

# Main Currents in the Ancient History of Gujarat

By  
Dr. B. A. SALETORÉ



The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda,  
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# Main Currents in the Ancient History of Gujarat

By

**BHASKER ANAND SALETORE,**

M.A., Ph.D. ( Lond. ), D.Phil. ( Giessen )

Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture

Head of the Department of History in the University of Karnatak

Late Director of National Archives, Government of India



**M. S. University of Baroda**

**1960**

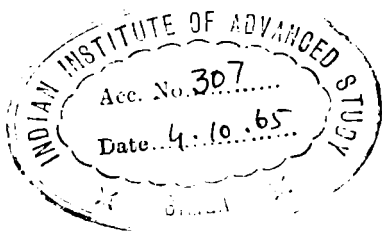




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**To**  
***The Sacred Memory***  
**of**  
**GANGASHANKAR BALDEVSHANKAR PANDYA**  
**( 1913-1958 )**

*Professor of History*

in the M. S. University of Baroda

Whose charming manners, sincerity of purpose, and  
robustness of outlook were an inspiration to all  
those who had come into contact with him



*Lectures*  
*Delivered under the auspices of the*  
*Department of History*  
*in the*  
*Faculty of Arts*  
*The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda*



## PREFACE

These two lectures were delivered in February, 1958, at the invitation of the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda. They are printed as they were delivered without any alterations. Indian historians are faced today with a double problem—that of completing the many gaps in the history of the country, and that of interpreting the facts of Indian history. The cause of historical knowledge would have been considerably furthered if we had undertaken these twin tasks simultaneously; but unfortunately, as is well-known, since winning Independence, we have been more concerned with interpreting the facts of Indian history rather than with completing or correcting them wherever they were incomplete or incorrect. A period of Indian history which has remained practically where the earlier historians had left it decades ago, is that relating to the ancient history of Western India, particularly of Gujarat. I have set myself in these two lectures the task of understanding one small aspect of the ancient history of Gujarat because of the special bearing it has on a current problem which I have mentioned in the opening paragraph of the first lecture. The approach to history I have adopted in these lectures is perhaps a pragmatic one, in the sense that, as explained in the concluding paragraphs of the second lecture, I have ventured to explain the contribution of two of the greatest sons of Gujarat—Surāṣṭra, and therefore, of modern India, in terms of the tendencies and facts of the past. In so far as this is a study of the present in terms of the past but with a special bias towards the environmental origins of the subject under discussion, it may appear to be a bit bizarre, especially to those to whom the bare recounting and narration of the facts of the past, without any reference to the events of today, is the *summum bonum* of historical interpretation.

I take this opportunity of expressing my gratefulness to the Syndicate of the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda for having given me an opportunity of delivering these lectures. I am particularly grateful to Shrimati Hansaben Mehta, the past Vice-Chancellor of the M. S. University of Baroda for the interest she has taken in them; to the present Vice-Chancellor Dr. Jyotindra M. Mehta; and to the Pro-Vice-Chancellor Dr. C. S. Patel, for their kind solicitude in seeing this work through the Press. My only regret is that the charming soul to whom I have dedicated this little work, is no more with us to see it in print.

Yugadi, 1960.  
Saraswatpur, Dharwar

B. A. SALETORÉ.



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3, 35	1, 10	George Bühler	George Bhler
3	27	Sabramati	Sabarmati
3	28	at the Pedhmli	at Pedhmli
13	16	Shahbazgari	Shahbazgarhi
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32	4	Nahapan	Nahapana
45	25	Pasupatta	Pasupata
47	27	Kupehalu	Kuppehalu
59	note ( 191 )	commenting or	commenting on



*OTHER WORKS BY THE SAME AUTHOR*

1. Der Wert der Listchen Lehren fuer die Loesung der indischen Frage ( Leipzig, 1933 )
2. Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire ( Two Volumes ) ( Madras, 1934 )
3. The Wild Tribes in Indian History ( Lahore, 1935 )
4. Ancient Karnāṭaka : Volume I. History of Tuluva ( Poona, 1936 )
5. Mediaeval Jainism with spetial reference to the Vijayanagara Empire ( Bombay, 1938 )
6. The Sthānikas and their Historical Importance ( Bombay, 1938 )
7. Law and Order ( Ahmedabad, 1948 )
8. Principles of Civics ( second edition, Ahmedabad, 1950 )
9. Karnāṭaka's Trans-Oceanic Contacts ( Dharwar, 1957 )
10. India's Diplomatic Relations with the West ( Bombay, 1958 )
11. Fort William India House Correspondence 1782-1785. Being Vol. IX in the Indian Records Series of the Government of India. ( Manager of Publication, New Delhi, 1959 ).
12. India's Diplomatic Relations with the East 1960.
13. Ancient Indian Political Thought and Institutions. ( Forthcoming Publication )



The history of ancient Gujarat is bristling with difficulties. There is the question of the name and limits of ancient Gujarat. It is difficult to say which part of the province was exactly Gujarat, and how far it was isolated from Surāṣṭra. Then there is the problem of the rapidity and intensity of foreign settlements which have resulted in a baffling mass of ethnic problems that still await solution. Thirdly, there is the bewildering number of chronicles which, because of their vastness and disparity in the presentation of facts, are more a source of anxiety than inspiration for historians. Fourthly, there is the predilection to a particular part of Gujarat on the part of modern scholars, which blurs our vision of the whole picture. Finally, there is the growing tendency in our own days of adopting a novel method of studying the Past from the standpoint of the Present which sets at naught all canons of historical judgment. Whatever may be the attraction from other points of view of this method of assessing the Past, there seems to be hardly any doubt that, if it is seriously accepted as a valid criterion of studying the Past, then, the Present should be prepared to be judged by the unknown standards of the Future with all the disastrous consequences which such an irrational method might entail.

The more intelligible and profitable approach to the Past would be to study the Past by the standards of the Past, and, if need be, to understand some of the problems of the Present on the background of the historical data of the Past. One such major problem which has often confronted me as it must have all those who might have seriously thought of contemporary India, relates to the province of Gujarat. It may be stated thus—How could we explain the part played by modern Gujarat in the formation of a Free India? If we wish to answer this question which I shall do towards the end of the lectures, it is necessary to mention some prominent traits in the people of Gujarat which, while being perhaps visible to some extent amongst all people, nevertheless distinguish the people of this province from those of the rest of India. These characteristics may be stated thus—their tolerance and liberality, their unique commercial genius, and their sense of practicability in solving intricate questions of life. It is while trying to find out the probable historical causes which might have brought them into existence, that we come across the main currents in the history of ancient Gujarat.

While mentioning the difficulties which face the historian of ancient Gujarat, I stated above that a serious obstacle which confronts us is the one which relates to the predilection which some modern scholars have shown to a particular part of Gujarat. This is either the southern or central part of the province. I must confess that there is not sufficient justification for this partiality to any particular part of Gujarat. If the Gujarat of the fifth and sixth century A.D. and after could be linked with a prehistoric civilization—and this could certainly be done, as I shall presently mention!—there is no reason why two other Gujarats which



have also a claim to antiquity, should not be linked with a prehistoric civilization, and why their annals should not be studied along with those of the Gujarat of Western India in order to form a composite picture of the part played by all the people called Gūrjars. There is, for instance, Gujarat lying between  $30^{\circ} 10'$  and  $33^{\circ}$  N. latitude, and between  $73^{\circ} 20'$  and  $74^{\circ} 33'$  E. longitude, which forms the easternmost district of the Rawalpindi division now in Pakistan. Its boundaries are Jammu and Kashmir on the north, the river Jhelum on the north-west, the Shahapur district on the west, and the Tavi and the Chenab on the south-east, which separate it from the districts of Sialkot and Gurjanwala. Its area so early as 1881 was 1973 square miles, and its headquarters the town of Gujarat, four miles from the bed of the Chenab.<sup>1</sup> Exactly seventy-two years ago (1885), Dr. W. W. Hunter wrote thus about this northernmost Gujarat :—"Numerous relics of antiquity stud the surface of the Gujarat District. Mounds of ancient construction yield considerable numbers of coins, and abound in archaic bricks, whose size and type prove them to belong to the prehistoric period of Hindu architecture. General Cunningham has identified one of these shapeless masses, now occupied by the village of Moga, or Mong, with the site of Nikaia, the city built by Alexander on the field of his victory over Porus. . . . Copper coins of all the so-called Indo-Scythian kings are found in abundance amongst the rubbish which compose the heap (that is, the mound, which is 50 feet high with a superficial dimension of 600 by 400 feet). Gujarat itself occupies an ancient site, though the existing town dates only from the times of Akabar. Jat and Gūrjar tribes form the primitive elements of the population, and their legends afford a concurrence of testimony in favour of the view that their ancestors entered the District from the east in comparatively modern times."<sup>2</sup>

Apart from the above Gujarat District is another Gujarat which forms the south-east tehsil of the Gujarat district, Punjab. It is situated between  $30^{\circ} 24'$  and  $32^{\circ} 53'$  N. latitude and between  $73^{\circ} 49'$  and  $74^{\circ} 31'$  E. longitude, comprising chiefly the lowland tract along the Chenab. Its area in 1881 was 554 square miles.<sup>3</sup> The headquarters of this district is also called Gujarat.<sup>4</sup> In regard to this town, too, Dr. Hunter wrote that it stood upon "an ancient site formerly occupied by two successive cities, the second of which General Cunningham supposes to have been destroyed in A.D. 1303, the year of an early Mughal invasion of India."<sup>5</sup>

From the standpoint of antiquity and ethnic origin, therefore, the history of the above two districts should be studied along with that of the Gujarat of Western India, if any stable conclusions are to be arrived at in regard to the early culture and migration of the people called Gūrjars. But the two northern districts of Gujarat do not seem to have received any notice at the hands of archaeologists and historians, whose attention has naturally been drawn to the Gujarat of Western India, the history of which is traceable with some certainty in the ancient times. The one scholar, however, who pointed out the possibility of connecting the history of Gujarat of Western India with its two namesakes in the north,



was Dr. George Bühler, who suggested that the Gujarat kingdom of Bhroach in the seventh century A.D., was an offshoot of a larger Gujarat kingdom in the north, represented by the Gūrjara District of the Punjab.<sup>6</sup> This suggestion of the eminent Indologist still remains to be worked out. It is not unlikely that if investigations are carried out in this direction, historians might perhaps throw some light not only on the affinity of the Gūrjars, who occupied the northern districts, and their brethren who made a province of Western India so famous, but also on the attractive suggestion thrown out by Mr. A. M. T. Jackson long ago, as to whether and to what extent the famous Porus, king of the Punjab, who fought against Alexander the Great, was the king of Gujarat.<sup>7</sup>

But the utter neglect to which the two northern districts of Gujarat have fallen in the field of ancient Indian history, and the availability of source materials for the study of the Gujarat province in Western India, justify our concentration on the history of the latter province in the Bombay State. It extends from 20° to 24° 45' N. latitude, and from 69° to 74° 24' E. longitude. It comprises on the mainland the districts of Surat, Bhroach, Kaira, Panchmahals, and Ahmedabad, with an area of over 10,158 square miles, together with the scattered areas of the erstwhile Baroda State, the Indian States of Surāṣṭra, the old Mahī Kānṭhā and Rewā Kānṭhā Agencies, the old States of Kutch, Cambay, Narukot, and those under the Surat Agency ( Bandsa, Dharampur, and Sachin ) with a total area of over 59,880 miles.<sup>8</sup> It is this wide region which is the subject of our study. It includes the peninsula of Surāṣṭra, and is bound on the north by Rajputana, on the east by the spurs of the Vindhya, and the Satpura ranges, on the south by Konkan, and on the west by the Sea.<sup>9</sup>

This great province was fortunate enough to receive the attention of the archaeologist Mr. R. Bruce Foot in 1893, who discovered two stone products of human art and workmanship in the bed of the Sābramatī opposite the village of Saḍolia and at the Pedhāmli.<sup>10</sup> The prehistoric claims of Gujarat of Western India have been substantiated by the recent archaeological discoveries at Lothal in the Saragwala village of the Ahmedabad District, and at Rangpur, thirty miles to the south-west of Lothal which definitely connect the Lothal and Rangpur civilization with that of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa.<sup>11</sup> In what manner these people of antiquity, who lived in this region around Lothal and Rangpur, could be connected with the later people, who were called Gūrjars, is a problematical question that could be solved only by future research. At any rate, when the Lothal antiquarian finds will have been unravelled, they will have brought to light the first and the most ancient main current in the history of early Gujarat.

The next main current is that which connects Gujarat with the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*. The close association of Dwārka with the Yādavas, and more particularly with the divine Hero of the epic, Kṛṣṇa, forms by itself a most significant chapter in the history of ancient Gujarat. There is little to be added to the delineation of the part played by Gujarat in the history of the epic, as described long ago by that most eminent historian of Gujarat. Pandit Bhagvanlal



Indraji.<sup>12</sup> According to him, Gujarat consisted of three divisions—Ānartta, Surāṣṭra, and Lāṭa. And, also according to him, Ānartta was another name of Ānandapura or Vaṇnagar.<sup>13</sup> The name Ānartta, however, is traceable to the *Mahābhārata*, where it is stated that Ānartta was the son of Śāryāti and grandson of Manu. Ānartta had a son named Revata, who from his capital of Kuśas-thaḷi or Dwārka, governed the country called Ānartta.<sup>14</sup> Without entering into this question of the existence of Gujarat in the days of that epic, I may merely state that the major contribution of the second main current in the ancient history of Gujarat, flowing from the *Mahābhārata*, is the concept of *bhakti* or devotion, which has played a most important part in the history of all sections of the people of the Gujarat of the post-*Mahābhārata* days.

For ages we lose sight of Gujarat till we come to the fourth century B.C. Excepting for the occurrence of the name Ānartta in the geographical list of Pāṇini (seventh century B.C.), who locates it after Videha and before Māthara,<sup>15</sup> there is no indication that that great grammarian was aware of either Gujarat or Surāṣṭra. The ending of some geographical names in his work are supposed by some modern scholars to refer to some places in Gujarat.<sup>16</sup> But there are hardly any grounds for such an identification. It has been assumed not without some justification that Megasthenes' Orastrae, "who reach to the island of Patala", was no other than Surāṣṭra.<sup>17</sup> We are on still firmer ground when we come to Kauṭilya (fourth century B.C.), who mentions both Surāṣṭra and Gujarat. The former is mentioned in two different contexts—once while listing the names of countries where the best elephants were bred, and later on while describing the conduct of corporations. Kauṭilya relates that elephants bred in countries like Kalinga, Anga, Karuṣa, and the East, were the best; those of the Dāsārṇa and Western countries (Aparānta) were of middle quality; and those of Surāṣṭra and Pañcājana countries were of low quality.<sup>18</sup> While dealing with the conduct of corporations, he writes thus:—"The corporations of warriors (*Kṣatriyāsreṇi*) of Kambhoja and Surāṣṭra and other countries live by agriculture, trade and the wielding of weapons."<sup>19</sup> We shall see later on that this description of the corporations occupying Surāṣṭra will help us to identify the people who had migrated to that province.

Kauṭilya's reference to Gujarat proper, however, is not so very explicit. He refers to it by the name Āraṭṭa thus, while describing the breed of horses:—"The breed of Kambhoja, Sindhu, Āraṭṭa, and Vanāyu countries are the best; those of Bāhlika, Pāpeya, Sauvira, and Taitala are of middle quality; and the rest ordinary (*avarāh*)".<sup>20</sup> I would identify Āraṭṭa mentioned by Kauṭilya with Gujarat on the following grounds:—Kauṭilya places Āraṭṭa after Sindhu and before Vanāyu countries. The former is of course Sindh, but the latter is not identifiable. The proximity of Āraṭṭa to Sindh in the account of Kauṭilya strongly suggests that we have to refer the former term to Gujarat, rather than to Surāṣṭra proper, since, if it had been Surāṣṭra, that great prime minister would certainly have used the name Surāṣṭra which he has used in two other contexts,



as we have already seen. Āraṭṭa cannot be the Punjab, as is supposed by some scholars,<sup>21</sup> for two reasons :— Kauṭilya mentions Bāhlika in the next sentence, which term could only have referred to the settlements of the Bāhlikas or the Bactrians in the Punjab, whose modern descendants are called Bhallas.<sup>22</sup> Secondly, the location of Āraṭṭa can be made with the help of a later foreign writer, the anonymous author of the work called *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (middle of the first century A.D. ). In this work the anonymous author states that next to Baraka, which had been identified by Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, with Dwārkā, flows the gulf of Barygaza or Bhroach. Along the sea coast is a Syrastrène ( which is obviously the land of the Surastreni or the corporation of warriors mentioned by Kauṭilya ). while inland from Barygaza lay the Aratriori who were the people of Āraṭṭa.<sup>23</sup> It is obvious, therefore, that we have to locate the Āraṭṭas immediately in the vicinity of Bhroach, according to the evidence of the anonymous author of the *Periplus*. Now when we know that the land round-about Bhroach was occupied by the Gūrjars, and that Āraṭṭa may be a corruption of the word Ānarṭṭa, we may accept Gerini's identification of Āraṭṭa with Gujarat, as mentioned by another foreign writer Ptolemy ( of the second century A.D. ), as being correct.<sup>24</sup>

The antiquity of Gujarat-Surāṣṭra being thus settled on historical grounds, let us now try to piece together the threads of recorded historical data. This brings us to the third main current in the history of ancient Gujarat, that relating to the Mauryas. The evidence of Kauṭilya cited above, proves that in his days the Mauryan government was certainly aware of both Surāṣṭra and Gujarat. Direct evidence relating to this province in the reign of Candragupta Maurya is, however, lacking, although later Buddhist, Jaina, and Brahman writers have something to say in regard to this province during Candragupta Maurya's successors. The only source of information relating to that Mauryan ruler's overlordship of Gujarat-Surāṣṭra is the Gīrnār rock inscription of the Mahākṣātrapa Rudradāman ( A.D. 150 ), in which we are informed that the huge lake called Sudarśana near the rock where the inscription was discovered, was originally made by Puṣyagupta of the Vaiśya caste, who is described in that record as being the brother-in-law of Candragupta Maurya.<sup>25</sup> Since in that inscription it is explicitly stated that governor Puṣyagupta was thus related to the Mauryan Emperor, and since no royal titles have been given to him in the record, it has been rightly surmised that he occupied the subordinate position of a provincial viceroy, and that, therefore, Candragupta Maurya certainly extended his sway over Surāṣṭra.<sup>26</sup>

The same rock inscription of Rudradāman at Gīrnār continues to narrate that in the reign of Emperor Aśoka, the latter's viceroy Tuṣāspa adorned the same lake called Sudarśana with conduits.<sup>27</sup> This statement in the Gīrnār inscription implies that the Mauryan sway over Surāṣṭra continued for three generations from the days of Candragupta Maurya to those of Aśoka.<sup>28</sup>

A digression is necessary here about the viceroy Tuṣāspa administering Surāṣṭra under Emperor Aśoka. To what race did he belong and how can we



explain his presence in this province in the reign of Emperor Aśoka ? As regards the first question, all scholars are agreed that that name suggests a foreigner (*yavana*). Since in the Gīrnār inscription of the Mahākṣātrapa Rudradāman, Tuṣāspa is explicitly called a *yavana-rāja*,<sup>29</sup> we have to conclude that before he was appointed as a viceroy by Emperor Aśoka, he had already established his status as a *rāja* (king) among the Yavanas. Otherwise it cannot be understood why the title of a *rāja* should have been given to him even after he had become a viceroy under Aśoka. From this it follows that there were already in the days of Aśoka either in Surāṣṭra, or, what is more probable, in the western borderlands of his great Empire, Yavanas who had their own political leaders one of whom was evidently Tuṣāspa. The name Tuṣāspa has rightly been taken to suggest a Persian origin from its close resemblance to the name Kershasp common among the Parsis of Bombay.<sup>30</sup> I may further substantiate this by saying that this name is similar to the following names—Gushtasp, the father of Isfandiyar ; Jamasp a name common amongst the Parsis ; and Vishtasp, which refers to the original part of the *Zend Avesta*.<sup>31</sup> Professor Rapson called him, however, merely a Yavana ; but Dr. Vincent Smith styled him as a Persian.<sup>32</sup> Professor W. W. Tarn would call him a Yavana but with an Iranian name.<sup>33</sup> We may leave this point rather unsettled here.

Now how can we explain Tuṣāspa's presence here in Surāṣṭra ? Dr. H. D. Sankalia puts the same question and answers it in the following manner :— " Why should a Yavana—Greek or Iranian—be put in charge of Surāṣṭra by Aśoka ? The explanation is to be found in the fact that 50 years previous to the Mauryan occupation of Surāṣṭra, parts of north-western and western India, including perhaps Sind and Surāṣṭra, were under the hegemony of the Iranian emperor Darius and his successors. Either a number of Persian or Iranians had come and settled down in those newly conquered or controlled territories and so an Iranian was sent down as their governor or merely an Iranian was appointed to this new province. When the Mauryas conquered Surāṣṭra, they found for some reasons, necessary or convenient, to continue this practice. Viewed under this political background, the term Yavana might more probably connote any north-western foreigner and not necessarily an Iranian Greek. ”<sup>34</sup>

There is hardly any justification for the above assumptions, which violate the known facts of Indo-Persian history. The first assumption relates to the Persian Emperor Darius I, who will figure later on in our study. He reigned from B.C. 521 till B.C. 485.<sup>35</sup> Now the earliest date we have for Candragupta Maurya, the founder of the Mauryan dynasty, is B.C. 326.<sup>36</sup> Therefore, there was a wide gap of nearly 195 years between Darius I and Candragupta Maurya. Any attempt to narrow it down to fifty years would be historically suicidal.

I may now turn to the conquest of some Indian provinces by Emperor Darius I and his successors. The sources of information relating to this part of our study are one of the two old Persian block tablets sunk in the wall of the Platform at Persepolis, carved probably between B.C. 518 and B.C. 515, and the



upper of the two inscriptions chiselled around the tomb of Darius I on the cliff at Naksh-i-Rustum which must have been incised some time after B.C. 515. In addition to the testimony of these records, we have the evidence of Harodotus (fifth century B.C.), and of the apocryphal Greek version of the Book of Ezra known as I. Esdras. Professor Rapson summarized the evidence of all these sources, in regard to the extent of the Empire of Darius I, and came to the following conclusion :—That the conquests of Darius I in the latter half of the sixth century B.C., were not carried beyond the Punjab plain; and that the Persian influence in the south extended to the valley of the Indus from its upper course to the sea, with the possibility at that time of navigating by sea from the Indus to Persia.<sup>37</sup> Dr. Vincent Smith, commenting on the extent of the Empire of Darius I, writes that the Indian provinces of that Persian monarch comprised the whole of Sindh, and perhaps a considerable portion of the Punjab east of the Indus.<sup>38</sup> In the light of these conclusions, therefore, it would be incorrect to include Surāṣṭra in the list of the provinces under Darius I. This would mean that the main plank of the theory that there must have been Iranians in Surāṣṭra since the days of Darius I falls to the ground.

A further examination of the history of the Indo-Iranian relations will prove that it is futile to associate the province of Surāṣṭra with the Iranians. After the death of Darius I, as is well known to students of Greeko-Persian history, there was no forward movement in Persia. In fact, with the rise of Philip II of Macedon, and in particular of his illustrious son Alexander the Great, the Achaemenian Empire may be said to be on its decline.<sup>39</sup> No doubt, the Iranian sway continued to be cast over the north-west of India for about a century till the end of the Achaemenian period in B.C. 330. This is proved by the fact that in the army of Emperor Xerxes (B.C. 486-465), an Indian contingent comprising infantry and cavalry regiments, was included, when he marched against Greece; and also by the fact that Darius III (B.C. 330) was able to recruit Indian troops with elephants, when he met Alexander the Great in the famous battle of Arbela.<sup>40</sup> But the Persian influence seems to have hardly gone beyond the region of the Indus and its affluents.<sup>41</sup> Persia fell before the onslaughts of Alexander the Great.<sup>42</sup> This rough sketch of the relations between Persia and India will show that Surāṣṭra never figured in the history of the Indo-Iranian period; and that, therefore, any hypothesis concerning the presence of the Iranians in Surāṣṭra fifty years before the rise of Candragupta Maurya, would be altogether unhistorical.

How then can we explain the presence of a *Yavanarāja*, “king of the Yavanas,” as Tuṣāspa is called in the Gīrnār inscription of the Mahākṣātrapa Rudradāman, in Surāṣṭra? It is no use imagining that a number of Iranians must have settled down in the newly conquered or controlled territories, since the Iranians never reached Surāṣṭra. It is also fruitless to affirm that an Iranian was sent as the governor of the Iranians in that province, or that merely an Iranian was appointed as the viceroy over the new province of Surāṣṭra. In order to understand why the *Yavanarāja* Tuṣāspa was appointed as a viceroy



over Surāṣṭra, we have to recount one or two facts mentioned above. The first refers to the Iranian influence which since the days of Emperor Darius I had undoubtedly made itself felt in the Punjab and perhaps in Sindh. The second refers to the reign of Emperor Aśoka. His II Gīrnār, V. Gīrnār, and XIII Gīrnār Edicts, not to mention others, clearly affirm that among his borderers such as the Yona king Antiyaka, and among kings who were Antiyaka's neighbours,<sup>43</sup> and among the Yonas, Kāmbhojas, and Gāndhāras, the people were conforming to Dēvānampriya's instruction in morality; and that medical treatment for men and beasts was established for the benefit of those people.<sup>44</sup> These Rock Edicts, therefore, definitely prove that, leaving aside the Yona king Antiyaka, the Yonas were well known to the officials of Emperor Aśoka; and that they were to be located in the regions contiguous to those of the Kāmbhojas and the Gāndhāras—that is, in the regions of the north-west of India. There was nothing to prevent any one of the chieftains among the Yonas of this regions from taking up service under Emperor Aśoka.

Another fact which proves our contention that that Mauryan monarch was certainly in touch with the Yonas is given in the later Buddhist tradition as recorded in the *Mahāvamśa*, which mentions the Buddhist missionary, the Yavana Dharmarakṣita, as the evangelical ambassador sent to Aparāntaka.<sup>45</sup> The Buddhist tradition also of a later date, further proves that the Buddhist missionary Mahārakṣita was sent to the Yavana or Greek country.<sup>46</sup>

The above facts enable us to assert that Emperor Aśoka was not only aware of the Yavanas but that he had under him Yavanas, some of whom rose to great eminence as his trusted missionary ambassadors. If he could get one prominent Yavana as a missionary, he could certainly have got another Yavana as a provincial viceroy. In other words, the possibility of Emperor Aśoka's having in his service highly placed Yavanas cannot be ruled out. This makes it possible, therefore, for a *Yavanarāja* like Tuṣāspa to have taken up service under that Emperor, and to have been posted to Surāṣṭra. It cannot be understood why Tuṣāspa—granting that his name has a strong Iranian touch about it,—should necessarily be considered as having settled down in Surāṣṭra. As pointed above, he may as well have been a native of the north-western region of India, where the contact between the Iranians, the Greeks, and the Indians had always been close, and from where Emperor Aśoka might have recruited him, much in the same manner as that great Emperor might have done with the missionary ambassador mentioned above. As to why Tuṣāspa was selected as a viceroy, we can only guess that he must have had the necessary qualities of a good administrator, or perhaps might have been in some manner related to the Emperor. One thing is certain from the Gīrnār rock inscription of the Mahākṣātrapa Rudradāman, and that is, that Tuṣāspa was already a *rāja* of the Yavanas before he was appointed as the viceroy over Surāṣṭra.

Whatever may be our uncertainty about the motives which might have prompted Emperor Aśoka to appoint Tuṣāspa as viceroy over Surāṣṭra, there



is no doubt that the Mauryan sway over that province was both real and unequivocal, as is amply proved by the fourteen versions of his Edicts discovered at Gīrnār.<sup>47</sup> These Rock Edicts will, as I shall show presently, be of the greatest importance in determining the effect of the Mauryan main current on the history and culture of ancient Gujarat. The chronological limits of the reign of Emperor Aśoka are still unsettled. Accepting the dates given by the late Dr. J. F. Fleet as valid, we may affirm that Aśoka's reign lasted from B.C. 264 till B.C. 228.<sup>48</sup> On his death confusion seems to have prevailed in the Mauryan Empire, and he was in all likelihood succeeded by his grandson Daśaratha in the eastern parts of his vast Empire; while another grandson Samprati became the ruler of the western regions of the Mauryan Empire. We are concerned with the latter, who was an ardent patron of Jainism.<sup>49</sup> The Mauryan rule, according to the Pauranic genealogy, lasted for 137 years; and it is now generally accepted that it came to an end in B.C. 185.<sup>50</sup>

Although the main imperial Mauryan line came to an end in that year, yet the association of the Mauryas with Surāṣṭra did not cease with that date. The chronological limits of the rule of the imperial and later Mauryan families in Surāṣṭra may be briefly given in order to form an idea of the long connection which Surāṣṭra had with the Mauryan family. The first period of the imperial Mauryan rule extended from the reign of Candragupta Maurya to the end of the line in B.C. 185, covering 137 years, or roughly 140 years. Then followed a big blank of over four centuries after which we come across the period of the later Mauryas ruling in Surāṣṭra and Konkan from about the middle of the fifth century A.D. till the last quarter of the eleventh century. This period was essentially one of subordinate position, when the Mauryas of Surāṣṭra held the status of feudatories. I do not wish to discuss here the limits of the reign of the later Mauryas. In what manner they were connected with the Mauryas of the Konkan, whom the Early Cālukyas subverted in the sixth century A.D.,<sup>51</sup> cannot be made out. We are not concerned so much with the later Mauryas of Surāṣṭra as with the imperial Mauryas, and with the results flowing from their occupation and rule over Surāṣṭra for almost 140 years.

Before we proceed to prove how the long rule of the Mauryas left a permanent impression on the history and culture of ancient Gujarat, we may be permitted to repeat some of the main characteristics of the people of Gujarat which distinguish them from the rest of the Indian people. These are their liberality, their tolerance of both man and beast, and their sense of practicability. I repeat that these traits may be visible in any or all sections of the Indian people. But I hope to give a plausible explanation as to why these traits are specially noticeable among the people of this province. In trying to do so, we come across the Mauryan main current and its effect on the history and culture of the people. We may select only three names among the imperial Mauryas as those which had the closest connection with Gujarat. These were Candragupta Maurya, Aśoka, and Samprati. It might be said without any hesitation that the effect



of the rule of all these three monarchs was to stabilize the traits I have mentioned above. We may first take Candragupta Maurya. If the traditions current among the Jains could be given credence, that monarch professed the Jaina faith, and ended his life in the Jaina manner.<sup>52</sup> Since he ruled over Surāṣṭra, it follows that his faith might have travelled over to this province. We would not be wrong, therefore, to associate the spread of the principle of *ahimsā* or tolerance with this province in the age of Candragupta Maurya. With the introduction of the concept of *ahimsā* in Surāṣṭra by that monarch, the road was clear for his grandson, Aśoka, to reinforce that ideal later on.

This brings us to the description of the mind of Emperor Aśoka as revealed in his Edicts, since it has a special significance for our study. It is these Edicts that help us to assess the impact of the Mauryan administration on Gujarat. I mentioned above that tolerance, liberality, and practicability are some of the prominent traits noticeable among the people of this province. It is precisely these which were promulgated by Emperor Aśoka, although there cannot be any doubt that, due to the Jaina leanings of his grandfather, Candragupta Maurya, they had already been firmly planted on the soil of Gujarat. A careful analysis of the fourteen Rock Edicts of Aśoka discovered at Gīrnār shows that that Emperor scrupulously nurtured these traits among the people of this province.

I shall take first the concept of liberality concerning which we find the following in the III Rock Edict at Gīrnār:—"Liberality to acquaintances, and relatives, to Brahmanas and Śramaṇas is meritorious". Allied to this idea of liberality is the one relating to expenditure, concerning which the same Rock Edict enjoins the following:—"Moderation in expenditure is meritorious".<sup>53</sup> Liberality was also bound up with the question of morality which covered the old term *dharma* in all its aspects. *Dharma* is the main theme of all the Edicts. It is said in the V Rock Edict at Gīrnār that the instruction in morality is the best work; and that the practice of morality is not possible for people devoid of good conduct.<sup>54</sup> The object of instructing people in morality, as the same V Rock Edict at Gīrnār affirms, is to free people from the desire of wordly life.<sup>55</sup>

The concept of morality which was thus connected with the idea of liberality, was made to cover another most essential trait noticeable among the people of this province, namely, their tolerance to life, or *ahimsā*. The IX Rock Edict at Gīrnār specially states the following:—"proper courtesy to slaves, and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, and liberality to Brahmanas and Śramaṇas; these and such (virtues) are called the practice of morality (*ta (te) ta dāsa-bhatakamhi samya-pratipati gurūnam apaci'i sādhu-pānesu sayamo sādhu-bamhaṇa-samaṇānam sādū dānam et (a) ca añ (a) ca etārisam dhamma mangalam nāma*). In the same Rock Edict is a short and crisp advice:—"Gifts are meritorious", there being no higher gift than that of *dharma*.<sup>56</sup> In the XI Rock Edict at Gīrnār the concept of liberality is linked with that of *ahimsā*, thus:—"proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother (and) father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brahmanas



and Śramaṇas, ( and ) abstention from killing animals.”<sup>57</sup> The same Rock Edict takes a step further than the IX Rock Edict when it makes liberality cover not only Brahmanas and Śramaṇas, as given in the latter Edict, but also friends, acquaintances, and relatives, and recommends gentleness to animals (*sādhupāṇesu*). The XI Rock Edict at Gīrnār widens the scope of *ahimsā* to include abstention from killing animals (*prāṇānam anārambho sādhu*).

The supreme importance of morality, I may add incidentally, is expressed thus in the same XI Rock Edict :—“ There is no such gift as the gift of morality, or acquaintance through morality, or the distribution of morality or kinship through morality (*nāsti etārisam dānam yārisam dhamma dānam dhamma samistavo vā dhamma samvibhāgo ( vā ) dhamma sambadho vā*).<sup>58</sup> This elucidation of the excellence of *dhamma* or morality is likewise an improvement on that given in the IX Rock Edict which, as we have just said above, merely states that gifts are meritorious. That by the time the XIII Rock Edict at Gīrnār was inscribed, the great Emperor had succeeded a good deal in his objectives is proved by the following statements in that much-mutilated Edict :—“ Everywhere ( people ) are conforming to Devānampriya’s instruction in morality . . . . . this conquest ( of morality ) ( won ) in every respect and repeatedly,—causes the feeling of satisfaction. This satisfaction has been obtained ( by me ) at the conquest of morality.”<sup>59</sup>

The linking of liberality with morality being thus established, let us now proceed to analyse the Gīrnār Rock Edicts in terms of a trait which undoubtedly is a special, and, in more sense than one, a noble feature of this province. This refers to the benevolent care of animals and of the sick, which has been more than once hinted at in the passages we have cited above relating to the gentleness to animals and abstention from killing animals. The cause which brought about this concept in the mind of the Emperor is given in the I Rock Edict at Gīrnār thus :—“ Formerly in the kitchen of Devānam Priyadarśin many hundred thousands of animals were killed for the sake of curry. But now, when this rescript on morality is written, only three animals are being killed ( daily ) for the sake of curry, ( viz., ) two peacocks ( and ) one deer, ( but ) even this deer not regularly. Even these animals shall not be killed in future”<sup>60</sup>. In the IV Rock Edict at Gīrnār the reason is given in a slightly different manner, thus :—“ In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, ( and ) discourtesy to Brahmanas and Śramaṇas.” In the middle of the same Rock Edict it is related that “ Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted through the instruction in morality on the part of king Devānam Priyadarśin, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brahmanas and Śramaṇas obedience to mother ( and ) father, ( and ) obedience to the aged.”<sup>61</sup> Here we have the concept of *ahimsā* connected with that of filial obedience, respect to the aged, and proper behaviour to relatives and to the priestly class.



The idea of showing special attention to the aged which is embodied in the above Rock Edict, is not only carried forward in the V Rock Edict at Gīrnār, but made more comprehensive by including in it a new idea—that relating to prisoners. In the middle of this Rock Edict it is stated the Mahāmātras were charged with the onerous duty of establishing morality among all classes of people, including those who lived on the borders of Aśoka's great Empire, viz., the Yonas, the Kāmbhojas, the Gāndhāras, the Ptenikas and those of the western border (Aparānta). In all these different regions, the Mahāmātras "are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money)", and "if one has (with) children, and with those who are bewitched (i.e. incurably ill?), or with the aged."<sup>62</sup> The notable trait of Gujarat relating to *ahimsā* is, therefore traceable to the Mauryan times when, because of the endeavours of both Emperor Aśoka and of his grandfather Candragupta Maurya, who was undoubtedly a Jaina,—it came to be permanently imbedded in the hearts of the people.

Let us turn to another visible trait of the people of this land, which I have termed practicability. This is that adroit quality which accomplishes the impossible even when confronted with insurmountable difficulties. We also see this uncommon quality in Emperor Aśoka, whose remarkable determination is discernible in the IV Rock Edict at Gīrnār in which it is stated that king Devānampriya Priyadarsin will ever promote this practice of morality".<sup>63</sup> The practical Manual of Administration, if I may call it so, is nowhere better described than in the VI Rock Edict of Gīrnār in the following manner :—"In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at any time did exist before. But I have made the following (arrangement). Reporters are posted everywhere, (with instructions) to report to me the affairs of the people at any time, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartments, even at the cowpen, in the palanquin, and in the parks. And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people. And if in the council (of Mahāmātras), a dispute arises, or an amendment is moved, in connection with any donation or proclamation which I myself am ordering verbally, or (in connection with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the Mahāmātras, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere (and) at any time. Thus I have ordered."<sup>64</sup>

In the above precepts of Aśoka the Great, there is a Moral as well as an Administrative Code of Conduct for Administrators which is as much marked by its urbanity as by its practicability in public as well as in private life. Its prevalence in Gujarat throughout ages, and much more so in our own days, is not so much a matter of accident as it is the result of historical growth, since it was planted on the soil of Gujarat by the Mauryan Emperors. Before I refute a possible objection to this conclusion of mine, it is only proper that I should refer to the endeavours of Emperor Aśoka's grandson Samprati, who carefully carried forward and maintained the admirable precepts of liberality, courtesy, and tolerance to life which his illustrious grandfather had so strenuously promulgated. On Samprati, as we have already seen, devolved the government of the western parts of the Empire of Aśoka after the latter's death. Jaina tradition of Western



India extols Samprati as its Aśoka and attributes to him the foundation of Jaina monasteries even in non-Aryan countries.<sup>65</sup> We are, therefore, justified in assuming that as a devout Jaina, Samprati could not but have encouraged and enriched the cause of *ahimsā* throughout the western parts of the Mauryan Empire. Since Samprati's name is well known from Ajmer to Gujarat, and since the temples erected by him and dedicated to the great Mahāvīra still exist at Ajmer, Kumbhālmer, and Gīrnār,<sup>66</sup> we may definitely state that Samprati's rule extended over Gujarat, and that under him the tradition of tolerance and *ahimsā* came to stay permanently in this province.

But here I must anticipate and answer an objection that may justifiably be raised against the conclusion arrived at by me, *viz.*, that the ideas of liberality, care for the sick, and practicability which were so clearly propounded by Emperor Aśoka in his Gīrnār Edicts, are particularly noticeable in this province. The objection may be stated thus—The Gīrnār Edicts are not the only inscriptions of Aśoka which contain these principles. These Edicts are merely copies of similar Rock Edicts discovered at Kālsi, Shābazgarī, Dhaulī, Manshera, Jaugadhā, Delhi-Tōpra, Sārānāth, Sāñchi, Rummendei, and in other minor places. How can we single out Gujarat from these localities, and maintain that the precepts mentioned above in the Rock Edicts are visible only in the people of Gujarat, and not in those of the other parts of the country ?

The above is apparently a valid objection, especially when we realize that some of the localities where the Rock Edicts have been discovered, as for example, Sārānāth (three and a half miles north of Banaras), Sāñchi (five and a half miles from Bhilsa), and Rummendei, the Lumbini of the Buddhist tradition, about a mile to the north of the village of Parariya, which is about two miles north of Bhagvanpur, the headquarters of the Nepal tehsil of that name, and about five miles to the north-east of Dhulha in the Indian Union district of Basti in the U. P.,—have all been hallowed with the memory of either Buddha himself or of his disciples, or of Emperor Aśoka, and have been, therefore, places of considerable importance in the Buddhist world.<sup>67</sup> I admit that we cannot deny them their share of greatness in the history of Buddhism and of ancient India. But the point in regard to them as well as in regard to the other localities like Kālsi, Shābazgarhi, Mansherā, Dhaulī, Jaugadhā, and Delhi-Tōpra is this that none of these localities has contributed in any manner whatsoever to the formation of the modern Free India. This privilege seems to have been reserved for the region of Surāṣṭra-Gujarat by a combination of causes the most important of which came from the ancient currents of its history. It may perhaps be better illustrated when we examine the geographical location of every one of the above places. Kālsi is a town in the Chakrāta tehsil of the Dehra Dun district of Uttar Pradesh. Shābazgarhi is a village on the Makām river, nine miles from Mardān, the headquarters of Yusufzai subdivision of the Peshawar district now in Pakistan. Manshera is the headquarters of a tehsil in the Hazāra district also in Pakistan. Dhaulī is a village in the Khurdā subdivision of the Pūri district in Orissa, about seven miles south of Bubhaneshvar. Jaugadhā is a ruined fort in the Berham-



pore taluka of the Ganjam district in the Andhra Pradesh. And Delhi-Topra, or to be more correct, Tobra, is a village between Ambala and Sirsāvā, eighteen miles to the south of Sādhōra, and twenty two miles to the south-west of Khizrābād in the Punjab.<sup>69</sup> The only place amongst these that could have challenged the claims of Gujarat to special recognition is perhaps Dhauḷi near Bhubhane-shvar in Orissa. But, I repeat, none of these localities could be credited with an achievement which it was the proud privilege of Gujarat to possess. If all these regions did not come up to the level of Surāṣṭra-Gujarat, the onus cannot be laid at the door of the latter : nothing prevented any or all those regions from doing what Gujarat-Surāṣṭra did, viz., from imbibing and transmitting to the later generations the message of *ahimsa*, liberality, and tolerance which the Mauryan Emperor Aśoka had so assiduously promulgated and recommended for adoption to the people of his vast empire. That those regions had not done so but had, on the other hand, allowed the gospel of *ahimsa* to wither on the barren soil of inactivity, proves that they were not ordained to produce in the later ages leaders who were the embodiment of *ahimsa* and of practicability. If Gujarat-Surāṣṭra maintained these incomparable traits, it is because the people of this province possessed, among other things, the foresight and the doggedness to preserve and foster those traits and to hand them over to the succeeding generations as their richest legacy. Few seem conscious of the fact there is such a thing like an historical heredity which, as in the case of Gujarat, is responsible for preserving the traits of a people.

Another factor which might perhaps explain why the other regions failed to champion the cause of *ahimsa*, was that they suffered from a continual influx of foreign peoples of diverse types, whose inroads served only to shatter the foundation of ancient traditions in their areas, and to prevent them from contributing their mite to the variety and richness of Indian culture. Gujarat-Surāṣṭra also suffered from the same danger; but, as I shall presently point out, the foreigners who ruled over this province served more to enrich rather than eliminate the rich traditions of the land. Finally, the physical environment in which the other regions were placed by nature perhaps prevented them from imbibing the message of the Mauryas, and thereby from adding in any appreciable manner to the history and culture of the people. These reasons justify my surmise that the province of Gujarat-Surāṣṭra possesses certain traits which distinguish it from the rest of India: and explain why it alone, among all the regions where Emperor Aśoka had publicized his immortal Edicts, succeeded in transmitting to the later generations his gospel of tolerance and practicability. The Mauryan current, therefore, is of special significance in the history of this province.

It was stated above that after the downfall of the Mauryas in B.C. 185, there was a wide gap of about four centuries before we came to the next mention of the Mauryas not as an imperial but as a feudatory family.<sup>60</sup> During this great interval, Gujarat was under the foreign rulers. We thus come to another main current which before I describe may be prefixed by a few words. We



have now reached a stage in our country's history when the word "foreigner" seems to connote everything that is hateful and reactionary; and when in our attempt to assess the past, we appear to be prejudiced by the happenings in our own times<sup>69(a)</sup>. I venture to assert that this approach to the Past is neither correct nor conducive to the advancement of knowledge. It does not take into consideration the great fact that repeatedly and for centuries our history has been moulded by extraneous influences; that racial purity is a myth which has no place in the field of learning; and that, so far as our ancient culture, is concerned, which we legitimately cherish with pride, there is hardly any portion of it which can be considered as the exclusive gift of any particular section of the people, and which was not the result of an age-long process of assimilation by diverse forces that have shaped the destiny of the country. Now more than ever we need that broad-mindedness and spirit of tolerance which marked the thought and action of our forefathers, who absorbed as much as possible from all races without feeling in any way humiliated in doing so. If we wish to enlarge the boundaries of historical knowledge, it is incumbent upon us to shed the fears of foreignism and to equip ourselves with such of the historical data which would give us the necessary intellectual background and the relevant materials with which we could place our case before the bar of History. This frame of mind is particularly useful in appreciating the next current in the ancient history of Gujarat, which is concerned exclusively with foreigners. These were the Bactrians who were the descendants of the Greeks whom Alexander the Great had planted in Bactria (modern Balkh.)<sup>70</sup> The history of the Bactrian rule in Gujarat-Surāṣṭra is a landmark by itself. The sources of information regarding it are rather scanty. They are mostly made up of the accounts by foreign historians supplemented with the knowledge derived from the coins of the Bactrian monarchs. This explains why we are uncertain as to when exactly the Bactrian rule commenced in Gujarat. The two kinds of source materials mentioned above help us to postulate the theory that the Bactrian rule in Gujarat-Surāṣṭra might have commenced in the last quarter of the second century B.C., perhaps during the period when the Śuṅgas supplanted the Mauryas in B.C. 185.<sup>71</sup> I shall examine the history of the Bactrian rule in Gujarat from the following points of view :—The four Bactrian rulers associated with Surāṣṭra and Gujarat, and with the neighbouring regions; the range of their conquests; the proof of their occupation of Gujarat and Surāṣṭra; and, finally, the results of the Bactrian current in the history of this province.

The Bactrian occupation of Gujarat centres round four Bactrian monarchs—Demetrius I, Apollodotus, Menander, and Eucratides. Of these the second and third were directly connected with Gujarat. Their rule brings us to the last years of the Mauryan dynasty when, as said above, in B.C. 185 the last Mauryan ruler Bṛhadratha was slain by his general Puṣyamitra. The latter founded the dynasty of the Śuṅgas, who ruled over a large part of northern India from their capital of Pāṭaliputra for about 112 years.<sup>72</sup> Historians are not agreed as to the exact circumstances which brought about the Bactrian invasion. Indeed,



this period is so confused that its chronology is still unsettled. We can at best give only a few events and their probable dates. The major fact concerning our subject is that the rule of the Mauryas over Gujarat-Surāṣṭra was followed by that of the Bactrians,<sup>73</sup> the first notable figure among whom was Demetrius I, the eldest son of Euthydemus, king of Bactria.<sup>74</sup> He conquered the Seleucid provinces of eastern Iran which event is placed by Professor Tarn in B.C. 189.<sup>75</sup> About two years later (*circa* B.C. 187), Demetrius crossed the Hindu Kush,<sup>76</sup> and planned the conquest of northern India in a manner not dreamt of by the two great foreign conquerors who had preceded him—Alexander the Great and Darius I.<sup>77</sup> His great objective was the capture of Pāṭaliputra. As a first step in this direction he conquered Gāndhāra,<sup>78</sup> and next secured Taxila from where he planned his attack on Pāṭaliputra from two directions—one a frontal attack across the Punjab and through the Delhi region along the Ganges to Pāṭaliputra; and the other a flank attack along the Indus to Sindh and Surāṣṭra and thence north-eastwards through Ujjain to Pāṭaliputra.<sup>79</sup> It is in connection with the conduct of this two-pronged attack on Pāṭaliputra that we came across two of his ablest generals—Apollodotus and Menander—who were intimately connected with Gujarat.<sup>80</sup>

We need not follow the fortunes of Demetrius I, since he was not directly connected with this province. Our assumption that Demetrius I did not occupy Gujarat is proved by the fact that no coins of that Bactrian monarch have been found in this province or in Surāṣṭra. But that is not so either with Apollodotus or with Menander who had much to do with Gujarat-Surāṣṭra. On the status of these two generals, the information is still conflicting; and the relationship between Demetrius I and Apollodotus is likewise a matter of speculation. It has been assumed that Apollodotus might have been connected with the family of Demetrius I, and that perhaps he was the latter's youngest brother. But about Menander it may be said with some certainty that he was a commoner.<sup>81</sup> We shall first take up the activities of Apollodotus. When for political reasons Demetrius I hastily returned to Bactria, he handed over to Apollodotus as a subking everything in India outside Menander's influence, that is, the vast regions stretching from Gāndhāra to Bhroach.<sup>82</sup> Apollodotus had some claims to this region, particularly to the south-east of Sindh, since he had conquered the coastline, gone round the Rann of Kutch southward, annexed Saraostos and Sigerdis, and, finally, occupied Barygaza.<sup>83</sup> Sarastos is admitted on all hands to be no other than Surāṣṭra, while Sigerdis, as was pointed out by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji long ago, was Sāgaradvīpa or Kutch;<sup>84</sup> and Barygaza was of course Bhroach. After conquering Bhroach, Apollodotus turned north-eastwards to the region of Mahdyamikā, and reached Nagari near Chitor in southern Rajputana.<sup>85</sup> We shall leave him here.

We have now to adduce proof that he conquered and occupied Surāṣṭra and Bhroach, for on this will depend whether or not there was a foreign element long before the Gūrjars made their appearance on the scene. There are two foreign writers whose accounts have got to be carefully considered in this connection.



The first is Apollodotus of Artemita, a Greek city east of the Tigris, who wrote a *History of Parthia* in four volumes incorporating the story of the Greek conquest of India. Professor W. W. Tarn has dated him between circa B.C. 130 and B.C. 87. Apollodotus is supposed to have travelled widely, and his account is said to have been the source of Strabo's *History of the Farther East*.<sup>86</sup> The second author on whose testimony we have to depend, is the anonymous author of the work called the *Periplus Mari Erythrae*, commonly called the *Periplus*. This anonymous author, who has already figured earlier, is supposed to have lived in the middle of the first century A.D.<sup>87</sup> Apollodotus describes the advance of Demetrius I in the course of which he says that the Greeks occupied Patalene, which is evidently the Indus delta,<sup>88</sup> the rest of the coast, the kingdom of Sarostos, and the kingdom of Sigerdis. The credit of occupying Surāṣṭra and Kutch, as I have already stated above, goes to Demetrius I's able general Apollodotus. The testimony of Apollodotus is confirmed by that of the anonymous author of the *Periplus*, who relates, while describing Bhroach, which he calls Barygaza, that in the country around it, were still mounds of Alexander's invasion, old shrines, foundations of permanent camps or barracks, and very great wells.<sup>89</sup> Modern scholars rightly argued that the reference here could not have been to Alexander the Great, who never came to these regions, and that it could have been only to the extension of arms under Apollodotus and Menander.<sup>90</sup> The further statement in the *Periplus* that Apollodotus ruled Barygaza for some years, has been correctly interpreted in the sense that his coins were in circulation in that region, along with those of Menander, not only during his life time but even later on in the middle of the first century A.D.<sup>91</sup> Professor Tarn affirms in this connection that Apollodotus "must have ruled that town during his life time long enough to make his coinage a well accepted medium of exchange."<sup>92</sup> The above statement of the *Periplus* is borne out by the discovery long ago by Pandit Bhagavanlal Indraji of many *drachmae* and copper coins of Apollodotus and a few *drachmae* of Menander in Surāṣṭra and of a few coins of poor workmanship in Bhroach. The coins of Apollodotus were found in much larger numbers than those of Menander. The silver coins of Apollodotus were of the round *drachmae* variety, while the copper coins which were found in Junagadh, were all well preserved, and were of two types—one square and the other round and large.<sup>93</sup> While the discovery of these silver and copper coins in large numbers, therefore, proves the existence of the rule of Apollodotus in Surāṣṭra, we have to rely on the evidence of the anonymous author of the *Periplus* as regards his rule over Bhroach. At any rate it is clear that we cannot deny that that Bactrian king ruled over Surāṣṭra-Gujarat. In this connection I find it difficult to agree with Professor Tarn that Apollodotus advanced as far as Surat. Professor Tarn is inclined to infer this on the strength of Ptolemy, (about A.D. 140), who gives a list of towns in Surāṣṭra, Gujarat, and Konkan.<sup>94</sup> But it would be unsafe to base one's conclusion in regard to the supposed rule of Apollodotus over Surat merely on the list of Ptolemy, as it would be, for instance, to maintain that, because two copper coins of Apollodotus have been found in the Mysore State,<sup>95</sup> a part of that State was also under Apollodotus. Coins have a tendency to travel in the wake of



commerce from place to place, without any political power accompanying them.<sup>96</sup> As to the date of the death of Apollodotus, scholars are not agreed. Modern scholars are inclined to suppose that his death cannot be later than B.C. 160 "and that it would be better to put it about 163 or 162".<sup>97</sup> The one important conclusion that may be deduced from the testimony of Apollodotus and of the *Periplus*, supported by that of the coins, is that we may definitely assert that Apollodotus ruled over Surāṣṭra and North Gujarat.

We may come to his colleague Menander. In his case, too, the materials being rather scanty, no final conclusions are possible. The history of Menander is further complicated by the fact that the conquests, planned during the time of Demetrius I were undertaken partly by Menander, and partly by Apollodotus;<sup>98</sup> but that while both were contemporary, their conquests were different from each other.<sup>99</sup> We are not concerned with this question so much as with that of the rule of Menander in Gujarat. Strabo (circa B.C. 50 till A.D. 20) relates that both Menander and Apollodotus conquered Surāṣṭra and Kutch.<sup>100</sup> The position is not clear in regard to their share in the conquest of the region of Gujarat-Surāṣṭra. But since Menander's coins along with those of Apollodotus have been found in Surāṣṭra and Kutch,<sup>101</sup> there seems to be hardly any doubt about the rule of both over these two regions. It is only in regard to Bhroach that there is some doubt. But the discovery of some specimens of *drachmae* of bad workmanship, no doubt, found near Bhroach, with an incorrect legend, has led scholars to suppose that that town was probably under some local governor of Menander.<sup>102</sup> It is not unlikely that Menander was the first, and perhaps the only Bactrian, ruler who might have resided in these parts. This is the only justification for the discovery of the remains of permanent camps or barracks and wells in these regions, as mentioned by the author of the *Periplus*.<sup>103</sup>

There is one another Bactrian ruler whose coins have been discovered in Gujarat. He was Eucratides, the Seleucid, and the rival of Demetrius. He had a distinguished career in Eastern Iran and Bactria, where he rose to become the first sub-king and then King of Kings. When Demetrius I was planning the conquest of Pāṭāliputra, Eucratides challenged him in Bactria, necessitating Demetrius' hasty withdrawal from the north-west of India. This was in B.C. 168.<sup>104</sup> With the death of Demetrius I in B.C. 168-167,<sup>105</sup> there remained only Menander to be reckoned with, and, therefore, Eucratides turned his attention to Menander. In the meanwhile Eucratides had conquered quite a large slice of the Bactrian Empire. His advance to India was challenged by Menander somewhere in the Indus region.<sup>106</sup> The important fact is that the bronze coins discovered in India of both Eucratides and Menander are of a similar type, suggesting, as Professors Rapson and Tarn rightly maintain, that those coins were issued in the same district, and at the same time, and pointing to a condition of stalemate between the two rivals.<sup>107</sup> So far as our subject is concerned, the discovery of the coins of Eucratides in the different parts of Surāṣṭra suggests that that Bactrian king had cast his sway over Surāṣṭra as well. These coins are



of the smallest value but of better workmanship than the local coins.<sup>108</sup> If we agree with the modern scholars that Eucratides fought with his rival Menander, that the former died in about B.C. 159, and that Menander died between B.C. 150 and 145,<sup>109</sup> then, it cannot be that, as was once held by historians, Eucratides was the earliest Bactrian king to rule over Gujarat.<sup>110</sup> Surāṣṭra seems to have been lost to the Bactrians under Eucratides's eldest son and successor Heliocles (circa B.C. 141.)<sup>111</sup> There is nothing to indicate that Heliocles cast his sway over Gujarat.

The Bactrian occupation of Gujarat, therefore, lasted for about half a century from about B.C. 180 till about B.C. 140. It was half a century that was fraught with permanent consequences for the province. The control exercised by Apollodotus and Menander, and to some extent by Eucratides also, was firm. This is evident when we examine the lasting effects of the Bactrian rule in Gujarat. The Bactrians were responsible for introducing into north-western India the bilingual coinage which had on the obverse an inscription in Greek invariably mentioning the king by name, and on the reverse a Bactro-Pali legend naming the king and containing the figure of a Greek god or goddess. This was especially the case with the coins of Menander and Apollodotus,<sup>112</sup> while those of Eucratides were small coins in keeping with the existing local coinage. The latter were very small coins bearing either the Buddhist symbols of the *svastika*, the trident, and the Wheel or the figure of a misshapen elephant with something like a circle on the reverse.<sup>113</sup> The Bactro-Greek coinage was a distinct improvement on the local coinage in the sense that it was larger, that it contained more silver, that it was made up of two varieties—one called the *tetradrachmae*, and the other copper coins—, and that it was in two languages. The discovery of the *tetradrachmae*, the *didrachmae* and the *drachmae*, particularly of Menander and Apollodotus,<sup>114</sup> proves beyond doubt that those silver and copper coins were meant for circulation among the Indian people who could understand the significance of the inscriptions on them. The continued circulation of these coins till and during the days of the *Periplus*, definitely shows that till the middle of the first century A.D., the Bactrian coinage was the legal tender in the land for about three centuries. There can be no doubt that it must have had a profound effect in stabilizing the internal, and more particularly the foreign, trade of Gujarat. Along with this must have flowed all the benefits of a stable and recognized currency with the consequent enriching of the land. In this respect Gujarat was more favourable than the other regions, particularly the north-west and the country to the north of Surāṣṭra, where also the Bactrians had cast their sway, but where repeated incursions by fierce nomadic tribes must have had the inevitable result of first disturbing the internal economy of the land, and then of wiping out all traces of an internal and foreign trade. The only explanation why Gujarat-Surāṣṭra, which also was dotted with foreign settlements, did not witness this calamity was perhaps because of the existence of some factors which gradually and silently converted the foreign nomads into the philosophy of the people. These were the traits of the people which I have already enumerated, namely,



their tolerance, commercial genius, and practicability which must have been not a little responsible for taking the greatest advantage of the bilingual coinage and the nature of the new people. What a profound effect the Bactrian bilingual coinage had on the later coinage of Gujarat, and, therefore, on the commercial prosperity of this province, is a subject well worth investigation.<sup>115</sup> Here we may observe that the Bactrian bilingual coinage had come to stay in the country. This is proved by the fact that it was continued by the next rulers of Gujarat, the Western Kṣātrapas. Thus, the coins of Kṣaharāta, I Nahapāna (A.D. 78-120), were similar to those of Apollodotus. On the obverse is a bust with a Greek legend round it, and on the reverse a thunderbolt and an arrow similar to the distinctive weapons of Athene Promachos and of Apollo, which are found on the reverse of the coins of Apollodotus. The difference between the coins of the Bactrians and those of the Western Kṣātrapa Nahapāna is that the script of the legend of the latter was in Devanāgarī, and not in Kharoṣṭī.<sup>116</sup> The continuance of the Bactrian bilingual coinage by the Western Kṣātrapas, whose history we shall briefly allude to at once, marks one stage in the development of commerce in Gujarat. It seemed as if from now onwards a rich, stable, and well minted silver currency was guaranteed for Gujarat-Surāṣṭra for centuries to come.

I may now pass on to another permanent effect of the Bactrian main current on the ancient history of Gujarat. The Bactro-Greeks, it has rightly been suggested, were responsible for introducing the idea of reckoning time from a date fixed once for all in imitation of the great Seleucid era (October 312 B.C.),<sup>117</sup> as against the idea of reckoning time from the regnal years of monarchs. Without going further into this most interesting but intricate question, I may merely risk a suggestion that the reckoning of the Śaka and the Vikrama eras<sup>118</sup> in Western India may have had something to do with this Bactro-Greek innovation, the significance of which historians of India have not yet properly assessed. I say this with great diffidence because of the innumerable difficulties centering round both the Śaka and the Vikrama eras. An equally intricate problem is that connected with the Traikūṭaka era which is supposed to have started in A.D. 249-250.<sup>119</sup> To what extent all these eras were indebted to the Greek calendar which Demetrius I is supposed to have introduced, and which was copied later on by the Śakas and the Kuṣāṇas,<sup>120</sup>—the former of whom were most intimately connected with this ancient province,—is another problem that remains to be solved. All that we can presume is that a definite mode of reckoning must have given a further impetus to an inherently commercial and practicable people like those of Gujarat-Surāṣṭra not only in their financial transactions but also in their general concept of life.

After the Bactrians and before the Western Kṣātrapas, there is a gap of about half a century, when a nameless foreign king styled merely King of Kings, the Great Saviour, is met with in coins discovered in this region. Nothing is known about this ruler, whom Sir John Marshall identified with Wīma Khadphises (A.D. 78).<sup>121</sup>



The next great current in the history of ancient Gujarat is that of the Western Kṣātrapas, who were also called Kṣaharātas. The original home of the Western Kṣātrapas is still a problematical question.<sup>122</sup> Two families of these rulers are known to history—the one in the north which extended its power from the Kabul valley to the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamuna with its capital at Mathurā;<sup>123</sup> and the other, over a wide part of Western India including Surāṣṭra, Gujarat, and a part of North Konkan.<sup>124</sup> We are concerned here only with the latter, which has been called the family of the Western Kṣātrapas of Western India. The earliest Kṣātrapa in Western India was, according to some scholars, Bhūmaka Kṣaharāta, who has been assigned to the early years of the first century A.D.<sup>125</sup> While one of the last in the list of the Western Kṣātrapas was the Mahākṣātrapa Skanda. . . . The Western Kṣātrapa family consisted of about twenty-seven rulers. Their total rule, according to Pandit Bhagavanlal Indraji, lasted for about 330 years from A.D. 70 till A.D. 398.<sup>126</sup> Gujarat, therefore, was under the Western Kṣātrapas from the second half of the first century A.D. till the end of the fourth century A.D.

Important considerations centre round the Western Kṣātrapas. We shall examine a few of them before passing on to the results of their long occupation. The first consideration refers to their rule itself. On what grounds could it be maintained that the Western Kṣātrapas ruled over Gujarat for such a long time? The answer is found in their numerous coins discovered in Gujarat-Surāṣṭra, and their many inscriptions also found in this province, particularly at Gīrnār, Nasik, Karle, and Junnar. These sources enable us to assert that the rule of the Western Kṣātrapas was not ephemeral. The historicity of their rule being thus settled, the next point is—How far could they be considered as foreigners? The solution of this problem rests on two points—the evidence deducible from their own coins and inscriptions, and their relationship with other well known foreign peoples.

We shall first take the evidence of their coins and inscriptions. From the meagre evidence available from their inscriptions, it is evident that the Western Kṣātrapas were related to the Northern Kṣātrapas who ruled, as we have seen above, from the Kabul valley to Mathurā.<sup>127</sup> If we agree with the view of Pandit Bhagavanlal Indraji that the first prominent Kṣātrapa ruler of Gujarat, Nahapāna, was a scion of the Mathurā family of Kṣātrapas,<sup>128</sup> and that either on his own account or on behalf of Kaniska, he advanced through Rajputana in the direction of South Gujarat,<sup>129</sup> we have a link in the chain that establishes the relationship between the Western Kṣātrapas and those of Mathurā.<sup>130</sup> We shall presently see that the Kṣātrapas of Mathurā were connected with those of Taxila, and that both these houses were racially related to a well known foreign people called the Śakas. The evidence from their inscriptions is substantiated by that gleaned from their coins. The coinage of the Northern Kṣātrapas was an adaptation of the Bactro-Greek model. I have mentioned above that the coinage of Nahapāna was also after the model of the Bactro-Greeks. The third fact which stamps the Kṣātrapas as foreigners relates to the political status of



both Nahapāna ( A.D. 78-120 ) and his son Uṣavadāta ( A.D. 100-120 ), both of whom are described in the Nasik inscriptions as leaders of the Śakas, Pallavas, and Yavanas,<sup>131</sup> proving thereby that they themselves belonged to the wider sections of the Śaka people.

The foreign origin of the Western Kṣātrapas which is thus established by the evidence gathered from their coins and inscriptions, is further corroborated by the references to the Śakas as noticed in ancient Indian literature. Modern scholars are of the opinion that Pāṇini was acquainted with a branch of the Śakas, whose *sangha* or corporation he calls *vrka*, and an individual member of it, a *vārkanya*. Pāṇini describes the Śakas as *āyudhajīvins*, or people who were given to the profession of weapons. It has been assumed that the word *vārkanya* is detectable in its old Persian form in the Behistūn inscription of Darius I, in which the Śakas are mentioned along with the Parthians or the Pahlavas. The Persian designated the Śakas and all the northern warlike equestrian peoples as *varkas*.<sup>132</sup> The identification of the *varkas* with the Śakas is further proved by the name of the Śaka governor Barkaṇapālī, or Chief of Varkaṇa, who was placed over Mathurā, and who was associated with the foundation and repair of the Devakula of Wīma ( Vema ) Khadphises ( A.D. 78 ).<sup>133</sup> Patañjali ( B.C. 150 )<sup>134</sup> confirms the relationship between the Śakas and the Parthians whom he couples together in a *vārttika*.<sup>135</sup>

Having thus disposed of the question of the relationship between the Śakas, the Parthians or the Pahlavas, and the Western Kṣātrapas, let us now turn to the next one which may be stated thus—How did the Śakas come to be in Surāṣṭra-Gujarat ? The whole position has been ably summed up by Professor Rapson, while dating the migration of the Śakas to the first century A.D., thus—“ In the last part of the first century A.D., their ( *i.e.*, of the Śaka ) original Indian settlements in the country of the Indus delta continued to be ruled by princes of their own race whom the author of the Periplus calls Parthian ( Pahlava ), and describes as a turbulent chiefs perpetually engaged in turning one another out. But that these princes of foreign origin who governed the country of the lower Indus at this period had been forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Kushanas, is proved by the Suē Vihāra inscription in the Bahawalpur State which is dated in a regnal year of Kanishka ( year 11=89 A.D. ).

“ It was from this country, too, and under the leadership of Śaka and Pallava satraps that the Kushana power was extended to Western India : and in this manner were laid the foundations of the Kṣātrapas of Surāṣṭra and Malwa, the ‘ Western Satraps ’, who are known in the later Indian literature and inscriptions as Śakas. ”<sup>136</sup>

In the above passages we have three important facts—First, the date of the rule of the Śakas in the Indus delta; second, the subordinate position of the Śakas and the Pahlavas or Parthians under the Kuṣaṇa king Kaniṣka; and third, the extension of the Kuṣaṇa power to Surāṣṭra through his Śaka and Pahlava satraps. While Professor Rapson, therefore, in the above passages has explained as to



how the Śakas came to Surāṣṭra, he has not enlightened us on one or two points which may be stated thus—Was the Śaka settlement of about the first century A.D., the only Śaka settlement in this part of the country? If it was not, how many other waves of Śaka migrations could we detect as having come to and settled down in Gujarat-Surāṣṭra? And what were the probable dates of those Śaka migrations? In order to answer these questions, we have to acquaint ourselves with a few more facts about the Śakas.

Somewhere in the vast Eurasian steppes, "extending from the Danube through Russia and the plains north of the Caspian to the eastward," there was "a reservoir of peoples which, as the world then went, seemed inexhaustible." This was the world of nomadism. "Every nomad horde had its own territory within which it moved, pasturing its flocks and herds; of various blood and speech, but identical way of life, hordes easily coalesced or broken up again, though on the whole the tendency seems to have been for the greater hordes to absorb the lesser ones"<sup>137</sup> It was here in this huge human reservoir that various peoples spoke some form of Iranian, like the Medes, Persians, Bactrians, and Arachosians, who after a settled economy had forgotten their nomadic habits and traditions.<sup>138</sup> Behind them lay other waves of humanity, less developed but also nomadic whom the Persians called by the general name of Śakas, and the Greeks, by the name of Scythians.<sup>139</sup> It is now known that the Śaka language belonged to the North Iranian group which includes Sogdian and Pahlavik (Parthian).<sup>140</sup> Towards the end of the seventh century B.C., this vast horde showed the earliest signs of movement by following their kinsmen southwards.<sup>141</sup> This may be reckoned as the earliest migration of the Śakas from South Russia.

As mentioned above, the Śakas are definitely noticeable in the reign of the Persian monarch Darius I (B.C. 521-485),<sup>142</sup> as living in Sakastāna (Seistan) perhaps around Hāmūn Lake.<sup>143</sup> There is reason to believe that it was during the reign of the same monarch that the first Śaka migration began. This may be inferred from the notices of the Śakas in the records of the same great Persian monarch. Drs. F. W. Thomas, Sarre, and Herzfeld, and Professor Rapson have held the view that "the term Śaka may possibly allude to Sakastana (Seistan) and the dwellers around the region of the Hāmūn Lake."<sup>144</sup> It is this country which is probably connoted by the term "beyond Sogd (Sogdiana)", while referring to the Saraucae branch of the Śaka in the trilingual gold tablet inscription of the same Persian monarch Darius I. The Śakas are described here as wearing pointed caps.<sup>145</sup> The same description is given of the Śaka Haumavargā, the Amyrgioi Sakai of Herodotus (VII. 64), and the Śaka Tigrakhaudā, wearing pointed caps, as is mentioned in the Naksh-i-Rustum inscription of Emperor Darius I. Now Professor Rapson wrote that this particular attribute of "wearing pointed caps", was the one corresponding to the term Orthokorybantioi of Herodotus (III. 92)" which, according to the same scholar, "may indicate a special division of the Śakas, or Scythians, living between the extreme northern shores of the Indus and the headwaters of the Oxus."<sup>146</sup> Since we cannot imagine the Śakas living on the extreme northern shores of the



Indus, without their having moved south-eastwards from their original home on the banks of the Jaxartes, we may legitimately conclude that their first migration might have taken place either in the reign of Emperor Darius I, or perhaps earlier towards the end of the seventh century B.C.<sup>147</sup> In other words, we may date the first migration of the Śakas in the south-easterly direction towards India at the end of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century B.C. These Śakas remained in the Indo-Iranian border in the time of Darius I's son and successor Xerxes ( B.C. 486-465 ), as is proved by the fact that, along with other tribes, they are mentioned as having been a part of Xerxes' large army.<sup>148</sup>

The next movement of the great nomads seems to have been, according to some modern scholars, in the second century B.C., when they invaded Parthia. The bulk of these Śakas is supposed to have been the Massagetae and the Sacaraucae.<sup>149</sup> Professor Tarn would date this invasion to about B.C. 129.<sup>150</sup> In the course of this invasion, the Śakas invaded India between the years B.C. 124 and B.C. 115 along two routes—the main body pressed through Taxila and reached the Indus; while the other body came through Arachosia, and along the old route taken by Alexander the Great, reached Kophen ( Kabul ) which they wrested from the Greeks.<sup>151</sup> It was in the course of this second invasion which lasted from about B.C. 128 till B.C. 80 that they are supposed to have reached Surāṣṭra.<sup>152</sup>

Here in the above sketch we have a working hypothesis of the Śaka migrations which may be summarized thus :—( 1 ) The first movement of the Śakas, who were originally in the steppes of South Russia, and who were subjects of Emperor Darius I, was probably in the late seventh, or early sixth, century B.C. ( 2 ) Their second migration which resulted first in their invasion of Parthia, and then of India, was in the second century B.C. And ( 3 ) their sway over Surāṣṭra and Gujarat was in the first century A.D. With these landmarks, let us try to go backwards in order to understand a few facts about them.

While establishing the antiquity of Surāṣṭra, I cited above the testimony of Kauṭilya, who refers to that land on two occasions. I may be permitted to repeat the second occasion when he refers to Surāṣṭra, since it has a vital bearing on the subject before us. Kauṭilya writes that “ the corporations of warriors ( *kṣatriyaśreṇi* ) of Kāmbhoja, and Surāṣṭra, and other countries live by agriculture, trade, and wielding of weapons.”<sup>153</sup> Historians have not till now commented either on the curious mixture of professions which warrior corporations like those mentioned above, are said to have adopted, nor on the identity of one of those corporations. It cannot be that that great prime-minister associated some imaginary professions with those corporations of warriors; neither can it be that he singled out such corporations like those of the Kāmbhojas and those of Surāṣṭra out of a larger number of corporations which then existed in the country, without sufficient justification. I am concerned here with the corporations of warriors in Surāṣṭra. Before I attempt to identify them, it would be worth while to note that Kauṭilya locates them in Surāṣṭra proper.



Who were these people who comprised the corporations of warriors in Surāṣṭra ? We have to recall a few facts relating to Surāṣṭra which I have given above in order to answer this question. I mentioned above that the Śakas were essentially a nomadic people. If we admit the possibility of the first Śaka migration to the Indus basin to have taken place late in the seventh or early in the sixth century B.C., then, it would not too much to assume that those migratory people might have moved down the Indus to the borders of Surāṣṭra after the sixth century B.C. The infiltration of the Śakas down the basin of the Indus in the direction of Surāṣṭra, therefore, has to be assigned to a period after the early sixth century B.C. We can well imagine that by the time of Kauṭilya ( fourth century B.C. ), they might have settled down in Surāṣṭra where, because of some of their special features which I shall presently mention, they seemed to have risen to great prominence. When we come to the early centuries before Christ, we find the Śakas firmly established in Surāṣṭra. This explains their rise to power in that land in the early centuries of the Christian era; and why that province along with a large part of the western coast came to be called "Indo-Skythia" by Ptolemy ( A.D. 150 ), and as the Empire of the Mahākṣātrapa Rudradāman.<sup>154</sup> There seems to be no doubt, therefore, that we have to associate the Śakas with Surāṣṭra.

When we once admit the above fact, we are in a position to appreciate the next one relating to the three main branches of the Śakas—the Dahae, the Massagetae, and the Sacaraucae. Of these we may dismiss the first as a branch which was made up of a small confederacy, the members of which were semi-nomads, who were not only horse archers but also good fighters on foot. The third branch called the Sacaraucae comprised a confederacy of several tribes, without any special traits.<sup>155</sup> There remains the second branch called the Massagetae which was made up of the bulk of the Śakas. The name Massagetae itself signified "a great Śaka horde".<sup>156</sup> They formed a huge confederacy, some of whom remained in their original home to be only absorbed by other people but the bulk had left their home in the direction of India.<sup>157</sup> Some of the Massagetae fought on foot being agriculturists, but the majority fought on horseback, and were led by an aristocracy of mailed warriors who rode on mailed horses.<sup>158</sup> The Massagetae, therefore, had three traits which were special to them—( a ) they existed as a corporation of warriors being led by an aristocracy of warriors; ( b ) some of them lived as agriculturists; but ( c ) the bulk was made up of cavalry archers, who were led by their aristocratic mailed leaders on mailed horses. These three characteristics of the Massagetae agree admirably with those mentioned by Kauṭilya which I have mentioned above. That the Surāṣṭra corporations of warriors could have been only of the Massagetae type is further proved by the fact that they had no kings. This is suggested by the next passage in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, where the corporations of the Kāmbhojas and of Surāṣṭra are distinguished from other corporations which had kings. Thus states Kauṭilya—"The corporations of Lichchhāvika, Vrijjika, Mallaka, Madraka Kukkura, Kuru, Panchala, and others live by the title of a



Rāja.”<sup>159</sup> We are, therefore, justified in assuming that the corporations of warriors of Surāṣṭra were essentially of the aristocratic type similar to those existing among the Massagetae Śakas.

This may further be proved by an examination of the passages in the *Arthaśāstra* relating to such corporations of aristocratic warriors, and to the proximity of the Kāmbhojas with the Śakas. In an earlier context in the same work Kauṭilya deals with the question of the protection of princes, thus :— “Except in dangers, sovereignty falling to the lot of the eldest (son) is always respected. Sovereignty may (sometimes) be the property of a clan; for the corporation of clans is invincible in its nature, and being free from the calamities of anarchy can have a permanent existence on earth.”<sup>160</sup> “It may be argued that the reference in this passage is to the republican tribes of the Punjab and Sindh in the age when Alexander the Great invaded India, and in the times of Pāṇini, who mentions some of them in his list of corporations and republics.<sup>161</sup> But this argument may be met with in the following manner :—The reference to the corporations amongst Kāmbhojas and in Surāṣṭra mentioned by Kauṭilya could not have been to those in the Punjab and Sindh, since he does not mention the name of any of the regions in that part of the country. The Kāmbhojas were originally the people who occupied Kafirstan, the country behind Kāpiśa.<sup>162</sup> It has been suggested by Professor Sylvain Levi that Kāpiśa and Kambhoja were the same word.<sup>163</sup> The “White Kafirs” of Kafirstan are supposed to have been the descendants of Alexander the Great’s Macedonians.<sup>164</sup> Kāpiśa was essentially a Greek centre.<sup>165</sup> The Kambhojas who lived in Kāpiśa gradually moved on to the north-western regions of the Indus. It is evidently these foreigners whom Yāska mentions in his *Nirukta* (circa 500 B.C.), as a people whose speech differed in certain respects from the ordinary Indian speech.<sup>166</sup> In the geographical lists as given in early Buddhist literature of an earlier period (seventh century B.C.) sixteen great peoples are mentioned, the Kāmbhojas being the last but one preceded by the Gāndhāras.<sup>167</sup> In the still earlier age as represented by the *Mahābhārata*, we have the Kāmbhojas listed with the Yavanas, the Śakas, the Madras, the Kaikeyas, the Sindhus, and the Sauvīras in the north-western regions of India.<sup>168</sup> The association of the Kāmbhojas with foreigners which is thus proved by the above references, is further corroborated by the references to them in the Edicts of Aśoka in which they are mentioned along with the Yonas (Yavanas) and the Gāndhāras as living in the north-west of his Empire.<sup>169</sup> These references, therefore, conclusively prove that we have to classify the Kāmbhojas with the Śakas and the Yavanas. We now understand why Kauṭilya mentions them along with the corporation of warriors of Surāṣṭra ; it was precisely because these latter also belonged to the larger Śaka group of warriors. The above identification of the Massagetae with the Śakas, who occupied Surāṣṭra, seems complete but for one detail which I am not able to explain at present. The Greek accounts describe the majority of the Massagetae as riding on horseback, led by their mailed aristocracy who also rode on mailed horses. We have no means of verifying whether the bulk of the early settlers



in Surāṣṭra were horse riders. But that the horse has been traditionally connected with Kathiawad is proved by the fact that it is held sacred in Surāṣṭra, and is most intimately associated with the Kāṭhis, after whom Kathiawad is named. The prevalence of the worship of a clay horse among the Bhaṭias, the Oja Kumbhārs, the Bhills, the Paṭeliyas, the Chamadiyas, and other sections of the people,<sup>170</sup> is perhaps reminiscent of those ancient times when the ancient Massegatae Śaka settlers were known as famous horsemen. The pastoral and roving Kāṭhis, who for ages were averse to any settled mode of life or government, have always been fond of animals. "They still have large droves of cattle and pride themselves on these breed of horses."<sup>171</sup> The old trait of training horses seems to have persisted in the Kāṭhis. So early as the end of the sixteenth century (A.D. 1590), Abul Fazl wrote these about them in his *'Ain-i-Akbari* :—"These people (the Kāṭhis) rear and train horses".<sup>172</sup> But in what manner the Kāṭhis could be identified with any of the sections of the Massegatae, I am unable to make out.

That our identification of the Messagetæ with the early settlers in Surāṣṭra is within the bounds of probability will be evident when we note another, and a more well known, feature of that horde of the Śakas. This relates to their love of gold and wealth. The Massagetæ in the fifth century B.C., being a people who lived in the neighbourhood of Bactria, the land of gold, "possessed gold in such abundance that they used to make bits of trappings for their horses." This is based on the evidence of Herodotus.<sup>173</sup> We can only imagine that the Messagetæ, in the course of their migrations, brought their love of gold to Surāṣṭra, where they lived to transfuse it into one of the most prominent qualities of the people which had perhaps the effect of increasing the commercial prosperity of the land.<sup>174</sup>

The occupation of Surāṣṭra by the Messagetæ which is thus propounded for the first time in this lecture offers certain chronological difficulties. If we identify the Messagetæ with the corporation of warriors mentioned by Kauṭilya, it would mean that we have to date their advent into India sometime in the age of that great prime-minister (fourth century B.C.). How can we square this with the general opinion of scholars that the Śakas came into India only in the second century B.C. ? I have mentioned above that it is not improbable that from the late seventh or early sixth century B.C., when the Śakas seem to have migrated for the first time in the direction of India, they might have moved down the banks of the Indus reaching finally the land of Surāṣṭra. This point deserves further elucidation. We may accept the view of modern scholars that the earliest Śaka migration is to be dated to the end of the seventh or early sixth century B.C., chiefly because of their over-population.<sup>175</sup> It is in the same (seventh) century B.C. that, as already mentioned above, they are noticed by Pāṇini, who was himself a native of the north-western regions of India.<sup>176</sup> After having gone to those regions, the Śakas seem to have gradually moved down the Indus in the direction of Surāṣṭra. It is here that because of their corporate existence and their extreme love of gold that they seem to have become so well known as to have come under the notice of Kauṭilya. If this is accepted, the evidence of



that great prime-minister definitely goes against the view that we have to date the first migration of the Śakas only to the second century B.C., as is done by most modern historians.<sup>177</sup> The migratory habits of Śakas, and the fact that they were driven by over-population might have been responsible for their movements after the sixth century B.C. and before the fourth century B.C. At any rate, we may not be far wrong in assuming that there was a second migration of the Śakas some time in the age of Kauṭilya. The third and the last phase in the Śaka irruption into India was in the early centuries of the Christian era, when they succeeded in casting their sway over Surāṣṭra and Gujarat, first as Kuṣaṇas, and then, independently as Mahākṣātrapas.

I may now come to the results of this main current of the Śaka occupation of Surāṣṭra-Gujarat. But before I do so, it would be only proper that I should explain on what grounds we could identify the Śakas with the Kuṣaṇas. As already mentioned by me, the Western Kṣātrapas of Surāṣṭra are known in later inscriptions and Indian literature as Śakas.<sup>178</sup> The identification of the Western Kṣātrapas with the Śakas and of the latter with the Kuṣaṇas is justifiable not only on the above ground but also on that of speech. Dr. F. W. Thomas has shown that the Kuṣaṇas spoke the Śaka language. According to him, it is "nearer a certainty than a conjecture."<sup>179</sup> One great effect of the Śaka main current on the ancient history of Gujarat is seen in the coinage. The dates on the coins and inscriptions of the Western Kṣātrapas form the most continuous and complete chronological series found in the monuments of ancient India.<sup>180</sup> This chronological definiteness and the fixity in coinage could only have made the ancient people of Gujarat precise in all matters relating to their public business, particularly those concerning their commercial undertakings. Indeed, it would not be an exaggeration to affirm that ancient Surāṣṭra-Gujarat owed a great debt to the Western Kṣātrapas as well as to the Bactrians in the matter of stabilizing their coinage, and thereby giving the necessary stimulus to the growth of a prosperous economic life of the people.

As interesting point of inquiry in this context is to know whether we could connect the Śakas, and especially those of Sindh and Surāṣṭra, with maritime activities. We are indebted to the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, to that veteran scholar Professor Sten Know of Norway, and to Professor Tarn for giving us a few details which enable us to postulate the theory that the Śakas who came to Surāṣṭra were also a maritime people. While amplifying his theory that the Śakas under Maues from the south went up along the Indus, in about 80 B.C., Professor Tarn writes thus :—"One detail of the Saka conquest has survived on the coinage; Maues' fleet defeated a Greek fleet on the Indus, which gave him control of that river and opened the way to Taxila. This victory must have been a decisive event, as it is an event which Maues celebrated on his coins. One coin shows Poseidon with his trident—the usual symbolism of a naval victory—trampling on a river god; on another Poseidon, while he still tramples on the river god, hurls his thunderbolt at a small figure clinging to an *aphlaston*, the stern erection of a (presumably sinking) ship."<sup>181</sup> In an earlier context



Professor Tarn states that "somewhere about 80 B.C., the Sacas who had previously established a kingdom in Sind, and the Greek sea provinces to the southward, came up the Indus, occupied Taxila, and drove a wedge in between the realms or State groups" (of the house of Eucratides and of the Euthydemid kings).<sup>182</sup> Professor Tarn would not only date the invasion of Surāṣṭra by the Śakas to about the second century B.C.—which, as I have already stated above, has to be carried by about two centuries earlier, if we are to rely on the evidence of Kauṭilya—but would also lay stress on the maritime nature of the Śakas concerning which the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal and Professor Sten Konow have given sufficient justification. According to both these scholars, the Śakas went in their ships to conquer Surāṣṭra.<sup>183</sup> Since there is hardly any doubt about the maritime nature of the Śakas, particularly those who had migrated to Surāṣṭra, it follows that such an ocean-faring people were primarily responsible for augmenting and stabilizing the trade of Surāṣṭra-Gujarat. That is, one of the most important results of the Śaka occupation of Surāṣṭra was that relating to the encouragement which they gave to trade and commerce of the province.

Finally, the Śakas were responsible for leaving another permanent effect in Gujarat history. This relates to the nomenclature of the people. I refer to one of the commonest name-endings in Gujarat—*Shah*. How is it that this ending of names is so common among the people of this province? It is not denied that we come across it also in the Punjab and to some extent in Rajputana. But its prevalence in Gujarat is undisputed. It can be traced to the Kuṣaṇa days when Śāhi, Śākhi, Śāhanusāhi, and Śāha were used as Śaka titles of Kuṣaṇa monarchs.<sup>184</sup> It is not only epigraphs that prove this but literature as well. For instance, in the Jaina work called *Kālakācāryakathānaka* ("The Story of Kālaka"), some events are described which are supposed to have taken place in Ujjain and other parts of Western India in the first half of the first century B.C. The Jaina saint Kālaka on being insulted by the king Gardhabhila of Ujjain, went in his desire to revenge to the land of the Śaka whose king was styled Śāhanusāhi (King of Kings), and whose nobles were called Śāhis. These titles were certainly borne by the Śaka kings of the Punjab, and they appear on the coins of their successors, the Kuṣaṇa monarchs. According to Professor Rapson, this story of Kālaka contains faint recollections of the Scythian domination in Western India during the first century B.C.<sup>185</sup> Professor Rapson's opinion is justified by the fact that in that story the Śāhis are introduced into Gujarat and Surāṣṭra by Kālaka.<sup>186</sup> As regards the identification of the people called Śāhis and Śāhanusāhis mentioned in that story, with the Śakas, it is enough if we note the description of the head gear worn by them, as given in it. The Śāhis are pictured as wearing pointed caps which Professor Norman Brown rightly identified with the pointed caps worn by the Tigarkhaudā Śakas mentioned above.<sup>187</sup> There being no doubt, therefore, about the Śakas' having occupied Surāṣṭra and Gujarat, and about their having used the titles of Śāhanusāhis, and Śāhis, it is only reasonable to suppose that their subjects took to themselves their names (*Saha* for *Śāha*, *Śāhanusāha*) which, after the age of the Kuṣaṇas, seem to have been widely in use



among all the sections of the people in Gujarat-Surāṣṭra. In the light of these facts, any attempt to derive the name *Sāha Shah*, from the word *Sādhu* is historically untenable.<sup>188</sup>

We may note now a racial detail of the Śakas which will help us to trace the next main current in the history of ancient Gujarat. It relates to the general ethnographical setting of the Śakas which has been described by Sir Halford J. Macindar in the first chapter of the *Cambridge History of India*. While describing the seven geographical regions which form the basis of the ethnographical classification of the people of India, Sir Halford comes to the fourth classification which he describes thus :—"The Scythio-Dravidian type in Sindh east of the Indus, Gujarat, and the western section of the peninsula as far as about 76°E. that is to say, the Bombay Presidency or Western India generally. 'The type is clearly distinguished from the Turko-Iranian by a lower stature, a great length of head, a higher nasal index, a shorter nose, and a lower orbito-nasal index' ". The same authority continues to state thus :—"This type, of which the Marathas are the chief representatives, occupies a position between the broad-headed Turko-Iranian and the long-headed Dravidians. Its designation assumes that the foreign broad-headed element was introduced during the period of Scythian ( Śaka ) rule in Western India ( c. 120-380 A.D. ). But there can be little doubt that its origin must be traced to a period more remote. The Śakas were among the military conquerors who broke into the Punjab after the downfall of the Maurya Empire; and it can scarcely be supposed that the extension of their power to Western India materially affected the race. The fact that their Scythian names, as is shown by coins and inscriptions, became Hinduized after a few generations, is conclusive proof that they were forced to adapt themselves to their social environment. We must therefore, seek the disturbing racial influence in some earlier tribal immigration of which no memorial now remains. The invaders probably belonged to the broad-headed Alpine race which inhabited the plateau of Western Asia ( Anatolia, Armenia, and Iran ); and they would seem to have come into Western India, as the Dravidians also most probably came, through Baluchistan before desiccation had made the routes impassable for multitudes."<sup>189</sup>

The above description of the Scythio-Dravidian ethnographical group is of importance for our study. I cannot understand, however, why Sir Halford should have introduced the Marathas here, while describing the Scythio-Kuṣāṇa racial impact on the people of Gujarat; and why he minimizes the effect of the extension of the Śaka or Scythian power to Western India. The Marathas have never figured in the ancient history of Gujarat; they will appear only later on in the eighteenth century. If perhaps it is meant by the above the Dravidian origin of the Marathas, then, the inclusion of the Marathas in the above description is historically intelligible.<sup>190</sup> It would have been better if the effect of the Śaka racial influence on the local people of Surāṣṭra and Gujarat had received a more detailed attention at the hands of the Ethnographers. This field is an altogether virgin field of investigation, which promises to yield an unending vista of fruit-



ful studies. I hope that this University which has so enthusiastically applied itself to the archaeology of ancient Gujarat, will also find it possible to take up the study of the ethnographical types of Gujarat-Surāṣṭra, which would enable the historian to arrive at some tangible results in the field of the ancient history of Gujarat.

Sir Halford's earlier statement in the same passage that the foreign broad-headed element was introduced during the period of the Scythian or Śaka rule in Western India, which he puts between *circa* A.D. 120 and A.D. 380, cannot be made to agree with the later statement that "it can scarcely be supposed that the extension of their power to Western India materially affected the race." Sir Halford admits in the next sentence that the Śakas, as their inscriptions and coins prove, became Hinduized after a few generations, being forced to adapt themselves to their social environment. One fails to understand how the Śakas could have introduced the foreign broad-headed element into Western India, if the extension of their power to this region had not materially affected the race ! I am afraid sufficient justice has not been done by scholars to the Śaka occupation of Gujarat-Surāṣṭra. If it is admitted, and we can hardly controvert it, that the Śakas occupied and ruled over Gujarat-Surāṣṭra from the first century A.D. till the end of the fourth century A.D., that is, for a period of nearly three centuries, could we assume that the Śakas ruled only as viceroys or Mahākṣātrapas, keeping themselves perpetually aloof from the bulk of the people, without having a multitude of their followers in all walks of life, official and non-official, settling down in the land ? There are two examples of foreign powers that ruled over the whole or some parts of India in comparatively modern times for over 150 years. The history of the Portuguese and British occupation and rule in India shows that a mere handful of foreign rulers alone did not govern the country; along with them came a vast number of their people many of whom got mixed with the people of the land. This racial fusion must have also taken place under the Śakas, and it is precisely here that the Ethnographer would help the Historian to find out exactly to what extent the Śaka impact is visible in the racial structure of Gujarat-Surāṣṭra.

That there must have been a large proportion of the Śaka element in Gujarat in the ancient times is evident when we take the history of coastal centres like Bhroach. The argument that because no genuine Greek coins have been found in Bhroach, that town might not have been the Barygaza of the Greek historians, as has been maintained by Professor Tarn,<sup>101</sup> appears to me to be not sound. In the first place, we have seen above that a few Greek *drachmae* of inferior type, no doubt, have been discovered near Bhroach, suggesting that the neighbourhood of that town was under the rule of a governor under Menander. It may be noted here that no systematic attempt has ever been made to discover Greek coins in Bhroach and its neighbourhood, ever since the days of Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji, who was concerned more with Surāṣṭra than with Bhroach. And further, since coins have an inevitable tendency of reaching surreptitiously the melting pots of goldsmiths, it is likely that hordes of Greek coins might have



disappeared from Bhroach, which was for centuries a most prosperous international port.<sup>192</sup> We have cited above the evidence of the *Periplus* in regard to the construction of camps, wells, barracks, etc., by the Greeks. To this may be added the work of the Mahākṣātrapa Nahapān, who constructed houses, squares, etc., in Bhroach.<sup>193</sup> Nahapāna has been assigned to *circa* A.D. 78—A.D. 120.<sup>194</sup> If his inscriptions are to be credited, then we cannot but conclude that there was a foreign settlement in Bhroach. A third fact which may be noted in this connection is the existence of a white slave market in Bhroach in the days of the author of the *Periplus*.<sup>195</sup> A reference to a white slave market in Bhrigukaccha, as given in the *Mahābhārata*,<sup>196</sup> obviously seems to confirm the existence of such a slave market. even granting that the inclusion of such a reference in that epic is the work of a later date. The question that naturally arises is—From where did these white slaves come? And why were they sold at Bhroach when there were other centres where they could have been offered for sale? These considerations lead us to the assumption that it was not merely a handful of foreigners like the Śakas that ruled over Gujarat but a larger number; and that it was evidently from the bulk of the same Śaka race that the economically more backward and helpless white people were sold as slaves at Bhroach. If the Śaka rulers, as is admitted by Sir Halford, became Hinduized, then, what happened to their followers? It is reasonable to assume that these latter also followed the example of their masters, and ultimately got fused in the local population. These considerations run counter to the views of Sir Halford that the extension of the Śaka power in Surāṣṭra did not materially affect the race.

Sir Halford's other statements that the introduction of the foreign broad-headed element is probably to be traced to a more remote period than the Śaka rule in Western India ( which he places between A.D. 120 and A.D. 380 ), that the disturbing racial influence is to be referred to " some earlier tribal immigration of which no other memorial remains ", and that the invaders probably belonged to the plateaus of Iran, Anatolia, and Armenia, are in agreement with the theory I have propounded in these lectures, *viz.* that prior to the Śaka rule from the first century A.D. till the end of the fourth century A.D., there were two other waves of Śaka migrations—one in the seventh century B.C., and the other in the fourth century B.C. I shall leave this hypothesis here, and merely say that the next assumption of the Ethnographers that the Scythio-Dravidian element is clearly visible in the racial set-up of Gujarat-Surāṣṭra, brings us to the next main current relating to the Dravidians in the ancient history of Gujarat.

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The affinity between the Śakas and the Dravidians, which is suggested by the ethnographical details referred to above by me last evening, leads us to a study of the Dravidian current in the history of ancient Gujarat. But before I describe it and its effects, I should like to mention the chronological limits of the dynasties that ruled over Gujarat from the middle of the third century A.D. to the middle of the tenth century. The earliest were the Traikūtakas, who rose to prominence, during the middle period of the Western Kṣātrapas in A.D. 250.<sup>107</sup> The sources of information relating to these rulers are very meagre. They rest on two copper plate grants—one found in Kanheri and the other at Pardi near Bulsar. Beyond the name of the solitary ruler Dharasena, who is called the illustrious Great King of the Traikūtakas, and the year 245 which is qualified by the phrase that it marked the increasing rule of the Traikūtakas,<sup>108</sup> these sources contain no other information. If the suggestion that the Mahākṣātrapa Rudrasena ( *circa* A.D. 252-272 ), who extended his sway to Berar, spread his power at the expense of the Traikūtakas,<sup>109</sup> is accepted, then, we can understand that the Traikūtakas, when driven to Central India established themselves at Tripura and Kalañjara, and reappearing under the name of Haihayas, lived to revive their ancient power in the middle of the fifth century at the expense of their old enemies, the Western Kṣātrapas, whose decline had already started by the beginning of the fourth century A.D.<sup>200</sup> The Traikūtakas reappeared in the Deccan and in South Gujarat under the name of the Kalacuriyas. I do not wish to enter into the interesting question relating to the Kalacuriyas in Gujarat, but merely to state that they ruled from Bhroach and Ānandpura ( modern Ānand ) from A.D. 541 till A.D. 610.<sup>201</sup> There is an important question connected with the Traikūtakas which I wish to allude without solving. It is this—Were the Traikūtakas a family of local origin or were they of Ābhira stock?<sup>202</sup> The only major contribution of the Traikūtakas and the Kalacuriyas to the history of ancient Gujarat is the era the initial year of which was A.D., 249-50.<sup>203</sup> They continued the Western Kṣātrapa traditions of coinage which they closely imitated,<sup>204</sup> and thereby helped to stabilize the currency of the province on which the progress of trade and commerce depended.

Somewhere in the last quarter of the fifth century, A.D., the Traikūtakas were overthrown by Candragupta II of the Imperial Gupta family.<sup>205</sup> It was this ruler who extended his over Malwa which he seems to have wrested from the Western Kṣātrapas. Entering South Gujarat from Ujjain, by way of Bagh and Tanda, in the province of Rath he passed from Bhroach to Kathiawad. He seems to have conquered Surāṣṭra from the Kṣātrapas and struck silver coins in imitation of the current Kṣātrapa coins.<sup>206</sup> He appointed his son Kumāragupta as Viceroy over Gujarat-Surāṣṭra,<sup>207</sup> which continued to be under Kumāragupta and the latter's son Skandagupta. The large number of gold, silver, and



copper coins of Kumāragupta, and the Gīrnar inscription of Skandagupta conclusively prove that the Guptas exercised a firm sway over Gujarat and Surāṣṭra.<sup>208</sup> Since few coins of Kumāragupta have been found in Kutch where Skandagupta's coins have been found in plenty, it has rightly been maintained that Skandagupta added Kutch to the Gupta Empire.<sup>209</sup> The Gīrnar inscription of Skandagupta dated A.D. 456, relates that on conquering Surāṣṭra he appointed Paṇḍāta as Viceroy and placed Paṇḍāta's son Cakrapalita as the Governor of the city of Junagadh. It was during the viceroyalty of Paṇḍāta that the huge Sudarśana lake built by Rudradāman in A.D. 150 had burst, and that it was repaired in two months' time. The new dam was 100 cubits long, 68 cubits broad, and 38 feet high.<sup>210</sup> Gujarat was lost to the Guptas in the reign of the next monarch Budhagupta.<sup>211</sup> The province of Gujarat-Surāṣṭra, therefore, was under the Guptas for about 50 years (410-470). The continuance of Western Kṣātrapa coinage and the repairing of the Sudarśana lake which the Western Mahākṣātrapa Rudradāman had reconstructed, could only have furthered the material prosperity of the province.

The next current in the history of ancient Gujarat was again that of foreigners. These were the Mihirs, who have been identified with the White Huns. The Mihir current lasted for about 25 years, but within this short span, it left a deep impression on the history of the land. It is a well known fact that the Huns wrecked the Gupta Empire.<sup>212</sup> The first prominent Hun ruler was Toramana (A.D. 490-502). And on his death in A.D. 502 he was followed by his son Mihirakula (A.D. 502-528), who was defeated in A.D. 528 by Yaśovarman of Malwa.<sup>213</sup> There is reason to believe that the Mihirs were closely connected with Gujarat-Surāṣṭra. The word Maitraka has been taken to be the Sanskrit form of Mihira, which in turn was an adaption of the widespread and well known Western Indian tribal name Mer or Med. Dr. J. F. Fleet and Mr. A. M. T. Jackson long ago suggested on good grounds that Kula was used for the name Mihirakula, and that Gula was another form of the name Mihirakula occurring in some of the latter's gold coins.<sup>214</sup> If the identification of the Mihirs with the Maitrakas is accepted, we have good ground to state that the Mihirs had come to stay in Gujarat. For the founder of the Valabhi line of kings by name Senāpati Bhaṭṭāraka (A.D. 508—circa 520), is described in the copper plate grant of his son Dhruvasena (A.D. 526) as having obtained glory by dealing hundreds of blows on the large and very mighty armies of the Maitrakas, who had by force subdued their enemies.<sup>215</sup> The growth of the Mihirs is proved by the Bāgumra copper plate grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhruva I (A.D. 867) in which that ruler is said to have checked an invasion by a Mihir king with a powerful army.<sup>216</sup> That the Mihirs were spread over the whole of Surāṣṭra is proved by the fact that their descendents continued to occupy in large numbers the Barda Hills in the south-east of Kathiawad till our own days, while in the north-east of Kathiawad, the Mihirs (Mehrs) continued to exercise power till the thirteenth century.<sup>217</sup> It has been stated that the Jethva chiefs of Porbunder were "almost certainly of the Mihir tribe".<sup>218</sup> The Mihirs thus seem to have left a powerful stratum in the



society of Gujarat,<sup>219</sup> but continued to play a small part in the political history of the land. Another effect of their occupation of Gujarat was the impetus they gave to the Sun worship.<sup>220</sup> The famous temple of the Sun at Bhinmāl, the great capital of the Gurjars, is perhap to be traced to the influence of the Sun worshippers, the Mihirs.<sup>221</sup>

The Mihirs bridge the gap in the history of Gujarat after the Guptas and before the rise to power of the Valabhi kings, that is, from the end of the Gupta period in about A.D. 470 till about the earliest days of the Valabhi A.D. 530.<sup>222</sup> The rule of the Valabhis may be said to have lasted roughly from A.D. 509 till A.D. 766.<sup>223</sup> It was responsible for introducing a systematized administration and the *pādāvarta* ( modern *kadam* or *pace* ) and *pīṭaka* or basketful systems of land assessment. The Valabhis patronized both Śaivism and Buddhism, and thereby continued the old traditions of liberalism which have always marked the people of this province. The Valabhis also introduced an era called Valabhi era starting from A.D. 319-20.<sup>224</sup> I may mention here that the history of the Valabhi rulers contains many interesting points which are yet to be solved. One of them relates to their connection with the Kāṭhis of Kathiawad, the latter with Catheans mentioned by the Greek writers, and of both with the Bāhlikas.<sup>225</sup>

The Valbhi rulers were further responsible for withstanding the first major threat to Gujarat security which this time came not from the north but from Dravidian India. The Valabhi king who is credited with this achievement was Śīlāditya I ( A.D. 605-6 );<sup>226</sup> and the southern aggressor whom he stopped was the early Western Cālukya king Mangaleśa. The latter had subdued the Kaḷacuriya king Buddharāja in Central Gujarat, and appears to have planned the conquest of the whole of Gujarat. Mangaleśa's victory over Buddharāja is supposed to have taken place in about A.D. 601-602.<sup>227</sup> But the Kaḷacuriya king continued to rule from Ānandapura, his sway extending as far as Bhroach, till A.D. 610.<sup>228</sup> The Early Western Cālukya rule over South Gujarat continued till A.D. 739, when Avānijanāśraya Pulikeśin ruled over Lāṭa.<sup>229</sup> I do not wish to dwell on the different branches of the early Western Cālukyas governing the various parts of Gujarat. I may simply note that the first prominent Dravidian current lasted from about A.D. 610 till A.D. 730 i.e., for just over a century.

About this time two main cross streams of historical action flow—one that of the rulers of Anhilavāḍa whom Pandit Bhagavanlal Indraji styled as the Cāvaḍā kings, and who ruled from A.D. 720 till A.D. 956.<sup>230</sup> and the other that of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who ruled from A.D. 743 till A.D. 930.<sup>231</sup> The former were, on the whole, responsible for giving a great impetus to Jainism,<sup>232</sup> and consequently to the ancient concept of *ahimsā*. The latter were instrumental in increasing the Dravidian influence in Gujarat. The sway of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas extended over the whole of Gujarat as far as Cambay.<sup>233</sup>

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa conquest of Gujarat may conveniently be taken as an important stage where we could stop in order to gauge the inter-action of Gujarati and Dravidian cultures. The whole trend of the two major waves of Dravidian



incursions into Gujarat till now—the early Cālukya and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa—had served only to show the aggressive nature of their imperialistic designs. If we could have expected anything, it was only a counter attack by Gujarat on Dravidian India which during these centuries was passing through a series of political vicissitudes, but, what is more interesting, we have definite evidence of a peaceful conquest of the Dravidian country by the people of Gujarat in a manner which we hardly come across anywhere in contemporary India. The four means by which the people of Gujarat overcame the Dravidians relate to the spheres of administration, commerce, colonisation, and religion.

In the political field, Gujarat gave able administrators to Dravidian India. Thus, for instance, there was a distinguished line of provincial officials beginning with Manalarata, who was styled “ Lord of Valabhi, the best of towns ”, and who belonged to the Sāgarānvaya ( the race of Sāgara ). He was a subordinate under the Viceroy, the Western Ganga prince Permāḍi Bhūtuga, and was placed in A.D. 949-50 over a group of villages known as Ātakūru Twelve and the village of Koṭeyūru in the Belvoḷa country. His family continued to serve in the Dharwar district from A.D. 949 till A.D. 1077.<sup>234</sup>

A more distinguished Gujarat administrator serving under the Western Cālukyas of the South was Anantapāla concerning whom there are in all eleven stone inscriptions—seven inscriptions found in the Shikarpur taluka of the Shimoga district of the Mysore State, three inscriptions in the Dharwar district, and one in the Bijapur district of the Mysore State. For the sake of convenience, I shall style them as follows—The stone inscription discovered near the Mallikārjuna temple at Gāma in the Shikārpur Hobli, which I shall call the Gāma record; and six other stone inscriptions discovered amidst the ruins of the once populous maharajadhani ( the great royal capital ) of Baḷligāme, also in the same Shikārpur taluka, which I shall call the I, II, III, IV, V and VI Baḷligāme records. An analysis of all these records will help us to understand the important part which Anantapāla played along with his relatives in the history of the south. These stone records range from A.D. 1098 till A.D. 1114.<sup>235</sup> The earliest is the Gāma record which informs us that in A.D. 1098 when Tribhuvanamalla ( i.e., the great Vikramāditya VI of the later Western Cālukya dynasty, who ruled from A.D. 1076 till A.D. 1126 ),<sup>236</sup> was in the capital of Kalyāṇa, “ a dweller at his lotus feet ” ( i.e., his subordinate ) was Anantapāla, who is given the following titles—“ Entitled to the five big drums, Mahāsāmantādipati, and Mahāpracaṇḍa Daṇḍanāyaka ”. There is no indication of the country from he originated in this record. In the next year ( A.D. 1099 ) General Anantapāla, as is related in the two records both dated in the same year, and discovered at Cikkahandigol, Gadag tāluka, Dharwar district and at Koṭavumacigi, also in the same tāluka and the same district, administered the Six Hundred Province, the Banavasinaḍ, the Kuṇḍinād, and the Balayavapaṭṇa. His three younger brothers Nāraṇadeva, Vāvaṇa and Lakhaṇa are also mentioned in the Cikkahandigol inscription. The Koṭavumacigi inscription adds the Purigeri Three Hundred District to the list of the districts under his charge.



In the VI Balligāme record assigned by Rice to about A.D. 1100, General Anantapāla is given the additional titles of *Vibudha-varadāyaka*, *sujana-prasanna*, *nuḍid-mattennami*, *gotra-pavitra paragaṇa-putram*, *turaya Revantam*, *Vairi-krit-āntam*, *ayyana-singa*, *mane-verggaḍe*, *daṇḍanāyaka*. It is related in the same inscription that Anantapāla having received the Gajagaṇḍa 600 Province and the Banavasi 12,000 Province together with the Customs Commissionership (*achchupannāya*) of the Seven-and-a-Half Lakh country, was rulling the kingdom in peace and wisdom. The Naregaḷ stone inscription found in the Roṇ tāluka the Dharwar district, and dated also in A.D. 1100, adds the Belvoḷa 300 and Purigeṛe 300 districts to his jurisdiction.<sup>238</sup> It is only in the I Balligāme stone inscription dated A.D. 1103 that we have the most substantial proof of the country from where Anantapāla hailed. In this record he is distinctly described as “a moon to the water lily the Lāṭa-kula (*Lāṭa-kula kumuda-vana-vidhu-karaṇam*), and is said to have received the two Six Hundred districts, and the Banavase 12,000 province, and the Collectorship of Customs (the *Vaddarāvula* and the *Perjjuṇka*) of the same province. In the III Balligāme stone record dated A.D. 1104, in addition to the above titles, he is given the designation of a Great Minister (*Mahāpradhāna*) and *Bānasa-Verggaḍe Daṇḍannayakam* (the later of which I am not able to make out, particularly the meaning of the term Bānasa, the other two terms being *Verggaḍe* which meant Great Chieftain and *Daṇḍanāyakam*, Commander). He is said to have received, evidently from his royal master the Western Cālukya monarch Vikramāditya VI, the Belvoḷa 300, the Puligere 300 and the Banavasi 12,000 Province and the *pannāya* of the Seven-and-a-Half Lakh country. Under him is mentioned as administering the Banavasi 12,000 Province, particularly the *Vaḍḍarāvula* and *achchupannāya* of the 56, which evidently refers to a district which must have been a part of the vast province of the Banavasi 12,000, Govindarāya, the son of Dāśirāja and his wife Somāmbike. The Arasabiḍi stone inscription discovered in the Hungund taluka, Bijapur district, and dated A.D. 1106 mentions the Mahāpradhāna Mādhavabhaṭṭa as being in charge of the *achchupannāya*, evidently of the same district belonging to the same large Banavasenāḍ 12,000 Province, but under the provincial viceroy Anantapāla.<sup>239</sup>

General Anantapāla continued to administer the same large province of Banavasenāḍ in A.D. 1107 when he was given the following titles—“Subduer of the enemies’ forces, chief over the court property, a sun to the lotus Brahman race (*śatru-bala-sādhukam āsthāna-vastu nāyakam*, *dvijakula-kamala-mārttāṇḍa*), in addition to the titles of *prachaṇḍa Daṇḍanāyaka*, *Mahāpradhāna* and *Bānasa-mane-verggaḍe* which he had already possessed, and which are repeated in this inscription. Under him in the same record figures again the Mahāpracaṇḍa Daṇḍanāyaka Govindarāja, whose descent I have given above, carrying on the duties of the Collector of Customs, (the *vaḍḍarāvula*, *perjjunka* and the two *bilkode*) of the Banavasi 12,000 Province.

Let us now turn to the II Balligāme stone inscription dated A.D. 1113 in which we have further interesting details about the illustrious Gujarat administrator Anantapāla. In it we are informed that “On the *adhipati* (evidently the



Emperor Vikramāditya VI) giving the Banavasi country to the protection to the grove of the vine king Tribhuvanamalla's fame (*Vanavasi-deśamam-Tribhuvanamalla-nripālukirti-Lakṣmī-latika-vana-pālan*), the protector of all the learned (*akhila vidvat jana pālan*), Anantapāla accepting the same, assigned it over to Govindarāja, who is called Anantapāla's elder brother's warrior, and Kṛṣṇarāja's younger brother. The exact relationship between Anantapāla and Govindarāja is given in the IV Baḷligāme stone inscription dated A.D. 1114, which informs us that Anantapāla's brother-in-law (*tat-priya dāvaranuni*) was Govindaraja. In this record, however, his mother is called Sovaladevi, and he is described as a Mahāsāmantādhipati and a Mahāpracaṇḍa Daṇḍanayāka, and what is more important for our purpose, he is also said to have belonged to Lāṭa. This is proved from the following statement in the same record which describes him "as an auspicious forehead ornament of the Lāṭānvaya (*Lāṭānvaya-lalāṭa-mangala-tilakam*). The high favour in which Govindarāja stood in the estimation of the Western Cālukya Emperor is given in the statement that Govindarāja was a rod in Tribhuvanamalla's victorious right hand" (*Tribhuvanamalla-devavijaya-dakṣiṇabhujā-daṇḍam*), meaning thereby that Govindarāja was an indispensable person either in the king's conquests or in punishing recalcitrant people in the Western Cālukya Empire. The official status of Govindarāja, who is also called Govindamayya, is given thus in the same record which confirms the titles given to him above; and which adds the *biruda* of *maneverggaḍe* (the Great Royal Chamberlain). He is said to be administering the Banavase 12,000, the Sāntāḷige 1,000, and the two Six Hundred Provinces and the customs (*vaḍḍarāvula* and *pannāya*), evidently of the those districts from the royal city of Balipura (Baḷligāme). It is evident from this record that Govindarāja was working under Anantapāla in the same Province of Banavase 12,000.

The above stone inscriptions ranging from A.D. 1098 till A.D. 1114 will have proved that the two essentially Gujarat administrators, born in the families hailing from Lāṭa (*Lāṭānvaya*)—about which unfortunately we have no other details—governed a large province in the South, and were held in the highest esteem by the Western Cālukya Emperor Vikramāditya VI.

Another well known family hailing from Kathiawad, which contributed to the prosperity of Dravidian India was that of the Vāṇes who belonged to Deṇagāve in Vanakheḍa in Kathiawad. They figure in stone inscriptions discovered in the Mysore State, and ranging from A.D. 1241 till A.D. 1249. They were placed as administrators over a part of a Shimoga district also of the same State. The first figure amongst them was Somadeva Vāṇe, who is called in A.D. 1249, "the Friend of the Destitute". His son was Ravi Deva Vāṇe whose crowned queen was called Mallubāi and to whom were born three sons—the eldest Soideva, the second Yekkamadeva, and the third Vikramadeva. They were all noted for their charitable gifts for furthering the cause of Śaivism and for feeding ascetics.<sup>240</sup>

A fourth family of Surāṣṭra nobles which figures in the history of the Deccan of the thirteenth century is that of Droṇapāla, who is described in a stone record



of A.D. 1215-6 as the Mahārāja's son Droṇapāladeva, of supreme piety, settled in the Prabhāsakṣetra of the Saurāṣṭra country. His father's name is lost in this broken record but it is clear that he was a person of some consequence. This is gathered from some of the attributes given to him in the record in which he is called a *Sahasrabāhu in readiness for war* ( *Narendra sannāha Sahasrabāhu* ) the Great ( maha ) . . . . . Dellaṇadeva.<sup>241</sup>

Under the provincial viceroy Droṇapāla was another official also belonging to Surāṣṭra. He was the Great Treasurer ( *Mahābhaṇḍārī* ) Thakkūra Kannaradeva who, in the year A.D. 1215, gave the village of Elebaḷi ( location specified ) as a free gift to the god Somanātha of Bandanike in the Shimoga district of the Mysore State. This was in the reign of the Yādava king Singhaṇadeva.<sup>242</sup> The Thakkūras, however, were not always docile to the State. In the reign of the same Yādava king, a Thakkūra who had been appointed as a Nāyaka ( Inspector ) by that monarch, and stationed in the Taravūru Iḍuḡoḷ Thāṇā, " being unwilling to do his duty on the *umbali* ( rent free land ) granted to him ", strengthened himself, and was attacked by the State District Officer ( *Nāḍ Prabhu* ) Kāmeya Haḍuvala, and brought to reason.<sup>243</sup>

Before I pass on to the permanent influence of a famous deity of Surāṣṭra in the history of the South, I should like to mention an interesting detail relating to one of the most well known families of Surāṣṭra. These were the Valabhi rulers whose founder was Senāpati Bhaṭāraka ( A.D. 509 ).<sup>244</sup> I do not wish to enter into the details of the origin of this family which has already figured above. The members of the Bhaṭāraka family, Senāpati Bhaṭāraka and his two eldest sons, as is related in the grants of Senāpati Bhaṭāraka's third son Druvasena I ( A.D. 526-535 ), are said to have been great Maheśvaras, i.e. followers of Śiva, although Druvasena himself was a *Parama-Bhāgavata* or the follower of the great Viṣṇu.<sup>245</sup> The Valabhi rulers, like most of their royal brethren, were eclectic in their leanings, although their sympathy was mostly in favour of Śaivism.<sup>246</sup>

The above facts will help us to understand the identification of an interesting event in the history of the inter-relations of Gujarat and the South. We have to come to the reign of the kings of the Kadamba house, who ruled over a large part of the west of Mysore. The Kadamba genealogy is still unsettled. In the reign of a Kadamba king called Mrgeśvarman, as is related in an inscription in the so-called box head characters discovered at Tālgūṇḍa in the Shikārpur tāluka of the Mysore State, a General called Paśupati is praised for his prowess in battle. This commander was a feudatory of the Kadamba ruler but matrimonially connected with Kadambas. The late MM. R. Narasimhacharya of Mysore, who discovered this record, merely wrote that this was an interesting piece of news which mentioned a hitherto unknown member of the Bhaṭāri-vaṃśa in about the fifth century A.D.<sup>247</sup> No historian has ever commented on the discovery of this Bhaṭāri family which figures in the records of the South. I am led to believe that General Paśupati belonged to the family of Senāpati Bhaṭāraka, and that the Bhaṭāri-vaṃśa mentioned in the Tālgūṇḍa inscription could have



been no other than the family of the founder of the Valabhi house. I stated above that Senāpati Bhaṭāraka is to be assigned to A.D. 509 or the beginning of the sixth century A.D. The age to which the Tālgunda inscription has been assigned by the learned Mysore scholar is the fifth century. The question that arises here is—What is the exact relationship between General Paśupati and Senāpati Bhaṭāraka ? No answer is forthcoming to this question at the present stage of our investigations. But certain doubts present themselves here : Was the adventurous spirit of the Gujarat Generals of the Bhaṭāraka family in the fifth century or the beginning of the sixth century A.D., in any way connected with the northern drive of the early Western Cālukya king Mangaleśa about whom I have already mentioned a few details earlier ? Are we to consider the family of General Paśupati as a branch of the more powerful family of Senāpati Bhaṭāraka of Valabhi, which went to the South either to seek fortune or to add to the political annals of the South ? To which region did the Bhaṭāraka family belong—to the South or to the North ?

Under the heading political relations, I should have mentioned here the most intimate connection between Gujarat and Dravidian India extending over a long period. But this would require a separate treatment by itself being both vast and complicated, and spread over more than five centuries of strenuous action. I would, therefore, confine myself to one aspect of the close contact between Gujarat and the South which perhaps explains the continued presence of eminent Gujarat administrators in the Deccan described above. This refers to the matrimonial connection between the rulers of Gujarat and those of the South. Here, I would like to be as brief as possible, mentioning merely three or four prominent dynastic alliances. The first is in the middle of the eleventh century A.D. It connects the royal house of Anāhilavāḍa with that of the Kadambas of Goa. We learn from the Jaina works *Dyāśraya* and *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* that king Karṇa ( A.D. 1064-1094 ), the son of Bhīma I, married Māyāmalla Devī, called by the Jaina chroniclers, Mīyanalladevī, the daughter of king Jayakeśi I of Goa ( A.D. 1050-A.D. 1080 ). Here was a Gujarat-Goa matrimonial relationship which had a far reaching effect on the history of both the provinces. Māyāmalla Devī became the mother of the illustrious Siddharāja Jayasimha, the most celebrated name in the history of Gujarat.<sup>235</sup> The end of king Siddharāja's reign witnessed some complications. Siddharāja had no son, but he was averse to the succession of Kumārapāla of the line of Tribhuvanapāla, the great-grand-son of Bhīma I. Siddharāja's hatred of Kumārpāla compelled the later to flee, and, as is related in the Jaina chronicles, he came to Vāṭapadraka ( Baroda ) from where he passed on to Bhroach from where again he moved on the Ujjain from where he once again moved down to Kolhapur which he left for Kāñcī ( Conjeevaram ).<sup>249</sup> Here, therefore, was the future illustrious ruler of Gujarat in the northern part of the Deccan. Towards the end of his memorable reign, Kumārapāla was faced with the same question which his predecessor Siddharāja had tried to solve in vain—that of a successor. Kumārapāla had no son, and, therefore, he was succeeded by his brother Mahipāla's son Ajayapāla. Now Ajaya-



pāla's mother was called Nāyakī Devī, the daughter of Paramardi. Ajayapāla, whose reign was marked by cruelty and irreligion, ruled from A.D. 1174 till A.D. 1177.<sup>250</sup> The name Parmardi given by the Jaina chroniclers is evidently a contraction of the name Permāḍi, and the king bearing this title has been rightly identified with the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Permāḍi Śivacitta, the Goa prince, who had the name Permāḍi Deva to which he added the name Śivacitta. He was the Viceroy of the Western Cālukya Emperor Taila III, and he ruled over the Palasige and Konkan Provinces.<sup>251</sup> We shall see presently that the dynastic relationship thus established between Gujarat and Goa since the days of king Karṇa, was maintained in the thirteenth century.

Another example of a dynastic connection between Gujarat and the South is afforded in the history of the Vāghelas, who held sway from A.D. 1219 till A.D. 1304.<sup>252</sup> We have to come to the reign of Viśāladeva, the son of Vīradhavaḷa. Viśāladeva ruled from A.D. 1243 till A.D. 1261. One of his records narrates that he was chosen as a husband by the daughter of the king of Karnāṭaka. This ruler of Karnāṭaka has been identified with either Someśvara or his son Narasimha III, both being well-known kings of the Hoysala family ruling from Dorasamudra (modern Halebid, Hasan district, Mysore State).<sup>253</sup>

In the prose work called *Gadyakarṇāmṛta* written by Sakala Vidyācakravartī, we have an interesting fact that the bride of Someśvara was descended from the family of Nandideva of Gujarat. The latter king and his brother Kṣemarāja are said to have been the sons of king Vallabha of Gujarat.<sup>254</sup> None of these three names Vallabha, Nandideva, and Kṣemarāja, is traceable in the history of Gujarat. But if the prose romance could be relied upon, it appears as if we are to assume that Hoysala Someśvara was also dynastically connected with one of the royal families of Gujarat.

The history of a well-known family of ministers of Mount Abu contains names which are strikingly southern. I am referring to the family to which the famous Tejapāla of the Mount Abu fame belonged. Tejapāla was the minister of the first two Vāghela chieftains, Lavaṇaprasāda (A.D. 1200-1233) and his son Vīradhavaḷa (A.D. 1233-38), a famous temple builder. Along with his brother Vastupāla, he was responsible for constructing the famous temples on Mount Abu, Śātruṅjaya, and Gīrnār.<sup>255</sup> It is not generally known that the progenitor of the family of Tejapāla and Vastupāla was one Caṇḍapa.<sup>256</sup> which is a name that is essentially Dravidian. This Caṇḍapa may not be confounded with his namesake, who was the son of Kamkadeva (Kakkadeva) of the Paramāra family, and who has been assigned by Dr. L. D. Barnett to about A.D. 1000.<sup>257</sup> I do not wish to enter into the interesting question as to how the Banswāra Paramāras to whose family the latter Caṇḍapa belonged, came to be called also a Lāṭa family.<sup>258</sup> The Caṇḍapa, who was the founder of the family to which the two illustrious brothers Tejapāla and Vastupāla with their elder brother Luṇiga and seven sisters belonged, cannot be identified with the Caṇḍapa who was the son and successor of Kāmkadeva, because the progenitor of Tejapāla's family



cannot be ascribed to a date earlier than A.D. 1100; while Caṇḍapa of the Bānswāra Paramāra line was, as already seen above, earlier than he by about one century. But there is no gainsaying the fact that both these names were essentially Dravidian.

The sisters of Tejapāla were likewise called by names which were typically Dravidian. For instance, three of the seven sisters of Tejapāla were called Bāi Jalbana Devi (Jālhū), Bai Sohāgaya (Sohagā) and Bāi Vayajuka.<sup>259</sup> Dr. H. D. Sankalia, while commenting on these prefixes of *Bai*, writes thus :— “ Here I think we have the earliest reference to a word which has become a common term addressing a woman in Gujarati, Marathi and Hindi ”. The same scholar maintains that there is no known recorded use of the word in early Sanskrit and Prakrit literature; that Hemacandra (twelfth century) in his work *Kumārāpāla-prabhoda* uses that term for a mother; that it may be the same as *Bāi* but that it is a term of address for woman and that since such a use is very common among Muslims, it is supposed to be a loan word from the Turkish or Arabic (?). If it is, it seems to have been used in North-West India, owing to the same reason as those mentioned in the case of *mudi*.<sup>260</sup>

The above assumptions have no basis in history. The available historical evidence proves that the term *Bāi* was a name used by queens and by ladies belonging to the nobility, and that it had nothing to do with the Muslims. The history of the South, particularly of Western India, contains many examples of queens who prefixed these terms to their names. We have mentioned above the Surāṣṭra family of nobles hailing from Vanakheḍa to which Somadeva Vāṇe belonged. His distinguished son was Ravideva whose crowned queen was Mallubāyi (*antu negaḷda Ravidevana paṭṭamahādevi-appa Mallubāyiyavara*).<sup>261</sup> Lest it may be imagined that the above instance takes us to the history of Surāṣṭra rather than to that of the South, I may give the example of a woman of a noble family of the South also of the same century. The mother of the Belvoḷa Daṇḍanāyaka Dhannugideva is called Caṇḍabāi in A.D. 1256.<sup>262</sup> Under the Yādava king Mahādevārāya in about A.D. 1265, there were two great officers Caṭṭadeva and Kūcarasa. Their elder sister was Mallubāi praised in all the world.<sup>263</sup> In the sixteenth century there was the well-known family of feudal chieftains called the Āvaṭināḍ Prabhus. A stone inscription dated A.D. 1575 relates that the Great Āvaṭināḍ Prabhu Moleya Baireya Gauḍa's wife had two sons, Baireya Gauḍa and Mārāya Gauḍa. The latter made a specified grant of land for the local god Śrīkaṇṭheśvara in order that merit might approve to his father Moleya Baireya Gauḍa, his mother Hiriyaabāi, and his forefathers.<sup>264</sup> It will thus be evident that the term *Bāi* was one of the highest respect used by the nobility, and that it had nothing to do with the Muslims. The use of that name *Bāi* amongst the Marāṭhas, as is well-known, was not only confined to the ladies of high rank but to all women.<sup>265</sup> It would, therefore, be entirely unhistorical to give a North-Western origin with a probable Turko-Arabic touch to this name *Bāi* which was undoubtedly a term of respect amongst the people of Western India.



The affinity of Gujarat with the Deccan which is evident from the history of the Surāṣṭra feudal families and from the names of the Surāṣṭra nobility given above, is further proved by the close commercial contact existing between the two provinces. There are instances of Southern merchants having settled in Bhavanagar.<sup>266</sup> These must have belonged to the widespread and powerful corporations of merchants called the Mummuridaṇḍa of the Deccan, who visited Surāṣṭra, as he related in a record dated A.D. 1054.<sup>267</sup> This naturally led to reciprocal action on the part of Gujarat merchants, with the result that the latter settled in Belgaum and even preferred to call themselves by Dravidian names. We learn this from a record dated A.D. 1204 in which the merchants from Lāṭa or South Gujarat, who had settled in Belgaum, are said to have been headed by Paraśurāma Nāyaka, Pommaṇa Nāyaka, and Ammuḡi Nāyaka.<sup>268</sup> These names which the leaders of the Lāṭa merchants, who had domiciled in Belgaum borne, were typically Dravidian.

A strong link in the cultural history of Gujarat and the South is afforded by a prominent Gujarat community which enriched the traditions of the South. This is that of the Brahma-Kṣatriyas, who were originally associated with Surāṣṭra.<sup>269</sup> I should not like to go into the question of the origin of this important community which, as James Campbell rightly stated long ago, filled in the gap between the Brahmans and the Kṣatriyas, and being the latter, possessed the *gotras* of the former.<sup>270</sup> Both historically and ethnographically the Brahma-Kṣatriyas offer a very fruitful field of investigation. I shall restrict myself here to the prominent part played by them in the history of the South which will help us to understand how deep laid was the undercurrent of this Gujarat-Dravidian culture that shaped the fortunes of the South for centuries. Again without entering into the problem as to when the Brahma-Kṣatriyas migrated from Gujarat to the South, I may merely give some examples of distinguished Brahma-Kṣatriyas, who added to the administrative history of the South. The first in the list of eminent Brahma-Kṣatriyas was the celebrated general and statesman Cāmuṇḍarāya, whose detailed history and achievements I have given elsewhere.<sup>271</sup> He was the General under the Ganga ruler Rācamalla IV, and was popularly known as merely Rāya. "A braver soldier, a more devoted Jaina and a more honest man than Cāmuṇḍarāya," the land had never seen. In the numerous inscriptions about him as well as in Kannaḍa literature he is said to have belonged to the Brahma-Kṣatra race, and to have been the crest jewel among Brahma-Kṣatriyas (*Brahma-Kṣatra śikhāmaṇi*). He had a number of military victories to his credit. His patronage of literature was as sincere as it was spontaneous. In literature he is credited not only with military feats but with unrivalled liberality which took the shape of construction of many Jaina edifices. But the grandest and the noblest monument to his credit was the construction of the huge monolithic statue of Gomaṭa at Śravaṇa Belgola in the Mysore State in A.D. 1028.<sup>272</sup>

I may give only a few representative names of other eminent Brahma-Kṣatriyas, who added to the luster of the South from the eleventh to the thirteenth



century A.D. There was, for instance, in about A.D. 1070 the prince Udayāditya, who was the Viceroy of the large Provinces of Gangavāḍi, Banavase, and Sāntalige under the Western Cālukya Emperor Tribhuvanamalla, Someśvara II (A.D. 1068-76). The two inscriptions which give us the above details, relate that he was, among other things, of the Brahma-Kṣatra heroic descent (*Brahma-Kṣatra vīrānvaya*), and an obtainer of a boon from god Someśvara (*Someśvara-labdha-vara prasāda*), the second probably reminiscent of the famous deity of Somanātha. In the same record he is also called the “crest-jewel among Brahma-Kṣatras (*Brahma-Kṣatra-śikhāmaṇi*)”.<sup>273</sup> In about A.D. 1090 Viceroy Udayāditya is given titles of high rank like Mahārājādhirāja and Parameśvara, and is said to have been praised by all the world (*samasta-bhuvana-stuta*). In A.D. 1075, he is distinctly styled as *Rājādhirāja*, and is given a string of titles, and is said to have won many victories over a number of southern kings (all named dynastically), and to have taken tribute from them, “having extended his territory as far as the four oceans and accomplished the desire to be a great conqueror”. From this record it is evident that Viceroy Udayāditya had not only established his reputation as a Brahma-Kṣatriya conqueror but justified the titles which he had possessed, of a *rājādhirāja*, although it cannot be understood as to how he had secured it. His provincial capital was Baḷligāme in the Shikārpur tāluca of the Mysore State. Other records testify to the important part played by this well-known Brahma-Kṣatriya General of the Western Cālukyan Emperor Someśvara II.<sup>274</sup>

Amongst other able Brahma-Kṣatriya administrators were the two brothers Caṭṭadeva and Kūcadeva serving under the Yāḍava or Sevuṇa monarch Mahādeva (A.D. 1260-1271). The inscription dated A.D. 1268 which gives us the above details, relates that their father was Nimbirāja; that they were of the Kauśika gotra; and that they were well skilled in patience and in the policy of Brahma-Kṣatras. Caṭṭa's son was Cauṇḍa, who became a general. The Sevuṇa Emperor Mahādeva appointed the two brothers Caṭṭa and Kūca to administer (obviously jointly) the royal city of Betūr in the 64 Village Union (*aravattum bāḍu*) in the Province of Nōḷambavāḍi 32,000.<sup>275</sup>

The most abiding effect of Gujarat culture on the South is seen in the sphere of religion. Here we may study this problem from two points of view—the wide and lasting influence of a famous religious teacher, who was domiciled in Gujarat, on the people of the South; and the age-long effect of a famous god of Surāṣṭra on the culture and thought of the Southerners. A powerful factor in bringing the two provinces of the South and Gujarat together was the religious teacher Lukuliśa around whom centre certain difficulties. There seem to have been two great persons of that name, as pointed out by Mr. Lewis Rice long ago. One was the earlier Lakuliśa, who has been assigned to the first century A.D.<sup>276</sup> This earlier Lakuliśa is probably the one referred to in the stone inscription dated A.D. 943, and hailing from Sīrā in the Tumkūr district, Mysore State, in which we have the following interesting information:—That a grant made to the local god Nanniśvara, was made over to the learned priest Cillukabhaṭṭa, who is



described as having been a warrior of the kingdom of peace ( *tapad ankakāra* ). The ending of this record is still more interesting. Lakuliśa, so we are told, fearing that his own name and works of *dharma* would be forgotten, became incarnate and was born again in the earth as the Muninātha Cilluka.<sup>277</sup> The evidence of another stone inscription dated A.D. 980 confirms that there was a Lakuliśa, who lived earlier than the tenth century A.D. This record relates that a learned priest named Eṇeyamma Dikṣita was well versed in the *Lakuliśa-siddhānta*.<sup>278</sup>

The earlier Lakuliśa is to be distinguished from a later teacher of the same name, who has been assigned by Dr. George Bühler and Mr. Lewis Rice to the eleventh century A.D. It is this latter Lakuliśa, who is one of the connecting links between the South and Gujarat. As pointed out long ago by Dr. Hultzsch, he seems to have begun his career at Melpāḍi in the North Arcot district, Madras State, where he is named in connection with the grant made in the reign of Rājendra Coḷa in A.D. 1020.<sup>279</sup> In A.D. 1036 he seems to have settled down in Baḷḷigāme, Shikārpur taluka, Mysore State, as is proved by a record dated in that year and found in that place. This record explicitly states the following—That when the Western Cālukya king Jayasimha Deva was in the residence of Pottalakeṛe, he made a grant for the repairs of the ancient temple of god Pañcalinga set up by the Pāṇḍavas, to the celebrated Laluliśvara Paṇḍita, who was living there, and whose praise is given at great length in the inscription.<sup>280</sup> This famous teacher is said to have eventually gone to Kārohana in the Lāṭa country, which Dr. Bühler had identified with Kārvāṇa, fifteen miles south of Baroda and eight miles north-east of the Miyāgama railway station. It is here that Lakuliśa Paṇḍita founded the Paśupatha sect, whose doctrines are explained at length in the *Sarva-darśanasangraha*.<sup>281</sup> Kārvāṇa continued to be a holy place till the time of the Vāghelā king Arjuna Deva in the thirteenth century.<sup>282</sup> I may mention here that one of the most influential branches of the Paśupatha School was the Kālāmukha sect which had a famous organization called the Śakti Parise in the Mūvara Koṇeya Santati of the Parvvatāvali which flourished in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. in the South.<sup>283</sup>

A more lasting, and, in more sense than one, a grander link connecting Gujarat and the South was Somanātha ( N. Lat. 20° 55', East Long 70° 23' ) with its famous temple of Mahādeva. Somanātha, " The Lord of Moon ", lies near the southern extremity of the peninsula of Kathiawad.<sup>284</sup> It is difficult to describe adequately the splendid spell which this celebrated deity of Prabhās Paṭṭan cast over the South. The importance of Prabhās Paṭṭan is seen in the records of the Western Kṣātrapas of the second century A.D. An inscription of Uśavadāta ( A.D. 100-120 ), the son-in-law of Nahapāna, Kṣātrapa I, relates that that Śāka viceroy gave away many gifts at many holy places in Western India. One amongst them was Prabhās where he gave in marriage eight wives to Brahmans.<sup>285</sup> Since Prabhās Paṭṭan thus figures in the first quarter of the second century A.D. in a record discovered in Karle near Bombay, it is permissible to presume that its fame as a holy place had already been established by that date. Somanātha's link



with the South is not traceable from the second century till the ninth century, when Valabhi ( modern Wala ) vied with than ancient centre as a *tirtha* or a place of pilgrimage. That Valabhi was considered by the Southerners as a sacred place is proved by a record assigned to the ninth century A.D., and found at Araḷésvara in the Hāṅgal tālukā, Dharwar district, which contains the following imprecation at its end—That he who destroyed the grant recorded in the inscription, would be equal to one who had committed the five great sins by destroying Valabhi ( called Balabhi in a record ), Vārāṇasi, and Śrīparvata.<sup>286</sup>

But Valabhi could never hope to rival the superb Somanātha. From the tenth century onwards, it was a sweeping victory for the god Someśvara of Prabhās Paṭṭaṇ. The fame of this celebrated shrine had gone far and wide to Central India. Here reigned the Haihayas or the Cedis whose ruler Lakṣmaṇarāja, the son of Yuvarāja I, and father of Śankaragaṇa, is described in the Bilhari inscription dated A.D. 973 as conquering enemies in battle, and making the host of his army sport in the waters of the ocean. It is related in the same record that he undertook an expedition to the very pleasant region of the West in the course of which he bathed in the sea, worshipped the god Someśvara of Paṭṭaṇ, and presented that deity with offerings.<sup>287</sup> We shall see that the Cedi ruler from Central India was not the only king who undertook a pilgrimage to Somanātha. A Southern ruler would also do the same but on a grander scale later on.

It was not so much the pilgrimages to Somanātha by monarchs that indicated the influence of that famous deity on the Southern mind. The most abiding proof of the god Someśvara's influence on the South is seen in the long and continuous yearning of the Southerners to construct temples dedicated to that god whom they specifically called god Somanātha of Surāṣṭra. These temples were spread over a wide region of the South. The zenith of the influence of god Somanātha may be said to have been the twelfth century, although in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it continued to manifest itself ; while during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, important feudal families of the South were proud to associate themselves with the god Somanātha of Surāṣṭra. Thus, in A.D. 1104, in the reign of the Western Cālukya monarch Vikramāditya VI, we find his viceroy Jayakeśideva ( Jayakeśi II, A.D. 1104-1148 ), obviously of the Kadamba family, making a gift of the village of Kanakāpura to the temple of Somanāthadeva of the Surāṣṭraviṣaya. This gift was made at the time of his marriage but under the direction of the king.<sup>288</sup> It is evident that the reference here could have been only to the famous temple of Somanātha of Surāṣṭra. In A.D. 1118-19 a minister of the North Silahāra king Aparārka or Aparāditya I, made a grant of property in Thāṇa for the temple of the god Somanātha of Prabhās.<sup>289</sup> These gifts made in far-off localities, were evidently in honour of the god Somanātha of Prabhās Paṭṭaṇ.

A most spectacular pilgrimage was the one made by a Southern ruler to Somanātha. It was by the Kadamba king Caṭṭayya Deva, who was a Viceroy under the Western Cālukya monarch Vikramāditya VI in A.D. 1125. He undertook the pilgrimage from Goa with unprecedented pomp and grandeur. The



inscription relates that Caṭṭayya, the Lord of the Ocean, duly proceeded on his ships across the sea as if in sport, along with the whole population of Gove ( Goa ), taking with him on both the ships, the white plastered houses, alleys, horse stables, flowers, gardens, agreeably connected bazars, prostitutes' quarters, and tanks charming to the eyes. In order to make it possible for the worship of god Somanātha by all the people, he lowered the price of camphor so as to bring it within the reach of all who might like to offer prayers to that god.<sup>290</sup> The date of this famous pilgrimage A.D. 1125 falls within the reign of the celebrated king of Gujarat, Siddharāja Jayasingha Deva ( A.D. 1094-A.D. 1143 ).<sup>291</sup> King Siddarāja's strong Śaivite learnings are well-known. It was he who had constructed the famous Rudramahālaya at Siddhpur, and the Sahasra Linga lake at Pāṭan.<sup>292</sup> Siddharāja's mother, as I have already narrated above, was the Kadamba princess Māyāmalladevī, the daughter of king Jayadesi I, of Goa. The pronounced Śaivite beliefs of the great Gujarat monarch and his matrimonial connection with the ruler of Goa might have been responsible for encouraging Viceroys Caṭṭayya Deva to undertake a pilgrimage to Somanātha in a manner which was unrivalled for its lavish expenditure.<sup>293</sup> There was another reason why he undertook on such a magnificent scale his oceanic journey to Somanātha. He probably wished to wipe out the misfortune which had befallen his father Gūhalladeva II, who had also undertaken a sea voyage to Somanātha from the port of Candrapura ( modern Candor, South of Goa ) but who, while half way, had suffered disaster when the mast of his ship broke, and was compelled to put to the port of Goa.<sup>294</sup>

No better proof of the spiritual conquest of the South by Surāṣṭra can be given than that of the gift to the god Surāṣṭra Somanātha by a famous Southern king in the latter's own capital. The stone inscription which describes these details is dated A.D. 1173. It was found near the Basava temple at Kupehālu, Kaḍūr hobli, Kaḍūr district, Mysore State. Although damaged at the beginning it is interesting from many points of view. It opens with the praise of Śrī Prabhās Someśvara, after the customary salutation to Śiva. It then mentions a string of *birudas* or titles of some one whose name is unfortunately defaced in the record. It then eulogizes the descent and material deeds of the famous Hoysala monarch Vira Ballāḷa ( A.D. 1173-A.D. 1220 ), and relates that, when that monarch was in his capital of Dorasamudra ( modern Halebīḍ ) on the specified date ( A.D. 1173, August, 31st ), when he was celebrating the festival of his coronation ( *paṭṭa bodhostavadalu* ), he made for the decorations of god Saurāṣṭra Somanātha a grant of the village of Kuppehāla in the Āsandināḍ, free of all imposts as a permanent gift. On this occasion Nāgadeva, the son of Mālgijjya, constructed a tank and endowed certain lands for the worship of the god Nandikeśvara. Mālgijjya is described in the record as the worshipper of the feet of the god Saurāṣṭra Somanātha.<sup>295</sup> It cannot be understood how the Hoysala king Vira Ballāḷa II came to grant a village in the south for the offerings of the god Somanātha Surāṣṭra in the north except on the assumption that the revenue of that village was sent over to Somanātha for meeting the expenses of the worship of that god.



It is possible that this gift might have been made through the intervention of the prominent citizen Mālgijīya, since the latter was himself a devotee of that famous god. We do not know whether Mālgijīya hailed from Surāṣṭra.

I have already referred to the nobleman, the Mahārāja's son Droṇapāla, who is described in a record dated A.D. 1216, as having settled down in the Prabhās Kṣetra of the Surāṣṭra country, and who made certain grants for the offerings to the Master of the fourteen Worlds, the god Somanātha, but of the city of Bandanīke in the Shimoga district, Mysore State.<sup>296</sup> I do not wish to enter into the question of the establishment in the South of many temples of god Somanātha after the famous deity of that name in Surāṣṭra. Such a study would be useful from the point of view of the growth of the worship of god Someśvara in the South.

Feudatories and noblemen of the South were proud to call themselves as devotees of the god Somanātha of Surāṣṭra. Thus, in A.D. 1417 the family god of the Vijayanagara noblemen called Jakka Deva, the son of the chieftain Kāyaṇa of Kāreyappaṭṭana, is said to have been the devotee of god Surāṣṭra Somanātha.<sup>297</sup> An important principality in the South was that of Ummattūru, whose chieftains were at one time the chief rivals of the Mysore chiefs. Ummattūru is in the Chāmarājanagara tāluka of the Mysore State. Although the Ummattūru chiefs claimed to be of the solar race, yet one of their many titles referred itself to Surāṣṭra. Thus, in A.D. 1512 the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Depaṇṇa Oḍeyar of Ummattūru was called Lord of the City of Surāṣṭra.<sup>298</sup> Evidently, the reference here could have been only to the city of god Someśvara. This is suggested by the fact that, as is mentioned in an earlier record dated A.D. 1497, the family god of the Ummattūru chieftains was Someśvara,—obviously named after the celebrated deity of that name in Surāṣṭra,—whose temple was established in the fortress on the island of Śivanasamudra at the Falls of the Kāveri.<sup>299</sup> Another feudal family, also in the Mysore State, which professed connection with Surāṣṭra was that of the Kaḷale nobles. In about A.D. 1720 the Kaḷale chiefs styled themselves as belonging to the lineage of Surāṣṭra.<sup>300</sup> It cannot be made out to what extent these claims of the Ummattūru and Kaḷale chiefs to relationship with Surāṣṭra, were valid.

How deep and lasting was the influence of Surāṣṭra on the South is seen in the field of literature. There were citizens of Surāṣṭra who carried the message of god Somanātha to the South enriching its literature. In about A.D. 1150 we have the poet Ādayya about whom another famous Kannaḍa poet Rāghavāṅka (circa A.D. 1165) relates the following :—That Ādayya was born in Surāṣṭra; that he came to Puligere ( Lakśmeśvara in the Dharwar district ) where was the well-known temple of Someśvara; that he defeated the Jainas of that centre; and that he wrote in Kannaḍa a work called *Saurāṣṭra Someśvaralinga*.<sup>301</sup> Here is an example of a poet who was born in Surāṣṭra, and who came to the South there to write in the language of the province a work in honour of god Somanātha of Surāṣṭra !



To what extent Gujarat loomed large in the eyes of the Southerners is further proved by the work of another Southern author. He was Somarāja, who belonged to the royal family of the Cauṣas of the Western coast. He seems to have lived about A.D. 1222. His major work is called *Śringārasāra* or *Udbhaṭa Kāvya*. It describes in Kannaḍa the life and work of the famous king of Gujarat Kumarapāla, who reigned from A.D. 1143 till A.D. 1174.<sup>302</sup>

The many instances I have cited above will have made it clear that Gujarat, instead of politically retaliating against the South which had undoubtedly encroached on her dominions, adopted a line of action that was in perfect agreement with the rich traditions which she had imbibed for centuries. The serene manner in which this province made itself felt in the life and thought of the South, particularly in the spheres of religion and literature, is indicative of the working of the ingrained traits in the character of the people of Gujarat which may be summed up in two words—broadmindedness and utility. Centuries earlier the message of *ahimsa* had already been carried from this province to the South, when the famous Jaina leader Bhadrabāhu had led his *sangha* from the North to the fertile region of Punnāṭa in the South.<sup>303</sup> Coming to the later times, we find that no campaign was conducted by the devotees of Somanātha to construct temples dedicated to that celebrated deity in the capitals of the Southern rulers. It seemed as if the infinite grace of that god merely wafted across the southern frontiers of Lāṭa on to the South in order to enkindle in the hearts of the Southerners piety and fervour for Someśvara. If the votaries of that god and the followers of Jainism conquered the South by the spirit of tolerance, the members of the Brahma-Kṣatriya and mercantile communities won over the South by their intelligence, industry, and sense of practicability.

This conquest of the South by Gujarat served merely to bring into relief the potential traits of the people of the province. It helps us to answer the major question with which we opened the first lecture, viz.: How can we explain the part played by Gujarat in the formation of the modern Free India? There is no denying the fact that all provinces have contributed their share in the liberation of the country; and that it would not be proper to make any uncharitable distinction between them. But when all has been said, there remains also the unique fact that in the history of India's independence, the province of Gujarat-Surāṣṭra will always have the most prominent place, because it produced two leaders of outstanding eminence—one of whom showed the country the path of tolerance along which the country's independence was won; and the other, the road on which the country's unity was achieved. If Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi prevailed upon the British to surrender their sovereignty of India without fighting, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel persuaded the princes to part with their political power for the unification of the land. Both were quotations from all their ancestors—the former in respect of tolerance, and the latter, of practicability. We are, of course, too near these most stalwart sons of Gujarat-Surāṣṭra to adequately assess their political and moral stature; but we may safely assume that posterity will consider



them as the visible expressions of two of the most notable traits which have always marked this province; and which with every new race and new epoch became more and more ingrafted into the nature of the people. It is only thus when we have analysed the causes which brought these traits into existence, and explained their presence in the work of two of the greatest leaders of contemporary India, that we are in a position to describe the part played by Gujarat-Surāṣṭra in the liberation of the country. I think I have disposed of the question with which I had begun the first lecture.

I have attempted in these lectures to read History actively and not passively, that is, not merely to describe the main movements noticeable in the ancient history of Gujarat but to study them in relation to the present trends of our life. I believe that if we do not attempt to understand some of the problems of the present on the background of the past, History would lose much of its significance, and the forces of the past would be merely wasted on the sands of Time. Nowhere can we see individual action mirrored in the historical environment of the past so well as in the case of these two greatest sons of modern India. The more one ponders over this question, the more one is convinced that every individual in a progressive community is merely the symbol of the social strength behind him, which for all practical purposes is the crystallized experience of centuries. It is here that I have ventured to open a new line of inquiry which I commend to the careful consideration of all those who believe in the value of the study of History.

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## NOTES

1. W. W. Hunter, *Imperial Gazetteer*, V. p. 188 (2nd ed., London, 1885).
2. Hunter, *ibid*, p. 189.
3. Hunter, *ibid*, p. 195.
4. Hunter, *ibid*, p. 196.
5. Hunter, *ibid*, p. 196.
6. Bühler, Georg, *Indian Antiquary*, XVII, pp. 192, 285-293.  
Fleet, J. F., *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 313, and n. (3). (2nd ed., Bombay, 1896).
7. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, I. Pt. I: *History of Gujarat*, p. 73, n. (3) (Bombay, 1896).
8. Hunter, *ibid*, p. 179.
9. Hunter, *ibid*, p. 179. See also Prof. D. N. Wadia in K. M. Munshi, *The Glory that was Gurjar-deśa*, I. pp. 3-4 (Bombay, 1943).
10. Read H. D. Sankalia in Munshi, *ibid*, pp. 13-26 and n. (1) on p. 13 for reference to Bruce Foote's work.
11. *Ancient India for 1954-1955*, p. 1, 2, 12. At Lothal five Indus seals and an assemblage of other typical Harappa objects have been discovered; while the buff ware and red ware of Rangpur not only confirm the existence of the same as found at Lothal but also of a later culture into which the Harappa culture is said to merge.
12. *Bom. Gaz.*, *ibid*, p. 6.
13. *Bom. Gaz.*, *ibid*, and ns (1) & (2).
14. *Bom. Gaz.*, *ibid*, p. 8.
15. & 16. Agrawala, V. S., *India as known to Pāṇini*, pp. 66, 509. (Lucknow, 1953).
17. *Bom. Gaz. ibid*, p. 539.
18. Kautilya, *Arthashastra*, p. 49 (Dr. R. Shama Sastry's trans., 3rd ed., 1929, Mysore).  
The statement that the earliest reference to Surāṣṭra is in Strabo's work (B. C. 50-A.D. 20) (Munshi, *ibid*, p. 31) is therefore, inadmissible.
19. Kautilya, *ibid*, p. 407.
20. Kautilya, *ibid*, p. 148.
21. *Bom. Gaz.*, *op. cit.* p. 545.
22. Tarn, W. W. *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 169 (Cambridge, 1951).
23. *Periplus* cited in *Bom. Gaz. ibid*, pp. 544-545. The Arāṭṭas can be said, as James Campbell maintained, to have lived in the Punjab, if we identify the word Raṭṭa with Gujarat, either in the sense of Gujarāṭṭa or a corruption of Ānarṭta. For, as we have seen above, there are two districts in the Punjab still called Gujarat. On the proximity of Āraṭṭa and Gurjara-rāṣṭra, read *Bom. Gaz. ibid*, p. 2.
24. Gerini's *Ptolemy*, p. 29, and n. (2). Professor Tarn refers to Āraṭṭa as the freed people of Alexander the Great. They were like the Aśvakas of Gāndhāra, the Cathaei between the Rāvi and the Chenab, and the Malli of the Lower Ravi, tribes who had once fought against Alexander the Great, and who had been subjugated by him. (Tarn, *op. cit.* p. 169.) On what grounds this identification rests, I am unable to make out. The Āraṭṭas figure in a Ganga record of circa A.D. 700. *Mysore Archaeological Report for 1912*. pp. 45-46. We cannot make who these were.
25. *Epigraphia Indica*, VIII, pp. 40 ff; *Bom. Gaz. ibid*, p. 13, and n. (2).
26. *Bom. Gaz. ibid*, pp. 13, 14.



27. *Bom. Gaz. ibid*, p. 14.
28. *Ibid*, p. 14.
29. *Ep. Ind.* VII. pp. 46-47.
30. *Bom. Gaz. ibid*, 14.
31. *Bom. Gaz.*, IX. P. II. pp. 183, n. (3) ; 184, 193, n. (1) ; 197, n. (2), 211, n. (2) ; 219.
32. Rapson, *Cambridge History of India*, I. p. 501 ; Smith, V.A., *Early History of India*, pp. 139, 533 ( 4th ed., Oxford, 1924 ).
33. *Tarn*, op. cit, p. 147.
34. Sankalia, H. D., *Historico-Cultural* etc. p. 105. Dr. Sankalia again mentions the fiction of a long tradition of not less than 700 years' rule by the Iranians over Surāṣṭra, and of the descendants of Tuṣaspa Suviśakha, and Parnadāta, being found somewhere in the old Juna-gadh State. This, I am afraid, is far too wide a guess to be worth considering.
35. Professor Rapson gives the following dates for Darius I :—B. C. 522 till B.C. 486. *C.H.I.I.* p. 697. I follow Professor J. B. Bury in regard to the dates in Greeco-Persian history as will be mentioned presently.
36. I have discussed this question of the date of Candragupta Maurya in my work entitled *India's Diplomatic Relations with the West*, Chapter III, p. 106 ff. Dr. Vincent Smith<sup>2</sup> places Candragupta's accession between B.C. 323 and B.C. 332. *E.H.I.* pp. 124, 206.
37. Rapson, *C.H.I.* I. pp. 334-336. See also *ibid*, pp. 338, 339. But earlier on pp. 23, 58 Professor Rapson would confine the provinces of Darius to the Punjab.
38. Smith, *ibid*, p. 40.
39. I have fully discussed this in my work on *India's Diplomatic Relations* mentioned above, Ch. III, p. 80 ff. See also Rapson, *ibid*, I. pp. 340-341.
40. Rapson, *ibid*, pp. 340-341.
41. Rapson, *ibid*, p. 341.
42. Rapson, *ibid*, p. 342.
43. Hultzsch, E., *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, The Inscriptions of Aśoka*, pp. 3-4.
44. Hultzsch, *ibid*, pp. 10, 25.
45. *Bom. Gaz.* I. P. I ( op. cit. ), p. 12 and n.(2) Rapson, *ibid*, pp. 499, 603; *Tarn*, op. cit. p. 148. Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji was of the opinion that the Yavana Thera Dhammarakkhita was sent to the Western seaboard because of a preponderance of foreign element in these parts. In note (1) on the next page ( *Bom. Gaz. ibid*, p. 13 ) that great historian cited the evidence of the *Mahābhārata* ( *Anuśāsana Parva*, 2158-2159, and again Ch. VII. 72 ), the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* II. 37, and the later work *Prabodhacandrodaya*, 87, in order to prove that there was a strong foreign element in Gujarat. Now we shall see later on that there are undoubtedly good reasons to maintain that foreigners had settled down in Gujarat-Surāṣṭra. But their settlements have to be dated to after the fifth century B.C. and before the third century A.D. Now how can we explain the reference to the foreign settlements in Gujarat as given in the *Mahābhārata*, if these settlements are to be dated to a period after the fifth century B.C. and before the third century A.D. ? Are we to assume that the *Mahābhārata* is also to be dated to that period or after ? This would conflict with a number of facts relating to that epic which I do not wish to discuss here. The only explanation I would venture to offer is that the reference to the foreign element in Gujarat-Surāṣṭra as given in the *Mahābhārata*, is to be understood as an interpolation of a later date. As regards the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, it is not impossible that that *Purāṇa* may have been composed in a later date, when the first or second series of foreign settlements in Gujarat-Surāṣṭra had already taken place. The later work *Prabodhacandrodaya*'s testimony obviously reflects the condition in Gujarat long after the foreigners had settled in that province.
46. Rapson, op. cit. I. p. 499.



47. Hultzsch, *op. cit.*; Smith, *E.H.I.* p. 139 ; *Bom. Gaz.* I. P. I. p. 14. Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji's shrewd guess that Gīrnār must have formed a part of the Empire of Aśoka, has been more than proved by the discovery of the Edicts in that place.
48. I have discussed this question fully again in my *India's Diplomatic Relations with the West*, Ch. III, pp. 106-107.
49. Smith, *ibid*, pp. 201-203. See also *Bom. Gaz.* I. P. I, p. 15.
50. Smith, *ibid*, p. 203.
51. Fleet, *D. K. D.*, p. 284.
52. The Jaina tradition relates that he ended his life in the orthodox Jaina fashion at Śrāvāṇa Belgōja in the Mysore State. Read *Epigraphia Carnatica*, II. Intr. pp. 5, 9, 36-42, 72, 82, 85; text. pp. 7, 16, 25, 116. See also Rice, Lewis, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, pp. 3-5, 7, 8, 10, 13, 29, 202-3.
53. Hultzsch, *ibid*, p. 5.
54. Hultzsch, *ibid*, p. 8.
55. Hultzsch, *ibid*, p. 10.
56. Hultzsch, *ibid*, p. 16.
57. Hultzsch, *ibid*, p. 19.
58. Hultzsch, *ibid*, p. 19.
59. Hultzsch, *ibid*, p. 25.
60. Hultzsch, *ibid*, p. 4.
61. Hultzsch, *ibid*, pp. 7-8.
62. Hultzsch, *ibid*, p. 10.
63. Hultzsch, *ibid*, p. 8.
64. Hultzsch, *ibid*. pp. 12-13.
65. Smith, *E. H. I.*, p. 202.
66. Smith, *ibid*, p. 202, n. (1); Todd, *Annals of Rajasthan*, I. p. 290 (Oxford, 1920).
67. Hultzsch, *ibid*, Intr. pp. xxi-xxii.
68. Hultzsch, *ibid*, pp. xi-xv.
69. Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji wrote that there was a blank in the history of Gujarat from B.C. 197 till B.C. 180. This was because he ended the reign of Samprati in B.C. 197. (*Bom. Gaz.* I. P. I. p. 15.) This is plausible, although we cannot maintain that there was no successor to Samprati. I think it is safer to presume that Samprati's rule, or that of his successors, continued to exist in Gujarat even after B.C. 197.
- 69a Mr. K. M. Munshi and his school of thought would maintain that Gurjars were not foreigners, (Munshi *op.cit.* III p. 14). A more recent scholar maintains that it is difficult to say when the country called Gujarat came to be associated with the Gurjars. (Majumdar, A. K. *The Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 12. Bombay, 1956). If the Gurjars were an indigenous people, why is it that they do not figure either in tradition or historical records prior to the fifth century A.D. ? If Gujarat cannot be associated with the Gurjars, with whom else can it be associated ? These and other points the protagonists of this novel theory do not even attempt to answer !
70. *Bom. Gaz.* I. P. I. pp. 15-19 contain a short account of the Bactrians in Gujarat. A masterly study of the Bactrians is by Professor W. W. Tarn in his book already cited above. On Alexander's attempt at founding Bactria as the land of the Greeks, read Tarn, *ibid*, pp. 114-117.
71. There seems to be hardly any doubt about the date of the usurpation by Puṣyamitra in B.C. 185. On this date, read Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 204, 207.
72. Smith, *ibid*, p. 215.



73. In the *Bom. Gaz.* I. P. I., it is stated that the Bactrian rule in Gujarat commenced in B.C. 180, and that it ended in B.C. 100. (*Bom. Gaz.* I. P. I. pp. 15-19). The date B.C. 180 given for the commencement of the Bactrian rule is disputable.
74. Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
75. Tarn, *ibid*, p. 92.
76. Tarn, *ibid*, p. 132. Dr Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya merely states that Demetrius ruled in the first half of the second century B.C. (*The Sakas in India*, p. 15, Santiniketan, 1955). He evidently follows Professor Tarn.
77. Tarn, *ibid*, p. 130.
78. Tarn, *ibid*, p. 136.
79. Tarn, *ibid*, p. 140.
80. Tarn, *ibid*, p. 140. The statement in the *Bom. Gaz.*, I. P. I. pp. 17, 535, that Apollodotus was successor to Menander has to be given up.
81. Tarn, *ibid*, pp. 76, 134, 135, 141, 147. Professor Rapson connects all the three—Demetrius, Apollodotus, and Menander with the house of Euthydemus, *C.H.I.* I. 543.
82. Tarn, *ibid*, pp. 162-163.
83. Tarn, *ibid*, pp. 147-149.
84. *Bom. Gaz.* I.P.I. p. 16. Rapson, *C.H.I.* I. p. 543, where Saraostros is rightly taken to mean—Surāṣṭra. Professor Tarn writes that this locality is unknown. Tarn, *ibid*, p. 148.
85. Tarn, *ibid*, pp. 150-152.
86. Tarn, *ibid*, pp. 44-45. Professor Rapson would assign Apollodotus either to the latter half of the second century or the first century B.C. *C.H.I.*, I. p. 425. See also pp. 445, 542, 543.
87. Dr. Vincent Smith assigned this work to about A.D. 70. *C.H.I.* p. 245. See also Rapson, *ibid*, p. 548. Professor Tarn would assign the work to the middle of the first century A.D. Tarn, *ibid*, p. 148.
88. *Bom. Gaz.* I.P.I. p. 536; Tarn, *ibid*, p. 147, and *ibid*, n. (2) where the reference to Strabo is given.
89. *Bom. Gaz. ibid*, p. 544; Tarn, *ibid*, p. 148.
90. *Bom. Gaz. ibid*, p. 544; Tarn, *ibid*, p. 148.
91. *Bom. Gaz. ibid*, pp. 17, 18; Tarn, *ibid*, p. 149.
92. Tarn, *ibid*.
93. For a fuller description, read *Bom. Gaz.*, *ibid*, pp. 16-19
94. Tarn, *ibid*, p. 150. On the dates of Ptolemy, read Smith, *E.H.I.* pp. 232, 456.
95. As noticed by the late M. R. Narasimhacharya in his *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1916, p. 90.
96. Cf. Tarn, *ibid*, p. 149, and n.(6).
97. Tarn, *ibid*, p. 216. *Bom. Gaz.*, I.P.I. gave him different dates, and called him the last Bactrian king of Gujarat. *Bom. Gaz.*, *ibid*, p. 19.
98. Cf. *Bom. Gaz. ibid*, p. 16.
99. First propounded by Major Arthur Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1870, p. 85; Tarn, *ibid*, p. 143.
100. Strabo cited in *Bom. Gaz.*, *ibid*, pp. 143, 144. Professor Tarn speaks of Surāṣṭra being one of the provinces of Menander. Tarn, *ibid*, pp. 230, 240.
101. *Bom. Gaz. ibid*, pp. 16, 17, 545; Tarn, *ibid*, p. 149.



102. *Bom. Gaz.*, *ibid*, p. 17, n.(5). These coins are said to be in the possession of the ( Royal ) Asiatic Society of Bombay. Two of this type were also found in Junagadh. This fact makes one suspect that these coins of inferior workmanship could not have been forged and put into circulation only in Bhroach; but that the artist ( or goldsmith ) who designed them was evidently ignorant of the nature and purport of the language in which the better types of *drachmae* were minted. We may further presume that their existence in Junagadh where the bulk of the better type of Bactro-Greek coins has been found, so far as Gujarat-Surāṣṭra is concerned, shows that these inferior coins were also in circulation there.
103. This was the view of Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī. *Bom. Gaz. ibid*, p. 19.
104. Tarn, *ibid*, pp. 200, 207.
105. Tarn, *ibid*, p. 200.
106. Tarn, *ibid*, p. 216.
107. Rapson, *C.H.I.* I. p. 551; Tarn, *ibid*, p. 217.
108. *Bom. Gaz. I.P.I.*, p. 17.
109. Tarn, *ibid*, p. 216.
110. *Bom. Gaz. ibid*, p. 16.
111. Tarn, *ibid*, pp. 271, 273.
112. *Bom. Gaz. I.P.I.* pp. 18, 19.
113. *Bom. Gaz. ibid*, pp. 16, 17, 18, 19.
114. *Bom. Gaz. ibid*, p. 18. It is difficult to subscribe to the view of Professor Tarn that the *tetradrachmae* ( which he refers to the reign of Demetrius II ) were meant only for the Greeks, and the copper coins were meant only for the Indians. Tarn, *ibid*, p. 138. Apart from the fact that in a money economy such a demarcation, between a superior people ( and the Greeks are evidently considered to be of that status by Professor Tarn ), and a subordinate people ( who were according to such a view, evidently the Indians ), is impossible, there is also the consideration as to whether the bulk of the people, who were Indians, understood some form of the Bactrian or Greek language in this age. In this connection the discussion in a symposium of the question whether the Greek language was prevalent in India till the days of Kaṇiṣka ( *J.R.A.S.* for 1913, pp. 627 ff, pp. 922 ff ) may be found useful. If the view of Dr. F. W. Thomas as given during that symposium, *viz.* that Greek did not remain a living tongue till the reign of Kaṇiṣka, is accepted, then, it may be inferred that, at least for some generations before the reign of that monarch, Greek was current at the time of Wima Kadphises ( Tarn, *ibid* p. 354 ), The limits of the reign of Kadphises I are uncertain. Professor Rapson would assign him to a period after Gondopharnes, who, according to that historian, reigned from A.D. 19 till A.D. 45 ( *C.H.I.* I. p. 562 ). Dr. Vincent Smith would assign the coronation of Kadphises I to approximately A.D. 40. ( *E.H.I.* p. 265 ). We may safely take the second half of the first century A.D. to be the age of Kadphises I. For our purpose, it may be argued, on the strength of Professor Tarn's opinion cited above, that the Greek language was a living language till the reign of Kadphises I. We do not know, of course, whether what holds good for the north-west of India also holds good for Surāṣṭra and Gujarat. There can be no serious mistake if we presume that, if the Greek language was a living language in the north-western region of India, it could have been known in Surāṣṭra-Gujarat where the Bactro-Greeks ruled at least two centuries earlier than the age of Kadphises I. If this is granted, it follows that the Greek language was known to the people of Surāṣṭra-Gujarat in the days of Apollodotus and Menander ; and that, therefore, they could have understood what was written not only on the copper coins but on the silver coins as well.
115. Professor Tarn has some pertinent remarks to offer in this connection. Tarn, *op. cit.* pp. 356-357.



116. *Bom. Gaz.* I. P. I. p. 24.
117. Tarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 64, 359.
118. The literature on these eras is very large. I do not wish to discuss the question of the two eras here. Pandit Bhagavanlal Indrajī, I may note by the way, dated Nahapāna's conquest of Gujarat to the Śaka year beginning with the initial year A.D. 78. *Bom. Gaz. ibid.* p. 29.
119. *Bom. Gaz. ibid.* p. 57. But see *ibid.* p. 58, n.(1) by Mr. A. M. T. Jackson.
120. Professor Tarn definitely states that this was the gift of the Bactrians to India. Tarn, *ibid.*, pp. 64, 359.
121. Marshall, Sir John, *A Guide to Taxila*, p. 19 (4th ed. New Delhi, ). See also *Bom. Gaz. ibid.* p. 19, and n.(3).
122. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 220.
123. Rapson, *op. cit.*, I. pp. 574 ff ; *Bom. Gaz. ibid.* p. 20 ff.
124. *Bom. Gaz. ibid.* I. P. I. p. 20 ff ; Smith, *op. cit.* p. 220 ff.
125. Smith, *ibid.* p. 220.
126. *Bom. Gaz. ibid.* pp. 23-54.
127. *Bom. Gaz. ibid.* pp. 22-23.
128. *Bom. Gaz. ibid.* p. 23.
129. *Bom. Gaz. ibid.* p. 23.
130. Smith, *ibid.* p. 241. It is not possible to agree with Professor Satya Shrivastava that the Kṣaharātas were different from the Śakas. (*The Sakas in India*, p. 58 ff. Lahore, 1947). Dr. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya's discussion of this problem is equally unconvincing. (*The Sakas in India*, pp. 32 ff. Santiniketan, 1955).
131. *Bom. Gaz.*, *Nasik Gaz.* pp. 538, 621 ; *Bom. Gaz. op. cit.*, I. Pt. I. p. 22.
132. Pāṇini, V. 3. 115 ; Agrawala, *op. cit.* p. 444.
133. *J.R.A.S. for 1924*, p. 402 ; *JBORS*, XVI, p. 258 ; Rapson, *C.H.I.* I. p. 582 for the date of Kadphises. See also Agrawal, *ibid.* p. 444.
134. Keith, A. B., *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 5 (Oxford, 1928).
135. Agrawala, *ibid.* p. 444. Dr. Agrawala further states that the use of the word *Kaṇṭha*, meaning "town" by Pāṇini, is another proof that Pāṇini was aware of the Śakas.
136. Rapson, *C.H.I.* I, p. 585. The Śaka invasion of India took place much earlier in the second or first century B.C. *ibid.* pp. 224, 253, 304 ; Smith, *op. cit.* p. 240. On their route through the Bolan Pass read Rapson, *ibid.* pp. 563 ff. Professor Tarn would date their invasion to circa B.C. 120. Tarn, *op. cit.* pp. 233, 320. Dr. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya writes that "It is difficult to decide how and when the Śakas penetrated in the region of Surāṣṭra-Malwa" (Chattopadhyaya, *op. cit.* p. 33). I am afraid the learned scholar is far too much lost in the facts of history to be able to give us a clear picture of this period.
137. Tarn, *ibid.* p. 79.
138. Tarn, *ibid.*
139. Tarn, *ibid.*
140. H. Lüders, *Sitzungsberichte der preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1914 p. 94 ; Tarn, *ibid.* p. 79.
141. Tarn, *ibid.* p. 80.
142. Bury, J. B., *History of Greece to the Death of Alexander*, p. 233 (3rd ed. London, 1951).
143. Rapson, *C.H.I.* I. p. 338.



144. F. W. Thomas, *JRAS* for 1906, pp. 181-216, 460-464; Sarre, F., and E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs : Aufnahmen und Untersuchungen von denkmälern aus alt-und mittel-perischer Zeit. Text und Atlas*, pp. 252-253 (Berlin, 1910); Rapson, *ibid.*, I. p. 338, and n. (3).
145. Sydney Smith, *JRAS* for 1926, p. 435; E. Herzfeld, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, XXXIV, 1928, p. 1; Tarn, *op.cit.*, p. 291.
146. Rapson, *ibid.*, I. p. 338, and n. (4) for further references.
147. Professor Rapson maintains that the inclusion of the name Śaka in the list of people in the *Mahābhārata* was of a later date. *Ibid.*, p. 304. The evidence of the epic which I shall cite in a later context, only helps to substantiate the foreign origin of the Śakas.
149. Tarn, *op.cit.* pp. 293, 294.
150. Tarn, *ibid.*, pp. 296, 297.
151. Tarn, *ibid.*, p. 473. See also *ibid.*, p. 320.
152. Tarn, *ibid.*, pp. 233, 320.
153. Kautilya, p. 407, *op.cit.*
154. Pandit Bhagavanlal Indraji had long ago identified Ptolemy's Indo-Skythia with Rudradāman's Empire. *Bom. Gaz.* I.P.I. p. 20, n.(1). Professor Tarn would identify it with the kingdom of Maues (circa B.C. 180). Tarn, *op.cit.* pp. 232-233. This does not invalidate my identification, since in either case the reference is to a part of the coast which includes Surāṣṭra.
155. Tarn, *ibid.*, pp. 80-81.
156. Tarn, *ibid.*, p. 81.
157. Tarn, *ibid.*, pp. 306-307.
158. Tarn, *ibid.*, p. 81. Professor Tarn mentions another characteristic of theirs—promiscuity. *ibid.*, p. 81, and n.(9). The Massagatae may have given up this on settling down to an orderly life. Without suggesting any connection between the Massagetae and, for instance, the Bharvāḍs of Surāṣṭra and Gujarat,—who may have had some affinity with the Ābhirs or Āhirs,—I may state that the interesting custom of the Bharvāḍs of performing numerous marriages in a single place and at one time, suggests that we have to look to a past when common marriages were the rule of the day. In the *Bom. Gaz.*, it is recorded that between April 28th and May 3rd, 1895, 775 Bharvāḍ marriages were performed at Khed-sara, a village in the old Navnagar State in Kathiawad. (*Bom. Gaz.*, IX P.I. p. 270). The Ethnologists would find in these and other people of Surāṣṭra-Gujarat an infinite scope of work.
159. Kautilya. *ibid.*, p. 407.
160. Kautilya, *ibid.*, p. 34.
161. I have dealt with these corporations in the age of Alexander the Great in my book on *India's Diplomatic Relations with the West*, Chapter III. p. 91 ff. On Paṇini's list, see Agrawala, *op.cit.*, p. 424 ff.
162. Tarn, *op.cit.* p. 101.
163. Sylvain Lévi, *Journal Asiatique*, II (1923), p. 52; Tarn, *ibid.* p. 138.
164. Tarn, *ibid.*, p. 170.
165. Tarn, *ibid.*, p. 170.
166. Rapson, *C.H.I.* I. p. 117.
167. Rapson, *ibid.*, p. 172.



168. Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. 274. But see note (147) above wherein Professor Rapson's comment on the description of the Kambhojas as given in that epic, is cited.
169. Hultzsch, *op.cit.* Intr. p. XI i; Rapson, *ibid*, p. 514. See also Saletore, *India's Diplomatic Relations with the West*, p. 137-138.
170. *Bom. Gaz.*, IX p. I (Gujarat Population : Hindus), pp. 375-376.
173. *Herodotus*, I. 215; Tarn, *op.cit.*, p. 105.
174. If the identification of the self-governing Cathaeans, who opposed Alexander the Great, in their stronghold of Sangala, with the Kathis of Kathiawad (McCrindle, *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 347) is accepted, we have another foreign element in the population of Surāṣṭra. But see notes (171) and (172) above. The Kathis seem to possess some of the characteristic features of the Massagetae. How then can we identify them with the Cathaeans? I am unable to solve this riddle.
175. Tarn, *op.cit.* p. 299.
176. Agrawala, *op.cit.* pp. 9-11.
177. Tarn, *ibid*, p. 299.
178. Rapson, *ibid*, p. 585.
179. F. W. Thomas, *JRAS*, for 1913, p. 1016; Tarn, *ibid*, pp. 304, 305 where Professor Tarn writes that the Śaka speech of the Kuṣāṇas was probably reduced to writing in Bactria. In this connection it would be worth while to trace the effects of the Śaka language on Gujarat; and also to find out whether the Macedonian or Seleucid calendar, which the Śakas and the Kuṣāṇas so closely copied, has left any traces on the reckoning of time in Gujarat. Tarn, *ibid*, pp. 359, writes that the Macedonian months and subdivisions appear in the Kharostī inscriptions of the Śakas and the Kuṣāṇas.
180. Rapson, *C.H.I.* I, p. 585.
181. Tarn, *ibid*, p. 322, and *ibid*, n.(5) for references.
182. Tarn, *ibid*, p. 312. But on page 320. Professor Tarn writes that the Śaka invasion of India might have been after circa B.C. 120. Later on, in B.C. 30, according to the same scholar, "The Śaka fleet avenged its previous defeat on the Jhelum and gave Azes control of the river, and a crossing; Poseidon with his trident appears on one of the coins, and Poseidon with his trident trampling upon a river god another....." Tarn, *ibid*, p. 349.
183. Jayaswal, K. P. *JBORS* XVI. 1930, pp. 233-234; Sten Konow, *JHI*. XII. 1933, pp. 18-19; Tarn, *ibid*, p. 320.
184. *E.I.* XIV. p. 293.
185. Rapson, *ibid*, p. 168.
186. Norman Brown, *Kālukācāryakathānaka*, p. 56. On page 57 Professor Norman Brown identifies Surāṣṭra with Surat which is of course incorrect; and on p. 58 he identifies Lāṭa with Kutch which is again an error. Lāṭa was in South Gujarat, while Kutch is in Surāṣṭra proper.
187. Brown, *ibid*, pp. 11, n.(48), 23, 24, n.(32). See also Sten Konow, *Corp Ins., Ind.* p. I *Kharostī Ins.*, pp. xviii, xxxvi (1929).
188. How unsafe it is to base one's conclusions relating to the historical origin of names only on linguistic data, will be evident when we read the following by Dr. H. D. Sankalia, on the origin of the same name *Sāha*. "Perhaps it is little known and one will be surprised to know that the origin of this name (Shah) is to be traced to the designation of *Sādhu*, which is found mostly prefixed in its abbreviated form 'Sā' or Sa to the names of merchants plying various trades in an inscription of Sarangadeva and others." (Sankalia, *op.cit.* p. 149, and n.(1). Dr. S. K. Chatterjee (I believe the initials S. K. C. refer to this



distinguished Bengali linguist) confirms the opinion of Dr. Sankalia that linguistically *Shah* could be derived from *Sādhu*. (*Ibid*, n.(1)). Whatever might be the linguistic appropriateness of this derivation, historically it cannot be maintained that *Shāh* could be derived from *Sādhu*. Firstly, it is useless to cite the evidence of inscriptions of the Vāghela king Śaraṅgadeva (A.D. 1275-1296) to prove the existence of a name that existed centuries earlier. I cannot make out which exactly are the inscriptions of Śaraṅgadeva to which Dr. Sankalia refers. On the sources of information of that rule, read *Bom. Gaz.* I.P.I. pp. 204-206. Dr. Sankalia mentions the inscription of Tribhuvanapāla in this connection. (Sankalia, *ibid*, p. 150). It cannot be made out whether the reference is here to Tribhuvanapāla, who was the father of Kumārapāla, and the great grandson of Bhīma I, or Tribhuvanapāla, the last of the Aṇahilavāḍa Solankas, who was the contemporary of the Vāghela king Viśāladeva (*Bom. Gaz. History of Gujarat* pp. 182, 203). In either case the evidence of the inscription is not of any value, because of the following reasons: The history of merchant communities in Western India, including Gujarat and Surāṣṭra, does not warrant the derivation of the names *Shāh* from *Sādhu*. Further, there were *Sādhus* in thousands all over India. Nowhere are they called by the name *Shāh*! Dr. Sankalia rightly mentions the endings of Kuṣaṇa names thus—*dāman*, *simha*, *senā*, *ghsada* (or *Śrī*) but has no comments to make on *Simha* from which the name *Sāha* has also been derived. (*Bom. Gaz.* I.P.I. p. 20, n.(1)).

189. Sir Halford J. Mackinder in the *C.H.I.* I, pp. 44-45. See also A.C. Haddon, *The Wanderings of Peoples*, pp. 12, 17 (Cambridge, 1911).
190. I do not wish to discuss here the materials bearing on this interesting subject which could form a study by itself.
191. Professor Tarn, while commenting on Whitehead's statement (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1940, p. 12) that no Greek coins have been found in Bhroach, states that "this might suggest that Barggaza was not Bhroach." Tarn, *op.cit.* p. 527.
192. Read *Bom. Gaz.* I.P.I. pp. 513-514, 555-556.
193. *JBBRAS.* VII. p. 42.
194. *Bom. Gaz.* I.P.I. p. 24; Smith *E.H.I.* p. 221 where Nahapāna is assigned to the middle of the first century A.D.
195. *Periplus*, p. 42 (Schoff's ed.).
196. *Mahābhārata*, Sabhā Parva, LXXVIII. vv. 35-36 (Krishnacharya's ed.) Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji has given further reference to this side of the question. He wrote the following:—"Mahābhārata Anuśāsanaparva 2158-9 mentions Lāṭas among Kṣatriya tribes who have become outcastes from seeing no Brahmins. Again Ch. VII. 72, *ibid*, couples Bāhlikas with robber Surāṣṭras (*JBAS.* VI (1), p. 387). Compare *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, II. 37, where the Yavanas are placed to the west Bharatavarṣa, and also *JRAS.* (N.S.) IV, 468; and Brockhaus' *Prabodhachandrodaya*, 87. The Śloka referred to in the text runs thus:—He who goes to Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Surāṣṭra or Magadhā, unless it be for a pilgrimage, deserves to go through a fresh purification." (*Bom. Gaz.* I. Pt. I. p. 13, and *ibid*, n.(1)). Mr. James Campbell commenting on this point, wrote thus:—"A chief point of interest in the history of Gujarat is that from being a holy land it fell to be a land of strangers and again recovered its ancient honour as a land of virtue. To what inflow of evil was the darkening due: by what outflow of virtue has the godly land regained its brightness? The darkening seems to have been due to Buddhism and to the success of Buddhism in gaining as converts Yavanas, Pallavas, Śakas, Kushans and Kedars who conquered in Western India from about B.C. 250 to A.D. 400. The brightening has been since the fifth century when the great White Huna, Juan-Juan, or Gurjar horde, and in the sixth and seventh centuries to the immigrant Turk tribes and in driplets aided the Brahmins to regain their long lost ascendancy over Buddhism. These services the Brahmins freely



rewarded by admitting the new comers to the highest position and honour among Brahmanic Hindus" (*Bom. Gaz.* IX. P.I. p. 433). How far the above is a correct solution of the problem would require a study by itself.

197. *Bom. Gaz.* I. Pt. T. p. 55.
198. *Ibid*, p. 56, n.(1) ; *JBBRAS.* XVI. p. 346 ; *Ep. Ind.* II. p. 19.
199. *Bom. Gaz. ibid*, p. 57.
200. *Ibid*, p. 58.
201. *Ep. Ind.* VI, pp. 295, 297 ; *Bom. Gaz.*, pp. 57-59, and p. 59, n.(1). On the early Kaṣacuriyas, see Cunningham, *A.S.R.* IX. p. 85 ; *Ep. Ind.* I. pp. 32, 39, 45, 251 ; *ibid*, II, pp. 1, 6, 7, 9, 17, 174 ; *Ind. Ant.* XVII, p. 135 ; *ibid*, XVIII pp. 215-219 ; *JBeng.RAS.* XXXI. p. 116 ; Fleet *D.K.D.* p. 296.
202. *Bom. Gaz.*, *ibid*, pp. 57, 58, n.(1) Pandit Bhagavanlal Indrajī initiated the discussion ; and Mr. A.M.T. Jackson commented on it. After that the problem has remained where they had left it !
203. *Bom. Gaz.* I. P. I. p. 57.
204. *Ibid*, p. 58.
205. *Ibid*, p. 58.
206. *Ibid*, pp. 65, 66.
207. *Ibid*, pp. 67, 68.
208. *Ibid*, pp. 68, 69.
209. *Ibid*, p. 70
210. Fleet, *C.I.I.* III, No. 14 ; *JBBRAS*, XVIII, p. 47 ; *Bom. Gaz. ibid*, pp. 69, 70 ; Smith, *E.H.I.* p. 327.
211. *Bom. Gaz.* I.P.I. p. 72.
212. Smith, *ibid*, pp. 326 ff.
213. Smith, *ibid*, pp. 335-336 ff ; *Bom. Gaz. ibid*, p. 77. On page 74 of the same work, it is said that Mihirakula came to the throne in A.D. 515.
214. Fleet, *C.I.I.* III. p. 8, note ; *Bom. Gaz. ibid*, p. 76, n.(9).
215. *Bom. Gaz.* I. P. I. p. 86.
216. *Ind. Ant.* XII. p. 179 ; *Bom. Gaz. ibid*, p. 127.
217. Mokherājī Gohil, the famous chief of Priam, was the son of a daughter of Dhan Mehr or Mair of Dhanḍuka. (Forbes, *Ras Mals*, I. p. 516 1st. ed. ) ; *Bom. Gaz.* I. P. I. p. 87 and n.(1).
218. *Bom. Gaz.* I.P.I. pp. 87, 145.
219. Read the excellent note on Mihirs in *Bom. Gaz. ibid*, p. 135 ff.
220. *Ibid*, p. 142.
221. *Bom. Gaz.* I.P.I. p. 452.
222. *Ibid*. pp. 141, 146.
223. *Ibid*, p. 78 ff.
224. *Ibid*, pp. 81-83.
225. *Ibid*, p. 101 ff.
226. Fleet, *DKD.* p. 336.
227. *Ind. Ant.* VII. p. 160 ; *ibid*, XIX p. 16 ; *Ep. Ind.* VII. Kielhorn's List Nos. 5 and 6.



228. *Ep. Ind.* VI. p. 293.
229. *Ep. Ind.* VIII, p. 231 ; Fleet, *DKD.* pp. 310, 311, 316, 336, n.(3), 375, 376.
230. *Bom. Gaz.* I. P. I. pp. 149-155.
231. *Ibid*, p. 119 ff. The end of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa hegemony in Gujarat may be dated to A.D. 930 ( *Ep. Ind.* p. 26 ff ), although Pandit Bhagavanlal Indraji would prolong it to A.D. 972. ( *Bom. Gaz.* I. P. I. p. 131 ). Dr. Fleet would date it to A.D. 957 ( Fleet, *DKD.*, pp. 430, 514).
232. *Bom. Gaz.* pp. 152 ff.
233. Fleet, *DKD.* p. 383, where the Rāṣṭrakūṭa northern frontier is extended to the limits of Sind. See also *ibid*, p. 388 where it is stated, on the basis of the evidence of the Arab writers, that Kambāya, or Cambay, was the northern boundry of the Balhars, the name given by the Arabs to the Vallabhs or Rāṣṭrakūṭas.
234. *Ep. Ind.* II. p. 173 ; Fleet, *DKD.*, p. 284, n.(4) ; Kielhorn's List No. 95 ; *S.I.I.* XI. P. II. *Intr.* pp. iv-v, 256-7. I am not mentioning the intimate relations of the kings of Gujarat with those of Karmāṭaka in the fields of politics and dynastic alliances.
235. *Epigraphia Carnatica* VII Sr. 13, 98, 99, 131, 137, 192, 311, pp. 41, 63, 64, 65, 100, 104, 122, 152-153.
236. Rice, *My. & Coorg.* p. 73.
237. *S.I.I.* XI. P. II. pp. 176, 178 ff.
238. *S.I.I. ibid*, p. 247.
239. *Ibid*, p. 247.
240. *Ep. Car.* VIII. Sb. 270-273, pp. 44-45 ; Saletore, B.A., *Kathiawad and Karnataka in the Journal of the Gujarat Research Society*, I. No. 4 ( 1939 ), pp. 29-31.
241. *Ep. Car.* VII, Sb. 391, p. 70, text p. 186.
242. *Ibid*, Sb. 391. p. 71.
243. *Ibid*, Sb. 217, p. 33.
244. *Bom. Gaz.* I. P. I. p. 86 ff.
245. *Ind. Ant.* IV, p. 104 ; *ibid*, V. p. 204 ; *Bom. Gaz. ibid*, p. 86 ff.
246. *Cf. Bom. Gaz. ibid*, p. 90 ff.
247. *My. Arch. Report* for 1911, pp. 33, 35, 36.
248. *Bom. Gaz. ibid*, pp. 170, and note (5), 172 ; Fleet, *DKD.*, p. 568 ; *Ep. Report of the S. Circle for 1925-1926*, p. 94, citing Dr. Fleet's opinion. See also Moraes, G. M. *The Kadamba Kula*, pp. 108-111, 121 ff.
249. *Bom. Gaz. ibid*, p. 183.
250. *Ibid*, pp. 194-195.
251. *Ibid*, p. 195 ; Fleet, *DKD.* pp. 460, 486, 548, 565, 566. See also Moraes, *ibid*, pp. 198-201. Permaṇḍi's last year is not certain. Dr. Moraes places it in about A.D. 1181 ( *ibid*, p. 201 ).
252. *Bom. Gaz. ibid* p. 198.
253. *Ibid*, p. 203, and note (3).
254. *My. Arch. Report for 1924-1925*, p. 12.
255. *Bom. Gaz. ibid*. p. 199 ff.
256. *Ep. Ind.* VIII. p. 200 ff. This is related in a record dated A.D. 1250.
257. *Ep. Ind.* XIV. pp. 295-296.
258. Ray, Hem Chandra, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, I. p. 922 ( Calcutta, 1931 ).



259. *Ep. Ind.* VIII, p. 201, 227.
260. Sankalia, *Historico-Cultural*. pp. 141-142.
261. *Ep. Car.* VIII. Sb. 270, *op. cit.*
262. Desai, P. B. *Prācina Kārṇātaka*, I. p. 42.
263. *Ep. Car.* XI. Dg. 8, p. 26.
264. *Ibid.* X. CB. 27, p. 204. This term *Bāi* may be equated with the term *Āyi* given in A.D. 1459 to Lakhumāji *Āyi*, the wife of the nobleman Pāṇḍya Perumāladeva, and the daughter of the Vijayanagara king Vīra Pratāpa Vijayarāya Mahārāja. (24 of 1915).
265. The windows of Mahādji Sindhia were called Bāis (Cf. Loch. W. W., *Bom. Gaz.* I.P.I. p. 607). There are scores of examples in Maratha history which prove this, but which I refrain from mentioning here.
266. Burgess-Natesa Sastri, *Pali and Skt. Ins. of the Bhavnagar State*, q. v. This work is unfortunately not available to me while writing these notes. The exact page number cannot, therefore, be given.
267. Rice, *My. Ins.*, p. 123.
268. *Ep. Ind.* XIII. pp. 17, 26.
269. Bhandarkar, D. R., *Ep. Ind.* IX. p. 195.
270. Campbell, *Bom. Gaz.* IX. P. I. pp. 441 ff.
271. See my *Mediaeval Jainism*, pp. 47, 50, 102-109, 106-8, 102-113, 127-8, 140, 145, 185-6, 193, 223, n.(3), 278, 284-5, 339, 363, 386.
272. Saletore, *ibid.*, p. 11.
273. *Ep. Car.* VII. Intr. p. 21 ; Sk. 109, Sk. 110, p. 81.
274. *Ep. Car. ibid.* Sk. 130, p. 99, Rice, *My. & Coorg*, pp. 75-76.
275. *Ep. Car. ibid.* Ci. 182. There is another prominent Brahma-Kṣatriya administrator in A.D. 1278 but unfortunately his name is lost in the damaged record. *Ep. Car.* X. Si. 110, p. 196.
276. *JRAS* for 1907, p. 419 ; Rice *My. & Coorg*, pp. 205-206.
277. *Ep. Car.* XII. Intr. p. 6 ; Si. 28, p. 29.
278. *Ins. in Bombay-Karnatak*, I. p. 30.
279. Hultzsch, *S.I.I.* III. p. 27 ; Rice, *Ep. Car.* VII. Intr. p. 19, n.(1).
280. *Ep. Car.* III. Intr. p. 19 ; SR. 126, pp. 97-98.
281. *Ep. Ind.* I. p. 271 ; *ibid.* V. p. 226 ; *Ep. Car.* VII, Intr. p. 19, n.(1) *op. cit.*
282. The followers of the Pāśupata school became militant in the later times, and are said to have served in the armies of kings who had become their disciples. Karvān, I may add, suffered great desecration at the hands of the Muslims of the later times. The numerous ruins of images, lingas, and carved stones discovered in Karvān testify to the importance of this once-powerful Śaivite centre (Cf. *Bom. Gaz.* I.P.I. pp. 83, and n.(1), 84).
283. Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 206. For a detailed account of the Lakutiśa sect, read Bhandarkar, D. R., *A.S.I. for 1906-7*, p. 179 ff.
284. *Bom. Gaz.* p. 229, and n.(1) for the location. See also *ibid.*, p. 189.
285. *Ibid.* p. 25. See also Burgess, James, *Karle Ins. ASWI.* IV. p. 100; Bhandarkar, *E.H.D.* p. 148 (in *Bom. Gaz.*). *Ep. Ind.* VII. p. 58. This Prabhās Paṭṭan is not to be confounded with Prabhāsa (Pabhosa), a holy place, too, thirty-two miles south-west of Allahabad on the Jamunā ( *Ep. Ind.* II. p. 240, and n.(1) ).
286. Fleet, *D.K.D.* p. 284, n.(4).



287. *Ep. Ind.* I. p. 268; *ibid*, II .p. 302. This was evidently after his victory over the Lāṭa and and Gurjara kings mentioned in his Goharwa grant ( *Ep. Ind.* XI. p. 142; Ray, H.C. *Dy.(ist. of N. India.* I. p. 764. )
  288. *S.I.I.* XII. p. II. No. 154; pp. 192-193. On the Kadamba viceroy Jayakesin, read Fleet, *DKD.* pp. 568, 569; Moraes, *op.cit.* p. 197.
  289. *Indian Culture*, II. p. 411. On Aparāditya I, read Nairne, A. K. in *Bom. Gaz.* I. p. II pp. 15, 22.
  290. *Ep. Ind.* XIV. pp. 299, 309.
  291. *Bom. Gaz.* I.P.I. p. 179.
  292. *Ibid*, p. 179.
  293. Dr. Moraes ( *op.cit.* pp. 176, 392-97 ) calls this an expedition to Kathiawad. I do not wish to discuss the propriety of this term here.
  294. Moraes, *ibid*, pp. 171-172.
  295. *Ep. Car.* VI. kd. 4, p. 2 *Rice My. & Coorg.*, p. 97. On Ballāja II's extensive campaigns, read *ibid*, pp. 102-105; Fleet, *DKD.* pp. 493, 501-506.
  296. *Ep. Car.* II. Sb. 391, *op.cit.*
  297. *Ep. Car.* XI. Hr. 52. 110. This record presents certain chronological difficulties.
  298. *Ep. Car.* IV. Ch. 107, p. 14.
  299. *Ibid*, Gu. 11, p. 37.
  300. Narasimachar, R. *Kannada Kavicharite*, III. p. 12. ( Bangalore, 1929 ).
  301. *Ibid*, I, pp. 203-204.
  302. *Ibid* I. p 340-342; *Bom. Gaz. I.P.I.* pp.156, 170, 176, 181 ff.
  303. *Rice My. & Coorg.*, pp. 3-5.
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