, yet poetic compositions in Sanskrit literature. 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 Gujarati.

Yaśovīra

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." Yaśovīra was a Vaiṣik and professed the Jaina religion, though
nothing is known about his specific caste. The *Kirtikaumudi* has clearly mentioned him as "the minister of the Cola-King," though it has not given the ruler’s name. In the drama *Hammiramadamardhana* of Jayasimha Sūri, Vastupāla has been represented as honouring Yasovīra as his elder brother. It can be said on the authority of the same work that Yasovīra had rendered considerable help to Tejapāla in making Vastupāla’s strategy successful against the Muslim invasion, and that Yasovīra’s advice was sought by Tejapāla 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 Yasovīra was a Sanskrit-poet not devoid of merits. This is further corroborated by the fact that the *Kirtikaumudi* has compared him with poets like Kālidāsa, Māgha and Abhinanda. But no work of Yasovīra has come down to us. B.J. Sandesara opines about Yasovīra 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 Yasovīra 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 Yasovīra was held in high esteem by some poets. Jayasimha Sūri, grand pupil of Vadideva Sūri and author of the *Praśasti* of Cacigedeva on the Suñdha hills in Rajastan, had
uttered the following verse, when Yaśovīra installed the image of Mahāvīra in a temple called the Candana Vasati built by him at Jhalor—

यत्तोपर्यंतं वित्तं यशोभीर प्रतिष्ठया
तप्नकुमारितो नीतं यशो वीरप्रतिष्ठया

The rhetorician Mānīkya-candra, author of a commentary Saṁketa on the Kāvya prakāṣa thus praised Yaśovīra on an occasion:—

यशोभीर सिख़्त्याख्यां यावजने विधिस्तव
न भाति भुवने तावदाधमयः परायम्

iv) Subhāta

सुभाते पदन्यासं सं कोषि समितिः कृतं
येनादुनापि भीराणां रोमायं नापिययते

— Somesvara.101

Nothing is known about the personal history of Subhāta, 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 Naracandra, Vijayesna, Harihara and Yaśovīra; and the Sūrotseva informs us how Subhata and Harihara appreciated the poetry of Someśvara.102 Only one act play of Subhata, the Dutasangada, which is called a Chayānāpaka 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 Kumārapāla. But when we take into consideration the title of Kavi-pravara 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.

v) Arisimha

Thakkura Arisimha was the son of Lavanasimha. He was a favourite of Vastu-पāla, and had received from him land and other gifts, just like Somesvara, the author of the Kirti-kumudi. According to the Prabandhakośa, he was a follower of Jinadatta Sūri of the Vayada 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 Amaracandra. Amaracandra 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 Arisimha had spread outside Gujarat and a number of his verses have been included in the anthologies like the *Suktimuktāvali* and the *Sarngdharapadhhāni*. The *Upadesatarāṅgini* has quoted a verse of Arisimha in praise of Vastupāla, for which, according to their work, the former was awarded the sum of two thousand. But most remarkable specimen of the poetic activity of Arisimha is his *Mahākavya Sukṛtaśmākūrtana* written in praise of his patron Vastupāla for commemorating his good deeds. Five verses at the end of each Canto of this *Mahākavya* are the compositions not of Arisimha, but of Amaracandra. It is stated in this work which Arisimha composed, that Amaracandra wrote these five verses Canto by Canto.

No work of Arisimha, other than *Sukṛtaśmākūrtana* is extant. The present work is another historical *Mahākavya*, 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 *Kiritakaumudi* puts comparatively more emphasis on the political side of Vastupāla's life, the *Sukṛtaśmākūrtana* 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 *Sukṛtaśmākūrtana* has eleven cantos and 553 verses in all.
vi) Amaracandra Sūri

Amaracandra Sūri is one of the remarkable names in the history of medieval Sanskrit literature. He is best known as the author of the Bālabhārata, and the Kāvyakalpalata. 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 subdivided into one or more cantos, the sum total being forty-four, including the last canto which gives the Prakāśi. The Granthāgra of the whole work, as given in the last verse of the last canto is 6950 Slokas. The Kāvyakalpalata is in the form of Karikas, the number of Karikas as printed in the edition of the Kāsi Sanskrit Series being 798. The Padmānanda Mahākavya is another work of Amaracandra, which has for its subject the mythical account of the first Jaina Tirthankara Ādinātha. It is divided into nineteen cantos, and its Granthāgra is 6281 Slokas.

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

यक्षकिर्मिप्रभवा एते वस्तुपाल भवान्दशः ।

— And being astonished, Vastupāla saluted him with honour.¹¹⁷

vii) Vijayasena Sūri

पुनेर्विंचयसेनस्य सुधामधुरया गिरा ।
भारतिमज्ञजीरस्वरोपिप गुरुप्रेमकृत ॥

-- 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 Bhāndaras and the undertaking of Saṅghayātras by Vastupāla and Tejapāla.¹¹⁹
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, \(^{120}\) and had honoured him and his pupils. Vijayasena was a scholar. Pradyumna Suri, the author of the Samarāditya-Samkṣepa, was taught Nyāya by him, \(^{121}\) and had also received the Vivekamānjari Tīka of Bālacandra. \(^{122}\) 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 Apabhraṃśa work, the Revantagiri Rāṣa, \(^{123}\) from his pen. It was composed on the occasion of one of Vastupāla's pilgrimages to Girnar.

viii) Udayaprabha Śūri

गुरोस्तव्याशिष्या पात्र सूरिस्स्वद्यप्रभा ।
भैक्षिकनीव सुक्तानि मानि यद्गतिमाप्युथे ॥

-- Someśvara. \(^{124}\)

Udayaprabha Śūri was the chief pupil of Vijayasena Śūri. It appears that he was considerably junior in age to Vastupāla, as Vastupāla had invited well-known scholars from long distance for teaching various Śastras to
Udayaprabha also organised the function to install Udayaprabha as an Acārya at a large expense.

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 Sukṛtakirtikalolini and Vastupālastuti, glorifying the good deeds of Vastupāla and Tejapāla.

ix) Jinabhadra

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

कवीन्त्रक्ष्युपुरीन्त्रक्ष्युपर्वन्त्रक्ष्युजयत्वाय
प्रशस्तिविनम्यकाव्येषुसंक्रान्तांहृदयादिव

—Someśvara. 127

Naracandra Sūri was a pupil of Devaprabha Sūri128 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 129 Vastupala held him in high honour, and he had taught Vastupala the three Vidyas i.e. Nyāya, Vyākaraṇa, and Sāhiya, and also the Jaina works - Sadāvalyaka and Karmaprabhant130

Naracandra Sūri was a great scholar, and was highly proficient atleast in four Sāstras viz, Nyāya, Vyākaraṇa, Sāhiya and Jyotis. In Nyāya he has written a scholarly Tīpāni on the Nyāyakāndali of Śrīdhara, in Vyākaraṇa the Prākṛtaprabandha a treatise on the Prakrit grammar, in Sāhiya a Tīpāni on the Anargharāghava of Murāri, and in Jyotis, the Jyotissāra. 131
“Once Vastupāla, folding his hands with devotion, thus requested Naracandra Sūri - ‘some works on Alāṅkāra 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 Alāṅkāramahodadhi, the Kārikas and the Vṛtti thereon - for the delectation of Vastupāla.\(^{133}\)

He also wrote two collections of verses on religious topics - Vrodhādopa and the Vrodhakalika - from which we know that his pen-name was ‘Vibudhacandra Kavi’. \(^{134}\)
xii) Bālacandra Sūri

Bālacandra was a pupil of Haribhandra Sūri of the Candra Gachha. He has given at length the genealogy of his teachers in the Prasāstis of his Commentaries on the Upedashakandali and Vīvekamanjari of Āśāda.

The Prabādas mention that once young Bālacandra praised Vastupāla with a verse comparing him with God Śiva in every respect; 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.

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

Two other works of Bālacandra are his commentaries on the Vīvekamanjari and the Upadesakandali of Āśāda.
xiii) Jayasimha Suri

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

xiv) Manikyacandra

Manikyacandra was a Jaina ascetic of the Rāja Gachha, and a pupil of Sāgaracandra Sūri. He is the author of the famous *Saṅketa*, one of the oldest and most authoritative commentaries on the *Kāvyaprakāsa* of Mammaṭa. He also composed two *Mahākāvyas-Sāntināthacaritra* and *Pārśvanāthacaritra*.

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 Vastupaia

King Viradhavala died in 1238 A.D. His popularity has created a tradition, which says that a large number of people burnt themselves on his funeral pyre and Tejapala had come to the cremation ground with his army to check others from doing so. Viradhavala had two sons—Pratapamalla 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. Vastupaia died in 1240 A.D. (1296 V.S), only two years after Visaladeva's coming to throne. Both the Prabandhakosa and the Vastupalacarita have given 1242 A.D. (1298 V.S.) as the date of Vastupaia's death. But the Vasantavilasa Mahakavya of the contemporary Balacandra 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). This statement is also supported by the dates in a palm-leaf manuscript, which mention that Vastupaia died in 1296 V.S., and in an Abu inscription, of the third day of the bright half of month Vaisakhha of the year 1296 V.S. (12-4-1240 A.D.), Tejapala is referred to as Mahamarya, which corroborates the above statement that Vastupaia died in Magha month of the year, and Tejapala took the charge of the office only after the death of Vastupaia.
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 Prabandhakośa and Vastupālacarita about the date of Vastupāla’s death is incorrect.

The Prabandhas say that Vastupāla expired in the village Amkevalia, while he was going on his last pilgrimage to Mt. Satruñjaya. This statement may be reliable, but we do not find it mentioned in the Vasanāvālāsa. The Prabandhakośa refers to the loss of Vastupāla’s ministerial power in favour of the minister Nāgada. Elsewhere it is said that Vastupāla had incurred the anger of Visaladeva, because of the punishment meted out by the former to a maternal uncle of the king, as that man had insulted a Jaina Sadhu; but the minister was saved by the intervention of Someśvara. It is also mentioned that once Visaladeva 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.

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 Visaladeva, 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 Tejapala was the minister after the death of Vastupāla. We get first evidence mentioning Nāgaḍa as the Mahāmārya in 1310 V.S. (1254 A.D.),151 which shows that Tejapāla died between 1247 and 1254 A.D. In any case, it can be definitely said that Nāgara Brahmin Nāgaḍa became the Mahāmārya of Vīsaladeva only after Tejapāla's death.152

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 Mahākāvyas and also deal with various branches of Śaśritic literature. Even if we do not consider the works which are known only through references and have not yet been discovered, there are Ten Mahākāvyas, four plays, eighteen Praśastis, six Sūtras three
anthologies, a collective of Prabandhas, a collection of Jaina Dharmakathas, two works on Apabramsā 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 Anaragharāghava. 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 Prasastis of Jaina temples and a Jaina Sādhhu like Bālacandra Sūri borrows literary motifs from a great Brahminical work like the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. Moreover, we find that Amaracandra, also a Jaina Sadhu, summarises the whole of the Mahābhārata in verse, and praises Vyāsa in the beginning of every canto. It may be noted that the sacred book summarised by Amaracandra 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 Lata, comes as a major character in the fifth canto of the Vasantavilāsa Mahākavya 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 Śaṅgrāmasimha in Hammīramadomardana, whereas the Kirti Kumudī and the Vasantavilāsa call him Śaṅkha, and all three works agree that he was the son of Sindhurāja; the Sukrata Kirtikalolīnī definitely identifies Śaṅkha with Śaṅgrāmasimha.156

In the Vasantavilāsa Śaṅkha is called a Cāhamāṇa,157 and in the Kirti Kumudī it is stated that the town of Cambay belonged to him by right of descent, as his ancestors had formerly held it.158 The Hansot grant of Bhartrivaddha issued from Broach in V.S. 813, reveals the existence of a line of six generations of Cāhamana’s who appear to have resided in the region of Broach and held sway over Lata.159 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 Hammīramadomardana (HMM) refers to another king of Lata named Sahajapāla, who is spoken of in connection with a past event as well as with the events dealt with in the play.160
Śāṅkha’s exact status is not mentioned in the Hammīṣaramadāmardana except in the forged letter where he is designated as the Mahāmāndalīśvara of Devapāla, the Paramara king of Malava.¹⁶¹ Both the Kīrītikaumudi (KK) and the Vasantaviṣāsa (VV) mention another king of Lāṭa who is not named.¹⁶² Hence S.R. Bhandarkar suggested that Simha and Sahajapala were identical.¹⁶³ As the HMM does not call Śāṅkha 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 Śāṅkha from Broach, and the other by Sahajapāla, who might have been Śāṅkha’s uncle Simha, or his cousin, that is Simha’s son.¹⁶⁴

In the HMM, Śāṅkha is said to be the nephew of Simha, King of Lāṭa;¹⁶⁵ but the KK and the VV does not mention Simha. The VV states that when Lavaṇaprasāda and Subhatavarman were fighting with each other, and the Yadavas took advantage of it and invaded Lāṭa, it was Śāṅkha who repulsed the Yadavas. This indicates that Śāṅkha 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 Sankha 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.¹⁶⁶ About Śāṅkha’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 Yadavas¹⁶⁷
In the *HMM* Vastupāla praises Śaṅkha very highly for his victory over the army of Simhāna by which he put into shade the wonder which previously had been witnessed on the Reva when Rāvaṇa’s pride was checked by Kārtavirya. 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 Simhāna apparently ending in a truce, Lavaprasāda and Viradhavala left for Marwad. Taking advantage of their absence, Śaṅkha decided to attack Cambay where Vastupāla had been left in charge. According to Merutunga, a Muslim merchant named Sayyad had invited Śaṅkha, the *Maha-Sadhanika* of Broach to help him against Vastupāla. 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.

It is probable that chagrined by this defeat, Śaṅkha again joined the Yadavas, and it was due to his incitement that Simhāna led another attack on Gujarat. Śaṅkha after deserting Simhāna 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 Saṅkha was coming with his troops to help Viradhavāla against the Turushkas. Vastupāla appeared to be satisfied with his explanation, but made arrangements for the defence of Cambay. 

Nothing more is known about Saṅkha. As Broach is known to have been under Viradhavāla's son Visaladeva in V.S. 1298, presumably Saṅkha was deprived of all power and position by that time. The last known date of Bhima II is V.S. 1296; Broach might have once again come under the sway of the Caulukyas during the region of Bhima II; For, probably Saṅkha was finally removed from Broach by Visaladeva, who has been supposed to have defeated the Yādava-army under Rāma A.D. 1237 on the banks of the Narmada.
FOOT NOTES

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF VASTUPĀLA
AND HIS ACHIEVEMENTS

Balacandra, VV III.53,54;

2. Vastupala, NN, XVI.3
Somesvara, KK. III,9.


7. Somesvara KK, III, 22.

8. PCT, P.98.


11. VV, Intro. p.13

12. JSI, p.351.

14. VV Intro. p.11.
15. LMV, p.27.
20. SS, IV; SKK, Verses 118-119;
21. Vastupala,NN, XVI, 35
22. B.J.Sandesara, LMV, p.28.
24. Somesvara, KK.IV, 16.
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
37. *Rajasekhara*, PK, p. 119,
38. *Jinaharsa*, VC Ch. VIII.
39. *VV*, XIV
41. PK, p. 130.
42. PK, p. 101.
43. *Puratana Prabandha Sangraha* p. 56.
45. B.J. Sandesara, *LMV*, p. 36-7
49. *Forbes, Rasamala*, VOL. I, p. 257
54. *Rajasekhara*, PK, p. 112
56. KK, IV,40.
57. PPS, p.68.
58. Somesvara, Ullagharghava, II.
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.
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.
82. Ibid, Prologue.
83. Ibid, Prologue.
84. Karnamrtaprapa, Verse, 4.
86. B.J. Sandesara, LMV, p.48.
87. PK, p.121.
88. Ibid, p.121.
89. Ibid, p.122.
91. PPS, p.71.
92. Quoted in PK, p.58.
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.
100. LMV, p.60.
102. SU, XV.44.
103. Subhata, Dutamgada, 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.
110. Verse No. 76.
111. Ratnamandira Gani, UT, p.21.
112. SS I.46.
117. Ratnamandira Gani, UT, p.74.
118. KK, I.23.
120. Ibid. VIII.31.
121. Pradyumna Suri, Samaraditya -Samksepa, I.24.
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.
133. Alamkara-Mohodadhi, p.3.
134. cf. B.J.Sandesara, LMV, p.76.
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
   S.K. De, Sanskrit Poetics, p.167.
140. Merutunga, PCT, p.105.
141. cf. B.J.Sandesara, LMV, p.32.
143. Jinaharsa, VC. Ch.VIII
144. VV. XIV.37.
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.


162. VV Canto, V.16.


166. Ibid, Act.I, p.4

167. Ibid, p.5;7.


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.
