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ANCIENT CITIES
AND
TOWNS OF RAJASTHAN
Dedicated
to
The Sacred Memory
of
Late Pandit Chainsukhdass,
Principal,
Jain Sanskrit College,
Jaipur
PREFACE

James Tod has rightly remarked, "There is not a petty state in Rajasthan that has not had its Thermopylae, and scarcely a city that has not produced its Leonidas". This statement shows the great political and cultural importance of the State of Rajasthan. The cities, which existed before the thirteenth century A.D., have been incorporated in this work. Our study confines to their religion, art, literature and some other cultural aspects, and political history also finds a place when some new light has been thrown on some particular event.

Recently, a large number of works has been published on the growth and development of urban life in Europe and America. The works of Lewis Mumford, Robert E. Dickinson and Arthur Smailes are important as they throw light on the origin of the medieval and modern towns. Such an attempt was made also by some Indian scholars like G. C. Ghurye. Because of industrialization and technological advancement, the modern cities are concerned with the material aspect; but this was not the case with the ancient cities which were more important from the cultural point of view. For their study, generally, we are to depend upon archaeology and literature.

For writing this work, I have consulted a long range of scattered published material both archaeological and literary. I have sifted and examined it with a critical eye and have drawn new conclusions, not only because new facts have been discovered, but because new aspects too have come to light.

James Tod was the first historian who in his Personal Narratives at the end of his book 'Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, published in 1815 A.D. describes the important archaeological sites which he visited. He also discussed the political history of the capital cities. Being a pioneer work, it is of great value; still it is full of inaccuracies and self-contradictions. This was but natural because he was writing at a time when the historical research had not made much advance. Besides, the material was scanty, and it was not
thoroughly scrutinized. James Fergusson also in the History of Indian Architecture described the artistic pieces of Chandrāvati, Jhāḷrāpāṭan, Kholovī, Ajmer, and other cities and towns.

A. Cunningham and his assistant A.C. Carlleyle from 1864 A.D. onwards, toured mostly in Eastern Rajasthan. A. Cunningham toured Bairāṭ, Jhāḷrāpāṭan, Dhamnār. A. C. Carlleyle visited Bayānā, Machārī, Bijauliā and explored the ancient city sites of Nagarī and Nagar. H.B.W. Garrick (1887 A.D.) discovered the early medieval city of Nāgaur. These scholars brought to light numerous monuments, mosques, rock-cut caves, forts, mounds strewn with large bricks, potsherds, thousands of coins and a number of inscriptions. All this material throws a good deal of light on ancient culture of cities. Sometimes, their account of some places is based on legends and therefore it requires scrutiny.

K. D. Erskine compiled the Rajputana District Gazetteers of Ajmer, Merwara, Sirohi, Jaisalmer, Jodhpur, Udaipur, etc. These Gazetteers include the historical portion as well as the description of the archaeological sites but they have not been written in an authoritative way.

D.R. Bhandarkar (1908-11, 1915-17 A.D.), R.D. Banerji and V.S. Sukthankar (1916-21 A.D.) have given interesting account of the various monuments, sculptures and inscriptions of many places. D. R. Bhandarkar visited Sānchhor, Bhinmāl, Pāli, Mandsor, Nānā, Hathundī, Nādlāi, Nādol, Saṇḍerā, Kortā, Bārmr, Jālor, Bairāṭ, Āmber, Sāngāner, Chātsū, Jīnāmātā Haras, Sakrāi, Phalodhi, Merti, Kekind. Bayānā and Kāmān were surveyed by R.D. Banerji. V.S. Sukthankar was busy with exploring the places of Sirohi State such as Jirulā and Varmān. L.P. Tessitori in his work—Search on Bardic Chronicles in Bikaner and Jodhpur States, described some archaeological sites.

The archaeological excavations of the ancient historical city sites were first undertaken by D.R. Bhandarkar and Dayaram Sahani. In 1916 A.D., D.R. Bhandarkar excavated the famous historical site of Nagar. J.H. Marshall and D.R. Sahani dug the site of Manḍor in 1909-10 A.D. D.R. Sahani also first carried out excavations at Bairāṭ, and later at Sāmbhar (1935-38 A.D.), both in former Jaipur State.
K.N. Puri followed them and dug at Rairh.

To Aureil Stein (1942 A.D.) goes the credit of starting a systematic search of Proto-historic settlements along the dry bed of the Hakra of the Ghaggar which flows through the region of the former Bhawalpur and Bikaner States. This search begun in 1940 A.D. has since been continued by A. Ghosh (1951 A.D.) with great success. As a result of these explorations we know that the Indus Civilization once extended up to North Rajasthan, and that at Kālibangān, there was flourishing the pre-Harappan civilization. Besides, excavations and explorations were conducted at several pre-historical sites such as Ahar, Gilund, Nohar by B.B. Lal, H.D. Sankalia, Satya Prakash and R.C. Agrawal. The Swedish Archaeological Expedition (1952-54 A.D.) under Hanna Rydh proved how the culture and civilization flourished from the Kushāṇa period to the seventh century A.D. in the Rang Mahal area.

Inscriptions proved to be very helpful for this thesis in throwing light on the different aspects of urban life. They were edited from time to time by G. Bühler, J. F. Fleet, E. Hultszch, Stankonow, F. Kielhorn, Hiranand Shastri, R.K. Haldar, D.R. Bhandarkar, R.D. Banerji, Akshayakirti, and V.V. Mirashi. The credit for the discovery of a large number of inscriptions also goes to G.H. Ojha. D.C. Sirgar also edited some inscriptions and revised the old ones.

Shri Jinavijaya, Shri Punyavijaya, Agar Chand Nahatta and Kastoor Chand Kashliwal brought to light Praśastis of the manuscripts which proved to be of great value for the cultural and political aspects of towns.

Besides, there is scattered material found in the modern history books specially written on the region of Rajasthan by Shyamal Das, G.H. Ojha, Dasharatha Sharma and M.L. Sharma. Dasharatha Sharma also published a number of research papers bearing on the history of Rajasthan, and they have been fully utilised.

Besides, in order to collect material for research, I visited various places where I discovered a large number of inscriptions and sculptures which range between the tenth and the eighteenth century A.D. I also came across towns like Māroth and Harsaur which were so far unknown to the
historians and archaeologists. I also studied several manuscripts of the Jaina Manuscript libraries.

All this material from different sources has been thoroughly examined and utilised in this work. Though it is a maiden effort on the cultural aspect of history, I made it a point that prejudice should not find any place in it. At every step, the temptation to follow up its diverse ramifications has been resisted with a view to attaining lucidity and unity. I have given new interpretation to the well-established facts and at times, contradicted the leading historians.

This work has been divided into thirteen Chapters. In Chapter I, the different sources have been critically examined for the reconstruction of the history of cities. In Chapter II, the ancient names and boundaries of the territorial divisions of Rajasthan in different periods have been discussed.

In Chapter III, it has been considered how Urban life through different stages gradually emerged. Chapter IV is related to the growth and development of urban life, and it has been pointed out what forces were at work in different periods. The establishment of so many urban centres and their maintenance in this arid region of Rajasthan is actually a striking feature.

Chapter V deals with the principles, which guided me in the selection of the towns. In Chapter VI, I have discussed the history and civilization of towns and cities selected on the foregoing principles. For the convenience of study, this chapter has been divided into three sections:—(1) Early towns, (from the earliest times to the fifth century A.D.) (2) Post-Gupta towns (sixth to the ninth century A.D.) and (3) Early Medieval towns (tenth century to the thirteenth century A.D.) This division is not as scientific as we would like it to be, because the existence of some towns in particular period is not definitely known.

Chapter VII is devoted to the town planning of these cities. From their study, it seems that the process in the development of towns in different periods is a gradual one. In Chapter VIII, I have dealt with the administration of ancient towns and cities. When these towns gradually became multi-
functional, the number of officers also considerably increased for performing different duties.

In Chapter IX, social conditions have been dealt with. Actually these towns are socially integrated units, and we have described food, drinks, dresses, ornaments, recreations and amusements of the people who lived there in early times. Chapter X is related to economic conditions. Products, crafts and professions, commerce, coinage, weights and measures of these cities have been discussed. Chapter XI is concerned with the ancient town routes and it has been discussed how they worked as the agencies for the spread of civilization by linking important towns and cities.

Chapter XII is concerned with the cultural role of ancient cities and towns, which became the seats of religion, art and literature. Even some castes, gotras and religious gachchhas were named after the towns. In the last Chapter XIII, I have dealt with the causes which led to the decay and disappearance of some of these ancient cities and towns.

This work is originally a thesis approved for the D. Litt. degree of the University of Rajasthan in 1963. Afterwards, a lot of new material had been brought to light and therefore, in order to make it up to date, I had to revise it at the time of publication.

I owe an immense debt to the late A.S. Altekar, at whose initiative and encouragement, I took up this subject for research. I also express my gratitude to Dasharatha Sharma whose constant guidance has greatly contributed to its early completion and who actually took great pains in going through this manuscript. To my examiners, D. C. Sircar, V. V. Mirashi and late V. S. Agrawal, I am indebted for their valuable suggestions. My thanks are also due to Agarchand Nahata who gave me useful advice on this work.

I also express my profound respects to late Chain Sukhadas, Principal, Jaina Sanskrit College, Jaipur, who aways gave me inspiration for research work. I am grateful to my mother Kanwari Bai who carefully looked after my health and comforts at the time of writing this work.

I am highly obliged to K. S. Rajora, Lecturer in
Political Science, Govt. College, Ajmer; to M. L. Jain, former Lecturer in English, Teachers Training, College, Ajmer; and D.S. Tatke, Professor of English, Madhava College, Ujjain, for going through the manuscript. My thanks are also due to Mohan Jhala who prepared maps for this work. I also thank my student S. M. Pahadia, Lecturer in English in the Engineering College, Ujjain, for going through the proofs and preparing the Index of the work. In conclusion, I am grateful to Messers Motilal Banarsidass for undertaking the publication of the work.

The system of transliteration adopted by me is the same as found in the Archaeological Reports. The author more than anybody else is conscious of many defects and blemishes, specially typographical, which have crept into the book. For these, he craves the indulgence of the reader.

Mohan Niwas,
Dewas Road, Ujjain, (M. P.)
15th Aug., 1972

KAILASH CHAND JAIN
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ABBREVIATIONS

AAR  Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan by J. Tod.
AGI.  Ancient Geography of India by A. Cunningham.
AHD.  Ajmer Historical and Descriptive by Harbilas Sharda.
ĀINI.  Āin-i-Akbarī of Abul Fazl.
AIOC.  All India Oriental Conference.
AK.  Anēkānta, Delhi.
APJLS.  Arbudāchala-pradakshīnā Jaina Lekha Samādoha, ed. by Muni Jayantavijaya.
AREB.  Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Bairāṭ by Daya Ram Sahani.
ARES.  Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Sāmbhār by Daya Ram Sahani.
ARRMA.  Annual Report Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.
ARSMJ.  Annual Report Sardar Museum, Jodhpur.
ASC.  Archaeological Survey of India Reports by A. Cunningham.
ATCGK.  Ancient Towns and Cities in Gujarat and Kathiawād by A.S. Altekar.
BCV.  Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, Poona, 1917.
BDK.  Bāṁkī Dāsa ki Khyāta, ed. by Narottamaḍaś Swami, Jodhpur.
BHSR.  Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajasthan.
BI.  Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta.
BJLS.  Bikaner Jaina Lekha Saṃgraha, ed. by Agar Chand Nahāta, Calcutta.
BK.  Bhārata Kaumudi, Allahabad, 1945.
BPPI.  Bhagavān Pārśvanātha ki Paramparā kā Itiḥāsa by Gyan Sundarji, Phalodhi, 1943.
BRI.  Bīkāner Rājya kā Itiḥāsa by G.H. Ojha, Ajmer, 1937.
BRKI.  Bānswārā Rājya kā Itiḥāsa by G.H. Ojha, Ajmer, 1937.
BS.  Bhaṭṭāraka Sampradāya by V.P. Johrapurkar, Sholapur, 1958.

BSS.  Bombay Sanskrit Series.


CHI.  Cambridge History of India by E. J. Rapson.

CII.  Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.

DRI.  Dūṅgarpur Rājya kā Itihāsa by G.H. Ojha, Ajmer, 1936.

ECD.  Early Chauhāna Dynasties by Dasharath Sharma, Delhi, 1959.

EI.  Epigraphia Indica.

EIM.  Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica.

GOS.  Gackwad’s Oriental Series, Baroda.

GRK.  Gurugunaratnākara Kāvyā.


HIED.  History of India as told by its own Historians. Trans. by H.M. Elliot and John Dowson.

HM.  Hammīramahākāvyā of Nayachandra Sūri, Bombay, 1879.


HS.  History of Sirohi by G.H. Ojha, Ajmer, 1911.

IA.  Indian Antiquary, Bombay.

IAR.  Indian Archaeology, New Delhi.

IHQ.  Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.

LNI.  List of Inscriptions of Northern India by D.R. Bhandarkar, appx. to EI., Vols. XX-XXII.

JASB.  Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

JASG.  Jaina Āgama Sāhitya me Gujarāt, Ahmedabad.


JGPS.  Jaina Grantha Praśasti Saṅgraha, ed. by Jugal Kishore Mukhtar, Delhi, 1954.
JGK. Jaina Gurjara Kaviyom by Mohanlal Dulichand Desai, Bombay.
JIHT. Journal of Indian History, Trivandrum.
JRI. Jodhpur Rajya kā Itihasa, by G.H. Ojha, Ajmer.
JSLS. Jaina Silā Lekha Samgraha, Bombay.
JSP. Jaina Satya Prakāsa, Ahmedabad.
JSS. Jaina Sāhitya Samśodhaka, Ahmedabad.
JSAI. Jaina Sāhitya aura Itihasa by Nathu Ram Premi, Bombay, 1942.
JKSP. Jaisalmer kā Süchi Patra, ed. by Punyavijaya, Ahmedabad.
JSSI. Jaina Sāhitya no Samśkshipta Itihasa by Mohanlal Dulichand Desai, Bombay, 1943.
JTSS. Jaina Tirtha Sarva Samgraha, Ahmedabad, 1953.
JUPHS. Journal of the U.P. Historical Society, Lucknow.
KC. Kumārapālcharita of Hemachandra, Poona, 1936.
KHT. Hindu Temples by Stella Kramrish, Calcutta, 1946.
KK. Kīrtikaumudi ed. by A.V. Kathavate, Bombay, 1883.
KM. Kāvyamāṁśā, Baroda, 1934.
KP. Kanhaḍadeprabandha, ed. by K.B. Vyas, Jaipur, 1953.
KR. Kayāma Khāṇī Rāśa, ed. by Dasharath Sharma and Agar Chand Nahata.
KRI. Koṭā Rājya kā Itihasa by M. L. Sharma, Kotah, 1939.
MB. Marubhāratī, Pilani.
MBH. Mahābhārata.
NJI. Nahar Jaina Inscriptions, Calcutta, 1918-29.
NPP. Nāgarī Prachārini Patrikā, Banaras.
NSP Nirnaya Sāgara Press.
ONS. Ojhā Nibandha Saṅgraha, Udaipur.
PC. Prabandhachintāmaṇi, Trans. by Hajari Prasad Dvivedi, Bombay, 1940.
PCa. Prabhāvakacharitra ed. by Jinavijaya Muni, Ahmedabad.
PK. Prabandhakośa, ed. by Jinavijaya Muni, Shantiniketana, 1935.
PLS. Prāchīna Lekha Saṅgraha, Bhavanagar, 1939.
PP. Padmapurāṇa, ed. by U.N. Mandlik, Poona.
PPS. Purātanaprabandha Saṅgraha ed. by Jinavijaya Muni, Calcutta, 1936.
PR. Peterson's Report, Bombay, 1883-84.
PRAS. Progress Report Archaeological Survey, Western Circle.
PS Praśasti Saṅgraha, ed. by Kastoor Chand Kasaliwal, Jaipur.
PV. Prithvirājāvijayamahākāvya, Ajmer, 1941. Rāmāyaṇa.
RB. Rājasthānī Bhāratī, Bikaner.
RJSBGS. Rājasthāna ke Jaina Śāstra Bhanḍārom ki grantha sūchī, Jaipur.
RIO. Rājaputāne kā Itihāsa by G.H. Ojha, Ajmer, 1937.
SBE. Sacred Books of the East.
SJS. Singhi Jaina Series, Ahmedabad.
SJPLS. Śrī Jaina Pratimā Lekha Saṅgraha, ed. by Daulat Simha Lodha, Dhamaniya, 1951.
SP. Śrīmālapurāṇa, Ahmedabad, V.S. 1955.
S. Pat. Sodhapatrikā, Udaipur.
SPS. Śrī Praśasti Saṅgraha, ed. by Amritlal Ahmedabad, V.S. 1993.
TF. Tarikh-i-Firishta, Briggs, English Tr.
TN. Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī, Raverty's English Translation.
URI. Udaipur Rājya kā Itihāsa by G.H. Ojha
UT. Upadeśataraṅgini, Banaras.
VTK. Vividhatīrthakalāpa of Jinaprabha Suri by Jinavijaya Muni.
VV. Viravinoda by Kavi Shyamal Das, Udaipur.
ZDMG Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischeh Gesellschaft.
SOURCES

Scholars have so far attempted to write the history of Rajasthan dealing with its ruling princes and their heroic exploits, plots, and intrigues, moves and manoeuvres, their policies, their administrative patterns etc.; but this is only one side of the picture. Now, history is not considered to be a mere record of kings and conquerors, it has to deal with mankind, its culture and civilization as a whole. Hence in order to fill up this wide gap, an attempt has been made in the following pages to reconstruct the history of some important ancient cities and towns of Rajasthan, and to shed some light on their society and culture. Though due to inclemencies of nature and march of time as also vandalism and incendiariism of the invading hordes and zealous and ruthless conquerors, much of the source material has been destroyed, the little which could survive, throws ample light on the subject under study. This material may be classified under two broad heads: 1) Archaeology and 2) Literature. Archaeology may be further divided into three classes: A) Inscriptions, B) Coins and C) Monuments.

A) INSCRIPTIONS:

Inscriptions form an important source of information about the old towns. They contain their ancient names, which assumed different forms with the gradual growth of the language. The names of the old towns, on the sites of which new towns were founded, are known from inscriptions. Kośavardhana was an old name of Shergarh. Sometimes, it is noticed that towns assumed different names under different ruling dynasties. This is specially the case with Bayānā.

Inscriptions have proved a source of the highest value for the reconstruction of political history of old towns. The minor rock edict of Aśoka of the third century B.C. discovered at Bairāṭ indicates his territorial jurisdiction. Local history is
as important as the history of the Province. These ancient towns were ruled by separate dynasties, the history of which constitutes the history of the Province. Some inscriptions contain the genealogy of dynasties and the achievements of the rulers. The Bayānā (Bijayagarh) stone inscription of V.S. 428 (371—72 A.D.) gives a list of the rulers of Varika tribe and describes the Pundarika sacrifice performed by Vishnuvardhana. The Gagnadhār inscription of V.S. 480 (423 A.D.) gives information about the Aulikara dynasty ruling from Daśapura (Mandsor), and also that of the public welfare activities promoted by Viśvavarman and his minister Mayūrākṣhaka at Gaṅgdhār. The two inscriptions of Gauri, one dated V.S. 547 (491 A.D.) found at Chhoṭi Sādri, and another undated discovered at Mandsor, reveal for the first time the existence of a new family of Kshatriya rulers belonging to the Mānavāyaṇi Kula, who flourished about the second half of the fifth century A.D., and ruled over an area about the borders between Rajasthan and Mālwa.

The names of the four Mori Rājpūt rulers are known from the Chitorgarh inscription dated 713 A.D. A Buddhist Sanskrit inscription from Shergarh dated V.S. 847 (790 A.D.) gives us the genealogy of the Nāgā rulers. The Kāmān inscription of the eighth century A.D., and the Bayānā inscriptions of V.S. 1012 (955 A.D.) and V.S. 1100 (1043 A.D.) are useful for the history of the Śūrasenas ruling from the sixth century to the twelfth century A.D. over Kāmān and Bayānā. The Dhulev plate of Mahārāja Bhatti of the year 73 (679 A.D.), and the two other copper grants got from Dungarpur one dated 48 H.E. (654 A.D.) of Bhāvahita and another dated 83 (689 A.D.) of Bābhaṭa, all issued

1. CHII, III, pp. 252-54.
2. Ibid., p. 72.
3. EI, XXX, p. 120.
5. IA, XIV, p. 45.
6. Ibid., X, p. 34.
7. EI, XXII, p. 120.
8. ARRMA, 1913-14, pp. 1-2; see also IA, XIV, p. 10.
10. Ibid., XXXIV, p. 167.
Sources

from Kishkindhā, and the two Kalyāṇpur stone inscriptions give us information about the Guhila rulers ruling over Kalyāṇpur in the seventh and eighth centuries. The Nagara inscription of Dhanika of V.S. 741 (684 A.D.) and the Chāṭū inscription of Bālāditya of the tenth century A.D. supply us information about the Guhilas ruling over these places. The Dabok inscription of V.S. 701 (644 A.D.) mentions the Guhila Chief Dhanika of Dhavagarta (Dhod in the Jahāzpurdist of the Former Udaipur State and the latter's overlord Paramabhatāraka Mahārājadhīrāja Parameśvara Dhavalappa. The Sāmoli inscription of the time of Śilāditya dated V.S. 703 (646 A.D.), the Nāgdā inscription of the reign of Aparājīta dated V.S. 718 (661 A.D.), the Sārṇesvara inscription of V.S. 1010 (953 A.D.) of the reign of Allāta and the Ekalihga stone inscription of V.S. 1028 (971 A.D.) of the time of Naravāhana, and the Āṭpur inscription of Śaktikumāra dated V.S. 1034 (977 A.D.) are helpful for the history of the Guhilas, when they ruled over Nāgdā and Āhār. The Chirvā inscription of Samarsimhā, V.S. 1330 (1273 A.D.), the Śrīṇgī-rishi inscription of V.S. 1485 (1428 A.D.) of Mokala, the Rāṇpur inscription dated V.S. 1496 (1438 A.D.) and the Kumbhalgarh inscription dated V.S. 1517 (1460 A.D.) of Rāṇā Kumbha give us valuable

1. EI, XXXV, p. 55.
3. EI, XII, pp. 10-12.
4. The date of the Dabok inscription has been differently read. Bhandarkar has at first read it as the year 807 of the Vikrama Śaṅvat corresponding to 750 A.D., which he later corrected to 407 of the Gupta era corresponding to 726 A.D. (See INDI No. 1371; PRAS. WC. 1905-06, p. 61; and EI, XII, p. 12, Note 1). But Haller reads the date as the year 207 of the Harsha era corresponding to 813 A.D. (EI, XX, pp. 122 ff.) According to D.C. Sircar, the date is clearly the year 701 which must be referred to Vikrama Śaṅvat so as to yield 644 A.D. See EI, XXXV, p. 100.
5. Ibid. XX. p. 97.
7. BBRAS, XXI, p. 151.
8. IA, XXXIX, p. 186
10. ARRMA, 1925, p. 3.
12. EI, XXI, p. 277.
information about the Guhila rulers of Chitor and their conquests and victories of the towns.

The Manḍor inscription\(^1\) dated V.S. 894 (837 A.D.) of Bāuka, and the Ghaṭiyālā inscription\(^2\) of Kakkuka dated V.S. 918 (861 A.D.) are helpful for the history of the Pratihārās ruling over Manḍor, Mertā and Ghaṭiyālā. The Rājor inscription\(^3\) dated V.S. 1016 (960 A.D.) of Mathandeva and the Māchārī inscription\(^4\) of V.S. 1439 (1382 A.D.) throw some light on the Baḍa Gurjara rulers of Rājorgarh and Māchārī respectively. The Bijāpura inscription\(^5\) of V.S. 1053 (997 A.D.) of Dhavala acquaints us with his predecessors ruling over Hastikūṇḍi, and at the same time describes his heroic deeds. He gave shelter to the contemporary rulers in time of crisis. The Dholpur inscription\(^6\) of Chaṇḍamahāsena dated V.S. 898 (842 A.D.), the Harsha stone inscription\(^7\) of Vigrasharāja II dated V.S. 1030 (973 A.D.), the Bijaulī rock inscription\(^8\) of Someśvara V.S. 1226 (1170 A.D.) and the Sūndhā hill inscription\(^9\) of Chāchigadeva, V.S. 1319 (1262 A.D.) are the most important documents for the Chauhāna dynasties ruling over Śākambhari, Ajmer, Nādol, Jālōr and Śāṅchōr. The Maṅglānā inscription\(^10\) of Jayatrasimha dated V.S. 1272 (1215 A.D.), and the Balvān inscription\(^11\) of Hammīra dated V.S. 1345 (1288 A.D.) are specially concerned with the Chauhānas of Raṇthambhār.

The Bānswārā plates\(^12\) of Bhoja dated V.S. 1076 (1020 A.D.), the Pāṇāherā inscription\(^13\) of V.S. 1116 (1059), and the Arthūnā inscription\(^14\) of V.S. 1136 (1080 A.D.) of

1. Eī, XVII, p. 87.
2. Ibid., IX, pp. 277, see also JRAS, 1895, p. 516.
3. Ibid., III, p. 263.
4. ASC, VI, p. 79.
5. Eī, X, p. 17.
6. ZDMG, XL, pp. 38 ff.
7. Eī, II, p. 116; see also IA, XLII, p. 60.
8. Ibid., XXVI, p. 84.
9. Ibid., IX, p. 70.
10. IA, XLI, p. 85.
Chāmuṇḍarāja are noteworthy for the history of the Paramāras, who were ruling over Arthūnā and Barodā. The Vasantgarh inscription\(^5\) of Pūrnapāla dated V.S. 1099 (1042 A.D.) and the Ābū inscriptions of Dhārāvarsha\(^2\) dated V.S. 1220 (1163 A.D.), V.S. 1271 (1214 A.D.) and V.S. 1274 (1218 A.D.), and of Somasimha\(^3\) dated V.S. 1287 (1230 A.D.) are concerned with the history of the Paramāra dynasty ruling over Chandrāvatī, near Ābū. The Jālor inscription\(^4\) of Visala dated V.S. 1174 and the Kirādu stone inscription\(^5\) of Someśvara dated V.S. 1218 are related to the Paramāras governing Bhīnmāl, Kirāḍū and Jālor. The fact that the kings of the Meda dynasty were ruling over Rāmagarh in Kota District between the tenth and twelfth centuries A.D. is known from the inscriptions\(^6\). In the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D., the Dāhiyās and the Chandelas were governing Māroṭh and Revāsā respectively as feudatories of the Chauḥāna rulers of Ajmer.\(^7\) The prāñastis of V.S. 1473 and V.S. 1493 carved in the Jaina temples of Pārvanātha\(^8\) and Sambhavanātha\(^9\) respectively are useful for the history of the Bhāṭṭis of Jaisalmer.

Besides these, there are several small private inscriptions engraved on the images of gods, and religious buildings recording pious donations. They also throw light on political history. Many of them refer to the ruling kings, otherwise unknown, and some of them even supply dates either in regnal years, or in a specified or unspecified era. They also sometimes help in the location of their kingdoms. All such scraps of information massed together have enabled us to reconstruct a clear outline of the history of a locality or even of a definite period, of which little was known before. The

1. EI, IX, p. 10.
2. IA, LVI, p. 50.
3. EI, VIII, p. 204.
4. PRAS. WC., 1909, p. 54.
5. ARSMJ, 1930, p. 10.
6. KRI, p. 31.
7. See the Kinsariyā inscription dated 999 A.D. published in EI XII, p. 56 and ARRMA, 1935, Nos. 3, 4 and 5.
8. NJI, No. 2112.
inscriptions of medieval times found at Bayānā, Chāṭṣū, Nāgaur, Jālor, Diḍwānā, Sāṃbhar, Sāṅchōr, Revāsā etc. indicate that they were under Muslim domination.

In addition to political history, these epigraphical records have also proved to be of great value in tracing the religious, social and economic conditions of the towns. They enlighten us about the various religions, and sects prevalent in different towns. They record the construction of temples, installation of images, donations and charities. As they constitute the chief means of fixing the dates of these images and temples, they are of incalculable help in tracing the evolution of art and religion. Some inscriptions supply us information regarding early temples, though their actual structures are not in existence. The Ghosūṇḍī stone inscription of the second or first century B.C. records that Gājāyana Sarvatāta, son of a lady of the Parāśara gotra, constructed the pūjātilā-

prākāra for the divinities of Śaṅkaraśana and Vāsudeva; and he also performed an Āsvamedha sacrifice.¹ There were temples of Viṣṇu and Śambhu at Nagari² and Gaṅgdhāra³ respectively in the fifth century A.D. The inscription⁴ of Chhoṭī Sāḍrī dated V.S. 547 (491 A.D.) mentions that king Gauri built a great temple for Devī. In the seventh century A.D., the temple of Viṣṇu is known to have existed at Nāgḍā⁵ and Kāmāṇ⁶. There were temples of the Sun, Kshe-

mērāya, and Brahma in the seventh century A.D. at Vasanta-

garh.⁷ The Jagatsvāmi Sun temple, probably of the seventh century A.D., at Bhimāl was very famous and various dona-

tions were made to it from time to time.⁸ A number of donations were granted to the Śiva temple known as the temple of Kāmyakesvara of Kāmān between 787 A.D. and 906-

A.D.⁹ The construction of Śiva temples at Kālyāṇpur in the.

1. EI, XXII, p. 204.
3. CII, III, p. 72.
4. EI, XXX, p. 120.
5. Ibid., IV, p. 30.
6. IA, X, p. 36.
7. EI, IX, p. 191.; sée also p. 10.
8. ARSMJ, 1922, Nos. 15-22.
seventh and eighth centuries is known from the inscriptions\textsuperscript{1} discovered there. The building of the temple of Ardhanāri-
śvara by Ādityanāga at Khaṇḍelā is known from the inscrip-
tion\textsuperscript{2} of the year 201 (807 A.D.), and nearly at the same
time, the construction of a maṇḍapa in the temple of Śaṅkarā by a
committee at Śakrāi.\textsuperscript{3} The Pratāpgarh stone inscription\textsuperscript{4} of
Mahendrapāla II dated 946 A.D. informs us about the temples
of Vaṭayakshiṇīdevī and Indrājādityadeva at Ghoṭārṣī and
that four grants were made to these temples from time to
time. The inscription\textsuperscript{5} on a tablet found at Shergarh is a
public register of several donations given mainly to the
temple of Somanātha in the eleventh and twelfth centuries
A.D. The Bijaulī rock inscription\textsuperscript{6} dated V.S. 1226 records
the construction of the Jaina temples at Bagherā, Ṭoḍā-rāisingh,
Naraiṇā, Māṇḍalgarh and Ajmer by the ancestors of Lolāka.
From several inscriptions, it is also known that there were
town committees for the management of the temples.

There are inscriptions which inform us, how the people
in cities celebrated different functions and festivals. Some ins-
criptions indirectly inform us about the products and professions
of the people, commerce and trade, granary establishments at
the time of emergency and the commercial intercourse of
towns. They also give us knowledge about different coin types,
weights and measures current in ancient cities. The com-
mercial prosperity of Āhār\textsuperscript{7} and Shergarh\textsuperscript{8} in early times
is known to us from the inscriptions. In some towns, the trade
and industries were organised in guilds, which performed
some sort of banking business.

B) COINS :

1. EL, XXXV, p. 55.
2. Ibid., XXXIV, p. 159.
3. Ibid., XXVII, p. 27.
5. EL, XXIII, p. 137.
7. IA, LVIII, p. 53.
8. EL, XXIII, p. 131.
literary and epigraphical evidence. The earliest coins of India are known to be the punch-marked coins which probably started from the sixth century B.C. These early coins found at Pushkara, Bairāṭ, Nagarā, Nagarī, Sāmbhar and Jhālārāpā-tan may prove that these were old sites. The coins of the different periods found in the excavations at Rairh, Naliāsar, Bairāṭ, Rang Mahal etc. help us in fixing the date of the structures and sculptures discovered along with them. The coins found at Nagarī tell us that the old name of this place was Madhyamikā and it was the capital of the Sibi republic in the second century B.C. The coins of Menander found at Nagarī may supplement the literary evidence of Patañjali's Mahābhāṣyā about the Greek invasion in the second century B.C. A large number of Mālava coins found at Nagarā proves that it was probably the capital, and mint town of the Mālava republic in early times. The Greek and Śaka coins found at Bairāṭ and Pushkara may prove that these might have been brought by the people who came here for pilgrimage. The Sarvāṇī hoard¹ proves that the southern part of Rajasthan was held by the western Kshatrapas. The bull standing before a symbol on some earliest coins of the Ārjunāyanas and the Yaudhēyas found at some old sites may well represent the bull before the yūpa or sacrificial post. Such figures appearing on the coins sometimes represent the prevalent religious practices or cult. The large hoard of the Gupta coins found at Bayānā, which appears to be a buried treasure of some rich person, proves that it formed a part of the Gupta empire, which was probably attacked by the Hūṇas in the fifth century A.D. The coins of the last Gupta ruler found in this hoard are of Skanda Gupta. The Varma-lāta coins mentioned in the Niśithachūrrī² prove that the king Varmalāta of the Vasantgarh inscription dated 625 A.D. was actually the ruler of Bhinmāl. The coins of Ādīvarāha type of Mihira Bhoja of the Pratihāra dynasty frequently found at Bagherā prove that it was included in his kingdom, and was probably founded during the time of the Pratihāras. In

2. NC, 10-225.
medieval times, Nāgaur, Bairāṭ and Narhaḍ had mints, where currency was coined by the ruling princes.

G) MONUMENTS:

In addition to coins and inscriptions, we have discovered other remains of antiquarian interest such as temples, forts, buildings, statues, sculptures, terracottas and pottery in old towns. They are of great importance in tracing the history of evolution of Indian art. The remains of the Buddhist circular temple of the third century B.C. found at Bairāṭ is the earliest example of the temple architecture in India. The old relics of the Kushāṇa period have been discovered at Rang Mahal and Hanumāngarh. The old temples of Šaivism, Vaishṇavism and Jainism of the sixth or seventh century A.D. are found at Jhālīrāpāṭan. The old remains of a period from the sixth century to the fifteenth century A.D. at Chitor give us an idea of the evolution of art in a particular locality. Some of the old monuments of Maṇḍor, Osiā, Kirāḍū, Rājorgarh, and Varmān give us a glimpse of the main features of the Paratihāra art. The sculptures and temples of the early medieval period found at Narainā, Visalapur, Bagherā, Ṭoḍārāising and Bijauliā are valuable for understanding the Chauhāna art. There are several buildings of the medieval period found generally in early towns.

In addition to individual monuments, sometimes the archaeological explorations and excavations carried out in different parts of Rajasthan proved to be helpful in supplying material for this thesis. A larger number of archaeological sites of different periods have been explored, and at some places, excavations were also conducted. They inform us how urban life emerged through different stages. The archaeological excavations conducted at the city sites such as Kālibangān, Bairāṭ, Nagarī, Rairh, Naliāsar, Nagara, Rang Mahal and Maṇḍor throw important light on the cultural life of the people. They indicate the plan and size of the town, the peculiar features of the buildings and the art and crafts of the people. They yield information about dress, ornaments,
food and drink, recreations and amusements of the people who lived there.

LITERATURE:

Another important source of information is literature preserved at various places, both public and private, in Rajasthan. Though, we come across only isolated references, yet they contribute to a large extent to our knowledge of the history of the towns dealt herein. Literature may be further classified as follows:

EPICS, PURĀNAS AND OTHER EARLY WORKS:

Some references about old towns are found even in the epics and the Purānas. There is a description of Pushkara in the Rāmāyāna and the Mahābhārata. The Virāṭa-parva of the Mahābhārata is specially concerned with Bairāṭ, the capital of Matsya. The Padmapurāṇa enlightens us about the origin of Pushkara. Patañjali, the grammarian of the second century B. C. in his Mahābhāshya, speaks of Madhyamikā as being besieged by a Yavana king and refers to it in such a manner as to show that this event took place in his time. The Śrīmālamāhātmya, a portion of the Skandapurāṇa written in about the ninth century A. D., is specially concerned with Bhinmāl. From the Vāmanapurāṇa, it is known that there were a large number of sacred places between the Sarasvatī and Drishadvati valley at the time of its composition. This Puranic source of information about towns is hyperbolic and, therefore, it has been utilised with utmost care.

PURE LITERARY WORKS:

There are several literary works written by some authors with the motive of displaying their literary skill, but they also throw some light on the place where they were written. Uddyotana Sūri, who composed the Kuvalayamālā in the Jaina temple of Ādinātha at Jālor in 778 A. D. during the reign of the Pratihāra ruler Vatsarāja, tells us that his spiritual
ancestor Śivachanda Gaṇi came to Bhīnmāl from the Punjab for pilgrimage and his disciple Yakshadatta and others adorned the Gurjara land with temples. The *Upamitiḥbhavaprapaṇḍhā-kathā* of Siddharshi written at Bhīlamālā in V. S. 962, and also the *Kuvalayamālā* throw side light on the social and economic conditions of the people residing in ancient towns. From the *Dharmopadeśamālāvyāvāna* of Jayasiṃhasūri written in 858 A. D., it is known that Nāgaur was included in the kingdom of the Pratihāra ruler Mihirabhoja. The *Jīnesvarasūri-Saṇyamaḥśri-viṇīha-varṇana-rāsa* of Somamūrti, written in 1275 A. D., is specially related to Kheḍa. The *Praśagīlikātraya* of Jayānanda written in 1307 A. D. informs us about Jaina temples and families at Giripura. The *Kīrtiratna-sūri-viṇāhalā* and the *Kīrtiratnasūri-chaupā* of Kalyāṇachandra composed in V. S. 1525 yield valuable information about Mehavā (Nagara) regarding temples, people and religious activities during the fifteenth century A. D. The *Gurugunaratākara-kvāya* of Somacharitra Gaṇi written in V. S. 1541 and the *Upadeśata-raṅgini* of Ratnamandira Gaṇi are specially concerned with the activities of Jainism at Giripura and Mūṅgathalā. From the *Pārśvanāthasārvasattāvīśi* of Ṭhakkurasi, who lived in the sixteenth century A. D. at Chāśū, it is known that Ibrāhim Lodi attacked Raṇthambor which was ruled at this time by Rāṇā Śāṅgā. The *Simhāsana-battrisi* written in V. S. 1636 by Hīrakalaśa gives us information about the origin of some Vaiśya castes from Harasaur, Narainā, Mertā etc. The *Kyāmkhānraśa* of Jāna written in V. S. 1694 is concerned with the history of the Kayāmkhānī Nawābs of Sekhāvati, but it also throws some light on their relations with the Khāns of Nāgaur. There are also certain literary works whose account, though exaggerated, is still useful for

1. JSP., XVIII, p. 187.
3. Ibid, XX, p. 73.
5. JGK, I, p. 235.
the study of town-planning in ancient times. The Gañitasāra of Śridhara, Dravyaparikṣhā of Ṭhakkura Pheru and Lekhapaddhāti are mainly concerned with the economic conditions in early medieval period.

BIOGRAPHICAL WORKS:

Some writers chose the lives of their royal patrons as the theme of their literary works. Though these works are concerned with their masters, they sometimes contain valuable historical information regarding towns. The Prithvīrājavijaya-mahākāvya of Jayānaka, written earlier than 1200 A. D., supplies useful data for the history of Sāmbhar, Ajmer and Pushkara, and it also tells us that the Chauhāna ruler Vākpatriśa II of Sāmbhar killed Anbāprasāda, the ruler of Āghāta. Though the Hammīramahākāvya of Nayachandasūri (15th century) is concerned with the history of Hammīra and Raṇthambhor, it gives useful knowledge of the history of towns in connection with the digvijaya or conquest of all the quarters by Hammīradeva. The Kānoḍadeprabandha, written in V. S. 1512 by Padmanābha, deals with the historical struggle between Alā-ud-din-Khilji of Delhi, and Sonigarās of Jālor, and is useful for the history of towns such as Jālor and Śrīmāla. The Rāyamalarāsa gives an account of the struggle between Jaśarkhān, the commander-in-chief of Ghiyāsuddīn, the ruler of Malwa and Mahārāṇā Rāyamala, who was assisted by his feudatories governing Chāṭṣū, Ajmer, Toḍā-rāisingh, Māroṭh etc.

LITERARY PRABandHAS:

The literary Prabandhas are treasure houses of stories and fables, but sometimes they contain historical elements. The Prabhāvakaḥaritra of Prabhāchandra Sūri written in V. S. 1361 throws a good deal of light on the local history of the towns of Chitor, Vasantagarh, Śrīmāla, Korṭā and Nāgaour. The Purātana-prabandha-samgraha, Prabandha-koṣa and [Prabandha-
chintāmani are useful for the local history. The Upakeśagachchhaprabandha is specially concerned with the history of Osīā. The Nābhinandaṇajinoddhāra enlightens us on the history of Osīā and Kirāḍū.

TĪRTHAMĀLĀS:

The Tīrthamālās are another important source material for the purpose of this work. The holy places in early times were considered equally important as compared to the capitals of the States and Principalities. These Tīrthamālās are the recorded accounts of holy places by saints and scholars, who visited them. These are just like our so called ‘guide-books’. We find in them their names, history of their origin, and miracles associated with the tīrthas, their importance and the description of temples and images. Some of their accounts being based on legends are not reliable. Dhanapāla in his poem Satyapurīyamahāvīra-utsāha refers to holy places such as Sāñchor, Āhār, Śrīmāla, Korṭa and Narainā, which were in existence in the tenth century A. D.¹ The Sakalatīrthastavana by Siddharshi (of the 12th century A. D.) is very important because it contains a list of holy places;² most of which are found in Rajasthan. In medieval times, some of them even disappeared. The Vividhatīrthakalpa of Jinaprabha Sūri is important both from the literary and historical point of view. It gives a brief history of the holy places such as Sāñchor and Phalodhi. Vinayaprabha Sūri, an author of the fourteenth century A.D., makes a mention of the holy places such as Talawādā, Bārmer, Narhaḍ, Barodā and Mahevā, and describes their main temples.³ A description of some ‘tīrthas’ is given in the Upadeśa-saptati written in V. S. 1503. Saubhāgyavijaya and Śilavijaya wrote the Tīrthamālās which are noteworthy. In the medieval times, the number of holy places grew in abundance. The Tīrthamālās and the Stavanas were written about Jirāvalā, Nāgḍā, phalodhi, Nakodā Pārśvanātha-

¹ JSS, III, 1.
² GOS, LXXVI, p. 156.
³ JSP, XVII, p. 15.
Nagara, Rāṭā Mahāvīra Hathunḍi, Maḍāhaḍa, Rāvana Pārśvanātha Alwar, Chandravatī etc. In the medieval times, even the Chaityaparipāṭis, describing the pilgrimage of persons to different temples of a particular place, their names, situation in different wards, their direction and even number of images, were written. Among them, Jālorachaityaparipāṭi of Nāgarshi, Jaisalmerachaityaparipāṭi of Jinakusala Sūri, Chitrakūṭa-paripāṭi of Jayahemasi, Nāgaurachaityaparipāṭi and Meḍatavāla-paripāṭis are noteworthy.

**PRAŚASTIS:**

The Praśastis, which are written at the end of manuscripts, are as important as the inscriptions for the history of towns, but they do not belong to the early period. From about the twelfth century A.D., the writing of the Praśastis of the manuscripts had become a general feature. They invariably mention the time, when they were written and refer to the rulers, in whose time they were composed. They mention the genealogy of the donor, his caste and gotra. Sometimes, these praśastis enlighten us about facts, which are not known to us from other sources. From the praśasti of the Upadesamālāvṛiti of Vijayasimha Sūri (V. S. 1191), and the Munisurwata-charitra (V. 1193) of Chandra Sūri, it is known that Prithvirāja I put golden cupolas on the Jaina temples of Raṇṭhambhor.1 The capture of Pāḷī by Kumārapāla in about V. S. 1207 (1150 A. D.) is known to us only from a copy of the Paṇḍhaṣaka-vṛitti.2 From a praśasti of the Dharmāmrīta-ṭikā of Āśādhara, it is known that he left Māṇḍalgarh for Dhārānagarī because of the invasion of Muhammad Ghorī.3 The praśasti of the Jinadattacharita written in V. S. 1275 (1218 A. D.) reveals that at the time of Muslim invasions, the poet Lakshmana left Tribhuvanagiri for Bilarāmpur.4 In some praśastis, the ancestors of the donors are said to have constructed Jaina temples. In the twelfth century A.D., a maṇḍapa of the temple of Pārśvanātha at Ajmer was constructed by Kshemandhara5, and his son Jagaddhara made the temple of

1. GOS, LXXVI, pp. 312 and 316.
2. Ibid., Catalogue of Mss. in the Jaisalmer Bhandārs, p. 7.
3. JSAI, p. 344.
4. AK, VIII, p. 400.
5. JKSP, p. 77.
Pārśvanātha at Jaisalmer. The Śāntinātha Jaina temple was constructed by Uddharaṇa in V. S. 1258 (1201 A. D.) at Kheda. The Ashtalakshapraśasti of Samayasundara tells us that Jinabhadra Sūri founded Jaina bhāndāras at Jaisalmer, Jālor, Nāgaur etc. That the installation ceremony of temples and images was performed by him at Chitor, Maṇḍor, Talawāḍā etc. is known from the Jaisalmer Jīnālaya prāṣasti dated V. S. 1497. Udaikaraṇa, the ruler of Kaṇḍelā, is known only from a copy of the Vardhamāna-charitra written in V. S. 1518 (1461 A. D.). Several copies of the manuscripts were written during the reign of the Kaṇzādā rulers and the Khān rulers of Tijārā and Nāgaur respectively. Their prāṣastis are helpful for reconstructing their history. From a prāṣasti of the Ātmaprabodhana written in V. S. 1547, it is known that the old name Śrīpathā of Bayānā was retained even up to the 15th century A. D. The prāṣasti of Holīrenukā-charitra written in V. S. 1608 is important for the history of Sāmbhār and Ranthambhīr. The prāṣasti of the Harivamśapurāṇa written in V. S. 1769 at Amber gives a description of its fort, markets, people etc. In this way, prāṣastis are of immense value for the history of the towns.

PATTĀVALIS:

Among the Paṭṭāvalis, the Kharataragachchhapattāvali covering the period between V. S. 1211 and 1393 is extremely useful for political and social history of the towns such as Ajmer, Chitor, Bārmer, Naraḥd, Phalodhi, Kheda, Bikampur, Maṇḍor and Sāñchor. It refers to the visit of Jaina Āchāryas to towns, where they were cordially received by rulers and their sub-

1. JKS, p. 37 and 116.
2. SPS, p. 46.
3. JSP, XVI, p. 16.
4. Ibid.
5. See the copy of this manuscript in the Śāstrabhāṇḍāra at Béāwar.
6. See the copy of this manuscript in the Śāstrabhāṇḍāra at Bayānā.
7. JGPS, No. 45.
8. PS, pp. 278-279.
jects. Various kinds of functions were organised in their honour. They performed the consecration ceremony of the temples and images, and sometimes they gave monkhood to the interested persons. By their inspiration, the Śrāvakas of towns organised pilgrimages to holy places. This paṭṭāvalī sometimes mentions unknown rulers of towns and also corrects the wrong dates of some known rulers from the late chronicles. The Upakesagachchha-paṭṭāvalī and the Koranṭagachchha-paṭṭāvalī are specially concerned with the towns of Osiā and Korgtā respectively. The Mūlasamghapāṭṭāvalī informs us about the activities of the Āchāryas at Chitor, Ajmer, Bagherā, Chāṣtū, Nāgaur, Āmber etc. The Bhatṭāraka-paṭṭāvalī of Kshemendrakirti gives an account of his life, and his movements from one place to another between V. S. 1697 and 1757.²

VAMŚĀVALĪS :

Some vamśāvalīs are helpful for the history of towns. They contain descriptions of the people of particular castes or gotras residing in towns. The Osavāla-vamśāvalīs from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth century A. D. are in the collection of Agarchand Nahata of Bikaner. A rich collection of vamśāvalīs was in the possession of Gyan Sundar. They contain an account of the construction of temples and images, and organization of Saṅghas to some holy places.

KHYĀTAS :

Among the several khyātas found in Rajasthan, Naiṇasi's Khyāta occupies a supreme position. As its description of early period is based on legendary accounts, it is not much reliable. However, the account, relating to the period after the 14th century, has been found correct, because it has been corroborated by other sources; it throws sufficient light on the Sāṅkhalās of Jāṅgalū and the Solaṅkis of Ṭoḍā-rāisingh. It

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1. PR, 1883-84. See also IA, XX and XXI.
also gives information of Jodhpur Chief Ranamal's conquest of Bikampur, which is further confirmed by an inscription dated V. S. 1524.¹

PERSIAN WORKS:

Looking to the scope of this work, much emphasis has been laid on an ancient part of the history of towns and, therefore, Persian works find a little place as a source of information. However, care has been taken to utilise them as far as possible for corroboration, specially in regard to the events relating to the Muslim period. More ever, the Persian works do not deal with the history of the towns. There are only casual references which mostly supply information regarding the raids and invasions of the Muslim conquerors on Rajasthan. Among these works, Tabakát-i-Násirí by Minháj-ud-din written in the middle of the thirteenth century A. D. is the earliest. Besides there are Tárikh-i-Firuzsháhi of Bárni, Tárikh-i-Firishta, Bábür-námá etc. which have also been found useful. Abul Fazl's monumental work named Áin-i-Akbarí, which gives the details of the divisions and sub-divisions of Akbar's empire, especially relating to Rajasthan, has been found useful in the preparation of this work.

LOCAL TRADITIONS:

Local traditions occupy an important place in the history of a nation. Rajasthan is no exception to it. It has a rich heritage and its history and culture epitomised in the form of dohás and sorajhás are still sung in great ecstasy by the country people. These traditions in poetic form have been handed down from generation to generation. Though some exaggeration of tales of local heroism and gallantry is not ruled out, still for the purpose of this work, critically examined traditional songs, stories and various anecdotes supply useful information about the names of certain towns, their founders or rulers, as the case may be. Some of such descriptions, as

¹. NII, III, No. 2526.
given in traditional songs, have been found surprisingly correct.

All these sources, however, throw only some side light on the subject. They are inadequate and keep us in dark about the population, dimensions, trade, commerce etc. of the towns. The account of some towns appears to be incomplete because of the paucity of the material at our disposal.
Chapter II

ANCIENT NAMES AND BOUNDARIES

Rajasthan lies between 23°-3' and 30°-12' N and 69-30' and 78-17' E with a total area of about 3, 42, 274 sq. kms. It is bound on the East by U.P., Madhya Pradesh, on the South by Gujarat, on the West by West Pakistan and on the North and North-East by the Punjab. The Aravali ranges form the chief topographical feature in Rajasthan, extending from Champaner in Gujarat in a north-easterly direction to near Delhi. They divide Rajasthan into two natural divisions viz., the north-west and the south-east of the Aravalis. About three fifth of Rajasthan lies north-west of this line, and this is the area that is mainly desert. Its extent is about 60,000 square miles and covers the former States of Jaisalmer, Bikaner, major portion of Jodhpur and a part of Jaipur. This area is dry, ill-watered and unproductive. The south-eastern

1. According to geologists, it is the oldest mountain chain of India. The Aravalis were formed in the pre-cambrium period. At one time, they had assumed great heights about 4 miles and were even taller than the Himalayas. They were supposed to be even snow capped. With the crumbling down of the Aravalis, their decomposed rocks and minerals must have dispersed all around.

2. Geologists also hold that the Western Rajasthan was occupied largely by a sea during the Jurassic, Cretaceous and Eocene. It is not clear when this area was uplifted into dry land but it may have been sometime in the upper Tertiary. It is said that an arm of Arabian sea (Tethy's sea) extended into the area of Rajasthan and Sind from the Rason of Cutch northwards. This sea retreated later, and Rajasthan became gradually a desert.

Godbole tried to prove that the Western Rajasthan was a sea during the Rigvedic period, and he put the age of the Vedas between 25000 B.C., and 15000 on geological and also on Rigvedic literature consistent with observed metrological facts.' (Rig-vedic Sarasvatî, p. 16). He even further infers that it was a sea during the time of the Indus Civilization.

The theory of a Rajasthan Sea into which the Vedic Sarasvatî is said to have emptied itself which was propounded in comparatively recent times, according to H.C. Raychaudhuri, is not correct. An acquaintance with the desert of Rajasthan is probably, however, suggested by the constant mention of 'Dhanvan' (Studies in Indian Antiquities, p. 57).
region is formed by the modern Districts of Banswara, Dungarpur, Udaipur, Bhilwara, Bundi, Kota, and Jhalawad. This region is more hilly, comparatively well watered, and consequently more wooded.

The southern, and eastern parts of Rajasthan with comparatively more rainfall are the regions with some important rivers. The Chambal\(^1\) is by far the largest and has big tributaries like the Banās,\(^2\) the Kāli Sind\(^3\) and the Pārbati. The Banās is the major river of Mewar. It joins the Chambal which falls into the Gangetic basin. The conditions in the north and west are, however, very much different in respect of water potential. The only river system that flows in this area is the Luni. The Luni, which rises in the Aravalis, near Ajmer, flows West by South-West into the Rann of Kutch. The Ghaggar river\(^4\) once flowed through the northern part of the former Bikaner State, and is said to have joined the Indus, but now it is dry, except in the rains.

1. The ancient name 'Charmaṇāvati' is mentioned in the ancient literary works.

2. The ancient name 'Banās' is mentioned in the Nasik cave inscription of the time of Nahapaṇa (EI, VIII, p. 79) and in ancient literary works.

3. In the Gaṅgadhār inscription of the fifth century A.D., its name is given 'Gargarā'. (See CII, p. 72).

4. At present the name Ghaggar has been used both for the ancient rivers Sarasvatī and Drishadvati of the Rigveda. The river Sarasvatī has been described par excellence in several hymns of the Rigveda. It is also alluded to in numerous later texts. From these references, one gets the impression that in the early Vedic age, probably not later than the middle of the second millennium B.C., it was a mighty stream. The present moribund stream called the Sarasuti is really the relic of the once mighty river Sarasvatī, which due to physical causes, has shrunk and dwindled down. G.F. Oldham points out that this drying up is not due to a diminished rain fall of the region in recent times, but is most probably due to the changes in the course of the Sutlej. (JRAS, London, 1893, pp. 49-76).

On the basis of a survey of ancient sites along the Sarasvatī river, Aurel Stein confirms the main postulations of Oldham, change in the region of the river Sutlej and the consequent drying up of the Hakra and the Sarasvatī (Geographical Journal, 1942, pp. 173-182).
There are two schools of thought; one believes in the changeability of climate, and the other in the non-changeability in this area during early historic times. Those, who believe in the changeability of climate, hold that the desert conditions in Western Rajasthan seem to have grown gradually during the last 3000 to 4000 years. It is known that Sind, Baluchistan and the adjoining parts of Rajasthan were wooded, and had a much more favourable climate in prehistoric and early historic times. The use of burnt bricks for building and the presence of well designed drainage system at Kālibangān apparently indicate that the climate was fairly humid. It is also known that during historic times, wild elephants lived in Rajasthan which also indicates more moist conditions than those obtaining at present. Even rice was cultivated in the Rang Mahal area in early times. The excavations reports of Sambhar, Rairi and Rang Mahal clearly indicate that camel was rarely noticed in those times in comparison with other animals.

The other view is that man cannot alter the general atmospheric circulation in any significant way. He might be successful in changing the climate only through manipulation and modification of the causal factors.\(^1\) Wittfogel\(^2\) is of the opinion that man might have brought improvement in dry and arid area in early times by the use of hydraulic methods of agriculture. It means organization of various irrigational projects under Government direction. On hydrographical, zoological, botanical, archaeological, and architectural grounds, Raike and Dyson and also Fairservis argue, that no climate change of any major proportion has occurred. Sankalia\(^3\) also holds that the houses in Sind and Bikaner continue to be built without windows as in Mohenjodaro. This is to shut out heat and dust.

The physical division of Rajasthan into south-east and

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1. Man's Role in changing the face of Earth, p. 568.
3. Pre-history and Proto-history in India and Pakistan, p. 176.
western regions inevitably influenced their cultural growth and development. The south eastern area was inhabited earlier, and soon it became a centre of culture and civilization. But, this is not the case with the Western Rajasthan which was habitated in the later period by backward tribes, some of whom came from outside.

These physical features of Rajasthan have exercised a profound influence over the character of its people and political destiny. From times immemorial, the desert area and the secluded valleys of the hilly regions have been the home of sturdy tribes, who imbibed indomitable character and love of freedom from the soil. They erected many impregnable forts and maintained their independence against powerful foes. Some times, they had to recognize the suzerainty of the imperialistic powers for a temporary period but they again raised the standard of revolt and became independent. The republics of Rajasthan were famous for their valour and gave heroic resistance against the Kushānas and the Śakas. They maintained their semi-independent position even during the time of the Great Guptas. The Rājpūts too continued their heroic struggle against the Muslim emperors of Delhi for safeguarding the independence of this region.

In ancient literature and inscriptions, we come across incidental references to old tribes, territories, rivers, mountains, cities and villages, whose names have long passed out of current use. There are several castes, gotras and religious 'gachchhas which are actually territorial in origin. It is, therefore, necessary that one should have the accurate information of their location so that he may understand the cultural history properly.

The region, which we now call Rajputana or Rajasthan after the Rājpūts, was not known so in early period; but some of the clans such as the Pratīhāras, the Chauhānas, the Paramāras and the Guhilas, ruling in early medieval period, were called 'Rājpūts'. The British were the first to coin the term Rajasthan, denoting the Rajput Principalities. In local dialect, Rajasthan is known as Rajavārā and Rāyathāna. In very early times, in this region, there were also territorial divisions, which assumed different names from time to time.
under the ruling dynasties. Some of them became famous after the names of tribes and republics. The archaeological and literary sources throw a good deal of light on their ancient names, locations and boundaries. As, there was no clear demarcation of boundaries like to-day, naturally sometimes they overlapped.

We may classify them under three main divisions (1) Tribes and their territory known from the Vedic and Puranic literature, (2) Monarchical and republican tribes known from the archaeological and literary sources and (3) territorial divisions under the Rājpūts during the early medieval period.

(1) Tribes and Their Territory known from the Vedic and Puranic Sources:

BRAHMAVARTA: The literary evidence as revealed from the Rigveda points out that the area between the Drishadvati and the Sarasvati was the Brahmavarta Pradeśa. It was known as the God fashioned region or source of life and production. In the Rigveda\(^1\), the two rivers, the Vipāś (Beas) and the Śutudri (Sutlej) have been described as being swollen with water, and as advancing towards the God fashioned region. Sudāsa, who fought against the Aryan and non-Aryan tribes, seems to be the ruler of Brahmavarta. This area became the centre of the Aryan culture, as a number of sacrifices were performed here. This name was well known to Manu\(^2\) who refers to this sacred region. Some portion of Northern Rajasthan seems to be the part of Brahmavarta.

BRAHMARISHI-DEŚA: The country of the Kurs, the Matsyas, the Pañchālaś and the Sūrasenas formed indeed the country of Brahmārishi immediately after Brahmavarta. According to Manu, from a Brāhmaṇa born in that country, let all men on earth learn their several usages\(^3\). The region

1. Rigveda III, 33-4
2. Manu-Saṁihita.
3. Ibid, 11, 19-20; SBE, XXV, pp. 32-33.
Cities of Rajasthan

of Bharatpur and Alwar was included in Brahmarishideśa at the time of Manu.

MATSYAS: The Matsyas are mentioned as a people in the Ṛgveda itself. A hymn in that work tells us that the Matsyas were attacked by Turvaśa, a famous king of Rigvedic times, in order to extract from them wealth required for a sacrifice which he wanted to perform. Even in those ancient times, the Matsyas were regarded as wealthy people, and their riches most probably consisted of cows. It is well known that in epic times, the Matsyas were rich in this wealth of cows for which the Trigarthas, and the Kurus led predatory expeditions against them, like Turvaśa of old. In the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, a Matsya king Dhvasan Dvaitavana is mentioned, who performed the horse-sacrifice. In the Kaushitaki Upanishad, the Matsyas are mentioned along with the other Aryan tribes. In the Aṣṭuttara Nikāya, Matsya is mentioned as one of the Mahājanaṇapadas. There is a reference to the Matsya or Macchas in the Janavasabha Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya. The name Matsya of this country continued even up to the eighth century A.D., as it is mentioned in the Gwalior stone inscription of the Pratihāra ruler Bhoja and the Khālimpur inscription of Dharmapāla of Bengal.

The Matsya country then included the whole of the present Alwar territory with portions of Jaipur and Bharatpur District. The capital was Virātanagara (modern Bairāṭ) named after its founder king Virāta.

SĀLVAS: The Śalvas are mentioned as a pair Janaṇapada with the Matsyas as early as the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa. The relations of the Matsys with the Śalvas is also vouchedsafed by the Mahābhārata. King Susarma of the Trigarthas says,

1. Rigveda, VII, 18, 6.
addressing Duryodhana, "We have been defeated before more than once by the Matsyas and the Śālvās". Evidently, the Śālvās were the neighbours of the Matsyas and their allies in the Vedic and epic time. It is held that modern Alwar, also known Śālvara in medieval times, originated from the Śālvās. The Śālvās are also mentioned along with the Mādreyas and the Jāngalas in the Mahābhārata. The Mahābhārata names Mṛittikāvati as a Śālva capital. Pāṇini mentions the famous Śālvaka breeds of bulls reared in the Śālva country. Making allowance for the position of the other known Janapadas, the only place left for Śālva coincides with territory extending from Alwar to north Bikaner.

SŪRASENAS: In the Puranic literature, the Sūrasenas have been mentioned along with the Matsyas. In the Pāli Buddhist Tripiṭaka, Sūrasena is mentioned as one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas. The ancient Greek writers refer to it as Sournsenoi and its capital as Methora (Modern Mathura). Mathura was a centre of Vaishnavism, Buddhism and Jainism in early times. Mathurā, Kāmān and Bayānā were the chief cities of the Sūrasena country. The Sūrasenas also known as the Yādavas ruled over this area from the seventh century to the tenth century A.D.

After the second century B.C., Rajasthan was ruled by several small tribal States both monarchical and republican in form. Some of them were ruling in the Punjab in Alexander's time, but afterwards, they migrated to Rajasthan because of foreign invasions. They gave heroic resistance to the foreigners from time to time. Their available coins and inscriptions throw welcome light on their activities.

2. Ibid, Bhishmaparva, 10.3.
3. India as known to Paṇini, p. 225. V. S. Agrawal has tried to identify Mṛittikāvati with Merti in Matwar. But it is not correct. Merti was actually founded by the Pratihāra ruler of Maṇḍor.
4. VI-2. 136.
6. Me. Crindle, Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, p. 98, or Cunningham's Ancient Geography, p. 374.
(2) Monarchical and Republican Tribes:

YAUDHEYS: Before the rise of the Kushāṇa empire, the Yaudheyas were a great power ruling over the South-eastern Punjab, and northern Rajasthan. The Bijayagarh (Bayānā) inscription of about the third century A.D. speaks of a Mahārāja, Mahāsenāpati who was placed at the head of the Yaudheya republic, the territory round about Bharatpur. The Kushāṇas under the leadership of Kanishka smashed their power. They were, however, too martial and freedom loving to brook the foreign yoke and raised their standard of revolt in 145 A.D. some-where in the north-eastern Rajasthan. The task of crushing their rising was entrusted to Śaka Mahākshatrara Rudradāman I, probably a vassal of the Kushāṇas, and he proudly states in his Jūnāgarh record how he forcibly overthrew the Yaudheyas. The Yaudheyas made a second bid for independence towards the end of the second century A.D., and they became successful in freeing their homeland from the Kushāṇas. They celebrated their independence by issuing a new currency. The legend on the obverse ‘Yaudheya-gaṇasya-j yah’, undoubtedly refers to victory of the issuers over their erstwhile overlords.

MĀLAVAS: The area surrounding Ajmer, Tonk and Mewar was known as Mālava after the Mālava republic, which flourished here from about the second century B.C. to the fifth century A.D. Its capital was Mālava-nagara (now known as Nagara, near Uniyārā). In the beginning of the second century A.D., these Mālavas are known to have fought with their neighbours, the Uttambhadras of Ajmer region as well as with the latter’s allies of the Kshaharāta Śakas of western India. From the Nāndsā inscription, it is known that their leader,

1. The coins of the Yaudheyas are found in large numbers in this area. Besides, the Johiya Rājpūts of Bikaner are actually the descendants of the Yaudheyas.
2. CIJ, III, No. 88.
3. EI, VIII, p. 79.
4. EI, VIII, p. 78.
5. Ibid, XXVII, p. 265. A.S. Altekar read the name ‘Śri Soma’.
whose name has not been fully deciphered, raised the standard of revolt, and celebrated the Ekashashiriātra sacrifice in 225 A.D. to proclaim the independence of his republic. Their copious currency\(^1\) of the third and fourth century A.D. has been found at Nagara. On their coins, we find the legend “Mālavānāmjayah”. Probably as a result of the Hūna invasion, they migrated to modern Mālwa, which became famous after their name. Even afterwards, the territory of Pratapgarh, Kota, Jhalawar and Tonk was included in the dominions of the rulers of Mālwa, which is clear from various inscriptions discovered at these places.

ĀRJUNĀYANAS: To the south-east of the Yaudheyas lay the territory of another republic, the Ārjunāyanas, who were occupying the area of eastern Rajasthan. Coins of this republic bear the legend ‘ārjunāyanānam-jayah’. There is no doubt that they also rebelled against the Kushānas and established an independent State but they had to submit to the Guptas about the middle of the fourth century. In the sixth century, Varāhamihira refers to the Ārjunāyanas as an important people of the northern or north-western division of India.

ŚIBIS: The Śibis are probably the same as Śivas or the Rīgveda who lived in the Punjab. Alexander met them in the fourth century B.C. in this region. When their homeland was threatened by the foreigners, they migrated to Rajasthan and settled in the District around Madhyamikā (modern Nagarī near Chitor) which was an ancient city known to Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya. Coins of the Śibi tribe found in this area have the legend ‘Majhamikāya-śibi-janapadasa’ i.e. coin of the Śibi State struck at Madhyamikā in a script that cannot be earlier than the latter half of the first century B.C. The Jātakas\(^2\) mention a Śivi king and his country with two of its cities, Arīṭṭhapura (SK Ariṣṭapurā) and Jetuttara. Jetuttara is identified by N.L. Dey\(^3\), with Nagarī, a locality

1. ASC, VI, p. 165.
2. Śivi Jātaka, No. 499; Ummadanti Jātaka, No. 527 and Vessantara Jātak, No. 547.
eighteen miles north of Chitor. It is evidently the Jattarurar of Alberuni, the capital of Mewar.

RĀJANYAS: Coins of the Rājanya Janapada with the legends either in Brāhmī or in Khārosṭhī may be assigned to the latter half of the first century B.C. The Rājanyas probably lived some where in north or north-eastern Rajasthan, where both the scripts were in use. G.H. Ojha locates them in the region of Mathurā, because their Lakṣmī, and bull type of coins resemble those of the Kṣhatrapa rulers of Mathurā.

UTTAMABHADRAS: The Uttamabhadras were the neighbours of the Mālavas in Rajasthan, and probably lived in the neighbourhood of Puskara near Ajmer. They were allies of the Śakas of Western India, and received help from the Śaka Chief Rishabhadatta, (A.D. 119-23), son-in-law and viceroy of Nahapāna, in their struggle against the Mālavas.

MAUKHARĪS: In about the first half of the third century A.D., the Maukharīs were ruling over the territory of Bādvā in Kota District. Mahāsenāpati Bala was at its head in 239 A.D., and he had three grown up sons to help him in administration. At this time, the title ‘Mahāsenāpati’ denoted the status of a feudal chief ruling over a District or so. The Maukharīs of Bādvā were, therefore, probably a feudatory power owing allegiance either to the western Kṣhatrapas of Ujjain, or to the Nāgas of Padmāvatī. The family seems to have championed the Vedic religion; each of the three sons of Bala had performed a Trirātra Sacrifice in 239 A.D.

ĀBHĪRAS: The Mahābhārata associates the Ābhīras with Śudras and assigns both the tribes to the land near Vināśana where the Sarasvati lost itself in the sands of the Rajasthan desert. They are also found in association with the Śudras in Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya. The Ābhīras are placed along

2. The age of Imperial Unity, p. 160, f.n.i.
4. EI, XXIII, p. 52.
5. Mbh, IX, 37, 1.
6. Mahābhāṣya, 1, 2, 3.
the Śūdras in Pauranic traditions\(^1\). Pargiter points to the Pauranic tradition that the Yādavas, while retreating northwards after the Kurukshetra war from their western home in Dvārākā and Gujarat, were attacked and broken up by the rude Ābhiras of Rajasthan.\(^2\) The *Periplus*, and the Geography of Ptolemy locate Aberiā or Abirlā i.e. the Ābhira country in south-western Rajasthan, and the adjoining regions.\(^3\) From the Pratihāra inscription\(^4\) of Kakkuka dated 861 A.D., it is known that he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Ābhiras and forced them to vacate the town.

3) **Territorial divisions under the Rājpūts during the early medieval period**:

The period after the sixth century A.D. is very important in the history of Rajasthan because new Rājpūt ruling dynasties such as the Pratihāras, the Chauhānas, the Paramāras, and the Guhīlas began to emerge in the political firmament, and they established their separate kingdoms. The territorial divisions of this time were known by different names, as is clear from the literary and epigraphical sources.

**JĀNGALADEŚA\(^5\)**: The territory of the former Bikaner State and northern Marwar seems to have been included in Jāngaladeśa. The country of the Jāṅgalas has been mentioned along with the Kurus and the Madras in the *Mahābhārata\(^6\)*. It shows that the territory of the Jāṅgalas was adjacent to the Madrās and the Kurus, who were living in the North. The Chauhāna rulers\(^7\) have been described as the rulers of

4. EI, IX, pp. 279-81.
5. Jāngaladeśa is a region where there is a shortage of grass on account of scarcity of water and intense heat. It abounds in pilu, kaira and baira. (see Śabdakalpa-drūma, p. 529.).
7. Someśvara in the *Kīrtikaumudi* called the Chauhāna king Aranarāja as the king of Jāṅgaladeśa. In the *Pārthaparākrama*, Prithvīrāja III has been described as the king of Jāṅgala. (GOS, IV, p. 3, also Ibid. Introduction, p. 103).
Jāngaladesa, of which, Ahichchhatrapura was the capital.\(^1\)
From the Bijauliā rock inscription, it is known that Sāmanta, the ancestor of the Chauhāna family, was born at Ahichchhatrapura\(^2\). G.H. Ojha identified Ahichchhatrapura with Nāgaur.\(^3\) The chief of the Bikaner State was given the title of Jāngaladhara because of his rule over this territory. There is also an old town of Jāngalu in the Bikaner Division.

**SAPĀDALAKSHA** : The territory, over which the Chauhānas of Sākambhari ruled, was known as Sākambhari Sapādalaksha\(^4\). Minhāj-us-Sirāj has mentioned it as Siwālikha which is probably the territorial unit containing (125000) 1\(\frac{1}{4}\) lac towns and villages. First, Sāmbhar was the capital of Sapādalaksha Kingdom of the Chauhānas. From Sāmbhar, their capital was transferred to Ajmer. Vigraharāja IV was one of the greatest rulers of the Chauhāna dynasty. Under him, the Chauhāna empire reached the highest limit including Jāngala, the area of Jaipur\(^5\) the province of Ranthambhor incuding the northern portion of Kota District, the area of Mewar from Māndalagarh\(^6\) to the eastern portion,\(^7\) the western part of Bundi District, Kishangarh and Ajmer. Even the places out-side Rajasthan such as Delhi and Hansi, became a part of Chauhān empire\(^8\) and this entire region was called Sapādalaksha.

**ANANTA** : In the Chauhāna Kingdom, a tract near Harsha in Sekhāvāti was called Ananta\(^9\). In the Bijauliā inscription, the Chauhāna ruler Sāmanta has been described as a Brāhmaṇa noble of Ananta.\(^10\) The country of Ananta

\(^1\) JRAS, 1913, p. 264, f. n. 1.
\(^2\) EI, XXVI, p. 103.
\(^3\) ONS, I, p. 19.
\(^4\) The Kumārīkhanda of the Skanda-Purāṇa mentions a few other Sapādalakshas, i. e. territorial units supposed to have 1/4 lac villages.
\(^5\) ASC, VI, Plate 21.
\(^6\) JSARI, p. 344. See the prāṣasti of the Dharmāṃtrītaśikā.
\(^7\) ARRMA, 1923, p. 2.
\(^8\) EI, XXVI, p. 105.
\(^9\) ECD, p. 23. According to H.C. Ray, the Chauhāna ruler Sāmanta was possibly also known as Ananta, and the kingdom was called Anantagevara after the name of the second prince. See the Dynastic History of Northern India, pp. 1061 and 1064.
\(^10\) EI, XXVI, p. 103.
has been mentioned in the Harsha stone inscription\(^1\) dated V.S. 1030 and it tells us that Vākpatirāja, harassed the prince Tantrapāla, who was coming haughtily towards the Ananta province with the behest of his overlord. In the country of Ananta, there lived a sage Viśvarūpa, a devotee of Śiva who followed the Pañcchārthala doctrine.\(^2\)

**SAPTASATABHŪMI**: The territory of the Nāḍol kingdom of the Chauhānas was called Saptasatabhūmi. It was probably a territorial unit containing seven hundred villages. The Chauhāna ruler of Nāḍol named Anahilla, who ruled in the eleventh century A.D., extended his territory comprising 700 villages to 7000 villages, by killing the rulers of the adjoining kingdoms\(^3\) in several battles. But even after the extension of the territory, the Nāḍol kingdom was called by the same name Saptasatabhūmi like Sapādalaksha of the Śākambhari Chauhānas. The inscription of 1171 A.D. refers to the reign of Kelhaṇadeva at Nāḍol, the chief town in Saptasatabhūmi\(^4\). Saptasatabhūmi is undoubtedly the same as the Saptasatatishaya of the Sevāḍi plates of Ratnapāla (1119 A.D.)\(^5\). The Chauhāna ruler Durlabharāja, who ruled in 999 A.D., conquered the country called Āsosittana\(^6\) from Mahendra, the ruler of Nāḍol. Āsosittana seems to denote a portion of the territory of the Nāḍol kingdom.

**BHĀDĀNAKAS**: The country of the Bhādānakas was in existence in early medieval period. According to the Kāvyamīmāṃsā\(^7\), Apabhramśa was spoken by the Ṭakkas, the Bhādānakas and the inhabitants of Maru. As the Ṭakkās lived in the Punjab, and Maru is obviously the desert area of Rajasthan, Bhādānaka Pradeśa must be in the neighbourhood of these two provinces. The Bijauli inscription\(^8\) praised Vigrāharāja IV of having deprived the Bhādānapati of his lustre. The Kharataragachchha-pattāvali\(^9\) of Jinapāla mentions

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1. EI, II, p. 118.
2. Ibid.
5. EI, XI, p. 310.
6. Ibid, XII, p. 56. It has been also read as ‘Rāsosittana’.
9. KB, p. 28.
the defeat of Bhādānakas as the chief achievement of Prithvirāja up to V.S. 1239. This reference may also show that the Bhādānaka kingdom might be adjoining the kingdom of Sapādalaksha. The *Sakalatīrthastotra*¹ of Siddhasena Śūri puts them between Kanauj and Harshapura, a town in Śākambhārideśa and mentions Siroha and Kammaga as the chief sacred Jaina places in the Bhādānaka country. From the *praṭastis*² of the *Varāṅgacharitra* (V.S. 1507), and the *Pasapuruṇā* of Tejapāla, it is known that they were written at Śrīpathā (Bayānā) of Bhādānakadesa. This indicates that it retained its name up to the fifteenth century. From all these references, it is obvious that some portion of Bharatpur and Alwar Districts was included in Bhādānaka Pradeśa.

**MEDAPĀṬA AND PRĀGVĀṬA** : The region of Chitor began to be called Medapāṭa or Mewār because of the population of Medas or Mewas. Another name of Mewār was Prāgvāṭa. In the Karanbel inscription, the Guhila rulers such as Haṁsapāla, Vairīsimha, and Vijayasiṁha of Mewar have been described as the Prāgvāṭa rulers³. The Poravāla Mahājanaś were known as Prāgvāṭas after the name of this region.

**VĀGAṔA** : VāgaṔa probably originated from Vaggala, which means forest. The VāgaṔa Province of Rajasthan comprised the District of Dūṅgarpur and Bāṃswārā as well as the southern part of Udaipur District. In early times, this region was full of forests and mountains. The VāgaṔa Saṁgha, after the name of this province, is mentioned in an inscription of V.S. 1051⁴. There is mention of this VāgaṔa Province in the inscription of V.S. 1242, V.S. 1291, V.S. 1308 and V.S. 1343⁵. That this name was retained up to the sixteenth century A.D. is clear from the Naugāmā Jaina inscription dated 1571 A.D. and the Brahmā image inscription of Chiṅcha.⁶

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¹. G. O. S., LXXVI, 156, Verses 22-27.
². JGPS, Nos. 28, 29, and 100.
⁴. See the inscription on a Jaina image of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.
⁵. Ibid, p. 2 (Footnotes 2, 3, 4, & 5); see also ARRMA, 1930 No. 7.
The territory in the neighbourhood of Sikara (Śekhāvāṭi) was also well known as Vāgaḍa Country in early times. Narhad, a village situated near Pilani, has been described as a premier town of Vāgaḍa Country in the Kharataragachchha-pañṭāvalī. That the name of the territory as Vāgaḍa continued up to the seventeenth century A.D. is clear from the Kymkhānrasa.

PĀRIYĀTRA : Actually, it is the name of a mountain, and it corresponds to the portion of the modern Vindhya ranges, west of Bhopal together with the Aravali mountains. In course of time, the mountain probably gave its name to the famous Po-li-yē-ta-lo or Pāriyātra country ruled by a Vaiśya king in the days of Hiuen Tsang. From the Jambūdivapannātiti of Padmanandī written in about the tenth century A.D., it is known that Bārā in Pāriyātra was governed by a king named Šakti or Śānti who possessed noble character and true knowledge. This Bārā may be identified with Bārāh in Kota District and the king with Śaktikumāra of Mewar who ruled in 977 A.D. at Āghaṭa. The kingdom of his grand father Bhartripatta II seems to have extended on the south-east up to the border of Pratapagarh. His son and successor Allaṭa was also a powerful ruler. Afterwards, Śaktikumāra, obtained glory, and consolidated his kingdom. His kingdom might have included some portion of Kota District.

SHATPAŃCHĀŚAT : From the Virapura inscription dated 1295 A.D. of the Gahila ruler Amṛtapāla, it is known that he (Amṛtapāladeva) granted for the spiritual welfare of his parents, and of himself a well known as Lasādiā, as well as a land of two hālas (ploughs) at the village of Gātāudā in the province of Shatpaṅchāśat to a Brāhmaṇa Madana of

1. KB, p. 65.
3. Harshacharitra (Cowell and Thomas trans., pp. 210-211, f.n. 1.
5. IA, XXXIX, p. 186.
7. IA, XXXIX, p. 186.
8. ARRMA, 1930, No. 2.
Bhāradvāja gotra. Shaṭapañchāṣat is the present province of Chhappana in Udaipur District.

MARU: Maru country actually denotes desert area of Rajasthan, and this was believed to be a deep sea in very early times. Maru is mentioned in the Girnar inscription of Rudradāman dated 150 A.D.¹ Jayasimha Śūri, who lived in the thirteenth century A.D., called the Paramāra kings Dhārāvarsha and Udaisimha of Jālor as the rulers of Marudeśa². Maru also comprised Arbudadeśa at that time.

ARBUDADEśA AND ASHTĀDAṢAṢATADEśA: Arbudadeśa, which is a part of the Maru country, included Sirohi, some portion of Jodhpur, Dāntāraya, and Pālanpur during the reign of the Paramāras. Its capital was Chandrāvatī. This region was also known as Ashtādaṣaṣata-Maṇḍala, which means a territorial unit having 1800 villages. This name is known both from the literary and epigraphical evidences. Dhārāvarsha has been described in the Upadeṣa-raṅginī as a king of Ashtādaṣaṣata Maṇḍala and Chandrāvatī.³ The Jhādoli inscription of V.S. 1255 also mentions Dhārāvarsha as a ruler of Ashtādaṣaṣata Maṇḍala.⁴ In the Vimalavaṣahī temple inscription of 1293 A.D., the name of this territorial unit is also given.⁵

MĀḍA, VALLA AND TRAVANĪ: From the expression 'Valla Māḍayōḥ'⁶ in the Ghaṭiyāḷā inscription dated 918 A.D., it seems that both the places were adjacent to each other. The old name of Jaisalmer was Māḍa. The ladies of this area still sing Māḍarāga. It seems that the southern or eastern portion of Jodhpur District adjacent to Jaisalmer was called Valla in early times. In the Pratihāra inscription⁷ of Bāuka dated 837 A.D., Śīluka is said to have fixed a perpe-

1. EI, VIII, p. 44.
2. HMM, p. 11.
4. APJLS, No. 311.
6. EI, IX p. 280.
7. Ibid, XVIII, p. 94.
tual boundary between the Provinces of Stravaṇi and Valla. He was the protector of Valla Maṇḍala having knocked down Bhaṭṭika Devarāja. Stravaṇi is probably the same as Travaṇa of the Ghatiṭyāḷā inscription dated 918 A.D., as the latter occurs along with Valla in a list of contiguous countries. The poet Rājaśekhara of the tenth century A.D. mentions Travaṇa in the list of western Provinces of India. He further says that the people of this region speak excellent Apabhramśa, and Sanskrit. The locality of this Stravaṇi or Travaṇi has not been established so far. According to R.C. Majumdar, it is to be identified with Taban of the Arab writers, which probably consisted of a part of the Punjab just to the northwest of Rajasthan. G.H. Ojha locates it in a region of Māllan District of the former Jodhpur State.

DAŚERAKA: According to the Kāvyamīmāṁsā, the Paśchāṭdesa (western India) extended westward from Devasabha (identified with modern Dewās in Madhya Pradesh) and it included Devasabha, Saurāshtra, Daśerka, Travaṇa, Bhrigukachcha, Kachcha, Ānarta and Arbuda as representative countries of Aparāṇa. From the Kāvyamīmāṁsā, it is clear that it is adjacent to Travaṇa mentioned in the inscription of V.S. 894 of the Pratihāra ruler Bāuka and of V.S. 918 of Kakkuka. Travaṇa is identified with some territory in Jaisalmer District. Hence, according to Dasharatha Sharma, it should be placed in the neighbourhood of Travaṇa in Rajasthan. It is mentioned in the Abhidhāna-chintāmani as Maravastu Daśeraka.

GURJARA OR GURJARATRĀ: In earlier times, Gurjaratrā included the portion of Gujarat and Rajasthan. Hiuen Tsang, who visited India in the seventh century A.D., refers to the capital of the Gurjara kingdom as Pi-lo-mo-lo. This has been identified with modern Bhimnāl by some

1. KM, p. 94.
2. EI, XVIII, p. 94.
4. KM, p. 94.
5. EI, XVIII, p. 94.
7. RB, V, No. 1, p. 49.
scholars. The Chinese pilgrim describes the young Gurjara king as a devout believer in the law of Buddha, and as distinguished for wisdom and courage.

That Gurjaratrā also included a portion of Rajasthan is clear from the accounts of Mohammedan writers. The merchant Sulaimān says, "Harz (Gurjara dominion) was bound on the north by Tafik or Takim which is the name of the Punjab. It possessed silver mines and could muster a larger force of cavalry than any other kingdom in India." All these details apply to Rajasthan, which lies in the south west of the Punjab, and possesses the only silver mines in India and has been famous since long for the large body of its cavalry. The name of the tribe was already given to the country, for Edrisi, quoting from Abu Khordabech, states that Jurz was both the hereditary title of the king as well as the name of the country. To Firishta, Gujarat still meant the southwestern corner of Rajasthan and it is obvious that Gujarat mentioned in the commentary Jayamaṅgalā on Kāmasūtra V. 1.30, denotes the territory round Kota in Rajasthan in connection with which it is mentioned.

Epigraphical evidence shows that the foreigners were not misinformed, when they thus spoke of Marwar as the country of Gurjaras. Thus, in the Daulatpurā plate king Bhojadeva is mentioned as granting a village called Sivāgrāma, situated in the Ḍeṇḍavāṇaka Vishaya which, it is stated, formed a part of the Gurjaratrabhūmi. Since it is clear that Ḍeṇḍavāṇaka is ṃDidvānā of Jodhpur state, and Sivāgrāma, the same village of Sevā (7 miles north east of Didwānā), it is presumable that the territory round Jodhpur in Rajasthan was known in the eighth century A.D., as the land of the Gurajaras. This is further confirmed by the quotation from the Kālañjara inscription of the eighth cen-

1. YTIT, II, p. 249.
2. AGI, p. 321.
3. ATCGK, p. 6.
4. Ibid.
5. EI, V p. 208.
tury, which shows that Maṅglāṇaka or modern Maṅgalānā which is about fortyfive km., north east of Dīḍwānā, was regarded as located in the Gurjaratara Mandala. It is, therefore, clear that in the eighth century A.D., what is now called Marwar, was known as the country of the Gurjaras. That the same continued to be the case for two centuries more, becomes clear from the statements of the Mohammedan authorities as quoted above.
EMERGENCE OF URBAN LIFE

When man inhabited Rajasthan, and what the steps were by which he marched towards urban life are difficult questions. The progress from savage to urban life was a slow and gradual process. Man first settled on the banks of rivers, and for a considerable time, he remained in a hunting and food gathering stage. He invented gradually various types of new stone tools to meet the needs of time. The production of food by agriculture and domestication of animals was the next important stage towards civilization. The culture of the people during this period is determined by the peculiar type of pottery they produced, and these pottery-types, and fabrics give us some idea of the inter-relation of the cultures, and racial and tribal movements. The advent of metal revolutionized the society and various agricultural and village communities came into existence. Gradually, people started to build houses, and buildings to live in. The next important step in the process of civilization was writing. The discovery of iron and the beginning of coinage were also notable steps. All these factors led to the organized social life which resulted in the establishment of cities.

As no intensive explorations and excavations have been carried out, and also no ancient geographical and physiographical aspects such as flora, fauna, and climate have been thoroughly studied, it is difficult to know exactly about the emergence of civic life in Rajasthan. Any how, the archaeological material discovered in the neighbouring States such as the Punjab, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Sind have proved valuable in building up the sequence of cultures in different periods in Rajasthan.
THE LOWER PALAEOLITHIC OR THE OLD STONE AGE CULTURAL STAGE:

After a detailed study of the material, it seems that so far as Rajashan is concerned, the Lower Palaeolithic Culture was concentrated in the south-eastern region of Rajasthan. A survey of the Berach, Gambhiri, the Banas and other tributaries of the Chambal, and Chambal itself shows that man lived along the banks of these rivers at least 100,000 years ago. This is indicated by two things, firstly by the sequence or order of river deposits, viz., mottled clay, gravel clay, gravel-silt, and secondly by the stone-tools of human beings. A large number of tools have been collected from Gambhiri near Chitor¹ and Nimbahere,² from Tajpura³ on the Ruparel, from Nagari⁴ on the Berach, from the Wagan,⁵ from Sonita⁶ and Bhainsrorgarh⁷ and a number sites⁸ of on the Chambal. The nature of the stratigraphy and tools does not differ much at these places.

Besides, ten sites have been discovered on the Banas river between Hamirgarh in Bhilwara District and Tonk⁹. At Bhangarh (District Alwar), on the Sanvan, another affluent of Chambal, stratified deposit consisting of two gravel beds intercalated by silt and capped again by silt have yielded pebble-tools, hand-axes and Levallois type flakes¹⁰. Surface-finds have also been made available from Jaipur, Bundi and Indergarh¹¹.

All these tools may be divided into two categories rep-

¹. I. Ar., 1954-55, p. 58.
². Ibid.
³. Ibid.
⁵. H.D. Sankalia and his colleagues discovered a very rich stratified site on the Wagen about thirteen km. south-west of Chitor.
⁶. I. Ar., 1956-57, p. 5
⁷. Ibid.
⁸. Ibid.
representing two different cultures. The first is pebble-chopping tools of the Sohan; and the other is hand-axes and cleavers of Madras. The people using pebble-chopping tools are culturally different from those of the hand-axe people. They seem to have come from the Punjab while the hand-axe people from Gujarat and Madhya Bharat where they were in the same cultural stage as in Rajasthan. Identical tools have been found at Chauntra by De Terra and Paterson in 1939 on the Sohan in the Punjab\(^1\) on the Sabarmati by Sankalia in 1946 in the South\(^2\), and on the Narmada by De Terra and Paterson in 1939 in the East in stratified deposits\(^3\).

A few details about stratigraphy and the examination of tool types do not show any striking departure from what one finds in northern Gujarat or Mâlwa. These stratified deposits are not later than the upper pleistocene period and may be dated roughly to about 200,000 years. De-Terra and Zeuner\(^4\) have given some idea of the climatic conditions prevailing in the foothills of the Punjab and Northern Gujarat respectively in those times.

The excavations at a number of sites in the valleys of the Chambal and its tributaries, particularly in Chitor District, have stratigraphically established the co-occurrence of palaeoliths of the Sohan and Madras traditions\(^5\). The hand-axes and cleavers of the Madras industry were found in association with Clactonian flakes and choppers of the Sohan industry. This indicates that people, representing two different cultures, lived side by side. The smaller number of Sohan choppers and the great number of Madras bifaces are to be accounted for by the probable dying-out of the Sohan Industry.

Sankalia\(^6\) does not regard the Sohan culture as a quite separate cultural unity. According to him, it is a pebble

1. Studies on the Ice Age in India and Associated Human Cultures, p. 321.
2. Investigations into the Pre-historic Archaeology of Gujarat, 1-6.
5. I. Ar., 1956-57, p. 5.
6. Pre-history and Protohistory in India and Pakistan, p. 276.
element in the hand-axe culture. Hand-axes have been also found in the Puniab. Further, he observes that there was no meeting ground or contact between the Sohan culture and the Hand-axe culture. Actually, at a number of places, hand-axes were made from quartzite pebbles, and when we go towards the upper reaches of the river, more pebbles and more halves become available. So what we record as a typical Sohan chopper made on a pebble may not necessarily be a tool of that culture, but simply a pebble which has been flaked into halves, either naturally or artificially.

An overlapping between the tools of series I, and II is also indicated at some sites on the Bānas and its tributaries in south-eastern and eastern Rajasthan. The earlier of these series I included hand-axes and cleavers of the Madras industry, and Clactonian flakes and chopper of the Sohan industry. A later gravel contained series II, characterised by Levallois flakes with prepared striking platforms, and hollow and blade scrapers, but devoid alike of choppers and hand-axes. The occurrence of occasional flake tools of series II in deposits of series I suggest continuous occupation along with changing needs and modes. In course of time, the industry of the tools of series I had been on the decline, and series II industry had come to stay.

The climate at that time was more humid than at present. The rainfall was heavier, and of longer duration than today, and the rivers as a consequence carried heavier load in the form of pebbles and boulders. The rivers also flowed in a much wider bed, and at least fifteen feet above its present bed. Owing to heavier rainfall, the region should have been better forested than at present. Man was a nomad who roamed on the banks of the rivers. He was a parasite who subsisted himself on wild fruits, roots and the flesh of animals like deer, pigs, goats, sheep and cattle. His various types of tools helped him in digging up the roots and cutting the fruits of trees and flesh of animals. This state of man is characterised by archaeologists as 'Food Gathering Stage' that lasted for a long time.
MIDDLE PALAEOLITHIC OR MIDDLE STONE AGE CULTURE

Relics of another stone Age have also been reported from the Chambal and other river valleys. Some traces of it were noticed at Chitor\(^1\) itself on the Bedoch. The Gambhiri as well as its tributary the Wagen yielded similar evidence. But, so far the best known area is the Luni basin\(^2\). Tools have also been discovered from eight sites—Samdari, Dundara Luni, Srikrishnapura, Golio, Hundgaon, Bhawi and Pichak of Luni. This brings us to western Rajasthan. Western Rajasthan seems to have come under active occupation by man only at a late stage, that is, when he had started manufacturing tools similar to those of series II. When did this man live? We cannot say definitely. But, certainly after Western Rajasthan, which is believed by geologists to be under the sea, rose up, and conditions favourable to man's existence became possible in about 25,000 B.C.

The stratigraphical sequence observed in the Luni, and its tributaries was that of a white clay at the bottom, succeeded by a cemented sandy gravel, which in turn, was covered by a sandy silt. Though most of the tools were collected from the dry river beds, their horizon was no doubt the cemented sandy gravel, which was not exposed at many places.

The implements from the Luni basin comprised hand-axes, cleavers, scrapers of various types, borers, scraper-borers, points-unifacial and bifacial, flake knives and flakes. Since, the number of hand-axes and cleavers is small, and their distribution is limited in the Luni Basin, it seems that they belong to the eastern Rajasthan stone age complex rather than to the western. These tools also indicate that man's needs were different from those of the earlier Stone Age. The majority of the implements from this area was of flint, chert and jasper, which are easily available in the limestone region. Fossil wood and even such coarse, intractable

rock like rhyolite were used for comparatively small tools like scrapers and pointed-tools.

The climate, and the environment of this region must have been different from what it is at present. The dry Luni bed hides below that mantle of wind borne sand, deposits of silt and cemented gravel. These deposits nowhere were more than 10 feet thick, but definitely laid down, when river carried such a load owing to regular rain, which must have been heavier. Forests, even if not thick and luxurious, could have flourished. Within this comparatively thinly wooded country of western Rajasthan wandered a man who still lived in a Stone Age. His various tools were primarily meant for cutting, scraping and piercing the hide of the animal, whether living or dead.

THE MESOLITHIC OR TRANSITIONAL STAGE OF CULTURE

The old glacial conditions had more or less gone, and the dry period started. With the climatic changes, the flora and fauna also changed. So also the implements. It is not exactly clear whether the microliths developed out of the earlier lithic industries, or due to the influence of some external stimuli. They might have evolved from the upper palaeolithic cultures, but nowhere such an evolution is traced out stratigraphically. The wide distribution of this industry not only in India (Gujarat, Maharashtra, Hyderabad and Mālva), but all over the world such as Europe, Africa, and Eastern Asia points towards some cultural link. Probably a new race of people entered India with these implements from Africa. The nature of these tools is absolutely different. These are extremely small about an inch or so in length:

These tools are found on the hill flanks of eastern Rajasthan, as well as in western Rajasthan. A number of microlithic sites such as Bara Bedla, Bichri, Garua, Dabok, Mander, Kanpur, Bijana, Mordai and Intali have been discovered in Udaipur District¹. A few of these microliths

¹. I. Ar., 1956-57, p. 8.
have turned up in the excavations at Æhär¹ and also at Gilund² on the Bānas in the same District. Their presence does not show that they were used by the forest-farmers of south-eastern Rajasthan, but these tiny-tools were somehow carried in their houses along with silt etc. from the river-bed. Hence, they do not belong to the copper or chalcolithic deposits, but to an earlier phase of a hunting and forest culture.

Bari Achnar, Biawar, Deori, Tarra, Baimiṇi and Kalikunya near Bhainsrogarh,³ and Ballukhera⁴ are the principal sites of Microlithic industry in Chitor District. In Bhilwara District, microliths were found at Kurias, Deoli, Mangrup⁵, Jalkakhera, Lachmipura and Sekarapura⁶. Chosala, Khejri and Kaderi in Ajmer District, are the main spots of this industry. In Tonk District, microliths have been discovered from Baithola, Bharni, Chokri Sundela and Deopura⁷. Rairh in Jaipur District also yielded microliths⁸. Microliths were also found along the banks of Parwani river at Kakoni in Kotah District⁹ and also at Jhālrāpātan¹⁰.

Several microlithic sites have been discovered even in western Rajasthan. At Dhaneri and near it, in the river Sukri, and at Sojat were found some flakes, blades and cores which seemed to belong to a microlithic industry¹¹. Other tributaries of the Luni, which yielded tools, were the Bandi, Guhiya and Rcria¹². Fluted chert cores were found scattered over a considerable area at Khinvasar, near Nāgaur¹³. N.M. Ganam picked up microlithic tools on jasper from a

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². Ibid, 1959-60, p. 41.
⁶. Ibid.
⁸. Ibid, p. 74.
¹². Ibid.
Emergence of Urban Life

site three km. from Umednagar in tehsil Osiā. The tools were severely wind-polished with their retouched edges smoothed\(^1\). K.V. Soundarrajan found microlithic tools on chert and quartz on an eroded ferruginized surface, six km. from Bilara on the road to Jodhpur\(^2\).

The microlithic implements found at various places included fluted cores, parallel-sided, and baked blades with triangular or trapezoidal cross sections, end-scrapers, side-scrapers and notched scrapers, and leaf-shaped, triangular and rhomboidal points, unates and crested-ridge flakes. Larger flakes, cores and lumps are possibly used as casual tools. Cores and blades with crested-ridges were fairly common. These tiny tools are made of chalcedony, chert, agate or jasper, flint and quartz.

The climate at that time was slightly more humid than at present. The microlithic-folk lived on small hillocks and sand dunes, and drew their water supply from the hillock-girt inundation lakes. Even at this stage, they remained savage or barbarian. They were still nomadic, hunters, and did not produce their own food. As they had no permanent houses, they did not produce such household articles as vessels for drinking, eating or storing.

As these microliths are non-geometric and are also not associated with any pottery, they are of considerable antiquity. It is difficult to give the exact period of this industry but by comparing it with the industry found in the neighbouring Provinces, we may place it between 10000 B.C. and 4000.

Besides, there are microliths which were found associated with pottery. Āhār, Gilund, Sialpura, Fachar, Tarawat and Joera in Udaipur District\(^3\), Unch, Purani Marmi, Undala, Viroli, Hironji-ka Khera and Khor in Chitor District\(^4\) and Duria, Gigakhera and Kumaria in District Bhilwara\(^5\) yielded both black and red-ware, and microliths. These microliths in

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2. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
association with black-and-red-ware were not earlier than the second millennium B.C. At this time, people gave up nomadic habits, and no longer they remained hunters. The production of food by agriculture and the domestication of animals started in their primitive society. The use of copper was also known to these people.

MEGALITHIC CULTURE:

The term 'Megalithic' means a large stone monument, which fulfilled a funerary or commemorative or religious function. Most of the megaliths are found in South India where they belong to a period between the third century B.C. to the first century A.D.

In Rajasthan, most of the megaliths seem to have been destroyed and of those which are still remaining, no systematic survey has so far been made. In 1871-72, Carlleyle seems to have discovered a number of cairns, cromlechs, stone-circles, and tombs built by aboriginals on the slopes of hills for sepulchral and memorial purposes in Prehistoric time at some places in Eastern Rajasthan. They are more or less of the same form and mode.

There are seven sepulchral cairns scattered along the Khera hill range, besides the remains or traces of others. The larger of these cairns consisted of two kinds—namely, round topped or tumulus-shaped cairns, composed entirely of small boulders and rubble stones, or fragments of the rock of the hill; and two or three flat-topped cairns, which were of an irregular roughly four-sided shape, with generally sloping sides, and surmounted at the top either by slabs of stone or by the remains or fragments of slabs. There are also numerous small standing stones or stones standing erect in the grounds on two different spots, some of which appeared as if they had once formed portions of stone circles.

At Satmas in Bharatpur District, there are cairns numbering about thirty on the slope of the hill. These are of

1. ASC., p. VI, 13.
2. Ibid, p. 35.
three different forms, namely round-topped or tumulus-shaped solid cairn, beneath and below the level of which a shallow sepulchral chamber or trough, has been excavated in the rock. Flat-topped four-sided cairn, composed of loose rubble stones, but with slabs of stone laid on to the top of it, and generally containing a square chamber at the bottom of the mass, but in the body of the cairn and above ground. Cromlech cairn is a kind of cromlech of which the four sides are composed of loose rubble stones, and the top only covered in with either one or two large slabs of stone. At Bhainsakuri and Tirhet or Lakhanpur in the neighbourhood of Satmas also, cairns have been found.

A very curious aboriginal tomb, formed of slabs of stones and boulders, was discovered at Māchārī. It was of large size, and of an oblong shape, the low walls of the tomb were composed of boulders and other large stones, and it had originally been entirely covered in by large slabs of stone laid on across the top. Of these, one or two had fallen in, or been knocked off, but four of the top cross slabs were still in their original position. A similar aboriginal tomb as described above is at Tontpur near Satmās.

At Dausā on the sloping ground to the north of the foot of the hill, a number of stone circles, one or two of which contained cromlechs, a few cairns and a sepulchral mound of pre-historic date are noticed. At Chātsū as well as at Bagherā and Ṭoḍā-ṛāi-Simhā, some curious stone circles of the aboriginal inhabitants have been brought to light.

Many of these megalithic monuments were in a very dilapidated and broken-down condition, so that it was difficult to ascertain their exact dimensions with any degree of certainty. The cairns found at Khera and Satmas are about ten to twelve feet in diameter. The dimensions of the aboriginal tomb at Māchārī were as follows:

Length, exteriorly from 13 to 15 feet, breadth exteriorly,

1. ASC, VI, p. 38.
2. Ibid., p. 88.
3. Ibid, preface. see also Plate III.
5. Ibid, preface.
6 feet, height of side walls from the ground to the top of the covering slabs, 2 feet 3 inches to 2 feet 6 inches. The megalithic stone of Dausā is six feet square, and about four feet in height.

Whatever little in the form of remains has been found in these cairns, is sufficient to prove that they were constructed for sepulchral purposes, or the interment of human remains, either whole or in fragments, after cremation. After clearing out the earth and small stones from several of the cairns and cromlechs at Satmas, Carlleyfe found, in some cases, mostly in the round-topped cairns and cromlechs, a few small fragile fragments of bones, while in other cases, mostly in the flat-topped cairns very small atoms of bone mixed with what appeared to be ashes. In the interior structure of the aboriginal tomb at Māchārī, there was found nothing except bone ash, a stone ball and a few rude flakes of stone. The megaliths at Dausā yielded some rude stone implements while in the mound were brought to light pottery urns covered with lids and containing human bones, also chert flakes etc.

It is possible that these megaliths of Rajasthan belong to a very late period, but not to the true Stone Age cultural phase. At best, it may be said that in eastern Rajasthan, there were megalithic people representing culture superficially similar to those of the megalithic period in South India. The Megalithic culture of Rajasthan seems to be earlier than that of the South because no antiquities of the historic period have been found in them. The megaliths of the South are associated with the Black-and-red ware which was prevalent from the 3rd century B.C. to the 1st century A.D. but the megaliths of Rajasthan were not related to any pottery. If suppose, they are of the same period as that of South, it is the culture of primitive tribes living in the primitive stage of society. As the Minās are found in large number in this area, this culture may represent their ancestors.

We have, so far, discussed the stone age cultures in the pre-historic period of Rajasthan, and, now, we come to Proto-history which may be divided into three broad groups: (1) Pre-Harappan, (2) Harappan, and (3) Proto-Harappan. This period is very important from the cultural point of view.
Various forms and fabrics of pottery were introduced. This phase is characterised by the introduction of metal, specially copper and bronze. However, the progress, and the use of metals was so limited that it did not affect the use of pottery. This phase is called the chalcolithic period. Formerly, the remains of this phase had been restricted to the Indus Valley area but recently many chalcolithic sites have been spotted and a few of them have been unearthed in Rajasthan, which yield valuable information regarding the culture of the people, and mutual influence and contact with other cultures. The use of metal gradually brought about great economic and social changes in the society. A large number of villages supporting agricultural communities came into existence in the southern and eastern region of Rajasthan, and also some towns appeared on the banks of Drishadvati, and Sarasvati rivers. People began to build houses of mud and baked bricks.

PRE-HARAPPAN CULTURE:

In Baluchistan, there were discovered several Pre-Harappan sites which were representatives of village cultures. These villages supported peasant communities who brought to India some of the elements of the higher culture from Iran. These various cultures are distinguished by their peculiar traits such as pottery and burial custom. These cultures have mutual contact among themselves and flourished probably between 3500 B.C. and 3000. The pre-Harappan culture in India seems to have been brought by these communities.

In Rajasthan, the traces of pre-Harappan cultures are found on the banks of the rivers Sarasvati and Drishadvati. Because of the fertile soil of this area, it was colonized first by the pre-Harappans, later by the Harappans, and afterwards by several communities coming from the North-West. At Kālibangān1, one of the principal sites of this area, pre-Harappan deposits with five structural phases and distinctive

pottery have been discovered. It is held by some that the pottery discovered at Kālibangān is similar to that of pre-defence deposits at Harappā, and at Kot-Dijī in Sind. It seems that like the Kot-Dijians, the people of Kālibangān possessed a developed culture from which the Harappans borrowed certain ideas including the systems of town-planning and fortification. The pottery of the pre-Harappans is marked by unslipped dull red fabric painted over in black pigment with a broad and a series of narrow bands subjoined or intervened by loops along the neck and shoulder.

HARAPPAN CULTURE:

The Harappan culture, which flourished in the third millenia B.C., was the most extensive one with many metropolitan centres in different parts of India such as the Punjab, Kathiawar, Rajasthan and U.P. Among the large number of Harappan sites in Drishadvatī and Sarasvati valleys, the principal one is Kālibangān. On the lower levels, there was the pre-Harappan culture, but on the upper levels, there are traces of the Harappan culture.

The excavations carried out at Kālibangān1 show the characteristic Harappan well-oriented roads, and houses and drains alongside, a sure sign of town-planning. Among the typical house-hold objects, the pottery deserves special mention. There are wares both plain as well as painted. Typical food dishes and goblets with narrow dishes have been found. There are some potsherds which bear one or more symbols of Harappan script. The other finds of typical Harappan culture are terracotta figurines of animals, birds, and human beings.

Besides, there are other things, all typical of the Harappan culture, for example, the steatite seals with some inscription and, often an animal figure on one side and a perforated knob on the other, impressions of such seals on clay, fired or otherwise, which also bore on the opposite side

 impresions on reeds and knotted twine, beads including segmented ones of faience, etched ones of carnelian and disc-shaped ones of steatite, bangles of terracotta faience and shell, blades, plain or serrated, cores and weights of chert, gamesmen of chert and terracotta and implements of copper. All these finds leave no doubt that it is true Harappan culture and not an offshoot, or survival thereof that is represented in the Indus valley.

In the second or the first millennium B.C., Rajasthan became a junction of many chalcolithic cultures. The archaeological excavations and exploration conducted in various parts of Rajasthan give us some idea about the mutual relationship of these cultures. These chalcolithic cultures are characterised by the particular type of pottery which the bearer of these cultures used. There are some cultures which had their epicentre in Rajasthan, but influenced also the cultures of the neighbouring provinces. At the same time, there are cultures, which had their stronghold out-side Rajasthan, but here they are found only in incidental form.

ĀHĀR CULTURE:

In south-east Rajasthan in the valley of the Banās and the Chambal, R.C. Agrawal brought to light a culture, which by its characteristic pottery, is known as the Painted Black and Red or Cream or Āhār culture after the type site Āhār in the city of Udaipur.1 Since then, a large number of sites have been discovered but the extent of the culture seems to be confined to south-eastern Rajasthan2, comprising the Districts of Udaipur, Chitor and Bhilwara. But the ware or its variants had also reached Nāgdā, Nāvdaṭoli on the Nar-mada, Prakashe on the Tapi and Bahal on the Girna.3

Now, from where Āhār or this region derived this peculiar pottery is difficult to answer. This Black-and-Red ware is found throughout at Lothal. This means that the ware was known

to the Harappan civilization in Saurashtra. It may be that pottery types of the latter are different from those of the typical south-east Rajasthan but the inverted firing was known and practised by the Harappans of Saurashtra even before 2500 B.C. Perhaps, these people borrowed this technique from Egypt where the vessels first appear at Badari and Der Tasa and they are called 'Black-Topped'.

Āhār was chosen by man for habitation in about 2000 B.C. along the bank of a small river called Āhār, and conical and sub-conical hills girdle this area on all sides. Now who were the people representing this Āhār culture? Those, who claim indigenous origin of the earliest Āhār culture, should consider the claims of the Bhills who are still found in large number in this area. The other view is that they were foreigners and entered the Āhār valley from outside. And having once entered the enclosed valley, they continued to live on for centuries without much change, because the contact with the outside world was relatively very feeble. The continuous occupation after repeated destruction, and rebuilding for nearly 2500 years has now made the site into a mound which is nearly 50 ft. high, 1600 ft. long and 500 ft. wide.

It is difficult to determine the plan of the houses but they were fairly large. They were made of stone and mud. Their foundation walls are of stone. That masonry—the art of laying stones was known to them is clear from the houses unearthed in the excavations. One side of the walls of the house consists of stone-slabs which are comparatively better dressed, and uniformly laid lengthwise, and breadthwise in mud, so as to present a smooth surface mud plaster, but the other side is irregular. It has also been noticed that of the two parallel constructions, one enclosing the other, the stones of the outer area are not firmly laid, in mud mortar, so that they easily slip off, while in the other case, they are firmly embedded in sticky clay. The rubble stone construction seemed to have served as a foundation and partly as a wall on which the superstructure of clay or mud-bricks was raised. While building the houses, mixed quartz nodules and chips in the clay, with a

1. New light on the Most Ancient East, 1952, p. 34.
view to beautifying and strengthening the walls and foundations, have been used. The houses were roofed with earth laid on bamboos and wattel.

There are several types and varieties of pottery used by the early Āhārians, but the principal one is Black and Red ware which comprises small bowls, dishes and small globular jars. All these must have been used for drinking and eating purposes, but not for storing or carrying or cooking. Hence, these cups, bowls and lotās have been carefully finished with smooth, almost polished surfaces, both internally and externally and painted delicately with dots, oblique lines, diamonds, concentric lines in white in panels and otherwise. According to Sankalia, these small goblets also characterise the earlier and later Iranian and Baluchi culture. The fact that small goblets of similar type have been discovered at Tepe Sialk and Hissar and Shah Tepe in eastern and northern Iran may prove that there was contact between Rajasthan and Iran in early times.

Besides, there are other vessels of pottery such as large storage-jars, huge cooking-pots, and pans. Their tops or upper portion rim, mouth, neck and shoulder were beautifully made, but their lower portion was not only plain but intentionally made coarse by the application of sand, because, probably, the vessels were kept buried in the ground or because they were meant for rough use as cooking. A large number of roasting pans in conjunction with similar number of small or large flat slabs of stones with concave surfaces and round or plano-convex founders and ceushers leave an impression that the one activity of the pre-historic Āhārians was the grinding of grain and baking of bread. About the grains, it can be said that wheat should have been known and eaten. But it is possible that other grains including rice and cereals were locally known and eaten. They were also non-vegetarians, and relished venision (meat of deer). The houses were also furnished with chulahas or hearths for cooking. These are so large that along with large houses, they definitely indicate that these ancient people had large families, and cooked two or three dishes together in equally large vessels.

The total absence of stone tools and weapons in the excava-
tions suggests that the inhabitants must have relied upon copper or its alloys which is found in abundance in the neighbourhood of Āhār. This presumption was soon strengthened by the discovery of four flat socketless copper axes and a copper sheet both laid in pots, copper bangles and finally by the discovery of copper slag. Copper, which is locally available, was evidently smelted at Āhār from the very beginning of its settlement and, one may say, formed the basis of its economy. Probably, it was the magnet which drew the earliest colonisers at Āhār and other sites in the Banās valley and made them live there for hundreds of years until the beginning of Christian era when iron using people from the north made this mode of life unprofitable. The inhabitants must have had tools for chipping stone and cutting up the caracasses of animals they hunted, dressing their skins and piercing them with pointed tools for use as clothes etc.; so also simple knife blades and sickles of these might have been used for domestic and agricultural purposes.

On the available evidence, it seems that the Āhārians were poor. Among ornaments, besides a copper bangle and ring, occur large terracotta beads or spindle whorls; some of these are decorated with varied incised ornamentation such as chevrons, row of arcs, zigzag arches, etc.; the most remarkable being what looks like a stylised stag. Such decorated beads, are not known to figure in the Indus or any of the chalcolithic cultures of India.

**GILUND CULTURE:**

Gilund culture has many common features with Āhār culture as regards building methods, pottery toys, tools etc., because both the cultures flourished at one time in south-east Rajasthan. But, at the same time, it shows certain new features. Of these, a new parallel-walled mud brick structure 100' X 80', and another of kiln burnt bricks should be considered remarkable, for, so far, only the Harappan civilization is known to have boasted of burnt brick houses. Certain new types of pottery are also noticed. These show the cultural influences because of tribal or racial movements either from
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the adjoining region of Mālwa or from within Rajasthan itself.

Gilund\(^1\), also known as Bhagwanpura, is situated about seventy two km. north-east of Udaipur. The ancient site, which is located about two km. off the right bank of the Banās, covers an area of about 500 X 250 yards. It is divided into two prominent mounds, eastern and western, rising respectively to the heights of about 45 and 25 ft. above the ground. While both the mounds were inhabited from the chalcolithic period, the western mound seems to have been abandoned after some period, while the eastern mound continued to be lived upon during historical periods.

Four structural sub-periods or phases, all ascribable to the chalcolithic culture, were noticed. Of these, a large complex structure about 100 X 80 ft., having four north-south walls, was the earliest. It was joined at the southern end by east-west wall. There were two more east-west walls parallel to the last, from which another group of three north-south walls emerged. These walls are made of mud bricks. We see also zigzag finger-mark decorations on the plastered face of a mud-brick wall\(^2\). The second structural sub-period was represented by a mud-brick house. The structures of the last sub-period showed a kind of degeneration. The structure of great significance is the occurrence of a kiln-burnt brick-wall laid over a stone rubble foundation in another trench. Its dimensions of 36 ft. by 1 ft. 10 inch. make it a formidable feature of habitation. Such a building built of kiln burnt brick of a size 14 x 6 x 5 inches in chalcolithic period is not noticed anywhere except the Indus valley. Some of the houses, particularly those of mud or mud brick, were roofed with a mixture of reddish clay or mud, mixed with reeds and split bamboos. The houses were provided with white-washed earthen ovens and clay-lined pits\(^3\).

Like Āhār, we have a large variety in fabrics and types of pottery. Besides the principal painted black-and-red

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1. Ar., 1959-60, p. 41.
2. I. Ar., 1959-60, Plate XLII, B.
3. Ibid, Plate XLII, A.
ware, there were (1) plain (2) painted black, (3) burnished grey, (4) red and a few specimens of (5) polychrome-ware having black, bright red and white on a red back-ground. The Black on Cream, and Black on Red wares found in the upper levels and the rest were from the lower levels. The common types in the painted black-and-red and simple black were bowls and dishes with designs in white on either the exterior or interior or both. Among other wares, the dish-on-stand in the red and black-on-red, the high-necked jar and basin with cut-spout in the red ware, and the lipped basin and vase with strap-handle in the burnished grey ware deserve special notice.

Of particular interest is the large cut-spout basin. Such vessels were hitherto rare in India, but they were a feature of west Asiatic pottery. Fragments of strap handles and cut-spouted bowls have been found previously at Nāvḍātoli, with which Gilund seems to have had some contact. In fact, the Excavator dates Gilund between 1700 B.C. and 1300 because typical Nāvḍātoli cream-slipped ware with designs like dancing figures and spotted animals are found in the topmost levels of Gilund whereas at Nāvḍātoli, they figure in period I and II. It should not be forgotten that both Gilund and Nāvḍātoli might have got these from a third source.

Other objects—saddle querns and rubber, sling balls, beads of terracotta and semi-precious stones and steatite indicate the methods of grinding corn, methods of warfare and types of ornaments. Among the terracotta figurines are the bulls with prominent and long horns and games-men with a variety of heads.

Curiously, very few blades either of chert or of chalcedony have been found. This might suggest the real absence of the blade industries from these cultures because copper was plentiful, being more easily available. It should be mentioned that not only Gilund, but a site of Khurdi (Parbatsar Tehsil, District Nagaur) now in the heart of the desert with-

1. I. Ar., 1959-60, Plate XLIV, B.
2. Ibid, p. 44.
out any river in the vicinity has yielded a copper hoard. This includes a flat copper celt, barcelt or square sectioned chisel, concavo-convex thin sharp-edged Indian "parasu (axe)" like sheets, a complete large bowl with a channel spout. The last is identical in size with that more or less complete from Nāvḍātoli.

Amongst the sites, with black and red ware, mention may be made of Kadukota, Joashia, Dhelana¹, Amlī, Bihara, Kotri, and Pander² in Bhilwara District; Meroli, Bhagwanpura, Chhatrikhera, Pachimto³, Hingwani, Umand Nangauli, Bansen, Sirdi and Keli⁴ in Chitor District; Kotharia, Mangas⁵ and Darauli⁶ in Udaipur District; Chosala and Samelia in Ajmer District⁷; Agtari and Gondi in Jaipur District⁸ and Banthali, Naner, Ramkishanpur, Deopura and Lank in Tonk District. The pots were generally painted externally and occasionally internally in various designs with a whitish pigment, and the designs consisting of vertical and oblique strokes, concentric circles, chevrons, dots and interesting arcs.

An assessment of material collected from different sites indicated that the main zone of the Āhar culture was limited in the north to Bhilwara District, the northern most outpost being Kadukota. This tentative conclusion is based on two grounds. First, all the sites north of Kadukota yielded only a few fragments of the black-and-red ware of the Āhar variety in contrast to the huge quantities of that ware from the southern sites like Purani Marmi, Bhagwanpura etc. Secondly, the painted designs, so profuse on the Black-and-Red ware of the southern sites are distinctly wanting further north of Kadukota, there being only one painted black-and-red ware specimen so far viz., the one from Agtari.

1. I Ar., 1957-58, p. 45.
SOTHI CULTURE:

As the sites of Sothi and Nauhar in the Drishadvati valley have yielded the ochre fabric, it was called Sothi Culture after the name of this site by A. Ghosh. This culture seems to have flourished after 1200 B.C. More significantly, it characterised the lowest occupation of the Gangetic site at Hastināpura. This pottery was found identical with that likely to be associated with copper hoards of the Gangetic valley, though no copper was found at Hastinapura at this level. No doubt, at other sites such as Rajpur, Parsu and Bisauli, copper-hoards comprising celts, harpoons and anthropomorphic figures etc. have been found in association with this pottery. This fact proves that the people of this culture were well acquainted with copper. These ochre sherds preceded the grey ware and full development of urban life.

According to Sankalia, this ware is distinctive and a variant, perhaps degraded of the Malava ware. Some study even indicates that forms and designs might be pre or early Harappan. It is possible that the bearers of this culture were the refugees and the displaced persons coming from the northwest. These were semi-nomadic food gathering communities.

PAINTED-GREY-WARE CULTURE:

In the beginning of about first millenium B.C., a new type of culture known as Painted-Grey-Ware after the name of its pottery appeared. As the ware is grey in appearance with a core of well-levigated clay, and as painting is executed in black colour, it is known as Painted Grey Ware. A. Ghosh discovered about twenty sites of Painted Grey-Ware in the Sarasvati Valley, and one in the Drishadvati Valley. Its greatest concentration was in the Gangā-Yamunā Doāb, but occasional

1. Ancient India, X & XI, p. 11.
2. Ibid., VII, p. 146.
3. Prehistory and Proto-history in India, p. 197 (F. N. 125.).
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Sherds have been also found at other places in Rajasthan such as Chosala¹, Gondi², Bairāt³, Kāmn⁴, Noha and Bhagwanpura⁵. This may prove the migration of the Painted-Grey-Ware people to some parts of Rajasthan, and also the mutual cultural contact.

The vessels in Grey Ware are restricted in shape, being confined to dishes and bowls. The painted designs also present a limited variety. Along with the grey ware vessels is found an enormous amount of red pottery with shallow impressed designs, and with a base besmeared with coarse grits. Some of the red pottery are similar to types also found associated with grey ware in excavations at Hastināpura. Many, however, are the new types both at Hastināpura, and in Bikaner, and they, no doubt, represent the local creations of the Grey ware people.

About the material aspects of this culture, we have little evidence as yet. It presents much more primitive features than the Harappa. The houses appear to have been of mud walls; the use of mud-bricks, not to speak of baked bricks, is not attested to. The people ate rice, besides beef, pork and venision and knew the horse. The inhabitants used copper as their chief metal. It was an agricultural society in which cattle breeding formed an important occupation of the people.

As there is no co-occurrence of the Harappan relics and of the Painted Grey Ware in the region of Sarasvati and Drishadvatī valleys, the excavation revealed that the Harappa and Greyware cultures never came into contact with each other at least in this particular area⁶. The people of Grey-Ware culture broke new ground to build their villages and did not utilize any existing mounds for the purpose. They began settlement with 'grey-ware'.

B.B. Lal associated the Painted-Grey-Ware people with

2. Ibid, p. 45.
5. Ibid.,
the Aryans on the literary and archaeological sources. According to literary evidence, the Vedic Aryans were in occupation of the fertile plains of southern Punjab, and the now dessicated northern Rajasthan and that, as time passed, they moved eastwards into the Ganga basin. The Painted-Grey-Ware is found at all these places as past relics of the Aryans in excavations. The Grey-Ware with its affinities to that from Shah Tepe (Iran) may suggest the first wave of the Aryans who settled for a longer time in the Sarasvati valley. Since the Painted Grey-Ware is not connected with the relics of any previous culture known to India, it is reasonable to suppose that its authors did not spring out of the Indian soil but came from out-side as the Aryans. However, A. Ghosh advises against any premature judgement. According to him, it is premature to hold that the Painted-Grey Ware people were no other than the Aryans. It is also premature to say that the Aryans had nothing to do with the disappearance of the Harappans. Even if that be the future concensus, the possibility will remain that the descendants of the Harappans, after the end of their glorious days, lived somewhere in India, still holding to their culture, though, in modified form, to contribute its traits to the pattern of Indian culture either directly or through the Aryans or some other agency. Otherwise, the existence of the Harappan elements in Indian culture will remain unexplained.

The Painted-Grey-Ware flourished up to the sixth century B.C., and prepared the back ground for the emergence of urban life. On the technological side, the discovery of iron and its general use in about the sixth century B.C. brought about a revolution in the economic condition of the people. Another note-worthy feature of the period was the introduction of coinage. Punch-marked coins both of copper and silver as well as uninscribed cast coins of copper were started as currency. The introduction of coinage must have gone a long way in augmenting the trade and commerce of the period. For constructing houses etc., burnt-bricks were now used on a fairly large scale.

2. Rang Mahal, p. 145.
although the mud-brick, and sometimes even mud chords were also employed. Burnt brick drains were built. A considerable progress was also reflected in the art of clay-modelling during this period. Animal figurines and human figurines were prepared with great skill. Terracotta objects, beads, bangles and rings formed an interesting collection of the period. Painted Grey are was given up, and its place was taken by Northern Black Polished (N.B.P.), Plain Grey and Red wares too. The system of writing and the monolithic architecture started. All these factors led to the emergence of urban life after the fifth century B.C. in Rajasthan. The ancient city sites of this time hitherto known are Bairāṭ, Naliāsar near Sāmbhar, Rairh, Nagara, Nagari, Pushkara, Rangmahal etc.
CHAPTER IV

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF URBAN LIFE:

Urbanization, which was actually a great revolutionary change in the whole pattern of social and economic life of the people in history, was brought about both by physical and cultural factors. Its first appearance is noticed on the banks of the rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛishadvatī. Any how, these early cities went into eclipse, and it was not until the fourth century B.C., that urban centres again started. Even at this time, the process of urbanization was very slow. Only a few towns were in existence and their size and population was small. It was only after the seventh century A.D. when the Rajput dynasties built up vast empires, and established peace and order for the development of trade and commerce, that the number of towns and cities became more numerous and the degree of urbanization grew greater. At this time, there was a great expansion of the human habitation, and a marked growth of population because, the full potentialities to support the towns were realised. In course of time, the town became big in size consisting of several buildings, markets and streets.

A large number of ancient cities and towns came into existence from the earliest times to the twelfth century A.D. Some of them have existed continuously on the sites of their origin. However, there are sites upon which several cities have been successively built and destroyed as old cultures died giving place to new. There are ancient cities like Mṛttikāvati and Upaplavya which were once in existence as known to us from the Mahābhārata, but their exact sites are uncertain.

1. Mbh., III, 116, 11076, VII, 70, 2496 Mṛttikāvati was the capital capital of the Śālvas. Its identification with Mertā as suggested by V.S. Agrawal does not seem to be correct because Merta was made capital in the seventh century A.D. by Nāgabhaṭa, the Pratihāra ruler of Manaḍor.
URBANIZATION IN PRE-HISTORIC AND PROTO-HISTORIC TIMES:

The first urban revolution took place in the area on the banks of the rivers Sarasvati and Drishavati in about 2500 B.C. It was accompanied by great advancement in human knowledge and technical equipment. Noteworthy among these were a greatly extended use of metals, the invention of sail, the application of the wheel to transport, the making of pottery, the invention of plough, and the domestication of animals. These developments made a great increase in agricultural production, and it was enough to support the town. In this area, agriculture seems to have depended not so much upon rainfall, as on the irrigation projects. It is possible that hydraulic agricultural methods for irrigation, as suggested by Wittfogel, in other ancient river valley civilizations might have been employed at this place as well. At this time, there were only a few cities in this area, and their size was also small. The reason was that agriculture was so cumbersome, static, and labour intensive that it took many cultivators to support one man in the city. Like agriculture, there was also the difficulty of transportation and communication. These early towns seem to be the products of local increment of concentrated and intensive agricultural activity.

Besides, the fertile soil of this area, the nodality or route position is also responsible for the growth of towns. It was colonized first by the pre-Harappans, later by the Harappans, and afterwards by several rural communities, coming from the north-west. The archaeological excavations conducted at Kālibangān, one of the principal sites of this

Its old name was Međantaka. See EI, XVIII, p. 98. Upapavaya is another city of Matsya kingdom where the Pāṇḍavas transferred themselves from Virāta on completion of their exile (Mbh., IV, 72, 14). It was here that Sañjaya; the messenger of the Kuru, was sent by Dhṛtarāṣṭra (Mbh. V, 22, 1). Upapavaya does not appear to have been a capital of the Matsyas, as asserted in the Cambridge History of India (P. 316), but only one of the towns in the Matsya country.

brought to light pre-Harappan deposits with five structural phases and distinctive pottery on the lower levels. It is possible that the pre-Harappan people of Kālibangān possessed a developed culture, and the Harappans, borrowed town planning, fortification etc. from them.

On the upper level, there are traces of Harappan culture at Kālibangān. A systematic town-planning with roads, drains and buildings is visible. Among the typical house-objects, pottery is noteworthy. Typical food-dishes and goblets with narrow dishes have been found. The objects of typical Harappan culture are terracotta figurines of animals, birds and human beings. Besides, there are different kinds of seals, beads, bangles, weights etc. The Harappan script with pictographical writing is also found on some potsherds and seals. Such uniform features of Harappan culture are noticed in other ancient contemporary metropolitan centres, and they prove that mutual contacts had developed among them and they were possibly controlled by one authority.

The period after the Harappan age up to the sixth century B.C. may be considered the dark period in Indian history because people lost urban traditions. Generally, no traces of systematic town-planning are noticed anywhere, and people forgot even the use of baked-bricks for construction purpose. The old system of pictographic writing ceased to exist. The earlier highly developed urban civilization was succeeded by the rural culture of the tribal people and this change was probably brought about by several factors. The foreign invaders might have destroyed these cities. Feasibly, fire, diseases and famines might have wiped them out. Their fall, as suggested by some, was due to change of climate which brought conditions of dessication and forced the inhabitants to migrate to other areas. The aridity in this area was probably due to deforestation by cutting woodlands for fuel and other purposes.

The people representing Black and Red Ware culture lived in south-eastern Rajasthan comprising the Districts of Udaipur, Chitor and Bhilwara from about 2000 B.C. From the study of their material as discovered in excavations, it seems that they were culturally backward, and poor. In the
beginning of the first millennium B.C., people, representing a new type of culture known as the Painted Grey Ware, settled in the Sarasvati and Drishadvatī valleys. B. B. Lal associated them more with the Aryans on the basis of literary and archaeological sources. Gradually, these people migrated to other parts of Rajasthan such as Chosala, Gondi, Bairāṭ, Kāmān, Noha and Bhagwanpura as known to us, from the archaeological excavations.

**URBANIZATION IN EARLY HISTORIC PERIOD:**

The period from the fifth century B.C. onwards is very important as urbanization restarted. Several small republican and monarchical States such as the Mālavas, the Yaudheyas, the Śibis, the Ārjunāyana, the Maukharis etc. came into existence, and from time to time, they fought gallantly against the foreign invaders. There started a revival of Vedic religion and consequently, sacrifices were performed, and the Yāpas were erected. People gave up nomadic habits and began to settle permanently. Peace and order were established, and all these resulted in the growth of towns.

There were also other factors responsible for the growth of towns at this time. The discovery of iron brought a revolution in the economic sphere. Different kinds of tools, implements, and weapons were made of iron, and they all increased agricultural production, and facilitated transport and communication. As a consequence, different kinds of crafts and industries came into existence and flourished. Another noteworthy feature of this period was the introduction of coinage which stimulated trade and commerce. Some towns developed as mint-centres. The system of writing began to spread knowledge among the people. For constructing houses, burnt-bricks were now used on a fairly large scale, and, at the same time, monolithic architecture started. A considerable progress was also reflected in the art of pottery, and clay-modelling. Consequently, different urban sites such as Bairāṭ, Nalīṣar near Sāmbhar, Rairh, Nagara, Nagarī, Pushkara and Rang Mahal grew and came into existence.

There were certain particular factors in the growth of
these ancient cities and towns. Religion is one of them. Bāirāṭ was a Buddhist centre in the third century B.C., and therefore monasteries and circular temples were built. Push-kāra developed as a holy place and pilgrims from distant places came for bath in the sacred lake, and granted charities. Nāgarī and Nāgara were mainly the capital towns of the Śībis and the Mālavas respectively. Rairh flourished as a great commercial and metallurgical centre; and tools and implements of iron, bronze, copper etc. were made at this place. Rairh, Nāgara and Nāgarī also developed as mint-towns on account of the manufacture of coins. Rang Mahal and Hanumāṅgarh grew as route towns for the people coming from the north-west from time to time. Naliāsār and Rang Mahal became well-known for the industry of pottery and clay-modelling. Bayānā grew as an administrative centre in the third century A.D. under the Yaudheyaṇas. Jhālrāpāṭan and Gaṅgadhār prospered as they were planted on the banks of the rivers.

**URBANIZATION IN THE POST-GUPTA PERIOD**

The Hūṇa and the Ābhīra invasions brought about the destruction of the early cities, but still the period from the seventh century onwards is remarkable in the history of Rajasthan. New Rājpūṭ clans such as the Pratihāras, the Paramārās, the Chauhānas, the Guhilas and the Chālukyas came into existence, and they founded their kingdoms with new capitals. For security purpose, they also erected forts, around which, in course of time, towns grew up. From the eighth century onwards, the appearance of the Muslim conquerors undoubtedly caused the people of the neighbouring provinces to migrate as refugees under the protection of Rājpūṭ rulers to this region where they could pursue their vocations freely. The ruling chiefs also granted several privileges to these people for the habitation of new colonies which they founded. The emergence of the new mercantile community is important in the social and economic history of Rajasthan. Trade and commerce developed, and it naturally brought prosperity to the towns. The establishment of several urban
centres in the arid region of Rajasthan is a remarkable feature of this period. Both Jainism and Saivism made progress, and consequently, towns also sprang up around religious establishments. The towns became so prosperous at this time that they assumed multi-functional character.

Some towns became the capitals of the ruling chiefs, and there must have been some special considerations in the selection of these places as capitals. The ruling clans might have chosen these capitals at the very place of their origin. They perhaps thought of a place from where they could hold the population of their empire in control. Toynbee is the advocate of the law that capitals tend to migrate to the central sites of empires. Bhinmāl became famous as the capital of Gurjaradesa which included Western Rajasthan in early times. It seems that originally Bhinmāl was also the capital of the Pratihāras, but when their empire became extensive by fresh conquests, Nāgabhaṭa II shifted it to Kanauj in the eighth century A.D. Maṇḍor and Merta were made capitals by the Pratihāras of Maṇḍor; and Nilaṅkanta (Rājor) was the capital of the Baḍa Gurjaras. Jālor, Dīḍwānā and Śāṅchor flourished as the District headquarters of the Pratihāra kingdom. Kakkuka, the Pratihāra ruler of Maṇḍor, who ruled in the eighth century A.D., made Ghaṭiyāḷā also as a place of residence. He established a hāṭṭā or market which was adorned with streets and shops, and he built many houses. He invited the people to settle there and provided them with all the means of livelihood. Similarly, the Pratihāra ruler of Osia is said to have granted certain privileges to attract settlers from Bhinmāl for habitation. Nāgdā, Āhār, Kalyāṇpur, Chitor and Chāṭṣu flourished as the capitals of the Guhila Principalities. Dholpur, Nāgaur and Sāṁbhar rose as the capitals of the Chauhānas. Hathunḍi was the capital of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

In course of time, these capital towns became multi-functional in character. They became commercial centres owing to prosperity of trade and commerce, and consequently the merchants and craftsmen settled there. Some of them turned to be the holy places where magnificent temples and

monasteries were built. Because of royal patronage, these cities became seats of learning. As there were several officers to manage the affairs of kingdom, these capital cities also became administrative centres.

The appearance of so many urban centres in desert area is a striking feature in history. Some of them might have served as caravan cities. They were just like desert ports, served by its ships, the camel caravans. Nāgaur, Jālor, Sāñchor, Dīlwānā, Bhimāl etc. seem to be such caravan cities of the desert which flourished through the canalization of trade along particular routes in ancient times. After the ordeal of difficult crossing, caravans found rest and safety in some of these towns situated on the edge of the desert. Merchants settled at these places because of safety and security granted by the ruling chiefs. The rulers chose these places for defence purposes. Most of the holy places, where magnificent temples were erected, were located in the heart of the desert. The motive behind it was to safeguard them from the destruction of the Muslim invasions, which were too frequent.

How these large number of ancient towns were maintained in the arid area of Rajasthan is very surprising. The Pratihāra and the Chauhāna rulers established vast unified empires, and they must have enriched themselves as well as their towns with the booty captured during their numerous raids and conquests. They constructed palaces, forts etc. in cities. Just as efforts are being made for the urbanization of arid lands in different countries in recent times,1 similarly in those days, arid lands were also improved by various irrigation projects. As agricultural possibilities from the spot rain water are not possible in the arid region of Rajasthan, in early times, hydraulic methods of agriculture seem to have been employed by the ruling authorities. Big step wells, tanks, dams, and lakes were constructed for irrigation. All these required mass labour which could only be coordinated and disciplined under one directing authority of the despotic rulers. All these methods easily aug-

Growth of Urban Life

Mentioned agriculture to sustain the population of the towns. Mineral products such as copper, iron, precious stones, and stones for building purposes available in the arid region were fully exploited. The products of the arid regions, such as animal products, milk, milk-products, wood and leather were fully developed. Merchants earned immense wealth by their trade and commerce; and they utilised it for the improvement of the towns by constructing temples, tanks and wells.

Religious buildings and markets formed the nucleus of the settlement, and gradually towns grew around them. Dhamnâr was originally a Buddhist establishment in the sixth or seventh century A.D., and there were several monasteries and temples. In course of time, a town after the name of this establishment grew up near it. Similarly, markets situated on the cross-ways and on the banks of the rivers became flourishing towns. Shergarh, whose ancient name was Kośavardhana, (the increaser of treasury) became an important thriving centre of trade, industry and agriculture. Āhār also became a commercial town, because traders from distant corners came to this place for trade and commerce. Sambhar and Didwana became important towns on account of salt industry. Some towns were founded after clearing out the forests. The old name of Kāmān as Kāmyakavana proves that it was originally a forest. The old name of Vasantagarh as Vaṭanagara was called on account of the banian trees which are still found in abundance.

URBANIZATION IN EARLY MEDIEVAL PERIOD:

The great town-building era started in early medieval period, and as a consequence, overwhelming majority of towns grew up around forts, religious edifices and markets. Some of them became capital cities. As this was the period of opening new lands and new routes, towns sprang up at convenient route places. The enclosed wall became the essential feature of town-planning at this time. This was done for protection from external dangers, and at the same time to demarcate it clearly from its rural environs. The organization of crafts
and industries in different guilds became the noteworthy feature of economic life of the town, and sometimes the streets were named after them. The extension of the town by adding different parts is also noticed, and the population also increased.

A large number of capital towns were founded at this time because new kingdoms came into existence. The ambitious, and adventurous scions of the ruling chief carved out separate Principalities with new capitals. Sometimes quite new capitals were founded abandoning the old ones, when they were found to be inconvenient for controlling the empire. Ajmer, Ranthambhor, Nādol and Jālor became capitals of the Chauhānas. Because of its central situation, Ajmer was preferred even by the subsequent ruling dynasties to control the region of Rajasthan. Chandrāvatī Arthuna, Bārmer and Barodā flourished as capitals of the Paramāras. Sometimes, the ruling chiefs associated their sons, queens and other relatives in the task of administration by granting them towns and villages in Jāgir and by appointing them Governors of the Provinces. In course of time, the seats of feudal lords, and provincial Governors assumed the form of capitals. Such towns became cultural centres on account of the royal patronage given to scholars in their courts. They became administrative centres, when the headquarters of different offices were established. Merchants also settled at these places in large number under the protection of the ruling chiefs.

The Chauhāna rulers and others constructed a large number of forts at strategic places of their empire in order to keep the masses under control, and at the same time to check the foreign invaders. The towns frequently grew up adjacent to these castles. Some fortress towns were situated on tops and their sites were selected for reasons of defence rather than hill trade. Rānṭambhor, Naraīnā, Māṇḍalgarh and Jālor were the famous castle towns of the time of the Chauhānas. Tahangarh was the well-known fortress built by the Sūrasena rulers. Some fort towns were built in the heart of the desert. The frontier fort town of Hanumāngarh was built for the purpose of defence against foreign invasions. Some
feudal lords also set up independent forts, around which, in course of time, towns grew up.

A large number of both Brāhmanical and Jaina holy places came into existence, and generally, they are situated on the spots of natural beauty. Bijauliā, Harshanātha, Menāl Revāsā, Goṭārṣi etc. were the main Brāhmanical sites, while the principal Jaina holy places were Nāṇā, Mūṅgthlá, Phalodhi, Ābū, Maḍāra, Jirāvalā etc. At some places, both Brāhmanism and Jainism flourished side by side. These holy places originated in various ways—a hill, the memorial of a saint, the site of an apparition, a place of burial etc. The ruling chiefs, who were liberal in the matters of religion, favoured both Jainism and Brāhmanism without observing any distinction. The merchants also adorned these places with magnificent temples, and granted charities. These places not only served the purpose of worship, but they became seats of learning. They ministered to the needs of the poor and orphans. They possessed land and property to meet the expenses. A large number of pilgrims from outside used to visit these places, and several buildings were built for their stay. Markets and shops also cropped up to meet the needs of these people. In this way, a town gradually sprang up around the religious edifice of the holy place.

When commerce and trade prospered under Rājput rulers, new commercial towns became prominent. Originally, such towns started as warehouses at good nodal points on route ways, and on the banks of rivers. Some of them developed into towns when the proper protection was provided to them by the ruling authority. Craftsmen and merchants from the surrounding country-side flocked to these places for their livelihood. Pāḷi, Chandrāvatī, Narhaḍ, Jālor etc. were prosperous towns of the early medieval period. In these towns, there were guilds of craftsmen, and merchants. The merchants controlled the affairs of the town through the town-council, because of the influence of their wealth. So much was the influence of these merchants that even kings took their advice in the affairs of the State, and they were given high rank and position.

Thus, various ancient cities and towns came into exist-
ence, and they were named in various ways. As some of the old towns such as Chitor, Visalapur, Ajmer and Jaisalmer were founded by rulers, they became well-known after them. Some of the old towns sprang up around deities and they were named as Phalavardhikā, Sākambhārī, Ambāvatī etc. The old names of such towns such as Māṇḍavyapura (Maṇḍor) and Vaśishṭhapura (Vasantagarh) show that they were originally hermitages of saints. Towns were also named after tribes such as Bhillamāla after the Bhills, Nāgaur after the Nāgās, and Takshakagaḍha (Toḍā-rāisingh) after the Takshakas, a branch of the Nāgās. The towns like Jāṅgalakūpa, Rohim-sakūpa and Kirāṭakūpa were named probably after the deep wells, which are found in this desert area. The names of some ancient towns were originally in Apabhramśa language, but sanskrit scholars sanskritised their names such as Mahā-rāṣṭra from Mahārotha, Jabālipura from Jālor, and Satya-pura from Sāñchor. Sometimes synonymous names were used for old towns in inscriptions and literary works such as Ahipura, Nāgapura and Bhujanagara for Nāgaur; Padmāvatī for Pushkara, and Giripura for Duṅgarpur. Some towns changed their names under different ruling dynasties. Under the Muslim rule, Chitor was called Khizrabāḍ after Khizrkhan, son of Alauddin Khilji, who placed him as the Governor of this place. During the Muslim period, Sultankoṭa was the Mohammedan name of the new city of Bayānā.
Chapter V

PRINCIPLES OF SELECTION

The history of cities and towns provides, of course, a fascinating theme. But, incorporation of every city and town of Rajasthan in this small work is neither feasible nor desirable. Moreover, one, who picks up his pen to write a work like this, would find that the material is scanty, scattered and haphazard, and there are hardly any means to find out the population, dimensions and other details regarding the town, on the basis of which, any differentiation could be made. However, an attempt has been made here to lay down the criteria, on the basis of which, the selection of the cities and towns has been made.

CAPITALS:

It is presumable that such towns, as were capitals of the ruling chiefs, must be places of some importance and the influence of some of them continued despite changes in the dynasties, and ruling families. Sometimes, it is noticed that the capital was shifted from one town to another. Even the ambitious and adventurous scions of the ruling chief of the same dynasty are seen carving out new kingdoms for themselves with their own capitals. Bairat is famous as the capital of Matsya kingdom in early times. Nagarī (Madhyamikā) and Nagara (Mālava Nagara) were the capitals of Śibi and Mālava republics respectively, even before the Christian Era. Kāmān and Bayānā were the seats of the Śūrasenas from the sixth century to the twelfth century A.D. Kalyāṇpur (Kishkindhā), Chāṭsū and Dhoḍ were the early capitals of the Guhīlas. The Guhīlas made Nāgdā, Āhār and Chitor their capitals one after another. Sāmantasimha separated from the main line, and founded his capital at Barodā in the twelfth century A.D. One of his successors Dūṅgarasimha transferred it to Dūṅgarpur, or Giripura in about 1358 A.D. The Chauhānas seem to have
originally settled at Śākambhārī in the seventh century A.D., but they shifted their capital to Ajmer in the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. After the defeat of Prithvirāja III at the hands of Muslims in 1193 A.D., his son Govinda made Raṇthambhor his capital. The Chauhānas also ruled at Dholpur in the ninth century A.D. Lakshmanā, the son of Vākpatirāja, established his capital at Nādol in the tenth century A.D. Ālhaṇa’s youngest son named Kīrtipāla, who was a man of ambitious and adventurous nature, captured Jālor from the Paramāras in 1181 A.D. and made it his capital. Maṇḍor was the capital of the Pratiharas from the sixth century A.D. Nāgabhaṭṭa, one of the ancestors of Bāuka, made Mertā his capital in the seventh century A.D. In the tenth century A.D., Rājorgarh was a seat of the government of the Bāḍa Gurjara rulers. In the thirteenth century A.D., Matsyadeva founded a new capital named Māchārī. Arthuṇā and Chandrāvati were famous as the capitals of the Paramāras. Hathanḍī was the capital of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the tenth century A.D. The Bhāṭtīs first made Lodorvā their capital in the tenth century A.D. but afterwards, they transferred it to Jaisalmer in the twelfth century A.D. Āmber and Kheḍa were the old capitals of the Kachhāvāhas of Jaipur and the Rāṭhors of Jodhpur, respectively.

FORTS OR STRONGHOLDS:

In early times, the rulers used to search out sites for building their castles at places, where they could feel safe from the strategic point of view. In course of time, towns grew up around them. The fort of Hanumān garh (Bhaṭner) is well-known. The famous fort of Chitor is known to have been built by the Mori ruler Chitrāṅgada in the seventh century A.D. The Chauhāna rulers of Rajasthan faced fearful odds for the protection of their country against the Muslims. Most of the forts at places such as Ajmer, Raṇthambhor, Māṇdalgargh, Nāgaur and Jālor were built during their reign. Once, Narainā was also a great centre of defence. Its military importance is proved both from the literary and epigraphical evidences. In 1172 A.D., Prithvīrāja III is said
to have pitched his first camp at this place. It’s military importance continued even up to the time of Rāṇā Sāṅgā (1509-28 A.D.), who mentions it in the list of great fortresses, which in his view were inaccessible and impregnable. The foundation of the famous fort named Tahangarh, situated amidst the tangled hills and rugged forests, is ascribed to the Yādava king Tahanapāla, who lived in the eleventh century A.D.

PROVINCIAL AND DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS:

There were certain places, which though were not capitals, flourished as the headquarters of the Maṇḍalas (Provinces) and Vīshayas (Districts). From the Daulatpurā copper plate probably dated 843 A.D., it is known that Diśwānā formed a Vīshaya of Gurjarabhūmi, ruled by the Pratihāras of Kanauj. In the tenth century A.D., Sāṇchor formed the headquarters of the Province of Gurjaradesa, when Mahārājadhīrājā Mūlarājā I, the founder of the Anāhilvāḍ branch of the Chāluksyas, was ruling. He granted a village named Varāṇaka in the Satyapura Maṇḍala to Dīrghāchārya on the occasion of lunar eclipse in 995 A.D. Sāṇḍerā seems to be the provincial headquarters of the Nāḍol kingdom of the Chauhānas in the twelfth century A.D. It was its western outpost in the Bhukti of Jāḥanadevī, queen of Kelhānā, ruler of Nāḍol. She might have governed it through her deputy. In 1158 A.D., Narhaḍ was included as a District in the territory of the Chauhāna ruler Vigrahārājā and was ruled by Vīshayapati. In 1179 A.D., Bikampur was the headquarters of a Maṇḍala including the territory of Phalavardhikā, and it was ruled by Rāṇā Kaṭiā, a Paramāra feudatory of Prithvirājá Chauhāna III of Ajmer. Revasā, whose old

1. KB, p. 25.
4. Ibid, X, p. 78.
7. JRAS, XI, p. 85.
name was Khaluvānā, was the district headquarters in 1186 A.D., and was governed by the Chandellas, feudatories of the Chauhānas.¹

CENTRES OF TRADE AND COMMERCE:

Some of the towns situated on the banks of rivers and rivulets, at the crossings of highways, or at market centres, gained prosperity in course of time. Chandrāvatī, which was situated on the bank of river Banās, became a great commercial town, inhabited by rich people. The town Vasantagarh, which stood on the bank of the river Sarasvatī, was a prosperous town in the seventh or eighth century A.D. Āhār was frequently visited by the merchants from distant places in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. Pāli was a great centre of trade in early times, as it is today. From the Kharataragal- chehhapattavati, it is known that Bikampur and Narhad were wealthy towns in the past. Nāgaur became a prosperous town, because it commanded the route to the riches of Sapādalaksha and Marwar.² The old name of Sheragarh was Kośavardhana³ (increaser of the treasure). It was a thriving centre of trade, industry and agriculture in the past. The names of some towns with the prefix of Śrī may point out that these were rich towns in early times. Originally, Bhinmāl was called Bhillamāla. When it grew prosperous, it was called Śrīmāla (abode of wealth). The old name of Rāmgarh was Śrīnagara (city of wealth). Mālapurapattana is said to be the early name of Osīā.

PLACES OF PILGRIMAGE:

As a general rule, the places, which are centres of pilgrimage, must have been important towns or cities in ancient times. Pushkara was one of the most sacred and the oldest holy places of India. It was frequently visited by pilgrims from far and wide. The place now known as Chhoṭī Sādri

2. ECD, p. 296.
3. EI, XXIII, p. 131.
was famous for the temple of Devī known as Bhramaramātā in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. Sāmbhār remained a holy place on account of the presence of the tanks of Devayānī and Śaramishtṭhā, and the temple of Śākambhari. The place Sakrāi was reputed for the temple of Śaṅkarādevī. Āhār was well known by the tīrtha of Gaṅgodbheda, and Nāgdā remained associated with the sacred place of Ekaṅgajī. Śrīmāla and Varmāṇ were holy places because of the existence of the Sun temple. During the reign of the Pratihāras and the Paramāras, Harshanātha, Bijauliā, Menāl, Viṣalapur, Mūṅgathalā, Rājorgarh, Jhālāraṇātān, etc., became centres of Śaivism. Śaiva temples were built and images were installed in them. There were monasteries for the residence of Śaiva saints. Ghoṭārśī was a well known holy place because of the temples of Vaṭayakṣhinidevi and Indrarajadityadeva. Dhamnār was a great Buddhist centre in the seventh century A.D. because of the Buddhist caves and temples.

From the Sakalatīrthastotra of Siddhasena Śūrī, it is known that in the twelfth century A.D., there were a large number of Jaina holy places. The early Jaina sacred places were Sāṅchor, Āhār, Naraiṇā, Korgtā, and Śrīmāla. In the twelfth century, other sacred places such as Varmāṇ, Talawāḍā, Osiā, Pālī, Kirāḍū, Harasaur, Saṁḍerā and Khaṇḍelā came into existence. In the medieval times, some of the ancient holy places disappeared, while new ones were established. The most famous among them were Jīravālā, Phalodhi, Maḏāhaḍa, Nākoḍā, Pārśvanātha (Nagara), Rāṭā Mahāvīra, (Hathuṇḍī), Alwar Rāvaṇa Pārśvanātha etc. In early times, when lives of people were engrained in religion, these holy places were considered sacred sanctums and, therefore, greater importance was attached to them than to the metropolises of the principalities and States. On account of the constant visits of religious Āchāryas and pilgrims, these places turned into centres of trade and commerce, and naturally became prosperous.

TOWNS AFTER WHICH CERTAIN CASTES, GOTRAS, AND RELIGIOUS SECTS WERE NAMED:

There are certain castes, gotras and religious sects,
whose very names give an idea of their origin from the towns. The fact, that a particular caste originated from a particular town, points out the importance of that town. The Śrīmālis, the Osavālas, the Khandelavālas, the Naraśavālas, the Meḍatavālas, the Harasauras and the Bagheravālas originated from the old towns of Śrīmāla, Osiā, Khandelā, Narainā, Mertā, Harasaur and Bagherā respectively. Even the gotras such as Maṇḍorā, Ajmerā, Sāñchorā, Hathunḍiā, Chittoḍā and Nāgdā etc. indicate the social importance of the towns in early times. The religious Gachchās such as Maḍāhaḍa, Nāṇavāla, Jīrāvalā, Upakesa, Koraṇṭa, Saṃderaka, Pallivāla, Nāgapuriya, Kāmyaka and Harshapura in Jainism originated from the names of their respective towns. From all these facts, it is evident that in the past, these towns were of great importance from the social and cultural points of view.

DEserted towns with a glorious past:

There are certain deserted towns, which reveal their glorious past through their relics, and monuments discovered in the excavations. The importance of Kālibangān, Bāirāṭ, Nagari, Rairh, Nalīṣar, Rang Mahal, Maṇḍor etc. is known by the study of these sites from the archaeological point of view. Osiā, Kirāḍu, Jhālīpāṭan, Čandrāvaṭī, Bagherā, Kekind, Naḍlāi, Rājorgarh, Ābānerī, Atru, Baroli and Ābū may be described as the cities of temples. There are still extant beautiful specimens of art and architecture, which give us an idea of the culture and civilization of these towns.

TOWNS WITH THE EPITHET OF NAGARA, PURA, PURĪ AND PAṬTANA:

Those places, which do not come under any one of the above categories, but nevertheless they bear the epithets Nagara, pura, purī and paṭṭana after them, may be considered important towns. In Sanskrit literature, these epithets are invariably applied only to cities, and as such we are, to some extent, justified in concluding that a place, which bears any of these epithets, may be ranked as a town or a city. The places such as Jabālipura (Jālor), Satyapura (Sāñchor), Nāgapura (Nāgaur), Lodrapura (Lodorvā), Nagara (Viram-
pur), Bahādurpur and Pāli have been included in this work on account of the above mentioned considerations.

VILLAGES, HUTS AND HERMITAGES DEVELOPED INTO TOWNS:

The places mentioned as grāma need not be included in this thesis for the epithet usually denotes a village. But some places, which were originally villages, hamlets and hermitages, but gradually developed into important towns and cities, have been incorporated into it. In the beginning, Maṇḍor and Vasantagarh seem to be merely hermitages of Māṇḍavya Rishi and Vaśishṭha Rishi, situated in forests, but in course of time, they developed into great flourishing towns. The town with the name of Kheḍa seems to be originally a small hamlet, as the term denotes. Afterwards, developed into a flourishing and extensive town covering an area of about six miles. The neighbouring villages round it seem to have been the wards of this city in early times. Māroṭh and Harasaur originally seem to have been founded as hamlets by the Gurjaras, but in medieval times, they sprang to prosperity.

LOCAL USAGE:

Sometimes, local traditions are also helpful in the selection of towns. Such traditions are generally found in old towns. There are some towns which were prosperous at one time, but now they are reduced to an insignificant position. Besides, local traditions also throw a good deal of light on their prosperity. A few such towns are Chandrāvatī, Jhālārpaṭan, Narhaḍ, etc.
Chapter VI

HISTORY OF SELECTED CITIES AND TOWNS

The cities and towns are not the products of modern civilization; but they existed in Ancient India too. The excavations at Mohen-jo-daro, and Harappā, Kālibangān and other sites prove that Indians were acquainted with cities and city life from early times. The old ruins of the towns with a systematic planning, having markets, roads, solid commodious houses of bricks equipped with drainage-system, bath-rooms, wells and other amenities, and arts and crafts of the people give us a perfect picture of the highly developed civilization of early age. The Buddhist and Jaina canonical literature confirms the existence of a large number of cities such as Rājagrīha, Śrāvastī, Vārāṇasī, Kapilavastu, Kuśinagara, Sārnāth and Pāṭaliputra in the fifth century B.C. The Greek accounts also testify to the existence of a pretty good number of towns, all rich and prosperous, in Sind and Punjāb, at the time of Alexander's invasion. The archaeological excavations also brought to light some early centres of culture and civilization.

SECTION A

EARLY CITIES AND TOWNS

The number of early cities and towns in Rajasthan was comparatively less than those in other parts of India. The reason evidently seems to be that Rajasthan was an arid and dry region, and its lands were devoid of natural gifts. This, naturally encumbered the growth and progress of towns. There are no definite sources of information regarding early towns. The literary sources give a little information of only two or three towns such as Pushkara, Bairāṭ and Nagarī (Madhyamikā). Of course, archaeological sources, viz., inscriptions, coins and monuments provide a good deal of
material. In this section, we shall discuss the towns existing before the sixth century A.D.

(1) KĀLIBANGĀN

The recent explorations and excavations clearly proved that Harappan civilization was not confined to the Indus Valley, but it covered a wide area with many metropolitan centres such as Rupar in the East Punjab, Kālibangān in North Rajasthan, Alamgirpur in Uttarapradesh and Rangpur, Lothal and Somanāthā in Gujarat. AUREL STEIN¹ had already shown the existence of a number of Harappan and allied sites along the banks of Sarasvatī and Drīshadvatī now known as the Ghaggar in 1941. This view was confirmed by A. GHOSH² when he undertook exploration of this site, and conducted trial excavation in 1950 and 1953. Among these, a site called Kālibangān on the southern bank of the Ghaggar in Ganganagar District is important.

The site of Kālibangān got special archaeological importance, because pre-Harappan and Harappan deposits were discovered at this place. The date of pre-Harappan Culture goes to about 2500 B.C., and it seems to have survived for about one hundred years. The Harappan settlement with nine successive building phases endured for about three hundred years or so, and came to an end in the beginning of the second millennium B.C.³

The pre-Harappan Culture of Kālibangān has peculiar characteristics as it is clear from its deposits which included fortification wall, houses, pottery and other objects. The pre-Harappan settlement at the site was enclosed by a mud-brick fortification⁴ of which two principal structural phases were recognized on the southern, western and northern sides. The earlier of these, was, on an average, 1.90 m. wide, while the latter, being substantially widened on the inner side, ranged between 3.70 and 4.10 m. wide. Houses were built of mud-

2. A Bulletin of the National Institute of Science in India, No. 1.
Cities of Rajasthan

bricks sometimes separated by lanes.\(^1\) Bricks used were mostly of the size of \(30 \times 20 \times 10\) cm. A pre-Harappan baked-brick drain\(^2\) with two courses was also found. It proves the possibility of the use of baked-bricks by the pre-Harappans.

The distinguishing feature of this earlier culture was also the pottery which was wheel made. It is generally light and thin in fabric, and red to pinkish in colour, over a slipless dull surface, mainly on the neck and shoulder. The designs are both geometrical and naturalistic vessels with rusticated lower parts, basins with designs obtusely incised or finally combed on the interior and vases with cord impression on the exterior are other features. It is held by some scholars that this pottery is similar to that of the pre-defence deposits at Harappā and Kot-Diji in Sind.

The other finds\(^3\) of this culture included blades, sometimes saw-edged, and terracotta bangles, both circular and quadrangular in section, and beads including those of steatite (disk). Copper or bronze was exceedingly rare, only one indeterminate fragment being found in the late levels of this culture.

Pre-Harappans and Harappans also came into mutual contact at Kālibangān, as there is an overlapping of the pre-Harappan, and the Harappan cultures.\(^4\) The Harappans co-lived with the local population not only on the same site but possibly in the same houses, for the two sets of pottery are found mixed up. They probably borrowed certain artistic and other ideas including the system of town-planning. Besides the Harappan and pre-Harappan pottery, a buff-slipped ware, commonly showing horizontal bands, was found within these overlapping levels. Another noteworthy element was terracotta bull with elongated body, and block or joined legs.

At Kālibangān, the Harappan settlement comprised two parts, the western of which was the walled acropolis and

1. I. Ar. 1961-62, Pls. LXI and LXII B.
4. Ibid, p. 76.
the eastern the township proper with the usual criss-cross street pattern. This mud brick wall was built by the Harappans after their arrival on the site, and this presumably served as the citadel. It consisted of two separately—patterned parts. They used the extant tops of the earlier fortification wall both on the northern and the western sides for raising their citadel fortification. On the southern and the eastern sides, the Harappans did not follow the alignment of the pre-Harappans, but built their fortification walls to restrict the enclosed area within narrow limits. It would appear, therefore, that while the northern and the western sides of the citadel wall were defined by the outline of the pre-Harappan fortification-wall as also the river front; the southern, the bipartite division and the eastern sides were built by the Harappans to conform to the set plan, including the size of their citadel. There is a gateway about the middle of the fortification wall on the northern side. The width of the gateway is 3.7 m. A room measuring 2.8 x 2m. and situated on the interior of the southern flank of the gateway, seems to have been a guard room.

Just like Harappā and Mohen-jo-dāro, a definite system of town-planning was followed at Kālibangān. The streets and lakes ran approximately north-south and east-west, and the houses were built roughly along the cardinal directions. The material used for metalling the road-surface notably in the upper levels was terracotta nodules. Four Harappan platforms came to light. There were regular passages in between the platforms. Burnt brick drains and soakage jars were provided for the disposal of dirty water and dirty material both in the houses and streets. Sometimes wooden drains were also used in streets. The use of timber, scooped in a U-shaped manner, for drains is noteworthy.

The houses were constructed with a definite plan in a straight line along the street. The house walls nearer the 'city walls' on the eastern and western sides followed the

1. I. Ar. 1965-66, p. 76.
2. Ibid, 1957-68, p. 44.
3. Ibid, p. 45.
alignment of the latter, and the house-walls nearer the streets those of the street themselves. These houses were built of mud bricks, which were placed in regular courses of headers and stretchers. They bore-mud-plasters. The houses seem to have comprised, besides a courtyard, at least four or five large-sized rooms along with a few smaller ones. On the exterior were sometimes added small mud platforms having mud brick facing. Entrance to one of the houses was found from the lane. The entrance opened into a corridor which in turn led to a courtyard. There was no evidence of any entrance from the corridor into the side rooms. The rooms varied in dimensions, the biggest and smallest being 3 x 2 m. and 2 x 1 m. respectively. The rooms were interconnected through doorways. The width of the door varied from 70 cm. to 75 cm. A single socket on the sill of the entrance to the room suggests that probably single-leaf doors were used.

The floors, made of rammed clay, were paved with terracotta nodules interspersed with fairly large bits of charcoal. The floor was also paved with either burnt bricks or terracotta cakes evidently to prevent it from getting slushy due to the water that was expected to fall there. In one of the rooms of a house was found a tile-flooring showing the typically Indus design of intersecting circles. The wooden rafters embedded in mud might have supported with a cushioning of reeds a flat mud roof.

The discovery of what look like fire altars with a central 'stele' in the Harappan levels throws fresh light on the rituals practised by the people. On the western mound, a row of these altars occurred on a mud-brick platform, and not far off were a well and a bath-platform—the whole picture being that of an area specially marked out for religious purposes.

Among the house-hold objects, the typical Harappan pottery, both plain and painted, deserve special mention. There are terracotta figurines of animals, birds, and human

1. I. Ar. 1967-68, p. 44.
3. Indian Archaeology since Independence, p. 17.
4. I. Ar., 1960-61, Pls. XLV and XLVI.
beings. One is a small terracotta human head with a receding forehead, long, ovalish eyes, straight pointed nose, rather thick lower lips, and firm chin. It certainly recalls a similar head from Mohen-jo-dârô, although other features are missing. Equally notable and charming is the terracotta figure of a bull or goat. There are also other objects of the typical Harappan character. There were the steatite seals with some inscriptions, and, often an animal figure on one side and a perforated knob on the other; impressions of such seals on clay, fired or otherwise which also bore on the opposite side impressions of reeds and knotted twine; beads including segmented ones of faience, etched ones of carnelian and disc-shaped ones of steatite; bangles of terracotta faience and shell; blades, plain or serrated; cores and weights of chert; gamesmen of chert and terracotta; and implements of copper. There are also some inscribed potsherds, and the overlapping of symbols on them clearly demonstrate the direction of writing from the right to the left.

(2) BAIRĀṬ.

Bairāṭ is situated in the midst of a circular valley surrounded by low bare red-hills which have all along been famous for their copper mines. It is 169 kms. miles to the south-west of Delhi and 66 kms. to the north of Jaipur. The area of this town is drained by two rivulets, the Bairāṭ Nāla, and the Bandrol Nāla. It is situated on a mound of ruins about one mile in length by half a mile in breadth. This old city was deserted for several centuries until it was rehabilitated most probably during the reign of Akbar.

The history of Bairāṭ goes to very early times. It is famous as the capital of Matsya country in the Hindu legends.

1. Pre-History and Proto-History in India and Pakistan, Pl. XII, fig. 70 C.
2. I Ar., 1960-61, Pl. XLVIII, A.
3. Ibid., Pl. XLVII, B.
4. Ibid., Pl. LIA.
5. Ibid., Pls LIB and LII.
6. Indian Archaeology since Independence, p. 17.
As the name denotes, the city is said to have been founded by the king Virāṭa, in whose kingdom, the five Pāṇḍavas spent twelve years of their exile in disguise. Even at present, there are strong traditions, as well as places sacred to the memory of the Pāṇḍavas. There are Bhīma Ki Dūṅgarī, where Bhīma is believed to have lived; the hill where Kīcchaka’s palace was situated; the Bāṇa Gaṅgā, which was brought into existence by Arjuna with his arrow, and the marks of the feet of the Kurus and the hooves of the cattle pilfered by them. This legendary account regarding the association of the Pāṇḍavas with this place is not reliable.

The material brought to light by the archaeological excavations and explorations proves that Bairāṭ formed a part of the Mauryan empire, and flourished as a Buddhist establishment from the third century B.C. to the first century A.D. The Aśokan inscriptions, pillars, monastery, circular temples, and other antiquities throw important light on Buddhism.

Two Aśokan inscriptions have been discovered at Bairāṭ. One is at the foot of the hill on Bhīmjī-Kī-Dūṅgarī, and is known as the Bairāṭ version of the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām edicts of Aśoka. The other was found near the shrine of Hanumānaji on Bijak-Kī-Pahāḍi. It is the only known edict of Aśoka which is inscribed on a stone slab as distinguished from a stone pillar. This inscription is very important as it proves definitely that Aśoka was a Buddhist. It says that he respected Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha, and emphasized both upon monks and nuns as well as laity to study the Buddhist texts. Indirectly, it proves that a large number of Buddhist monks

2. This is known to us from the treasure of 36 Coins discovered in a monastery; out of which 8 were punchmarked and the remaining ones were of the Greek and Indo Greek Kings. The coin of Hermiaios with his queen Kalliope, who ruled in the first century B.C., was found in it. No Buddhist antiquity later than the first century A.D. has been so far discovered. See AREB, p. 21.

Specimens of cast copper coins without inscription, a single specimen of one of the early Mitra coins and besides a number of Indo-Scythian copper coins have been discovered by CUNNINGHAM. See ASC, II. p. 249.
3. ASG, VI, p. 99.
and laymen were living at this place during this period; this is further confirmed by other Buddhist relics.

The ancient Buddhist relics found on Bijaka-Kī-Pahāḍī can be distributed on two distinct platforms, the upper one and the lower one. Both were provided by broad staircases to give access to them. These staircases were composed of bricks of unusually large size.

On the upper platform, there was a monastery of the time of Aśoka. The best preserved portion of this monastery was that of the eastern side,\(^1\) where a double row of six to seven cells has remained. These cells are alternately of larger and smaller sizes, the larger ones being each just enough to accommodate a single monk or nun. The bricks used in the construction of these cells were laid in clay-mortar. The white-washed plaster was employed both inside and outside of these cells. The gabled roofs were covered with charred wood and pottery tiles.

The remains of the monastery on the other three sides were even more fragmentary. The portion on the west side revealed a confused mass of fragments of walls and floors. On the southern end, no remains of the residential cells could survive, but that the general arrangement was the same as on the western side, is obvious from the long walls of the corridors that are still extant. In the northern wing\(^2\) of the monastery, fragments of only the later rebuildings have survived.

On the lower platform, there was an interesting Buddhist circular temple\(^3\) of the time of Aśoka, surrounded by a rectangular enclosure wall. The whole platform was not built at one and the same time, along with this circular temple, but the northern and the southern portions\(^3\) were added afterwards when the number of votaries increased. There was a circular chamber with an inside diameter 27\(^a\) 2\(^b\) having all round it a circumambulatory passage 7\(^c\) 3\(^d\) wide, and around it again a fairly well preserved encircling wall. The circumambulatory passage is paved with a thick layer

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1. AREB, Pl. III (a).
2. Ibid, Pl. III, b.
of brick concrete finished with a thick coat of lime plaster. The contents of this chamber consisted of earth, brickbats, potsherds and other debris.

There was an entrance on the east side, preceded by a portico two feet in depth, and supported in front on wooden pillars, charred bases of which have survived in square grooves cut into the floor of the passage. In front of this doorway of the central shrine were found the remains of a broader entrance 8' 7'' wide in the outer wall of the circumambulatory passage. The tiny terracotta beads with pieces of thread still remaining in their holes decorate the doorway.

The wall of the inner shrine is constructed in a peculiar style being made up of panels of brick work alternating with octagonal columns of wood which numbered twenty-six. The super structure of the temple appears to have been built in the same way as the existing lower portion, namely that the brick panels rose right up to the eaves and that 26 wooden columns supported a ceiling consisting of horizontal rafters laid one upon each pair of the columns. Above this, there was a gabled roof covered with flat corrugated pottery tiles and finished at the top with a tall pottery finial. This finial, which is broken in two or three pieces, has a plain tapering steam, the upper portion being ornamented with a series of horizontal flanges and terminating in an egg-shaped ornament. The circumambulatory passage was covered by an inclined roof supported on one side by the outer brick wall and on the inner side upon the wooden architraves of the pillars of the central shrine.

The two fragments of brickwork in the middle of the central chamber must have formed a part of the stūpa. There are small fragments from different parts of umbrella which surrounded the stūpa in the central shrine. The pieces of a stone bowl found here may have been the receptacle in which

1. AREB, Pl. VII, b.
2. Ibid, Pl. V, g.
3. Ibid, Pl. V, i.
5. Ibid, Pl. VI, d.
6. Ibid, Pl. IX. a—b.
the gold reliquary was enclosed and deposited in the stūpa. On the outside, the walls of the temple were inscribed with Buddhist texts in Brāhmī characters of the Aśokan period. DAYA RAM SAHNI observes, "This is the oldest structural temple and one of those which furnished model for the numerous rock-cut cave temples of Western and Eastern India." 

There are also the remains of one or more Aśoka pillars found on the southern extension of the lower platform. One fragment is obviously broken from the base of the pillar while another piece is broken from the summit of the shaft. The upper surface of this fragment bears the usual Mauryan polish and the Brāhmī letter 'ma.'

The thick layer of iron slag discovered in the excavation at the upper platform proves that there was also a smithy set up near the monastery for making iron and copper objects for the use of the occupants of the monastery and temple. Large quantities of iron cramps, nails of different sizes and large sized fish plates with nails sticking in their broad end had been employed in the wooden pillars and doors of the temple. There was a copper rod, thick at both ends, which might have been used as an ear-pick. An iron scythe with a broad curved blade was used for cutting vegetables or mowing grass. The iron screw rod of a cotton press and an iron pickaxe have also been discovered. An iron chisel, a reel of metallic ribbon, a single arrow head and a copper needle are the few articles of necessity which every Buddhist monk and nun carried with them on their journey.

The earthen vessels found in the excavations at Bairāt

1. AREB, Pl. V, c.o.q.
3. Ibid, Pl. VI, a.
5. Ibid, Pl. X, c & d.
8. Ibid, Pl. IX, h.
10. Ibid, Pl. X, b.
can be assigned to a period from the third century B.C. to the first century A.D. All of them are wheel-made and quite plain, uncoated even with any kind of slip. The only ornamentation noticed on these utensils consists of simple scratchings in vertical or horizontal rows generally around the shoulder or on the body of the vessels, a few of the sacred Buddhist symbols, e.g. the *triratna* upon the *dharmachakra*, the *svāstika* and the lotus rosette¹, the chain pattern made with the potter's finger nails, or plain incised lines. These vessels are all roughly made of coarse grey clay with a proportion of sand and mica and the commonest types distinguished among them are as follows. There are large pottery jars with round bases for storage of water or other provisions. Dishes with broad flat bases may have been used as jar-covers, or as eating dishes². There are *gharās*³ with nearly spherical bodies, and another type of water jar with a straight neck, and projecting rim with the rest of the surface scored with vertical or horizontal scratchings⁴. Tumblers or beakers⁵ with flat bases and straight sides were used for drinking water. There are several varieties of jars resembling the modern *loṭā* of different shapes.⁶ There are spouted jars for pouring water.⁷ Incense-burners with handles⁸ have also been discovered. A large collection of common pottery lamps with round pierced pedestals and others⁹ found in this area would appear to have been used to illumine the buildings on special festivals, e.g., the *uposatha* days. Besides, a flesh rubber with surface roughened with fine black gravel, the neck of a goblet¹⁰ and pottery finials have been discovered.

The only class of utensils that are made of a fine light
clay and coated with highly polished slips were alms bowls, numerous fragments of which were collected. These bowls had been ornamented or repaired with copper rivets and fillets and fine pins of copper are still extant in several specimens. This pottery is known as Northern Black Polished Ware, which has its focus in ancient Magadha, from where the Buddhist bhikshus took it away to the Buddhist sites like Bairāṭ. It was so costly that when it was broken, bhikshus could not afford to throw away a broken vessel, but got it repaired by copper wire or pin rivettment. It may also suggest that the ware had no adequate supplies at the local place.

Some terracotta figures have also been discovered. There is a terracotta figure of a dancing girl or Yakshi which has lost the head and the feet. The left hand rests on the hip, while the right arm is laid across the chest to support the left breast. The figure is naked except for a girdle of three strings of beads round the waist. Similar figures are found on railing pillars of the first century B.C. at Mathurā. Fragments of offering tanks with a tiny lamp or a bird perched on the rim have also been found. They are believed to be associated with the mother goddess. Another object is the lower portion of a terracotta pilaster consisting of a vase-shaped base on a triple pedestal and a semi-octagonal shaft above. Pilasters of this design are found in the Anantaguphā cave in the Khaṇḍa-girī hill in Orissa and on the gates of Sāñchī stūpa.

How, and when this Buddhist establishment was destroyed is not known. The Buddhist circular temple was destroyed by a big fire, because ashes have been discovered in excavations. The Asokan pillars were broken to thousand pieces and the Buddhīst monastery was also destroyed. According to DAYA RAM SAHNI, this was the work of the Hūṇa

1. AREB, c & f.
3. Ibid, Pl. XI, j.
4. Ibid, Pl. V, i.
5. History of Indian & Eastern Architecture, Vol. II, p. 16 & Fig. 271.
6. Fine Art in India and Ceylon, Pl. XVII, B.
7. AREB, p. 28.
invader Mihirakula, who attacked India in the sixth century A.D. But actually the destruction took place earlier because no antiquity of the period after second century until fourteenth century has so far been discovered at Bairāṭ. It is further confirmed by the state of Buddhism at that time. DAYA RAM SAHNI has pointed out that an interesting feature of the excavations at Bairāṭ is the total absence among the finds of anthropomorphic representations of the Buddha of any form or material which is in full accord with the view that the Buddha image was not evolved until about the second century A.D.

According to M. RENAUD, Bairāṭ is the modern representative of the Po-li-ye-to-lo (Pāryāṭra) of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, who visited this town in 634 A.D. According to him, the capital was 2½ miles in circuit. The people were brave, and their king, who was of the race of Fei-she, (either vaśya or Bais Rajput) was famous for his courage and skill in war. The place possessed eight Buddhist monasteries, but they were much ruined and the number of monks was small. The Brāhmaṇas of different sects, about 1000 in number possessed twelve temples; their followers were numerous, as the bulk of the population did not follow Buddhism. The identification of Bairāṭ with Po-li-ye-to-lo does not seem to be correct. There are no traces of the existence of the eight Buddhist monasteries in the seventh century A.D. This place seems to have been abandoned much earlier in about the second century A.D. until it was rehabilitated in the fourteenth or fifteenth century A.D.

CUNNINGHAM identified the ‘Kairat’ of the Muslim historians Abu Rihan and Firishta, with Bairāṭ and its capital Narāṇa or Bazāṇa with the ancient village

1. AREB, p. 39.
3. YTIT, I, P. 300, The Po-li-ye-to-lo of Hiuen Tsang may be identified with Pāryāṭra denoting the area round about Jhālāpātān. In the seventh century A.D., Buddhism was prevalent here at several places such as Kośavardhana (shergarh), Dhamnār, Khølvi, Bināik etc. where Buddhist monasteries and temples have also been discovered.
of Nārāyān, sixteen kms, north-west from Bairāṭ. If this identification is accepted, Bairāṭ also fell a prey to the invasions of Mahmund Ghaznī first in 1009 A.D. and then again in 1014 A.D.1 According to Firishta, this invasion took place in 1022 A.D.2 As a result, the whole town with its temples was destroyed, and the people were forced to retire to safer places. The identification of Bairāṭ with Kairāṭ is doubtful. This identification has already been rejected by Aurel Stein3 who locates Narāṇa in the Salt Range in the Punjab. It is possible to identify Narāṇa with Narainā near Sāṃbhar Lake which is mentioned in ancient Jaina literature as Nārāyaṇapura.

Bairāṭ seems to have been quite deserted for several centuries, until it was repeopled during the fifteenth century. In 1511 A.D., Śrī Rāja Maṇḍana of Śrīmāla caste installed an image of Supārśvanātha through Dharmaratna Sūrī4. In the long and prosperous period of Akbar, an attempt was made to revive its past glory. It is mentioned by Abul Fazl in the Ain-i-Akbarī as possessing very profitable mines. A mint was started at Bairāṭ by Akbar, and copper coins of Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzēb, bearing the name of Bairāṭ mint, are well known. During the reign of Akbar, it was governed by Bhāramala, a Śrīmāla Baniā. After him, his son Indrarāja, who was the head of five hundred villages, assumed office. He was a follower of Jainism, and erected the temple of Vimalanātha named both Mahodayaprasāda and Indrāvīhāra5. For its installation ceremony, he visited Hīravijaya Sūrī on whom Akbar conferred the title of Jagadguru. But on account of his old age, and some important engagements in Gujarat, he showed his unwillingness and sent his disciple Kalyāṇavijaya for performing this ceremony. Indrarāja spent a large amount of money over this ceremony. In the same year, his brother Ghāṣi Lāla performed the

2. TF, I, p. 64.
3. AREB, p. 40.
4. BJLS, No. 1134.
5. PRAS, wc. 1910, p. 45.
Añjanaśalākā through Harshakīrti of Nāgapuri Tapā gachcha. That the temple of Pārśvanātha was built by Sāhu Kābana is known from the Lāṭisamhitā written in 1584 A.D. Rājamalla, the author of this work, describes both the temple and the Śrāvakas of this place. He also composed the Adhyātmakamalāmārtanda and Pañcchāḍhyaśī in the latter half of the sixteenth century. There is a small brick temple which CARLLEYLE considered to be a very ancient building, but actually it cannot be earlier than the fourteenth century A.D.

Even after Akbar, Bairat continued to be governed by the Mughals. A man Mulla Khwājā constructed the Īdgāh, which was beautiful and elegant in its style of architecture. It was finally built in 1613 A.D., when Nūru-din Jahāngīr was ruling. Another construction of this period is a large and well built Mughal gateway. A copy of the Bālabhadrapurāṇa was prepared by Kuśalasirinha in 1675 A.D. when Aurangzeb was ruling. This town was also visited by the Jaina monks. The Jaina garden built by Rishabhadāsa contains a Chhatrī with the Charanapāḍukā of a Jaina teacher Lalitakīrti, who died in 1851 A.D.

(3) NAGARĪ

Nagarī, one of the oldest towns of Rajasthan, is situated eighteen kms. north of Chitor. It’s ancient name was Madhyamikā. The old remains discovered in the excavations prove that this town flourished from the Mauryan period up to the Gupta period. The punch-marked and other old coins were also found in large numbers.

In the second or first century B.C., Nagari was a place

1. JSP, IV, p. 246.
2. RB, III, No. 2.
3. ASC, VI, p. 102.
5. Ibid, p. 15.
6. RJSBGS, p. 223.
7. AREB, p. 15.
of importance. At this time, Gājāyana1 Saravatāta, son of a lady of the Parāśara gotra,2 constructed the pājāśilā-prākāra for the divinities of Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva, and performed an Asvamedha sacrifice at Madhyamikā3. The place, where the sacrifice, specially the Asvamedha, was celebrated could not, but be the capital, and the person, who performed it, was the sovereign, who alone was entitled to perform that sacrifice. Now, who could this Gājāyana Sarvatāta be? He has been supposed to be a Kāṇva King4. This view does not seem to be tenable, because the Kāṇvas were ruling over Magadha, with Pāṭāliputra as their capital. Their empire was not so extensive as to include the region of Rajasthan. Besides the ruler named Sarvatāta is not included in the list of Kāṇva rulers. He, however, seems to have been a local ruler of considerable importance because he claims to have performed an Asvamedha sacrifice probably in order to commemorate his victories against his neighbours. He may be a ruler of the Śibis, but this identification is not supported by any evidence5.

In the second century B.C., Nagarī was probably attacked by the Greeks, who were ruling over the North-Western India. Patañjali,6 (150 B.C.), the grammarian, speaks of Madhyamikā as being besieged by a Yavana king and refers to it in such a manner as to show that this event took place in his time. The Greek king has been

1. The identification of the Gajāyana family, to which the King belonged, with the Gādāyanas or Gōḍāyanas (IHQ, 1933, 797 ff.) does not seem to be plausible. There seems to be no more reason to identify the Gajāyanas with the Gādāyanas than with the Gāhāyanas or Gāṅgayanas of the Sanaka or Kaśyapa group. It is important to remember the fact that Harivamśa refers to a Kaśyapa dvija as the reviver of the Asvamedha in the Kali Age. The Gāṅgayanas no doubt all recall the Gaṅgas of Mysore who claimed to belong to the Kāṇyana gotra (A New History of the Indian People Vol VI, p. 248). But the equation Gajāyana=Gāṅgayanā is not proved.

2. Parāśara Brāhmaṇas are found in a large number at Pushkara.
3. EI, XXII, p. 204.
4. Ibid, p. 205. See also IA, 1932 Nov. 203 ff.
5. The Guhilas of Kishkindha, p. 41.
6. Matābhāṣya, 3-2-111.
identified with Menander, who invaded this town. His silver coins have also been discovered at this place.

In the first century B.C., Nagari was probably occupied by the Śibis. The Śibis, as known from the Mahābhārata, originally settled in the Punjab. When their homeland was threatened by foreigners, they migrated to Rajasthan, where they settled in the District around Madhyamikā. Coins of the Śibi tribe found in this area have the legend, 'majhamikāya śibi-janapadaśa' i.e., coin of the Śibi struck at Madhyamikā in a script of the first century B.C.

With the rise of the Western Kshatrapas from the second century A.D., Nagari seems to have come under their influence, as is known from the testimony of their coins. In the third century A.D., the Mālavas did not permit the Kshatrapas to rule over them peacefully. From the Nāndsā inscriptions (a place near Nagari in Udaipur District), it is known that a Mālava leader, whose name has not been fully deciphered, raised the standard of revolt and celebrated in 225 A.D. the Ekashashtirātra sacrifice to proclaim the independence of his republic. Curiously enough, this record does not mention the names of the enemies defeated, but they may have been none other than the Western Kshatrapas.

The Mālava rule appears to have been supplanted by the Hūnas, because the Jaina author Somadeva (10th century) refers to a tradition that a Hūna king conquered Chitrakūṭa, a place near Nagari. The reference here is probably to Mihirakula, who was ruling in 530 A.D. A fragmentary inscription of about the sixth century A.D., discovered at Chitor, records certain pious deeds (probably the building of some shrines) of Varāha's grandson who was the Rājasthāniya (Governor) of Daśapura and Madhyamā under the king of the Mālava-Rajasthan region. From the Mandsor inscription dated V.S. 589 (533-34 A.D.), it is

1. RIO, p. 111.
2. ASC, VI, p. 201. ff., See also I, Ar., 1957-58, p. 63.
3. EI, XXVII, p. 262, A.S. Altekar read the name as Śri Soma while Venkataramayya suggested it to Nandi-Soma (See IHQ, XXIX, p. 80).
4. BGV, p. 216.
5. EI, XXXIV, p. 55.
known that Abhayadatta of the Naigama family acted as Rājasthāniya of some ruler belonging to the Aulikara dynasty of Daśapura. He protected the region comprising many countries, which were presided over by his own upright councilors. The Rājasthāniya mentioned in the Chitor inscription might have performed the same functions. If Varāha is the same as Varāhadāsa, who was the ancestor of Rājasthāniya, Abhayadatta, the Rājasthāniya of the Chitor inscription also belonged to the Naigama family. This Chitor inscription may prove the rule of the Aulikaras over Madhyamikā. A chief named Gauri was ruling over the region of Chhoṭi Sādri, sixty-four kms. south of Nagari, as a subordinate of Āditya-vardhana, who appears to have been a member of the Aulikara family of Daśapura, and ruled towards the end of the fifth century A.D. But his relations with the Rājasthāniya of this area cannot be determined.

Madhyamikā was well known to Varāhamihira, who lived in the sixth century A.D. The Morī rulers took possession of this place probably in the seventh century A.D. In course of time, they transferred their capital to Chitor, where they constructed the fort. This place is known by this name even in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. There is mention of its name in the Vipākasūtra of Abhayadevasūri, who lived in the eleventh century. In a story about Chālukya Kumārapāla (1144-73 A. D.), Madhyamāpurī is located three Kṛṣṇas away from Chitrakūṭa dūrga.

Nagari was a place of great importance from the religious point of view. We come across the early traces of three great religions, namely, Vaishnavism, Jainism, and Buddhism. There existed cordial relations among their followers who erected excellent shrines to their respective divinities.

The early traces of Vaishnavism are noticed at Nagari. An inscription of the second or first century B.C. speaks of

1. CII, III, p. 157 (L. 15)
2. EI, XXX, pp. 120-132, XXXIII, p. 205, ff.
4. VV., p. 163.
5. JASG, p. 187.
the erection of a *pujāsila-prākāra* by Sarvatāta Gājāyana, son of a lady of the parāsara gotra for the gods Saṅkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva.¹ According to D. R. BHANDARKAR, *pujāsila-prākāra* may mean a stone enclosure round an object of worship to distinguish it from enclosures surrounding residential buildings. But this interpretation is doubtful. *Pujaśilā* and *prākāra* were two different things. Two things were erected in Nārāyaṇavāṭikā. One was *sitāpāta* for worship and the other was the surrounding wall. It was just like the *Āyāgapatiṇa* of the Jainas. In ancient times, temples appear to have been built in this form. The *silāpāta* was placed on the platform, which was surrounded by the walls. This seems to be the earliest reference to the existence of the Vaishnava temple. The next reference to such a type of temple is found in the Besanagar inscription. The Nārāyaṇavāṭikā continued to be associated with Vaishnavism, because there are letters of Śrī Vishṇu pādābhyaṁ² engraved in the characters of the seventh century A.D. on a stone wall of the enclosure.³ Besides, there was another temple of Vishṇu built in the fifth century A.D. An inscription dated V.S. 481 (424 A.D.) records the erection of a temple over foot-marks of Vishṇu by Satyasūra and his brothers, who were Vaiśyas by caste.⁴ Fragments of an āmalaka, the crowning member of a *sikhara* temple unearthed at this place and datable in the fifth century A.D., testify to the existence of the *sikhara* temple as early as the Gupta period.⁵ With the rise of Vaishnavism, there started a revival of the Vedic sacrifices. Gājāyana Sarvatāta also performed an *Āṣvamedha* sacrifice in the second or first century B.C. The Vājapeya sacrifice was performed in the

2. Ibid.
3. This enclosure is known as Hāthībāḍā, because when Akbar came here to reduce Chitor, he used it as his elephant stable. Actually, it is not a structure of the Mohammedan period. The high massive dressed blocks of stone piled one upon another into this structure point out to much early period.
4. ARRMA, 1915-16, No. 1, p. 2. See also PRAS. WC. 1916; p. 56.
5. KHT, II, p. 348.
fourth century A.D. by some person, and his sons erected a yūpa in order to commemorate it.¹

Along with Vaishnavism, Jainism and Buddhism also existed at Nagari. The Majhamikā branch of the Jaina church organisation, as mentioned in the Sthirāvalī of the Kalpasūtra,² became famous after the name of this place. Priyagrantha, the second pupil of Susthita and Supratihudha, founded this branch probably in the second century B.C. A Kushāna inscription of the second century A.D. mentioning Madhyamikā sākhā has been found at Mathurā.³ This indicates that the Śrāvakas of Madhyamikā might have migrated to Mathurā for their settlement. An inscription of the third or second century B.C., which states that something was constructed for the welfare of all living beings, has been discovered at this place.⁴ It may be either of the Jainas or the Buddhists.

The Bāḍali inscription, which G.H. OJHA regards as of the year 84 of Mahāvira Nirvāṇa Saṁvat, proves the existence of Jainsim at Nagari even in the fifth century B.C.⁵ K.P. JAYASWAL agrees with G.H. OJHA in its reading, but he refers the year 84 to the Nanda era, which was counted from 458 B.C., and thus the inscription will be of the fourth century B.C.⁶ D.C. SIRCAR takes this Bāḍali inscription to be of the second or first century B.C. According to him, this inscription seems to be a record of the pious working of an inhabitant of Madhyamikā, incised during the reign of king Bhāgavata of the Śuṅga dynasty.⁷

One stūpa has been discovered at Nagari. It is constructed of moulded bricks, and decorated with terracotta tiles of high artistic merit, rivalling those of the best kind in Gandhāra. These terracotta tiles are of three types: (1) moulded bricks with human busts, (2) moulded bricks with

1. URI, p. 55.
2. SBE, XXII, p. 293.
3. EI, II, p. 205.
4. URI, p. 54.
6. JBORS, XVI, pp. 67–68.
animals in profile, and (3) moulded bricks with floral decorations. The art of this place does not seem to have been influenced by the Greeks, but is an independent artistic creation of the Sibis.\(^1\) Actually, it does not seem to be the creation of the Sibis, as BHANDARKAR thought. It should belong to a period when moulded brick temples decorated with terracotta figures were in vogue. It is in the Gupta period, when we first meet with such stūpas, and temples.\(^2\) Scholars hold that it was a Buddhist stūpa, but there is nothing definite to prove it. It may also belong to the Jainas, because they lived at this place. Just like the Buddhists, they also erected the stūpas at Mathurā and other places. This stūpa was converted into a Śaiva temple in the fifth or sixth century A.D. There is a stone torana or arched gateway of the fifth or sixth century A.D.\(^3\) which was constructed, when the stūpa was converted into a Śaiva temple. Most probably, this conversion was done by the Hūnas. Mihiarakula, who was a follower of Śaiva religion, persecuted both the Jainas and the Buddhists and probably in his time, this stūpa was converted into a Śaiva temple.

(4) PUSHKARA

Eleven kms. to the west of Ajmer, and separated from it by the Nāga pahāḍa lies the sacred lake of Pushkara. It is one of the most sacred places of the Hindus in India, and hence it is called the king of the sacred places. No pilgrimage of the Hindu places is considered complete till the pilgrim bathes in the sacred waters of Pushkara. It is one of the oldest places in India. It is difficult to say when it came into existence, but as the legend runs, "Brahmā, the creator of the Universe, is said to have founded it. He (i.e. Brahmā) was in search of a suitable place to perform a yajña. As he reflected, the lotus fell from his hand, and he resolved to perform the sacrifice where it fell. Brahmā called the place where it fell, Pushkara or Padmāvatī after the

1. PRAS. WC. 1961, p. 53.
lotus." The *Rāmāyana* mentions Pushkara, and says that Viśvāmitra performed *tapa* here. It further says that the Apsarā Menakā came to Pushkara to bathe in its sacred waters. The *Mahābhārata*, while laying down a programme of *Mahārāja* Yudhishṭhara's travel, says, "*Mahārāja* after entering the Jungles of Sind, and crossing the small rivers in the way, should bathe in Pushkara." Some punch-marked coins have also been discovered at this place.

Pushkara remained a populous and holy town from the second century B.C. to the second century A.D. Some inscriptions of the second century B.C. in the Buddhist *stūpa* at Sāñchī mention the charitable donations made by bhikshus Tuḍā, Saṁgharakhita, Budharakhita, Nāgarakhita, Aya, and Isidatā (a woman), all inhabitants of Pushkara or Pokhara. It may be inferred from it that this place was as sacred to the Buddhists as to the Hindus. An inscription of about 125 A.D. in the Pāndu Lenā cave in the hills of Trirāṣmi near Nāsik mentions that Ushavadāta, son of Dīnīka of the Śaka dynasty, and son-in-law of the well known king Nahapāna of the Kshharāta family, visited Pushkara and gave in charity three thousand cows and a village. The Nāndsā inscription of V.S. 282 (226 A.D.) mentions that the tank at Nāndsā was the rival of the famous Pushkara lake near Ajmer in sanctity. From the *Vāmana Purāṇa*, it is known that Prahlāda, on his pilgrimage to holy places, visited Pushkarāyana. Thus, up to the Gupta period, the sanctity of this place remained as great as it is today.

According to local traditions, Nāhaḍarāva, the Pratihāra ruler of Maṇḍor, restored Pushkara *ārtha* in the seventh century A.D. Probably, it was destroyed as a result of the Hūṇa invasions. Nāhaḍarāva may be identified with the

1. AHD, p. 394.
3. AHD, p. 394.
5. Ibid, VIII, p. 79.
6. Ibid, XXVII, p. 262.
Pratihara ruler Nagabhaṭṭa of Manḍor, who established his capital at Merta in the seventh century A.D. He got the place cleared, and the lake restored by making an embankment on the side, by which the water flowed. He rebuilt old places, as far as he could find them and got built twelve Dharmaśālās (free resting places), and ghāṭas on the three sides of the Pushkara lake. Some portions of these constructions, which are known as Parihārom Kī Sāla, are still surviving today.

The Chauhāna rulers specially remained associated with Pushkara. The Prithvirājavijaya, the Hammīramahākāvya, and the Surjanacharita regarded Pushkara as the birth place of Chahamāna, the founder of the dynasty. Chandana’s queen Rudrāṇi, known also as Āṭmaprabhā on account of her yogic powers, laid the foundation of some religious buildings at Pushkara tīrtha about the close of the ninth century A.D. She is said to have lighted one thousand lamps daily before the liṅgams at Pushkara. An inscription of the tenth century A.D. records the construction of a temple of Vishnu by a Brāhmaṇa named Rudrāditya at Pushkara during the reign of Vākpatirāja. This record appears to be of the Chauhāna ruler Vākapiṭa’s reign. Vākpatirāja was probably a Śaiva. He built at Pushkara a temple for the god Śiva which was in existence up to Prithvirāja III’s reign.

The Harsha temple inscription of 973 A.D. mentions a grant by the Chauhāna king Simharāja of four villages to the temple of Harshanātha, after a bath in Pushkara. During the reign of Simharāja, Durgarāja was his local chief of the District around Pushkara, as known to us from the Thānwalā inscription of V.S. 1013. One inscription

1. EI, XVIII, p. 98.
2. PV, p. 109.
3. ARRMA, 1910-11, p. 2.
4. PV, V; 43.
5. EI, II, pp. 118-119 or IA, XLII, p. 57.
6. Ibid, XXXV, p. 239.
7. D. R. Bhandarkar wrongly read and interpreted the inscription. According to him, Malhana was the son of a person named Bhāṭa. The gift consisted of a portion of Khaṭa-Kṣetra. Jyesṭha Pushkara has been called Vishnudharmapūrāṇa. Pushkarasāmāṇya means belonging
records certain gifts given in favour of the god Puṇḍarīkākṣha (i.e. Vishṇu) worshipped at Pushkara by a Brāhmaṇa of Pushkara named Malhaṇa in V.S. 982, and the ratification of the gift by the chief Durgarāja of the Pushkara region in V.S. 994. The second epigraph records certain gifts made by the same Durgarāja in favour of the god Rannāditya (i.e. the Sun-god) worshipped either at Thāṅwalā or in its neighbourhood within the Pushkara region, and refers to gifts made to the same deity by a number of people, which were added to those of Durgarāja in V. S. 1013.

Prithvirāja I, who is known to have been ruling in 1105 A.D. over Sambhar, killed seven hundred Chālukyas, who went to Pushkara to rob the Brāhmaṇas. Prithvirāja I was succeeded by Ajayarāja, the founder of the city of Ajmer. When he grew old, he retired to the Pushkara-forest after renouncing his throne in favour of Arṇorāja. Arṇorāja made repairs to the Pushkara lake and built the temple of Varāha there. An inscription found on a memorial stone at Pushkara records the death of Thakurāṇi Hiravaḍevi, wife of Thākur Kothana of Gautama gotra and Guhila lineage in 1187 A.D., at Pushkara. The Hammiramahākāvyā in its description of Dig-vijaya points out that after seeking Vardhamāna modern Vadhwāna in Kathiawar, Hammira proceeded to Pushkara through Ajayameru. From Pushkara, he went to Śākambhari, plundering on his way a number of towns, and from that place to Raṇthambhor.

Even afterwards, the sanctity of Pushkara continued. In 1421 A.D., Rāva Chūndā of Maṇḍor granted the village Baḍalī with its boundaries etc. measuring twenty-to the Pushkara community. The year of Durgarāja's grant is Sam. 990. Durgarāja was a king who made a gift of his own in favour of Puṇḍarīkākṣha.

1. IE, XXXV, p. 239
2. PV, p. 111.
4. ECD, p. 55.
5. ARRMA, 1919-20. No. 5, p. 3.
three thousand bighās to purohita Śadā at Pushkara¹. From an inscription dated 1428 A.D., it is known that Mokala, the ruler of Chitor, defeated Firūz Khān of Nāgaur, and got himself weighed against gold in the temple of Ādivārāha at Pushkara². This inscription also points out that the territory around Pushkara was under Mokala. The temple of Varāha built by Arñorāja was repaired in the time of Akbar by Sāgara, a brother of celebrated Rānā Pratāpa of Chitor³.

In early times, Pushkara had been a holy place of the Jainas too. In the Jaina Paṭṭāvalis, Vamśāvalis and literary works⁴, it was well known by the name of Padmāvatī, and it was often visited by the Jaina Āchāryas. They constructed Jaina temples, and placed images in them. They initiated several persons to monkhood. By their inspiration, people led Saṁghas to holy places. There is a definite evidence of the association of Jainism with this place from the twelfth century A.D. Jinapati Sūri visited this place in 1168, 1188 and 1192 A.D.⁵, and by his persuasion, several persons took to monkhood, and their initiation ceremony was performed amidst great rejoicing. Even in later times, Jainism continued to survive at this place. Śrīśāra composed the Ānandaśrāvakasandhi in 1627 A.D.⁶ Dhanarājagāni wrote a commentary on the Mahādevidipikā at Padmāvatī in 1635 A.D. during the reign of the Rāṭhor ruler Gajasimha of Marwar⁷. This Praśasti is important, as it shows that the old name of Pushkara, that is Padmāvatī, continued even up to the seventeenth century, and it was under the possession of the Rāṭhor rulers of Jodhpur.

1. ARSMj, 1932, p. 8. The village Badali is situated about ten km. north west of Jodhpur. This grant proves that Rāva Cohūndāji died after V.S. 1478 and not in V.S. 1465 (1408-09) as stated by Tod in his Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan.
2. ARRMA, 1924-25, No. 6, p. 3.
5. KB, pp. 23 & 44.
6. JGK, p. 534.
7. JSP, p. 328.
Apart from this, Pushkara is equally important from the social point of view. Parāśara is said to be born at Pushkara. His descendants were called Parāśara Brāhmaṇas. These Brāhmaṇas are found in Pushkara, and at the places in neighbourhood. Even Gājāyana Sarvatāta, who constructed the Pujātilā-prākāra for the divinities Saṃkaraśanā, and Vāsudeva at Madhyamikā (Nagarī) probably in the second century B.C., was the son of a lady of the Parāśara gotra.1 The famous temple of Jinamātā of Śekhavāṭī has been under the possession of the Parāśara Brāhmaṇas for the last one thousand years. The Pushkaraṇā Brāhmaṇas probably originated from Pushkara and D.R. BHANDARKAR may not be right in regarding them as Parāśara Brāhmaṇas.2 Pushkaraṇā Brāhmaṇas and Parāśara Brāhmaṇas are two different communities.

(5) NAGARA

Nagara, a small fortified town in somewhat dilapidated conditions, is situated about twenty-four kms. to the south-west of Uniyārā in Jaipur District of Rajasthan. It is an extensive old deserted site covering an area of nearly six square kms. The hoary antiquity of this town is clear not only from its old relics and monuments, but also from the Punch-marked and Mālava coins which have been found in large number.3

Nagara remained famous as the capital of the Mālava republic, and after the Mālavas, it continued to be called Mālavanagara even up to the tenth century A.D.4 In the beginning of the second century A.D., the Mālavas of this place are known to have fought with their neighbours, the Uttamabhadrās of Ajmer region as well as with the latter's allies, the Kshaharātā Sakas of Western India.5 It seems

1. EI, XXII, p. 204.
2. PRAS. WC., 1909-10, p. 59. There is one ancient place more named Pokharana in Marwara.
3. ASC, VI. pp. 182-184.
4. BK, p. 271.
5. EI, VIII, p. 79.
that they began to recognize the suzerainty of the Western Kshatrapas, and the Kushānas for sometime, but soon they became independent. Their leader, whose name has not been fully deciphered, raised the standard of revolt, and celebrated the Ekashashṭirātra sacrifice in 226 A.D. to proclaim the independence of his republic. It seems that the enemies defeated, could have been none other than the Western Kshatrapas. From 226 A.D., the Mālavas continued to flourish as an independent republic. An inscription of 264 A.D. found at this place records the erection of a sacrificial pillar by Ahīśarman, son of Dharaka who was Agnihotri. Ahīśarman seems to be a Mālava chief. There started a revival of the Vedic religion in the third century A.D. in Rajasthan. Sacrifices were performed at different places. The Baḍvā stone pillar inscription informs that the Maukharīs performed a Trirātra sacrifice in 239 A.D. It is probable that these Maukharīs owed allegiance to the Mālava republic.

More than 6000 Mālava coins were discovered at Nagara. Scholars hold divergent views about the date and some legends on these coins. CARLLEYELE and CUNNINGHAM assigned them to a period between 200 A.D. or 350 A.D. at the latest. But SMITH and RAPSON thought that the initial date is not earlier than 150 B.C. and these coins continued up to the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. ALLAN seems to be right in assigning these coins to the period between the second century A.D. and the earlier part of the fourth century.

1. El, XXVII, p. 259. Altekar read the name as Śrī-Soma while Venkataramayya suggested it to be Nauḍi-Soma (See IIIQ, XXIX, p. 30).
2. MB, I, p. 38.
3. El, XXIII, p. 52.
4. ASC, VI, p. 176.
5. Ibid, p. 182.
6. GCIM, p. 162.
7. Indian Coins, p. 15.
These Mālava coins may be divided into three classes. The first class bears the legends, ‘Mālavānāmjayaḥ or Mālava gāṇasya Jayah.’ These coins have the vase, lion, bull, king’s head, fan tail peacock and other objects as their reverse design. The two other classes of coins are ascribed to the Mālavas primarily because they were found along with the Mālava coins and resembled the latter in fabric. The coins of the second class do not bear any legend while those of the third category have meaningless legends in which the name of the Mālavas cannot be traced.

SMITH regarded these coins as the most curious and enigmatical in the vast range of Indian Coinages. It is partly due to the meaningless legends on the third class of the coins and partly also due to the light weight and small size of many coins. He further writes that these peculiar legends on the third class of coins are the names of certain foreign rulers who issued them. ALLAN thinks that they are not names but, in most cases, meaningless attempts to reproduce parts of ‘Mālavānāmjayaḥ’. D.C. SIRCAR does not regard these coins of the Mālavas as genuine monetary issues of the Mālavas, but they were minted by the local goldsmiths in imitation of the Mālava Coins in order to meet the needs of the people. KALYAN KUMAR DAS GUPTA is of the view that these coins are of the Mālava Chiefs who belong to a non-Aryan Stock.

The name Karkoṭaṇagāra often applied to Nagara probably suggests that for the time being, it passed into the hands of the Nāgas. These Mālavas were contemporary of the Nāgas of Padmāvatī, and in fabric, the Mālava coins are similar to those of the Nāga Coins.

The excavations at Nagara reveal that in spite of the continuance of this city up to the tenth century A.D., its most prosperous period was from the second century to

1. These legends are as follows: Bhāṃhyana, Gajava, Gojara, Harāya, Jāmakā, Jāmaku, Jumāpaya, Magccha, etc.
2. CCIM, p. 162.
4. JNSI, XXIV, pp. 3-4.
5. The Mālavas, p. 19.
the fourth century A.D. as judged by the excellent town-planning. The beautiful Kaloin terracotta plaques of the Gupta period such as the goddess Mahishamardini, Indra-Indrāṇi, four armed Vishṇu and Kāmadeva, the god of love discovered at Nagara reveal the maturity of art. Not only coins but other articles of copper, gold, and precious stones discovered in the excavations point out the prosperous state of this city. There were fragments of copper rings and copper pins. The beads of different shapes and other ornaments made of precious stones principally agate, cornelian, rock crystal, garnet and amethyst were found. There are also pieces of ornaments made of conch-shell. Copper-weights of different shapes were meant probably for the purpose of weighing precious metals. The fragments of armlets and anklets made of ivory were also found in considerable numbers. All these crafts indicate that jewellers, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, etc., were living in this city.

It is usually held that the Mālavas of Nagara came to an end owing to the imperialistic ambition and expansion of the Guptas. There is, however, no definite evidence to support this view. During the reign of Samudragupta, the Mālavas were allowed to exist after accepting his (i.e. Samudragupta’s) over-lordship. It is quite possible that they might have continued semi-independent position during the reigns of Chandragupta II, and Kumāragupta I, because we have no definite evidence of their disappearance. They seem to have been actually destroyed by the Hūna invasions after the fifth century A.D. The human bones, ashes and the relics of a large number of destroyed buildings found in the excavations prove that this city was really destroyed by some sudden catastrophe.

Again, the glory of Nagara was revived under the Guhilas of Chāṭṣū in the seventh century A.D. It remained under their sway up to the tenth century A.D. In 684 A.D., Dhanika, the Guhila ruler, constructed a step-well for the use of his subjects for performing the abhisheka of Śankara,

1. ASC, VI, p. 183.
and for acquiring religious merit. It was constructed by the Śūtradhāras, Śūryavarman, Graha-varman and Gaṅgāvarman, sons of Graha-ḥātra, a Śūtradhāra of Bhilamāla (Bhinmāl). They were expert sculptors, and architects, and were efficient in the duties of Śūtradhāra. Such was the prosperity of this town that even the artists from the famous ancient city of Bhinmāl (Śrīmālā) came to this place for employment.

That prosperity of Nagara continued up to the tenth century A.D. is clear from the Mandkilā Tal inscription dated V.S. 1043 (987 A.D.). The name of the ruler in the inscription is not given, but he was simply called ‘Lokanṛtāpa’ (popular king). B. CHHABRA has identified him with Vākpati Muñja because the capital ‘Mālavākhya’ mentioned in the inscription, according to him, was Ujjain. On the other hand, D. C. SIRCAR holds that Mālanavarā should be identified with Nagara, the find-spot of the inscription, and Lokanṛtāpa may have been the scion of the ancient Mālava clan. It is possible to suggest that he may be the chief of the Guhila dynasty ruling at this time over this region. The Brāhmaṇas of this place were devoted to religion, and pursuit of learning. There was an eminent Brāhmaṇa teacher Indraśarman by name who was a resident of this city. The poet Vimalamati, a learned Brāhmaṇa of the Vatsya family, the son of Durlabhāraja and the grandson of one who is stated to be the fifth from Bāna, was a resident of a place called Rohetaka (Rohataka), but probably came and settled here.

This city contained various shrines and it was the abode of the rich. The members of the rich Dharkaṭa family of this place made meritorious deeds in the tenth century A.D. Nāgahari built a Vishṇu temple facing the east, with the image of Vishṇu duly installed therein, on the bank of the tank called Vaidya-tadāga. Nāgahari’s son was Vishṇuhari, and Vishnuhari’s son Nāryaṇa built lofty temples. Nāryaṇa’s son was Adyotana, and Adyotana’s son Nandana acquired

1. BK, I. p. 267.
2. Ibid, XXXIV, p. 77.
4. Ibid, XXXVI, p. 77.
fame by building temples and tanks. He is said to have built the temple dedicated to three gods: Hari (Vishnu), Śankaranārāyana and Khachara (Sūrya). In front of this temple, there was a store room and a well. Nandana had six sons whose names were Sajjana, Silluka, Sohila, Pushkara and Śānkara.

The prosperity of this city in the early medieval period is also confirmed by the archaeological remains. There are still some old temples of the early medieval period. The ancient temple called Vīram-Kā-Deorā belongs to the tenth century A.D. There are the remains of a very peculiarly shaped small temple, which probably belongs to the early medieval period. Fragments of images were found in excavating the interior square chamber of the temple. One of them was the head of a boar, a fragment of a sculpture representing the Varāha Avatāra of Vishnu. Other small fragments appeared to have belonged to Jaina images, while one single broken sculpture evidently originally represented Śiva and Pārvatī riding on the bull. These images prove that this small temple was successively occupied and possessed by Vaishnavas, Jainas and Śaivites. The most interesting ancient temple is that of Machchakaṇḍa, which was originally a Vaishnava temple built in early time. There are also two small figures of Vishnu in relief built into the interior side of the temple. One sculpture evidently represents the Boar Avatāra of Vishnu.

The remains of five ancient embanked reservoirs surrounding the site of this ancient city prove that there were proper facilities of water supply. They seem to have served in ancient times partly to retain water for the use of the inhabitants and their cattle and partly to serve as dams against the floods of water on the low grounds during the rains. The first is Banchorā Bāndha, and the second embankment is called the Datorā sāgara. The third reservoir is called

1. ASC, VI, p. 185 f.
2. Ibid, p. 190.
the Mandkilā Tāl. The last, and remaining embanked structure situated to the south-west of Mandkilā Tāl consists of two great embankments. There are also the remains of an ancient square-shaped baori well built of huge massive stones.

(6) NALIĀSAR

The ancient site of Naliāsar is at a distance of six kms. from Sāmbhar-Lake on the road going to Jaipur. The big mound measuring 2000 ft. from north to south with an average width of 1800 ft. and its height 40 ft. above the ground gives us an idea of the size, and habitation of the ancient town. Remains of several buildings and other antiquities such as coins, pottery, terracotta and shell objects discovered in ten trenches of the excavations expose six periods of occupation. These ruins give an interesting picture of the social and cultural life of the people.

The lowest period of occupation is ascribed to the pre-Śuṅga period. Two punch-marked coins discovered from this level of habitation may be helpful in dating the structures. The second level belongs to the first century B.C. The third, and fourth of the Kushāna period contain coins of the Ārjunānyanas, the Yaudheyas and one coin of Huvishka, and Antimachos Nikepharos. The fifth layer may be assigned to the Gupta period. The last level belongs to the ninth and tenth centuries from where six Indo-Sassian coins were discovered. While giving a slope to the walls of the main trench, two interesting silver coins, one of Deomedes and another of Kumāragupta, and 55 copper coins of the Mālavas have been discovered.

It is difficult to give an exact picture of the town and its buildings in different periods only with the help of the ruins. The strata associated with the Kushāna and Gupta periods contain the most solid constructions and the most artistic antiquities, and thus it proves that this town flourished

1. ARES, p. 20.
2. JNSI, XII, p. 54.
3. ARES, Plates II & III.
well probably under the republics who were ruling over Rajasthan. At this time, it was densely populated but it was not devoid of town planning. The streets and lanes are straight and the buildings have been constructed in a systematic way. Most of these houses had several storeys and therefore they were provided with staircases. Houses adjoining one another had no common party walls, narrow spaces being left between them for the use of scavengers etc.

We also find the workshops of the artists for the manufacture of ornamental pottery, and interesting terracottas, and of blacksmiths for preparing implements, ornaments and utensils of iron and copper. Three furnaces found were no doubt used for baking of the ornamental-pottery, utensils, cups, vases, pottery, tiles, bricks, etc. The remains of a large fire place, heaps of ashes, and charcoal mixed with masses of corroded iron found at one spot prove that it was a blacksmith's workshop.

All these structures are small dwellings except the one built before the Kushâna period. Many of these buildings have been constructed on the usual plan of an open central court surrounded by rows of rooms on three or all four sides. One of the best preserved among these houses is of the Kushâna period. Three separate sets of rooms are discernible on three sides of an open court, namely, one of three rooms on the west side, another of two rooms on the east side, and a third set of two rooms on the south side. There are two small rooms meant for store-rooms, and one for kitchen as known from the objects found in them.

An interesting pottery model of a dwelling gives us a general idea of the planning of the house. It comprises a miniature rectangular chamber with a gabled roof crowned by finials, large doorways with horizontal lintels in front flanked by high level windows, similar windows in the side walls, and pierced lattice ventilators in the back wall. One structure

1. ARES, p. 32.
2. Ibid, p. 33.
3. Ibid, p. 27.
4. Ibid, Pl. XVI, f-g.
5. Ibid, p. 27.
with a gabled roof in the shape of the pottery model house has also been discovered.

The usual material for the construction of the walls was sun dried and burnt-brick of varying sizes which was laid in mud mortar. A noteworthy feature of this site is the total absence of chiselled ornamental bricks which are so common on other historical sites of India. The foundations of these houses were built of roughly cut block of Jhajhra stone which is easily available in its neighbourhood, and they rise at places to two feet or more. The floors were made of hard morandi soil upon layers of fine sand, broken-burnt crucibles, which had been thrown away after use or of ashes to keep off moisture and white ants. This morandi clay was also employed for plastering of walls both inside and outside. Such plaster was found adhering to the walls of several structures. The holes in some houses were probably meant for nails. Some of the structures have been covered with the pottery tiles.

This town was an important industrial centre, and its artisans specialised particularly in the manufacture of terracottas, ornamental pottery, conch, steatite objects, and the cutting and polishing of such hard-stones as carnelian, white crystal etc.

Most of the terracottas found at this site belong to the Kushâna-Gupta period, and they are very interesting. Some of the terracottas were made of clay by hand, but most of them were modelled by mould. The handmade terracottas are rude, while terracottas from mould are very artistic. On festive occasions, these figures were special in demand. They served both religious and secular purposes. They point out the high aesthetic sense of the people, and also give an idea of the religious and social beliefs of the people. They tell us about their costumes and garments.

Different types of terracottas have been found at this site. There are plaques which were meant to be nailed to wall surfaces of houses for decoration. There are a group of hollow pendants made of double stamped discs joined along edges which might have served the purpose of ornaments for wearing. Some terracotta tablets are interesting for the
mythological subjects depicted upon them while others were meant for popular magic and religious purposes. The terracotta seals often inscribed were meant for the purpose of documentation.

The terracotta figures may be classified under three heads: (a) Gods and goddesses, (b) Male and female figures (c) Animal figurines, and miscellaneous objects.

(a) GODS AND GODDESSES:

Some Brahmanical deities as represented in the terracottas were meant for worship. An interesting two-armed standing figure appears to be one of the very early anthropomorphic representation of Śiva as evidenced by a damaru fastened to the hand with a fillet, and a snake-necklace. A buffalo-headed male figure holding a spear may represent the buffalo demon Mahishāsura, or possibly Yama who rides the buffalo. Another antiquity in typical Gupta style was a fragment of a pottery plaque showing Uma and Mahēśvara standing side by side. The goddess stands to the left of Śiva, and holds a lotus-bud in her right hand, while her left hand rests upon the hip. Śiva wears a girdle of munja grass. The extant portion shows a man, perhaps a king or deity, standing facing between two ladies, and three figures together constitute an excellent sculpture of man and woman's costumes and jewellery in the Kushāṇa period. An interesting pendant of the same period represents a king or the god Sun seated in a chariot.

One of the fragmentary tablet represents the goddess Durgā slaying the buffalo demon. The figure exhibits excellent Gupta style of workmanship. The three votive tanks discovered were probably associated with the cult of the mother goddess and show the Pārthian influence. There are

1. ARES, Pl. VI, b.
2. Ibid, Pl. VI, c.
4. Ibid, Pl. XIV, o
5. Ibid, Pl. XIV, h.
7. Ibid, p. 44. see also, Pl XII, m.
also some figures of Yakshīs\(^1\) putting on ear-rings, necklaces with fine dress standing on lotus.

Besides, there are handsome figures of Devas, Gaṇas and Yakshas. There is a fragment of a terracotta plaque representing a flying deva in a typical Gupta style.\(^2\) One of the terracotta tablets bears a pot-bellied, and elephant-eared figure with hands applied to a chin. It is the representation of Gaṇa or Gaṇapati. It is further confirmed by the inscription ‘Karabhikaksha’ meaning of the elephant-trunked one.\(^3\) A tablet\(^4\) bears in high relief a horse or goat-headed male figure holding what appears to be a rosary in the right hand, but what the other hand holds is not clear. The goat-like head connects this type with that of the god Harinaigamesa. Such a figure was also discovered in the excavation at Ahichchhatra.\(^5\) There are figures of Yakshas, sometimes nude with moustaches, grinning teeth and a prominent belly while other times putting on jewellery with drapery.\(^6\) A fragment of pottery plaque represents a male figure standing in the style of a Sārnāth Bodhisatva with a twisted scarf thrown across the thighs.\(^7\)

(b) MALE AND FEMALE FIGURES:

A group of male and female figures shows a great variety of forms. Some of them are noteworthy. There are figures of the foreigners, such as Sakas and Kushāṇas who settled in North-west India. The artists working through the medium of clay reacted to the presence of these foreign types in their midst, and preserved their salient features in the figurines now available. There is a terracotta male figure seated in Kushāṇa style like the Kushāṇa royal statues at Mathura.\(^8\) There is a hand made figure of a man in baked

1. ARES, Pl. XI, c & i.
2. Ibid, p. 22.
3. Ibid, Pl. VII, d & e.
6. ARES, Pl. XI, b, c and f.
7. Ibid, Pl. V. c.
8. Ibid, Pl. VI, d.
clay seated on a stool in Kushāṇa style. A terracotta female figure made with the hands is seated in the same style. The ear-lobes contain red shaped distenders.¹

Besides, there are three figures of minstrels of the Kushāṇa and Gupta periods. A pottery tablet shows a male playing on a four stringed lyre. The serious expression of the face denotes that the minstrel is singing a highly pathetic song.² The subject portrayed in another tablet is a male minstrel playing a curved six-stringed musical instrument much in the fashion of the Gupta King Samudra Gupta on his coins lyrist type.³ A pottery tablet bearing a figure of a minstrel seated on what must have been a stool, and playing with his left hand on a lyre which is held in his lap.⁴

(C) ANIMAL FIGURINES AND MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS.

About two hundred figurines of animals were found, and the majority of them are humped bulls.⁵ They must have been used for worship or for decoration or for children toys. A terracotta pendant⁶ shows a lion fighting with an elephant. There is a figure of an ape seated on a tripod⁷. The plaque bears an excellent high relief an elephant being attacked by a tiger with a wild buffalo above and what looks like a boar in the lower field.⁸ There are half a dozen well executed figures of horses⁹, one or two other figures which may be dog, cocks¹⁰, a pigeon¹¹, a kite¹², a lion and a ram. The

¹. ARES, Pl. VI, a.
². Ibid, V, c.
³. Ibid, Pl. V, c.
⁴. Ibid, Pl. V, f.
⁵. Ibid, Pl. XII, f.
⁶. Ibid, Pl. VIII, c.
⁷. Ibid, Pl. XII, b.
⁸. Ibid, Pl. VIII, c.
⁹. Ibid, Pl. XII, l.
¹⁰. Ibid, Pl. XIII, c.
¹¹. Ibid, i.
¹². Ibid, XII, h.
camel is represented by the neck of a single figure. There is a hand-made pottery rattle in the shape of a bird with projecting head and tail, but no legs.

The artists of this place displayed great skill in the manufacture of pottery vessels which were made from fine white clay found in this area. They are marked by ornamentation. Some ornamental vases with necks and handles are so designed as to represent what appears to be the Rāmāyaṇa legend relating to the descent of the celestial river Gaṅgā from the matted hair of Śiva. These parts including the spouts were prepared from moulds separately, and attached to the vases before firing. A fragment of pottery mould from which the head of Śiva was cast was also discovered. The spouts of these vases had various shapes, e.g., those of a kneeling female holding a vase between her hands, a makara head, a makara head with a pair of human hands; a lion’s head, a parrot’s head, a long bearded male figure, and a boar’s head.

Another type of vessels was ornamental bowls. They are plain on inside, but decorated all over on the outside with elegant ornamental patterns. These designs consist of a well executed full blown lotus round the bottom with two or more bands of other decorative devices higher up around the sides. The commonest patterns among these consist of undulating scrolls with the intervals filled in with bunches of grapes and leaves, bands or chains of svāstikas, left-handed svāstikas alternating other motifs, eight pointed rosettes alternating with motifs resembling the vajra, geese alternating
with figures of panthers, and other motifs,\(^1\) handed and spouted vases alternating with right or in one or two cases left-sided *śyāṅ̄kās*, rows of combined trident and wheel patterns, vases and plamettos patterns, zig-zags,\(^2\) chevrons etc. There are jar covers in the shape of a circular disc marked with concentric grooves, and a tall moulded handle at the top.\(^3\) Other potsherds are also painted with geometrical designs upon a light creamy wash or slip.

Other pottery utensils include flesh rubbers of circular and square shapes,\(^4\) blacksmith or goldsmith's pottery crucibles which have become twisted and warped after prolonged use, suspension lamps,\(^5\) potter's dabbers or mallets of usual shape with the potter's name written in ink or incised with a stile, and children's feeders with one or two spouts. Other pottery objects included many hundreds of spindle-whorls. All these vessels were used by the people following different crafts. There are also fragments of the drinking bottle\(^6\) (*Kuṇḍikā*) which is generally found on Buddhist sites.

The natives of this town seem to be poor, because only a small number of ornaments have been found. Thy are made of gold, copper, iron, shell, stone, clay, etc. There is a bead of thin gold which may have served as an amulet, a piece of gold leaf\(^7\) stamped with a repousse winged head which may have belonged to the pendant of a necklace, and which is assignable to 100 B.C., a repousse head of a *Kīrti-mukha*\(^8\) and a heart-shaped piece of thin gold\(^9\) bearing a vertical trumpet with a horn shaped device on either side. There are a number of finger-rings, and ear rings\(^10\) of copper. Two or three reels of copper ribbon might have been used as ear ornaments. There are beads of carnelian.

\(^1\) *ARES*, a.
\(^2\) Ibid, Pl. IX, i.
\(^3\) Ibid, Pl. XIII, c.
\(^4\) Ibid, c.
\(^5\) Ibid, i.
\(^6\) Ibid, k.
\(^7\) Ibid, Pl. XV, b.
\(^8\) Ibid, c.
\(^9\) Ibid, a.
\(^10\) Ibid, Pl. XIV, a.
A green glazed faience bead in the shape of a tortoise was also discovered. There is a frog shaped white glass bead which bears traces of gilding. A green glazed faience in the shape of conchant lion and a twelve-sided stone bead were also found. A large number of objects made from shells have been discovered. There are bracelets which were cut from the walls of the śankha. A fragment of columella of a śankha from which bangles and other objects such as finger-rings and beads have been sewn.

There are steatite caskets of different shapes. Some are spherical while others are circular. On Buddhist sites such caskets are generally found to have been used for the enshrinement of body relics of holy personages. Here, they were obviously meant to hold cosmetics or ornaments of precious metal. A finely shaped copper vase was obviously meant to contain antimony powder. A well executed cobra head fashioned from the stem of a conch shell might have served the same purpose. A fragment of an ivory comb has also been found.

People followed different crafts and occupations. There were potters who manufactured terracottas and pottery. Their mallets or dabbers with inscribed names have been found. Goldsmiths displayed skill in the manufacture of different kinds of ornaments of metal. There was a blacksmith who made implements, weapons and vessels of iron. An iron tube which may have been the mouth piece of a black-smith's bellows, and other objects like double-edged daggers with long slanks, sickles, chisels and crucibles have been found in black-smith's shop. Besides, he (i.e. blacksmith) manufactured clasps and staples, fish-plates, braces, rings, and other articles for strengthening door leaves, door pivots, a stirrup and a

1. ARES, Pl. XV, k.
3. Ibid, Pl. XV, j.
4. Ibid, Pl. XV, n.
5. Ibid, Pl. XIV, n.
6. Ibid, Pl. XV, o.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid, Pl. XIV, e.
horse bit,\textsuperscript{1} bells which may have been hung from the necks of cattle, ladles for lifting oils\textsuperscript{2} and spoons, hanging-lamps, and a large cylindrical vessel.

The discovery of a large number of spindle-whorls proves that there were weavers for spinning. The copper-needles found indicate that sewing was also practised. There were cobbler's who used scraper, and copper needle for sewing leather. A stone-roller, and a four legged stool of red stone were used for grinding spices\textsuperscript{3}. And fixed in the upper most floor was the large upper stone of a grinding mill pierced with a vertical hole through the centre and a horizontal groove at the top for the wooden or an iron rod by which the mill was worked. The mill, which was used for grinding wheat or other grains, was worked no doubt by a buffalo or an ox.\textsuperscript{4} There were also carpenters. An iron hatchet of usual shape was used for splitting wood.

People did not lead dull and drab life, but entertained themselves in various ways. Three figures of minstrels prove that music, both vocal and instrumental, was a source of entertainment of the people. The dicing was a common pastime. Altogether eight dice were found in the course of excavations. Two of these are made of pottery and are of cubical shape\textsuperscript{5} which are marked on each of the six sides with shallow holes. Another die\textsuperscript{6} of the same shape and of the same material is also similarly marked. The fourth pottery die has numbers only on four out of six sides. The remaining four dice are of ivory. The inhabitants appear to have been fond of hunting as two barbed arrow heads,\textsuperscript{7} and two spearheads were found. Animal-fighting was probably another pastime as is clear from some clay tablets. Clay-modelling was the favourite game of the children.

1. ARES, Pl. XIV, d.
2. Ibid, b.
3. Ibid, p. 26
5. Ibid, Pl. XV, w and u;\textsuperscript{5}
7. Ibid, Pl. XIV, j and f.
In his article entitled 'Buddhist remains near Sambhar', HENDLEY concluded that this old mound was the site of an important Buddhist town. But the excavations carried out by DAYARAM SAHNI provide incontrovertible evidence of the site being a Brāhmanical one. The revival of Vedic religion in the second century B.C. is clear even from a pottery seal with seven impressions. The largest face exhibits a yūpa, or a sacrificial post with a curved top rising from a railing with a Prakrit legend on the right in Brāhmī characters of the second century B.C. The legend reads 'Indasamasa' of 'Indrasarman'. Five of the smaller facets depict the symbol svāstika, while the sixth shows a triangular pattern with five cross-bars. The last device may represent the ladder by which the sacrificer, and his wife ascended the top of the yūpa and remaining there muttered prayers and offered salt tied up in pipal-leaves to Prajāpati.

Besides, several terracotta figures of gods and goddesses, and some ornamental vases with necks and handles so designed as to represent the Rāmāyana legend relating to the descent of the celestial river Gaṅgā from the matted hair of Śiva conclusively prove that the inhabitants were ardent adherents of the orthodox Brāhmanical faith even during the Kushāṇa and Gupta period.

(7) RAIRH

Rairh, (Lat. 26° 20 N., Long. 70° 10'E) now a small village, is situated at a distance of 24 kms. south-east of the Railway station Nawai in Jaipur District on the bank of Dhilnadi, an affluent of the river Banās, and it is surrounded on all sides by small ranges of hills. The ancient name of this site is not known, but it was a great commercial and metallurgical centre in the past. This town seems to have been founded in about the third century B.C. under the Mauryas, and continued to flourish till about the end of the second century A.D., although traces of partial occupa-

1. JRAS, XVII, pp. 29 ff.
2. AREs, p. 19; see also Pl. VII, a. and b.
tion of the site as late as the Gupta times have also been brought to light. In this way, this site was deserted and reoccupied on three occasions.

Rairh was included in the dominions of the Mauryas in the third century B.C. The hoards containing 3075 silver punch-marked coins unearthed at this site seem to have been buried in the beginning of the second century B.C. when the Maurya empire began to decline and the life and property of the people became unsafe and insecure.

A group of six coins with the legend 'Senapatisa Vachhaghosa' written in the early Brāhmī characters of about the second century B.C. was discovered. R. N. PURI² connected Senapatisa with Vachhaghosa and rendered the whole legend as 'of the Commander-in-Chief Vachhaghosa' and further tried to associate the coins, though vaguely, with Pushyamitra Śuṅga, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty, on the ground that Pushymitra held the rank of Senāpati under the Mauryas. D. C. SIRCAR³ treats 'Sa' of Vachhaghosa as genitive suffix thereby taking Vachhagho (or Vachhāgha) as the name of the Senāpati, the issuer of the coins in question; according to him, this Senāpati was the semi-independent provincial Governor of some unknown king. In the opinion of K. K. DASS GUPTA⁴, Vachhaghosa was the name of the mint-town wherefrom the coins in question were issued by one Senāpati who was either a provincial Governor of some unknown king or perhaps Pushyamitra Śuṅga.

Rairh was also ruled by the Mālavas as known from their coins and seals. Seven square coins recovered from this place bear the legend 'Vapu' in early Brāhmī characters. PURI⁶ attributes these coins to some Mālava Chief of this name. K.N. DIKSHIT⁶ assigned them a period from 250 to 150 B.C. One interesting lead-stamp seal with the legend

1. Excavation at Rairh, p. 46.
2. Ibid., p. 50.
3. JNSI, IV, pp. 148-149.
4. Ibid., XXVIII, p. 50.
'Mālava Janāpadasa' has also been found\(^1\). The names Vasubhūtisa and Sarvadatta or Sarabhadatta are engraved on two other seals\(^2\). The letter 'Ma' is frequent on most of the seals from Rairh. This may possibly stand for the initial of the word 'Mālava'. With the rise of the Kushāṇas and their feudatories, the Western Kšatrapas in the first and second century A.D., the power of the Mālavas was eclipsed for about a century. This might have caused the desertion of the town for temporary period as is clear from the layers of the excavations.

Some coins\(^3\) of Sūryāmitra and Dhruvamitra of the first or second century A.D. were also found at this place. On the reverse of these coins, there is the representation of a meandering river with fish. On the obverse of the coins of Sūryamitra, there is bull, but elephant on the coins of Dhruvamitra. On both these coin types, along the name of the king, there is legend 'Sudavapa' which is apparently either a title or a family name.

The big mounds, standing at Rairh containing tiny bits of potsherds, brickbats, iron slag etc., give us some idea about the size of the town, planning of the houses, and other material as pects of urban life. The mounds measure over 2500 feet from east to west, and about 1800 ft. in width rising to a height of about 15 to 25 feet above the bed of the river Dhil, a large bed of which surrounds the mounds on three sides except the west. The presence of a large quantity of slag in the south-easterly direction beyond the river seems to indicate that the area covered by the town was more than its present dimensions, and the river took a somewhat different course then.

It seems that no palatial building existed on this site. Majority of the houses and furnaces were built of mud walls.

1. JNSI, III, p. 48.
2. Ibid.
3. JNSI, III, p. 47 K.N. Dikshit thinks that these are Uddehika coins, because the same name of the ruler and symbols are found. See A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum, p. 240. The difficulty in accepting the view is that on these coins the name Udhehaki is not found but that of Sudavapa.
Morandi clay was employed for raising walls and laying floors of the houses. Mud mortar and mud plaster were used for covering the walls. Only three small brick houses, two belonging to the latest period of occupation, circa, second third century A.D., and one assignable to the Mauryan period have been unearthed. Generally, burnt bricks of exceptionally large size were employed for the construction of platforms, the foundation of which were composed of series of parallel walls\(^1\). The space between these parallel walls was packed with hard set morandi clay. These parallel walls probably served no other purpose than the foundations of solid pavements. What the nature of the super-structure was, is not possible to say in absence of any further clue. Iron-refuse\(^2\) also served the purpose of foundation in some houses, probably in order to keep off white ants etc.

A few pottery models of houses or shrines\(^3\), fragments of roof tiles and pottery finials\(^4\) are the only vestiges found that throw some light on the type of houses. Slanting tiled roofs supported on gabled walls were decorated with finials on the ridge, and one or more doorways gave access to the interior of the house which was enclosed in a walled-in enclosure. The rectangular pottery tiles that covered the roof are plain on one side and fluted on the other. Each tile is provided with a groove on one side of its length into which fitted the ridge of the next tile. Pottery pipe drain and brick drain were used to remove the waste matter of the house.

Some pottery ring-wells\(^5\) or pits found in the vicinity of pottery pipe drains formed parts of houses. In all, one hundred fifteen ring-wells have been brought to light. These are composed of pottery rings ranging from five to twenty five rings fitted one on the top of other. Each ring, having diameter of about $2'2''$, is about $7''$ in height and about half an inch in thickness. The depth of these ring-wells range from $1'5''$ to $19'4\frac{1}{2}''$. These pits have been discovered

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1. Excavations at Rairh, p. 18, See also plate 4 (a).
2. Ibid, p. 13, See also plate No. 2 (c).
3. Ibid, Pl. XXII, 3, 4 and 5.
4. Ibid, Pl. VII. p. 46.
5. Ibid, pp. 14-17 (See also Plate III.)
at other sites such as Taxila, Śrāvasti and Brāhmanabād. Actually, these were dust or rubbish-bins meant for dirty and waste matter. The majority of the pits yielded decayed earth, potsherds of almost all types of vessels, large number of broken and complete dishes or shakorās, animal bones etc.

A large number of vessels of pottery, stone and metal found here were of great use for the house-hold purpose. With the exception of feeding-cups which are hand-made, and crudely finished, all the earthen pots are wheel-made. The vessels are not painted, but we find only a few decorative designs such as stamped patterns, the svāstika, the triratna and taurine symbol. Wheat-straw, chaff or cow dung were added to the clay in order to improve the quality. The pottery of this site shows uniformity of forms and fabric, whether found on the surface of the mound or at the lowest level. It proves that although the site was deserted, and reoccupied on three different occasions, the forms during the period remained very much the same.

Different kinds of pottery are found at this place. Perforated pottery, which is represented only by a few examples, was imported from outside. Similarly, a narrow-necked vase made of light pink clay of fine consistency bearing highly polished slip is the Buddhist pottery imported from outside. It was available at Bairāṭ in the third century A.D. Handled and spouted vessels were common enough, and ribbed pottery was also manufactured to a certain extent. A few therianthropic vessels found in the form of monkeys served as a toy.

Pottery vessels also include many types of vases for domestic use. The vessels in commonest use and in great demand was type of dish or Shakorā with a narrow base and sloping sides with incurved rims. Loṭā shaped vessels of different shapes and sizes were used as drinking vessels.

2. Ibid, Pl. XI, 2 and 3.
7. Ibid, Pls. VIII and XI.
Tumblers or beakers\(^1\) were meant for containing coins. Miniature vases have been found in fairly large numbers. Colossal jars\(^2\) were meant for the storage of water. Number of round-based \(loṭās\), or jars\(^3\) were used for drawing water. Jar-covers\(^4\) have also been found. Offering stands\(^5\), bottle-stoppers, small-dish like lamps and various varities of squatted vessels were among other types of vessels manufactured. Besides, a handle of a jar depicting the river goddess\(^8\) belonging to the Gupta period is exactly of a similar type, as found at Naliāsar.

Stone vessels\(^7\), that have been found, are made of steatite commonly known as soap-stone. Steatite caskets of similar types were found in fairly large numbers at Naliāsar. These are not as common as pottery vases. They were probably used for keeping cosmetic jewellery and must have been highly priced. One bowl of polished chunār sand stone seems to be a foreign importation. Regarding metal, utensils with the exception of a few bronze vessels, all other utensils are made of iron. These are confined to dishes with flat and round bases\(^8\). These handled dishes were either used as oil-carriers, or as dippers for taking out molten metal for casting tools etc. They were also meant to hold heavy weights, probably in the form of molten metal.

A large number of figurines both human and animal found at Rairh are made of the same clay as used for pottery. Some were used for decorative purpose of the houses while others were meant as toys for amusement of the children. They also served the purpose of worship. The human figurines include horse\(^9\), and elephant\(^10\) riders, a few repersen-

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1. Excavations at Rairh, Pl. 33 and 39 and Pl. XI, e.
3. Ibid, Pl. VIII, 5.
5. Ibid, VII, 41.
6. Ibid, Pl. XVIII, 3.
7. Ibid, Pl. IX.
8. Ibid, XVI, 8.
9. Ibid, I.
10. Ibid, XV, a, c and g.
tations of Yakshīs, a unique stark naked male figure and numerous female figurines. The female figurines are identified as representations of the mother-goddess. These figurines are of different kinds. There are some cast pottery plaques which represent Śiva and Pārvatī. Besides, there is one fragment of stone statuary of some deity, and a headless female devotee facing the left. This sculpture seems to be of the Śuṅga period i.e., about the second century B.C. The different types of votive tanks are believed to be associated with the cult of the mother-goddess.

Animal figurines of horses, elephants and monkeys have also been found. The similar monkey faced tailed figure as that of Naliāsar was recovered at this place. All models of bulls unearthed at Rairh are humped. They might have been held in high esteem as the vāhana or vehicle of Śiva. There are also clay models of tiger, cow, ram, fish, dog and birds. The camel is represented by only one model. The excavations at Naliāsar yielded only the neck of a camel. This may indicate that the climatic condition was different from the present one, and the necessity of the camel was not felt as it is now. The wheeled toys such as bird chariot, clay cart model, and models of

1. Excavations at Raith, XVIII, 2.
2. Ibid, XII and XIV.
3. Ibid, XV, b, d and f.
4. Ibid, XVIII, i.
5. Ibid, XVIII.
6. Ibid, XXI, 1 and 3.
7. Ibid, XVI, 8.
8. Ibid, XVI, 2, 5, 3a & 3b.
10. Ibid. b.
11. Ibid, XVI, 4, 6, 7 and 10.
12. IbiJ, XVII, g and j.
13. Ibid, XVI, 11 a & b.
16. Ibid XVII, k.
17. Ibid, XVII, I.
19. Ibid, XXII, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 11.
chariot of bronze give us an idea of the means of communication.

A large quantity of iron refuse found in the course of excavation proves that Rairh was a great metallurgical centre. There are traces of the existence of numerous smithies where iron tools and implements of different types were made. They were distributed from this centre to different sites. All this indicates that there must have existed some ancient mines in the vicinity of Rairh for the supply of iron in the past. Included among the weapons are sword blades, lance and spear heads, small daggers, knives, and a few arrow-heads, and tools comprising of sickles, axes, adzes, nails, door fittings, rings and fragments of door chain have been found.\(^1\)

Besides, other metals such as bronze, silver and lead were used not in comparison with iron. Two lead ingots show that lead was also refined, and turned into ear distenders of which several examples have been found. Bronze is abundantly met with in the form of articles of toilet, personal ornaments etc. A few examples of needle\(^2\) found are made of bronze. A few handles fashioned out of shell\(^3\) and ivory\(^4\) have survived. Spikes\(^5\), made from bones and horns of animals, are found in large numbers scattered all over the area. Silver is represented in the form of punch-marked coins alone, and the only objects of gold employed for the manufacture of ornaments are a small finger ring\(^6\), a hair pin\(^7\), and an ear pendant of bronze plated with a thin gold leaf.

A fragment of cloth holding tight the hoard of punch-marked coins in a vessel proves that cloth was well known to the people. It seems that cotton was grown in Rajasthan

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1. Excavations at Rairh, Pl. X, i-5, Pl. XIX and Pl. XX, i-13 and 16.
2. Ibid, Pl. XXI, 16.
3. Ibid, XXII. 17. 19.
4. Ibid, Pl. XXII, 18.
5. Ibid, Pl. XXII. 16.
in early times, and it was also woven into cloth. Numerous examples of pottery spindle-whorls\(^1\) show that spinning was commonly practised. Clay-figures of both male and female give us some idea of the dress and ornaments of the people. The male dress consisted of a short \(\text{dhoti}\),\(^2\) and a jacket\(^3\) in addition to a small turban\(^4\) worn on the head. Women wore skirt in the lower part of the body\(^5\) and a \(\text{sari}\) like garment thickly plated on the front side.\(^6\) In addition, a fairly loose girdle, consisting of two or three strings of beads, was worn on the skirt. The upper part of the body including the breasts was either left uncovered or it may be that some very close fitting garment like the brassiere of today was worn. Sometimes, a \(\text{dopatthu}\) was used for covering the upper part of the body.\(^7\) One clay toy from Rairh presents a female head depicting two hair strings known as \(\text{venis}\) falling in her back and a turban put on her head in a traditional manner.\(^8\)

Women wore different kinds of ornaments such as bangles, bracelets, anklets, necklaces, ear-pendants, and girdles. Numerous beads of various designs cut from different kinds of coloured stones for necklaces and girdles have been found. The head dresses of some of the figures bedecked with jewels reveal that these were ornamented, but no examples of head ornaments have been found. Bangles were made of shell, bronze and terracotta. Beads for necklaces and girdles were fashioned out of gold, carnelian, onyx, rock-crystal, chalcedony, amethyst, turquoise, lapis lazuli, beryl, acquamarine, glass, shell and pottery. Ear-rings were made of lead, bronze and pottery. Finger-rings made of bronze, gold and shell have been discovered. Another ornament is a central flat oval piece of agate that once adorned a necklace. A broken gold pin is the only other object found.

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1. Excavations at Rairh, p. 40.
2. Ibid, Pl. XV, d.
3. Ibid, Pl. XV, b.
4. Ibid, Pl. XV, d.
5. Ibid, Pls. XII and XIII.
6. Ibid, Pl. XII, a.
7. Ibid, Pl. XIII, b.
8. Ibid, XV, g.
People were familiar with toilet and cosmetic articles. Flesh rubbers\(^1\) of pottery of round and rectangular shapes found in large numbers show that these were a very common article of toilet. Other toilet articles include antimony-rods,\(^2\) small bronze bottles,\(^3\) a circular bronze mirror,\(^4\) and a couple of antimony holders\(^5\) in the form of fish carved out of conch shell core.

Articles such as kohl sticks and jars suggest that women, and perhaps men also used kohl for blackening their eye-lids. Whether lamp black mixed with a fat or antimony powder was used as an eye-paint is difficult to say, as no traces of any kind have been found. Numerous seteaitite\(^6\)-caskets found were also probably used for keeping cosmetics, jewellery, etc.

Dice-playing was one of the favourite amusements of the people. Ivory, bone and stone were employed for the manufacture of bar-shaped casting dice of which seven examples have been found\(^7\). The manufacture of toys was the pastime of children.

As regards the religion of the people, there is little doubt that the worship of the mother-goddess was very popular. It seems to be related to Šaktism. Various types of terracottas of this goddess probably represent different aspects of the deity. The male god Śiva seen on some terracottas played a secondary role in the religious scheme. Buddhism had no influence what-so-ever, although traces of contact with the Buddhist world have been established by the discovery of a fragment of a chunār sand stone bowl, a few pieces of highly polished Buddhist pottery and steatite caskets similar to relic caskets found on Buddhist sites for the enshrinement of body relics.

\(^{1}\) Excavations at Rairh, Pl. XXI, 24.
\(^{2}\) Ibid, 10, 12 and 17.
\(^{3}\) Ibid, 6 and 23.
\(^{4}\) Ibid, 14.
\(^{5}\) Ibid, 26 and Pl. X, 11.
\(^{6}\) Ibid, Pl. IX.
\(^{7}\) Ibid, Pl. XXII, 12, 14 and 15.
History of Selected Cities and Towns

(8) JHÄLRÄPÄṬAN

The ancient name of Jhālrāpāṭan is said to be Chandrāvatī, which was situated on the banks of Chandrabhāga, a small stream flowing from south-west to north-east and falling into the Kālisindh. The ruins of this city cover a space of more than a mile from east to west, and of about a mile from north to south. It is a place of great antiquity because several specimens of punch-marked, and other old coins have been discovered. These coins may show that the place was occupied long before the Gupta period but none of the existing ruins appear to be older than the sixth or seventh century A.D.

The early history of Jhālrāpāṭan is in darkness, but in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D., it was ruled probably by the Maurya rulers. In 689 A.D. (V.S. 746), Durgagaṇa, who has been described as the chief of kings, was the ruler of this place. During his reign, his subjects lived joyfully, and free from misfortunes. Another inscription of the seventh or eighth century A.D. records the name of Śankaragaṇa. An inscription from Kaṇaswā dated 738 A.D. belongs to the Brāhmaṇa prince Śivagaṇa who was a feudatory of king Dhavala or Dhavalātman of the Mauryan lineage. It is possible that Durgagaṇa and Śankaragaṇa mentioned in the two separate Jhālrāpāṭan inscriptions may belong to the same family as that of Śivagaṇa of the Kaṇaswā inscription of 738 A.D. It was probably

1. Jhālrāpāṭan is said to be the city of temples, the bells of which sounded in the ancient city; hence, its name Jhālrāpāṭan or the city of bells was given. The other view is that this name originated from the tribe 'Jhālā' of the Regent Jālim Simha. This view seems to be more reasonable than the earlier. Jhālrāpāṭan is situated near Jhālāwār.
3. IA, V, p. 182.
4. ARRMA, 1912-13, p. 2.
5. IA, XIX, pp. 56 ff.
6. D.R. Bhandarkar identified Dhavala of the Kaṇaswā inscription with Dhavalappa of the Dabok inscription but his views do not seem to be correct. See EL, XXXV, pp. 110 ff.
Cities of Rajasthan

Dhavala mentioned in the Kañaswā inscription of 738 A.D., who was defeated by the Arabs then on occupation of Sind.

In the old temple of Śiva (probably of the ninth or tenth century) at Semli near Jhālrāpāṭan, there are six small inscriptions, of one line, each, giving the names of Rājadeśikas Sāṅgaṇa, Subhakara, Rāhu (Rāhula), Jassā etc. Rājadeśika seems to be a title signifying the Governor of a District. These persons seem to be the high officials of some ruling authority governing this area.

An inscription of the eleventh century contains the names of Rāja Śrī Kusumadeva and his father Rāja Śrī Bālhaṇa- deva. To which family, they belong, is not recorded. Another inscription of the twelfth century on the same pillar records the names of Dahiā Rāuta Bhivasiha and his son Rāuta Uḍā. An inscription of V.S. 1143 (1086 A.D.) mentions the reign of the Paramāra ruler Udayāditya of Dhāra.

Jhālrāpāṭan is specially famous for its artistic creations. It is said that at one time, there were one hundred and eight shrines. It may be an exaggeration, but actually from the study of the ruins, it appears that the number of temples must have been quite large. Of these early temples, about four or five are still surviving to remind us of the grandeur of the old days. The most famous among these temples is the temple of Śītalāśvara Mahādeva. It has been demolished, and crudely rebuilt, but still it retains some original parts such as pillars of the porch, basement mouldings, and perhaps some parts of the lower portion of the shrine-walls. The pillars of this temple are minutely carved. These are unique examples of such intricate work on stone. The male and female figures of dvārapālas on the doors upholding the structure are life-like. In some architectural details, it resembles those of some caves at Ellorā. This temple seems to be of the same age as the chaūri of Mukandārā Pass and the pillars at Eran on stylistic grounds. Thus, the temple

1. INI, No. 1220. See also El, XXXII, p. 209.
2. ARRMA, 1913-14, p. 2.
4. Ibid.
5. JASB, 1914, p. 241.
appears to be of the sixth or seventh century A.D. which is further confirmed by the inscriptions.

FERGUSSON\(^1\) considers this temple to be the oldest and most beautiful that he ever saw. He further states, "This is certainly one of the most elegant specimens of architecture in India. It has not the poetry of arrangement of the Jaina octagonal domes, but it approaches very nearly to them by the large square space in the centre, which was covered by the most elegantly designed and most exquisitely carved roof known to exist anywhere. Its arrangement is evidently borrowed from that of Buddhist vihāras, and it differs from them in style because their interiors were always plastered and painted, here, on the contrary everything is honestly carved in stone."

In the temple of Śītalēśvara Mahādeva, there is a two handed male figure seated holding a club or sword. CUNNINGHAM says that this temple was originally Vaishnava, and bases his conclusions upon this very figure. He says, "It represents Vishnu as Gadādhara, the mace bearer. The weapon in the hand is not the usual mace or gadā, as held by Vishnu, it may be a club. This temple was a Śaiva temple from the beginning. The only two images left on the exterior of the temple are Śaiva, viz., Mahishāsuramardini, and Ardhanārīśvara. Even from the inscriptions, it is known that it was a Śaiva temple. The shrine of this temple also contains a lingā. Immediately behind is a statue of Pārvati, and behind this, against the back wall, there is a group of Śiva, and his wife, as Hara-Gauri, seated on the bull Nandi.

Besides, there are other ruined temples. One temple is dedicated to Kālikādevī. It consists of two rooms—the ante-chamber and the sanctum. The sculptured entrance to the sanctum shows that the temple was an old one, and also that it was originally dedicated to Vishnu whose four armed figure holding a shell occupied the centre niche over the door way. It seems that it was built as a pair with the temple of Śītalēśvara. It is parallel with that temple and

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1. HIEA, p. 449.
2. ASC, II. p. 266.
the centres of both shrines are upon the same line. The two temples are of about the same age.

Another small temple is dedicated to the Varāha Avatāra or boar incarnation of Vishnu. It is an open temple with four pillars supporting a canopy under which is enshrined the statue of a boar. On the pedestal, there is an inscription in characters of the ninth or tenth century. The inscription mentions the name of a mason called Si (ha)ta who is spoken of as the servant of Iśānajamu who is compared to Lakuliśa.¹ There are also other several figures of the boar incarnation of Vishnu found at this place. It is, however, sufficient to show the early age of this Vaishnava temple. The great Vaishnava temple called the Sāta Saheli has been rebuilt at some late period. The shrine with its śikhara and the maṇḍapa up to the beams above the pillars are old work. There is thus abundant evidence to show that at Jhālrāpātan, Śiva and Vishnu were at one time impartially worshipped. The Jaina temple of Sāntinātha is also a rebuilding of an older temple. The shrine and śikhara are old but the maṇḍapa is new into which a few old Hindu figures have been built.

From these archaeological remains, it is clear that Jhālrāpātan was a great centre of different religions, namely, Śaivism, Vaishnavism and Jainism. Kings, their officers, and merchants came to this place from outside to pay their obeisance to their respective shrines. In about 689 A.D., Voppaka, brother of Deva, built a Śiva temple at this place during the reign of Durgagaṇa. Voppaka was a great court officer or general, who played an important part in the political games of the Ṭkākurus or feudatories of Durgagaṇa. Another inscription of the eighth century A.D. on a pillar in the temple of Śitaḷēśvara Mahādeva records the visit of Śaṅkaragaṇa, probably the successor of Durgagaṇa. He might have granted some donations to this temple. Śri Maṇchuka, son of Mosuka, came here to worship this shrine in the ninth century A.D.² An inscription of V. S. 1143

¹. PRAS. WC, 1905.06, p.56.
². Ibid.
(1086 A.D.) records that Janna, the head of a guild of oilmen, built a temple of Śiva and dug a Vāpī (tank). This place continued to be visited by the pilgrims even in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. The pilgrims Vikramaśrī, Harshadeva and Śresṭhī Madhusūdana of the bāṇīā caste made adorations to Śiva in 1096 A.D. The names of Rājā Śrī Kusumadeva, and his father Rājā Śrī Bālhaṇadeva are engraved on the pillar in the characters of the eleventh century. The Dahiya rulers namely Rāvala Bhīvasiha, and his son Udā might have donated something to this temple. The pillar in the temple of Kālikāmātā contains the names, and records the obeisance of the pilgrims, who visited this temple. These inscriptions of the pilgrims, show that this holy place was worshipped from the seventh century to the twelfth century A.D.

Jhalrapātan was also a holy place of the Jainas. There was a famous old temple of Śāntinātha, which was built by Śāha Pipā in 1046 A.D., and its installation ceremony was performed by Bhavadevasūri. An inscription dated 1109 A.D. on a pillar of Sātalākīpūhārī records the death of Śresṭhī pāpā. He may be the same person who built the temple of Śāntinātha. This temple was often visited by Śrāvakas, and Jaina Āchāryas. An inscription of 1047 A.D. records the name of a visitor to the shrine. Jaina Āchāryas used to reside at this place because we find a vast number of funeral memorials termed ‘Nishedhkhas’ of Jaina priests. One is dated the 3rd of Māgha Sam 1066 (1010 A.D.) on which day Śrimantadeva, disciple of Āchārya Śrīmannyađeva, left this world. The bust of the Āchārya is in a studious posture, the book lying open upon the thūṇi or cross, which forms a reading desk. The adjoining one contained the name of Devendra Āchārya dated Sam 1180. Another was of Kumāradeva, the priest of the line of Kumudachandra Āchārya, who finished his career

1. JASB, 1914, p. 241.
2. ASC, II, p. 269 (foot notes, 1, 2 and 3)
3. PRAS. WC, 1903-06, p. 56 Jhalrapātan stone inscription, No. 6.
5. ARRMA, 1912-13, p. 7.
in Sam. 1289. An inscription dated 1009 on a pillar of Sātalāki Pahārī also mentions the names of Nemidevāchārya and Baladevāchārya. Another inscription dated Sam. 1299 on the same pillar contains the names of Mūlasaṁgha and Devasaṁgha.

(9) GAUGHAR

Gahgdhar is now a small village about eighty-four kms. south west of Jhalrapatán, and is situated on the bank of a river known as Kāli Sindh, which in the fifth century was called Gargarā. This town was known as Gargarāta after the name of the river in the fifth century A.D. At this time, it was ruled by the Aulīkara dynasty with its capital Daśapura, modern Mandsor. The first two rulers of this family namely Jayavarman and his son Siṁhavarmān were ruling in the latter half of the fourth century A.D. Naravarman, the son of Siṁhavarmān, was the ruler in 404 A.D., and Viśvarvarman, the son of Naravarman, was governing this place in 423 A.D. These early Aulīkara rulers seem to have recognised the suzerainty of the Guptas.

Gahgdhar appears to be a flourishing city in the fifth century A.D. Mayūrākshaka, the Minister of Viśvarvarman, built the temples of Viśnī and the Divine mothers in 423 A.D. A huge well for drinking water was also constructed by him. Vaishnāvism and Tāntrism were dominant here during this period. The king Viśvarvarman also devoted himself to the works of public welfare such as irrigation wells, tanks, temples, gardens, and causeways.

Gahgdhar flourished up to the fourteenth century A.D. In the eleventh century, it was included in the dominions of the Paramāra rulers of Malwa, because an inscription

1. AAR, II, p. 792.
2. ARRMA, 1912-13, pp. 7 and 8.
3. CII, III, p. 77.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid, II p. 76.
6. PRAS. WC, 1903-06, p. 56, Jhalrapatán stone Inscription. It was brought from Gahgdhar.
dated 1086 A.D. records the erection of a temple to Sambhu by the pañjakila (i.e. Pāṭil) Jānā, son of the Pāṭil Chāhila of the oilman family during the reign of the Paramāra ruler Udayāditya. Another inscription1 of 1251 A.D. contains the name of Rāva Kelhāna, who seems to be a chief of Gaṅghdār which is called Gargarāta in this inscription. To which dynasty Rāva Kelhāna belongs, is not known. This inscription also proves that the ancient name Gargarāta of this place was retained up to the thirteenth century A.D. The Jaina images2 found at this place prove that Jainism was followed by the people in the early medieval period. It is, therefore, logical to presume that during that period, Jaina temples might have been constructed.

(10) CHHOTI SĀDRI

The place, now known as Chhoṭi Sādri situated near Neemuch on the Ajmer-Khandwa Railway line, was famous for the temple of Devī in the fifth century A.D. This temple at present is also known as Bhāvaramātā or Bhramaramātā temple. From the inscription3 in a niche above a ventilator in the left wall outside the sanctum of the temple, it is known that Gaurī of the Māṇavāyāni gotra built this temple very probably for the merit of himself, and his parents in V.S. 517 (491 A.D.). The praśasti of the inscription was composed by Bhramarasoma who seems to have been the court poet of king Gaurī. The Bhāvaramātā temple is a modern structure believed to be built on the ruins of an old shrine to which its sanctum is attributed. It is possible to think that the name of the poet Bhramarasoma, who composed the prāśasti on the construction and consecration of the original shrine of the Devī by king Gaurī, has in course of time somehow come to be associated with that of the goddess Bhramaramātā.

This place was ruled by the Kshatriya rulers belonging

1. ARRMA, 1912-13, p. 2.
3. EI, XXX, p. 120.
to the Māṇavāyaṇī kula in the second half of the fifth century A.D. The Chhoṭi Sādri inscription\(^1\) of 491 A.D. gives us information about these rulers. G.H. OJHA\(^2\) wrongly read and interpreted the inscription. According to him, there was a clan of Kshatriyas called Gaura and took it to be the dynastic appellation of Yaśagupta. According to D.C. SIRCAR, it is not the name of dynasty, but of a person. Punyasoma (wrongly read by OJHA as Dhanyasoma) was the first king in the family of the Māṇavāyaṇīs. His son and successor was Rājyavardhana. Rāṣṭra was the son of Rājyavardhana. Rāṣṭra’s son and successor was Yaśagupta. King Gauri was the son of Mahārāja Yaśagupta. The prince Gobhaṭa is also mentioned in the Chhoṭi-Sādri inscription. It is very probable that he was a son of the Māṇavāyaṇī king Gauri.

The king Gauri and his predecessors are also known from the Mandsor fragmentary inscription\(^3\) of the same period as that of the Chhoṭi Sādri inscription. The Mandsor fragmentary inscription speaks of Gauri’s maternal grandfather, and gives the name of his mother as Harisūrā. After attaining old age, the queen mother performed penances, gave gifts to Brāhmaṇas and ultimately went to heaven. King Gauri, who made wells, tanks and mandapas in various villages and towns apparently in his own kingdom, excavated a tank in the suburbs of Daśapura for the merit of his deceased mother, when Narendra Ādityavardhana had his headquarters there. This would suggest that the latter was the overlord of the former who excavated the tank at his overlord’s capital at a considerable distance from his own residence. As it was the custom to excavate a tank where the funeral pile of the deceased person stood, it is possible to think that mother of Mahārāja Gauri died at the capital of her son’s overlord Ādityavardhana who was also her brother. Daśapura was one of the celebrated holy places in Western India, and the death at a place of pilgrimage was considered by the people as highly merito-

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1. EI, XXX, p. 120.
2. ARRMA, p. 2.
3. EI, XXX, p. 127.
rious. Gauri may, therefore, have visited Daśapura and the excavation of tank in the name of his dead relative in such a case becomes clear.

Ādityavardhana seems to be a ruler of the Aulikara dynasty. As in the inscriptions of Gauri, there is no reference to the Guptas or the Hūṇas, it seems that they were ousted from Malwa by his overlord Ādityavardhana who assumed the title of Mahārājādhirāja.

(11) RANG MAHAL

Rang Mahal (Latitude 29°-21 N. : Longitude 73°-59'E) is one of the centrally situated sites of the dry bed Ghaggar in Ganganagar District. The name of the town is medieval in origin\(^1\), but the site is an old one. The archaeological excavations conducted by HANNA HYDH proved that it was settled properly for the first time in the second century A.D. during the Kushāṇa period, and flourished up to the sixth or seventh century A.D.

This territory appears to have been ruled by the Later Great Kushāṇas, the Scythians and the Kidāra Kushāṇas because their coins\(^2\) numbering 106 have been unearthed in the excavations. This place\(^3\) also remained under the possession of the Yaudheyas. First, they ruled as feudatories of the Kushāṇas, but from the beginning of the third century A.D., they raised the standard of revolt against the Kushāṇas and became independent.

The fact, that the objects found in the excavations are remarkably homogeneous in character, proves that the settlement of the site was not of any great duration. They throw much light on the material aspect of life of the people. They lived in a more fertile and friendly environment than

\(^1\) The name Rang Mahal means a colourful palace of enjoyment, but none of the chronicles and ballads of Rajasthan gives us any clue about the time of foundation, and the builder of this town in a region which is now desolate and covered all over by sand dunes.

\(^2\) Rang Mahal, p. 171.

\(^3\) The territory round about this area is called Johiyawar.
the people of to-day. The river brought down mud rich in 
nutriments for the growth of trees and bushes which afforded 
shade on scorching days. Provided they sowed, they need 
not be anxious that harvest would fail. The supply of water 
enabled them to cultivate rice and cotton.

People had dwelling houses to live in. Most of them 
have collapsed, but those which are intact give us some idea 
of the house construction. These are built of sun-dried 
bricks. The bricks varied slightly in size, but the normal 
size was about 32 x 23 x 7 cms. One house consisted only of 
two rooms.1 These rooms of the houses were generally small. 
Two storage-vessels were found buried upside down in one 
house2. A broad street with its refuse gradually deposited 
at the sides can clearly be seen. Fragments of cylindrical 
drain-pipes were also found in some houses3. Sometimes, 
the houses were so badly ruined that only their walls are 
found to be preserved. There are new houses founded on 
the remains of the old ones. The floor of some houses is of 
burnt bricks. A big bottle shaped pit must be interpreted 
as some sort of storage pit4. There is also the house complex5 
found in the excavation. Their plan reveals a somewhat 
irregular rectangular construction, oriented north-south, and 
enclosed by the walls. Out side this almost entirely enclosed 
area, there are other constructions.

The Rang Mahal people are famous for the manufac-
ture of pottery which has its own characteristics. It is 
beautifully dark red and extremely well baked. The finest 
fabric is that provided by sprinklers which have a highly 
polished red slip. The artists have displayed great skill 
in decorating the various types of vessels with floral, zoomor-
phic and geometric pattern. Some vessels and potsherds were 
found with internal impressions. At the same time, the

1. Rang Mahal, p. 68.
2. Ibid, p. 67.
5. Ibid, Pl. 9 and 10.
pottery remained remarkably homogeneous at all levels of excavation.

Although the pottery from Rang Mahal has its individual characteristics, its different shapes and designs are related to those found at other sites such as Taxilā, Hastināpur, Ahichchhatrā, Rūpar, Bairāṭ and Rairh. HANNA RYDH maintained that the Rang Mahal pottery somehow continued the Harappan traditions. There are affinities between the painted pottery from Rang Mahal and Waziristan. SUBBARAO demonstrated the widespread use of this type of pottery throughout Gujarat and Kathiawar in the Kshatrapa period. He sees an important technical affinity between the Roman red wares and the red polished ware. The moulded pottery owed its inspiration to the terrasigillata of Romans. The pottery reached by way of Asia Minor, and north Africa in the first century A.D.

The Rang Mahal pottery is found of different shapes and designs which have parallels at other sites such as Taxilā, Hastināpur, Ahichchhatrā, Bairāṭ, and Rairh. There are globular or elliptical water pots. Spouted-jars are of frequent occurrence. One of them is in the shape of animal's head. The sprinklers are of red polished ware.

The cooking vessels varied considerably in form. There are vessels which have rims decorated with indentations. The rare-loop shaped handles have been assigned to pans and troughs. There are also large storage jars. Smaller vases differ widely in form from other pots and they were perhaps used to hold perfume. Bowls are found very commonly at this place and there is a great variety of forms. Lids with a knob-handle also occur. Jar stands, lamps and incense-burners are also found. Perforated pottery is rare at Rang Mahal and small vessels were obviously used as strainers or colanders. The moulded pottery is worthy of special mention. Rosettes and stars are of common occurrence on this type of pottery. Except for the few fragments

1. Rang Mahal, p. 142.
2. Ibid, p. 143.
3. The Personality of India, p. 46.
of bracelets, there were only two pieces of glazed pottery found in the excavation.

Not only the old structures of small houses but of temples have been discovered in the excavation at Rang Mahal. Reliefs in clay appear to have belonged to temples. The gods were not only prayed in the temples but their images were placed in small niches built for this purpose. Niches of this kind have been let into the house wall or have been constructed by resting two large flat stones against one another to form a triangle. For the pleasure of the gods, incense has been burnt in the vessels and worshippers' prayers have been accompanied by the ringing of small bells.

A large number of figurines both human and animal found in the dwellings served the purpose of decoration, amusement, and worship. We got the clay models of camels, cows and the sacred nandi (bull)\(^1\). They were modelled by hand, and most of them were of fired clay. It is probable that some of these animals served the purpose of toy for play when they were provided with wheels. The figurines of Nandi might have served the religious purpose of worship. There are human figures\(^2\) in faience and porcelain. One is a seated headless figure of an Āchārya of Brāhmaṇical faith holding his hands in pose of teaching or exposition. Another is the head of, perhaps, a female mendicant. The third is the torso, probably, of a monk. There are some terracotta human figures\(^3\) which have goat like eyes. The eyes are similar to the eyes of the figure at Ahichhatrā illustrated by V. S. AGRAWAL. He refers this to Gupta time and considers that this racial type represents the Sassanian Persian, i.e., the Parasikas, well known during the Gupta and post-Gupta periods and engaged in frequent intercourse with India.\(^4\) According to V.S. AGRAWAL, the two figures on the bowl represent a pair of Śūrya images with Saka facial type\(^5\). In the Mathura

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3. Ibid, p. 158. (See also, Plates, 71 and 72).
4. Ancient India, p. 156.
5. Ramg Maghal, p. 153, (See also Plate, 73). Agrawal's view quoted by the author.
Museum, there are such twin images of the Sun-God. The two figures on the bowls are very impressive and appear to be very realistic portraits of Kushāna faces. The small votive tank\(^1\), and small primitive female statues found here were probably dedicated to the worship of the mother-goddess.

Besides, ten more interesting terracotta reliefs representing male and female figures from the waist upwards in various attitudes were recovered from Baropel\(^2\), a village seven miles north east of Rang Mahal. There are also interesting terracotta panels\(^3\) such as: (1) a monster with bovine head, human bust and an elephantine foot, (2) Lord Krūṣṇa in the act of uplifting the mound Govardhan, (3) Krūṣṇa in the guise of a cowherd boy, and conversing with a milkmaid, (4) Mahādeva worship, (5) A saint, and (6) Śiva and Pārvatī. In all these fragments, the influence of the Gandhāra school is very apparent. TESSITORI\(^4\) also observes, "A general and very characteristic feature of all these reliefs is the classical treatment of drapery and of the hair, which at once betrays the influence of the Gandhāra school."

From the study of the various relics, it seems that the religion of the people was Brāhmaṇism. At the same time, Buddhism also flourished side by side in this area. TESSITORI\(^5\) ascertained Rang Mahal to be a Buddhist locality. Three stūpa sites were also traced at Bhadrakali, Pir Sultan and Munda in the neighbourhood of Rang Mahal.

1. The votive tanks have also been found at other sites such as Ahichchhatrā, Hīstinaipur and Taxila. Agrawal believes that this type was introduced in India under Parthian influence. It is believed to be connected with the cult of the mother goddess. (Ancient India, IV, p. 125). Marshall, on the other hand, considers this unlikely, instancing the fact that the idols, occasionally found together with tanks, are of an old purely Indian type (Taxila III, p. 463).
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid, 1918-19, p. 22. H. Goetz and K.D. Bajpai are of view that not a single object which can be said to be particularly Buddhist, has been found. Tesitiori found vestiges of other buildings of considerable size which he believed to have been stūpas, though here, too, nothing specifically Buddhist was unearthed (Marg, XIII, No. 2, p. 24).
The stūpas themselves were in every case almost entirely destroyed. The largest of the three must have been the stūpa of Munda. Among the fragments found on the site was a broken railing pillar in the form of a broken slab decorated in the centre with a lotus flower and several fragments of a harmikā railing.

The excavation at Rang Mahal yielded information about the dress and ornaments of the people. They practised weaving and spinning because there were a considerable number of wool bearing animals. The terracotta figures enlighten us about the dress of the people. The men are represented bare-headed and beardless, with naked busts except for a collar like ornament round their necks and a sort of narrow scarf thrown over one or both their shoulders. The women are shown with a large pleated skirt and sārī covering their head, but keeping apart of the skirt uncovered, and a pleated bodice, with some appliqué kind of work done on the portion covering the breast.¹

Women, and, perhaps, men as well adorned themselves with jewellery. Generally, ornaments were made of clay. They consisted of pendants, small triangular object, oblong object and ear-rings. The red-like objects, which seem to be ear-ornaments, occur in many places in various materials. Altogether 132 beads were found. Of these, 85 are of clay and the remaining are of bronze, carnelian, glass, plaster, shell, coral, quartz, porcelain, etc. A large number of bangles of glass and shell have been discovered. Besides, there are objects of stone, bone, bronze and iron. They also wore bracelets of glass, glazed clay and shell.

The life led by the people was by no means devoid of entertainment. People amused themselves in various ways. A group of men have been found with dice in their hands trying their luck at a game of hazard². The children amused themselves by playing with the toys of animals. Besides there were large and small balls, and rattles for the

1. Now skirt, short sārī and bodice are called the lahanāgā, odhani and Kāñchari respectively.
2. Rang Mahal, Pl. 76, p. 164.
children to play. The hunting of animals was also practised.

From the bone material as well as terracottas, it is possible to have some idea about animals which were both wild and domesticated. Cattle were evidently numerous. The domestic animals were horse, ass, buffalo, camel, sheep, goat, dog and zebu. The zebu dominates the animal remains of the site, because out of 508 bones, it represents some 78 animals. They also knew wild boar, gazelle, cat, hare, crow, patridge and tortoise.

The people cultivated rice and wheat which were used for eating purposes. The meat of zebu, buffalo, sheep and goats provided by far the most popular food. The meat was supplemented by means of successful gazelle and wild boar hunting with dogs. Milk was also included in their diet.

The settlement and habitation of this site continued up to the seventh century A.D., as is clear from the inscribed clay tablet. Afterwards, misfortunes came upon the inhabitants of this ancient town. Fires must have taken toll of human beings. Hyenas, pocupines and boa-constrictors might well cause a lot of mischief. But the serious trouble was the drying up of the Ghaggar. Both the archaeological finds, and certain climatological features, however, indicate that Ghaggar did not carry water as a river after the middle of the sixth century A.D. It resulted in shortage of food, as it became out of question for permanent inhabitants to live there. This dry period, therefore, was probably responsible for the desertion of Rang Mahal. They migrated with their cattle, and possession to some safer place for settlement. It is not improbable that the entire population moved all at once, some began their wanderings, others followed after; some perhaps finding their way back again, but having come more to adopt a nomad’s life. At last, the day came when the place was desolate and the ancient town was dead, thus.

1. Rang Mahal, pp. 196-199.
2. Ibid, p. 176.
Hanumāngarh situated on the left bank of the Ghaggar river in 29° 36' N and 74° 20' E is on the Jodhpur-Bikaner Railway, 232 km. north east of Bikaner city. The old name of this place was Bhaṭner, the fortress or the habitation of the Bhāṭīs, who are said to be originally the Yādava Rājpūts and who, after becoming Musalmāns, were called the Bhāṭīs. It was styled Hanumāngarh in 1805 A.D., because it was captured by Bikaner Darbār in that year on a Tuesday, a day sacred to the monkey-god.

The territory around Hanumāngarh appears to be an old one. It has yeilded a number of terracotta decorative tiles in the late Kushāṇa style along with a number of coins. Two terracotta capitals at the depth of 15' from the top of the mound with stepped pyramids along their edges have been discovered. Near the third, or inner gate of the entrance, a pedestal of terracotta, broken into two parts, which also belong to the same period, as the plaques, was found. Near the second or middle gate of the entrance, there is a door jamb of red sand stone containing three superimposed panels, and in the last two, we have two pairs of human beings in an amorous posture, while in the third, we have a seated image of the Sun God wearing boots, and holding two lotus flowers in his hands.¹

Bhaṭner, the old name of Hanumāngarh, is frequently mentioned by the Muslim historians. It has been captured by Mahmūd of Ghaznī in about 1004 A.D. In the middle of the thirteenth century A.D., Sherkhān, a cousin or nephew of Balban, was the Governor of these parts; he is said to have repaired the forts of Bhatinda, and Bhaṭner and to have died at the latter place in 1269 A.D., and a grand tomb was erected in his memory. In 1391 A.D., it was taken by Timūr from a Bhaṭī Rājpūt called Rājā (Rāo) Dūlachanda and was described as an extremely strong, and well fortified place, so much to as so be renowned throughout the whole of Hindustan.² Subsequently, the fort appears

¹. PRAS. WC, 1921 p. 116.
to have been held alternately by the Bhātīs, the Johiyās and the Chāyalas (all Musalmaṅ Rājpūts) till 1527 A.D. when it was taken by Rāva Jaitasimha, the fourth chief of Bikāner, who in turn lost it to Kāmrān, the son of the Mughal emperor Bābar in 1538 A.D. Then, it passed over to the possession of the Chāyalas, but was soon recovered by the Chief of Bikāner in about 1560 A.D., and held for some twenty years when, in consequence of imperial treasure having been plundered in the vicinity, it was attacked and taken by the Subedār of Hissār under orders from Akbar. Thereafter, the fort seems to have changed hands frequently until in 1805 it was, after a siege of five months, captured by the Bikāner Darbār from a Bhātī Chief named Zābitakhān.

Bhaṭner, the old name of the town of Hanumāṅgarh, seems to have been associated with Jainism in medieval times. It was a seat of the Āchāryas of the Badagachchha. They propagated Jainism by performing the installation ceremony of images, and also by composing literary works. There is an old temple of Śāntinātha associated with Badagachchha. In 1432 A.D., Bhadresvarasuri of Brihad-gachcha placed an image of Śāntinātha mūlanāyaka in this temple. In 1443 A.D., Kunṭa, the wife of Sanṅghi Nayana, performed an installation ceremony of the image of Ādinātha through Mahendra-Sūri of Brihad-gachchha for the merit of her husband. The same Āchārya Mahendra-Sūri also placed the images of Mahāvīravāmī, Sambhavanātha and Ajitanātha in 1444 A.D. Maladeva, the writer of the seventeenth century of the Badagachcha, refers to the images of Ādinātha, Ajitanātha, Sambhavanātha, Śreyāṁsanātha, Śāntinātha and Mahāvīra in his Jinaśtavanas. Probably, these images were once placed in the Jaina temple of Bhaṭner in the seventeenth century A.D. In 1469 A.D., Simghaka, with his wife and sons, installed an image of Sambhavanātha through Kakkasūri of Ḫapakṣētagachchha at this place. The stavana of

1. BJLS. No. 2526.
2. Ibid. No. 2157.
3. Ibid, 2152, 2153, and 2154.
5. Ibid, 1047.
Udayaharsha, written in 1650 A.D., mentions the temple of Munisuvratasvāmī. Kuśalalābha wrote the Vanarājarshi Chaupai in 1692 A.D. and the Meghadūtavṛtti was composed by Lakshmīnīvāsa.

(13) BAYĀNĀ

Bayānā is situated about forty eight kms. to the southwest of Bharatpur. In early times, it was known by various names, which were probably kept under different ruling dynasties. Its very old name is said to be Śāntipura. In the two inscriptions of the eleventh century, its name Śrīpatha is given. This name was retained up to the fifteenth century, as is clear from the Praśasti of a copy of the Ātmaprabodhana. It was also known by the name of Vijaymandiragarh, after its ruler Vijayapāla, who constructed the fort in the eleventh century A.D. It was famous by the name of Bayānā in the twelfth century, as is known from the Muslim sources. During the Muslim period, Sultānakotā was the Mohammedan name of the new city of Bayānā, and the place was afterwards known by the double name of Bayānā Sultānakotā. In the inscriptions of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, its name is mentioned as Brahmagāda.

The region around Bayānā seems to be an old one. Its antiquity can go back to the time earlier than the Gupta period. A fragmentary inscription dated 300 A.D. of the President with the title of Mahārāja Mahāsenāpati elected by the Yaudheya republic has been found. This proves that it

1. BJLS, p. 22.
2. Ibid.
3. The old name Śāntipura as known from the local traditions is not confirmed by the epigraphical and literary sources.
4. El, XXII, pp. 121-122.
5. Copy of the Munscrip in the Sāstra Bhaṇḍāra of Bayānā, Sve Appendix No. 1 for the text.
6. IA, XXI, p. 57.
7. HIED, II, p. 301 and p. 308.
8. Ibid.
was an important centre of administration under the Yaudheyas. From the Yaudheyas, it was probably seized by the Varika tribe. An inscription\(^1\) of 372 A.D. records the erection of the sacrificial post on the completion of a Puṇḍarika sacrifice by Viṣṇuvardhana. He was the son of Yaśovardhana, and grandson of Yaśorāja, and great-grandson of Vyāghrāraja. Viṣṇuvardhana may be a feudatory of the early Gupta ruler Samudra Gupta. A big hoard of the ancient Indian coins discovered at a distance of eleven kms. from Bayānā indicates that it was a prosperous city, inhabited by rich people. Most probably, at the time of Hūṇā invasion, one of them was killed in the disturbance, and so the hoard remained undiscovered till 1946 A.D.

Both from the Kāmān\(^2\) and the Bayānā\(^3\) inscriptions, it is known that Phakka was the founder of the Śūrasena family. The successors of Phakka established their separate principalities at Kāmān, Bayānā, and other places. The Kāmān inscription, which may belong to the eighth century A.D., records the erection of a temple of Viṣṇu during the reign of Vatsadāman, the seventh descendant of a king of the Śūrasena dynasty named Phakka. If we place Vatsadāman\(^4\) in 750 or 775 A.D., Phakka, the head of the dynasty, will date from about the sixth century A.D. From the Bayānā inscription of V. S. 1012 (955 A.D.), it is known that in the family of Phakka, there was a king named Vappuka\(^5\). His son was Rājayika who married a lady named

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1. CII, III, p. 252.
2. IA, X, pp. 34-35.
3. EI, XXII, 121.
4. V.V. MIRASHI attributes some coins to king Vatsadāman of the Śūrasena dynasty. A cow suckling a calf is found on the obverse along the legend ‘Śrī Vatsa dāmanārāja’, and on the reverse, there is the figure of Viṣṇu in his Varāha incarnation trampling demons. See IHQ. XVIII, p. 71.
5. G.H. Ojha and R. Burn illustrated the coins of the cow-suckling calf type with legend Śrī Vappa. It is reasonable to identify Vappa of the coins with king Vappuka who belonged to the Śūrasena dynasty itself. See JASB (1927), Num. Suppl. XXII, pp. 14-18 and JNSI, XXII, p. 279.
Sajjani of the Māyūrika family. Rājayika’s son is not known, but he married a lady named Yaśaskarī of the Paramāra clan. Their daughter was Chittralekha who was married to a Chief named Maṅgalarāja, and had four sons. The name of the first son is not known, while three other sons were Indrajit, Lakhmanarāja and Chāmuṇḍarāja. These early Śūrasena rulers were probably feudatories of the Pratihāras of Kanauj. The queen Chittralekha erected the temple of Vishnu during the reign of the emperor Mahipāla in 956 A.D.¹ Mahipāla seems to be the Pratihāra ruler because the Pratihāras were ruling at this time over Rajor near Alwar in the neighbourhood of Bayānā.² Durgadeva, the Digambara Jain poet, finished the Rishṭasammuchaya during the reign of Lakshmīnīvāsa at Kāmān in 1032 A.D.³ He may be identified with Lakṣmāṇa, the son of Chittralekha. One of the early rulers of the Śūrasena dynasty is known as Kardamabhūpati. Whether Kardama was his name or title cannot be ascertained. He was initiated into Jaina monkhood by Abhayadevasuri, and named Ghaṇḍesvarasūri. He, afterwards, founded Rājagachcha. He is said to be a contemporary of the Mālava King Muṇja, who died in about 997 A.D.⁴

When Mahmūd Ghaznī advanced to attack Mahābān on the Yamnā in the Mathurā District in 1018 A.D., it was ruled by a chief named Kulachanda⁵, who owned a large number of forts and maintained a strong army. At this time, Mahābān, and its environs were ruled by the Śūrasena dynasty, and Kulachanda was possibly a member of this family. After hard resistance, he was defeated and killed. A king named Vijayādhirāja is mentioned in the inscription⁶ dated 1043 A.D. Unfortunately, this inscription does not supply us with any data regarding his descent. It is quit possible that he belonged to the Śūrasena dynasty and founded Vijayamandiragarh. Vijayādhirāja may be

¹. EI, XXII, p. 121.
². Ibid, III, p. 263.
³. SJS, XXI (Introduction).
⁴. JSSI, pp. 197-198.
⁵. The struggle for Empire, p. 13.
⁶. ARRMA, 1913-14, pp. 1-2; See also 1A, XIV, p. 10.
identified with the famous Śūrasena ruler Vijayapāla. Vijayapāla was a powerful ruler, and he extended his empire. He had eighteen sons and among them, those who were ambitious, carved out their separate principalities. According to bardic accounts, Gajapāla, and his successors settled in Jaisalmer, and were known as Bhātis. Madanapāla founded Māndārela where he built a fort. Vijayapāla’s successor was Tahanapāla or Tribhuvanapāla, who built the fort of Tahangarh, twenty-two kms. south of Bayānā. Tahanapāla was followed in succession by Dharmapāla, Kuṃvarapāla, and Ajayapāla. CUNNINGHAM suggests that there is a chronological error in placing Kuṃvarapāla before Ajayapāla. But, this view does not seem to be correct. Both Kuṃvarapāla, and Ajayapāla were ruling over two different principalities simultaneously. Kuṃvarapāla was the king of Tribhuvanagiri in 1157 A.D. when Jinachandrasūri visited that place. It is known from the Mahāban prāṣasti found near Mathurā that Mahārājādhirāja Ajayapāla was ruling in 1150 A.D. Ajayapāla’s son and successor was Haripāla whose inscription dated 1170 A.D. has been found at Mahāban. Haripāla was succeeded by Sahanapāla. An inscription of his time dated 1183 A.D. records that the image was installed by Nīlī and Mainā, the two wives of Anaṅgapāla, and by his brother Delu, and his wife Vastā.

Kuṃvarapāla enjoyed a long reign. When Jinachandra visited Tribhuvanagiri in about 1157 A.D., he was the

1. ONS, III, p. 1. (See Viṣṇuvaṃśa). H.C. Ray regards these rulers to be of the Kachchhapaghatā dynasty but his views are not tenable. Sec, Dynastic History of Northern India, pp. 823-24.
3. ONS, III, p. 1. It seems that Kuṃvarapāla and Ajayapāla issued the coins of four-armed seated Lakṣmī type.
4. The struggle for Empire, p. 55.
5. KB, p. 19.
6. The struggle for Empire, p. 55.
8. The struggle for Empire, p. 1.
9. ARRMA, 1913-14, No. 4, p. 2. Sahanapāla is known to have issued the coins with Horseman on the obverse and humped bull on the reverse.
ruler of Bayānā. He was defeated by Muhammad Ghori in 1196 A.D., and both the forts of Vijayamandiragarh, and Tahangarh were then occupied by the invader, garrisoned with Turkish troops and placed under the command of Bhauddin Tughril. Tughril established a military station at Sultānkoṭa in order to use it as the base of operations in the plains. After Tughril, Iltutmish captured Bayānā. In 1250 A.D. during the reign of Naṣiruddin Mahmūd, it was ruled by his Governor Kutlughkhan. During the strong reign of Balban, Nusaratkhān was the Governor of this place. Afterwards, during the rule of the Khiljis, and the Tughluqs, it remained under the undisputed possession of the Muslims.

After the death of Firūz Tughluq, it fell into the hands of a powerful family known as Auhadīs, who continued to hold it sometimes as tributaries and sometimes as independent rulers for nearly a century, (1369 to 1459 A.D.). From Tejapāla’s Varāṅgacharita written in V.S. 1507 and the Pasapurāṇa in V.S. 1515, it is known that they were written at Śrīpathā of the Bhadānakadeśa which was ruled by Dāud Shāh Auhadī. They, sometimes, recognised the sovereignty of the Sharqi Kings of Jaunapur, or sometimes that of the Lodi kings of Delhi. At last, Bahrol Lodi took the possession of this place. When Ibrāhīm Lodi became ruler in 1517 A.D., Nizām Khān was his vassal. At first, he joined the party against the Mughals but afterwards, he surrendered the fort to them. During the reign of Humāyūn, his cousin Muhammad Zamān Mirzā was imprisoned in Bayānā. In the time of Shershāh, a division of the army was stationed at this place. After his death, it became the imperial capital of his son Islām Shah. In 1557 A.D., it was annexed to Delhi by the emperor Akbar, and from that

1. KB, pp. 15-20.
2. HIED, II, p. 304.
3. TN, p. 175.
4. EIM, 1,37-38, p. 5.
5. JGPS, II, p. 3.
7. HIED, V, p. 416.
time, it became a permanent part of the Mughal dominions. When the Mughal empire began to disintegrate, it fell into the hands of the Jāts.

Since Bayānā was ruled both by the Hindus and the Muslims, it remained a seat of their religious activities. In 372 A.D., Vishṇu Vardhana erected the sacrificial pillar in memory of a puṇḍarīka sacrifice for prosperity\(^1\). In 955 A.D., Chittralekha, the queen of Maṅgalārāja, built the temple of Vishṇu and gave two villages named Gograpura and Nāgapalli as well as certain fields in Hāḍhapalli to the deity\(^2\). Three drammas were to be collected for the god Śāṇgin in the maṇḍapikā of Śrīpathā and a similar sum in the maṇḍapikā of Vusāvaṭa. We also learn that a gift of one dramma was to be set apart for the god, probably whenever a horse was sold. It may also be that this sum was levied as octroi duty on every horse-load of merchandise carried through the village precincts. Indrajit, the son of Chittralekha, also made the gift of a village Aluvadraka on the occasion of a solar eclipse to this temple.\(^3\)

As Mathurā (in the neighbourhood of Bayānā) was a stronghold of Jainism in very early times, Bayānā too might have been inhabited by the Jainas although there is hardly any monument to bear testimony to this fact. The earliest trace of Jainism found at this place is from the tenth century A.D. An inscription of 994 A.D. on the image of Jina reveals that it was caused to be made in accordance with the instructions of Śūrasena of apparently the Vāgada Saṁgha by three brothers Simhaka, Yaśorāja and Nonaikea.\(^4\) The Bayānā stone inscription of 1043 A.D. (V. S. 1100) contains the names of Vishṇusūri and Māheśvarasūri, the Jaina teachers of the Kāmyaka-gachchha of the Śvetambaras, and records the death of Māheśvarasūri during the reign of prince Vijayapāla.\(^5\) The Kāmyaka-gachchha originated from the place Kāmān, near

1. CII, III, p. 252.
2. EI, XXII, p. 121.
4. PRAS. WC, 1910, p. 59.
5. ARRMA, 1913-14, pp. 1-2; See also IA, XIV, p. 10.
Bayānā. This gachchha appears to have remained confined only to this area.

During the Muslim period, the activities of Jainism remained unrestrained. Images were installed in the Jaina temples, and manuscripts were prepared in order to present them to monks. The installation ceremonies of the images were performed in 1403, 1439, 1448 and 1456 A.D. at Brahmavāda, another name of Bayānā.¹ In 1621 A.D., the Śrāvakas of this place constructed a padgāha of the temple.² By the inspiration of Lakṣhmaṇa of Kāyastha community, a poet named Govinda of the Agravāla caste wrote the Purshārthānustāsana at Śrīpathāpurī in the fifteenth century.³ Lakṣhmaṇa’s father Amarasimha was highly respected by the officers of the emperor Muḥammad Shāh. The members of this Kāyastha family followed Jainism. Since it became a literary centre in medieval times, the Jaina Grantha Bhāṇḍāra was founded, and several copies of manuscripts were presented to it by the Śrāvakaś of this place, and from outside. A copy of the Āṭmaprabodhāna was written in 1490 A.D. at Śrīpathā, the alternative name of Bayānā.

When the Muslims occupied Bayānā, it became famous for the activities of Islām. They demolished Hindu and Jaina temples, and on their ruins (they), erected a large number of mosques. An inscription of 1320 A.D. records the erection of a Masjid known as Ukhā Masjid during the reign of Qutbuddin Mubāraka. In the reign of Ibrāhim Shāh, son of Sikandara Shāh, a Mināra was built for the purpose of calling the faithful to prayer in 1517 A.D. The other mosques are Kāzipāra Masjid, Faujdāri Masjid, Sayidpāra Masjid, Muffonkī Masjid and Kāziyon-ki-Masjid. Most of these Masjids were built entirely of Hindu temples. A large number of old tombs indicate that several foreign Muslims settled at this place in medieval times.

¹. Inscriptions on images in the Jaina temple of Bayānā. See Appendix No. 2 of the text.
². Inscription in the Jaina temple of Bayānā. See Appendix No. 3 of the text.
³. JGPS, I, p. 126.
POST-GUPTA TOWNS

The period of the seventh or eighth century A.D. may be regarded as an epoch making period in the history of Rajasthan. For the first time, the events of Indian history are noticed shifting from other parts to the region of Rajasthan because the new Rājpūt clans such as the Pratihāras, the Paramāras, the Chauhānas, the Chālukyas and the Guhilas appeared in the surrounding area of Ābu, and they carved out small principalities with their new capitals. They built forts at strategic places, which in course of time, assumed the shape of towns. The Muslim invasions also started from this time. Because of their religious persecutions, the Hindu masses of the neighbouring Provinces, seeing the danger ahead, took shelter under these heroic Rājpūts, who were considered to be the defenders of their faiths and religions. As a result of this mobilisation of population, new towns were founded, and those, which were originally villages, were transformed into towns. This time is also important from the religious, and social points of view. Jainism, in Rajasthan, is now noticed for the first time, and Śaivism also began to gain popularity. Their temples and monasteries were built at various places which, in course of time, got prominence, and developed into towns. The mass conversion of the people was carried by religious preceptors, and their castes were formed after their respective towns. The merchants, who for safety and security came to this region, established markets at the places, where transport and other facilities were easily available. These markets, in course of time, grew into prosperous towns. Thus, different towns gradually came into existence from the seventh century A.D. onwards.

(14) BHINMĀL

The old name of Bhinmāl, which is situated in 25° N and 72° 16 E, about one hundred sixty-nine kms. south
west of Jodhpur, is Srīmāla. There are different views about the origin of the name of Bhīmāl.\(^1\) Actually, the early name of the place was Bhīllamāla, which is so often mentioned in the works,\(^2\) written in the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. This name of the town was kept due to the population of the Bhīlls. In course of time, it was converted into Bhīmāl. Padmānābha, who lived in the fifteenth century A.D., called it the Brahmapuri of the Chauhānas.

The early history of Bhīmāl is somehow doubtful. In about 625 A.D., the king Varmalāta was ruling over this place. He seems to have enjoyed a long rule, because both Rājīlla and his father Satyāśraya ruled as his feudatories one after the other over Vasantagarh.\(^3\) The king Varmalāta is almost certainly identical with the king of the same name whose Prime Minister Suprabhādeva was the grand-father of the famous poet Māgha, who lived in 680 A.D. Further, it is known from the Niśīthachūrṇi written in 676 A.D. that the silver coins current in Srīmāla at that time were well known by the term Varmalāta after its ruler.\(^4\) Since Brāhma gupta wrote his great work Brāhmaśputasiddhānta under the patronage of king Vyāghramukha of the Chāpa dynasty in 628 A.D. and called himself Bhīllamālakāchārya,\(^5\) it is possible that this dynasty had its capital at Bhīllamāla. Whether the king ruled at Bhīllamāla or elsewhere is a matter of controversy. He might have written his work under a foreign ruler.

Hiuen Tsang, who visited Bhīllamāla in about 641 A.D., refers to the capital of the Gurjara kingdom as Pi-

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1. According to the Srimālamāhātya, it began to be called Bhīmāl because of the dearth of the wealth. Wealthy people left it and migrated, to other places on account of its destruction at the hands of the Muslims. The authors of the Prabhācakachāritra and the Prabandhakosa hold that this name was given by Bhojī, the famous ruler of Malwa, at the sight of the poor and miserable condition of Māgha, the great poet of Srīmāla. But these views are not tenable.

2. Niśīthachūrṇi (10-225) of 676 A.D. Kuvalayamāla of 778 A.D. and Upamitibhacaprabhačākathā of 905 A.D.

3. EI, IX, p. 189.

4. NG, 10-225.

5. RI, I, p. 20.
According to Hiuen Tsang, the king of this place was a Kshatriya, celebrated for his wisdom and virtue, a profound believer in Buddhism and a man of exceptional abilities. He was just twenty years old. The people of this place were flourishing. Brāhmanism dominated the city. There was only one Buddhist monastery with 100 brothers. But somehow, the identification of Pi-lo-mo-lo with Bhinmāl is doubtful, because Hiuen Tsang notes its distance as 300 miles north of Valabhi. We should, therefore, look for the capital further North, and Bārmer would be a more probable site. Against this, it may be suggested that we should not rely on the information regarding distance, as supplied by the foreign traveller who may not be acquainted properly with the way. Bārmer and Bhinmāl are not at a long distance from each other. At this time, Bārmer was not so flourishing a town in Gurjara country as Bhinmāl. Hence, there is no doubt of Bhinmāl being the capital of the Gurjara country. This town cannot be the capital of the Chāpas, and the Gurjaras at one and the same time, because we cannot identify the Chāpas with the Gurjaras. Varmaḷā, who ruled over Bhinmāl in the seventh century A.D., was most probably the Gurjara king. According to R.C. AGRAWAL, king Varmaḷā of the Churni, and the Vasantgarh inscription was of the Chāpa dynasty, because he considers Vyāghramukha as the title of Varmaḷā. Further, the depiction of a lion (Vyāghra) on the obverse of the coins of Vyāghramukha appears to be a point of additional confirmation in this direction. There is no definite evidence either from literature, or from inscription that Varmaḷā ever assumed the title of Vyāghramukha. In the eighth century A.D., this place appears to have been attacked by the Arabs, when they occupied Sind in 712 A.D. They sent Muslim forces, afterwards, to invade Malwa, and Gujaradesa. As Bilādurī4 says “They conquered Al-

1. YTIT, p. 249.
2. The Classical Age, p. 151.
3. JNS. I, XX, p. 220.
4. HIED, I, p. 126.
Bailman and Jurz". Al-bailman is identified with Bhilamala, and Jurz with Gujarāt.

When the Paramāra ruler Munja became the ruler of Malwa, sometime between 972 and 974 A.D., and defeated Balirāja of Nādol, Bhinmlā was under the Chauhānas. He seized and entrusted it to his nephew Dūsala, who became the founder of the Bhinml branch of the Paramāra dynasty. This view of GANGULY is based on the Kirādu inscription of Someśvara dated 1161 A.D., wherein the genealogy of the Paramāras of Kirādu begins with Sindhurāja who has been taken as the brother of Vākpati II. PRATIPAL BHATIA has tried to prove that Sindhurāja of Kirādu inscription is different from Sindhurāja of Malwa who ruled between 997 and 1010 A.D. Sindhurāja of Kirādu flourished in the last quarter of the ninth century A.D. and his son (whether he was Dūsala or Utpala), a little later, i.e. about 900 A.D. or so. Obviously GANGULY was misled by the similarity of names.

In the early years of the eleventh century, Devaraja of this family obtained maru-maṇḍala from the Chahamāna Durlabharāja of Sākambhari. In 1002 A.D., he gave the grant of a field to one Aurkāchārya, the head of the temple of Siddhesvara Mahādeva, on the occasion of Lunar eclipse.

From the inscription of V.S. 1069 (1013 A.D.), it is known that Kshemarāja, charge d' affaires or chief of Administration (Tantrapāla) under Mahārajadhirāja Durlabharāja made a perpetual gift of a village called Kshatriyapadra in the District (Maṇḍala) of Bhilamāla to the Brāhmaṇa Nannaka, son of Govinda, belonging to the Lohāyana gotra, having three pravaras, a student of the Vājimādhyandina and an inhabitant of Bhilamāla, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse for the increase of the religious merit and fame of the donor's parents and of himself. Krishnarāja, (1060-66) grandson of Devarāja, was put into prison by the Chāluksya Bhima I. He was released by the Chahamāna Balaprasāda of Nādol, and ruled as an

1. History of the Paramāra Dynasty, p. 52.
3. The Struggle for Empire, pp. 73-74.
5. EI, XXXVI, 9.
6. EI, IX, p. 72.
independent king. After Krishnāraja II, Sochcharāja be-
came the ruler. He was succeeded by Udayarāja. He and
his successors acknowledged the sovereignty of the Chālukyas
of Gujarāt. He fought at Choḍa, Karṇāṭa, and Mālava for
his master Solaṅki Jayasimha Siddharāja. His son and succes-
sor Someśvara recovered the lost possession of Sindurā-
apura by the favour of Jayasimha, and in 1148 A.D., got it
confirmed by Solaṅki Kumārapāla.¹ The next known king
after Someśvara is Jayasimha (1182 A.D.), who seems to
have been succeeded by Salakha. In the early years of the
thirteenth century A.D., it came under the supremacy of
the Chāhamānas of Jālor. From the Sūndhā inscription, it
is known to have been ruled by Udayasimha² whose inscriptions
of the time between 1205 and 1249 A.D. have been
discovered. Allāuddin also destroyed Śrimāla, when he con-
quered Jālor from Kānhabādeva. Afterwards, it remained
under the control of Jālor-Paṭhāns. In the eighteenth
century, it came under the possession of the Rāthors of
Jodhpur.

In the reign of the early Hindu rulers, Śrimāla became
a premier city of the Northern India. According to the
tradition preserved in the Śrimālapnrāna, a work of the
fourteenth century A.D., the city was about twenty-four
to thirty-two kms. in extent, laid out in the shape of a
square. There were several temples of Gaṅapatis, Kshetrapālas
Chanḍikādevis, Śivalingas and others. It had 84 gates.³
Making allowance for the poetic exaggeration and local
pride, there is no doubt that it was a flourishing town in the
past. It was a home of the artists, who were invited from
outside places. From an inscription of the seventh century
A. D. found at Nagara, it is known that the stepwell of this
place was constructed by the Sūtradhāras Sūryavarman,
Grahavarman and Gaṅgāvarman, sons of Grahabhaṭa, a
Sūtradhāra of Bhillamāla. They were expert sculptors and
architects and were efficient in the duties of Sūtradhāra.⁴

The temple of Bhinmāl known as Jagatsvāmī was one

¹. ARSMA, 193, p. 10.
². EI, IX, 73.
³. SP, p. 189.
⁴. BK, p. 267.
of the most famous, and earliest temples of Rājasthān. It would certainly have, if preserved, shed some light not only on the architecture, but also on the religious conditions of this region. The ‘torana’ of this temple in the śrīmālā Māhātmya is represented to have been brought from heaven.¹ It must have been considered very old at the time when the Śrīmālā- māhātmya was composed. Actually, this temple seems to have been built during the reign of the Gurjara Pratiharas who were highly devoted to Sun-worship. A festival was held at this place in the month of Āsvina because in almost all the inscriptions of the temple, this festival has been referred to again and again. On this occasion, the oblation was to be offered, and for the permanent maintenance of this worship, various gifts were given by persons of different communities during the reign of the Paramāras and the Chauhānas. One of the inscriptions dated 1060 A.D. of the reign of the Paramāra king Krishnarāja tells us that the temple of Jagatsvāmī was repaired by certain persons of whom two were of the Dharkaṭa, and one of the Prāgvāṭa caste. It is curious that both were Jainas, and contributed to the repairs of the temple. They restored the temple after inducing kings, princes, Brāhmaṇas, Mahājanas, and citizens to resort to ‘Sauradharma’², i.e., the worship of the Sun. An inscription of 1056 A. D. (V. S. 1113) also mentions some gifts by Krishnarāja³. During the reign of the Chauhāna of Jālor, the popularity of this temple continued. In 1205 A.D. (V. S. 1262), 1248 A.D. (V. S. 1305), and 1249 A.D. (V. S. 1306) during the reign of the Chauhāna ruler Udaisimha, certain grants were made to meet the expenses for the worship of the temple of Jagatsvāmī⁴. An inscription dated 1277 A.D. (V. S. 1334) mentions some gifts for the Sun temple given by Devaka in the name of Chauhāna Chāmuṇḍarāja, when Chāchigadeva was ruling⁵. After Chāchigadeva, his son Sāmantasimha became the ruler, in whose reign,

¹. SP, p. 189.
². PRAS, vo., 1907-09, p. 37.
³. ARSMJ, 1922, No. 15, p. 4.
⁴. Ibid, Nos. 16 17 and 18, p. 5.
⁵. Ibid, No. 21, p. 5.
certain gifts were given by some persons of Jālor¹ in 1282 A. D., and by Rāṭhor Lūṇasirīha in 1292 A. D. for worship of the Sun God.²

Besides, the temple of Sun, Bhīnmāl was a great centre of Jainism, and there were several Jaina temples. An inscription of 1276 A.D. found here tells us that Mahāvīra in person came to Śrīmālā.³ This is supported by the Śrīmālāmāhātmya, a work of about thirteenth century A.D., which gives an account of the dissemination of Jainism in Śrīmālā. Gautama Gaṇadhara went to Kashmir where he was converted to Jainism by Mahāvīra. After his return to Śrīmālā, he converted the Vaiṣyas to Jainism, and composed the Kalpasūtra, Bhagavatīsūtra, Mahāvīra Janmasūtra, and other works.⁴ These statements are of a very late period and, therefore, cannot be relied upon. But, it can be concluded from them that in the twelfth century A.D., Jainism was considered to be a very old religion in Bhīnmāl. From a praśasti of the Kuvalayamālā of Uddyotanasūri written in 778 A.D. at Jālor, it is known that his ancestor Śivachandrāgāṇi came to Bhīnmāl from the Punjab for pilgrimage, and his disciple Yakshadatta, and others adorned the Gurjara land with temples.⁵ Siddhasenasūri refers to this place as a holy place in the Sakalatīrthastotra.⁶ The wellknown poet Dhanapāla of the eleventh century A.D., in his poem Satyapurīyamahāvīrautsāha, informs us about the Jaina image of Mahāvīra.⁷ Jinaprabhasūri, in the Vividhatīrthakalpa, mentions it as a holy place of Vīra.⁸ Like the temple of Jagatsvāmī, this temple of Mahāvīra was famous, and grants were made to it from time to time. An inscription of 1276 A.D. mentions some gifts for the worship of Mahāvīradeva given by Karmasirīha, Governor of Sāñchor, Ratanapura, Radadhara,

1. ARSMA, 1922, No. 22, p. 6.
2. Ibid, No. 23.
3. PRAS. WC, 1908, p. 39.
4. SP, pp. 633-63.
5. JBORS., 1923, March, p. 28.
6. GOS, LXXVI, p. 156.
7. JSS, III, I.
8. VTK, p. 86.
and incharge of the export and import departments of Bhinmāl in the reign of Chauhāna Chāchigadeva.1 Besides, there were other Jaina temples such as Śāntinātha and Pārśvanātha. In the praśasti of the Kalpasūtra dated 1489 A.D., it is known that Kuladhara Sāha constructed a Jaina temple in the thirteenth century A.D.2 According to the Upakeśagachchha-prabandha, there were two Jaina temples of Upakeśagachchha in the fourteenth century A.D.3 In the sixteenth century A.D., Śreshṭhi Toḍā has been described as the Goshṭhika of Śāntinātha.4 In the medieval times, the Pārśvanātha temple of this place was very famous. The miracles of the Pārśvanātha image have been described in the Tīrthamālās.5 In 1605 A.D. Punyakamala wrote the Pārśvanāṭhastavana in honour of this deity.6 Mahimā has described the six temples of this place in his Chaityapariṇāti.7 From the Tīrthamālās written in medieval times, we get information about the prosperity of Bhinmāl.8

Bhinmāl also remained a great seat of learning. The scholars of this place were famous for their learning and scholarship, and their fame spread far and wide. The famous astronomer Brahmagupta wrote the Brāhmaśphutasiddhānta in 628 A.D. Māgha, the author of Sīṣupālavadha, also lived here in 680 A.D. The well-known scholar Siddhārṣhi, who belonged to this place, wrote the Upamiribhavaprāpañchākathā in 905 A.D. A copy of the Śāntināṭhacharitra was written in 1327 A.D.9 Guṇāvijaya wrote here a portion of the commentary of the Vijayapraśastikāvya. The Jaina Rāmāyaṇa was written by Vijayagaṇi in 1595 A.D.10

1. ARSMJ, 1922, No. 20.
2. SPS, 47.
3. S. Pat. III, No. 1.
4. Ibid.
5. S. Pat. III, No. 1.
6. JSP, IX, p. 114.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. GOS LXXVI, p. 156.
10. S. Pat. III, No. 1.
Srīmālis both among the Brāhmaṇas, and the Jainas came into prominence because of Srīmāla. The Srīmālī Brāhmaṇas of this place were famous for their Vedic learning. It is for this reason that Padmanābha calls it the Brahmapuri of the Chauhānas of Mārwār. The Srīmālis among the Jainas originated from this place. They were converted to Jainism by the Jaina saints in about the eighth century A.D. It is said that the Poravālas originated simultaneously with the Srīmālis from Srīmāla in the eighth century A.D. The people of the eastern gate of Srīmāla, who accepted Jainism from the Jaina saints in the eighth century A.D., were called the Poravālas. The forefathers of Lolāka of the Poravāla caste, who constructed the Jaina temple of Bijauliā, originally lived at Srīmālapattana.\(^1\) In course of time, the Srīmālis, and the Poravālas multiplied and spread specially to Jodhpur, Udaipur and Sirohi.

(15) VASANTAGARH

Vasantagarh, eight kms. to the south of Pīṇḍwārā, is situated on a river named Sarasvati. Its old names, as known from various sources, were Vaṭākara,\(^2\) Vaṭasthāna,\(^3\) Vaṭanagara,\(^4\) Vaṭa,\(^5\) Vaṭapura and Vaṣishṭhapura.\(^6\) This place was called Vaṭa on account of the banian trees, which are found in abundance. In the eleventh century, it was believed that once, under the banian trees, there stood a sacrificial hermitage of Vaṣishtha.\(^7\) Vaṣishtha is said to have erected the temple of Arka and Bharga, and with the aid of the architect of the gods, founded a city called Vaṭa adorned with ramparts, orchards, tanks, and lofty mansions. It was, therefore, called Vaṣishṭhapura. In course of time, this hermitage of Vaṣishtha developed into a prosperous town,

1. EI, XXVI, p. 99.
2. PRAS. wc., 1905-06, p. 52.
3. IA, 39, p. 167.
4. EI, XX, p. 97.
5. EI, IX, p. 11.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
as is clear from the ruins of the palatial buildings of the kings, and the temples of different religions.

Vasantagarh, the city of great antiquity, must have been in existence long before the first half of the seventh century A.D. In 625 A.D., it was held by Rājilla who was a feudatory of the king Varmalā. Rājilla’s father Vajrabhata Satyāśraya was also a feudatory of the same king. Rājilla protected Mt. Arbuda, and he had his capital at Vasantagarh. The king Varmalā is certainly identical with the king of the same name whose Prime Minister Suprabhadeva was the grandfather of the famous poet Māgha of Śrīmālā. Hence Varmalā seems to be the ruler of Śrīmālā. Further, it is known from the Niśīthachūrṇī, written in 676 A.D., that the silver coin current in Śrīmālā at that time was well known by the term Varmalā after its ruler.

In course of time, Vasantagarh seems to have fallen into decay, and forced its inhabitants for migration to different places. From the Sāmoli inscription dated 646 A.D., it is known that a Mahājana community headed by Je(na) ka who had migrated from Vaṭanagara, started an āgara (ākara, a mine) in Āraṇyakūpagiri, which became a source of livelihood for the people. From the inscription of Lohinī-well, dated 1042 A.D., it is known that Bhavagupta, one of the predecessors of Vigrahārāja, the deceased husband of Lāhini ruled over this territory, and he restored a temple of the Sun. Vigrahārāja was fourth in succession from Bhavagupta. He ruled in 1042 A.D., and, therefore, Bhavagupta, his predecessor, must have lived about 100 years earlier than Vigrahārāja, i.e. 942 A.D. The successor of Bhavagupta was Sāṁgamrāja, who ruled Bādarī in Vamsārāṭha. This change of capital was perhaps due to some political upheaval, which brought further ruin to this place. Perhaps, as a result of it, a person, who originally belonged to this place, came to Āhār in Mewar and built the temple of Nāṇīgasvāmi in

1. EI, IX, p. 189.
2. PC, XIV, 56.
3. NG, 10-225.
4. EI, XX, p. 97.
5. EI, IX, p. 11
977 A.D.¹ In 1042 A.D., it was the capital of the Paramāra ruler Pūrnapāla, son of Dhandhuka. His younger sister Lāhiṇī, after the death of her husband, went to Vasantagarh, the capital of her ancestors, to live with her brother. She settled down there, rebuilt the dilapidated temple of the Sun and restored a step-well for convenience of the public.² This well is still called Lānvava (Lāhiṇī Vāpi).

In the medieval period, Vasantagarh was destroyed by Muslim invasions and, therefore, it was deserted. In the middle of the fifteenth century, it was included in the dominions of the Guhila king, Kumbhakarna.³ He rehabilitated the old town by inviting people from different places for settlement, and provided several facilities to them.⁴ He built a tank in honour of Vishṇu, and also repaired the old fort.

Under the patronage of the early Hindu rulers, both Brāhmanical and Jaina religions flourished highly. The main old temples, as known from the inscriptions, were of Kshemāryā, Sun, Brahmā and the Jaina Tirthānkaras. These temples were not later than the seventh century A.D. An inscription of 625 A.D. records that while Rājilla, a feudatory of Varmalāta and ruler of the territory round about Mount Ābū was reigning at Vasantagarh, a temple of the goddess Keshemāryā was erected by a trader named Satyadeva at the direction of the town assembly.⁵ There can be little doubt that the Kšemāryā of this inscription is khamelā mātā, near whose shrine, the stone was discovered.

The belief current in 1042 A.D., that the Sun temple of Vasantagarh was constructed by Vaśishṭha, proves its antiquity. The temple became dilapidated in course of time, but its original structure cannot be of a period later than the seventh century A.D. The gateway, and enclosure-wall of the temple of Sūrya were renewed by Bhavagupta, one of the predecessors of the husband of Lāhiṇī. In Lāni’s time,

1. IA, XXXIX p. 187.
2. EI, IX, p. 12.
3. ARRMA, 1923-24, No. 8, pp. 3-4.
4. URI, p. 312.
5. EI, IX, p. 189.
there must have been principally the reconstructions of Śikhara, which is a later work.

The temple of Brahmā situated near the Sun temple is almost of the same style as that of the Sun temple. Both are the oldest remains at Vasantagarh. The plain heavy massive mouldings of their basements, and the brick-spires coated with plaster are unmistakable indications of a very early age, and the original construction of them cannot be put later than the seventh century A.D. It appears to have originally been a shrine, a pradakśhinā and a sābhāmaṇḍapa. Inside the shrine is a standing life-size image of Brahmā with three faces, and a nimbus behind them, but with only two hands holding a rosary, and a water pitcher. The temple of Bharga, constructed by Vaśishṭha, as mentioned in the inscription of 1042 A.D., is actually this temple.

The Jaina temple of Vasantagarh is said to be of the fifteenth century A.D. An inscription engraved on the pedestal of a Jaina image in this temple states that it was set up in the Vasantapura chaitya by Bhāḍāka, son of Dhansi, and others, and was consecrated by Maṇisundarāsūri during the reign of Kumbhakarṇa in 1450 A.D. Actually, this temple existed earlier than the period of the fifteenth century, because it was only renovated at this time. The inscription of the seventh or eighth century A.D. engraved on the walls of this temple definitely proves its early date. Besides, a pair of images of Rishabhadeva with the inscription of 687 A.D. has been discovered underground. After the eulogy of the Jaina images, it is recorded that Droṇovaka Yaśodeva caused to be constructed the beautiful pair of Jaina images.

Thus, in the seventh century A.D., it was a prosperous town, inhabited by merchants. There was a town-assembly to control the local affairs. This points out that there was some sort of local self-government. People of different religions lived in cooperation, and harmony. There were people who worshipped Kshemāryā. Others were highly devoted

1. HS., p. 36.
2. ARRMA., 1924, No. 8, pp. 3-4.
3. PRAS. wc., 1905-06, p. 52.
4. ARRMA, 1936-37, No. 1 p. 2.
to the worship of the Sun and Brahmā. Jainism was also followed by the people.

(16) KUSUMĀ

Kusumā is located in the Reodar Tahsil of the Sirohi District, about 45 kms. from the Ābū Road Railway Station. Its ancient name was Kutsāśrama. This name shows that originally, it was a hermitage of Kutsa. This hermitage of Kutsa is no doubt the same as the āśramapada mentioned in the inscription¹ of *Sam.* 693 (636-37 A.D.) of this place. In the seventh century A.D., this place was famous for the temple of Śiva, which was built on a hill in the neighbourhood of Kusumā by a warrior named Satyabhāta.

From the inscription of *Sam.* 693 (636-37 A.D.), it seems that Satyabhāta was apparently the younger brother of the ruler of this area. This ruler has been described in this inscription as one whose feet are rubbed by the crowns of a large number of subordinate rulers. His name, family and other details are broken away.

From the Vasantagarh inscription² dated 625 A.D., it is known that this area was held by Rājilla who was a feudatory of the king Varmalāta of Bhānmāl. Rājilla’s father Vajrabhaṭa Satyāśraya was also a feudatory of the same king. It is quite possible that Satyabhāta was the younger brother of Rājilla, and both were the sons of Vajrabhaṭa Satyāśraya.

The date of the record of this place falls in the reign period of King Harshavardhana (606-47 A.D.) of Kanauj. D. C. SIRCAR thinks that it is quite possible that the ruler of the place was a feudatory of the Kanauj king. This view does not seem to be plausible because he was a feudatory of Varmalāta as known from the Vasantgarh inscription. Besides, the era used in this inscription is not Harsha era but Vikrama.

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1. El, XXXVI, p. 47.
2. Ibid, IX, p. 189.
(17) **Mañḍor**

Mañḍor, the ancient capital of Mārwār, is situated at a distance of eight kms. from Jodhpur. Its old names were Maṇḍodara\(^1\) and Māṇḍavyapuradurga.\(^2\) This town was in existence in the fourth century A.D., because some names of the individuals are engraved in two or three places near the cave of Nāhaḍarāṇā in characters of the early Gupta period.\(^3\) There was a fort, when the town was taken into possession by the Pratihāras in the sixth century A.D. Originally, it was a hermitage of Māṇḍavyarīshī, and became famous after him.\(^4\) In about the seventh century A.D., the pious hermitage of Māṇḍavya was well known. Tātā, one of the predecessors of Bāuka, retired to the pious hermitage of Māṇḍavya, adorned with streams and rivers, and practised there the rites of pure religion.\(^5\) An inscription of the ninth century A.D. records that a certain worshipper of Kesava, whose name is missing, performed a fire-sacrifice, presumably at Māṇḍavya's hermitage.\(^6\)

According to local traditions, Maṇḍor was first held by the Nāgas. Some of their remains, and traces are still found. The river, on the bank of which it is situated, is called Nāgādri. The tank of this place is called Nāgakunḍa or Ahiśaila. From the sixth century A.D., the Pratihāras began to rule over this place. The founder of this Pratihāra family was Harichandra, who was a Brāhmaṇa versed in the *Vedas* and other *Śāstras*.\(^7\) His son Rajilla with his three brothers conquered, and fortified, Maṇḍor which presumably became their capital. King Tātā and his three successors ruled probably between 640 and 720 A.D. The next Siluka, great

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1. *EI*, IX, p. 278.
2. Ibid., XVII, p. 98.
4. It is said that Maṇḍor was named after Maṇḍodāra who was married to Rāvaṇa. It is purely imaginary and is based upon nothing, but a correspondence of sound between Maṇḍodāra and Maṇḍor.
5. *EI*, XVIII, p. 98.
son of Tāta, was however an important king. He is said to have fixed the boundary between Valla and Stravanī, and gained supremacy by defeating Devarāja, the Bhāṭṭī king. The Bhāṭṭī king Devarāja was probably the ruler of the Bhāṭṭī clan of Jaisalmer. He increased the power of his family by enlarging the extent of his kingdom. He has been called the Valla-maṇḍala pālaka. This presumably refers to a confederacy of States of which he was the recognized head.

After Siluka, there was decline in the political and military authority during the reign of his two successors, who were of pacific nature, and practised austerities. At this time, the prestige of the family of the imperial Pratiharas must have risen very high, because its ruler, Nāgabhaṭa I, pushed back the Arab invaders and saved Western India from them.1 The Pratiharas of Maṇḍor seem to have recognized the sovereignty of Nāgabhaṭa I, and his successors. The next king Kakka of Maṇḍor is described as a great fighter, who accompanied Nāgabhaṭa II in his expedition against the Pāla king of Bengal.2 He acknowledged the suzerainty of Nāgabhaṭa II at first; in later years, he seems to have practically behaved like an independent king.

Bāuka, the son of Kakka, is described as an independent ruler. He was a great hero, and undertook several exploits.3 This conclusion is corroborated by the Daulatpurā Copper Plate of Bhoja4 which records that a piece of land in Gurjarātra, the home territory of the Maṇḍora Pratiharas, which was originally granted by Vatsarāja, and continued by Nāgabhaṭa II, fell into abeyance, and was renewed by Bhoja in 843 A.D.

1. El, XVIII, pp. 110-111. A large number of silver coins of the eighth century A.D. of the Arab Governors of Sind have also been discovered at this place. See NPP, V. 2006, pt. 1, 26. See also the Coins of Marwar, Preface.
2. Ibid, p. 98.
4. Ibid, v, p. 208. Disharatha Sharma has tried to prove that there was no decline in Rāmabhadra’s power in Gurjarātra on the basis of the Daulatpurā grant Gurjarātra was already included in the Pratihāra empire at the time of Bhoja’s accession. See, Rajasthan through the Ages, pp. 148-150.
This indicates that there was obstruction in the enjoyment of land during the reign of Rāmabhadra. Bāuka threw off the yoke of this king. But, by 843 A.D., Bhoja had reasserted his authority. But, soon Bāuka's step-brother, and successor Kakkuka renewed the power of the Jodhpur Pratiharās. The Ghaṭiyālā inscription of Kakkuka dated 861 A.D. records that Gurjarātra and other Provinces formed a part of his dominions. Thus, Bhoja must have lost his hold over this part of Rajasthan sometime between 843 and 861 A.D.

Maṇḍor also remained under the control of the Chāhamāna rulers of Nāḍol. It seems to have been a regular centre of provincial government, administered by their sons and near relatives. Āśārāja, whose inscriptions bear dates from 1110 to 1143, A.D., ruled over Nāḍol. When his relatives captured the fortress of Māṇḍavya, he went there with his army, subdued his enemies, and built a tank. Āśārāja had to surrender Nāḍol to his nephew Ratnapāla. Ratnapāla was succeeded by his son Rāyapāla in about 1132 A.D. He placed Maṇḍor under the charge of his son Sahajapāla. An inscription of 1145 A.D. of Sahajapāla records that he bestowed a village to Narabhaṭasvāmī. Ālhaṇa, son of Āśārāja, captured it from his relative Sahajapāla. His son Gajasimha was assigned the territory of Maṇḍor where he was ruling in 1162 A.D. After Ālhaṇa, his eldest son and successor Kelhaṇa became the ruler in 1164 A.D. He made his son Chāmunḍarāja the Governor of Maṇḍor, where he was ruling in 1170 A.D. It was given to his sons Simhavikrama in 1184 A.D., and then to Soḍhaladeva in 1193 A.D.

For some time, Maṇḍor also remained under the Muslim control. In 1226 A.D., Iltutmish captured Maṇḍor. As it is, however, listed in 1262 A.D. as one of Udayasimha's
possession, he must have recaptured it between 1226 and 1262 A.D. In 1294 A.D., Jalāluddin Khiljī undertook the expedition against Maṇḍor, and conquered it. This is further confirmed by a Persian inscription on the broken-slab built into the wall which records that the mosque was founded in the reign of Sultān Firūzshāh. This Firūz Shāh has been wrongly identified by DAYARAM SAHNI with the Tughluq prince of that name, who ruled between 1351 A.D. to 1388. Actually, he is Jalāluddin Firūz Shāh Khiljī ruling from 1290 A.D. to 1296.

Maṇḍor was wrested from the Muslims by the Rāṭhor Rāo Chūṇḍā in about 1405 A.D. The latter and his successors reigned there till 1459 A.D., when the city of Jodhpur was founded, and was made the capital of Mārwār. Even before the fifteenth century, the Rāṭhors were living at this place. An inscription of 1156 A.D. found at Maṇḍor shows that Rāṣṭrakūṭas were living near or at Maṇḍor even before the overthrow of their kingdom of Kanauj, and the migration of Sihājī to Mārwār. In the inscription of 1160 A.D., the donor is described as a Raṣṭaunḍa, i.e., Rāṭhor Rājpūt. These Rāṭhors may have some connection with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Hastikūṇḍi, and Dhanopa in Rājasthān.

The Pratihāra rulers of Maṇḍor were great patrons of art, and they adorned their capital with many beautiful buildings. Excellent Brahmānical and Jaina temples were constructed during their reign. The Pratihāra ruler Rajilla built the rampart of the fort in about the sixth century A.D. Probably, it refers to the walls of the fort, which are still surviving. They were constructed of massive blocks of stone, and were further strengthened and protected by bastions on the outside. The most interesting objects in the castle are two elaborately sculptured monoliths. They were of a fine torana which was intact in the time of TOD when he visited

1. TN, p. 75.
3. JRI, p. 207.
4. ARSMJ, 1932, p. 7.
6. EI, XVIII, p. 98 (V.10)
Scenes from Kṛṣṇa’s life such as the uplifting of Govardhana mountain, stealing-butter, upturning the cart, and the subjugation of Nāgakāliya have been very well depicted. According to DAYARAM SAHNI,¹ these columns are contemporary to a later Brāhmanical temple of the seventh century A.D., discovered while excavating the mound, but on stylistic grounds, these scenes on columns probably belonged to the Gupta period.

In excavating the mound, some pottery vessels have also been found, and one of them bears the letters ‘Vikahaya’ probably the name of the potter. The Brāhmanical temple discovered in the excavations consists of a sanctum, which is the earliest part of the building. It must have been erected in the seventh or eighth century A.D., and was restored and enlarged during the ninth or tenth century, and also in the twelfth century A.D. In the ninth or tenth century A.D., there appears to have been added to the shrine an antechamber or mandapa of which the principal remains are six columns. The columns are elaborately decorated with bands of musicians, Kirtimukhas, atlantes, floral designs and other motifs. Besides these columns, several relieves were discovered, which belong to the same period and were probably used to decorate the walls of the mandapa. One of these illustrates the Vāmana-avatāra of Viṣṇu, which he undertook in order to humble the pride of the demon Bālī. This sculpture is of particular interest showing that in the ninth or tenth century A.D., the shrine was consecrated to the worship of Viṣṇu.

The above temple was originally consecrated to Viṣṇu and continued to remain in the possession of his votaries up to the twelfth century A.D.; this fact is proved not only by the sculptures, but by a number of inscriptions as well. Every one of these records, which are of an earlier period than the thirteenth century, alludes to Viṣṇu either by that name or other. The devotees of Viṣṇu made charities to this temple at this time. An inscription of the ninth century A.D. records that a certain worshipper of Keśava performed a fire sacrifice. The same person obviously made the perpetual offering

of a Karisha (Karsha) oil to it. Another inscription of the twelfth century shows the bestowal of a village by Sahajapala, son of Rāyapala, the ruler of Nāḍol to Narabhaṭa-śvāmī. In about the thirteenth century A.D., it came under the possession of Śaivas, because the inscriptions after the thirteenth century speak only of Śiva.

Two interesting reliefs cut in the rock also belong to this Pratihāra period. One of them contains a row of nine figures. One of them is Gaṇeśa while the remaining eight represent eight divine mothers (āṣṭamātikās) Durgā, and her Śaktis Brahmāṇī, Kumārī, Vaishṇavī, Indrāṇi, Māheśvarī, Vārāhi and Nārāśimhī. It evidently points out that the people of this place were followers of the Śakti-cult. The other relief is cut in the rock close by. It consists of a rectangular niche with an elaborate ornamental border around which is a four armed figure sitting cross legged in the manner of Sūrya, the Sun God. The way, in which the deity was worshipped, indicates the infiltration of foreign influence. From the style of carving, it appears to be of the seventh or eighth century A.D. It is further confirmed by the inscription of 685 A.D. which mentions that Madhu got built this step-well. It is presumed that the images of Mātrikās known as Rāvana-Kī-Chaṇvari were originally prepared at the pratishṭhān ceremony of the step-well.

Jainism was also in existence at Maṇḍor in early times. A Jaina temple to the north of the cave of Nāḥaḍa Rāo is a two storeyed structure consisting of small cells running on the three sides of an oblong both above and below. The pillars of the sābhāmāṇḍapa in front of the shrine are old, dating as early as perhaps the tenth century. Kakkuka, the Pratihāra ruler of this place, was a great patron of Jainism. From the Ghaṭiyālā inscription of 861 A.D., it is clear that he constructed a Jaina temple at Ghaṭiyālā. Even after-

2. Ibid, p. 93.
3. Ibid, p. 93.
4. ARSMJ, 1934, p. 5.
5. PRAS, WC, 1907, p. 33.
6. JRAS, 1895, p. 516.
wards, Jainism continued to thrive. In 1186 A.D., the Srawakas of this place went on pilgrimage with the Samgha led by Abhayakumāra from Anahilapurapāṭana to the holy places in the company of Jinaprabhasūri. In 1194 A.D., Jinapatisūri visited this place, and garlanded Lakshmīdhara and other Srawakas with great rejoicing. At the request of the Samgha, Jinachandrasūri went to Jālor where a Sāvaka Siha, son of Salakhaṇa of Māṇḍor, came to pay his respects to him. He also accompanied Śrīnji to Ābu. In 1323 A.D., Jinakulasūri performed the installation ceremony of Ādīnātha Chaturviśatipaṭṭa at Māṇḍor. From a paṭṭikā inscription of the Bhagavatisūtravṛtti, it is known that it was presented by Lakshmīdhara of Māṇḍor to some monk in the thirteenth century.

The Srawakas of Māṇḍor built, and repaired temples of other places and placed images in them. In 1311 A.D., Gosala, with his brother, and sons, renovated the temple of Vimalavashī at Ābu. In 1461 A.D., Sanjaka of Māṇḍor with the members of the family prepared Nandiśvara paṭṭikā, and installed it during the reign of Chāchigadeva in the temple of Pārvanātha at Jaisalmer through Jinachandrasūri. Under the directions of the famous Āchārya Jinabhadrasūri, Jaina temples were built at several places including Māṇḍor in the fourteenth century.

The importance of Māṇḍor is also noticed from the social point of view. The Maṇḍovara gotra of the Osavālas became famous after Maṇḍor. It seems that this town was inhabited by a large number of Osavālas, and they migrated to other places, where they were called after the name of the home town. In the fifteenth century, they increased in number, and performed the installation ceremony of images

1. KB, p. 34.
2. Ibid, p. 36.
3. Ibid, p. 44.
4. BJLS No. 1.
5. JSP, p. 4.
7. NJI, No. 2116.
8. JSSI, p. 472.
through the Āchāryas of Dharmaghosha gachchha. In 1437 A.D., Sāha Rājapāla of the Maṇḍovara gotra performed the installation ceremony of Suvidhinātha.1 Sāha Sūrā of this same gotra with his sons performed the installation ceremony of Śāntinātha for the merit of his wife in 1497 A.D.2 The Maṇḍora-gachchha, a branch of the Kharatara-gachchha, originated from this place. In 1745 A.D., this branch separated from Jinamahendrasūri at Maṇḍor and, therefore, was named Maṇḍovara-ṭākhā.3

(18) GHAṬIYĀLĀ

At a distance of thirty-five Km. north west of Jodhpur is situated the town of Ghaṭiyālā. In early times, it was famous by the names of Rohirhsaka4 and Rohirhsakūpa.5 It was a well-known town in the ninth century A.D., and was governed by the Pratiharas of Maṇḍor. In 837 A.D., the Pratihāra ruler Bāuka of Maṇḍor was the ruler of this place.6 He probably declared his independence from the Pratihāra ruler of Kanauj. Afterwards, this place was attacked by the Ābhīras,7 who ruled over Western India in the ninth or tenth century A.D. They were Mlechchhaś, and carried on anti-Brāhmaṇcian activities. As a result, life and property became unsafe, and good many people went to safer places.

After Bāuka, his step-brother and successor Kakkuka became the ruler who, by sheer dint of merit and military services, extended his empire up to Gujrāt and other Provinces. In 861 A.D., he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Ābhīras8, and forced them to vacate the town. It seems that he made this place his residence like Maṇḍor, because he erected two

1. BJLS, No. 774.
2. NJI, No. 602.
4. EI, IX, p. 279.
5. JRAS, 1895, p. 514.
6. EI, XVIII, p. 87.
8. Ibid.
columns, one at Maṇḍor, and other at Ghaṭiyālā. Owing to the royal patronage, this town became prosperous. The ruler established a ḥatīa or market, which was adorned with streets and shops, and he built many houses. He invited Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas and Vaiṣyas to settle there, and provided them with the means of livelihood. In order to commemorate his victories over the Ābhiraś and other enemies, he erected the columns of fame both at Maṇḍor and Rohiṁsaka. The place, where Kakkuka’s column stands, is called Khākhu Devalam. The name of the Pratihāra chief has been preserved to this day under the form of Khākhu. The word devalam in Mārwarī signifies a memorial stone. The four images of Gaṇeśa at the top of a column facing the four quarters installed in a market place, perhaps, mark his association with success in trade. This also indicates that he was a devotee of Gaṇeśa.

Though a follower of Brāhmaṇical religion, Kakkuka was tolerant towards other religious sects. He was a patron of Jainism, and caused to be built a temple of the god Jina for the several merchants, whom he invited to settle there. He entrusted this temple to the community, presided over by the ascetics, Jāmbava and Āmraka and the merchant Bhākuṭa in the gachchha of the holy Dhaneśvara¹. The temple is in ruins, but only a niche known as Mātāji ki Sāla has been preserved. On the right side of it is sculptured the figure of a goddess seated on a lion. The carving of this figure is very fine, and is doubtless old. It is after this goddess that the ruin is named Mātāji ki Sāla. The goddess is not a Hindu but a Jaina deity, as the inscription informs us that the temple was dedicated to Jina.

Even afterwards, the importance of this place continued. An inscription of 890 A.D. records that Sāṁvaladevi, the wife of Raṇuka, became Sati on her husband’s pyre. The name of the person Raṇuka indicates that he must be a member of some royal family.

1. JRAS, 1895, p. 521.
2. INT, No. 107.
At a distance of one hundred seventeen Km. north-east of Jodhpur stands the town of Merta. Its ancient names were Međantaka² and Medatapura.¹ In medieval times, it was called Medanipura. Its earliest reference is found in the Jodhpur inscription of the Pratihāra chieftain Bāuka dated 837 A.D.³ Therein, Nāgabhata, one of his predecessors, is represented to have made Međantaka his capital. This Nāgabhata is the grandson of Rajilla who ruled over Maṇḍor in the sixth century A.D.

After the Pratiharas, Merta probably came under the possession of the Chauhānas. In about 1322 A.D., Rāṇā Māladeva Chauhāna was ruling over this place, but soon in 1328 A.D., it was occupied by Alāuddīn Khiljī, who appointed Tajadi-ali as his Viceroy.⁴ This place was taken away in 1468 A.D. by Dūdhaḍī, the son of Rāo Jodhājī, and the memory of this prince is still preserved in the name of a small sheet of water called Dūdāṣir. In 1536 A.D., Viramade was ruling over this town.⁵ This place was wrested in 1556 A.D. from Dūdhaḍī’s grandson Jaimala Meratia by Rāo Māladeva, who built the wall and fort. After an obstinate and bloody fight, Akbar conquered it and ruled for twenty years through his Governor named Salim. Later, he restored it to the Jodhpur chief named Rājā Udayasimha. Merta has witnessed a large number of sanguinary battles. Marāṭhās under De Boigne inflicted a severe defeat on the Rāṭhors in 1790 A.D.

Merta is, thus, undoubtedly an old place but a few objects of antiquity are now extant there. Infact beyond two eleventh century pillars, and few structures in the temple of Lakshmi, there is hardly anything of the pre-Muhammadan period. It is highly probable that the old monu-

¹. EI, XVIII, p. 98.
². PR, III, p. 274.
³. EI, XVIII, p. 98.
⁴. PRAS. WC, 1910, p. 61 (Pāndhukā Inscription).
⁵. SPS, No. 334.
ments of the Hindu period were destroyed during the Muslim rule.

Though no early Jaina monument is found, we know about Jainism in Merta from literary sources. After converting the Yaksha Kaḍamada and a large number of Brāhmaṇas to Jainism, Abhayadevasūri, who lived in the eleventh century A.D., caused the temple of Mahāvīra to be built in this city.¹ His pupil Hemachandra composed the Bhavabhāvanā in 1113 A.D.,² when he stayed with a rich Śrāvaka at Merta. Hemachandra also wrote the Kṣatrapalli with Svapajñavṛitti in 1113 A.D. When Ṭhākura Achalasimha of Nagaur led Saṁgha to holy places along with Jinachandrasūri in 1318 A.D., he sent invitations to the Śrāvakas of Merta.³ At the request of the Chauhāna king Māladeva, Jinachandrasūri, in 1322 A.D., visited Merta where he stayed for twenty-four days.⁴ In 1323 A.D., Seṭha Rāyapati of Delhi, while leading Saṁgha to holy places along with Jinakusalasūri, came to Merta where a grand function was organized by the Śrāvakas.⁵

The activities of Jainism continued also during the Muslim period. A copy of the Shatkarmagranthāvachūri in 1535 A.D.⁶ and of the Anuvrataratnapradīpa⁷ in 1538 A.D. were written during the reign of Māladeva, the Raṭhor ruler of Jodhpur. Hiravijayasūri, on whom Akbar conferred the title of Jagadguru, visited this place, and was welcomed by Muslim Governor Sādin. Simhavijayasūri was given the title of Upādhyāya by Hiravijayasūri after celebrating a grand function.⁸ A large number of copies of the Jaina manuscripts were written during his reign. Hirakalaśa, the pupil of Harshaprabha, wrote the Simhāsanabhattriś in 1579 A.D.⁹

Jainism remained popular even afterwards. In 1620

1. RP, III, p. 274.
2. JSR, p. 85.
3. KB, p. 66.
4. Ibid, p. 66.
5. Ibid, p. 73.
6. SPS, No. 334.
7. BS, No. 279.
8. JTSS, pp. 197-198.
A.D., during the reign of Shāhjahan, Āsakarana set up the image of Śantinātha in his own temple. He was joined in this benefaction by his relatives. He earned the title of Samghapati by organizing pilgrimage to Ābū and Vimalāchala and celebrated the Nandi festival in connection with Śūripada conferred upon Jinaraja.² Samayasundara was a distinguished scholar of Jainism in medieval times. Originally, he lived in Gujarat, but afterwards, he shifted to Mārwār. He wrote the Samāchāriśatakā, viśeṣaṭatakā, Priyametakarāsā in V.S. 1672, Gāthālakṣhṇa in V.S. 1673, and Sitārāma prabandha in V.S. 1678 at Merta.² Guṇavijaya, disciple of Kanakavijaya, composed the Vījayasenasūrinirvāṇasvādhyāya.³

Śantikuśala, in his Śrī Gaudī Pārśva Tīrthamālā, written in 1670 A.D., refers to Merta as a holy place of the Jainas.⁴ Dharamakirti, a disciple of Dharmanidhāna, mentions the ten Jaina temples in his Meratā Chaitya Paripāṭi.⁵ Dayāvardhana also gives a description of the main Jaina temples of this place.⁶

Merta also remained a centre of Vaishnava religion in medieval times. The famous Hindi poetess Mira was born at this place. She was the daughter of Rāva Dūdhāji, and was married to Bhoja, the son of Rāṇā Sāṅgā of Mewār. She composed Hindi songs and hymns in devotion to Lord Kṛishṇa. The Vaishnava temple of Chaturbhujājī, the family deity of Meratiā Rājpūts, is famous.

Merta remained a place of great social importance. In the Simhāsanabattrīti written in 1529 A.D., Hirakalaśa mentions twelve and half castes of the Mahājanas. One of them is Meḍatavāla, which originated from Merta. Mertiā Rājpūts, a sub-clan of Rāthors, considered Merta their cradle and Chaturbhujājī their family goddess.
The village of Osia, fifty-two Km. north-west of Jodhpur, is a city of temples. Its early names were Uvasisā and Upakesā as known from inscriptions and praśastis. Its name did not originate because of the fact that a Paramāra prince of Bhimāl, hard pressed by enemies, took refuge (Osalā) here, as D. R. BHANDARKAR opines. The prince of Bhimāl, who visited Osia, was not of the Paramāra but of the Gurjara Pratihāra dynasty. In the Upakṣa-gachhha-prabandha, written in 1326 A.D., the name of the different Bhimāl prince named Śrīpuṇja is given. He was a son of the Gurjara Pratihāra king Surasundara of Bhimāl. Because of certain differences with his father, he came to Osia where he founded a new kingdom. He invited Brāhmaṇas, Vaiśyas, and people of other classes from Bhimāl for habitation. This incident probably took place after the eighth century A.D., but this town was in existence even before. In about the last quarter of the eighth century A.D., it was ruled by Vatsarāja, the Gurjara Pratihāra ruler, as is clear from the inscription discovered in the temple of Mahāvīra. At this time, it was a flourishing town adorned with temples, and inhabited by people of different classes.

After the reign of Vatsarāja, Osia was attacked and destroyed by the Ābhiras. They were mlechchhas and carried on anti-Brāhmanical activities. As a result of their turbulent activities, this town became desolate. In about 861 A.D., Kakkuka inflicted a crushing defeat on the Ābhiras, and forced them to vacate the town and occupied the territory. After some time, it was repopulated by the prince of Bhimāl who sought refuge at the hands of a king of the Pratihāra dynasty which then reigned supreme in Maṇḍor. The rule

1. GOS, LXXVI, p. 156.
2. NJI, No. 788, Ver.e, 9.
3. PRAS. WG, 1907, p. 36. The name Osia of the town probably originated from the aśa type of land.
5. NJI, No 788.
6. Iṣ: id.
7. EI, IX, pp. 279-281.
of the Gurjara Pratiharas was supplanted by the Chauhānas. In 1179 A.D., Osiā was ruled from Maṇḍor by Kumār-iṁha who was the son of Kelhaṇadeva, the Chauhāna ruler of Nāḍol.¹ During the Hindu rule, it developed into a large city, as is clearly seen from a number of ruined temples. According to local traditions, Osiā, when it was at the height of its popularity, had spread to such a length that its grain market was the village of Mathāṇī, twenty-six Km. south east, its oilmen’s quarter was Teori, twenty-one Km. south-west and one of its principal gates was in Ghatiyālā forty-five Km. in the same direction. It may be an exaggerated account, but there is no doubt of its being a large town in early times.

Under the rule of the Gurjara Pratiharas and the Chauhānas, Osiā became a great centre of Brāhmaṇical and Jaina religions. In medieval times, the places with religious centres were sometimes more important than the capitals. There are about sixteen Brāhmaṇical and Jaina temples occupying two sites, the first containing the eleven early temples while the rest are built on the second site. The early temples are of the same style and bear a close resemblance to those at Jhālrāṭan, Āṁvān and so forth in Rajasthan, at Eran, Pathari and so forth in the Madhya Pradesh. The latter range in point of age from 700 to 800 A.D. The Osiā temples must, therefore, be referred to this period. This conclusion is further confirmed by an inscription in the outer porch of the Jaina temple, which informs that it was originally built in the time of Vatsarāja. The other temples, which are exactly of the same style of Jaina temple, must be supposed to have been built about this time. These early temples are comparatively small structures, but they are marked by simplicity and elegance. The striking feature of these temples is the variety in their design, no two are alike one and all show an individuality of conception and originality of composition, which is not generally found anywhere. One of the distinctive motifs of these temples is the vase and foliage convention, which may be generally seen in the pillars of early

¹. NJI, No. 804.
temples. The doorways, which form the entrance to the temple, are decorated with floral designs, nine planets, snakes entwined to form a curious pattern, their tails held by Garuḍas, pairs of lovers and a leaf border.

The three early temples at Osia, probably built in the eighth century A.D., were dedicated to Harihara, the half Vishṇu and half Śiva combining the dual aspects of life giver and annihilation. They are said to be erected by the Ābhīras, but actually this is not the case. The Ābhīras were invaders who only destroyed the town. These temples were probably constructed during the reign of the Gurjara Pratiharas. Two of these temples are of the Pañchāyatana class standing on a high terrace. Their śikharas are crowned with the āmalaka. In the shrines of the temples are placed the images of Harihara and Vishṇu. On the walls of these three temples have been depicted the exploits of Kṛiṣṇa, such as the story of his birth, the flight to Brindābana, the destruction of Pūtana and Gorvardhana Giradhārī.

A temple of equal elegance, although more restrained in its treatment, is dedicated to the Sun God Śūrya. In some respects, it is the most graceful of the entire group of early temples. This temple is also of the Pañchāyatana type. In its proportions and style, this building displays no little dignity, while both in the shape of its śikhara and in the manner of its pillar ornamentation, it is admirable. The image of Śūrya in this temple is a remarkable one. He stands erect in primitive tenseness. His face has lotus eyes, and mouth has inherited the compassion and gentleness of the Gupta god Vishṇu, but his hair is bound in two long plaits. He is clad in a long tight tunic tied on the chest, his waist is bound by a belt and on his feet are high boots.

The most complete example of the Osia group is a Jaina temple dedicated to Mahāvīra, as it consists of a sanctum, a closed hall and an open porch immediately in front of which is an ornate torana or gateway. It appears to have been first built at the end of the eighth century A.D., and then repaired, and added to in the tenth and eleventh centuries.
A.D. respectively. In this way, it is a record of development over two periods. This is shown by the changes in the style of building throughout, but particularly in the character of the pillars. The *nalamandapa*, which was erected subsequently over the staircase, was added afterwards. The *torana* or entrance archway appears to be even a still later addition probably made in the eleventh century A.D.

The temple of Pipalā Devi is provided with a large *sabhā-mandapa* or assembly hall, in which, there are as many as thirty pillars, apparently, dating from the end of the tenth century A.D. There is also a celebrated temple called Sachiya Mātā. The foundations of it may date from the eighth century A.D., but its major portion, as now standing, was executed towards the middle of the twelfth century A.D. This is also confirmed by inscriptions engraved on pillars, which show that about the close of the twelfth century A.D., many Brāhmaṇa families contributed money to erect the various portions of the temple. An inscription of V.S. 1234, engraved on the image of Bhairava mentions that a banker Gayapāla of the Gobadaihsī family had decorated the sanctum with the images of Chaṇḍikā, Śītalā, Kshemaṃkari, Sachchikā, and Kshetrapāla.¹

Osīa remained specially associated with Jainism. It is known as the cradle of a class of *baniś* called Osavalās. It is said that Ratnaprabhasūri, in the line of Pārśvanātha, visited this place, and converted the king and his subjects to Jainism. As there is no mention and trace of this caste before the eighth or ninth century A.D., it probably came into existence afterwards. Even before the visit of Ratnaprabhasūri, there appears to be a temple of Mahāvīra. The teachings of Ratnaprabhasūri gave an encouragement to the activities of Jainism. Osīa, which was a Brāhmaṇical centre in the past, now became a stronghold of Jainism. The temple of Mahāvīra continued as a holy place. At the request of the temple committee, a merchant called Jindaka, renovated the temple of Mahāvīra.² Two inscriptions³ dated 1188 A.D.

2. Ibid.
3. NJI, Nos. 806 and 807.
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record the gift of her own house for use as a stable for keeping Mahāvīra’s chariot by one Saṃpūrṇa Śrāvikā, daughter of Pālihiyā, daughter-in-law of Devachandra and wife of Yaśodhara. Even from the Nābhīnandanaejinoṭḍhāra written by Kakkāṣūri in 1338 A.D., it is known that this golden chariot named ‘Nardama’ moved round the city once within a year. This work gives useful knowledge of the town. It was a flourishing town with parks, tanks and large buildings. There was a wonderful stepwell called Vidagdha. It was inhabited by Osavālas with eighteen gotras. One of them was Vesathā who, on ideological clash with the gosṭhikas, left the town and settled at Kirāḍū.¹

Siddhasena Sūri, an author of the twelfth century A.D., refers to Osia as a holy place in the Sakalatīrtha stotra.² Upakesā gachchha among the Śvetāmbaras was also named after Osia in Mārwar. The inscription of 1202 A.D., bearing the name of this gachchha, was discovered at this place.³ This gachchha is mentioned in the inscription of 1137 A.D. found at the village Ajāri in Sirohi State.⁴ It remained popular from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century A.D. in Jaisalmēr, Udaipur and Sirohi States as a large number of inscriptions of this gachchha were discovered.⁵

Osia, the great city of temples, was destroyed by Muslim invasions. From the Upakesagachchhaprabandha, it is known that the Muslim army, while passing destroyed this town in 1195 A.D.⁶ It was probably the invasion of Muhammad Ghorī against the Chauhāna ruler Prīthvirāja III of Ajmer, which compelled the people to leave this town in panic for other places. Afterwards, it became completely a deserted town because no monuments, and inscriptions of the later period are discovered.

¹. BPPI, p. 159. See also Nābhīnandanaejinoṭḍhāra, Introduction, verses, 17-48.
². GOS, LXXVI, p. 156.
³. NJI, I, No. 791.
⁴. APJLS, No. 404.
⁵. NJI, Pt. II & III and APJLS.
Jalore is situated about one hundred twenty one Kms. south of Jodhpur city on the left bank of a river called Sukri. Its old name was Jabālipura, but it also began to be called Suvarṇagiri and Kaṇchanagiri after the name of a hill. From the Kuvalayamālā, it is clear that in the eighth century A.D., it was a flourishing town adorned with temples, and buildings of rich men. It was ruled at this time by the Pratihāra ruler Vatsaraṇa.1

The Paramāras also held Jalor till the end of the twelfth century. Muṇja, the Paramāra ruler of Mālwā, who ascended the throne in about 972 A.D., led an extensive campaign against numerous States in Rajasthan and defeated their rulers. The conquered territories were divided among princes of the Paramāra dynasty for an efficient administration. Chandana was made the Governor of Jalor. PRATIPAL BHATIA2 does not agree with GANGULY'S theory of the partition of the Paramāra Kingdom. We are not sure of Chandana being a son of Vākpati II. Chandana’s father no doubt was a chief named Vākpati but this was a name common enough in those days. Neither epigraphy nor tradition tells us that Vākpati II of Malwa had any son. Vākpati of the Jalor inscription,4 on the other hand, had a son named Chandana. He was followed in succession by Devarāja, Aparājitā, Vijjala, Dhārāvarsha and Visala. Visala was reigning in 1117 A.D.5 These Paramāra rulers, in course of time, became feudatories of the Chālukyas of Gujarat. In 1164 A.D., Kumārapāla was ruling over this place, and built a Jaina temple Kuvaravihāra after his name.6 The relations between the Chālukyas of Gujarāt, and the Chauhānas of Ajmer were not cordial even from the time of Arṇorāja. In order to establish a big empire, his son Vigraharaṇa IV

1. JBORS, 1928, March, p. 28
2. The age of Imperial Kanauj, p. 96.
4. IA. LXII, p. 41.
5. ARSMJ, 1937, p. 9.
6. EI, XI, p. 54.
carried his conquests far and wide. While fighting the war of vengeance against the Chālukyas, he burnt Jabālīpura, which was ruled by Kumārapāla's vassal.¹

Kīrtipāla, the youngest son of Ālhaṇa, ruler of Nāḍol is the founder of the Jālor line of the Chauhānas. As a prince, he had a share in the government of his father. When his brother Kelhaṇa became the ruler of Nāḍol, he, being a young man of ambition, and adventurous nature, left this place in search of a fortune. Luck favoured him and in a short time, he succeeded in defeating the Paramāra chief Āsala of Kīrāṇḍū, the vassal of Chālukya Bhima II, and captured Jābālīpura from him in 1181 A.D., and made it his capital.² His son and successor Samarasiṃha became the ruler in 1182 A.D. He was fond of buildings and built extensive ramparts on the Kankāchāla.³ After him, Udayasiṃha became the ruler, who also proved an able and a powerful ruler. From the Sūndhā inscription, it is known that he ruled over several Districts. He, also like his grand-father, conquered some places such as Nāḍol and Maṇḍor from the Muslims probably during the weak rule of Ārām Shāh. In 1228, A.D., Iltutmish besieged Jālor, and Udayasiṃha offered a stiff resistance to the invader.⁴ He was, however, compelled to surrender, but was allowed to continue as the ruler of Jālor on agreeing to pay a tribute.⁵ An inscription from Jālor mentions the construction of some shrine at this place during the reign of Iltutmish.⁶ Afterwards, Udayasiṃha became independent. He was followed respectively by Chāchigadeva and Sāmantasiṃha. Sāmantasiṃha's son Kānhaḍadeva, though trained by his father in the art of administration, and state-craft, could not retain his throne for a long time, and sustained a heavy defeat at the hands of Alāu-d-din Khilji in 1310 A.D., though after a protracted siege.

1. EI, XXVI, p. 105.
2. Ibid, IX, p. 72.
3. Ibid, p. 73. Kīrtipāla issued the silver coins of horseman and bull type.
5. HIED, II, p. 238.
6. EIM, 1549-50, p. 32.
After the death of Alau-d-din, Jalor again fell into the hands of the Rajputs, but an inscription found at Jalor clearly shows that during the reign of Sultan Ghiyāsuddin Tughluq (1320-24 A.D.), this place had again been annexed to Delhi. In the fifteenth century, Sultan Mahmud Begra of Gujarat (1458-1511 A.D.) appears to have added Jalor to his dominions, and two inscriptions mention Begra's successor Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat as the master of Jalor. In about 1540 A.D., both the fort and District were acquired by Rava Maladeva, the Rathor ruler of Jodhpur. During the reign of Akbar, it became a part of his northern empire, but his nobles fought among themselves for its control. Of these, Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khana is said to have finally captured it from Ghaznin Khan. During the time of the emperor Jahangir, the enclosure of the fort of Jalor, was rebuilt in 1608 A.D. From 1682 to 1689 A.D., the ruler of Pālanpur held the District as a grant from Aurangzeb. When he could not bear the brunt of the rising power of the Rāthors of Mārwār, he was compelled to quit the country and retire to Pālanpur. Later on, it became permanently a part of the Jodhpur State soon after Aurangzeb's death in 1707 A.D.

Jalor remained a great cultural centre in early times. During the reign of Hindu rulers, art and literature of this place received a great fillip. Śaivism and Jainism were the two main religions of this place. Several temples of both the sects were constructed. But the tide of the Muslim rule destroyed these monuments. However, from epigraphical and literary sources, we may get some information about them. The temple of Sindurājeśvara was in existence as early as the twelfth century A.D. An inscription of 1117 A.D. informs us that Mallāradevi, the queen of the Paramāra ruler Visala, furnished it with a golden cupola. The sister of

1. EIM, 1949-50, p. 32.
2. CHI, III, p. 309.
3. EIM, 1949-50, p. 32.
4. HIED, V, p. 449.
5. EIM, 1949-50, p. 34.
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Samarasimhadeva, the Chauhāna ruler of Jālor, (V.S.1239-56) built two Śaiva temples.¹ The temple of Kshirbarāyeśvara was in existence in 1263 A.D., and its head-worshipper was Rāvala Lakshmīdhara.²

The famous Jaina temples were of Ādinātha, Mahāvīra, Pārśvanātha and Śaṅtinātha. These temples were repaired from time to time. Images were placed and charities were given to them by the Srāvakas.³ The oldest temple is probably of Ādinātha. It was existing in the eighth century A.D., because Uddyotana Sūri composed the Kuvalayamālā here in 778 A.D. During the reign of Samarasimha, Yaśovīra, a Śrīmāli bāni, caused to be made the maṇḍapa of Ādinātha in 1182 A.D. He was joined in this work by all the members of the goshṭi along with his brothers Yaśorāja and Jagadharā.⁴

The second temple was of Pārśvanātha. It was built in 1164 A.D. by the Chālukya sovereign after having been enlightened by Hemachandra on the fort of Kaṁchanagiri, and hence it is known as Kumāravīhāra after him.⁵ It was rebuilt in 1185 A.D. by the Bhaṇḍāri Yaśovīra in accordance with the orders of Mahārājā Samarasimhadeva. The work of consecrating its toranā and also of hoisting a flag was done by Pūrṇadevāchārya. The ceremony of placing a golden cupola on the newly constructed hall for dramatic performances was performed by Rāmachandrāchārya on the day of the lamps-festival in 1211 A.D.⁶ From the inscription of 1239 A.D., it is known that Lāhede of Nāgaur installed an image of Ādinātha in the cell of Pārśvanātha.⁷ In 1296 A.D., a certain Narapati made, for the spiritual welfare of his wife Nāyakadevi, the grant of a bāzār building or ware house for storing goods to be exported. Out of the rent accruing therefrom was to be offered the paṇichami-bali every year in the temple of the god Pārśvanātha by the members of the goshṭi. Narapati, in making this donation, was joined by the

2. PRAS, WC., 1909, p. 5–.
members of his family, and by a certain Guṇadhara, who is called a Saṅghapati.¹

The third temple of Mahāvīra was known as Chandanavihāra, and attached to the Nāṇaka gachchha. Mahendrasūrī, an author of the thirteenth century A.D., refers to Yakshavasati in the Ashtottari Tīrthamālā and this reference is probably meant for this temple.² It is said to have been built by the Pratihāra ruler Nāhaḍarāo, the hero of Jaina traditions. Varadeva constructed a beautiful cell of Pārśvanātha in the temple of Mahāvīra.³ An inscription of 1263 A.D. records the benefaction of one hundred dramas by Bhaṭṭāraka Rāvala Lakhamīdhara to this temple.⁴ In 1266 A.D., a Teliā Osavāla called Narapati contributed fifty drammas to this temple.⁵ This temple was existing in the fourteenth century, because Vinayaprabhasūrī, in his Tīrthamālā, refers to it.⁶ In 1224 A.D., Jinesvara Śūri hoisted a flag on the temple of Mahāvīra. Again, in 1253 A.D., he visited this place, and in the presence of the Chauhāna ruler Udayasīnīha, and his officers, he performed the consecration ceremony of the image of the Tīrthaṅkaras, Āchāryas and others in the temple of Mahāvīra. The people from outside places such as Pālanpur and Vāgaḍā came to witness it.⁷ There were also temples of Śāntinātha, and Ashṭāpada in the thirteenth century. During the reign of Chāchigadeva, Padsu and Mūliga placed two golden cupolas on the Jaina temple of Śāntinātha in 1259 A.D.⁸ The images were placed by Jinesvara-sūrī in this temple with great rejoicing. The existence of the Ashṭāpada Jaina temple is known from an inscription of 1259 A.D. in the Lūṇa Vasahī Jaina temple of Ābū.⁹ Devachandra built two platforms in this temple. These temples continued to exist up to 1594 A.D.,

¹. EI, XI, p. 69.
². JTSS, p. 187.
³. JSP, p. 143.
⁴. PRAS. WG, 1909, p. 55.
⁵. Ibid.
⁶. JSP, XVII, p. 15.
⁷. KB, pp. 50-51.
⁹. APJLS, No. 279.
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as is known from the Jālura Nagara Pañcha Jīnālaya Chaitya Paripāti of Nāgarshī.¹

Jālor was regarded as a holy place of the Jainas in early times. Siddhasenasūri pays high respect to it in his Tīrthamālā. The Vidhīchaitiya movement gained strength, and popularity by the frequent visits of the Jaina saints to this place. The Hindu rulers gave encouragement by participating in its activities. In 1168 A.D., Jinachandrasūri visited this place, and propagated the teachings of Vidhimārga to the Śrāvakas. Jīnesvarasūri remained specially associated with this place.² He was initiated, and was also made Āchārya in 1221 A.D. after the death of Jinapati Śūri. Various kinds of functions were organized in his honour, and the people from the neighbouring places also came to participate in them.

Jālor was a seat of learning in early times. Uddyotanāsūri studied under the guidance of Vīrabhadra, and Haribhadra, and wrote the Kuvalayamālā in 778 A.D. In 953 A.D., Jīnēsvarasūri composed a commentary on the Ashṭakasamāgraha of Haribhadra-sūri. His elder brother Buddhīsagara wrote the Pañchagranthi-Vyākaraṇa.³ The Jivaḍayārōsa, and the Chandanabālārāṣa were written by Ásīga in about 1200 A.D.⁴ Jīnesvara Śūri wrote the Śrāvakadharmaśādi in Sanskrit at Pālanapura, and its commentary was written by him at Jālor in 1260 A.D.⁵ Yaśovīra, the Minister of Udayasimha, was an erudite scholar of his time, and it was perhaps on account of his extensive learning that he was given a seat in the court. Somesvara describes him as a great poet surpassing in poetic excellence even Abhinanda, Māgha and Kālidāsa.⁶ He was not only a poet but also a patron of poets, and Pandits. He was well-versed in art, and pointed out the fourteen mistakes in the construction of the Lūṇavasahī Jaina temple built by Vastūpāla at Ābū.⁷ Jīnabhādrasūri rendered a great service to the cause of

¹. JSP, VII, Dipotsavānīka.
². KB, pp. 50-51.
³. JTSS, p. 188.
⁵. JSSI, p. 412,
⁶. KK, I, 26.
⁷. JTSS, p. 190.
Indian literature by founding Śāstrabhaṅḍāras at various places including Jālor in the fourteenth century.¹ In medieval times, the Jaina scholars of this place composed their works in old Hindi. Dharamasamudra Gaṇi wrote the Sumitramūrīraṣa in 1510 A.D.² Sāraṅga composed the Kavi Vilhāya Pañchāṣikā Chaupai in 1582 A.D.³, Bhojprabandha-chaupai in 1594 A.D.⁴, and Bhāvashatātrīṁśika in 1618 A.D.⁵ The Madanakumārarāṣa is a work of Dāmodara written in 1612 A.D.⁶ Samayasundara worte the Vṛitaratnākara-vṛitti in 1637 A.D.⁷ Dharmavardhana prepared the Parihambattīṣi, and Aksharabattīṣi in 1678 A.D.⁸ Rohinī-chaupai, and Deśi-paradesi-chaupai were written respectively by Karmachandra, and Tilaka Chanda respectively in the eighteenth century.⁹

Sonī is a well known clan found among the Osavālas, Sarāvagīs and Maheśvarīs. It cannot possibly mean a goldsmith here. It indicates that their original tribe was Sonigarā. Sonigarā is the name of a celebrated clan of the Chauhānas, and is common and correctly derived from Sonigarā, i.e., Suvarṇagiri, the hill of the Jālor fort itself. Many Rājpūt tribes for avoiding Mohammedan oppression, and so forth became Jainas, and merged themselves into the baniā classes. Sonigarā appears to be one such tribe. In the inscriptions of 1300 A.D., Narapati, his father, and brothers were called Sonīs.¹⁰ They were Osavāla Sonīs, but they were perhaps originally Sonigarās. His grand-father and great-grand-father were styled as Thākuras. What is true of Osavāla-Sonīs may be true in the case of Sarāvagīs and Maheśvarī Sonīs.

¹. JSP, XVI, p. 16.
². JGK, I, p. 117.
⁵. Abhaya Jaina Granthaḷaya, manuscript No. 8689.
⁶. JGK, II, 906.
⁸. Abhaya Jaina granthaḷaya, Manuscripts Nos. 8046 and 8113.
⁹. JGK, II, pp. 1330 and 1332.
¹⁰. EI, XI, p. 61.
Didwana is situated at a distance of two hundred nine Kms. north-east of Jodhpur city. The site of this town appears to be of great antiquity. The early name of this place Denâvâna in the ninth or tenth century can be proved both by the epigraphic, and literary evidences. The modern name of the town Didwana seems to have been derived from it. From the time of Vatsaraja (i.e. eighth century A.D.), it was under the rule of the Pratiharas, and formed a District of Gurjarabhumi. The Daulatapura copper plate records that a village Siva in the Denâvâna Vishaya fell into abeyance, and was renewed by Mihira Bhoja in 843 A.D. It seems that either the Chauhanas of Sâkambhari, or the Pratihara ruler Bâuka of Manâdor might have occupied this place for sometime during the reign of a weak ruler Râma-bhadra, the father of Mihirabhoja. But soon after his accession, Bhoja restored this territory, and revived the grant of the village. After the Pratiharas, it was ruled by the Chauhânas.

Subsequently, Didwana was occupied by the Sultâns of Delhi. Some mosques were constructed in 1377 and 1384 A.D., when Firuz Tughluq was ruling over Delhi. After his death, there started the disintegration of the Turkish empire. Taking advantage of the weakness of the central authority, Zafar Khân, the Governor of Gujarat, became independent, and assumed the title of Sultan Muzaffar Shâh. The rulers of Gujarat and Râñâs of Mewâr were in constant warfare for the possession of important centres of

1. Rajputana Gazetteers, III, p. 184—This place is said to have been in existence for about two thousand years. In the excavations, a stone idol was found bearing the date of Sam. 252 (193 A.D.), and as a result of digging of wells, or the foundation of new houses, articles of pottery have been discovered twenty feet below the surface.
3. KB, p. 5.
4. EI, V, p. 208. Dasharatha Sharma has proved that Gurjaratri was already included in the Pratihara empire at the time of Bhoja’s accession. See Rajasthan through the Ages, pp. 148-150.
salt industry, viz., Sāmbhar and Didwānā. Muzaffār Shāh proceeded to Sāmbhar and Didwānā as early as 1397 A.D., and chastised the rebels there.¹ Again, in 1432 A.D., Ahmed Shāh, the second king of Gujarāt, marched towards Didwānā, and in this campaign, he was joined by Firūz Khān of Nāgaur.² The reannexation of Sāmbhar, Didwānā and Narainā seems to have been accomplished by Khān-i-Āzam Muzaid Khān in his fight against Rānā Mokalā in 1437 A.D.³ In order to commemorate his victory, he got a gateway, and city wall of Didwānā constructed. There is an ample evidence to show that Khān-i-Āzam Muzaidkhān held sway over Sāmbhar, Didwānā, and Narainā as a separate principality, while his brother Firūz Khān held the Nāgaur dominion. After the death of Firūz Khān, Nāgaur passed on to Muzaid Khān.⁴ Rānā Kumbha defeated Muzaid Khān, and occupied Nāgaur along with Didwānā, and collected its salt-tax as a mark of his suzerainty. He assigned Nāgaur and Didwānā to Shamskhan, son of Firūz Khān⁵. The construction and repairs of the city-wall, and Lādnū Darwāzā were also done in the time of Majlis-i-Ālī Firūz Khān, great grandson of Shamskhān Dandānī,⁶ who was the younger brother of Zafar Khān, the founder of the dynasty of independent kings of Gujarāt. Majlis Ālī Firūz appointed Malik Hizabr as the Commissary of the town. He got a mosque repaired in 1491 A.D.⁷ These Khāns of Nāgaur got new mosques constructed and also the old ones repaired.

From the time of Akbar, Didwānā came into the possession of the Mughals. During the reign of Akbar, Shāhjahān, and Aurangzeb, new mosques were built. Did-darwāzā of this place was built by Didārkhān who was probably appointed as a Governor by the emperor Aurangzeb.⁸ Later on, during the time of Mahārājā Jayasimha (1708), it was under the joint

¹ History of Gujarat by Bailey, pp. 77-78.
² Ibid.
⁴ VV, p. 327.
⁵ URI, p. 307.
⁷ Ibid, p. 22.
⁸ Ibid, p. 28.
possession of Jodhpur and Jaipur States. Subsequently, it was occupied by Kayāmkhānī Nawābs of Jhunjhunu from whom Mahārājā Bakhatasimha of Mārwār conquered it in the middle of the eighteenth century.

As Didwānā remained under the possession of the Muslims for a considerable period, there is every likelihood that they might have destroyed the ancient monuments, both Jaina and Hindu. The information about religious and social conditions of the people can be obtained from the literary sources. Jainism remained associated with this place from very early times. Jinesvara-Sūri, who visited this place in the tenth century A.D., composed the Kathākosa. Šrīdattasūrī of the Pūrnatala-gachchha, the teacher of the famous scholar Hemachandra Sūri, visited Didwānā, and addressed the ruler Yaśobhadra of this place. Yaśobhadra got a big Jaina temple constructed known as Chauvisa Jinālaya which was surviving in 1184 A.D., as is known to us from Somaprabha-chārya. Impressed with the teachings of Šrīdatta Sūrī, he became a monk and was named Yaśobhadhirasūrī. The poet Siddhasena-Sūri of the twelfth century A.D. mentions this holy place in the Sakalatīrthamālā.

Didwānā seems to have been the cradle of the Maheśvari, a merchant class of India. Some people hold the view that their original place was Khaṇḍelā in Sikar District. Others opine that it was formed by Śāṅkarāchārya who propagated his doctrine to the members of this caste. Both these views seem to be misleading. In early times, the word Ḫinḍu was used for the Maheśvari as is evident from literary and epigraphical sources. In the Śīṃhāsanabattrīṣī, it is mentioned in the list of twelve and half castes. An inscription of 1265 A.D. records that Mahājana Ratnā belonging to the Ḫinḍu family built the Vāpi (well) at Ghaghsā. At present,

1. KB, p. 5.
2. JSSI, p. 288.
3. GOS, LXXVI, p. 156.
4. PRAS. WC, p. 57.
5. Mahesvara Jāli Kā Itihāsa p. 49.
7. ARIMA, 1926-27, No. 6, P. 3.
one of the branches of the Maheśvarīs, is known as Dīḍu Maheśvarī. The word Dīḍu or Dīḍu clearly shows that it originated from Dīḍvānā.

(23) NILAKANṬHA (RĀJORGARH)

Nilkanṭha, a place named after the local deity, is situated on a lofty range of hills forty-five Km. to the southwest of Alwar. It is a large fortified city, and was once inaccessible. In the tenth century A.D., its name was Rājayapura and it was the capital of the Baḍa Gurjara Rājpūts. In medieval times, this town began to be called Pārānagara (Pārśvanagara) after the colossal statue of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha of this place. Both Jainism and Śaivism flourished side by side in early medieval period under the Baḍa Gurjara Rājput rulers.

In the tenth century A.D., Nilakanṭha was ruled by the Baḍa Gurjara Rājpūts who were feudatories of the imperial Pratihāras of Kanauj. In 923 A.D., Sāvata was governing this place. His son was Mathanadeva, who was acting as the vassal of Vijayapāladeva of Kanauj in 960 A.D. Ajayapāla also, probably, ruled over this place in the tenth century A.D., and a town named Ajabgarh in the neighbourhood was founded by him. An inscription of 1152 A.D. refers to the reign of Prithvīpāla. Most probably, he is the Baḍagurjara ruler. The Baḍagurjara rulers of Māhchārī, who started to rule from the thirteenth century, were the descendants of the rulers of Rājorgarh. Matsyadeva, their ancestor, founded a separate kingdom at Māhchārī.

After the Baḍagurjaras, Rājorgarh was occupied by the Khānzdās, who ruled as feudatories of the Mughals. The Mughals assigned this Mewāt area to the Kachhāvāha rulers of Āmber. The Kachhāvāha ruler Jayasimha built the city.

1. EI, III, p. 263; See also I. Ar. 1961-62, p. 85. Rājorgarh is the another name of Nilakanṭha
3. EI, III, p. 263.
4. ARRMA, 1918-19, No, 5, p. 2.
5. ASC, VI, p. 86.
gateway in 1689 A.D. The walls of the fort are attributed to Madhosimha, who reigned from 1760 A.D. to 1778. He also got a fine tank constructed named Madhu Tāla at the foot of the hill. Its importance declined, when the capital shifted from this place to Alwar.

As the Bada Gurjara rulers of Rājorgarh were followers of Śaivism, it was but quite natural that it became a popular religion during their reign. Mathanadeva, the ruler of this place, got the temple of Mahādeva built, and named it Lachchhukeśvara Mahādeva after his mother Lachchhukā. This temple became famous by the name of Nilakanṭheśvara Mahādeva. Mathanadeva granted the village of Vyāghrapātaka, now known as Baghor, to this temple. The grass, pasture-land, trees, grains and gifts were given to this temple for meeting the expenses. The certain additional taxes or tolls were also made over the same deity. These taxes were three Vināṣopakas as customary in the market on every sack (of agricultural produce) brought for sale to the market, two palikās from every ghatakakūpaka of clarified butter and oil, two vināṣopakas per mensem for every shop and fifty leaves from every chollikā brought from outside the town.

The temple of Nilakanṭheśvara Mahādeva is comparatively a large pyramidal domed temple, richly decorated with figures. The central structure of this temple is ancient. The maṇḍapa of the temple has four central pillars over ten feet in height. These pillars are round 16\(\frac{1}{2}\)" in diameter. They are exquisitely sculptured with Nāyikās and with frescos of musicians and dancers. The garbha-griha contains a black stone liṅgam. On the south face of the temple, there is an image of Śiva with eight arms. To the east is one of the most interesting image of Sūrya riding a chariot drawn by seven horses. It is three-headed, and eight-armed figure holding eight objects. Around the main temple, there are innumerable fragments of sculptured stone. A bearded three-headed figure of Brahmā, wonderful Śiva as Naṭarāja, Śiva and Pārvatī riding a bull, and an eight-armed dancing Gāṇeśa in

1. EI, III, 263. An old tank called Lachhore of this place was also probably named after his grand mother Lachchhukā.
a dark blue stone are noteworthy. This Gānēśa image is without doubt one of the most exquisite objects in the country.¹

The temple of Nilakanṭheśvara Mahādeva remained a place of pilgrimage even in the past, as it is today. An inscription dated 1044 A.D. engraved on the pedestal of a broken image of Gānēśa in this temple records its erection by Mahājanas who had come from Varvara Nagara for the pilgrimage.² For the residence of the Śaiva saints, there was also the monastery of Nityapramudityadeva connected with the Gopāladevaṭaḍāgapalī matha at Chhātraśiva. The administration of the grant made by the Baḍa Gurjara king Mathana-deva was entrusted to the holy ascetic Omkāraśivāchārya, a member of the sopurīya line.³

Besides, the temple of Nilakanṭheśvara Mahādeva, there were several other temples. An inscription dated 997 A.D. records that some members of the Māthura Kāyastha family erected the temple of Śiva. The name of the queen Prabhāvatī is also mentioned.⁴ An inscription of 1152 A.D. in the temple of Chaturbhujanātha records the erection of an image of Chakravāmin (Vishṇu) by Vālhaṇa, Nālhaṇa, Arjuna, and others, sons of Delhaṇa, son of Rālhaṇa, a great devotee of Vishṇu when Prithvipāladēva was ruling.⁵

Along with Śaivism, Jainism also made marked progress during the reign of the Baḍa Gurjaras. Jaina saints performed penances in some caves, the traces of which are visible in the hills. By their inspiration, their followers constructed magnificent temples, and placed images in them. An inscription dated V.S. 979 (923 A.D.) of the reign of king Sāvata records the construction of the temple as well as the installation of image of Śāntinātha therein at Rājyapura by Saravadeva, son of Dedullaka, and grandson of Arbhaṭa of Dharkaṭa family.⁶

². ARRMA, 1918-19, No. 2, p.2. The Varvara Nagara of this inscription is probably Bāwal near Rewari.
⁴. ARRMA, 1918-19, No. 1, p. 2.
⁵. Ibid, No. 5. p. 2.
Three life-size Jaina figures are all standing upright.¹ There are also the two jambs of a highly ornamented doorway of temple, besides numerous broken figures all apparently Jaina. In one of the ruined temples, there is a colossal Jaina figure thirteen feet nine inches with a canopy of two feet six inches over head which is supported by two elephants.² The whole height of the sculpture is 16', 3", and its breadth six feet. It is known as Nowgazā, and it is said to have been built by Bhai-imsā Mahājana during the reign of some Bada Gurjara ruler.

Most of these Brāhmanical and Jaina ruined temples definitely belong to the Gurjara Pratihāra period. They appear to have been constructed between the eighth, and the twelfth centuries. The Gurjara Pratihāra rulers inherited the aesthetic traditions of the Gupta period, but they added vigour and dymanism to the Gupta art. Thus, they became successful in creating great masterpieces of medieval art for the satisfaction of their religious zeal.

(24) SĀÑCHOR

Sāñchor is situated about two hundred twelve kms. south west of Jodhpur city on the bank of the river Lūṇī. Its old names were Satyapura and Sachchaura. Under the Muslim rule, it was named Mahmudābād.³ This town was in existence in the tenth century A.D., and it formed the headquarters of the Gurjaradesa, when Mahārājādhirāja Mūlarāga I, the founder of the Anahilvāḍ branch of the Chālukyas, was ruling. He granted a village named Varāṇaka in the Satyapuramāṇḍala to Dirghāchārya on the occasion of a Lunar eclipse in 993 A.D.⁴ The inscription of 1185 A.D. of the reign of Bhima II⁵ discovered at this place shows that it continued to be under the possession of the Solankis of Gujarat up to the twelfth century A.D. As Sāñchor is not far off from Bhimnāl, it is not unlikely

1. ASC, XX, p. 122.
2. Ibid, pp. 125-129.
3. PRAS. WC, 1903, p. 35.
4. EI, X, p. 78.
5. ARSMJ, 1936, p.7.
that this place might have been ruled by the Paramāras of Bhīmāl in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. These Paramāras were not independent, but feudatories of the Solaṅkis of Aṇāhilavad.

According to Naiṉasi, Vijayamitra, son of king Ālhaṇa of Nāḍol, captured Sāñchor from the Dahiyās in V.S. 1141, and became the founder of the Satyapura line of the Chauhānas. This view is not reliable. If Vijayamitra was the great-grand-father of Sālo, a contemporary of Kānhaḍadeva, he could not possibly have been a son of Ālhaṇa of Nāḍol, nor could he have captured Satyapura from the Dahiyās in V.S. 1141. Naiṉasi’s mistake was perhaps due to his confusion of Vijayasimha’s father Ālhaṇa, and ordinary Sonigara Rājpūt with Ālhaṇa, the ruler of Nāḍol. Further, from 995 to the twelfth century A.D., it was ruled by the Solaṅkis of Gujarāt. From them, it was captured by Udayasimha who ruled over Jālor from 1205 to 1257 A.D. From the Sūndhā inscription, it is known that he was lord of several Districts including Satyapura. Vijayasimha, and his son Padmasimha are not known to be the rulers of Sāñchor from the epigraphical source. For sometime, it also remained under the possession of Nāsir-ud-din, as a Persian inscription of 640 H.E. (1249) A.D. records the foundation of Jāmā Masjid during his reign. He was not the son and successor of Alā-ud-din, as he is supposed to be, but he was a ruler of the slave dynasty. Bhīmadeva, probably, seized it from the Muslims, as is clear from the inscription of 1255 A.D. in which his name is mentioned. In 1288 A.D., it was governed by the Chauhāna ruler of Jālor, named Sāmantasimha, who appointed the pañchāyata consisting of the Mahāṁta Hīra and others for exercising the local authority.

In 1310 A.D., the forces of Alauddin, while capturing Siwānā and Jālor, moved towards Sāñchor and destroyed the
great temple of Mahāvīra. That Sāñchor was thrice in danger of being molested by Mohammedans even before as may be inferred from the reference made by Jinaprabhasūri to the temple of Mahāvīra. The first time that Satyapura was attacked in 1024 A.D. which exactly corresponds in date to the invasion of Somanātha Paṭṭan by Mahmūd of Ghazni. For the second time, it was invaded between 1024 A.D. and 1291 by the Muslim chief who may be identified with the ruler of the Slave dynasty. Similarly, it is difficult to say who was this Kappaḍa approaching Sāñchor for attacking it for the third time, but fled away because of the arrival of the Vāghela king Sāraṅgadeva's army. He may be identified with Malik Kāfūr, who rose to eminence only after 1297 A.D. The expedition of Alaf Khān, brother of Alāuddin, is well described by Jinaprabhasūri, and more fully dealt with than in the Ļārikh-i-Firishta, but the date he specifies for the event is 1299 A.D., where-as that given in the Ļārikh-i-Firishta is 1297 A.D. This time also Sāñchor was saved from the Muslim sacrilege, but in 1310 A.D., it suffered destruction at Muslim hands.

A little before the Muslim invasion in 1310 A.D., Sālha, son of Sobhita, was the ruler of this place. He was a valiant fighter, and was killed while liberating the people of Śrīmāla from the Muslims. Vikrama-Simha, the next ruler, finds a place in the inscription as Sālha's son, and in the Khyāta as his brother. The inscription omits Hāpo probably because he was not in the direct line of succession. He may be identified with Haripāladeva mentioned in Kharataragachchha Paṭṭāvali, which refers to his sway there in 1334 A.D. Bhima, mentioned in the inscription as the elder brother of Saṅgrāmasimha, was perhaps the next ruler. His nephew Pratāpsimha ruled at Sāñchor in 1387 A.D. His successor was Varaṅga, who lost Sāñchor in 1421 A.D. to Malik Mirand

1. VTK, p. 28.
2. MNK, I, p. 173.
3. EI, XI, p. 64.
4. KB, p. 86.
5. EI, XI, p. 64.
whose identity is not certain. It was, then, invaded by the Pathans of Jalor, who possessed it until they were expelled by Jahangir. The latter granted it to Mahâraja Sûrasîmha of Jodhpur in 1628 A.D. From 1642 A.D. to 1698, it was again ruled over by the Chauhânas, but in 1699 A.D., it was subjugated by Mahârâja Ajitasmâha of Jodhpur, and since then it has been incorporated in the Jodhpur territory.

Sâncor was a great centre of Jainism and Saivism. Because of the celebrated temple of Mahâvîra, it was considered a holy place of the Jainas. In the old Chaityabandana stotra named Jagachintâmani, this tirtha has been described with deep devotion.\(^1\) Dhanapâla, who lived in a court of the celebrated ruler Bhoja of Mâlwa, visited Sâncor, where he composed his Apabhramśa poem Satyapuriya Mahâvîra Utsâha in honour of the idol of Mahâvîra.\(^2\) This poem says that the temples of Śrîmâla, Chandrâvatî, Anâhilavâda and Somanâtha were broken, but the Vîra of Satyapura, the delight of men’s minds remained unbroken. This image of Mahâvîra was considered by him to be the most beautiful image of all those found at other places. From an account of Jinaprabhasûri,\(^3\) it was believed to have been built by Nâhaḍa of Maṇḍor, who is identified with Nâhaḍa Râo Paḍîhâra of the Mârwar legends. The original image of Tirthaṅkara was of brass, and was installed by Jajjigasûri. The temple was attacked in 1310 A.D. by Alâuddin, who carried off the image to Delhi and broke it to pieces. This Jaina temple of Mahâvîra is no more, now, as it was destroyed by the Muslims, but some inscriptions still throw some light on it. In 1185 A.D., Ghaski, wife of Bhaṇḍârî Toma, got repaired chatushkikâ at Satyapura, during the reign of Solaṅki Bhîmdeva II. Samghpati Hariśa Chandra erected a maṇḍapa or porch in 1220 A.D.\(^4\) An inscription of 1265 A.D. speaks of certain repairs done to a Chatushkikâ in the temple of Mahâvîra by an Osavâla Bhaṇḍârî named Chhâghhâkâ.\(^5\) Alâhaḍa, the Mini-

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1. JTSS, p. 303.
2. JSS, III, l.
3. VTK, p. 28.
4. PRAS. WC, 1908, p. 35.
5. Ibid.
ster of Gurjara king Ajayapāla, (1172-76 A.D.) installed an image of Pārśvanātha in this temple.¹

Sāńchor was visited by Jaina saints from time to time. In 1310 A.D., Sāmala, the native of Bhīmapalli, organized the Saṁgha for pilgrimage to holy places in the company of Jina-chandrasūri and the Śrāvakas of Sāńchor were also invited to participate in it.² At their request, Jinakusālasūri visited Sāńchor in 1226 A.D., and his entrance ceremony was performed with great rejoicings.³ He worshipped the famous image of Mahāvīra, and propagated Jainism. The Śrāvakas of Sāńchor participated in the functions organised in honour of Jinakusālasūri at Bārmer.⁴ When Jinapadmasūri returned to Sāńchor in 1334 A.D., the Chauhāna ruler Rāṇā Haripāladeva gave him a cordial welcome.⁵ Mahirāja, Dūdā and other Nāyakas, while on a pilgrimage came to Satyapura, where they built a charity house in 1434 A.D.⁶ In 1463 A.D., Jāvaḍa, Ratnā, and Karamaśi of Sāńchor installed the image of Chandraprabha through Kakkasūri.⁷

Sāńchor, being a holy place, was liked by Jaina saints, and scholars for the purpose of their residence. They composed their literary works, and got the copies of manuscripts prepared in order to spread knowledge. Hirānandasūri wrote the Jambūsvāminu Vivāhalu in 1438 A.D.⁸ In the Viddyā-vilāsapāvaḍo written in 1428 A.D., there is a reference to this place.⁹ Jinabhadrāsūri amended the Nandisūtraṇāti in 1431 A.D. for the study of the Saṁgha.¹⁰ He also composed the Mahāvīrāgita in praise of Mahāvīra.¹¹ Sāntiratnagani, with the assistance of Jinasenaṇaṇi, made some corrections in the

1. JSS, p. 342.
2. KB, p. 63.
5. Ibid, p. 86.
6. JSP, p. 360.
7. NJI, II, No. 1128.
8. JGK II, p. 429.
10. JSP, p. 25.
11. JGK, II, p. 1478.
Daśavaikālikavṛitti in 1442 A.D. A copy of the Śrī Bhuvanabhāmukővaliśārīttra was prepared by Labdhivardhigani in 1446 A.D. The Gañasukumālasandhi was written by Mūśavāchaka in 1567 A.D. A poet in his Tīrhatmālā written in 1472 A.D. describes this place. Jina harsha and Kuśaladhīra composed the Mrigaputrachauṣpāi in 1665 A.D. It was a birth place of the great scholar named Samayasundara, who, wrote the Sāñchoramaṇḍanavirastavāna at this place in 1620 A.D.

The Śaiva temple named Vāyeśvara of Sāñchor is noteworthy. One inscription of 1288 A.D. refers to the reign of Chauhāna king Sāmantasirīadeva, and speaks of certain Meharas obviously Mers, named Prabhā, Padama and Āsapāla as having made a donation of eight drammas to it. Another inscription dated 1387 A.D. records that Kāmalladevi, wife of Pratāpasimha Chauhāna, restored the temple of Vāyeśvara, and made the gift of a field for the naivedya or daily offerings to the deity. It seems that it was destroyed during the reign of Alāuddin Khilji, and, therefore, an attempt was made to renovate it.

Sāñchor is famous for being the cradle of the Brāhmaṇas called ‘Sāñchorā’, who are found in large number both in this District and in Māllāni. Āchārya Rāma, who is mentioned in the inscription of Pratāpasimha dated 1387 A.D., belonged to Satyaapurajñāti, which is obviously the Sāñchora-sub-caste of Brāhmaṇas. Sāñchor is also the name of a well known division of the Chauhānas, undoubtedly called after this place.

(25) CHĀTSŪ

Chātsū, situated about forty-two kms. south of Jaipur, is a place of great antiquity. It was existing in the sixth

1. JSP, p. 335.
2. JGK, II, p. 835.
4. See Appendix No. 4 for the text.
5. JGK II, p. 1145.
6. Ibid, p. 1266
8. PRAS. WC, 1908, p. 35.
9. Ibid.
century A.D. Its early name, as known from the literary and epigraphical sources, was Champāvatī, from which, Chāṭṣū appears to have derived its name.\(^1\) The antiquity of this city is clear from the ancient wall, which is practically desolate. There are clear signs of a reconstruction of this wall in about the fourteenth century A.D., but there is nothing to ascertain when the original wall was built.

From the sixth century A.D., Chāṭṣū was ruled by the Guhilas who were originally Brāhmaṇas. This dynasty was founded by Bhartrīpatṭa, who has been described as Paraśurāma endowed with both priestly and martial qualities.\(^2\) Thus the founder of this dynasty was a Brāhmaṇa by caste but performed the feats of Kṣhatriya. He was followed by Iśānabhaṭa and Upendrabhaṭa, about whom, nothing is known. The next ruler is Guhila, after whom, this dynasty seems to have been named.

Guhila's son, Dhanika, constructed a step-well at Nagara in V.S. 741 (684 A.D.) for the use of his subjects for performing the abhisheka of Śaṅkara, and for acquiring religious merit.\(^3\) D.R. BHANDARKAR\(^4\) identifies him with another Dhanika known to us from the Dhoḍ inscription of either G.E. 407 (726 A.D.) or H.E. 207 (813 A.D.) which speaks of him as Guhilaputra Dhanika, a feudatory of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Dhavalappadeva, but this identification is doubtful. Dhanika of Dhoḍ is not a son of a Guhila but a Guhilaputra, i.e., member of the Guhila clan. He might be thus removed in time from Dhanika and Guhila of Chāṭṣū by even a century or more. Besides, we should keep in view the distance between Nagara and Dhoḍ.

The later Guhila rulers of Chāṭṣū were the feudatories of the Pratihāras, and fought on behalf of their masters.

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1. According to local traditions, this place was originally called Tāmbāvatinagara. Next, it was called Pahhpavati, after the name of its ruler Pahopa. Actually, these names are not known from literary and epigraphical sources.
2. EI, XII, p. II.
3. BK, I, p. 267;
4. INI, No. 1371.
After Āuka, his son Krishṇa, who flourished in the last quarter of the eighth century A.D., seems to have acknowledged the supremacy of the Pratihāra Vatsarāja, whose kingdom included Western Rajasthan. Krishṇa's son and successor was Śaṅkaragaṇa, who defeated a General of the Gauḍa king, and presented the latter's kingdom to his overlord. The Gauḍa king was Dharmapāla and the king, who was Śaṅkaragaṇa's overlord, was apparently the Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II. Śaṅkaragaṇa obviously helped Nāgabhaṭa II in wrestling the kingdom of Kanauj from Dharmapāla. Śaṅkaragaṇa was succeeded by his son Harsha, who was a feudatory of the Pratihāra Bhoja. Harsha claims to have conquered kings of the north, and presented to Bhoja horses, which were expert in traversing the Sindhu. This seems to refer to Harsha rendering assistance to Bhoja in conquering the Eastern Punjab. Harsha was succeeded by his son Guhila II, who is said to have conquered the king of Gauḍa, and received tribute from the princes of the east. He seems to have joined Bhoja or helped Mahendrapāla in conquering the Gauḍa country by defeating the king Nārāyaṇapāla of the Pāla dynasty. Some silver coins bearing the legend 'Śri Guhila' discovered at Agra are ascribed to him. He married a Paramāra princess, who gave birth to a son named Bhaṭṭa. Bhaṭṭa, who succeeded his father, seems to have been a contemporary of the Pratihāra Mahipāla I. He defeated the king of the Deccan at the behest of his master. He apparently joined hands with the Chandella Harsha to help Mahipāla in his war against the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III. Bhaṭṭa's son and successor was Bālāditya, who married a Chāhamāna princess, the daughter of king Śivarāja. Bālāditya erected the temple of Murāri (Viṣṇu) in commemoration of his wife, who died there. Bālāditya's three sons Vallabharāja, Vigrāharāja and Devarāja are known, but we know nothing of their political fortunes. An inscription of V.S. 1043 (986 A.D.) does not mention the clan of the local member who is called merely Lokanīpiṅka.  

After the Guhilas, Chāṭṣū probably came under the

1. EI, XII pp. 11-12.
2. Ibid, XXXV, p. 100.
possession of the Chauhānas. Hammiradeva, the famous ruler of Ranthambhor, who became the ruler in 1283 A.D., after his digvijaya returned home while passing through Champā.\(^1\) After that, it was seized by the Muslims. A Persian inscription of 1381 A.D. contains a name of the old Paraganā of Chāṭṣū, but the name of the king is missing.\(^2\) It was also ruled by the Khiljis of Malwa, since an inscription dated 1481 A.D. of the reign of Ghiyāṣa Shāh is found engraved in the temple of this place.\(^3\) A Siddhachākra Yantra was installed in 1491 A.D. during his reign through Ratnākīrū, the pupil of Prabhā Chandra by Tilā, and Mādhava with the members of the family.\(^4\) This shows that Ghiyāṣuddīn, though Muslim, was tolerant in the matters of religion. He was religious-minded, and devoted much of his time to prayers. In his time, both Hindus and Muslims were free in practising their respective religions.

Soon Chāṭṣū was taken by the Sisodiyās of Mewār. Mahārāṇā Kumbhakarṇa, the powerful ruler of this dynasty, who ascended the throne in about 1433 A.D., conquered this place.\(^5\) During the reign of Mahārāṇā Saṅgrāmasimha, Rāvala Rāmchandra Solaṅki was governing this place from Toḍā-rāi-sīṅgh as his feudatory.\(^6\) After that, this town came under the control of Viramade, the Rāṭhor ruler of Mertā, as is known from the praṣastis of the Shatpāhuḍa written in 1537 A.D.,\(^7\) and the Kalpasūtra of 1538 A.D.\(^8\) But soon, the great Rāṭhor Māladeva of Jodhpur defeated him and took posses-

2. AREB, p. 7.
3. Ibid.
4. An Inscription on a Siddhachakra Yantra in the Jaina temple of Sāṅvalalaji of Amer. See Appendix No. 5 for the text.
6. See the Praṣasti of the Bāhuballīcharita, Manuscript No. 36 in the Ailaka Pannalal Jaina Sarasvati Bhawan, Beawar. See Appendix No. 6 for the text.
7. PS, p. 94.
8. The Praṣasti of a copy of the manuscript named Kalpasūtra is in the Abhayagranthālāya, Bikaner. See Appendix No. 7 for the text.
sion of this place. He appointed his vassal Sūrasinīha to rule over this principality.1 Finally, Bhāramala, rājā of Āmber, occupied it, as a copy of the manuscript Upāsakādhyaṇa was written during his reign in 1566 A.D.2

Early traces of different religions are found at Chāṭṣū. That Buddhism was not in a flourishing condition can be concluded from the fact that only the head of Buddha was discovered.3 In the tenth century A.D., Bālāditya, the Guhila ruler, got the temple of Murārī constructed in the memory of his wife.4 The name Śiva Dūngārī indicates that at one time, some Śaiva temples were existing on it. In the eastern side of the city is a temple of the tenth or eleventh century A.D. Its door-way is decorated with a figure of dancing Śiva and the extant portion of its mandapa is supported on well-carved pillars of stone. Over this temple, a better temple known as Chaturbhujī-kā-Mandira was constructed in the reign of Mahārājā Māna Śimha of Āmber.5

Jainism is noticed at Chāṭṣū from the early medieval period. The temple, crowning the hill known as Śivaḍūngārī, was originally a Jaina temple, but now appropriated to Śiva-worship. The shrine door is doubtless old, perhaps as old as the eighth century A.D.6 This definitely proves that there were Jainas, who worshipped this temple at this time. The religious activities of Jainism continued during the reign of the Muslim ruler Ghiyāsuddīn. Under the patronage of the Solaṅkī ruler Rāmachandra, a feudatory ruler of Saṅgrāma Śimha of Mewar, Jainism flourished exceedingly. Several copies of manuscripts were prepared, and the consecration of the images took place.

Jainism continued to develop at Chāṭṣū during the reign of the Kachhāvāha rulers who were tolerant in matters of religion. In about 1575 A.D., Bhāṭṭāraka Chandrakīrti of

1. HIED, IV, p. 533.
2. PS, p. 94.
3. AREB, p. 6.
4. EI, XII, p. 10.
5. AREB, p. 6.
6. PRAS, WC, 1910, p. 50.
Mulasāṅgha seems to have removed his seat from Chitor to this place. The inscription of 1604 A.D. tells that he was residing at Chaṭṣū.¹ The reason was that Mewar at this time, from the political point of view, was unsafe and insecure. On the other hand, Chaṭṣū was under the Āmber rulers, who were on friendly relations with the Mughal emperors, and were patrons of Jainism. This was the time of Akbar, who followed the policy of religious toleration. It was, therefore, natural that the activities of Jainism progressed. In 1604 A.D., the pillar of the Jaina temple was erected by Chandrakirti.² His grand disciple Bhaṭṭāraka Narendrakirti got the pillar in the temple of Nemināth erected in 1649 A.D.³

That a large number of manuscript-copies were written at Chaṭṣū proves that it was a great centre of learning in the medieval times. Ṭhakkura, an author of the sixteenth century, A.D., composed the Apabhramśa works such as Kṛipāncharitra, Meghamālāvāyakahā, Pañchendriyavela, Nemirājamativela, and Pārśvanāthaśravānasattāvīṣi.⁴ These works indirectly throw some light on the condition of Jainism. The Meghamālāvāyakahā was written in the temple of Pārśva-nātha at the preaching of Pontiff Prabhāchandra, who came to this place from Chitor. He mentions the name of a scholar Toshaka, and also the names of the influential Śrāvakas. At this time, Rāvala Rāmachandra was ruling over this place. From the Pārśvanātha-Śravānasattāvīṣi,⁵ it is known that Ibrāhīm Lodi attacked Ranthambhor, which was ruled at this time by Rānā Sāṅgā. Hearing the news of attack, the people of Chaṭṣū began to flee in panic. Ṭhākura and Mallinātha, the two poets, prayed to the Jaina Tirthankara for help. Soon, this danger was averted by the defeat of Ibrāhīm Lodi at the hands of Rānā Sāṅgā. The poet Mallinātha, son of Mālhā, is known to have composed the Kohibela.

It seems that the Muslims brought about the destruction

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¹ ARRMA, 1927-28, No. 11, p. 4.
² Ibid.
³ Ibid, No 12.
⁴ AK, X, p. 131.
⁵ Guṭākā No. 404 in the Jaina Śāstra Bhaṇḍāra of Ajmer. See Appendix No. 8 for the text.
of early Hindu and Jaina temples of Čhāṭśū. A small Mu-
hammedan tomb constructed with the spoils of temples records
the martyrdom in a holy war of certain Garg Ali Shāh at
Čhāṭśū in 1572 A.D. Probably, as a result of the icono-
clastic activities of the Muslims, this town lost its past pros-
perity, and was reduced to an insignificant position.

(26) KALYĀṆPUR (KISHKINDHĀ)

Kalyāṇpur lies about sixty eight Km. to the south of
Udaipur, and near this village, there are extensive ruins of an
ancient town. It is possible to suggest that the ruins of the
town near Kalyāṇpur represent the site of ancient Kishkindhā2
or Kishindhipura3 known to us from the inscriptions.
Kishkindhā was the capital of the Guhila family ruling in
the seventh and eighth centuries. The Guhilas of Kishkindhā
were ruling side by side with the other Guhila families
of Mewār. From their feudatory titles, it seems that they
first owed allegiance to Harsha, but after his death, like
other Guhila families of this area, they transferred their
suzerainty to the Mauryas who were ruling in the south-
eastern region of Rajasthan. This house of the Guhilas was
ousted by the Guhilas of Mewār sometimes after the eighth
century A.D.

The rule of the three kings of the Guhila house of
Kishkindhipura is known to us from two grants.4 The
first grant was issued in the year 48 by Bhāvihiita, who was
the son of a brother of a chief named Devagana, and the

1. EIM, 1923-24, p. 23.
2. EI, XXX, p. 2.
3. Ibid, XXXIV, p. 167. Kekind in the old Jodhpur State is called
Kishkindhā in the inscriptions found at the place. See PRAS. WC, 1911,
P. 35.
second in the year 83 by Bābhaṭa who appears to have been a son of the said Devagaṇa. Both Bhāvihita, and Bābhaṭa represent themselves as meditating on the feet of Devagaṇa. But, although Bābhaṭa ruled later than the ruler Bhāvihita, the latter is not mentioned in the second inscription. It is difficult to say whether Bhāvihita occupied his paternal uncle’s throne, and was later overthrown by a son of the latter. The rule of the three kings, namely Devagaṇa, Bhāvihita, and Bābhaṭa, may be roughly assigned respectively to the second, third and fourth quarters of the seventh century A.D. Another member of the family was Rājaputra Ghorghaṭavāmin who is also known from the second grant, and may have been a son of Bābhaṭa. But, whether he ascended the throne cannot be said definitely.

**Mahārāja Bhetti** of the Dhulev plate of the year 73 also belonged to the Guhila family of Kishkindhā or Kishkindhipura near Kalyāṇpur. Since, he ruled from Kishkindhā between Bhāvihita, and Bābhaṭa, he may have been a son, or younger brother of the former, or an elder brother of the latter. Scholars hold different views on the era of the Dhulev plate of Mahārāja Bhetti. At the same time, they give different interpretations of the words ‘Mahārāja Bappadatti’ mentioned in the inscription. According to V.V. MIRASHI, the purpose of this inscription was to record the consent of Mahārāja Bhetti to the gift of the agrahāra grāma

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1. According to G.H. Ojha, the year 73 given in this plate is of Harsha era and this is equivalent to 679 A.D. V.V. Mirashi does not agree with G.H. Ojha, and says that the year 73 is of the Bhaṭika era. This year 73 is also Ṛṣyaṭya Samrātsara as the plate mentions. But, according to V.V. Mirashi’s calculations, the year 679-80 A.D. is Ṛṣyaṭha, and not Ṛṣyaṭya Samrātsara as required, so that year 73 cannot be Harsha era. (El, XXX, p. 2). D.C. Sircar, refuting the view of Mirashi, agrees with Ojha, that the date is of the Harsha era (El, XXX, pp. 6-7). Samar disagrees with both theories and maintains that the year 73 is neither of the Bhaṭika era, nor of the Harsha era, but of a local era starting from the acquisition of the throne by Bappa, the famous Guhila prince of Mewār. See JIH, XL, p. 345.

2. El, XXX, p. 2.
(village) Ubbāraka to the Brāhmaṇa Bhaṭṭināga of the Chandrātreya gotra, and Vājasaneyā śākhā for the religious merit of Mahārāja Bappadatti, who may have been the king’s father. D.G. SIRCAR rightly holds that the village in question was apparently granted by Mahārāja Bhatti’s father who was also a Mahārāja, although his personal name is not mentioned in the record. Bhatti had to ratify the grant made by his father for the religious merit of the latter obviously because the original donor had died before the execution of the deed. SAMAR maintains that Mahārāja Bappa of the Dhulev plate is no other than the famous Guhila prince of the same name of Mewār, who was not related to the main line of the Guhila princes, but was a chief, or feudatory of Kishkindhā, and later on, during the period of chaos brought about by the Arab invasion, or by the revolutionary activities of Bhillas, he got opportunity, and turning out the Guhila princes of the main line usurped the throne of Mewār. SAMAR accepts various legends and traditional fictions connected with the history of Bappa. Actually, these views of SAMAR are not correct.

Two other members of the same family appear to have been Paḍda, and Kadachhi known from the undated Kalyāṇpur inscriptions, of whom the former was probably a predecessor of Devagana, and the latter apparently a successor of Bābhata.

These Guhila rulers of Kishkindhā patronized the Brāhmaṇas by granting villages and plots of land so that they could perform their religious duties for the increase of the merit and fame of their donors. The Dhulev plate of Mahārāja Bhatti records that he had to ratify the grant of the agrahāra village Ubbāraka to the Brāhmaṇa Bhaṭṭināga of the Chandrātreya gotra and Vājasaneyā (śākhā) made by his father for

1. EI, XXX, pp. 6-7.
2. JIH, XL, p. 345. ff.
4. EI, XXXV, p. 56.
5. Ibid, p. 57.
the religious merit of the latter obviously because the original donor had died before the execution of the deed. Another inscription\(^1\) records that the grant of a village in Purapatta Vishaya was made for the increase of the fame and merit of Devagaṇa by his nephew and successor Bhāvihita to the Brāhmaṇa Asaṅgaśarman of Daṇḍāyana gotra, Vājasaneyā (Chārana), and Mādhyandina (śākhā). Another inscription\(^2\) records the gift of land which consisted of two plots situated in the village called Mitrapallikā grāma in favour of five Brāhmaṇas who were brothers and belonged to the Daṇḍāyana gotra and Vājasaneyā (Chārana) and Mādhyandina (śākhā). These inscriptions also prove that the Brāhmaṇas of the Daṇḍāyana gotra lived in this area.

Sāivism flourished under these Guhila rulers because they were staunch followers of this religion. Devagaṇa is described as a devout worshipper of Sāivism.\(^3\) Voṇṇā, the wife of Kadachhi, constructed a Sāiva temple probably by the persuasion of her Sāiva teacher named Kuṭukkāchārya and also made a grant of forty drammas for future necessities\(^4\) such as carrying out of repairs to the breaks and damages of the temple and for the sweeping no doubt of its floor, and compound. Besides, a person named Āmnāya is stated to have built a temple of the god Śiva during the rule of Mahārājā Paḍḍa out of money earned by righteous means in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D.\(^5\)

From the inscriptions of these Guhila rulers, it appears that bureaucracy was very efficiently organized. Their inscriptions give us some glimpses of their administration. There was a regular hierarchy of officials. The donors’ order in respect of the grant recorded in the document was addressed to the following classes of subordinates and subjects\(^6\)—Nṛpa (subordinate Ruler), Nṛpasuta (Son of a subordinate Chief)

\(\text{1. EI, XXXIV, p. 171.} \)
\(\text{2. Ibid, p. 173.} \)
\(\text{3. Ibid, p. 170.} \)
\(\text{4. Ibid, p. 57.} \)
\(\text{5. Ibid, XXXV, p. 56.} \)
\(\text{6. Ibid, pp. 170 and 173.} \)
Sāndhivigrāhādhikṛita (Minister for peace and war), Rājasthāniya (Viceroy), Pratihāra (Officer in charge of the gate of the palace or capital), Pramāṭṛi (an Officer in charge of measuring the king's share of grains), Balādhirkṛia (Commander of forces), Chaurodharanika (Police officer to deal with cases of theft), Dāṇḍapāśika (Head of a group of Policemen), Saumlīka (Collector of customs duties), Prātiśāraka (a Gate-keeper or a Collector of tools) Gamāgamika (Messenger), Chāṭa (Chief of a group of Paiks), Bhāṭa (Pāik) and Sevaka (Attendant). All these clearly indicate an elaborate system of governmental organization.

(27) NĀGDĀ

Nāgdā, situated at the foot of the hill of Ekaliṅgajī, is a place of great antiquity. Its old names as found in Sanskrit inscriptions are Nāgahrīda and Nāgadrāha. There are local legendary traditions of its association with the Nāgās but actually, this town was founded by Nāgāditya¹, the father of Śilāditya, who was ruling in 646 A.D.² Śilāditya is the fifth in line of succession of Guhadatta, the founder of the family. Roughly, if we allot an average of twenty years to the reign of each, Guhadatta probably flourished in the second half of the sixth century A.D. The Aṭpur inscription³ of Saktikumāra dated V.S. 1034 speaks of Guhadatta as a Brāhmaṇa belonging to the Brāhmaṇa family emigrated from Ānandapura. He and his early successors seem to have ruled in the western part of former Udaipur State.

In the Sāmoli inscription⁴ dated V.S. 703, Śilāditya is described as the conqueror of his foes. According to D.C. Sircar, although the identification of Śilāditya of the Sāmoli inscription dated 646 A.D. with the Guhila prince of that name is not beyond doubt, since it is not impossible to identify the ruler mentioned in the Sāmoli inscription with

1. URI, p. 98.
2. EI, XX, p. 97.
3. IA, XXXIX, p. 187.
4. EI, XX, p. 97.
Harsha Śilāditya of Kanauj who ruled from 606 A.D. to 647 over wide areas of Northern India, apparently including considerable parts of Rājasthān. Guhila Śilāditya again may have been named after his father’s over-lord Harsha Śilāditya as is in certain other cases, known to us². During his reign, a Mahājana community headed by Jentaka, who had migrated from Vasantagarh, started an āgara (ākara, a mine) in Āranyakūpagiri, which became a source of livelihood for the people. It is said that the Mahatara Jentaka, at the command of his community, founded at the place a temple of Aranya-vāsini (Durgā), which was noted for its eighteen Vaitālikas (bards) hailing from different parts of the country and was always crowded with rich and wealthy people.

After Śilāditya, his son Aparājīta became the ruler of Nāgdā. His Commander-in-chief Varāhasimha, son of Śiva, was very powerful, and is said to have crushed the power of adversaries. His wife yaśomati, in order to cross the troubled-sea of the worldly existence, built the temple of Vishnu at Nāgdā² in 661 A.D. The next famous name among the Guhilot rulers is that Bappā Rāvala. He is said to have come from Ānandapura, worshipped at the feet of a sage named Hārītarāsi and through his grace obtained royal fortune and became the king of Chitrakūṭa³. Actually, this was not the case: Guhadatta, the founder of the family, had emigrated from Ānandapura.⁴ The earliest mention of Bappā is found in the Ekalingajī inscription dated 971 A.D. of the reign of Naravāhana. There, it is clearly mentioned that Bappā, the moon among the princes of the Guhila family, is said to have flourished at Nāgahṛīda.⁵ Bappā Rāvala is a designation, and not a proper name of the ruler. He has been identified with the eighth king Kālabhoja⁶ by G.H. OJHA,

1. El, XXXIV, 169.
3. The Classical Age, p. 158.
4. IA, 39, p. 187, Atpur Inscription of Šaktikumāra, verse 5.
5. URI, p. 102.
6. IA, 39, p. 150.
and the ninth king Khommaṇa by D.R. BHANDARKAR.¹

He ruled in the eighth century, and is said to have conquered Chitor. It is likely that the Mauris or Moris were ruling at Chitor when the Arabs overran this part of the country, between 725 A.D. and 738. The Moris, probably, succumbed to these raids, and Bappā, a neighbouring chief, who was more successful in his resistance to the Arab raiders, seized the fortress of Chitor.

The next great ruler of Nāgdā was Bhartṛipāṭṭa II. He assumed the title of Mahārājādhirāja, which signifies that he enjoyed an independent position. As he granted a field in the village Palasakūpiṇḍa to a temple of the Sun-god Indrāditya-deva founded by the Chauhāna ruler Indrarāja in Ghonṭāvarthikā modern Ghōṭāṛī (seven miles east of Pratāpgarh) in 942 A.D., his kingdom appears to have extended in the southeast up to the border of Pratāpgarh.² His son and successor was Allāta, who probably transferred his capital from Nāgdā to Āhār. His son was Naravāhana during whose reign, the famous temple of Ekaliṅgajī was constructed by the saints of the Lakulīśa sect of Śaivism in 971 A.D.³

Vijayasimha, who ruled in 1116 A.D., seems to have transferred his capital back from Āhār to the former town of Nāgdā. From the Pālḍi inscription,⁴ it is known that Mahārājādhirāja Vijayasimha donated the fifth part of the produce of Pālli (modern Pāli), embracing all its receipts to Unlāchārya, son of the most respectable Āchārya Sāhiya, who was a resident of Nāgaḥṛīda on the occasion of a solar eclipse for the advancement of spiritual-welfare of himself and his parents in 1116 A.D. The gift was made at and the grant issued from Nāgdā, the capital city. The religious rites connected with this donation appear to have been performed somewhere near the temple of the god Ekaliṅga as the donor

¹. JPASB, 1909, p. 170.
³. JBBRAS XXII, p 151 (At that time, the north-eastern boundary of the city Nāgdā extended up to the present town of Ekaliṅgajī, and the temple formed its integral part.
⁴. EI, XXXI, Pt. IV, p. 244.
is here stated to have accomplished it after he had worshipped his tutelary deity in continuation of a bath in the Bhojadaga situated near the temple.

Nāgdā continued to remain the capital even of Mahārājādhīrāja Mathanasimha. A mutilated inscription dated 1182 A.D- records that when Mahārājādhīrāja Mathanasimha was ruling at Nāgadrāha, 190 drammas were granted to the Śiva temple by one Deddāka in the village Āta. Uddharana, in the family of Tāmaraḍa, was made Talāraksha (Kotwāl) of Nāgdā by the king Mathanasimha. He was able to protect the good, and punish the wicked. Mathanasimha was succeeded by Padmasimha, who made Yogarāja, the oldest son of Uddharana, his Talāra in the same city. A village Chīrakūpa (Chirvā situated near Nāgdā) was given as a gift by the king Padmasimha to Yogarajā serving in his army. Yogarāja got the temples of Yogēsvara, and Yogēsvāri built at Chirvā which were restored later on by his successor Madana who granted some land for their maintenance.2

The Guhilas of Mewār gained a high political status during the reign of Jaitrasimha, whose reign ranges between 1213 A.D. and 1252. In the early part of his reign, the Muslims under Sultān Iltutmish, overran Mewār, and destroyed the Guhila capital Nāgaḥrida. Jayatala, who was obviously Jaitrasimha of Mewār, suffered a heavy loss of men and money on that occasion. Men, women and children were ruthlessly butchered. People threw themselves into wells rather than fall into the invaders' hands.3 Even from the Chirvā inscription dated V.S. 1330, it is known that Yogarajā's son Padmarajā was killed fighting with the army of Sultān near Bhūtālā, while Nāgdrahapura was destroyed.4 But, soon on the receipt of the news that Vāghela Viradhavala was advancing with his forces to render assistance to Jaitrasimha, the Muslim army withdrew. After the destruction of

1. ARRMA, 1927-28, No. 6, p. 3.
2. EI, XXIII, p. 285.
4. EI, XXIII, P. 285.
Nāgdā, Jainasimha probably made Chitor his capital for the first time.

Besides, the capital of the Guhīlas, Nāgdā was well known as a holy place of the Jainas in early times. Viśālakīrtī's disciple named Madanakīrtī, who lived in the thirteenth century A.D., prayed to Pārśvanātha of Nāgadrāha along with other Tirthānkaras in the Śāsanachatustriṃśatikā. Jīnaprabhasūra also refers to it in his Vīvidhatīrthakalpa, written in 1332 A.D. This tīrtha has been described in the Tīrthāmālās of the late period. Sundarasūra composed an independent stotra in devotion to Nāgahrida Pārśvanātha. As Nāgdā was a holy place, it was visited by the Jaina saints from time to time. From the Vījñaptimahālekha written in 1380 A.D., it is known that Jinodayasūra of the Kharataragachchha paid visit to Nāgdā in connection with his pilgrimage to holy places.

The temple, now, known as the temple of Padmāvatī was originally the famous temple of Pārśvanātha. This temple is said to have been destroyed by the invasion of Iltutmish. The new images were, therefore, installed and the temple was rebuilt. Pāsadeva, and Samgharāma placed an image of Pārśvanātha in 1299 A.D. In 1334 A.D., Kelhā repaired the shrine of Pārśvanātha. A Poravāla trader built a devalulikā in the temple of Pārśvanātha in 1429 A.D. This temple originally belonged to the Digambara Jainas, but was appropriated by the devotees of the Kharatara gachchha during the reign of Kumbhakarṇa. There is one sculpture in the sanctum, which is somewhat interesting. In the centre of the slab is the figure of a Jina in an attitude of meditation having a halo behind, and two conical capped Chaurī-bearers, one on each side, with Gandharvas, and Devas represented as flying in

1. JSAI, p. 248.
2. VTK, pp. 86 and 106.
3. Tīrthāmālā written in V.S. 1529. Manuscript No. 72 Khandelavāla Digambara Jaina temple, Udaipur. See Appendix No. 9 for the text.
4. JSP, IV, p. 25.
5. It is in the possession of Agar Chand Nahata.
6. PRAS. WC, 1905-06, p. 63.
8. Ibid, No. 2242.
9. Ibid.
the air.\(^1\) There are also remains of the Jaina temples. One temple is in dilapidated condition. It consists of a shrine, an enclosed hill, and an open porch with two domes. The sikhara, and the domes are modern work, but the sculptured walls of the shrine, and the hall, would seem to date as early as the time of the Solańki prince, Kumārapāla. The Jaina temple known as Adbhudji's is so called, because it contains a wonderful image of Śāntinātha. It was constructed by a merchant named Sāraṁga of the Poravāla caste during Kumbhakarṇa's reign.\(^1\)

Along with Jainism, Vaishnavism, and Śaivism received a special royal patronage under the Guhila rulers, who were themselves the devout followers of these religions. There was the temple of Vishnū built in 661 A.D. (V.S. 718) by Yasomati, the wife of Varāhasimha who was the Commander-in-chief of Aparājita.\(^2\) That temple was destroyed, but still there are the remains of the two most beautiful, and interesting temples dedicated to Vishnū called Sāsabhū temples, standing side by side. That on the north side is the smaller, and, of the two, comparatively plain and is known as the daughter-in-law's (bahu) temple, while the other, the larger, is elaborately carved, especially inside, and is called the mother-in-law's temple. The Sāsa bahu group of shrines in Nāgdā is carved out of granite. Some of the carvings are remarkable. There is a war scene with the dynamic grouping of elephants and horses proceeding to the assault. One panel shows the gradations of the worlds below the heaven. Two panels from ceiling show respectively warriors before chieftain, and men bearing gifts for the household. The panel from the ceiling shows worshippers listening to a holy man.

During the reign of Naravāhana, the Śaiva ascetics as Supūjitārāsi, Viniśchitārāsi, and so forth got the temple of Ekaliṅgaṁi erected in 971 A.D., and dedicated it to Lakuliśa.\(^3\) At this time, the celebrated dilectician, called Śrī Vedāṅga Muni, who resided at this place, defeated the disputants of

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1. PRAS. WG, 1905, p. 61.
2. EI, IV, p. 30.
3. JBBRAS, XXIII, p. 152.
the Syādavāda, Saugata and other sects. After the construction of the Ekaliṅga, it became a great centre of Śaivism and was a place of residence of the Śaiva saints. The most respectable Āchārya Sāhiya was residing at this place in 1116 A.D.1 The Chirvā inscription2 dated V.S. 1330 says that at the head of the Paśupata sect, there was Śivarāśi who possessed many qualities and worshipped the god Ekalihga.

Nāgdā is a very important town from the social point of view. The gotrās of this name found among the Kṣatriyas, Brāhmaṇas and Jainas originated from this place. This definitely proves that once, it was highly populated by the people of these castes. The people of Nāgadā caste among the Jainas were religious-minded during the medieval times since several copies of the manuscripts were prepared in order to present them to the Jaina saints. Bhāṭṭāraka Jñānabhūshaṇa, who lived in the fifteenth century, wrote the Nāgadārāsa3 describing the history of a Nāgadā caste among the Jainas.

(28) ĀHĀR.

The village of Āhār, situated on the banks of a stream of the same name in 24° 35' N and 73° 44' E, is about three km. east of Udaipur city. Its old names as known from inscriptions and Jaina manuscripts were Āghāṭapura and Ātpura.4 In the tenth century A.D., it became the capital of the Guhila kings, the ancestors of the Rāṇās of Mewar before they migrated to Chitor. This place was also well known by the name of Gaṅgodhbeda tīrtha. During the reign of Bhartriḥbhaṭa II, a person named Ādivarāha built the temple of god Ādivarāha at the holy place known as Gaṅgodhbeda (now called Gaṅgobheda) in 943 A.D.5 (V.S. 1000).

1. EI, XXXI, Pt. VI.
2. Ibid, XXII, p. 286.
3. Manuscript in the Sāstra Bhāṇḍāra Śrī Digambara Jaina Mandira, Sambhavanātha, Badābazāra, Udaipur. Sec Appendix No. 10 for the text.
4. IA, XXXIX, p. 187.
5. ARRMA, 1913-14, No. 1, p. 2.
The son and successor of Bhartrihara II was Allata, who probably transferred his capital from Nagda to Ahar taking into consideration the sanctity of the place. He was a powerful ruler, and killed Devapala, probably the Pratihara ruler of Kanauj in the battle. He was an able administrator, as is clear from the fact that he introduced an elaborate system of administrative machinery. Mamma was his Chief Minister, and the Minister of Peace and War (Sandhivigrahika) was Durlabharaja. Mayura and Samudra were the Depositaries of the legal documents (Aksapatala). Nag was the Chief bard, and Rudraditya was the chief of medical men. At this time, it became a great centre of trade, and was frequently visited by the merchants of Karna, La, Madhyadesa, and Takka. The people of different classes such as sweet-makers, gamblers, oilmen, garland-makers and fruit sellers lived here. The temple of Vishnu, which was built in Varaha form in 953 A.D. (V.S. 1010), was famous in early times. An assembly, consisting of the goshti kas such as the royal members Mahalakshmi, her son Allata, then king, his son Naravahana and some of his Ministers and officers, was constituted to look after the management of the temple. For the maintenance of this temple, donations were fixed. Elephants, horses and other animals entering market with goods for sale were charged. The people following different professions had to pay something to meet the expenses of the temple. The merchants, coming from Karna, Madhyadesa, Lata and Takka, had to pay to the temple.

After Allata, his son Naravahana became the ruler. He appointed Sripati on the post of a Depositary of the legal documents, (Aksapatalika), a post formerly held by his father Mayura. His successors were Saliwana and Saktikumara respectively. Saktikumara obtained glory, and consolidated his kingdom. At this time, Ahar was the abode of glory. During his reign, a person, who was originally from Vasan-

1. URI, p. 124.
2. IA, 58, p. 161.
3. URI, p. 135.
tagarh, came to this place and erected a temple of Nāniga-
svāmī in 977 A.D.¹ Mattaṭa and Gundala, who have been
described like the two arms of Śaktikumāra, were the orna-
ments of the capital, and they were well-versed in State
affairs. After the death of his father, his son Mammaṭa as-
ummed the office of Akṣhapatālīka. At his request, the king
gave fourteen drammas yearly to the Sun temple.² Probably,
during his reign, the Paramara ruler Muṇja of Mālwa des-
stroyed Āghāṭa, the pride of Medapāṭa. The vanquished
chief saved his life by seeking shelter with the Rāśtrakūṭa
ruler Dhaivala of Hastikūṇḍi.³

Śaktikumāra was succeeded by Ambāprasāda. From a
fragmentary inscription found at Āhār, it is known that his
queen was of the Chālukya family.⁴ Vākpatīrāja II, the
ruler of Sāmblr, killed Ambāprasāda.⁵ After him, his brother Suchivaraman became the ruler of Āghāṭa. From a
fragmentary inscription brought from Āhār,⁶ it is known that
during his reign, a person got a temple known as Śrīrahileśvara
erected after the name of his father. The wife of the latter
named Mahimā is said to be the daughter of a Chālukya
prince named Sodguka.⁷ The next important ruler was
Vairisimha. In the Bherāghāṭ inscription⁸ dated 1155 A.D.,
the names of the rulers Harṣapāḷa, Vairisimha and Vijaya-
simha have been mentioned. As Āhār was destroyed by the
enemies in early times, Vairisimha, therefore, erected a fresh
rampart having four gates facing all the four cardinal direc-
tions round Āghāṭa.⁹ Vairisimha was followed by Vijayaśimha,
who probably transferred his capital to Nāgdā, as is clear
from the Pāḷḍi inscription dated 1116 A.D. (V.S. 1173).¹⁰

1. IA. XXXIX, p. 187.
2. URI, p. 130.
3. EI, X, p. 20.
4. ARRMA, 1913-14, No 2, p. 2.
5. PV, p. 115.
6. PRAS. WC, 1903-06, p. 62.
8. URI, p. 139.
9. EI, XXXI, Pt. VI, p. 325.
10. ARRMA, 1905-06, No. 1, p. 3.
It is clear from the inscription of 1207 A.D. that Sāmantasimha, who ruled in 1179 A.D., lost Āghāta to the Chālukya ruler of Gujarāt.1 This inscription shows that Bhīmdeva II granted an arghaṭa (well) called Māodā at Āhār in the territory of Medapāṭa which was under his rule, together with the cultivable land attached to it, and a field belonging to the same well to the Brāhmaṇa Ravidcva, son of Vihāḍa belonging to the Rāyakvāla caste and Krishnāṭriya gotra, and an inhabitant of the village Nauli. It further contains orders of the king that the ninth part of the crops produced by irrigation from this well should be given to the temple of Bhāilasvāmī of Āhār. This inscription shows that the territory of Medapāṭa of Mewār was under the sway of Chālukya Bhīmadeva. Kumārāsimha, the younger brother of Sāmantasimha, opened negotiations with the king of Gujarāt, and with his assistance, turned Kīrtipāla, the ruler of Jālor, out of Mewār, and after pleasing the ruler of Gujarāt took possession of Āghāta, and he subsequently became the ruler before 1182 A.D.2

Even afterwards, the importance of Āghāta continued as before. Copies of the Jaina manuscripts were written at this place. During the reign of Jaitrasimha, copies of the Aughsaniryuktī3 and Pakṣikavṛtti4 were written on palm leaves in 1228 A.D., and 1253 respectively during the reign of Jaitrasimha. In the body of manuscripts, there is mention of the name of Jagatśimha, who was the Chief Minister of Jaitrasimha. These copies are useful from the historical point of view, as they furnish information regarding the long reign of Jaitrasimha. Jaitrasimha was succeeded by his son Tejasimha. During his reign, an illustrated copy of the Śrāvakapratikramaṇachārī5 on palm leaves was written in 1261 A.D. at Āghāta, when Samuddhara was the Chief Minister. It contains six pictures, which throw some light on dresses

1. ARRMA, 1931, p 4.
2. URI, p. 147.
3. PR, III, p. 52.
4. Ibid, p. 130.
5. Ibid, V, p. 23.
and manners of people in the thirteenth century in Mewār. Besides it indicates that Āhār was a seat of learning, and scholars and poets received patronage from the State which gave a great fillip to the literary activities. Āhār remained a trade centre even in later times. From the Chitorgarh inscription of 1278 A.D., it is known that Mahārāṇā Samarasimha granted land for a monastery to Pradyumanaśūri with some endowments managed from the manaḍapīkā of Āghāṭa.¹

Āhār was a great centre of Brāhmaṇical religion. It was famous by the name of Gaṅgodbhṛṭa Tīrtha in early times as is mentioned in the Bijauliā rock inscription, dated 1170 A.D.⁴ When the Guhila rulers made it their capital, they also encouraged religious activities. The temples were built from time to time. During the reign of Bharṭribhaṭa II, the temple of Ādivarāha was built in 943 A.D. The temple in the form of Varāha was constructed, when Allāṭa was ruling. In the tenth century A.D., the Sun temple was in existence. The temple of Bhāilasvāmī was also well known in the twelfth century A.D.

As the Guhila rulers were liberal in their religious outlook, Jainism flourished side by side with Brāhmaṇical religion. Pradyumanaśūri of Chandra gacchha is said to have defeated the Digambara saints in discussions in the royal court of Allāṭa at Āghāṭa.³ From the Rāsasaṃgraha, it is known that the Minister of Allāṭa built the Jaina temple, and got the image of Pārśvanāṭha installed through Yaśobhadraśūri of Saṇḍeraṇa gacchha, who passed away in 972 A.D. This is further confirmed from the Jaina inscription found on devakulika of the Jaina temple.⁴ In this inscription, Mayūra, Śrīpāti and Mattāṭa have been described as Akṣhapatālikas respectively of Allāṭa, Naravāhana and Śaktikumāra. They might have constructed this Jaina temple. Dhanadeva, who lived in the tenth century A.D., refers to the temple of

1. ARRMA, 1922-23, No. 8, p. 3.
2. EI, XXIV, p. 91, V. 65.
4. URI, p. 133.
Mahāvīra in his poem *Satyapuriya Mahāvīra Utsāha*. Siddhasena Sūri, an author of the twelfth century, refers to this place in the *Sakala-tirthastotra*. Jagachandrasūri was a great Jaina ascetic, who performed hard penances. Seeing him, Jaitrasimha, the ruler of Mewār, gave him the title *Tapā* in 1228 A.D. at Āghāṭa. Jayatasīhha and Samuddhara, who were the Chief Ministers of Jaitrasimha and Tejasimha respectively, also patronised Jainism. By the inspiration of Jaina saints, several copies of manuscripts were prepared under the royal patronage. Jhāñjhana, in the company of his teacher Dharmaghoshasūri, organised the *Saṅgha* to holy places and visited Āghāṭa also.

Āhār gave the name of Āharia to one of the *gotras* of Gehalot race. Āharia *gotra* is also found among the chāraṇas. It shows that these people lived at this place in a large number in early times. It is, therefore, clear that Āhār was a town of great importance from the social point of view.

(29) CHITOR

Chitor, well known for its fort in India, is situated in 24° 53 N and 74° 39 E and is about one hundred eight kms. to the north-east of Udaipur city. Its name is closely linked up with the Golden Age of Rājpūt Chivalry. This town appears to have been in existence in the Gupta period. The Jaina author Somadeva (tenth century) refers to a tradition that a Hūṇa king conquered Chitrakūṭa. The reference here is probably to Mihirakula who was ruling in 530 A.D. Probably during the Hūṇa invasion, Madhyamikā, the old and prosperous town, was abandoned in favour of Chitor.

Afterwards, Chitor became the capital of the Mori Rājpūts. The fort of Chitor is said to have been built by

1. *JSS*, III, i.
2. *GOS*, LXXVI, p. 156.
3. Ibid.
the Maurya ruler Chittraṅgada. The tank and ruined palaces are attributed to him. The rule of Mori Rajpūts over this place is probably confirmed by the Bonai grant which refers to Buddhist Mayūravamsa which originally came from Chitrakūṭa mountain and ruled over Vanai Maṇḍala. A prince named Dharmivarāha, who patronized Māhuka, a descendant of Māgha, ruled over this place.

The Māna Sarovara column inscription of 713 A.D. speaks Māna who is regarded as a Mori ruler. This Māna, the son of Bhoja and grandson of Bhīma, was a descendant of Mahe śvara of the Tvashṭri family. A fragmentary inscription discovered in a Śiva temple mentions a ruler named Mānabhaṅga of the Grahapati-jāti in connection with the construction of a temple and excavation of a few cisterns and tanks apparently at Chitor and it has been suggested that Mānabhaṅga is identical with Māna of the Mānasarovara inscription. Neither of them appears to be identical with the Mauryas or Mori. The word ‘grahapati’ means both the Sun and the moon, while Tvashṭri is used to indicate a carpenter, as also the god Visvakarmā. Haribhadra Sūri, who propagated Jainism in the eighth century, was a priest of Jitari, the ruler of chittrakūṭa, though, it is not known to which dynasty Jitari belonged. Bappā is also known to have defeated the Moris and took possession of Chitor.

In the eighth or ninth century, Chitor was governed by the Gurjara Pratihāras rulers of Kanauj, through their feudatory Guhila rulers, probably, the successors of Bappā Rāvala. They are known to have fought on behalf of their masters in Northern India. One of them Harsha claims to have conquered the kings of Uttarapatha, and presented Bhoja (836–82) horses, which were expert in traversing the Sindhu. Harsha had to suffer defeat at the hands of the Kalachuri

1. Kutā śālaṇpbandli, 30–2, see also Prabandhasanagraha, p. 103.
2. JBO RS, XVI, p. 241. See also XXXI, p. 159.
3. Rajasthan through the Ages, p. 227.
4. AAR, I, pp. 842–843
6. PPS, pp. 103–105, See also PG, pp. 183–212.
7. EI, XII, p. 12.
Kokalla I. The expression Chittrakūṭa bhūpāla for Harsha mentioned in the Benaras copper plate¹ of the Kalachuri Karna shows Chitor to be the early capital of this branch of Guhila dynasty. Kalachuri Kokalla seems to have fought as a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Krishṇa, II. Even Rāṣṭrakūṭa records refer to the conquest of Chitor by them. Towards the close of the Gurgara Pratihāra Mahipāla’s reign in 940 A.D., Krishṇa III led an expedition into Bundela khaṇḍa and captured the important forts of Kālīnjara and Chittrakūṭa.²

After the decline of the power of the Pratihāras, the Paramāras of Malwa defeated the Guhils, and occupied Chitor. Muṇja, who became ruler in about 972 A.D., captured the fort of Chitor, and adjoining region of Mewār³. It remained under their possession for a pretty long time. Bhoja, the nephew of Muṇja, got a temple named Tribhuvana Nārāyaṇa erected at Chitor, and frequently he visited it. Naravarman, who ascended the throne of Malwa before 1094 A.D., was also the overlord of Chitor. He granted Jīnavallabha-Sūri two Pāruttha drammas daily from the custom’s house of Chitor for the maintenance of two Vidhichaityas.⁴ Chitor was included in the dominions of Malwa during Yaśovarman’s reign in 1133 A.D. In 1136 A.D., Jayasimha Siddharāja of Gujrat defeated Yaśovarman and annexed Chitor.⁵ When Kumārapāla visited Chitor in 1150 A.D., he made Sajjana, the Governor of this place, taking into consideration his past services.⁶ Vigraharāja IV, who became the ruler of Ajmer in 1151 A.D., captured Chitor from the Chālukyas, and annexed a part of Mewār to his territory.⁷ It is also confirmed by literary sources. According to Somatilakasūri, Vigraharāja IV’s armies reduced Chitor and cap-

¹. EI, II, p. 306.
³. NPP, III, p. 5.
⁴. KB, p. 13.
⁵. EI, I, p. 297.
tured Sajjana’s elephant force. Again, it came under the sway of the Chālukyas of Gujarat, as is clear from the Āhār inscription of 1207 A.D. Kumārasimha, the younger brother of Sāmantasimha, having pleased the ruler of Gujarat, took back Mewār and became its ruler. Jaitrasimha, whose known dates range between 1213 A.D. and 1252, made Chitor his capital for the first time after the destruction of Nāgdā.

In 1299 A.D., Rāṇā Samarasimha had to pay homage to Sultān Alāuddin Khilji. After that, though Chitor was under the control of Ālāuddin Khiljī, Rāṇā Ratnasimha gave him a tough fight. Alāuddin bestowed the government of this place upon his son Khizra Khān, and renamed it after the name of his son as Khizrabād. After sometime, he recalled his son, and handed the fort over to his ally Māladeva, younger brother of the Chāhāmāna Kānhaḍadeva. Hammira overthrew Jeśo, the son and successor of Māladeva, and established the supremacy of the Sisodiyās over Chitor sometime after the reign of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq. Rāṇā Lākhā (1382-97) extended his raids up to Bihar; Mokala (1398-1433) annexed Sāmbhar; Rāṇā Kumbha defeated the Sultāns of Mālwa, and Gujarāt, and to commemorate his victory got the tower named Kīrtistambha, erected. Under Rāṇā. Sāṅga, the Hindupat Mewār reached the zenith of its glory annexing the greatest part of the Sultanate of Mālwa, the northern fringe of Gujarāt and repulsing the attacks of the Lodī Sultāns of Delhi. Then, a sudden and rapid decline followed. At Khanwāh, Rāṇā Sāṅga suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of the Mughal emperor Bābar, which highly damaged the prestige of the celebrated Rāṇās of Mewār. In 1535 A.D., Sultān Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt captured Chitor. Then Shershāh Sūri (1540-45 A.D.) swept over Rajasthan, and in 1567-68, Akbar stormed the fort of Chitor and captured it. As a result, the capital was transferred to Udaipur, which later on became the permanent seat of the State.

It is natural that a place so rich in historical traditions

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2. ARRMA, 1931, p. 4.
should be a treasure house of fine old monuments. The different ruling dynasties such as the Moris, the Pratihāras, the Solaṅkis, the Paramāras and the Guhīlas left several monuments of their times. Most of them were destroyed as a result of the successive Muslim invasions. But those ruins, which have been preserved, give us an idea of art under different ruling dynasties.

Probably, the fortification of the vast plateau, the terraces of Mahāsati, and Gomukh, and some objects in the excavation of the large tank on the plateau, must belong to the Gupta period. The palace of Chitrāṅgada Maurya and votive Buddhist stupa may also be assigned the same date. The temple of Annapūrṇa, which was built by Hammīrāṣiṁha (1301-64 A.D.), still possesses some late Gupta reliefs, e.g., Gaja Lakṣmī, and Annapūrṇa. Not much later are some Hindu reliefs, now, inserted into the walls of the principal gate, the Rāmpol, the type of which is clear adaptation of Buddhist prototypes. A relief, where the teaching Buddha attended by Bodhisatvas, and Arhats has been transformed into Lakuliśa with his characteristic staff is surrounded by Śaiva ascetics. Other Hindu reliefs are Kārtikeya, and a dancing Gānēśa.

The characteristics of the early Pratihāra style of art are noticed in some temples. The mandapa with its balconies, the pillars with their confused combination of half roundels, pot and foliage pieces, Kirtimukhas, floral scrolls, and flat fluted capitals, the restless sculpture either treated like a mass of flat, but deeply undercut ornaments, or dissolving into disorganized masses, special iconographic types like Lakuliśa etc. are the main characteristics of the Pratihāra art. The Sun-temple known as Kālikā temple belongs to the Pratihāra period. It is small but excellent in construction. Its architecture is similar to those temples of Osia, built during the Pratihāra period. The temple of Mahākāli, the goddess of Chitrukūṭa, is of the early Pratihāra period, though it lost its spire, and also reveals vestiges of considerable repairs. A small temple and a Colonnade near the cremation ground are of a similar type. The temple of Kumbhaśvāmī, which has its origin on the substructure of early ninth century, is
of the style of Mihirabhoja. The temple of Mahādeva, Samidheśvara, and the Śringāra Chauri still retain the original portions, built during the reign of Kumārapāla, and indicate the Solaṅkī style of art. The repairs executed under Rāṇā Jaitrisimha (1213-56), Tejasimha (1260-67) and Samarsimha reveal the influence of Vāghela style of Gujarāt. The architects of this place became so well known that they were invited even to outside places. The Chitrakūtiyasilāphīta is mentioned in the inscription dated V.S. 1221 of the temple of Pārśva-nātha at Phalodhi. Rāṇā Lākhā is also known is have rebuilt the palaces of Chitor. These later monuments are crude from the artistic point of view.

The golden Age of architecture and sculpture was the reign of Rāṇā Kumbha who built innumerable buildings such as forts, palaces and temples. The most beautiful and well-known among them is the Kirti-stambha or Jayastambha (pillar of victory). This pillar is one of the most remarkable towers in the country. It is built partly of red sand-stone, and partly of white marble, and is enriched by numerous images of Hindu gods and goddesses with inscriptions engraved at the bottom of each. Actually, it is a veritable text-book of Hindu iconography. This pillar of victory was constructed between 1442 A.D. and 1449 by him to commemorate his success over the combined armies of the kings of Malwa and Gujarāt. There is another highly decorated pillar at Chitor known as Jain stambha, built in honour of the Jaina Tirthaṅkara Ādinātha by Punasimha, the son of Jijā of the Bagheravāla caste, during the reign of Kumbhakarna by the persuasion of his daughter. In 1453 A.D., the fortifications were modernized, and in 1459 A.D., the pompous Rāmpol was erected. He also constructed the temples of Kumbhaśyama and Brahmā. Kumbha's treasurer Bhaṅḍāri Belā, a Jaina, erected the charming temple known as Śringāra Chauri in honour of the Jaina Tirthaṅkara Śaṅti-nātha. Though the religious architecture, and sculpture of this period is in imitation of that of the early Hindu period,

1. PLS, No. 21.
2. Anekānta, VIII, p. 139.
it never achieves the sensitiveness and vitality that characterize the early monuments. In the secular buildings however, Hindu and Muslim forms are successfully used, but with a more lavish use of Hindu columns, lintels, balconies, ornaments and figural sculptures. Under Kumbha's successors, building activities continued. The Adbhuta temple (1494) was restored and the Śrīṅgāra Chauri was expanded under Śāṅgā. The Varāha temple was built by his daughter-in-law. And then came the end not only of Chitor, but also of its art. The policy of scorched earth and the endless guerilla war with all its reprisals extinguished even that art, which had survived the massacre of 1568.

From the archaeological remains, it is known that Brāhmanism and Jainism were the two main religions of Chitor. The discovery of a small votive stūpa proves that Buddhism was also followed by some people. This stūpa might have been built by the Morī rulers, who were Buddhists. The Bonāi grant referring to the Buddhist Mayuravāmśa, which originally came from the Chittrakūṭa mountain, also proves that the Morī rulers of this place were followers of Buddhism. After the Morīs, the rulers of the succeeding dynasties were the devotees of Brāhmanism which flourished in various aspects. The temple of Kukadeśvara is said to have been built by a king named Kukadeśvara in 755 A.D. The temples of Sammīdhesvara and Tribhuvananārāyaṇa prove that there was a stronghold of Śaivism in early time. Charities were granted to these temples from time to time. The existence of Vaishnavism is clear from the fact that the Solaṅkī ruler named Kumārapāla built at this place the temple of Varāha, and granted it the village Duṇāudā containing wells and gardens in 1150 A.D.¹ Hinduism received a special encouragement in the fifteenth century during the reign of Kumbhakarna, who is said to have built several temples.

Along with Brāhmanism, Jainism was also followed by the masses. The literary sources throw a flood of light on the activities of Jainism. This town is said to have been visited

¹ ARRMA. 1930-31, No. 6, p. 4.
by the famous Jaina philosopher Siddhasena Divākara,¹ who probably lived in the fifth century A.D. The great Jaina scholar named Haribhadrasūri of the eighth century was a native of this place. In the eleventh century A.D., Kṛishnaṛṣхи visited Chitor, initiated a person in particular to monkhood and after imparting proper training made him Āchārya.² At this time, Vimalasūri also propagated Jainism. Jinavallabha made Chitrakūṭa his headquarters for the propagation of Vidhīmārga in the early twelfth century A.D. The reformed temples were established at his persuasion. He inscribed all his Chitrakūṭa on the stones of Vīrachāitya. His Dharmaśikṣa and Saṃghapāṭṭaka were also engraved on both sides of the walls of the chaitya.³ After Jinavallabha, the function of paṭṭa ceremony of Jinadattasūri was celebrated in 1112 A.D. with great rejoicings. During this period, a great debater named Vādidevasūri defeated Śivamūrti in discussions.⁴ This place was also a seat of Digambara Bhāṭṭārakas in the twelfth century A.D. The Paṭṭāvalī of the Mūlsanīgha tells us that ten pontificates were established at this place.⁵ There was a prosperous colony of the Digambara Jainas on the hills in the twelfth century A.D., when Chālukya ruler Kumārapāla visited this place.⁶ It was considered a holy place of the Jainas in the twelfth century.⁷

The kings and officers, though followers of Brāhmanical religion, were highly influenced by the teachings of the Jaina Āchāryas. When Jinaprabodha Sūri came to Chitor, Brāhmins, ascetics, the chief among the Rājaputras, Kṣetrasimha and Kāmrāja all combined to receive the Āchārya in about 1277 A.D.⁸ Samarasiṃha and his mother Jayatallahādevī were greatly influenced by the discourses of Devendrasūri and became his devotees. Probably, it was due to his

¹. PCA, P. 24. See also PK.
². Upakeśagachchha prahudha, p. 61.
³. PR, 1883-84, p. 152.
⁴. PCA, pp. 171-182.
⁵. IA, XXI, p. 61.
⁶. PRAS. WC, 1904, p. 45.
⁷. GOS, LXXVI, p. 156.
⁸. KB, p. 56.
advice that Jayatallādevī, queen of Tejasimha, the lord of Chitrakūṭa, constructed the temple of Pārśvanātha, as we know from the Chitor inscription of 1278 A.D.1 It also states that Mahārāvala Samarasimha granted a piece of land for a monastery to Pradyuma-Sūri with some endowments. Another inscription records the grant of land to a Jaina temple belonging to the Bhartṛipuriya gachchha for the spiritual welfare of his mother.2 Besides being encouraged, and advised by Sūri, Samarasimha also issued an ordinance prohibiting the slaughter of animals in his kingdom. Jinabhadrāsūri, who rendered valuable service to the cause of Jainism in medieval times, caused the Jaina temple to be built in the fourteenth century.3 In 1415 A.D., Bhṛṭāraka Subhachandra of Mūla-saṅgha reestablished his paṭṭa at Chitor in 1415 A.D. For two centuries, the Bhṛṭārakas of this Paṭṭa set up images, and temples at different places, and got a large number of manuscript copies written with a view to propagating Jainism.

Chitor became a great centre of learning in early times. Haribhadra Sūri, the great commentator, utilised the labours of early writers in his works. This obviously proves that Jaina scriptures were being intensively studied in the eighth century. He is the author of the Dhūrtākhyāna4, written by him at Chitor. Vīrasena learnt the Shāṅkhāṇḍāgama and the Kashyapprābhrita from Elāchārya at Chitor, and after that he wrote the Dhavalā, and a portion of the Jayadhavalā in the ninth century in the South.5 Harishena, who was originally a resident of Chitor in Mewār, migrated to Achalapura (probably modern Ellichpur in Amrothi District) where he studied metrics and rhetoric, and wrote the Dhammaparikkāh in 987 A.D. Jayakirti wrote the Kumārapāla-Chitor-prāfasti in V.S. 1207.6 His pupil was Rāmakirti. Rāmakirti’s disciple was Vimalakirti who wrote the Sugandhadaśami-kathā.7 Rāma-

1. ARRMA, 1923, No. 8, p.3.
2. Ibid, 9.
3. JSP, XVI, p. 16
4. SJS, XX.
5. JGPS. p. 90 (Introduction)
7. RJSBGS, p. 632.
kirti's another disciple Yaśakirti is the author of the Jagat-
sundari-prayogamālā. Various copies of manuscripts on religion
and philosophy were prepared for the presentation to Jaina
monks in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Rishivardhana
Sūri composed the Naladavayantīrāsa in 1455 A.D. at Chittra-
kūtāgri, and the Daśāvatakasattirī was written by Nannasūri
in 1496 A.D. Some Chittrakūṭa Chaitya Paripātis, written
in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, are historically impor-
tant, as they point out that there were temples of different
gachchhas. These Chaityaparipātis also describe images of
the temples.

(30) DHOD

The old name of Dhod, the chief town in Udaipur
District, was Dhavagarta. The Dabok (eight miles to the
east of Udaipur) inscription of V.S. 701 (644 A.D.) mentions
the Guhila Chief Dhanika of Dhavagarta, and the latter's
overlord Paramabhatūraka Mahārajadhīrāja Paramēśvara Dhava-
lappa. Dhanika is identified with his namesake of the
Chātsū and Nagara inscriptions, but it is doubtful. BHAN-
DARKAR identified Dhavalappa of this inscription with the

1. JSP, pp. 8, 64 and 148; JPSS, pp. 102 and 126.
2. JGK, p. 48.
5. The date of the Dabok inscription has been differently read.
BHANDBARKAR has first read it as the year 807 of the Vikramaīśvrt
erai corresponding to 750 A.D., which he later corrected to 807 of the Gupta
era corresponding to 726 A.D. (See INI No. 1971; PRAS, WC, 1905-06,
p. 60; EI, XII, p. 12 Note 1) But HALDER reads the date as the year
207 of the Harsha era corresponding to 813 A.D. (See EI, XX, pp. 192 ff.)
Recently SIRCAR read the date correctly as 701 which must be referred to
Vikrama Sāvat as to yield 644 A.D. (See EI, XXXV, p. 109).
6. Dhavalappa appears to be a South Indian (probably Kannada)
name, and the king may have been related to Rāṣṭrakūṭa Nannamp, bear-
ing a similar 'appa' ending name of the Indragar (Mandsor District,
The Madhya Pradesh) inscription EI, XXXII, pp. 112 ff. of 710 A.D. The
Mauryas were related to the Mauryas of the Konkan in the South.
Mauryas were related to the Mauryas of the Konkan in the South.

7. EI, XII, p. 11.
9. IA, XIX, p. 57.
Maurya king Dhavalatman of the Kañaswa inscription of 738 A.D., but this is not possible, although the former may have been a predecessor (probably the grand father) of the latter.

This Dhavalappa ruling in 644 A.D. seems to be the scion of the Mauryas who were ruling in the Rajasthan-Mathura region in the seventh century A.D. As Dhavalappa assumed the imperial title of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhīrāja Paramesvara by 644 A.D., King Harsha must have lost his hold over many parts of Rajasthan before his death in 647 A.D., though the Mauryas of Rajasthan region must have owed allegiance to him. These Mauryas seem to have ruled over this region with their capital at Chitor in the seventh century A.D. before it was occupied by the Guhilas.

After the Guhilas, this place seems to have come under the possession of the Chauhānas. Kumārapāla, son of Thākura Maṅgalarāja, was governing this place as a feudatory of the Chauhāna ruler Prithvirāja II in 1168 A.D. Under the rule of the Guhilas and the Chauhānas, Dhod became a great religious centre, and several temples were built at this time. An inscription of 813 A.D. records the grant of some fields, and, probably shops, too by Vaidya Giyaka, son of Nāgadāman, a resident of Dhavagarāḍa, to the temples of the god Mahāmaheśvara and the goddess Durgā called Ghaṭṭavāsīni. The temple of Nityaprāmaditadeva, which was built in 1163 A.D. by Kumārapāla, a feudatory of Prithvirāja II, was very famous. This temple is mentioned as a place of pilgrimage in the Bijaulī inscription dated 1169 A.D. Suhaḍadevi, the queen of the Chauhāna ruler Prithvirāja II, granted several fields to this temple. In 1171 A.D., during the reign of the Chauhāna ruler Someśvara, Karanika Brāhmaṇa Mahantama

1. A fragmentary inscription from Mathura mentions certain hitherto unknown rulers of the Maurya family, who flourished in the early medieval period. These rulers were Krishnarāja (of the family of the Maurya kings), Chandragupta, Ar̄yarāja, Dīndarāja alias Karka (who burnt the city of Kanḍakubja). See EI, XXXII, p. 207.
2. ARRMA, 19-23, p. 2, No. 2.
3. EI, XX, p. 122.
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Chāhada, (son of Vijai) sold his house to this temple for sixteen drammās of Ajayadeva. In 1172 A.D., Bhaṭṭāraka Prabhāsārāsi got a monastery built near the temple of Nityapramoditadeva for the residence of Kapilla ascetics from foreign countries.

(31) DHAMNĀR

Dhamnār, a small village on the borders of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh, is situated about eighty kms. to the south-west of Jhālārāpātan. This name of the town seems to be a corruption of the ‘Śaivite, epithet Dharmanātha’ which was the name of the ‘liṅga’ set up in the Vaishṇava temple during the medieval period. There are about seventy Buddhist excavated caves of the seventh and eighth century A.D. on the hill of this place which is between two and three miles in circumference and 140 feet in height. Because of the Buddhist monastic establishment, this place was known as Chandanagiri Mahāvihāra during the early period as proved from the discovery of the inscribed clay seal.

Among the rock-cut caves found at Dhamnār, Bhīma Bazār and Baḍī Kachāri are the most interesting. The Bhīma Bazār is the largest of the Dhamnār caves, and it is the combination of chaitya and vihāra. It consists of a large rectangular court with a chaitya in centre enclosed on three sides by ranges of small cells, each side having a smaller chapel in the central cell. Few carvings or figure sculptures are found in the cave except that in the central hall to the west are two rock-cut images of seated Buddhas.

In the group of smaller caves known as Chhoṭā or small bazār, a number of rock-cut images of the Buddha have been

1. ARRMA, No. 3, p. 2.
2. Ibid, No. 4, p.2.
3. These caves were first made known by TOD, and they have since been visited by FERGUSSON who has described them at some length in Rock cut Temples of India, CUNNINGHAM described them in ASC. II, p. 273. HENRY COUSENS also visited this place, and gives an account of these caves in A.S.I., An Report, 1905-06, p. 107.
badly mutilated. The Badi Kacheri is in fact a large chaitya hall, square in plan, with a pillared portico in front enclosed by a stone railing. The other caves are not interesting artistically or architecturally.

One peculiarity about these Dhamnär caves is that the dagobas found in chaityas and vihāras are standing out in floor in the open air as principal objects of worship. They are tall in comparison with their diameter, and this shows the late date for the caves.

Brāhmanical religion also flourished side by side with Buddhism at Dhamnär. The temple of Dharmanātha at this place originally dedicated to Vishnu, probably of the same age of Buddhist caves, belonged to the eighth century A.D. It stands in the middle of a pit in the plateau, a few yards north of the caves. This measures 170 feet long by 66 feet wide, and it is about 30 feet deep. This monolithic temple is somewhat of the same general style as that of the famous Kailāsa temple of Ellora. The architecture partakes of the same heavy character as that of Kailāsa temple at Ellora. Here, it is balder on account of the spongy nature of the rock, which forbade any attempt at fine work. But what was thus lacking in the rock was probably supplied in the superimposed plaster. At the same time, this temple is in the Nāgara style, while the Kailāsa temple at Ellora is in the Dravidan style.

This temple was planned on the model of the Kailāsa temple of Ellora. It consists of porch, hall and sanctum surmounted by its sikhara and seven small shrines around it acting as its satellites. One peculiarity is noticeable in the decoration of the roof of mandapa, namely the half chaitya-arch ornament, seen on either side of the little central sikhara over the porch.

The interior of the temple is comparatively plain, the pillars being simple and substantial. The ceilings have been decorated to some extent. There are backdoors leading out of the mandapa at the south-west, and north-west corners into the surrounding courtyard. Five shrines girdle the principal shrine. The two corner shrines, at the back, are square while the other three are oblong shrines. This
temple is surrounded by seven minor shrines, five around the main shrine and one each in the north-east and south-east corners of the courtyard. These shrines contain image slabs. On the pedestal of the Kālikī Avatāra statue, of this temple, some letters ‘Śri Bhavala’ are found engraved in the script of the eighth century A.D.

Vaishnāvism seems to have remained popular even in medieval times, because an inscription\(^3\) of V.S. 1753(1706 A.D.) on the pillar records that Nāga Ānanda Rāma established an annual fair called rāsa. Rāsa is a term usually applied to a particular dance which is specially related to Krīshṇa and Gopis. It appears that Vaishnava worship was still being carried on in this temple, and that its occupation by the Śaivites was of considerably later date. CUNNINGHAM\(^3\) read the date of this inscription as 1306 which is certainly wrong in two figures.

(32) SHERGARH

Shergarh, now a deserted town, standing on crest of the river Parwān, is about one hundred forty-five kms. to the south-west of Kota. According to local traditions, the present name of the town was given to it after its capture by Shershāh of the Sūr Dynasty in the course of his Mālwa campaign. He destroyed old cities for founding new ones on their ruins after his own name, as Shergarh, Sherpur, Sherkot, etc. The ancient name of this town was Kośavardhana, “the increaser of the treasury”. Since, it was an important thriving centre of trade, industry and agriculture which must have contributed a good deal to the royal treasury, this name seems to have been given to it. It was also an important military cantonment. The present dilapidated township itself was considered to be one of the impregnable forts in the Hindu period, as is evident from its strong walls, and ramparts which are still standing erect to tell this story. It is also

1. ASC. II, p. 279.
3. ASC, II, p. 279.
expressly referred to as a fort in the inscription. A new fort was constructed outside the old one in the Muslim period.

Being a place of strategical importance, Shergarh was ruled by different ruling dynasties from early times. An inscription found here refers to Sāmanta Devadatta ruling in 790 A.D. As the names of the three ancestors namely Bindunāga, Padmanāga, and Sarvanāga end in Nāga, we may hold that a Nāga family was ruling in this region in the eighth century A.D. if not earlier. Devadatta, who built a Buddhist temple and monastery here in 790 A.D., has been described as a feudatory chief probably of the Pratihāra ruler either Vatsarāja, or Nāgabhaṭa of Kanauj. During the age of the Paramāras, the region of Shergarh was included in the dominions of the Paramāra king Udayāditya of Mālwa in the eleventh century. It remained under the possession of the Chauhānas of Raṇṭambhōr for some time. From the Chauhānas, it passed on to the Muslims. Shershāh destroyed the old town and founded a new one on its ruins after his name.

Under the patronage of the Hindu rulers, Buddhism, Śaivism and Jainism flourished at Shergarh in early medieval period. In the eighth century A.D., Buddhism was followed by the people. The ruler named Devadatta was a Buddhist who built a temple, and monastery to the east of mount Kośavarddhana in 790 A.D. As this monastery is not noticed at present, it was probably destroyed in course of the Muslim invasions.

Shergarh was also a stronghold of Śaivism in early times. The temple of Somanātha was the principal place of worship in the tenth and eleventh centuries. It was situated in the ward Somanāthapalli, named after the deity. The Śaiva saints like Bhatṭāraka Nāgānaka stayed in huts, built in the vicinity of the temple of Somanātha. So great was the name

1. EI, XXIII, p. 132.
2. IA, XIV, p. 45.
3. EI, XXIII, p. 134.
4. IA, XIV, p. 45.
and fame of the deity of this place that even the Paramāra ruler Udayāditya of Mālwa visited and granted a village to it in the eleventh century\(^1\). The village seems to have been Vilāpadraka since its inhabitants are exhorted to pay the usual dues to the temple.

Various donations\(^2\) were made to the temple of Somanātha from time to time. The three merchants namely Narasimha, Govrisha and Thirāditya jointly made a daily grant of one Karsha of ghee for the purpose of smearing the feet of Bhatṭāraka Nāgnaka from the income of the custom house in 1017 A.D. The three merchants constituted the town committee which was in charge of the collection of the market taxes of the custom-house which were usually collected in kind. In 1018 A.D., the donor, Varāṅga, an officer connected with the collection of tolls on roads, provided incense and sandal at the cost of five vrishabhas to this temple. Thakkura Devasvāmin made three donations to it in 1028 A.D. In order to provide oil for the lamps, he assigned to the temple the entire produce of two of the oil mills owned by Thāiyāka, who is described as the chief of the guild of oilmen. He, further, undertook to give a daily gift of a vodi, i.e., voḍri of cowries from the granary establishment for incense. The third donation was the monthly payment of two varāhas, to be made on the occasion of the Sanikrānti or what we call, "Passage of a planet" in English.

Besides, the donations of several vāsanikās\(^3\) were made to the temple of Somanātha by different individuals. Eight houses were given by nine donors. Among these six were merchants, one a mahallaka (probably a well-to-do landlord), one an oilman, and one a saṅkhika. The grants given to this temple by the landlords, merchants, officials, oilmen, etc., prove that this town was highly populated by the people of different classes. Besides these grants, there were also other means for meeting the expenses of the temple. For the temple establishment, so many big houses were not necessary. It

1. EI, XXIII, pp. 133-134.
2. Ibid, pp. 137-139.
3. Vāsanikā was a dwelling-house of considerable dimensions.
would appear that the temple management was expected to lease them either for residential, or business-purposes, and utilise the rent for the temple expenses. An inscription of 1228 A.D. records that a person, who was the devotee of Śiva, built a water-house. Most probably, it was meant for religious purpose.

Now, this temple of Somanātha is not in existence. Most probably, it was destroyed by the Muslims, when the fort was captured by them during the reign of Shershāh. The temple of Lakshmīnārāyaṇa may have escaped destruction as being of minor importance. Later on, when the fury of Muslim storm had passed over, the linga of Somanātha might have been transferred to the neighbouring temple of Lakshmīnārāyaṇa. The Śivalinga in the mandapa of Lakshmīnārāyaṇa is still known as Somanātha. The temple of Somanātha was situated somewhere near the modern temple of Lakshmīnārāyaṇa.

Side by side with the Buddhist monastery, and Śaiva shrine, a great religious establishment of the Jaïnas also flourished at Kośavardhana in the early medieval period. In the tenth century A.D., one Rājpūt Saradāra installed three Jaina images, which are in dilapidated condition. An inscription of 1105 A.D. records how a great festival of the Jaina Tirthāṅkara of Neminātha was celebrated at the new chaitya. At this time, the Jaina saint Virasena was residing. In 1134 A.D., Devapāla caused to be made the ratnatraya (images of three Tirthāṅkaras Śāntinātha, Kunṭhanātha and Aranātha), and performed their installation ceremony in association with his son, parents, relatives and Goshīhins at Kośavardhana.

There was some sort of local self government at Kośavardhana in early times. A town committee was there for the management of the affairs of the town. It was in charge of the collection of the market taxes. It looked after the holy places, such as the temple of Somanātha. Narasirhha, Govrīsha and Thirāditya were the members of this town com-

1. KRI, p. 28.
2. EI, XXXI, Pt. 2, p. 84.
3. Ibid.
mittee. There was a guild of the oilmen. Thāiyāka was the chief of the guild. The members of the guild used to supply oil for the lamps in the temple of Somanātha.

(33) DHOLPUR

The ancient name of Dholpur is Dhavalapuri as known to us from the Chauhāna inscription dated V. S. 898 (A.D. 842) of Chaṇḍamahāsena. The grandfather's name of Chaṇḍamahāsena was Īsuka. His father's name was Mahisārāma whose wife Kanhullā became a satī on the death of her husband. Chaṇḍamahāsena, who ruled in V. 898 (A.D. 842) at Dhavalapurī, was extremely liberal towards Brāhmaṇas whom he rewarded in various ways. He was probably a devotee of the Sun-god for whom he had a temple built in the forest adjoining Dholpur.

The Lords of the Mlechchhas, settled on both the sides of the river Chambal, paid him homage, and chiefs like Anirjita, perhaps Lords of small villages lying near Dholpur, moved about the town with downcast looks. It is not possible to identify Anirjita, and we have also no satisfactory means for identifying the Mlechchhas. H. G. RAY identified them with the Arabs of Sind. But, according to DASHARĀTH SHARMA, there is no evidence to prove that the Muslims settled as far east as that before the time of Muhammad Ghori, and he rightly regards them as Bhilas who are even now found on both the banks of the Chambal, and are expressly included by Hemachandra among the Mlechchha tribes of India. Chaṇḍamahāsena was probably a feudatory of Bhoja I, the Pratihāra ruler of Kanauj whose Barāh grant was issued in V.S. 893.

Some beautiful sculptures of the eleventh and twelfth centuries have been discovered at Dholpur. There are sculptures illustrating the Rāmāyaṇa scenes such as the fight between Bāli and Sugrīva, Rāma killing a devil named Kaban-

1. ZDMG, XL, pp. 38 ff.
3. S. Pat. 2-3, p. 66.
Cities of Rajasthan

dha, Svayamvar of Sitā, and Kaikayi getting vārdāna from Daśaratha. The image of Vishnu lying on snake is beautiful.

That the Nāga-worship was popular at this time is clear from the fact that the images of snake both in human and serpent form have been discovered. The image of snake with six hoods is noteworthy. One image of Nāga was installed by Mahārāja Śivaditya. One exquisite Nāginī figure is part woman and part serpent. The upper part is human and the lower serpentine.

(34) NĀGAUR

Nāgaur, the chief town of the District of the same name in Jodhpur Division, situated at 27° 12' N and 73°44' E, is a place of great antiquity. It was known by various names such as Nāgapura², Nāgaura,³ Nāgapattana,⁴ Ahipura,⁵ and Bhujaṅganagara⁶. G.H., OJHA thinks that Ahichhatrapura was also the name of this town in early times, and it was famous as the capital of Jāngaladesa.⁷ From the Bijauliā inscription of 1169 A.D., it is known that Sāmantadeva, one of the early ancestors of the Chauhānas, originally ruled over Ahichhatrapura in about the seventh century A.D.⁸ DASHARATHA SHARMA is of the view that Ahichhatrapura is not an old name of Nāgaur, and he locates it near Sāmbhar,⁹ but this view seems to be doubtful.¹⁰

1. S. Pat. IX-3, p. 69.
2. RB, I, p. 47.
3. GOS. LXXVI, p. 156.
4. EI, XII, p. 25.
5. Ashṭākṣari Pradasti published in JSP, XVI, p. 16 and PR, 4, 12.
6. PR, 11, pp. 54-55.
7. ONS, p. 19.
8. EI, XXVI, p. 103.
9. ECD, p. 12.
10. Against DASHARATHA SHARMA’S view, it may be suggested that Ahichchhatra is mentioned in the Jaina works as the capital of Jāngaladesa in early times. (IA, IV, p. 280). Jāngaladesa may be placed in the area around about Bikaner. There is still, a town named Jāngalakūpa in Bikaner Division. The ruler of the Bikaner State, being the master of Jāṅgal country, was given the title of Jāṅgaladharā. The epigraphical and literary evidences make Jāṅgala identical with the
Nagaur is said to have borrowed its name from its traditional founders, the Nagas, who originally ruled over this place. From the seventh century A.D., it was probably governed by the Chauhānas and was included in Sapādalaksha. In 858 A.D., it was under the Pratihāra ruler Mihirabhoja as known from the Dharmopadesaṃālāvivaraṇa of Jayasimha Sūrī.¹ It seems that the early Chauhānas of Sākambhari were vassals of the Pratihāras of Kanauj.

The Chauhāna rulers suffered defeat at the hands of the Muslims. Mohammad Bahlim, whom Bahram Shāh of Ghaznī had appointed the Governor of his dominions in Hindustan, in 1112 A.D., captured, and fortified the town of Nagaur, and having brought his army, dependants, and vast treasure with him, made it a base for launching campaigns of the territories of native rulers.² It seems that Ajayarāja was probably the ruler, who suffered most at the hands of the Muslim invader. Soon, Muhammad Bahlim began to aspire for independence from his suzerain Bahram Shāh, and the latter, therefore, attacked Bahlim and defeated him. After his victory, Sultān Bahram appointed Salār Hussain, son of Ibrāhim Ali, as his Viceroy of the conquered territories in India. But soon either Ajayarāja, or his son Amorāja defeated the Muslims, and restored their lost territory of Nagaur.

In the twelfth century A.D., the Chauhānas lost Nagaur to the Chālukyas in their struggle against them. From the Prabhāvakacharitṛa,³ it is known that Jayasimha Siddharāja, the kingdom of the Chauhānas Nagaur alone in this area remained associated with the Chauhānas from early times. The territory round about Nagaur is still called ‘Śvājaka’ which seems to be the alternative name of Sapādalaksha. The Chauhānas were also famous as the rulers of Sapādalaksha. (b) Naradeva, the successor of Sāmanta, was the ruler of Pūrṇatāla, now a village in Jodhpur District, Pūrṇatāla is nearer to Nagaur than Sāṃbhār. (c) Ahichhatrapura or any town after the name of the Nagas is not known to be in existence in Vāgada or Ananta Province, the old area of Śekhāvātī. The area of Śekhāvātī is not at a long distance from Nagaur. (d) Nagaur was also known by the name of Ahipura. Hence, Nagaur and Ahichhatrapura seem to be the one and the same place.

2. TN, pp. 110-112. See also T.F., I, pp. 149-60.
3. PČa, pp. 171, 174.
ruler of Gujarat, wanted to conquer Nāgaur, which was then under the suzerainty of Aroñorājra, the Chauhāna ruler of Ajmer. Having arrived in the neighbourhood of Nāgaur, he came to know of the holy presence of Devasūri, the famous Jaina saint and, therefore, he preferred to return home. After sometime in 1121 A.D., he captured Nāgaur, which also remained in possession of his successor Kumārapāla. Later on, it was regained by the Chauhānas of Ajmer.

After the defeat of Prithvirāja III in 1192 A.D. by Muhammad Ghori, Nāgaur passed into the hands of Moham medan rulers, who governed this place through a number of Turkish Governors between 1195 A.D. and 1270. In 1195 A.D., it was governed by Muhammad Bin Bakhtiyār. Nāgaur was a mint town under the Muslim Sultāns of Delhi. One of the coins of Sultān Shamsuddin Iltutmish dated 608 A.D. (1211 A.D.) bears the mint name of Nāgaur. In 1228 A.D., when emissaries of the Abbasid Caliph of Baghdād came to Delhi with rich and valuable presents from the caliph, they passed through the District of Nāgaur. In 1253 A.D., Ulugh Khān-i-Ázam, better known as Balban, attacked Nāgaur. The Rājpūt princes presented a united, and a bold front but sustained defeat at the hands of the powerful Sultān. Under his rule, Nāgaur became a place of importance specially due to its strategical position. Even after the death of Balban, it continued under the Muslim possession. Because of certain provocation by Muzaffar Khān, Karanasimha, the ruler of Jaisalmer, who ruled in 1283 A.D., is said to have attacked and slain him.

During the Khilji period, a reference is found in Hazerat Amir Khusrau’s Khazāín-ul-Futūh to Nāgaur as the place, up to the boundaries of which, the ferocious Mongol hordes under their leader Kapak came for plundering. There are epigraphical evidences to show that the Tughluqs

1. The Chronicle of the Pathān Kings, p. 78.
2. TN, p. 616.
4. KB, p. 58.
5. AAR, p. 274.
too held sway over Nāgaur. After the collapse of the Tughluq empire, Nāgaur slipped out of the hands of Delhi kings to Rao Chǔndaḥ, the Rāṭhor ruler of Maṇḍor. But, he too could not enjoy a peaceful reign. Kyām Khān, the ruler of Hisār, and Khidār Khān of Multān, fought against Rao Chǔndaḥ and defeated him, though not before he had lost his life.1

Afterwards, Nāgaur was ruled by an independent local dynasty founded by a noble of Firūzshāh’s days named Shms Khān Daṇḍānī, a younger brother of Zafar Khān, the founder of the independent Sultanate of Gujarat.2 Thus, Shms Khān carved out a small State for himself at Nāgaur by expelling from it its Governor Jalāl Khān Khokhān3, and earned a name for himself in a number of battles. He successfully fought against Rānā Mokala of Chitor in 1411 A.D.4 Sajana got an illustrated copy of the Pândavapurāṇa written during the reign of Shms Khān, son of Ājahila in order to present it to Hemahāmsaṣūrī in 1411 A.D.5 He was succeeded by his son Firūz Khān, who continued the struggle with Mokala. From the Śrīṅgrishī inscription6 dated 1428 A.D., it is known that he was defeated by Mokala, but he could not bear this insult. In order to revenge his defeat, he implored the military help of Tājakhān, and Ahmad Khān of Hisār, and launched a vigorous attack on Mokala whose armies were shaken and broken, for want of confidence which gave an opportunity to the invaders to seize a large booty, which included elephants, horses as also the standard (Nejā and Nīśāṇa). But later on, serious differences arose between Firūz Khān and two brothers probably in regard to the booty, which resulted in a serious fight between the two parties.7

After the death of Firūz Khān, his younger brother Mujahīd Khān came to power. But not long after, another

2. History of Gujarat by M. S. COMMISSARIAT, p. 48
4. Ibid; p. 18.
5. Sodhaparikā, IX, p. 74.
6. ARRMA, 1924-25, No. 6, p. 3.
Khān, who was a nephew of Mujahid Khān, reconquered Nāgaur with the help of Rāṇā Kumbha, son of Rāṇā Mokala of Chitor. After this, the Nāgaur dominion came to be dismembered into several parts, for there are inscriptional records to point out that while Shamskhān II held Nāgaur, his uncle Mujahid Khān held sway over Sāmbhar, Dīḍwānā, and Naraînā as separate kingdom.1 Firuz Khān II was ruling over this place in 1484 A.D.2 Muhammad Khān, the last ruler of this dynasty, enjoyed a long rule. During his reign, copies of the manuscripts such as the Sārasvataparakriya3 in 1504 A.D., the Kumārasambhava4 in 1517 A.D., the Yogāśtram5 in 1519 A.D. and the Śrāvagācharitra6 in 1528 A.D. were written for presenting them to Jaina monks who visited this place. He submitted to the Lodi Sultāns of Delhi, and thus, Nāgaur, and its adjoining Districts were included in the Lodi kingdom.

After the Lodis, Nāgaur formed a part of the Sūr kingdom. An inscription of 1533 A.D. records that a mosque was built during the reign of Islām Shāh, son of Sher Shāh Sūri.7 After the termination of their rule, it was ruled by the Mughals. During the reign of Akbar, several mosques were constructed.8 Akbar granted it to Rāisimha, the Chief of Bikaner in 1572 A.D. but it was lost in 1634 A.D. by Kārānasmimha. Shāhjahān bestowed it on the valiant Amarsimha. Though Amarsimha was himself killed in 1644 A.D. following a duel with Salābata Khān in the imperial Darbār, it was held by four more generations of his descendants. It was permanently acquired by the Jodhpur family at the beginning of the eighteenth century A.D.

As Nāgaur remained under control of the Muslims for a considerable time, they destroyed ancient Hindu and Jaina

2. PS, p. 24.
3. SPS, p. 63.
5. SPS, p. 85.
6. A Copy of the Manuscript in the Śastrabhāṇḍāra of Ajmer. See Appendix No. 11 for the text.
7. EIM, 1949-50, p. 36.
8. ARSMJ, 1937.
temples. Still from the literary sources, Nagaur is known as a great centre of Jainism. Jaina teachers visited this place from time to time, and by their persuasion, Jaina temples were constructed, and a large number of manuscripts were written. The Śrāvakas of this place led Saṁghas to holy places and participated in them.

Nagaur is considered to be a holy place of the Jainas from very early times. Siddhasena-Śūri, a poet of the twelfth century A.D., refers to Nagaur as a holy place in his Sakala Tirthastotra.1 There were several Jaina temples at this place. At the persuasion of Krishnarshi, Śreshṭhī Nārāyaṇa constructed a Jaina temple, the installation ceremony of which was performed in 860 A.D.2 This temple became famous by the name of Nārāyaṇavasahī, and was in existence in the seventeenth Century A.D., as is known from the Nagaurachaityaparipāṭī.3 In 1105 A.D., Hemachandrasūri was ordained as Āchārya by Devasūri, and Seṭha Dhanada spent a large amount of wealth on this occasion.4 At the invitation of the Śrāvakas, Jinavallabhasūri, and Jinadattasūri of the Kharatara gacchha visited this place, and established Vidhichaityas in the twelfth century A.D.5 A Śrāvaka named Dhanadeva got the Jaina temple of Neminātha constructed, and its installation ceremony was performed by Jinavallabhasūri.6

Even after the establishment of the Muslim rule, the activities of Jainism continued in Nagaur. In 1229 A.D., Delhā, son of Pugāḍa, went to Śatruṇjaya on pilgrimage.7 In 1310 A.D., at the request of Seṭha Samala, the Śrāvakas of this place, participated in the Saṁgha, which started from Bhimapalli.8 Thākura Achalasimha of this place, being a pious man, was honoured by the contemporary ruling chiefs, and the emperor. He got the ordinance from Qutbuddin, the

1. GOS, LXXVI, p. 156.
3. JSP, XII, p. 102.
4. The Life of Hemachandrāchārya, p. 42.
5. KB.
6. JSSI, p. 233.
8. KB, p. 63.
Khilji Sultan of Delhi, for pilgrimage to holy places in 1317 A.D. \(^1\) Peñhadaśāha got a Jaina temple built in the thirteenth century A.D. \(^2\) Images were installed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In 1467 A.D., Śrīvanta, and Śivarata of Ādityanāga gotra performed the installation ceremony of Sitalanātha through Kakkaśūri of Upakesa gachchha. \(^3\) Sāndaka with his wife celebrated the installation ceremony of Kunthanaśī through Devaguptasūri of Upakesa gachchha in 1502 A.D. \(^4\) The installation ceremony of Sitalanātha was performed by Karmasi of Ādityanāga gotra through Siddharshi of Upakesa gachchha in 1536 A.D. \(^5\) From these instances, it seems that the followers of Upakesa gachchha were large in number at Nāgaur. Hiravijaya Śūri, on whom Akbar conferred the title of Jagadguru, spent the rainy season in 1587 A.D., and people of the neighbouring places often came to pay respects to Śūri. Even Jinachandrasūri, whom Akbar gave the title of Tugapradhāna, passed through Nāgaur, while en route to Lahore, at the invitation of Akbar. ŚāntikuśalaŚūri, in the Gaudī Pārśva Tīrthamālā written in 1610 A.D., mentions Nāgaur as a holy place. \(^6\)

Nāgaur was a seat of learning, since a large number of manuscripts were written there. Jayasimha Śūri, a pupil of Kṛishṇaśāri, wrote the Dharmopadesamālāvivaraṇa in 858 A.D. in a Jaina temple of this place. Chandra Śūri started to write the Updeśavṛitti in 1177 A.D. at Nāgaur, but gave finishing touches to it at Pāṭan. \(^7\) Padmananda, \(^8\) a Śrāvaka of Jinavallabha, composed the Vairājñātātaka. Dhanaśara, Lāhaḍa, and Devachandra of Baroheḍi gotra of this place got the copies of the Pakṣikasūtrachūrṇivṛitti written in 1239 A.D. and Pañcāṅgisāutravṛitti written in 1244 A.D. and presented them to the bhaṅḍāras.

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1. KB, p. 69.
2. JSSI, p. 405.
3. NJI, No. 1271.
4. BJLS, No. 2533.
5. I. i. d, No. 2537.
7. JSSI, p. 243.
of Bijapur and Prahladpur (Palanpur) respectively. In the fifteenth century A.D., Jinabhadrasuri set up granthabhāndāra at various places including Nāgaur. The Nāgaura bhanḍāra of Bhatṭārakas containing about 15,000 manuscripts is famous. Samayasundara, a famous Jaina poet of the seventeenth century A.D., wrote the Satruṇjayarāsa and Kshamāchhattīsī. All these facts indicate that there was a considerable literary activity among the Jainas of this place.

Nāgapurīya gachchha, a branch of the Tapā gachchha among the Jainas, originated from Nāgaur. A disciple of the famous Vādidevasūri named Padmaprabhasūri practised hard austerities at Nāgaur in 1117 A.D., and he was, therefore, given the title of Nāgoriyā Tapā. A branch of the Loniṅa gachchha became famous after the name of this town in the fifteenth century A.D. In the life time of Bhatṭāraka Jinachandra of Mūlsamgha, there arose some differences between his two pupils namely Prabhāchandra and Ratnakirti. Ratnakirti established a different seat at Nāgaur in the fifteenth century A.D. The Bhatṭārakas of this paṭṭa kept the spirit of religion awake by various activities.

From the study of the Osavāla Vanśāvalīs, and inscriptions, it is known that persons of the Ādityanāga and the Baṃpanāga gotras lived in a large number at Nāgaur. These gotra names indicate that their ancestors were originally the Nāgas. Probably, they were converted to Jainism, and they became famous by these gotras. One gotra among the Mahēśvarī is known as Nāgaurī Mahēśvarī after Nāgaur. Even among the Lakhārās, the Nāgaurī gotra is famous. All these gotras are regional in nature, and point out the social importance of Nāgaur.

With the Muslim conquest of Nāgaur, the influence of Islam is also noticed. Two famous Muslim saints named Shaikh Hamīduddin, and Qāzī Hamīduddin resided at Nāgaur in the thirteenth century A.D., and propagated Islam. Even before

1. JPPS, pp. 122-123.
2. JSP, XVI, p. 16.
3. Manuscripts Nos. 4358 and 4455 in the Abhayagranthalaya at Bikaner.
Hamīduddin, Rihānī and Nāgaurī were the first Musalmāns, who visited Nāgaur, and inculcated the doctrine of Islam, and converted amongst others, Rāi Bīsala, a feudatory of Prīthvīrāja III to the Muhammadan faith. After his conversion, Rāi Bīsala also built a mosque. In subsequent periods, several mosques were constructed. Nāgaur is also fortunate enough to have supplied to the court of Akbar two great literary and political scholars—matchless and unsurpassed in their attainments namely the celebrated Shaikh Abul Fazl, and his brother Sheikh Faizi, sons of illustrious Shaikh Mubāraka of Nāgaur.

(35) SĀMBHAR

Sāmbhar, which is situated at a distance of eleven Kms. from Phulera Junction in Jaipur District, is of great antiquarian interest. It has been famous on account of the sacred tanks of Devayānī and Śarmishṭhā. It is said that Devayānī tank of this place is the same tank in which Devayānī, who afterwards became the queen of Rājā Yayāti, was thrown by the princess Śarmishṭa.1 The old city, now known as Sāratha, is situated at a distance of eighteen or nineteen Kms. from the present site of the city. As it was founded by the Chauhāna ruler Vāsudeva in the seventh century A.D. near the temple of the goddess Śākambharī (the consort of Śiva), it became well-known after the name of goddess. There are legendary traditions which associate Vāsudeva2 with the Lake of this

2. PV, p. 90. During the reign of Vāsudeva, Vidyādhara, or Archangel is said to have brought into being this great salt Lake by his miraculous power. This is a traditional explanation of the origin of this Lake.

Geologists hold different opinions on the origin of salt in Rajasthan specially at Sāmbhar, and Ḍīḍvānā Lakes. Some geologists hold the view that the country surrounding the lake is composed of rocks abounding in limestone, and the salt of the Lake is derived from the washings of these rocks. HOLLAND and CHRISTE are the advocates of the ‘wind borne theory’ of salt from the Rann of Cutch to Sāmbhar, and other inland lakes. N.N. GODBOLE advocated a new hypothesis regarding the origin of salt in the Lakes of Rajasthan and disputed the old prevailing theory
place. After Väsudeva, his son Sāmanta became the ruler. He may be identified with Mānīkyadeva Chauhāna of the local traditions.¹

In the very beginning, Sāmbhar was neither a village, nor a town, but only a cluster of a few scattered huts. Under the rule of the Chauhānas, it became a premier city of Northern India. The salt-lake of this place remained a great source of income to the Chauhāna rulers. The traders of this place assigned one viṁśotpaka per heap of salt, and one dramma on per horse sold by them for benefit of the temple of Harshanātha in 973 A.D.³

The early Chauhāna rulers, ruling in the eighth or ninth century A.D., were feudatories of the Pratihāras. Durlabharāja I is said to have reached Gaṅgā Sāgara in the battle between his overlord, and Dharmapāla of Bengal.³ His son and successor was Govindarāja I, also known as Gūvaka I, who is said to have attained pre-eminence in the court of Nāgabhaṭa II.⁴ He also fought against the Muslims of Sind under his master Nāgabhaṭa II.⁵ Simharāja was known as the 'wind borne theory'. He tried to prove that the salt that is to be found in the wells of Rajasthan is sea salt, and not merely surface salt that has been blown over by the south-west winds over the desert. (Does Sambhar Lake owe its salt to the Rann of Kutch and the Arabian sea by GODBOLE. GODBOLE'S views are now corroborated by the paper published by PRMANIK of the Metrological Department of the Government of India.

¹. According to local traditions, Mānīkyadeva Chauhāna is known as the son of Väsudeva. It seems that Mānīkyadeva was probably the biruda (title) of Sāmanta. In his time, the present process of salt manufacture from the lake is believed to have been first discovered by Kalpatāji of the Kāyastha family. The king is said to have not only granted him the right of recovering 1.23 pies per maund upon the issues of salt, but made him his Khajānichi. It is for this reason that Kalpatāji and his descendants up to this day are called Māṇekabhaṇḍārī. The right of realizing 1.23 pies per maund was called Bharti Kharch which was directly recovered from the Banjāras, and other traders of salt by his descendants for centuries down to the taking over charge of the Sāmbhar Lake by the British Government.

³. PV, p. 105.
⁴. El, II, 117.
⁵. PK, p. 41.
the first Chauhāna ruler of Śākambhari to assume the title of Mahārājādhirāja by freeing his territory from the suzerainty of the Pratiharās. He granted several villages to the temple of Harśanātha.1 After him, his son Vigraharāja II, who was ruling in 973 A.D., defeated the Chālokya ruler Mūlarāja of Gujarāt.2 Then, his brother Durābharāja came to the throne. He invaded the territory of the Chāhamāna Mahendra of Nāḍol who sought the protection of the Rāshtrakūṭa Dhavala of Hastikūṇḍi.3 His son Govindarāja seems to have come into clash with Mahmūd Ghaznī, but did not suffer much.4 His successor Vākpatirāja II defeated Guhila Ambāprasāda II of Āghāṭa.5 The next king was Viryārama, who was defeated by the Chauhāna Aṇāhila of Nāḍol,6 and subsequently lost his life in a battle with the Paramāra Bhoja.7 The next great ruler was Prithvirāja I, who is known to have been ruling in 1105 A.D. He killed seven hundred Chālokyas who went to Pushkara to rob the Brāhmaṇas.8 He was a patron of Jainism, and had a golden cupola put on the Jaina temple at Rānthaṃbhār.9 He was succeeded by his son, Ajayarāja, who founded the city of Ajayamerg, and transferred his capital from Sāmbhar to Ajmer. The undated inscription of time of Jayasimha Siddharāja found at Sāmbhar may prove that he conquered Sāmbhar from Arṇorāja, the son of Ajayarāja.10

There are remains of an old fort built by the early Chauhāna kings. It was existing during the Mughal period. Near this fort, there are a number of well-carved pillars, and pilasters of black basalt of some temple. A number of images of black basalt recovered from the bed of the Devayānī tank might have been once in this temple. This proves the exis-

2. PV, p. 113.
3. EI, X, p. 18.
4. The Struggle for Empire, p. 81.
5. PV, p. 115.
6. EI, IX, p. 71.
7. PV, p. 117.
8. Ibid, 110.
9. GOS, LXXVI, p. 312.
10. IA, LII, p. 234.
tence of a Vaishnava temple in the tenth century near the fort. Six of these images are representations of Vishnu, one of the Vāmana incarnation, and one of Śiva. All these images are executed with extreme delicacy, and their ornaments, and other details exhibit a variety and elaborateness rarely met with in the sculptures of the period.  

After the defeat of Prithvirāja III by Muhammad Ghorī in 1193 A.D., Sāmbhar passed into the hands of the rulers of different dynasties, and on account of its great repository of salt, it was liked as a valuable possession. In 1198 A.D., it passed to the sultanate of Delhi. For some time, it became independent under Bālhaṇadeva, the ruler of Raṇṭhambhor, because his kingdom extended up to Maṅglāna about twenty-four Kms. west of Sāmbhar. He was ruling in 1215 A.D. as a feudatory of Sultān Iltutmish. He probably threw off the yoke of the Muslims sometime after 1215 A.D., but in 1226 A.D., Iltutmish led an army against Raṇṭhambhor, and conquered it along with Sāmbhar. The Hammiramahākāvya gives a description of Hammira's digvijaya. From Pushkara, he went to Śākambhārī plundering on his way a number of towns, and from that place to Raṇṭhambor. Śāraṅgadhara, whose grand father Rāghava was a courtier of Hammira, refers to this king as a ruler of the Śākambhārī country in his Paddhati composed in 1363 A.D.

That Muzaffar Firūz Shāh Sultān of Delhi governed Sāmbhar is clear from an inscription of 1363 A.D. of his reign, which records the construction of a well through the efforts of Bāmdeva who is mentioned as submissive to Islam. The inscription also refers to the production at Sāmbhar of salt, a certain portion of which was allotted for the maintenance of the well. From a Praśasti of the Holireṇukācharitra written in V. S. 1608, it is known that one of the ancestors

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1. ARES, p. 15.  
2. IA, Vol, XLI, p. 85.  
3. RI, p. 308.  
5. The Struggle for Empire, p. 85.  
7. JGPS, No. 45.
of Jinadāsa was honoured by Fīrūz Shāh. His son Padmā was highly revered by Ghiyāsashāh on account of his charitable activities. Padmā built a big Jaina temple at Sāmbhar. Padmā’s son Biṅjhā, who was a famous physician, was rewarded by Naṣīrashāh. For some time, it was also kept by the Mahārāṇa of Chitor. Anyhow, Muzaid Khān, ruler of Nagaur, and son of Shamsukhān Ghāzī, had conquered and wrested it from Rāṇā Mokala of Chitor. But soon, Mahārāṇa Kumbhakarna, son of Mokala, defeated Mujaidkhān, and also his nephew, and annexed Sāmbhar to his dominions. From the Rāyamalarāśā, it is known that the ruler of this place participated in the battle as a feudatory of Mahārāṇa Rāyamal against Gayāsuddīn, the ruler of Māṇḍū.

Sāmbhar flourished in the time of Jalāluddīn Mohammad Akbar, the celebrated Great Mughal emperor of India, when it was under Ajmer Sarkār. The marriage of Akbar with the daughter of Rājā Bihārimal of Āmber took place here in 1562 A.D. On this occasion, he built a mosque in the Nizāmat premises, and also a tank in it. Bulland Nizāmat Khān was the imperial officer of Sāmbhar at this time. After Akbar, his son Jāhāṅgīr succeeded to the throne in 1605 A.D. He too visited Sāmbhar several times. He built a tomb on the hillock of the goddess of Sākambhari, and also a water reservoir in 1627 A.D. This place was ruled by the imperial officers namely Murāridāsa, Benidasa, Bijairāja, Mirzā Julikaraṇa, etc. Mirza Julikaraṇa, son of Sikandar, caused to be made a chhatrī in 1615 A.D. during the reign of Jāhāṅgīr. The sarā of this place was rebuilt in 1634 A.D. during the of Shāhjahān. Auranjāzīb repaired the old fort of the Chauhānas in 1695 A.D. There are local traditions that

1. Ghiyāsashāh and Naṣīrashāh were the rulers of the Tughluq dynasty.
2. EIM, 1923-24, p. 16.
3. VV, p. 327.
5. When Auranjāzīb was about to order the idol to be broken down, the goddess with her spiritual power created so many insects that the emperor and his soldiers were badly bitten off. Thus, when the emperor was totally vexed, and could find no remedy, he prayed to the goddess to get them relieved of their miseries in return for which the emperor promised on his part to set up another goddess there named afterwards Norangadevi, which is still worshipped. The goddess was, then, pleased to show mercy to the emperor, and all was brought to a standstill.
Aurangzeb himself came to Sāmbhar with a view to breaking the image of Śākambhari. 

During the time of Mohammad Shāh, the Delhi throne had become weaker, and the political atmosphere of India was surcharged with struggles, and strifes. The emperor was reduced to a mere figure-head. Taking advantage of this turmoil, Nawab Abdullā and Mīrkhān started committing dacoities, and robberies. The Sayyid Governors of Sāmbhar also ceased to remit the provincial incomes to the royal treasury, and, thus defied the Mughal authority. At that time, the assistant Subedār at Sāmbhar was Sāhib Rāma who had seven sons. Among them, Udaismīha proved to be a person of outstanding abilities. He was a master of Persian, Urdu and Hindi. He aspired to succeed to the governorship of Sāmbhar. With this motive, he went to Delhi, where he approached the emperor with the help of Kripārām, the representative of Mahārājā Mādhosimha of Jaipur. He prepared an account of ten years income, and submitted it to the emperor promising double income. The emperor ordered Udaismīha to assume the rule of Sāmbhar in 1739 A.D.

Udaismīha then came straight to Ajmer, from where, he took some 200 Sowārs, and turned towards Sāmbhar. The Sayyid Governors were at once removed. At first, the title of Rāi was conferred on Udaismīha. The emperor was so much pleased with the efficiency of his administration that shortly afterwards, he conferred on him the title of Rājā, and increased the number of sowārs from 200 to 600. Day by day, his power increased and he also subdued Jobner, Khaṇḍelā, Khakhardi, Nāgaur, etc. That Sāmbhar was situated on the border line of Jaipur, and Jodhpur States and its ruler had become powerful, led the two Mahārājas to wage war against Rājā Udaismīha. At the end of the twelfth year of his reign, he was overcome by Mahārājā Abhayasimha of Jodhpur, and Mahārājā Isarsimha of Jaipur with their respective armies in 1742 A.D. The two Mahārājās, not finding a favourable opportunity, sent a message to Udaismīha that they wanted a treaty with him to prevent anything untoward happening to either party. Udaismīha acceded to this
proposal, and without apprehending danger went to the two Maharajas with his Divana Haragovinda. He was arrested, and taken to Jaipur as a State prisoner. An attempt was made to force him to sign a treaty to the effect that he would govern Sambhar as a subordinate chief of the two States which he refused to do. He died in 1776 A.D. Thus, Sambhar came into the hands of Jaipur and Jodhpur Darbars.

The family goddess of Udaisimha was Sri Thakuraji Bihariji Maharanja for whom he built a temple at Devayani in the courtyard of his garden, where the said goddess still stands, and is worshipped by the Bhramana priests. He also built a separate court known as Diwanakhanan which is still standing. After his death, the rulers of Jaipur and Jodhpur States granted several rights, and privileges to the members of his family for their maintenance, and treated them with respect.

In 1743 A.D., the rulers of Jaipur and Jodhpur succeeded in getting possession of Sambhar along with forty villages attached to it. Out of the forty villages, twenty eight were misappropriated, and annexed to the respective States and the remaining twelve were left under Sambhar. They are still known as the twelve hamlets of Sambhar and they were under the jurisdiction of the Shamlat. The two Darbars appointed for Sambhar their two officers respectively, who used to conduct the administrative affairs, and were called Hakims. Thus, dual administration started here.

(35) TODA-RASICINGH

Toda-raisingh, situated in Jaipur District, is at a distance of thirty-two Kms. from Chatsu. Its early names as known from inscriptions and prastatis were Todagapattana.

1. The English translation of the Persian inscription, which is on a marble of the temple, is as follows:—

"Highly esteemed Raja Udaisimha, with his own efforts, and by his own undertakings, is ever busy in meditation. This is a new garden and its date has been told by the Angel that the foundation of a garden has been laid 1156 Hijri."

and Takshakagaḍha¹ (city of the Takshakas). It is surrounded by a fortification wall. Within the walls, there are the remains of the numerous buildings. There is also a tank surrounded by innumerable shrines and Śatī maṭhas. These remains indicate that it is an old town, and, it was ruled by different dynasties from time to time.

From the Bijauliā inscription² of 1169 A.D., it is clear that Ṭoḍā-rāsiṅgh was well established at this time, but its history goes even earlier. Its name Takshakagaḍha indicates that it was founded, and, perhaps, ruled by the Nāgas. As the Nāgas were ruling over Mathurā and Pādmatvati in the third and fourth centuries A.D., the cities like Ṭoḍā-rāsiṅgh and Karkoṭanagara³ might have been founded during this time or sometime later. It was not originally founded by Dhoda or Dhora tribe as it was believed.⁴ From the seventh century A.D., it was ruled by the Guhilas of Chātsū who became powerful at this time.

After the Guhilas, Ṭoḍā-rāsiṅgh came under the possession of the Chauhānas of Ajmer. Vigrarāja IV, who ascended the throne in about 1151 A.D., founded a town Vigraphapura, which is situated at a distance of thirteen Kms. from Ṭoḍā-rāsiṅgh. The great temple of Ṭoḍā-rāsiṅgh, with a lofty and beautiful śikhara, and basement adorned with sculpture, was built probably towards the close of the twelfth century A.D. during the reign of the Chauhānas. The doorway, however, of the sanctum is the most beautiful of the whole temple. It seems to be an original surviving portion of the temple. This doorway is composed of a hard and close grained kind of green stone which is highly polished. The

¹. The name, Takshakagaḍha is found in local inscriptions and prāṣatis of the manuscripts. The Takshakas were the descendants of Takshaka, one of the many sons of Kaśyapa by his serpent wife Kadru. Other sons were called Nāga, Karkoṭa, Vāsukiṣṭa etc. All were regarded as kings of serpents. Among them, Takshaka is the most famous in Ancient Indian literature.
². EI, XXVI, p. 84.
³. Nagarā near Uniyārā in Jaipur District is also known by the name of Karkoṭa Nagarā.
⁴. ASC, VI, p. 126.
whole of this highly polished and greenish coloured stone doorway is ornamented from top to bottom with elaborate sculptures in bold relief consisting principally of human figures of divinities. The majority of the figures in these sculptures evidently belong to the Vaishnavite creed. The Jaina temple was also built during the reign of the Chauhanas. Vaiśravana, the ancestor of Lolāka, built the Jaina temple as known from the Bijauliā inscription of 1169 A.D.¹ The Jaina temple of so early date is not noticed at present.

Next, Ṭoḍā came under possession of the Solaṅkis. According to traditions, the Solaṅkis of Ṭoḍā migrated from Pātān in the thirteenth century, when the communal riots broke out. It is more probable that one branch fixed itself here during their progress from the north in search of settlement. The early history of the Solaṅkis of this place is in darkness. It is said that Gaḍhamāla Solaṅkī took possession of Naravara² and Ṭoḍā. According to Naiṇāsi,³ Mahalū, the seventh descendant of Siddharāja, ruled over Ṭoḍā.⁴ According to another Khyāta,⁵ the fifth descendant of Gaḍhamāla named Mahipāla was governing this place. Probably, Mahipāla and Mahalū are the same persons. From Mahalū, the Solaṅkīs were called Mahilagota. The Solaṅkīs of Ṭoḍā were also known as Kilhanota Solaṅkīs, i.e., the descendants of Kilhāna. Kilhāna is said to be the ninth ruler in succession of Gaḍhamāla.⁶ The natives considered Kilhāna a powerful chief who is said to have hold this town. At what time, these early Solaṅkī chiefs ruled, is not definitely known.

The Solaṅkī ruler Rāva Suratāna of Ṭoḍā-rāisingh was a contemporary of Rāṇā Rāimala of Mewār, who ascended the

¹. EI, XXVI, p. 99.
². RIO, p. 239. It is based on the Khyāta of the Solaṅkīs found in the Upāsarā of Yati GYAN CHANDRA, the Jaina teacher of TOD.
³. Naravara is in Kisanagadh Sub-division, and it is at a distance of about twenty-four km. from Ajmer. It is mentioned in the Bijauliā Inscription.
⁴. MNK, I, pp. 218-219.
⁵. RIO, I, p. 259. (f.n. 5)
⁶. Ibid. (See f.n. 4.)
throne in about 1473 A.D. His father was Hararaja. Suratana was compelled to leave this place, when it was occupied by Lalakhān paṭhān. He took shelter with Rānā Rāimala of Chitor who assigned him the Jagir of Baḍnorr. Rāva Suratana decided to give his daughter in marriage to one who got him back the ancestral kingdom from the Paṭhāns. At the request of Suratana, Prīhvīrāj, the elder son of Rānā Rāimal with five hundred soldiers, attacked Todā. His wife Tārā is also said to have accompanied her husband. Mallukhān, the Subedār of Ajmer, went to Todā-rāisingh for military assistance to Lallukhān. Prīthvīrāj defeated them, and conquered this place. He returned it to Suratana, the actual ruler of the place.1

The successors of Rāva Suratana acted as feudatories of the Sisodiya rulers of Mewār. They were followers of Brāhmanism, but liberal in their religious outlook. Jainism, which was already prevalent at this place, flourished greatly under the Solaṅkīs. In 1440 A.D., Brahma, the disciple of Bhāṭṭāraka Subhachandra’s brother Madanadeva, wrote a copy of the Pravachanasāra. Afterwards, various copies of manuscripts were written for presenting them to monks during the reign of the Solaṅkīs. The Jaina temples of Ādinātha and Neminātha were also constructed. These Solaṅkī rulers gave donations for the welfare of their subjects.

After Rāva Suratana, Rāva Sūryasena ruled over Todārāisingh. Girirāj of the Khandelavāla caste got a copy of the Subhāshitaratnāvali written in 1523 A.D.3 In 1541 A.D., Ćungi, Pattā and Sāṅgā got a copy of the Pradyumnacharitra prepared during his reign, and presented it to Padmakirti.4 From these two pratastis, he is known to have enjoyed a long reign. After Sūryasena, his son Prīthvisena became the ruler. He was succeeded by Rāmachandra, who ruled in 1544 A.D. Ćungiarsi got a copy of the Jambūsvāmi-charitra 5 written in 1544 A.D. during his reign for presenting

1. RIO, p. 260 (f.n. 1).
2. BS, No. 245.
3. RJSBGs, p. 99.
4. Ibid, p. 213.
5. Ibid, II, p. 68.
it to Jaina monk Dharmachandra. An inscription dated 1547 A.D. records that a well was built by the Purohita Chakrapāṇi, and his two sons during the time of Rājā Rāmachandra. At this time, Salim Shāh was the emperor of Delhi, and Rānā Udaisimha was the ruler of Kumbalgarh. The mention of Udaisimha as the ruler of Kumbhalamera side by side with the emperor Islām Shāh, both as overlords of the chief Rāmachandra, undoubtly points to the fact that the Rānā was regarded as a feudatory of the Muhammedan monarch, although his father Saṅgrāmasimha was an independent king. The fact, that Rāmachandra continued to recognize the sovereignty of Salimshāh Sūr up to 1553 A.D., is clear from the paraṭasti of a copy of the Taśodhara-charitra. After Rāmachandra, Kalyāṇasimha came to the throne. During his reign, the copies of the Taśodhara-charitra were written in 1557 A.D. and 1558.

When Akbar became the emperor of Delhi, he seems to have seized Ṭoḍā-rāisingh from the Solaṅkī rulers, who were feudatories of the Sisodiya of Mewār. Akbar entered into matrimonial alliance with Bhāramala, the ruler of Āmber, and assigned Ṭoḍā-rāisingh to Bhārmala’s brother Jagannātha. During his reign, the steep-wells were constructed for the welfare of the public. The Jāgannātha ki Bāvaḍī was constructed in 1597 A.D. by the king himself. An inscription of 1604 A.D. in the Isara Bāvaḍi describes the virtues of one Purohita Prabhu of the Rajorīa family, who built the step-well. Another inscription of the same time in Sanda Bāvaḍi records that Sāha Khetasi commenced the construction of the well, and, after his death, Ākhā and others completed it. In 1607 A.D., Nānu got a copy of the Ādināthapurāṇa, written at this place, when Mahārājā Jagannātha was the king.

In 1672 A.D., Ṭoḍā-rāisingh was ruled by Rājasimha,

1. EI, XXX, p. 130.
2. PS, p. 193.
5. ARES, p. 8.
7. PS, p. 89.
the son of Bhīmasimha. Vādirāja, his Minister, wrote the Vāgbhāṣṭālaṅkārāvačhūri Kaviyandrikā in 1672 A.D. The father of Vādirāja was Pomarāja. His brother Jagannātha, who was a great Sanskrit scholar, wrote some works such as Śvetāmbara Parājaya, Chaturviniḥati Sandhāna Svopajñāṭikā, and Sukhanidhāna. His Śrīṅgāra Samudrakāvyā and Neminarendrastotra Svopajīna are also known but they are not available. Vādirāja, who was of the Khandelavāla caste, had four sons. The youngest son was Vimaladasa, in whose time, a rebellion took place. In this rebellion, one guṭakā was looted and destroyed but any how, it was restored and repaired.

(37) KHAḍELA

At a distance of forty-five kms. from Sikar stands the town of Khaḍelā. It is a place of great antiquity, since ruins of old temples, and monuments are discovered here in abundance. The region round about Khaḍelā appears to be older than the Christian era. An inscription of the third century B.C. of this place records that somebody was killed by Mūla with a poisoned arrow, and his memorial was set up by Mahīṣa, one of his pupils. Its old names as known from the literary sources were Khaḍilīla and Khaḍelapura. In the sixteenth century A.D., this town became well known by the name of Rāyasalāvāda, after its famous ruler Rāyasāla. Its prosperity in early times is clear from the fact that some villages in the neighbourhood of Khaḍelā were once its wards, and the Khaḍelavāla caste among the merchants and Brāhmaṇas originated from this place.

Khaḍelā appears to have been a great centre of Śaivism in early times. An inscription of 201 H.E. (807 A.D) records that

1. JGPS, No. 141.
2. Ibid, p. 38 (Introduction)
4. JGPS, p. 3, Sec also HM IX, p. 99.
5. KB, p. 96.
6. EI, XXXIV, pp. 159-163. G.H OJHA read the date of this inscription as 701, and he refers to it to the Vikrama era (ARRMA 1934-35, No. 2, p2). This inscription is important as it throws welcome light on the disputed date of the Sakrāi inscription. Adityanāga, son of Vodda mentioned in this inscription, is one of the eleven persons forming a committee that was responsible for the construction of a maṇḍapa in front of the temple of the goddess Śaṅkarī.
Adityanāga, of Dhusara family who was an extremely liberal person, got the temple of the god Ardhanārisvara erected for the merit of his parents, and himself. The present temple of Khandalesvara Mahādeva is built of old material. That Śaivism was dominant at this place in early times at the time of the visit of Jainā Āchāryas for the propagation of Jainism, is known from the Jaina literary sources. Jinasenāchārya, in the line of the saint Aparājita, is said to have converted the Chauhāna ruler of this place with his subjects to Jainism, and formed the Khandelavāla caste. When this incident took place, is not definitely known. Probably, it happened in the eighth century A.D. because the Khandelavāla caste is not known to be in existence earlier. Its earliest mention is found in the inscription of 1197 A.D. When these Khandelavālas increased in number, they formed gotras after the names of villages, surnames, etc. From a praṇasti of the Dharmaratnākara written in 998 A.D., it is known that its author Jayasena visited Khandalika, and there he impressed the people with his teachings. In 1287 A.D., Jina-prabhasūri also came to Khandelapura, which was then a great seat of Śaivism. He converted the people to Jainism by his preaching. With a view to spreading Jainism, Brāhmanika, a pupil of Bhaffāraka Jina-chantra of Mūlasanīga, paid his visit in 1461 A.D. to Khandelapura where Shāh Gurjara, and Jagasi, sons of Pālha, got the Vardhamānacharita written, and presented it to him for their merit.

Khandelā remained a great holy place of the Jainas, as is mentioned in the Sakalatirtha stotra of Siddhasena Sūri.

1. At present, the persons of this family call themselves Bhārgava Brāhmaṇas, but in the ninth century A.D., they belonged to the Vaiṣya caste.

2. It is known from the Vaindawati of the Khandelavāla caste.

3. An inscription found in the Jaina temple of Jaipur. See Appendix No. 12 for the text.

4. JGFS, p. 3.

5. KB, p. 96.


See Appendix No. 13 for the text.

7. GOS, LXXVI, p. 156.
Probably Khaṇḍila gachchhha among the Jainas was named after this place. There are also the old remains at this place. The Sarvāgī temple is undoubtedly old, but is dilapidated. It cannot be older than the tenth century A.D.\(^1\) The old sculptures of the medieval times are also found.\(^2\) In one sculpture, the principal, and central figures are of a man and his wife. As there is a nimbus behind the head of each, these figures are most probably of king and queen. Originally, it seems to have belonged to some temple built by them. But, it must have been a Jaina fane, as shown by the figure of a Jina, with which the sculpture is surmounted. The lower-most part is occupied by a group of seven persons.

The early political history of Khaṇḍelā is in darkness. It seems to have been ruled by the Nirvāṇa Chauhāna rulers. A certain king called Khaḍgalasena\(^3\) is known to have ruled over this place, but nothing is known about his time. From the Hammiramahākāvya, it is known that Hammira, who ascended the throne in about 1282 A.D., started on a diguijaya or conquest of all the quarters. On his return, he reached home passing through Pushkara, Mahārāṣṭra, Khaṇḍilla, Champā, and Karkarāla. From a praṣasti of Kirtistambha at Chitor, it is known that Mahārāṇā Kumbha, who became the ruler in 1433 A.D., is said to have plundered the town of Khaṇḍelā with his large army. In 1461 A.D., Udayakarana was ruling over this place, as is known from a praṣasti of the Vardhamānacharita.\(^4\)

Rāyasāla was the most famous ruler of Khaṇḍelā. Originally, he was the Jāgīradāra of Lāmbhī. He joined the imperial forces of Delhi against Afghan invasions at the advice of his Minister Devadāsa of haniā caste. He had the good fortune to distinguish himself by cutting down a leader of the enemy in the presence of the imperial General. He was introduced to Emperor Akbar who conferred upon him the title

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1. PRAS. WC, 1910, p. 57.
2. Ibid, p. 56.
of Rāyasāla Darabāri and granted him the Districts of Revāsā and Kasulli, then belonging to the Chandellā Rājputs. It was the beginning of the greatness, in the career of Rāyasāla. Scarcely, had he settled his new possessions, he was recalled to court to take part in an expedition against Bhaṭner. Fresh services obtained new favours, and he received a grant of Khandelā and Odipur then belonging to the Nirvāṇa Rājputs, who disclaimed to pay allegiance to the empire, and gave themselves up to unlicensed rapine. Finding that, it would be difficult to expel the brave Nirvāṇa Rājputs, he took recourse to stratagem to occupy Khandelā. He accompanied Mānasīṁha against the heroic Rāṇā Pratap of Mewār. He also participated in the expedition of Kābul against the Afghāns. In all his enterprises, he obtained new distinctions.

The descendants of Rāyasāla using his name as a patronymic are styled Rāyasilota.

After the death of Rāyasāla, his son Giradhara ascended the gādi. At this time, the Mughal empire was in a state of great disorder and the mountainous region called the Mewāt was inhabited by daring, and ferocious bandits called Mewās who carried systematic plunder even up to the imperial metropolis. In such a state of affairs, the task of maintaining law, and, order was assigned to the chief of Khandelā who proved equal to the task and succeeded in eradicating the roving bands of bandits. In recognition of his meritorious services, the Mughal emperor granted him the title of Rājā. After his death, his eldest son Dwārkādās succeeded in 1600 A.D. He was a devotee of Narasimha, and built a temple in his honour. He fought against Khān Jhān Lodī, and was slain. He was succeeded in 1633 A.D. by his son Birasimha Deva, who served the emperor with his contingent in the conquest of Deccan and was made the Governor of Pernalla.

Bahādurāsimha succeeded to the throne on his father’s

1. The name of Rāyasāla Darabāri is found in the Āin-i-Akhārī among the Mansabdās of twelve hundred and fifty horses, a rank of high importance being equivalent to that conferred on the sons of potent Rājās.

2. The details of Khandelā’s history can be read at length in the fifth, sixth and seventh chapters of AAR II.
death in about 1663 A.D. He was a contemporary of the great Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb. As a result of the intolerant religious policy of the Mughal Emperor, he left the imperial army. Aurangzeb sent his forces against Khandelā with the object of exacting tribute and destroying the temples. At the sight of the royal army, Bahādurāsimha abandoned his capital, and did not resist the Mughal forces. Hearing this news, Sujānasimha, the Chieftain of Chapowlee and a descendant of Bhojarāja, (the second son of Rāyalsāla) resolved to protect the temple or to perish fighting. Sujana could not avert the inevitable and died in action for the ashes of his fathers and temples of the gods. The temple was levelled to the earth, the idols broken to pieces and the fragments thrown into the foundation of a mosque erected on its ruins. Bahādurāsimha continued to reside in an adjacent town. In course of time, when the Syed Brothers came to power, he regained his country. But, an imperial contingent was permanently placed at Khandelā, and its expenses were borne by Bahādura.

From about the close of the 17th century A.D., we find interference of the Kachāvāha rulers of Amber in the affairs of Khandelā. In 1686 A.D., Rāma Simha, the Amber Rājā, was asked by the Mughal authorities to settle some local trouble between Keśari Simha, the fifth in descent from Rāyasāla and the Faujdār of Nārnaul. In 1709 A.D., we find Amber Chief intervening on a request from Delhi in connection with the incessant family feuds between the rivals Udaisimha, and Dhirāja Simha, the former Keśarisimha’s brother and successor by adoption and the latter Keśri Simha’s nephew. In 1712 A.D., a mansab of 1000 personal, and 700 horses was granted to Udaisimha by the Emperor with the Paragunās of Khandelā and Revāsā as his jagir.

A more formidable intervention by Sawai Jai Simha took place in 1718 A.D. TOD tells us that “he laid siege to the citadel called ‘Udaigarh’”. Udaisimha held out for a month in this castle, he had constructed, and called by his own name. Seeing his resources failing, he fled to Naru in

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1. A Report on the Land Tenures and special powers of Thikānedārs of the Jaipur State, p. 75.
Marwar, and his son Sawai Simha presented the keys throwing himself on the clemancy of the conqueror. He was received, and pardoned on condition of becoming tributary to Amber. This account needs modification. It is incorrect to describe Sawai Jai Simha as the conqueror to whom Udaï-Simha became tributary. Dhirâja-Simha in 1723 A.D. still called himself the servant of the Emperor, and it was to enforce Dhirâja's claims upon the State that Jai-Simha interfered. After achieving his object, the latter levied a lakh of rupees as "Kher Kharch" or military expenses from each of the Panedaras, realizing it by instalments during 1721, 1722 and 1723 A.D. A peshakasha was also taken, but this seems to have been an imperial levy.

It is only from 1726 A.D. onward that we find regular collections taken from Khandela by Sawai Jai Simha in his own right, the reason being that in 1725 A.D., he obtained the ijâra for Khandela, and Revâsâ from Delhi. Finally, in 1813 A.D., the whole of Khandela, and Revâsâ parganâ was seized by Lachhmaâna Simha of Sikar.

(38) KÂMÂN

Kâmân, one of the twelve holy places of the Vraja Mandala, lies at a distance of sixty-four Kms. from Bharatpur. There are several views about the origin of the name of this town. According to one account, the old name of the place was Kadambavana, which originated from the numerous Kadamba trees found there.1 Another view traces the present name to a mythical Râjâ Kâmasena.2 According to BHAGWAN LAL, it is derived from Kāmavaṇa.3 But, these views are not correct. In fact, it seems to have been derived from Kâmyakavana. The place named Kâmyaka is mentioned in the inscription of the ninth century A.D. of this place.4 This Kâmyakavana is evidently different from Kâmyakavana of the Mahâbhârata, where the Pândavas sojourned for a short time

1. ASC, XX, p. 54.
3. IA, X, p. 31.
4. EI, XXIV, p. 332.
during their exile, because the latter was situated on the bank of the Sarasvatī. The name Kāmavati of this place is found in the praśastis, and the manuscripts written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D.

Kāmān was ruled by the Śūrasenas from the sixth century up to the twelfth century A.D. The Kāmān inscription, which belongs to the eighth century A.D., provides us with the genealogy of the Śūrasena kings for seven generations. If we place Vatsadāman, the last ruler in the eighth century A.D., the first member of the dynasty Phakka, as known both from the Kāmān, and Bayānā inscriptions, can be put in the sixth century A.D. In course of time, the descendants of Phakka established their separate branches at Kāmān and Bayānā. As known from the Kāmān inscription, there was an old fort in the eighth century A.D. In 1032 A.D., Lakṣhmīnīvāsa was ruling over this place. These petty rulers seem to have recognized the sovereignty of the Pratihāra ruler Bhoja, who made over some drāmmas to the saint Pramāṇarāsi of this place.

After the Śūrasenas, Kāmān was occupied by the Muslims. It was governed by the Muslim Governor of Bayānā. From the inscription of 1271 A.D., it is known that the well was originally excavated some fifty years ago, but was filled up with stone, and earth during the governorship of Muhammad Haji. As the scarcity of water was causing trouble to people, the well was re-excavated in 1271 A.D. during the reign of Ghiyāsuddin Balban, and the Government of Nusrat Khān, the chief holder of Bayānā. It was also governed by Firūz Tughluq in 1353 A.D. as is evident from an inscription of the third year of his reign.

Under the patronage of the Śūrasena rulers, both Brāhmanism and Jainism prospered at Kāmān. There were old temples of Śiva, Vīṣṇu and Chāmuṇḍā. Jaina temples

2. ASG, XX, p. 59.
3. SJS, XXI.
4. EI, XXIV, p. 332.
5. ASG, XX, p. 57.
6. EI, XXIV, p. 331.
were also there. The old mosque, now known as Chosaṭa Khambhā, was built from the material of the Hindu temples. The figures of Kālī, Gaṇeśa, Vishṇu and Narasimha are found sculptured on the pillars of this Masjid. Other beautiful images and sculptures found here are the bas-reliefs representing the nine planets, a four faced Mahādeva, a fragment of a bas-relief representing the Fish, Tortoise, Boar, Man-lion, Dwarf incarnation of Vishṇu, the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī and two Chaturmukha Mahādevas. All these sculptures belong to the Gupta and the later Gupta period. The smaller slab, representing the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī, is one of the finest known specimens of the Gupta sculpture.

Vachchhalīkā, the queen of the Śūrasena ruler Durgabhāṭa, got the temple of Vishṇu built in about the eighth century A.D. at this place. These temples of Śiva, Vishṇu and Chāmuṇḍā were placed in charge of Śaiva Āchāryas of the Paśupata sect, though their actual management was carried out by a committee (Gosṭhi), constituted for this purpose.

The most famous of the above temples was the temple of Śiva. It was also known by the name of Kāmyakesvara. A number of donations, and endowments were made from time to time in favour of the deity, apparently Śiva installed in a temple at this place in a period between 787 and 906 A.D. It was built by a Brāhmaṇa named Kakkuka. The Gosṭhikas (members of the managing committee) made a permanent endowment of something, which they had acquired, evidently in favour of the deity. A merchant named Vajraṭa also made some donation to this temple. Two plots of land were given to it. The three guilds namely those of potters, artisans, and gardeners also made endowments to this temple. The guild of potters in consideration of a sum of money received in advance stipulated to pay a permanent cess. Every potter without any exception, was to pay one pana per wheel every month. The guild of gardeners, in consideration of a sum of money paid in advance, stipulated to supply permanently sixty gar-

1. PRAS. WC. 1919, pp. 64-65.
2. ASC, XX, p. 59.
3. E1, XXIV, p. 331.
lands, of which thirty-four were to be delivered at the temple of Vishnu, and the remaining twenty-six at the shrine of Chāmuṇḍā. The guild of artisans, in consideration of an amount received in advance, made a permanent endowment. Every artisan, who worked in the place, was to pay one 'dramma' permonth. Untaṭa, the son of Kakkuca, who got the temple of Śiva constructed, also donated three plough measures of land to this temple. Two āvāris were donated by a śāṅkhika (a worker on conch-shells).

The Kāmān inscription1 of the (Harsha) year 263 (869 A.D.) records the excavation of the step-well and the construction of the temple by three brothers Nāgaṭa, Siddhanāga and Śivavishnu in memory of their deceased father Iśāna in presence of the goshtikas who were probably the trustees of an endowment created for the maintenance of their pious works. The step-well and the temple seem to have been in the vicinity of Kāmān. The goshtikas have been described as devoted to god Śiva. It seems that these are the same goshtikas which were entrusted with the actual management of the temples of Śiva, Vishnu and Chāmuṇḍā.

Kāmān remained a seat of Jainism in early times, and Kāmyaka gachchha originated from this place. The Bayana stone inscription of 1043 A.D.2 records the names of Jaina teachers namely Vishṇusūri and Maheśvarasūri of this gachchha. This gachchha remained confined only to this area, and did not spread to the other parts of Rajasthan. In 1032 A.D., Durgadeva, the Jaina author, finished the Rishtasamuchchaya in a fine temple of Śanṭinātha at Kumbhanagara ruled over by Lakshminivāsa. Kumbhanagara may be identified with Kāmān. As regards the king Lakshminivāsa, he may be the Śūrasena ruler named Lakṣmana, the son of queen Chittralekhā mentioned in the Bayana inscription dated 956 A.D.3

The most important feature of Kāmān is that the trades and industries to a larger or small scale had guild-system in

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1. EI, XXXVI, pp. 52-55.
2. IA, XIV, p. 8.
3. Ibid.
early times. The three guilds of this place known to us were those of potters, artisans and gardeners. In order to secure capital for investment, they were also doing banking business and receiving deposits, guaranteeing regular payments of interest to be utilised for the specific charitable objects, which donors had in view. When a donor intended to make a permanent provision for the maintenance of a temple or the supply of material for the worship of a deity, he either invested the necessary amount in landed property or deposited it with some guild. The guild sometimes stipulated to pay perpetually a definite amount, or a particular rate of interest against the amount deposited with it. The guild sometimes did not pay out of its common fund, but levied a small cess on every member belonging to it and working in that particular locality. The members of the guild of gardeners were to pay in kind, while those of potters and artisans had to pay a small cess, probably because the articles manufactured by them were not regularly required for the use of the temple. The guilds comprised all the members of their respective professions for an inscription clearly states that every one, who followed the particular profession in Kāmyaka, was to contribute a fixed amount. The investments received by guilds were probably spent on some religious or secular works.

(39) HATHUNḍI

Hathunḍi is about five Kms. south east of Bijāpura. Its old name was Hastikunḍi. In the tenth century A.D., it was a capital of the family of Rāṣṭrakūṭas, of which, Harivarma was the founder. His son, Vidagdha, was ruling in 916 A.D., and the latter’s son Māṁmaṭa’s known date is 939 A.D. His son was Dhavala. Jainism made a remarkable progress under these rulers, who were themselves its followers. Even afterwards, this town remained a holy place of the Jainas.

Dhavala was the most powerful ruler of this dynasty. He gave shelter to the contemporary rulers in their hour of

1. EI, XXIV, p. 339.
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crisis. The Paramāra ruler Muṇjarāja of Dhārā had to fight against the combined forces of the Guhila Chief of Mewār, and the Chālukya ruler Mūlarāja of Gujarāt. He destroyed the elephant forces of the Guhila king who was either Naravāhāna or his son Śaktikumāra and plundered his capital Āghāṭa modern Āhār in Udaipur. The vanquished Chief saved his life by taking shelter with Rāśṭrakūṭa Dhavala of Hastikūṇḍī.1 Mūlarāja was also defeated by Muṇja near Āghāṭa, and barely escaped his life from the battlefield. His army found shelter at Hastikūṇḍī,2 but he personally appears to have sought refuge at the court of his ally, the Nāḍol ruler Balirāja. When Durlabhrāja, ruler of Śākambhārī, invaded the territory of the Chauhāna Mahendra, king of Nāḍol, he failed to stand up to his adversary, and sought protection under the Rāśṭrakūṭa Dhavala of Hastikūṇḍī.3 Dharaṇīvarāhā, the Chāvaḍā ruler of Vardhamāna, was ruling in 914 A.D. as a vassal of the Pratihāra Mahipāla I. His kingdom was invaded by the Chālukya Mūlarāj, who captured his throne and drove him out of Saurāśṭra. In such circumstances, he saved his life by taking shelter with the Rāśṭrakūṭa Dhavala of Hastikūṇḍī.4

In his old age, Dhavala abdicated his throne in favour of his son Bālaprasāda, who is found ruling in 997 A.D. After the Rāśṭrakūṭas, this place was governed by the Chāhāmānas. In 1288 A.D. (V.S. 1345), Sāmantasimha, ruler of Jālor, was ruling over this place.5

The Raṭhor rulers of Hathūṇḍi were followers of Jainism. Vidagdha, at the preaching of Vāsudeāchārya, built a temple of Rishabhdeva at Hathūṇḍi, and also made a grant in favour of his teacher Bālaprasāda and the temple. It consisted of the market tax on goods brought here for sale, and also tolls on roads. Even taxes were charged from farmers, oilmen, merchants and others in kind as well as in

1. EI, X, p. 18.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. PRAS. WG, 1908, p. 52.
cash. The two-third of the sum was kept for the temple of Jina and one-third for Guru Balabhadr as Vidyādhana, i.e., fees for imparting knowledge.1 His son Māṁmaṭa renewed this grant. Dhavala, son of Māṁmaṭa, renovated the Jaina temple built by his grand-father. He, in conjunction with his son Bālaprasāda, made a gift of a well called Pippala. The gosṭhī (guild) of Hastikunḍi also renovated this temple, and the installation ceremony of images was performed by Śāntibhadra, pupil of Vāsudevāchārya in 997 A.D., with great rejoicings. The Śrāvakas of the neighbouring places also participated in this ceremony. These Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers were also weighed in gold, which was distributed by them among the poor in charities. The royal patronage of Jainism led to its propagation among masses, who might have followed the footsteps of their rulers.

After the rule of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Hathunḍi probably suffered from the Muslim attack, which is responsible for the change of Mūlanāyaka from Rishbhanātha to Mahāvīra in the temple of this place. In 1242 A.D., Pūrṇabhadra Upādhyāya constructed two cells, and śikhara.3 Probably, the image of Mahāvīra was placed at this time, and it began to be known as Rāṭā Mahāvīra. As Rāṭā means red, the original image of Mahāvīra was probably of red colour. Gradually, it became a famous holy place by the name of Rāṭā Mahāvīra. Pilgrims from different places came to visit it. The inscription of 1288 A.D. (V.S, 1345) records a grant of twenty four drammas to it from the custom house of Sevāḍi.5 Another inscription of the same time specifies an annual gift of twenty four drammas by a Sāhukāra Hemāka by name to Mahāvīra.4 An inscription of 1299 A.D. records the award of a few visalapriya drammas to the temple of Rāṭā Mahāvīra.5 Śilavijayasūri and Jinatilakasūri describe this holy place in their Tirthamālās.6

1. EI, X, p. 20.
2. JTSS, I, p. 209. See Appendix No. 14 for the text.
3. PRAS. WC, 1908, p. 52.
4. Ibid.
6. JTSS, p. 206.
The importance of Hathundi is also attested by the fact that a line of Jaina pontiffs called Hastikunda-gachchha was started by Vāsudevāchārya in the tenth century A.D. after the name of this place. This gachchhha continued even afterwards. Nejā of Dharkaṭa caste installed the Jaina image of Ādinātha in V.S. 1325 for the merit of his mother through Vāsudevāchārya of Hastikunda-gachchha.¹

Among the Mārwār Rāṭhors, a clan named Hathundī is well known, and it is not unreasonable to argue that they are probably the descendants of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Hastikundī. Even after Balaprasāda, the Rāṭhors of Hathundī are noticed in Sirohi and other parts of Rajasthan. In an inscription of 1218 A.D. (V.S. 1274) on a pillar of Śaiva temple, at Kāntala in Sirohi, there is mention of the names of Hathundī Rāṭhors Ānā and his sons Lakshamsī, Kamana and Sovā.² Similarly, the names of Rāṭhor Pūnasīha, his son Kamana and his grand son Bhīma are found in the inscription of 1241 A.D. on the pillar in the Jaina temple of Nāndīa in Sirohi.³ Ānaladevi, the wife of Chauhāna Ālaṇadeva of Nāḍol, was the daughter of Rāṭhor Sahula.⁴ Mahālakṣmī, queen of Bharṭipatṭa II of Mewar, was a daughter of the Rāṭhor ruler.⁵ These Hathundī Rāṭhors were converted to Jainism and, therefore, they were called Hathundī Śrāvakas. There were the settlements of Hathundī Śrāvakas at various places in Mārwār such as Bālī, Sādaḍī and Sāndera.

(40) VARMĀN

At a distance of forty-five Kms. from Ābū station, there stands a village of Varmān. Its old name, as known from inscriptions, was Brahmanā. It was probably founded not later than the seventh century A.D., because the Sun temple known as the Brahmanā-svāmin of this place was built probably in the seventh century A.D. From the study of old

1. PLS, I, No 43.
2. IA, 56, p. 51.
3. ARRMA, 1924, p. 3.
4. IA, 55, p. 146.
5. RIO, I, p. 424.
temple, tank, well, and old residential buildings, it appears to have been a prosperous town in the past.

The Sun-temple of Varnān, known as the Brahmāṇa-Svāmin, is one of the most famous temples in India. The careful finish of its carving, the proportion of its members and the parsimonious use of decorative detail, all tend to show that the building must have been constructed at a time when the temple architecture was a vitally living art. The temple, which faces the east, consists of the shrine, sabhamanḍapa, pradakšiṇā, and porch. A standing image of the Sun discovered must have occupied the main shrine. Besides, there are finely carved but partially mutilated images of the navagrahas, and the eight dikpālas. The Sun temple is also called Sūrya Nārāyaṇa. The pedestal sculptured in the form of a chariot drawn by seven steeds in the niche of the sanctum is a marvellous piece of realism.

The temple of Brahmāṇa-svāmin was considered to be a place of pilgrimage by the people, and they visited this place from time to time, and granted charities. An inscription of 1019 A.D. records the gift of two fields to the temple by one Sohapa.1 Another inscription of 1029 A.D. in this temple mentions the grant of land by the native of Maḍāhaḍa.2 During the reign of the Paramāra King Pūrṇapāla, the temple was restored in 1042 A.D. by Nochaka, son of Śārama.3 In 1258 and 1273 A.D., this temple was repaired by the people of different places.4 During the reign of the Paramāra ruler Vikramasimha of Chandrāvatī, the temple was rebuilt in 1299 A.D. by Lalitādevī, the wife of the pratihāra Rājā Vinnadā.5

Varnān remained a stronghold of Jainism. Siddhasena-sūri, a poet of the twelfth century, refers to this place in

1. PRAS, WG, 1917, p. 72.
2. SRI, p. 148.
3. PRAS, WG, 1917, p. 72.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
the Sakala tirtha stotra. The Brāhmaṇa gachchha among the Jainas originated from the place Varmāṇa, whose ancient name was Brahmāna-mahāsthāna. The earliest mention of this gachchha is found at this place. The Mahāvīra Jaina temple of this gachchha was built in 1185 A.D., or even before by the Saṅvakas of this place. The inscription of 1185 A.D. records that Puniga and other Saṅvakas constructed Padmaśila in the temple of Māhāvīra of Brāhmaṇa-ka-gachchha. There is a finely sculptured image of Kubera. In the pillared corridor of the east of the sabhāmanḍapa, a sculptured ceiling was built in 1185 A.D. The central figure of one slab is Gajalakṣamī with elephants pouring water. In 1294 A.D., Padmasīha, a native of Maḍāhaḍa, came to this place and constructed a pair of Jaina images in this temple of Brāhmaṇa gachchha. Hematilakasūri got a raiyamandapa of this temple constructed for the merit of early Bhaṭṭārakas of this gachchha in 1389 A.D.

Thus, the importance of Varmāṇa is clear from the fact that there was a well-known Sun-temple, and the Brāhmaṇa gachchha among the Jainas originated from this place. An old temple associated with this gachchha was there. The influence of the natives of the place is clear from the fact that they were in charge of celebrating the festival of the anniversary of the Lūnavaṣahi temple of Ābū in 1230 A.D. Besides, there was the temple of Varmesvara containing an image of Śiva.

(41) ĀBĀNERĪ

Ābānerī or Ābhanagāri is a small village in Jaipur District, situated about five Kms., to the east of Bandiqui Junction. It is said to be the capital of the Nikumbha Rāj-
put before they founded Alwar. Chandra, the ruler of this place, is well known from local traditions and other sources.

This place is specially famous for two fine monuments, the Chanda Bāori, and the temple of Harshat mālā, probably of the eighth century A.D. These are said to have been built by Rājā Chanda, who might have ruled over this place in the eighth century A.D. The name of the stepped tank Chanda Bāori was also probably named after him. The sculptures of these monuments belong to the Post-Gupta period, and exhibit a high standard of technique.

Ābāneri is specially famous for its artistic creations. The sensitive carving, and the simplicity of ornamentation are the main features of the sculptures of this place. In spirit, in the lyrical quality of theme and conception, in the vision and geometry of the human figure, in costumes and hair styles and in the interpretation of the erotic theme, these sculptures are the legacy of the Gupta tradition of Deogarh. These secular sculptures illustrate scenes of music, dance, nature, beauty and the meeting of lovers. The rāsa in these sculptures is Śriṅgāra and marked with infinite delicacy. Human lovers sit in pleasure-gardens under the shade of trees, laden with fruits and flowers, entertained by the music of flute, lute and dance. This is a garden like the Uttarakuru of the Epics, where there is no age but youth, no mood, but śriṅgāra, and where there is no place for tears or the pangs of separation.

The sculptures of Ābāneri serve both secular and religious purposes. In one figure, there is a love scene. The hero and his beloved are seated on a high stool. The woman's arm encircles her lover's neck, while he seeks to touch her chin. The female is restrained. She neither yields nor shirks away. Surrounding the lovers are figures playing various musical instruments and dancing. In another figure, a Nāga king with tall boots angrily lifts his sword to chastise a nāginī, who stands with bowed head, and folded hands before him.

1. ASC, XX, p. 9.
2. ARR, II, 429, See Appendix No. 15 for the text. The Jaina Pattāwalis also mention a king named Chandra of Ābhānagari. See BPPI, II, p. 764.
On both their heads is a serpent like hood. A woman, perhaps the queen, tries to restrain the hero. A crouching figure tries to kiss the feet of the king.¹

There are figures which serve a religious purpose. The Ardhanarīṣvara form of Śiva half male and half female is a fine carving on a niche outside the main temple. This figure in relation to the attendants, and the bull Nandi is extremely vital. There are dancing mātrikās in the company of dancing Śiva and Bhairava. The group of two lovely youthful maidens holding a jar upside down, as though emptying it, is beautifully carved on a stone serving as water outlet for the main shrine of the temple.

Besides artistic creations, the description of Ābhānagarī in Jaina literature is probably associated with this place. It is said to have been habitated by rich men, who celebrated functions with great rejoicings at the visit of Jaina Āchāryas, led Samghas to holy places, and constructed Jaina temples. A rich merchant named Desala, and his son Jagā lived at this place.² At the time of famines, they spent their wealth in charities. They provided people with food and clothes. Jagā also led a Samgha to Osiā, where he worshipped the Māhāvira temple and the Sachchikā devī temple. From the Patfavalis,³ it is known that there were several temples with high sikhāras and rest houses. The two Jaina temples of Ādinātha and Mahāvira of this place were well known.

¹ Marg, 1959, March, p. 58.
² BPPI, p. 647. See Appendix No. 16 for the text.
³ Ibid. pp. 759, 764, 765, 805 and 847. Though, these Patfavalis are of late period, they may contain old traditions. Therefore, they may be relied upon to some extent.
SECTION G
EARLY MEDIEVAL TOWNS

The period between the tenth century and the twelfth century A.D. may be considered the Golden Age in the history of Rājasthān. The princes of the Rājpūt clans such as the Chauhānas, the Paramāras and the Yādavas, founded their separate kingdoms by sheer dint of conquests. Some of their descendants, who were ambitious and adventurous, are noticed sometimes carving out their own principalities. Peace and security acquired by their efficient administration brought prosperity, which gave an impetus to the development of art and literature. In course of time, they reached the highest point of perfection. The vigorous religious activities of this period also led to an increase in the number of holy places. All these factors contributed to a large extent in the multiplication of towns both in number as well as in size.

As the number of towns increased in this period, we propose here to classify them further under sub-sections for the convenience of our study: (1) Capitals and District Headquartrs, (2) Holy places, and (3) Centres of Art and Architecture.

(1) CAPITALS AND DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS:

In early medieval period, we find specially the Chauhānas, the Paramāras, the Yādavas, etc., ruling over the different parts of Rājasthān. Some of the towns were the capitals of the ruling chiefs, while others were the District headquarters of their kingdoms. Some towns rose to importance because of their strategical situation. Besides, a few others were associated in one way or other with the ruling chiefs or scions.

TOWN ASSOCIATED WITH THE CHAUHĀNAS

(42) NĀDOL

Nādol is now a village situated in 25° 22’ North and 73° 27’ East about thirteen Kms. from Jawālia station on the Rajputana Malwa Railway. This place is specially famous
for having been the capital of the Mārwār Chauhāna family. The founder of this dynasty was Lakṣhmana, who was a son of Vākpatirāja,\(^1\) reigning at Sākambhari. He and his descendants ruled here for about two hundred years, till they were defeated, and driven out by Qutbuddin. TOD claims of having discovered two inscriptions of Lākhanā dated V.S. 1024 and 1029. By affording protection against the depredations of the Medas, he made his rule welcome to the people.\(^3\) The Sūrajapola and the fort of the town are said to have been built by him.

Lakṣhmana was succeeded by his son Sobhita. The Sundhā inscription states that he took away the glory of the Lord of Mount Ābū.\(^4\) The Sevādi plates of Ratanapāla (V.S. 1176) call him the Lord of Dhārā.\(^5\) He must, therefore, have fought against the Paramāra rulers of both Mālwa and Ābū. His son and successor was Balirāja, who had to surrender Mt. Ābū and the adjoining territory to the Paramāra Muṇja.\(^6\) His successor was his uncle Vigrahapāla. Vigrahapāla was succeeded by his son Mahendra. In his time, the Chauhānas of Sākambhari became hostile to him, and the Sākambhari ruler Durlabhārāja overran his kingdom. Mahendra saved his life by taking shelter under the Rāṣṭrakūta Dhavala.\(^7\)

Mahendra’s successor was his son Aśvapāla. His son and successor Ahila repulsed an attack of the Chālukya Bhima I.\(^8\) His paternal uncle and successor Anahilla, son of Mahendra, is one of the most successful and energetic rulers of the Nāḍol line. He defeated the Chālukya Bhima I, killed Sādha, a General of the Paramāra Bhoja, captured Sākambhari ruled by the Chauhāna Viryārāma, and fought successfully with the Turushkas, i. e., the Muslims of the

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2. AAR, II, pp. 807-808.
6. Kauthem Grant. See IA, XVI, p. 23, lines 41-42.
   See also Parimalas Verses JBBRAS, XVI, p. 173.
Punjab. His kingdom, which merely comprised seven hundred villages, turned into 7,000 by killing in battle the rulers of the adjoining Kingdom. His son and successor Balaprasāda forced the Chālukya Bhīma I to release the Paramāra Krishnarājā of Bhinmāl. Jindurāja, the brother and successor of Bālaprāsāda, whose inscription is dated A.D. 1075, won a victory in a battle at Sāṇderā. His eldest son and successor Prithvipāla destroyed the army of Karnā, the Lord of Gurjaras. Prithvipāla’s brother, king Jojalla, whose inscription is dated A.D. 1090, captured Anahilapura for a short time.

Jojalla was succeeded by his younger brother Āśārāja, whose inscriptions bear dates from 1110 to 1143 A.D. Jojalla could not enjoy a peaceful reign, since he had a rival, who was his own nephew Ratnapāla, the son of Prithvipāla. This struggle continued even among their descendants. Āśārāja had to surrender Nāḍol to his nephew Ratnapāla, the son of Prithvipāla between 1115 and 1119 A.D. Ratnapāla was succeeded by his son Rāyapāla, whose inscriptions bear dates from 1132 to 1145 A.D. That he was a king of administrative genius, is clear from the Nāḍol inscription of V.S. 1198. He enacted from the Brāhmaṇas assembled at Dhālopi, a promise to find out through the police system of Chaukīs, the things lost by pilgrims, traders and sons of State servants. If anything was lost within their village or jurisdiction, they were themselves required to restore it. The villagers supplied the police, and the king the weapons.

Āśārāja’s son Kaṭudeva occupied Nāḍol for a short time in 1143-44 A.D., probably with the help of the Chālukya ruler Jayasimha Siddharāja, under whom, his father served but Rāyapāla reconquered it before 1145 A.D. He was succeeded

4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
8. Ibid, p. 43.
by his son Sahajapāla, who probably lost Nāḍol as a result of the Chālukya success in a war between Arnorāja of Sākambhari and Kumārapāla of Gujrat. Kumārapāla returned Nāḍol to Āśarāja's son Ālhanā sometime between 1145 and 1148 A.D. After some time, he kept Nāḍol under his direct control for some time, and returned Kirāḍū, Lāṭahrada and Sivā to Ālhanā. A little later, he put it under Danda-dhīsa Vaijalladeva Chauhāna. Vaijalladeva Chauhāna had not been very successful against the Chauhāna ruler of Ajmer named Vigrāharāja IV, who reduced Nāḍol to that of a bed of reeds. Kumarapāla, being pleased with the services of Ālhanā, restored him to his hereditary principality between 1159 and 1161 A.D.

Ālhanādeva was succeeded by Kelhaṇa, the dates of whose inscriptions extend from 1163 to 1192 A.D. The chief events of his reign were his battles with the Yādava Bhillima, the ruler of Devagiri, and Muhammad Ghorī, the well known Muslim conqueror of Northern India. In both these actions, he probably fought as a subordinate of the Gujarāt rulers. The fight with Muhammad Ghorī took place in 1175 A.D., when the Muslims, advancing by way of Multān, Uchchha and Kirāḍū, captured Nāḍol, the capital of Kelhaṇa. On having arrived near Abū, Muslims found themselves opposed by the combined forces of Kelhaṇa, Kiritipāla, his younger brother, Dhārāvarsha, the Paramāra ruler of Abū, and their overlord Bhimadeva II. The Sūndhā inscription puts the scene of battle at Kāsahrada. The Gurjara king defeated the Muslims, and wounded their leader Muhammad Ghorī.

2. ARRMA, 1937, p. 3.
3. EI, XI, p. 43.
4. Vaijalladeva's inscriptions namely Sevāḍi Inscription, V.S. 1213. Ghñerāv Inscription, V.S. 1213 and Bālī Inscription published in EI XI.
7. Ibid, p. 72. Kelhaṇa is also known to have issued the horse man and bull type of coinage. See Early Medieval types of Northern India, p. 80.
8. Tabguāt-i-AkbārI, I, p. 36.
9. TF, I, p. 170. See also PK, p. 17.
Kelhāna was succeeded by Jayatasiṁha. In 1196 A.D., the Muslims again invaded Nāḍol. Jayatasiṁha vacated his fort of Nāḍol, and joining hands with Dhārāvarsha Paramāra of Ābū, and his equally renowned brother Prahalādana, faced the Muslim army in a pass near Ābū. By mistake, Jayatasiṁha, and his friends abandoned their advantageous position and moved on to the plains, where they were defeated. Many Hindu leaders were slain.¹

Jayatasiṁha’s successor was probably Sāmantasiṁha, who ruled in 1199 A.D. Dhāndhaladeva, son of Viradhavala-deva of the Chāhamāna family, ruled Godwar as a vassal under the Chālukya Bhima II from 1209 to 1226 A.D.² The Chālukyas were superseded there by the Chauhāna Udayasiṁha of Jālor probably before 1231 A.D.³ After the defeat of the Chauhānas of Jālor at the hands of Alāuddin Khilji in 1314 A.D., Nāḍol passed into the hands of the Muslims. An inscription of 1609 A.D. refers itself to the reign of Salim (Jahāṅgīr), son of Akbar. It, then, tells us that Gajanikhān, lord of Jālor, together with one hundred nobles, built a rampart in front of Nāḍol, and named it Nūrapora.⁴ Gazanikhān was, of course, a Viceroy of Jahāṅgīr stationed at Jālor. Towards the end of the eighteenth century A.D., it passed into the possession of the Chiefs of Jodhpur.

The Chauhāna rulers of Nāḍol were great patrons of religion and, therefore, Nāḍol became a centre of both Brahmanism and Jainism. They constructed temples and granted lands from time to time. Lakshmaṇa, the founder of this Chauhāna line, built a temple of Śiva.⁵ There was also a temple of Lakshmaṇaśvāmin mentioned in the Sāḍaḍī, and the Nāḍol inscriptions of V.S. 1147 of Jojalladeva.⁶ The name of the god Lakshmaṇa-Svāmin suggests that it was so called after Lakshmaṇa, the founder of the Chauhāna dynasty of this branch. The inscription of 1090 A.D. (V.S. 1147)

¹. HIED, II, p. 230.
². PRAS. WC, 1908, p. 49.
³. EI, IX, p. 73.
⁴. PRAS. WC, 1909, p. 45.
⁵. ARRMA, 1936-37, No. 7, p. 3.
⁶. EI, XI, p. 27.
lays down the order of the king Jojaladeva with regard to the management of festivals in connection with all the gods, such as Lakṣmaṇaśāṁsvāmin and others. The order is that when the festival of any particular sect commences, the courtiers attached to the temple of the other gods must also put on their ornaments and best garments and attend with their śūlapālas to celebrate it by instrumental music, dancing, singing and so forth. There were also some people who bitterly opposed this practice.

Besides, there were famous temples of Tripurushadeva and Chandaleśvara. The temple of Chandaleśvara was built by Chandaladevi, queen of Āśārāja, and the shrine of Gauri was constructed inside it by Śaṅkarādevī, queen of Ālhaṇa. The shrine of Lakhaṇaśāṁsvāra was erected inside the temple of Tripurushadeva by Lākhaṇadevi, daughter of Chāhamāna Kuntapāla. Padmadevi, queen of Rāyapāla, and her two sons Sahanapāla and Sahajapāla also installed shrines after their names. Grants were made to these temples by the rulers, officers and other private persons. Mahārajaḍhirāja Āśārāja granted a village called Pīchchhavalli to the temple of Chandaleśvara in 1114 A.D. Mahārajaḍhirāja Ratnapāla and Sahanapāla granted something to Tripurushadeva in 1135 A.D.Mahāraja Ālhaṇa recognized the grant of Kikā, Umā, Ponapāla and Mānasiha made to Tripurushadeva in 1148 A.D.1 From the Nānānā inscription, it is known that he restored the village of Nāṇḍānā to the temple of Tripurushadeva in V.S. 1219. He also granted the village of Chāmoji in favour of Tripurushadeva, Bhītalavatāka to the temple of Chandaleśvara and four drammas per month to the shrine of Gauri. From the Sūndhā inscription, it is known that he built a Śiva temple at Nāḍol.2 A Copper plate grant of Chālukya Kumārapāla of Gujarat dated 1156 A.D. records the grant of one dramma per day from the custom house of Nāḍol to the shrine of Lākhaneśvara inside the temple of Tripurushadev-

1. ARRMA, 1936-37, No. 6, p. 3.
2. El, XXXIII, p. 238. See also ARRMA, 1936-37, No. 9, p. 5.
deva. From the Sündhā inscription, it is known that Kelhaṇa, the eldest son of Ālhaṇa, who ruled in 1164 A.D., erected a golden torana like a diadem for the abode of the holy Someśa.

There were vilāsinīs, meharis and gaṇikās (sort of dancing girls) attached to these temples. They were meant for music, dancing and other duties relating to these temples. The transactions recorded in the Nāṇanā inscription relate also to the arrangements of these religious institutions. The arrangement of the affairs was entrusted to the Vārikas or Superintendents of a temple like the Paṇḍās of today. The income of these temples was collected by the Vārikas, and expenses for training, food, etc., of vilāsinīs, and others were met.

Side by side with Brāhmaṇical religion, Jainism also made a striking progress at Nāḍol under the patronage of the Chauhāna rulers. This town became one of the celebrated Paṇcchatīrthas of the Jainas of Mārwar. The Jaina temple of Mahāvīra was very famous. The king Aśvarāja, who was a feudatory of Kumārapāla, gave commands for the strict observance of ahimsā in his kingdom on certain days. An inscription of 1158 A.D. (V.S. 1215) on the two standing images speaks of the images as having been set up in the temple of Mahāvīra in Viṣadā-sthāna by Padmāchandragañi, a pupil of Devasūri. In 1171 A.D., Ālhaṇadeva, after worshipping the Sun and Īśāṇa, and making gifts to Brāhmaṇas and gurus, granted to the Jaina temple of Mahāvīra of this place a monthly sum of five drammas to be paid from the custom-house in the Naḍūlatalapada. He also forbade the slaughter of animals on certain days. In 1160 A.D., after bathing at Nāḍula, and worshipping the Sun, and Maheśvara, his son Kirtipāla granted a yearly sum of two drammas from each of his twelve villages to Jina Mahāvīra.

(43) KORTĀ

The old name of Kortā, which is situated twenty-six Kms. to the south west of Sāṇḍera, is Korāntaka. It appears
to be an extensive town in the past from its ruins spreading over the whole ground between Körtä and Bämnera. The mention of its name in the inscription¹ of 1032 A.D. proves that it was in existence even earlier. In the twelfth century A.D., it formed a District of the Chauhāna kingdom of Nāḍol. The Bämnera grant² mentions one Mahārāja Putra Kumārasimha, who held this town of Körtä in Jāgīra. Kelhaṇadeva and Ajayasimha gave charities to a Brāhmaṇa Nārāyaṇa of this place.³ In (V.S. 1220) 1163 A.D., Ajaya-simha, son of Mahārāja Putra Kumārasimha, gave the grant of a field in this town to a Brāhmaṇa named Nārāyaṇa on the occasion of a solar eclipse during the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Álhaṇadeva, and his heir-apparent Kelhaṇadeva. Afterwards, during the reign of Kelhaṇadeva, Ajayasimha gave the gift of a well to the same Brāhmaṇa. An inscription of 1166 A.D. records the grant of a well in this town to the same Brāhmaṇa by Mahārājādhirāja Kelhaṇadeva.

Körtä was a famous place of pilgrimage of the Jainas. The antiquity of this place goes even to two thousand years back according to the Upakesagachhha charitra written in V.S. 1371.⁴ Actually, such an antiquity of this place is not reliable, as it is based on later statements. Ratnaprabha-sūrī, who performed the installation ceremony of the Mahāvira temple of this place, probably lived in about the eighth century A.D. In the tenth century A.D., Dhanapāla, in his poem Satyapuramahāvīrautsāha, refers to the temple of Mahāvira of Koraṇṭa.⁵ An inscription of 1032 A.D. engraved on the back of an image of Pārśvanātha in the temple of Mahāvira at the village Piṇḍwādā records that the image was set up

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1. ARRMA, 1937, p. 2.
3. Ibid.
4. BPPI, p. 145. It is said that Ratnaprabha-sūrī, who converted the people of Osia to Jainism, performed the installation ceremony of the temples of Mahāvira both at Osia and Koraṇṭaka in V.N.S. 70 (457 B.C.). In V.S. 125, Vṛḍhadeva-sūrī, the twenty-five Pontiff in the line of Mahāvira, performed the installation ceremony of a Jaina temple built by Mantri Nāhaḍa. (See also Paitāvali Samuchchaya, p. 49).
5. JSS, III, 1.
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by Mahattama Chachchha and Sajjana, sons of Śyāmanāga, and the Śrāvakas of Koraṇṭaka. This place is also mentioned in the Sakalatīrtha stotra of Siddhasenasūri. According to the Prabhāvakacharitra, Koraṇṭapura of Saptatadeta was a prosperous town inhabited by rich people, who were devoted to their religion. This town remained a place of pilgrimage in medieval times also. Megha, Śilavijava and Jñānavimalasaūri describe this place in their Tīrthamālās. From a praśasti of the Śantināṭha temple at Jaisalmer, written by Devatilaka sūri in 1526 A.D., it is known that Kochara, son of Āmbā of Upaketa Vamsa, constructed a big Jaina temple at Koraṇṭa. The people of this place led Samghas to holy places. They performed installation ceremony of images through Jaina Āchāryas who are also known to have initiated several persons to monkhood.

Koraṇṭa gachchha originated from Kortā. It is a branch of Ukeśa gachchha. It was probably started by Kanakaprabhasūrī. The early Āchāryas of this gachchha were Somaprabhasūrī, Kakkasūrī, Sāvadevasūrī, Nannasūrī, etc. The Āchāryas of this gachchha performed the installation ceremony of images from V.S. 1293 to 1541.

(44) SANDERĀ

Sānderā is about sixteen Kms. north-west of Bālī in Jodhpur Division. It seems to have been founded by Yaśobhadra sūrī in the tenth century A.D. It is said that Yaśobhadra left Kaṭhiawār, when Valabhi was sacked by the Mlechchha invaders. He came with his pupils to Sānderāva, and encamped himself near its tank, where to his surprise, he witnessed a

1. APJLS, No. 366.
2. GOS, LXXVI, p. 156.
3. PCa, Māṇadevaprabandha, p. 191.
4. JTSS, p. 228.
5. NJI, III, No. 2154.
6. BPPI, pp. 414, 415, 480, 509, 663, 680, 681, 761, 762, 763, 771, 787, etc.
7. PCa, Māṇadevaprabandha, p. 191.
8. JTSS, p. 228.
fight between a bull and a lion, in which the former emerged victorious. Here, he decided to settle himself and named the place as Sañderāva after the Sānda or bull, which was victorious.

Sañderā appears to have been governed by the Chauhānas of Nāḍol. In the eleventh century A.D., a battle was fought between the Gurjaras, and the Chauhānas of Nāḍol at this place. The Sūndhā inscription\(^1\) states that Jindurāja Chauhāna, ruler of Nāḍol, burst through the multitude of his enemies at Sañderā. From the first plate of Nāḍol,\(^2\) we find that the leader of this hostile force was none else than Bhimadeva I, ruler of Gujarāt. This town seems to be the provincial headquarters of the Nāḍol kingdom of the Chauhānas. It was its western outpost in the Bhukti of queen Jālhanadevi.\(^3\) Kelhana, the Chauhāna ruler of Nāḍol, (V.S. 1211-1250) assigned it to his queen Jālhanadevi, who might have governed it through a deputy even afterwards. That it continued under the Chauhānas of Nāḍol up to the end of the twelfth century A.D. is clear from the inscription of 1201 A.D. (1258. V.S.) which speaks of Mahārājadhirāja Sāma-nāta Simhadeva, as then reigning.\(^4\)

Sañderā remained a great centre of Jainism in the past. Siddhasenasūri mentions this place in the list of holy places in his Sakalatirtha stotra.\(^5\) Sañderaka gachchha, founded by Yaśobhadra-sūri, originated from this place in the tenth century A.D. It seemly name was Vālabha gachchha.\(^6\) Yaśobhadrasūri, Śālisūri, Sumatisūri, Śāntisūri, and Iśvarasūri were its early influential Āchāryas,\(^7\) and they rendered valuable services to Jainism. There were two Jaina temples of Mahāvīra and Pārśvanātha of Sañderaka gachchha. An inscription of 1092

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1. EI, IX, p. 72.
2. ARRMA, 1937, p. 3.
4. PRAS. WC, 1909, p. 52.
5. GOS, LXXVI, pp. 312-316.
6. JPPS, p. 85.
7. Ibid, p. 76. The Āchāryas of this gachchha are known to have performed the installation ceremony of images up to the seventeenth century A.D.
A.D. records that a goshthī of this place installed a Jaina image in the temple of Sañderaka gachchha through Jina-chandra.  

The Chauhāna rulers of Nāḍol patronized the activities of Jainism at Sañderā. An inscription of V.S. 1221 (1164 A.D.) of the reign of Kelhaṇa states that Analadevi, queen mother of Kelhaṇa-deva, granted one hāela of ḍvār corn from the king's personal property to the god Mahāvīra to celebrate the Kalyāṇaka. One dramma was also given from the revenue of Talāra (Koṭavāla) by the Rāṣṭṛakūṭas Pāṭū, and Kelhaṇa and their brother's sons and others with reference to the same Kalyāṇaka. Similarly one hāela of ḍvār was also granted by the rathākāras, or cart-builders, and so forth, all residing at Sañderaka in connection with the Kalyāṇaka. This inscription shows that all persons, irrespective of caste and creed, participated in this ceremony. Another inscription of 1179 A.D. of the reign of Kelhaṇa speaks of a column having been presented by Rālhā and Pālhā, sons of Thāṁrīthā in memory of their mother. They also placed their house at the disposal of Pārśvanātha. Four drāelas were to be given to the god annually by people residing in Rālhā's house. Śrēṣṭhī Gūṇapāla of Sañderaka with his daughters constructed a chatushkikā in the Jaina temple of Mahāvīra in the twelfth century A.D. It is known that Mokhu, the ancestor of Pethaḍa of the Poravāla caste, who got a copy of the Bhagavatīṣūtra written, was a native of Sañderaka, and a devotee of the Jaina temple of Mahāvīra. That Pethaḍa and his six young brothers built two Jaina temples at Sañderaka is known from a praṇasti of the Anuyogadvāravīrtisūtraṇī written in 1514 A.D.

(45) NĀDLĀI

Nādlāi is a small village six Kms. north-west of Desūrī in Jodhpur Division of Rājasthān. In early times, it was
known by the names of Nadūlađāgikā,1 Nandakulavatī,2 Nāḍūlāi,3 Nāradapuri4, etc. The fact, that no less than sixteen temples are found here, is sufficient to prove that it was a prosperous town in early period. There are the remains of the old fort built by the Sonigarās. The fort hill is called Jayakāla, and is regarded as sacred by the Jainas as Satruṇ-jaya. This town was in existence even in the tenth century A.D.

Originally, Nāḍlāi was ruled by the Chauhāna rulers of Nāḍol. In 1143 A.D. (V.S. 1200), Rāyapāladeva was governing this place through his feudatory Thākura Rājadeva, son of Uddharaṇa of the Guhila line.5 In 1161 A.D. (V.S. 1218) or earlier, Kirtipāla, the youngest of the three sons of Ālhaṇa, was granted twelve villages including Nāḍulaï by his father.6 Kelhaṇa was ruling over this place from Nāḍol in 1171 A.D. as a feudatory of Kumārapāla, the Chālukya ruler of Gujarāt.7 In 1386 A.D., Rājā Raṇavīra, son of Mahārājādhirāja Vanavīra of the Chauhāna line, was ruling.8 In 1629 A.D., it was held by Mahārāṇā Jagatasmīха of Udaipur.9 In 1664 A.D., it was under the possession of Abhayarāja, who was a Meratiā Rājpūt, and Jāgiradāra of Nāḍlāi.10

The Chauhāna rulers of Nāḍlāi were followers of Śaivism and naturally, therefore, efforts were made to make this sect more popular, as is evident from the Śaiva temples that were constructed. In the twelfth century A.D., the temple of Mahādeva was known as the temple of Bhīvadeśvara. The maṇḍapa, akhasāma, and dāma of this temple were constructed in 1171 A.D. by Pāhīṇi, son of the sūtradhāra Mahā-

1. PRAS. WC, 1509, p. 42.
2. Ibid. See inscription of V.S. 1557.
3. Ibid. See inscription of V.S. 1721.
4. BPPI, pp 415, 629, 631, 697 and 703.
5. EI, XI, p. 41.
8. Ibid, No. 25.
9. NJI, No. 856.
10. PRAS. WC, 1909, p. 42.
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dūa, and his wife Jasadevi during the victorious reign of the Chālukya sovereign Kumārapāla, when Kelhaṇa was the ruler of Nāḍol. He was helped in this religious work by the utradhāra Mahidarā, and Indrarāka. There is also a beautiful sculpture of Kamalapujā, i.e., the persons cutting off their heads and offering them to God. Another Brāhmanical temple of this time is known as Tapesvara. It consisted of a shrine, circumambulatory passage, hall and porch.

We find very early traces of Jainism at Nāḍlāi on the basis of long established traditions and lively legends. They are so deeply rooted that there is left hardly any doubt for the people to think otherwise. But, we are definite of the existence of Jainism from the tenth century A.D. It is known from the inscription of 1500 A.D, that Yaśobhadra-sūri, the founder of Saṇḍeraka gachchha, visited this place in 907 A.D. Nāḍlāi remained a stronghold of Saṇḍeraka gachchha. An inscription of 1130 A.D. records a grant made to Mahāvīra, the god of the guild, belonging to Saṇḍeraka gachchha by a Chauhāna named Vināsārāka, son of Pāpayarā, and consisted of one-fourth of the Palas of oil at the oil-mill of Morakara.

Jainism flourished greatly at Nāḍlāi under the patronage of the Chauhāna rulers, who, though Hindus, were liberal in matters of religion. The subjects, irrespective of caste and creed, following the example of their ruling chiefs, participated in the religious affairs with great enthusiasm. An inscription of 1132 A.D. (V.S. 1189) speaks of a grant made by Rudrapāla, and Amṛtapāla, sons of Rāyapāla in conjunction with their queen mother Mānaladevi, to the Jaina saints. A committee consisting of the Pañchas of the town.

2. An inscription of 1629 A.D. speaks of the rebuilding by the whole Jaina community of Nāḍulāi of the temple, which was originally erected by Śaṃpratī, the grand son of Aśoka, the hero of Jaina traditions and legends (See NJI, No. 856). The author of the lījaya-praṭasti Mahākāśya writes that the temple of Neminātha of this place was constructed by Pradyumna Kumāra, son of Śrīkṛṣṇa (JTSS, p. 221).
3. In the fifteenth or sixteenth century, it was believed by the people that Yaśobhadra-sūri brought the Jaina temple from Khōḍa to Nāḍlāi by his magical power in 907 A.D.
4. PRAS. WC, 1909, p. 43.
5. EI, XI, p. 35.
was appointed to look after this religious benefaction. Thākura Rājadeva of Nāḍulāi, feudatory of Rāyapāladeva of Nāḍol, granted one-twentieth part of the income derived from the loads on bullocks going on their way or coming to Nāḍlāi in 1138 A.D. to meet the expenses of lamp, incense, flowers, worship and so forth of Neminātha for his spiritual merit. He was deeply devoted to Jainism, and organized the function of rathayātra for the sake of his mother, in the presence of the bankers, villagers, and the people of Province in 1143 A.D.; and made religious benefaction consisting of one viṃśopaka coin from the value of the pāilās accruing to him, and two pālikās from the palas of oil due to him from every oil-mill. At this time, the mahājānas and bankers of Nāḍulāi, after meeting in an assembly, made some donations for the temple of Mahāvīra. It consisted of some fractions of various commodities, in which they dealt. The Vanajārakas of the neighbouring villages, who as members of the floating population, could not naturally participate in the proceedings of the Mahājānas, met separately to give a donation for the pious ascetics in the temple of Mahāvīra. It consisted of twenty Pailās loaded on bullocks, and rupee one for each cart filled with commodities, coming under the class of Kirāṇās.

There were two old temples of Neminātha and Mahāvīra at Nāḍlāi in the twelfth century A.D. They were probably destroyed by the Muslims, and, therefore, rebuilt. The temple of Neminātha was rebuilt in 1386 A.D. by Vinayachanda-sūri during the reign of Mahārajā Vanavīra of the Chāhamāna lineage. In the other temple, originally dedicated to Mahāvīra, an image of Adinātha was installed in 1500 A.D. by Sihā and Samadā. His grand-father Sāyara had previously rebuilt the subsidiary cells, and hence it was known as Sāyarajinavasati. Besides, the Śāṅghas of the various places such as Muṅjapura, Viramagāma, Mehmedabad and Chāmpāner undertook the work of repairs of this temple bet-

1. El, XI, p. 36.
4. Ibid, No. 25.
5. PRAS. WC, 1909, p. 44.
These Samghas were induced to take up this work by the head of the Tapâ gachchha named Indranandi, or by his pupils Pramodasundara, and Saubhâgyanandi. Even the image of Ādinâtha had to be renewed, and this was done again by the descendants of Sâyara themselves in 1617 A.D., but the idol was installed by Vijayadevasûri of the Tapâ gachchha. Another inscription of 1664 A.D. says that it was caused to be made by Nâthâka, a poravâga of Nâdulâi and installed by Vijayasûri, when Abhayarâja was reigning.

Nâdulâi also remained a holy place even in medieval times. The founder of Kaçuâ sect, named Kaçuâ Shâh, was born here in 1440 A.D. Vijayadâmasûri conferred the title of Paṇḍita on Hiravijayasûri, the famous Jaina teacher of the time of Akbar. Vijayasenasûri, a disciple of Hiravijaya, was born in this town. Îsvarasûri, of the Saçâraka gachchha, composed the Sumatîcharitra in 1524 A.D. and he also renovated the Jaina temple of Ādinâtha, brought by Yasobhadra in 1540 A.D. Sântikusâla mentions the temple of Pârsvanâtha in his Gaudî Pârśvatirthamâlâ written in 1610 A.D. Samayasundara, a poet of the seventeenth century A.D., has given a lively and beautiful description of Nâdulâi, and its Neminâtha temple in his poem. Silavijaya also refers to it in his Tirthamâlâ.

(46) PÂLÎ

Pâlî is situated on the right bank of Bândî river, seventy-two km. south-east of Jodhpur city. Its ancient names were Pallikâ, Pallikâ and Pallî, which mean a town. It was a city of importance in early times. As a trade centre, it developed into the thickly populated town. Pallivalâs both

1. PRAS. WC, 1909, p. 44.
2. Ibid, p. 41.
3. JSSI, p. 509.
4. Ibid, p. 537.
5. JGK, p. 303.
7. JTSS, p. 223.
8. Ibid.
9. NJI, No. 809, 813, 814 and 815.
10. JSP, III, p. 430.
among the Jainas and the Brāhmaṇas originated from this place. It was a holy place for both of the Jainas as well as that of the Hindus. The Pallīvāla gachchha among the Jainas was also named after it.

In the beginning, Pālī was included in Mewār. An inscription¹ of 1083 A.D. records that Mahārājādhirāja Vīryasimha, on occasion of a solar eclipse, made the donation of the fifth part of the produce of Pallī to Unlāchārya, son of the most respectable Āchārya Sāhīya for the advancement of his own spiritual welfare, and that of his parents. Sāhīya resided at Nāgahrada, but his son Unlāchārya migrated elsewhere, probably to Pālī. This proves that Pālī was ruled by the Guhilas of Mewār at this time.

In the twelfth century A.D., Pālī probably became a part of the Nādol kingdom, and was ruled by the Nāduliya Chauhānas, feudatories of the Chālukyas of Gujārāt. It might be assumed that Arṇorāja Chauhāna of Ajmer had driven out the Chālukya feudatory Ālhaṇa from Nādol, his ancestral possession in 1149 A.D. (V.S. 1206). Advancing into the territory of Nādol which now in hostile hands, Kumārapāla captured Pālī in 1150 A.D. (V.S. 1207). This invasion, probably, involved the sack of the town, and destruction of some of its important buildings.² At this time, Sthirachandara-gani, a Jaina monk, who was copying there the Pańchāśaka-vṛitti of Abhayadeva, had to leave it unfinished for the time being, and to run away, and complete it at Ajmer.³ In 1153 A.D., it was under the sway of the Chālukya Kumārapāla, and his feudatory Vāhaḍadeva was ruling there.⁴ Even afterwards, it remained under the control of the Chālukya feudatory Jayasimha. He vacated his forts of Pālī and Nādol, and joining his hands with Dhārāvarsha Paramāra of Ābū, and his equally renowned brother Prahlādāna, faced the Muslim army in a pass near Ābū.⁵ Then, it remained under the possession of the Sonagarā Chauhānas of Jālor.

¹. EI, XXXI, p. 244.
³. GOS, XXI, p. 7.
⁴. ARSMJ, 1932, p.7.
⁵. HIED, II, pp. 228-231.
Rao Sihā, the founder of the Rāṭhors of Jodhpur, was associated with Pāli. He is said to have protected the life and wealth of the Brāhmaṇas of this place. Probably, he might have been killed at this place. His devalī with the inscription of 1273 A.D. (V.S. 1330) was discovered at Biṭhū, twenty-one km. north-west of Pāli. This place was probably attacked by an army of the Muslims, which caused destruction to the temples. It continued under the Sonagarā Chauhānas of Jālor up to the seventeenth century, who later recognized the suzerainty of the Rāṭhors of Jodhpur. The inscriptions in the Jaina Naulākhā temple tell us that in 1629 A.D., it was in the possession of a Sonagarā named Jagannātha, son of Jasawanta, during the reign of Gajasimha. After the death of Jasawanta, the Rāṭhor kingdom was seized by the imperial forces. However, by sheer dint of his chivalry, the Rāṭhor Durgādās succeeded in getting the patrimony of his master after a continuous fight for thirty years. During Ajit-simha’s reign, Pāli was ceded to Champāvat Rāṭhor. The Champāvatas continued to hold it till 1761 A.D., when it was annexed by the Jodhpur State.

Traces of Jainism may be noticed at Pāli from early times. It remained a place of pilgrimage of the Jaina. Madanakirti mentions Palli Jinesvara along with other holy places in the Śāsanachatuṣṭrīṃśatīkā, written in the thirteenth century A.D. A Brāhmaṇa named Viśvanātha, pupil of some old Bhāṭṭāraka, records Pāliśantījīna in the list of holy places. This definitely proves that there was a Jaina temple of Śāntinātha of the Digambara Jaina in early times. Siddhāsenasūri pays high respects to this place in his Sakalatīrthastotra. This place was well known by the name Pūrṇabhādra Mahāvīra. The temple, now, dedicated to Pārśvanātha was originally a Jaina temple of Mahāvīra. The most ancient part of the temple is the Gūḍhamanḍapa or closed hall, the pillars of which cannot be later than the tenth century A.D. The

1. JRI, p. 157.
2. PRAS. WC, 1908, p. 44.
4. GOS, LXXVI, p. 156.
Sravakas placed images in the temple of Mahāvīra in the twelfth century A.D., and performed their installation ceremony. Jejjaka, son of Bhrampati and Rampradevi, caused an image of Vīranātha in 1087 A.D. Another inscription of 1094 A.D. records that Deśa, son of Lakhamāṇa, made an image of Rishabhanātha in a chapel for the spiritual merit of the two elders Bhādā and Mādākā. In 1144 A.D., Mahāmāya Śrī Prithvīpāla, son of Mahāmāya Śrī Anandā, presented a pair of images of the Jinas Vimalanātha and Anantanātha to this temple. This change of the image from Mahāvīra to Pārśvanātha might have been caused owing to the Muslim invasions.

Pālī was visited by Jaina saints from time to time. From the Upadeśaratnākara, it is known that Yaśobhadrasūri got the āchāryapada at this place in 912 A.D. Even afterwards, he organized a pilgrimage to Pālī with the Saṃgha. He met a Brāhmaṇa saint named Somavijaya, whom he impressed with his personality. Somavijaya became his firm devotee. During the reign of Jayasimha Siddharāja, Viṇaprāṇī, pupil of Viṇāśimhasūri, visited this town. Some monks devoted themselves to learning. Sthirachandraṇa, a Jaina monk, started to write a copy of the Pañcchāpakavārtī of Abhayadevasūri in 1150 A.D. Vijayasimhasūri, pupil of Jinachandraṇa, wrote a commentary named Vineyajanhitaṭīkā on the Jambhūdvipasamāsa of Umāsvāti Vāchaka by putting up with Śreshṭhi Sāhāra in 1158 A.D. (V.S. 1215). Sāntimati, wife of Sādhārana of the Dharkaṭa caste, got a copy of the Daśavākiḷāka Chūṛiṇi written in the twelfth century for presenting it to some monk for self-merit. Guṇavinaya Upādhyāya, a pupil of Kshemarāja Jayasoma, wrote a commentary on the Sambodha Saptatikā of Jayaśekhara in 1594 A.D. (V.S. 1651). In 1616 A.D., the Śīlavatikathā was written by Hemaratnasūri.

1. PRAS. WG, 1908 p. 45.
2. Ibid, pp. 45-46.
3. KB, p. 1.
4. JASSI, p. 237.
6. JASSI, p. 278.
7. JGK, p. 237.
8. Ibid, pp. 45-46.
10. JSP, p. 29.
11. JASSI, p. 599.
12. JGK, p. 207.
1632 A.D., Sūrabāvani was composed.1 Bhāṭṭāraka Kshemendra-kirti of Mūlasarṅga visited Pāli in 1680 and 1691 A.D. By his inspiration, Śrāvakas worshipped the Jaina Tirthankaras and celebrated serveral functions in their honour.2 Pallivāla gachchha among the Jainas was named after Pāli in 1093 A.D. from the time of Āchārya Indradevasūri of Praddyotanāchārya gachchha.3 It is known by the various names such as Praddyotana gachchha, Pallakiya gachchha, Pālakiya gachchha, Palli gachchha and Pālivāla gachchha. The Āchāryas of this gachchha rendered valuable service to the Jaina literature. Maheśvara-sūri wrote the Kālikāchāryakathā in 1278 A.D. (V.S. 1335), and the Prabhāvakacharīta was composed by Āmadeva-sūri. Ajitadevasūri, and his disciple Hirānanda wrote several works in the sixteenth century. The Āchāryas of this gachchha performed the installation ceremony of images from time to time.4

Jainism had a great hold on masses during the reign of Kumārapāla at Pāli. His ordinance of forbidding the slaughter of animals on certain days was strictly enforced at this place. From the Dhvayātrayakāvya of Hemachandra, it is known that during his reign, Brāhmaṇas of this place were forced to use corn instead of flesh in sacrifices and the ascetics, who used to wear antelope skin, found it hard to procure it.

Along with Jainism, the Brahmanical religion was well established at Pāli. There were several temples, in which, the most prominent was that of Somanātha. Some of the walls or pillars of the temple belong to the ninth or tenth century A.D. An inscription dated 1152 A.D. refers itself to the reign of Kumārapāla.5 In the outside wall of the temple of Ānandakaraṇājī, there have been stuck up two or three pilasters of the Osia style. To the north east of the

1. JGK, p. 537.
2. Bhāṭṭāraka Patṭāvalī from 1697 to V.S. 1757. See Manuscript No. 430 in the Jaina temple of Sambhavanātha of Udaipur. See Appendix No. 17 for the text.
3. JSP, III, p. 430.
5. ARSMJ, 1925, No. 15, p. 3.
town is the temple of Pațalesvara Mahādeva, which is the oldest of the temple at present existing in Pālī. The base-
ment mouldings are very old, perhaps of the eighth century A.D.

The caste of Pallivālas among Jainas, and Hindus was named after Pālī. It is said that the people of this place were converted to Jainism in the eighth century A.D. by Ratnaprabhasūri, who converted the people of Osiā. The Pallivāla Jainas are known to have celebrated the consecration ceremony of images from time to time. In 1243 A.D., Dedā of this caste, installed an image of Mallinātha through Yaśo-
bhadra of Chandra gachchha. The people of this caste also led Saṃghas to holy places from Pālī. This caste became so much popular that it was mentioned in a list of the twelve and half castes of Mahājanas.

(47) KHEĐA

Kheḍa, the oldest capital of the Rāṭhors of Marwar, is situated at a distance of eight kms. from Nagar near the bank of the river Lūnī. Its old names, as known from inscrip-
tions and literature, are Kheta, Kheda and Lavana Kheđa. Kheda seems to be originally a small hamlet as the term denotes. Afterwards, it developed into a flourishing and extensive town covering an area of about sixteen kms. The neighbouring villages round it namely Tilavāḍā, Kallavāṣa and Taimāvāṣa were its different wards. It began to be called Lavanakheḍa because of the salt production.

Originally, Kheḍa is said to have been under the possession of the Paramāras of Jālor. Afterwards, it was taken away by the Chauhāna rulers of Nādol. Rāṇā Kelhana sent a special invitation to the Jaina saint Jinapatiśūri for his visit to Lavanakheḍa in 1194 A.D. Rāṇā Kelhana was

1. NJI, No. 1778.
2. JGK, p. 235.
3. JSP, XVIII, p. 187.
4. KB, p. 81.
5. Ibid., pp. 44 and 80.
the Chauhāna ruler of Nādol, the dates of whose inscriptions extend from 1163 A.D. to 1192. His brother Kīrtipāla was the founder of Sonigāra branch of the Chauhānas at Jālor. From the Sūndhā inscription, it is known that Udaisimha, the grandson of Kīrtipāla, whose inscriptions bear dates extending from 1205 A.D. to 1249, was the lord of several Districts including Kheda. G.H. OJHA, on the basis of Khyātās and late inscription of Jagamala dated 1630 A.D., holds that Sihā and his son Sonaga took Kheda from the Guhillas by force. This view is doubtful because the Guhila rule over Kheda is not known from the contemporary evidence of both literature and epigraphy. After Udaisimha, his successors Chāchigadeva, Sāmantasimha and Kānhaḍadeva continued to rule over a wide area including Kheda.

Sihā, the founder of the Rāthor dynasty of Kheda, was associated with Pālli and his devālī with the inscription of V.S. 1330 (1273 A.D.) was discovered at a village Bīṭhū, seventeen kms. north-west of Pālli. His sons Āsthāna and Senāga might have been appointed deputies to govern Kheda by the Chauhāna rulers of Jālor. The memorial stone of Dhūhada (son of Āsthāna) dated V.S. 1366 was discovered at a village Tiṅgāḍī near Kheda. He was probably killed in a fight against the forces of Alāuddīn Khilji, who invaded Mārwār at this time. The Khyātās also say that his son Rāyapāla took Bārmer from the Paramārās, but it was actually ruled by the Chauhānas at this time. Taking advantage of the defeat of the Chauhānas at the hands of the Muslims, the Rāthors increased their power. Mallinātha, son of Rāva Sālkha, was a powerful ruler, and conquered the neighbouring territory. It was named Māllānī after him. He assumed the title of Mahārāvala. His brother Virama ruled over Mahevā, which was named Virampura after him.

1. EI, IX, p. 73.
2. JRI, p. 77.
3. ARSMJ, p. 6.
6. Ibid, p. 170 (These Khyātās are not a reliable source for the early history of Rāthors).
He was killed at Gajanera, while fighting against Johiyās in 1383 A.D.¹ His son Chūndā captured Maṇḍor from the Muslims in about 1406 A.D.

From literary sources, it is known that Kheda was a great centre of Jainism in early times. Siddhasena-sūri, a poet of the twelfth century A.D., refers to it as a holy place.² It was visited by Jaina saints from time to time. They performed the installation ceremony of temples, and, images and propagated Jaina doctrines to masses. The different kinds of functions were organized by people in honour of Jaina saints.

There are traditions that Yaśobhadrasūri brought the Jaina temple from Kheda to Nāḍlāī. We may believe in them or not but there is little doubt in the existence of Jainism at this place in early times. An inscription on parikara, discovered here while digging a tank, records that Vaidya Manoratha, with the members of his family, constructed a toraṇa of the temple of Rishabhadeva for the merit of Vaidya Jasapāla, and its installation ceremony was performed by Vijayasimhasūri of Bhāvahaḍa gacchha in 1180 A.D.³ This proves the existence of the Jaina temple of Rishabha in the twelfth century A.D.

Uddharaṇa Sāha, who became a follower of the Khāratara gacchha in 1188 A.D. by the preachings of Jinapatisūri, was a person of great fame. At the request of Jinapatisuri, the Chauhāna ruler Prithvirāja of Ajmer, in company of a well-known merchant named Rāmadeva, paid a visit to Kheda in order to see Uddharaṇa. Uddharaṇa constructed a beautiful Jaina temple of Śantināṭha at this place, whose consecration ceremony was performed by Jinapatisūri in 1201 A.D.⁴ This is further known to us from the praśasti of a copy of the Kalpasūtra.⁵ The verses of Śantirāsa⁶ were also composed on occasion of the

¹. JRI, p. 190. (These Khyyālas are not a reliable source for the early history of Rājhors.)
². GOS, LXXVI, p. 156.
³. JSP, XVIII, p. 187.
⁴. KB, p. 44.
⁵. SPS, p. 46.
⁶. JSP, XVIII, p. 214.
consecration ceremony of this temple. Lakshmīgāni, a poet of the fourteenth century, describes it in his Śaṅtinātha-deva-raśa.¹ This temple was existing in 1326 A.D. because Jina-kusala-sūri, while going from Bārmer to Jalor, stayed at Lavāna-Khedā to worship it.² All these facts indicate that this Jaina temple was very famous. From the old remains of Jāsol, originally brought from Kheda, it is known that there was also a Jaina temple of Mahāvīra at Kheda in early times. The inscription of 1189 A.D. (V.S. 1246) records the gift of two images of Sambhava, the third Jaina Tīrtnaṅkara, by Soniga (son of Sahadeva) to the temple of Mahāvīra at Kheda belonging to the gachchha of Bhānadevā-chārya. Another inscription engraved on the pillar of V.S. 1210 speaks of one Vinayasīha as having made a vāliga grant. These old temples are no more now, and probably, they were destroyed by the Muslim invasions.

Khedā was frequently visited by Jinapatiśūri. In 1186 A.D., he spent chaturmāsa (rainy season) at this place. In 1187, 1190 and 1191 A.D., he honoured Jaina saints by giving them titles.³ At the special invitation of Rānā Kelhaṇa, he again visited this place in 1197 A.D., and celebrated the function of Daksināvartārātrikā Vālāvaranā⁴ with great pomp and show. From the Jineśvara-Sūri-Sanyama Śrī Vivāhavārana-rāsa (marriage of restraint with wealth) of Somamūrti written in 1275 A.D., it is known that Jinapatiśūri initiated Ambada-kumāra, son of Nemichanda Bhanḍārī in the temple of Śāntināṭha and named Viraprabha. After becoming Āchārya, Viraprabha was known by the name of Jineśvarasūri. This work is specially related to Khedā⁵ and shows how preparations were made at the time of initiation of Ambada.

Besides Jainism, other religions were also followed by the people. The temple of Ranachhoḍa of this place is the significant temple. It is surrounded by the dilapidated walls.

¹. JSP, XVIII, p. 214. See also Appendix No. 18 for the text.
². KB, p. 80.
³. Ibid, pp. 34-44.
⁴. Ibid, p. 44. See Appendix No. 19 for the text.
⁵. JSP, XVIII, p. 187. See Appendix No. 20 for the text.
It consists of a sanctum, porch, hall, circumambulatory passage, and vestibule. The pillars and ceiling of the hall are of the same style as those of the temple of Vimalasā on Mount Ābū. Over the entrance of the shrine is Garuḍa, and above, the Nāvagraha. Its outside walls are decorated with the figurés of Dikpālas, Vishṇu, Narasimha, Balarāma, and Kārtikeya.¹ The early date of this temple may be further proved by the old inscriptions discovered in it. This temple was rebuilt in 1630 A.D. during the reign of Jagamala. Situated nearby are the temples of Brahmā and Bhairava. The Mahādeva temple of this place seems to be of the twelfth century A.D.

(48) AJMER

Ajmer, centrally situated in Rajasthan, was known by various names such as Ajayameru, Ajayadurga, Ajayagaḍha and Ajayapūra. It was founded at the foot of the hill, on which stands the renowned fort, now called Tārāgarh. In early times, this fort was called Ajayadurga, because it was built by Ajairāja. The name Ajayameru became famous after the fort. HARABILAS SHARDA ascribes the foundation of this town to Ajaiḍāla in the sixth century A.D. on the basis of the *Jaina Chhatṛis.*² But the *Jaina Chhatṛis,* which have been attributed by SHARDA to the eighth century, actually belonged to the eighteenth century.³ That the town below the fort of Ajayadurga was known by the name of Prithvipūra is clear from a *Praśasti of the Āvaśyakanitṛyukti* written in 1141 A.D.⁴ It seems that Prithvipūra was founded by Ajaiḍāla in memory of his father Prithvirāja I in the twelfth century A.D. In course of time, Prithvipūra was changed into Ajayadurga. The supreme strategical position, and the impregnable nature of the hill compelled Ajayapāla to shift his capital from Sāmbhar to Ajmer before 1123 A.D. The literary works give us some information about its planning. The *Prabhāvaka-

1. PRAS. WC, 1912. p. 55.
2. AHD, p. 123.
4. GOS, LXXVI, p. 129.
charitra tells us that fort of Ajmer was surrounded by a belt of thorn trees and bushes. From the Prithvirajavijaya,\(^1\) we learn that it was full of temples, multi-storeyed houses, step-wells, tanks, and \textit{prapās}.

During the reign of the Chauhānas, Ajmer became a premier city of the Northern India. From the time of Ajayarāja, the Chāhamānas of Sākambhari started the career of aggressive campaigns against their neighbours in order to establish an empire. He defeated Naravarman, the Paramāra ruler of Mālwa, and captured alive his General Sollana after slaying the three warriors Chāchchiga, Sindhula and Yasorāja.\(^2\) The \textit{Prithvirajavijaya}\(^3\) credits him also with a victory over the Muslims of Ghazanī. He was succeeded by his son Arñorāja in 1132 A.D.\(^4\) The fight against the Muslims continued. These foreign invaders reached as far as Ajmer. Arñorāja defeated them, and built the \textit{Ānā Sāgara} Lake to purify the land, which had become impure owing to the spilling of Musalman blood in a battle fought at that place.\(^5\) He fought three wars against the Chālukya rulers of Gujarat, one with celebrated Siddharāja Jayasimha, and the other two with the still more powerful king Kumārapāla, successor of Jayasimha. Kumārapāla invaded Ajmer and forced him to accept his suzerainty.\(^6\)

After Arñorāja, Viśaladeva Vigraharāja ascended the throne of Ajmer in about 1150 A.D. His reign is a landmark not only in the history of Ajmer but also in the history of India. He was the most powerful ruler of the Chauhāna dynasty, and established a vast empire by his conquests. He conquered Delhi from the Tomara. While carrying on conquest in the Punjab, he fought a number of battles with the Muslims. In the South, he plundered Pallikā (Pāli), burnt

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1. PV, p. 129.
2. EI, XXVI, pp. 93-94.
3. PV, p. 128.
4. From the Basai inscription, it is known that Ajayarāja, died in V.S. 1189 (1132 A.D.), and his three queens committed \textit{Sati} along with him. See EI, XXXVII, No. 29.
6. EI, II, p. 422.
Jabalipura (Jālor) and sacked Nādol. Formerly, all these territories were included in the kingdom of the Chālukya ruler Kumārapāla. After that Prithvirāja II, Someśvara and Prithvirāja III became the rulers of Ajmer one after the other. During the reign of Prithvirāja III, Shahābuddin Ghori invaded India. First, he was defeated by Prithvirāja III. At last in 1192 A.D., Shahābuddin Ghori again attacked India and became successful in defeating Prithvirāja III. He was taken prisoner and killed. Shahābuddin took possession of Ajmer, but returned to Ghor after giving it to Govindarāja, the son of Prithvirāja III. Harirāja drove his nephew Govindarāja from the throne and himself became the ruler. Qutb-ud-din Aibaka seized this place from him and appointed the Muslim Governor of this place in 1195 A.D.

After the downfall of the Chauhānas, the importance of Ajmer somehow declined, still its strategical position was recognized for controlling the Rājpūt States. It changed hands many times after the decline of the Chauhānas. For the first few years, it remained sometimes in the possession of the Sultāns of Delhi, and sometimes in that of the rulers of Mewār. Afterwards in 1455 A.D., it was taken away by Mahmūd Khiljī, the Sultān of Māṇḍū. Mahārāṇā Kumbha, the Sisodiā ruler of Mewār, recaptured it. In 1533 A.D., Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt acquired Ajmer, but Rāo Viramdeva of Mertā drove out the Gujarāt Governor, and took possession of Ajmer in 1515 A.D. Māladeva seized this place from Viramdeva, but he had to surrender it to Sher Shāh. On the decline of the Sūr Dynasty, Hajikhān, the slave of Sultān Shershāh Sūr, came and took possession of this place in 1556 A.D. Afterwards, Akbar's General Kāsimkhan Nishapūrī attacked Ajmer, and obtained possession of it. Akbar made it the headquarters for his operations in Rājpūtana and Gujarāt. Ajmer enjoyed a sort of peace during the Mughal rule up to 1720 A.D. It was also ruled by the Scindhias of Gwalior. Finally, the British took over its possession in 1818 A.D.

The Chauhāna rulers of Ajmer were highly devoted to Śaivism. Ajayarāja was a Śaiva, so also was his son Arṇorāja,
who built a temple named after his father on the Lake Anasāgara.\textsuperscript{1} Thal Vigraharāja was an ardent worshipper of Śiva is proved by the Harakeli drama and Prithvīrāja-Vijayama-hākāvya. Prithvīrāja II’s queen Suḍhavā built the Suḍhavēsvara temple at Menāl in Mewār.\textsuperscript{2} Being a Śaiva, Someśvara assumed the title of Pratāpa Laṅkaśvara. He erected five temples, of which one was dedicated to Tripurasha and another to Vaidyanātha.\textsuperscript{3}

Though followers of Śaivism, the Chauhāna rulers of Ajmer were liberal in their religious views. They honoured Jaina teachers, granted lands to Jaina temples, and took part in their religious ceremonies. Ajayarāja permitted the Jainas to build temples in the newly founded city of Ajmer, and presented a golden Kalāśa to the temple of Pārśvanātha.\textsuperscript{4} A Śrāvaka named Kshemandhara built a beautiful temple costing about 1600 drammas.\textsuperscript{5} Arnorāja gave to the followers of the Kharatara gachchha an extensive plot of land for the construction of a temple at Ajmer.\textsuperscript{6} The Śvetāmbara Jaina scholar Dharmaghoshaśūri received a Jayapada from him by defeating his Digambara rival Gunachandra.\textsuperscript{7} Vigraharāja IV built vihāras, participated in their religious ceremonies and on the representation of one of their religious teachers Dharamaghoshaśūri, prohibited the slaughter of animals on the Ekādaśī day.\textsuperscript{8} He is also said to have hoisted the flag staff of the Jaina temple known as Rājavihāra at Ajmer.\textsuperscript{9} Prithvīrāja II and Someśvara granted the villages of Morājhari and Revanā to meet the expenses of the temple of Pārśvanātha of Bijaulī.\textsuperscript{10} In the court of Prithvīrāja III, a debate was held in 1182 A.D. between Jinapatisūri, and Padmaprabha,
a Chaityavāsi of Upakeśa gachchha in which Jinapatisūri emerged victorious.¹

As the Chauhāna rulers were great supporters of Jainism, Ajmer was frequently visited by Jaina saints for its propagation. During the reign of Arñorāja, Jinadattasūri came to this place to perform the installation ceremony of the Jaina temple built by Thākura Āsādatta.² He died here, and was cremated at a place, which came to be known as Dādābāri. His disciple Jinaptisūri spent the rainy season in 1178 A.D.³ The old stūpa of Jinadattasūri was repaired, and made big in size by his efforts. He also initiated some monks and nuns, and performed the installation ceremony of Ambikā sikhara. The Saṅgha of Ajmer participated in a pilgrimage to holy places organized by Abhayakumāra with Jinapatisūri.⁴

Even after the Chauhānas, Jainism was followed by the people. In the thirteenth century A.D., it was a seat of Bhatṭārakas of the Mūlasaṅgha, whose names are Vasantakīrti, Prakshāla-kīrti, Šantikīrti, Dharmachandra, Ratnakīrti II, and Prabhāchandra II.⁵ Some of their names are found mentioned in the Bijaulī inscriptions. The installation ceremony of images was performed in medieval times, and to witness it, people came from the neighbouring places. In 1280 A.D., Manoratha got the installation ceremony of Sachikādevi, and other images performed through Padmachandra.⁶ In 1460 A.D., Gaṅgā, Sīhā and Getā of the Śrīmāla caste for the merit of their parents performed the installation ceremony of Vimalānātha through Jayaprabhāsūri.⁷ Again, Ajmer became a seat of the Bhatṭārakas in medieval times. In about 1690 A.D., Ratnakīrti separated himself

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1. KB, pp. 25-33.
2. Ibid, p. 16.
3. Ibid, p. 25.
4. Ibid.
5. IA, XX, p. 354. Even before the foundation of Ajmer, Jainism was prevalent in this area. At a village Rūpanagar near Ajmer, there are the nishedhikās of Meghasenāchārya of Sam. 1018 and Padmasenāchārya of V.S. 1076 respectively. See PRAS. WC, 1910-11, p. 43.
6. NJI, III. No. 2565.
7. PLS, No. 134.
from the Nāgaur Paṭṭa, and established his seat at Ajmer.\(^1\)
There are various chahūtras, and chhattris built over the remains of Bhaṭṭārakas, Āchāryas and Paṇḍitas. They rendered a valuable service to Jainism in medieval times. In 1795 A.D., during the reign of Daulat Rāo Śindhiā, a grand function of the consecration ceremony of images was performed by Dhar- madāsa through Bhaṭṭāraka Bhuvanakirti.\(^2\)

Ajmer remained a great centre of art and literature in early times. Several copies of the manuscripts were prepared. In 1141 A.D., a copy of the Āvaṭyakasūtra niryukti\(^3\) was made by Mādhala in order to present it to the nun Bandhumati during the reign of Arṇorāja. Sthirachandragani, a Jaina monk, who was copying the Paṅchāśakauṛitti of Abhayadeva at Pāli, had to leave it unfinished for the time being and to run away and complete it at Ajmer.\(^4\) This prāvati is important as it proves the invasion of the Chālukyas of Gujarat on the dominions of the Chauhānas. The copies of the Upadeśa-padaṭīkā, and Kavirahasyaauṛitti were made respectively in 1155 A.D. and 1159 during the reign of Vigrāharājadeva.\(^5\) Vigrāharāja was himself a great scholar, and wrote the Harakelī drama. He gave patronage to scholars. The most famous among them was Someśvara, who wrote the drama of Lalitavigrāharāja. Vigrāharāja built the Sarasvatimandira, which is famous by the name of Āḍhāi-din-kā-Jhomprā\(^6\) at present. Probably, students from the neighbouring places flocked to it for learning. There are strong traditions\(^7\) among the Jainas that it was a Jaina

1. IA, XX, p. 354.
2. See Appendix No. 21 for the text.
3. GOS, LXXVI, p. 129.
5. Ibid, p. 5.
6. The name Āḍhāi-din-kā-Jhomprā is not an original one but given in the time of the Marāṭhās, because the Fākiras began to assemble here to celebrate the Urs anniversary, which lasted for two and a half days.
7. This temple is said to have been built by Viramadeva Kālā in celebration of the Jaina festival Paṅcha Kalyāṇa Mahotsava in 660 A.D. (V. S. 717) at a cost of seven lakhs of rupees. The foundation stone was laid by the Jaina Bhaṭṭāraka Śrī Vasvanandaji.

In the Jaina temple of Dharmaḍāsa at Ajmer, there is a record, which states that the building was completed on Māghaḍ 9th Sam. 1132.
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The head of a Jaina image, found in the excavations of this place, strengthens the view of its being a Jaina temple. The discovery of nine or ten Jaina marble images in 1856 A.D., bearing the inscriptions of the twelfth century A.D. in the immediate neighbourhood of Ḍhār-maśāna, may prove that they originally belonged to this building. Besides, this building resembles the Jaina temples of the same period at Abū. The early European writers such as TOD and FERGUSSON supposed it to be a Jaina temple, which was converted into a mosque by the Muslim rulers. In the beginning, it was probably a Jaina college building meant for higher education. Not only the study of Jaina scriptures, but also the study of other branches of learning such as drama and poetry was pursued. In this way, we may account for the drama of Vīgraḥarāja inscribed here. Prithvīrāja III was also fond of learning. Jayānaka, the author of the Prithvīrāja-viṣvadharma mahākavya, adorned his court. The other famous scholars were Vidyāpati Gauḍa, Janārdana, Viśvarūpa and Prithvībhāṭṭa. Prithvībhāṭṭa may be probably identified with Chandabaradā. There was a Minister named Padmanābha to look after these scholars.

Jaina Bhaṭṭārakas and their disciples rendered a valuable service to literature in medieval times. Tejapāla wrote the Varāhacharitra, Pārśvanātha-charitra and Sambhavanātha-charitra in the fifteenth century A.D. Sāha Thākura, pupil of Bhaṭṭāraka Viśālakīrti, composed the Santinātha-charitra,

1. ARRMA, 1918-19, p. 7.
2. JBSB, VII, p. 51.
4. HIEA, p. 263.
5. GOS, LXXVI, p. 370. The Jaina sources inform us that Vīgraḥarāja constructed several Jaina monasteries and he is also said to have hoisted a flag over Rājavihāra, which most probably was this Sarasvatimandira.
6. KB, p. 25.
7. Ibid.
8. PV, 129.
10. Ibid, XII, 50.
and the *Mahāpurāṇakālikā* respectively in 1583 and 1593 A.D. when Akbar was ruling over Ajmer. Guṇachandra wrote some eight small works including *Devarāśa* in 1576 A.D. Besides, several copies of the manuscripts were prepared by the inspiration of *Bhaṭṭārakas*.

The caste and the *gotras* were founded after the name of Ajmer. The Ajmerā caste is mentioned in a list of the Mahājana castes. The Ajmirā *gotra* is found among the Mahēśvarīs and the Khandelavāla Jainas. Probably, the natives of Ajmer migrated to other places, where they were known after the original place. Gradually, they assumed the form of caste and *gotra*. Sunakhali, wife of Sāha Surjana of Ajmer of this *gotra*, got the *Pradyumnacharitra* written, and gave it to the nun Vinayaśrī in 1538 A.D.¹ There is also mention of this *gotra* in the inscription of 1594 A.D.² Among the Khandelavāla Jainas, this Ajmerā *gotra* was established before the sixteenth century.

**(49) JĀNGALŪ**

Jāngalū is about sixteen kms south-west of Desnoka, a railway station on the Jodhpur Bikaner Railway in Bikaner District. This town was named after the old Province Jāngalū covering an area of Bikaner State. In the inscriptions of 1176 A.D., both Jāngalakūpadurga³, and Ajayapura⁴ are mentioned as the name of this place. Jāngalakūpadurga seems to be an older name of the town than that of Ajayapura. As the name suggests, there was a fort in early times, and its old remains such as the gates and palaces are still noticed.

In very early times, Jāngalū was ruled by the Chauhānas. The manuscript of the sixteenth century A.D. (in the Anūp Sanskrit Library, Bikaner) gives an account how Jāngalū was colonized by the Dahiya Rājpūts during the

1. PS, p. 138.
2. See Appendix No. 22 for the text.
3. BJLS, No. 1543.
time of Prithvirāja, the Chauhāna ruler of Ajmer. Fantastical as the account may seem to be, there is a definite truth in it—namely the mention of Ajiyapura or rather Ajayapura as the old name of Jāngalū. Prithvirāja Chauhāna, who ruled in the latter half of the twelfth century, cannot be the founder of Ajayapura, which is mentioned in the inscription of 1119 A.D. Ajayapura, like Ajmer, seems to have been founded by Ajayarāja, who became the ruler in the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. His rule over Jāngalū my be inferred from his coins discovered at Bhatner. The Chauhāna rulers seem to have governed this area through the Dahiyās, who were their feudatories.

During the reign of the Chauhānas in the twelfth century A.D., Jainism was followed at Jāngalū. There was a Vidhichaitya of Mahāvīra. An inscription of 1119 A.D. appearing on the pedestal of a brass image of Śāntinātha in the temple of Mahāvīrasvāmī at Bikaner records that in the town of Jāngalakūpadurga, this image was established in the temple of Vīra by Tilhaka, son of Tātāka. At this time, the image of Mahāvīra was also installed in this temple.

After the twelfth century A.D., Jāngalū continued to remain under the possession of the Chauhānas for some time more. An inscription, on the devali dated 1231 A.D. found at Rāyasimara, records the death of the Chauhāna ruler Vikrama Simha, son of Lākhaṇa. This inscription is important as it may indicate that Jāngalū was under the Chauhānas

1. JRAS, XIII, p. 202. A certain Ajiyāde, daughter to hero, a Dahiyā of Rīnōt, was being escorted to Ajmer to be married to Prithvirāja. On her way, she passed through the Jāngalū country and, finding it uninhabited resolved to rehabilitate it and caused there a fort to be built, which after her own name, she called Ajiyapura. Subsequently, Rājā Prithvirāja came to Ajayapura for ḫikār (hunting) and there he met Ajiyāde, whom he took to Ajmer, whilst the Dahiyās, who formed her escort, remained in the fort built by her.
2. BJLS, No. 21.
3. The old name of Ajmer was also Ajayapura. See. JSP; p.77.
4. BRI, p. 70.
5. BJLS, No. 1543.
7. BRI, p. 55.
before the rule of the Sāṅkhalās, and probably Rāyasī obtained it after putting Vikrama-simha to death.

In about the nineteenth century A.D., Rāyasī, son of Mahipāla and grandson of the third Rāṇā of Rūṇa in Mārwar, emigrated from Rūṇa to Jaṅgalū, and succeeded in establishing the sovereignty over this place. His descendants were called Jāṅgalavā Śāṅkhalās to distinguish them from the Rūṇechā Śāṅkhalās, who continued to rule over Rūṇa. Rāyasī, the emigrant from Rūṇa, first established himself at Rāsīsara, a village about sixteen kms north-west of Jāṅgalū. As the name of the village Rāsīsara is evidently derived from Rāyasī, it seems reasonable to conclude that it was founded by him. From Rāsīsara, he directed his ambitious aims to the possession of Jaṅgalū, and found a precious instrument to his schemes in Keśo, an Upādhiyo Brāhmaṇa of the Dahiyās.¹ There is a tank named Keśolaya, which is said to have been built by Keśava. An inscription on devali dated 1292 A.D. near this tank bears the name Keśava.²

After Rāyasī, his son Lakhanaśi became the master of Jāṅgalū. He founded the town Lakhaniśara after his own name in the Bikaner State. After him, Khīṁvasī and Kumārasī became the rulers of this place one after another. Khīṁvasī had a daughter named Dūlhadevi, who was married to Rāṇā Karnadeva of Jaisalmer. A Kirtistambha inscription records the digging of a tank at Vāsi (twenty four Kms north west of Bikaner) by Rāṇī Dūlhadevi, a daughter of Rāṇa Kshema Simha of Jāṅgalakūpa and wife of Rāvala Karnadeva of Jaisalmer in 1324 A.D.³ The two devali inscriptions at Rāsīsara refer to two sons, namely Vikrama and Pratāpasi, (of Rāṇo Kumārasī, the great grandson of Rāyasī) who died in 1325 and 1329 A.D. respectively.⁴ After Kumaraśi, Rājasī, Mūnjā, Udā, Panyapāla and Māṇakapāla got respectively the possession of Jāṅgalū.

¹. MNK, pp. 238-239.
². BRI, p. 55.
⁴. BRI, p. 72.
Nāpo, the son of Māṇakapāla and grandson of Panyapāla, is perhaps the most famous name in the genealogies of the Sāṅkhālās of Jāṅgalū. He was a contemporary of Rāva Bikā, the founder of Bikaner, and is believed to have greatly helped him in establishing at Jāṅgalū, and gradually conquering all the neighbouring territories of the Bhātīs, the Jāts, and the Mohilas, and thus, he founded the great State of Bikāner. It is on account of Nāpo’s services, says Naiṇāsī, that his descendants to this day enjoy the privilege of keeping the keys of the fort of Bikāner.

(50) BIKAMPUR

The old name of Bikampur, situated one hundred fifty-five Kms far away from Jaisalmer, was Vikramapura. It is quite different from Bikaner, which is also mentioned as Vikramapura in old Prasastis of manuscripts and inscriptions. An inscription of 1179 A.D. records that Rāṇā Kājīa, a Paramāra feudatory of Prithvīrāja Chauhāna, ruled over this town. At this time, it was the headquarters of the Maṇḍala (Province) including the territory of Phalavardhikā. After the twelfth century A.D., it was probably ruled over by the Bhātī Rajpūts of Jaisalmer. From the Khyātas, it is known that Rāva Raṇamala, who ruled in the fifteenth century A.D. over Maṇḍor, fought against the Bhātīs of Jaisalmer. Bāṅkīdāsa specially mentions that Raṇamala took possession of Bikampur by killing the Bhātī chief Kelhana, who was governing this town. The truth of this statement is further confirmed by the Jaina inscription dated V.S. 1524 on the image, which records that Nagarāja installed an image through Jinachandrasūri when Raṇamala was ruling over this place. At this time, Lakshmana was king of Jaisalmer, and Kelhana, governing this town, was his relative. Again, it was probably taken away by Lakshmana’s successor Vairi

1. MNK, p. 243.
2. JRAS, XIII, p. 85.
3. MNK, II, p. 95.
4. BDK, I, pp. 36-37.
5. NJI, III, No. 2526.
Simha, who is said to have made the gates, and places at this place.

Bikampur was a stronghold of Jainism in early times. The Kharatara gachchha of the Śvetāmbara Jainas specially remained popular at this town. The Āchāryas of this gachchha visited this place from time to time. In about 1111 A.D., Jinavallabhasūri came to this place, from where, he proceeded to Nāgaur.2 Jinadattasūri, who was a contemporary of the Chauhāna ruler Arṇorāja, (1133—1151 A.D.), erected a temple of Mahāvīra.3 From Viddyādharpurī, he sent his work named Chaityagrihavidhisvarūpa Charchari Kāvyā to the Śrāvakas of Vikramapura for study.4 One of them named Devadhara tore it to pieces. Jinadattasūri, therefore, had to send them the second manuscript. Afterwards, at the request of Devavardhana and other Śrāvakas, he himself paid visit to this place. In 1148 A.D., he made Jina Chandrasūri his Paṭṭadhara.5

Jinapatisūri remained specially associated with Bikampur. He was born in 1153 A.D., initiated to monkhood in 1160 A.D. and placed on paṭṭa in 1166 A.D: In 1173 and 1175 A.D., he visited this place in order to initiate several persons to monkhood. He also performed a consecration ceremony of the stūpa of Bhāṇḍāgārika Guṇa Chandra Gāṇi in 1175 A.D. In 1183 A.D., he took penances for six months. The Śrāvakas of Vikramapura participated in the Saṁgha organized by Abhayakumāra to holy places under Jinapatisūri from Anahillapātan in 1185 A.D. In 1193 A.D., he conferred the title of Āchārya on Padmaprabha, who was then called Sarvadevasūri. He made Bhavadeva, Jina Bhadra and Vijayachandra as Vraṭīs in 1209 A.D., and Guṇaśīla was given the title of Vāchanāchārya.6

The activities of Jainism continued at Vikramapura even afterwards. In 1265 A.D., Jinesvārasūri initiated

1. AAR, II, p. 288.
2. KB, p. 13.
3. Ibid, p. 58.
5. Ibid.
6. KB, pp. 23, 24, 33, 34 and 44.
several persons to monkhood. In 1283 A.D., when Jina-
prabhodhasūri came to Jaisalmer, the Śrāvakas of Vikramapura
participated in religious functions organized in his honour.
At the request of the Saṅgha, he visited Vikramapura, where
he worshipped the temple of Mahāvīra. The various
functions such as Samyaktvadhāraṇa, Mālāgraṇha Dikṣādāna, and
Nandimahotsava were organized in the Vidhichaitya of
Mahāvīra in 1284 A.D. Some persons were also initiated
to monkhood on this occasion.

(51) PHALODDI

Phalodhi is situated about one hundred thirteen Kms
north-by-north-west of Jodhpur City. In order to distinguish
it from Pārśvanātha Phalodhi near Mertā, it is known
Pokaraṇa Phalodhi as being situated very close to Pokaraṇa.
Its early names were Vijayapura, and Vijayanagarī. In the
beginning, it was ruled by the Pavāras. An inscription of
1088 A.D. (V.S. 1145) in the temple of Kalyāṇarāya refers
to Rājā Hathadeva Pavāra. In 1179 A.D., it was included in
the District of Vikramapura, (now known as Bīkampur in
Jaisalmer District) ruled over by Rāṇā Kaṭiā, a Pavāra feudatory
of the Chauhāna ruler Prithvīrāja of Ajmer. In text of the
inscription dated 1179 A.D., Rāṇā Kaṭiā is described as the
son of the Mahāsāmanta Pālhaṇa, a Pavāra of the Kaundī-
nyasagotra. This Pālhaṇa is probably the same as Pālhaṇasi,
the son of Sākhālo Chohala, the founder of Rūṇečchā branch
of the Pavāras.

Phalodhi was well known by the name Vijayapura or
Vijayanagara in the twelfth century A.D. Abdul Rahmān,
son of Mirasena, a weaver of the Muslim community who
residing in the western part of India gives in his Apabhramśa
work named Sandeśarāsaka, an interesting account of the

1. KB, p. 58.
2. Ibid.
3. JASB, XII, p. 85. See also BHSR.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. MNK, p. 235.
message sent by a love-lorn lady from Vijayanagara to her husband, who had gone to Kambhāta (Cambay) to earn riches, and had not cared to return for years.\(^1\) The messenger is a traveller going to Cambay from Multān. Vijayanagara has been wrongly identified with Bikampur in Jaisalmer State\(^2\), but actually, it seems to be an old name of Phalodhi.

The Lokesvara temple, now, known as the Kalyāṇarāya of Phalodhi, was famous in the twelfth century A.D. The inscription of V.S. 1145 in this temple refers to Rājā Hathadeva Pavāra probably in connection with some grant. This inscription proves that this temple was existing earlier than the period of the eleventh century A.D. Another inscription of 1179 A.D. records some privileges granted to it by Rāṇa Kaṭiā, a feudatory of Prithvīrāja Chauhāna of Ajmer. He, actually, lived at Bikampur, the District headquarters of the Chauhāna kingdom, but came to worship the deity of this place.

It is not known as to when the place changed its old name of Vijayapura into that of Phalodhi. There was a period of obscurity in the life of this town. It seems that it might have been destroyed by the incessant incursions of Mohammedans, as also severe famines, which might have depopulated it. When the Pavāras lost their domain of Bārmer, it was completely in ruins. It was on the ruins of Vijayanagari that the new city of Phalodhi was founded in about the middle of the fifteenth century A.D. by Rāva Naro, the Rāṭhor prince of Mārwār. Phalodhi, as also proved by inscriptions, is a derivation of Phalavardhikā. This place is said to be named Phulūdhirovāsa from Phulūdhi, a Pallivāla Brāhmaṇī, who had come to live there. It is after the name of this Brāhmaṇī that Naro called the new city Phalodhi.

All the Jodhpur chronicles agree in tracing the Rāṭhor colonization of Phalodhi back to the time of Rāva Sūjo who succeeded his brother Sātala on the throne of Jodhpur from 1489 to 1515 A.D. Sūjo sent Naro towards the west to inhabit some depopulated land. Naro went and discovered

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1. SJS, XXII, pp. 78-94.
2. The Struggle for Empire, p. 350.
the vestiges of the old Vijayanagari, and decided to settle there. From the inscription found under the porch of the innermost gate of the fort, it is clear that Naro’s settlement at Phalodhi took place in 1475 A.D. From the same inscription, it also appears that the innermost enclosure of the fort, was not erected by Rāva Hammīra, as is generally believed, but by Naro himself. Naro soon after fell upon Pokaraṇa, the neighbouring place of Phalodhi, and occupied it. The conquest of Pokaraṇa brought no good luck to Naro. The dispossessed Rāva Khivo, and his son Lūko sought refuge in his neighbourhood of Bārmer and Koṭaro and started the struggle. Unfortunately, he lost life in this struggle. After that, his son Goyanda, who was merely a boy, became the ruler. He too could not sit at rest since Lūko continued to trouble him. In such circumstances, Goyanda thought it better to cede a part of his territory to Lūko to set him at rest. Hammīra proved to be an illustrious ruler. He built the Kota and gates in 1513 A.D. Besides, Hammīra is said to have dug a well inside the fort and constructed a palace for royal residence. He extended the boundaries of his State by taking from the Bhāṭis Kundala and Kiraro.

Hammīra was succeeded by his son Rāmasimha in 1532 A.D. After him, his brother Dūṅgarasi became the ruler. But, he could not resist the rising tide of Māladeo’s power (Jodhpur Ruler), and lost Phalodhi. Māladeo assigned the newly conquered city to his son Udaismha; later on during Akbar’s rise, it was granted to a chief of Jaisalmer (possibly Rāvala Bhīma) by the emperor, and was subsequently included for a short time in Bikaner territory with the imperial consent, when Rāyasimha of Bīkāner was ruling. The rule of the Rājā of Bikaner marks for Phalodhi a period of peace and prosperity. Jahāṅgīr assigned it to Rājā of Sūrajasimha of Jodhpur. Again, it was seized by the ruler of Bīkāner. But eventually, Mahārājā Ajit-simha recovered it, and since then, it formed a part of Jodhpur State.

1. JASB, XII, p. 85. See also BHSR.
Naraina is a small station on the metre gauge line of the western railway between Phulera and Ajmer; its distance from the latter place being sixty-six Kms north-east. This town was in existence in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. Its old names as known from the literary and epigraphical sources are Naranayana, Narana and Nārānaka. When it was under the possession of the Chauhānas of Sākambhari and Ajmer, it was considered to be a place of great strategical importance. In 1172 A.D., Prithvīrāja III is said to have pitched his first camp at this place. Its military importance continued even up to the time of Rāṇā Sāṅgā, (1509—1528 A.D.) who mentions it in the list of great fortresses, which were according to him, inaccessible and impregnable.

Naraina fell a prey probably to the early Muslim invasions. In 1009 A.D., Mahmūd Ghaznī led an army against Nārāyana, situated in heart of Hind. The king of this place fought bravely in defence of his country, but was defeated. The Sultān ruthlessly broke the idols and returned to Ghaznī with large booty including the elephants and horses. This place had great commercial importance, and had become the emporium of foreign articles of Central Asia as well as that of the indigenous ones brought from the various parts of our country. The place has been identified by CUNNINGHAM with Nārāyanaṇapura in old Alwar State, and other scholars also followed him. This identification appears

1. KB, p. 25.
2. GOS, LXXVI, pp. 312-316.
3. EI, XXVI, p. 99. Narāṇa is probably a contraction of Nārāyana. In his account of geography of Northern India, Abu Rihān, the contemporary of Mahmūd places Narāṇa, the capital of Karzat (Gujārāt) as 28 parasangs (98 miles) to the west of Mathura. It was 25 parasangs to the north of Chitor in Mewar, 56 parasangs to the east of Multān and sixty parasangs to the north-east of Aṅhilwād (HIED, pp. 58 and 393).
4. KB, p. 25.
6. The Struggle for Empire, p. 10; See also The Sultanate of Delhi by A.L. SRIVASTAV, p. 49. AUREL STEIN locates this place in the Salt Range in the Punjab. See AREB, p. 40.
to be doubtful because Nārāyaṇapura is not known to be Nārāyaṇa in the tenth or eleventh century from the literary and epigraphical sources. On the other hand, Naraṇā was known as Narānayana in the tenth or eleventh century A.D. At this time, it was a prosperous town, inhabited by rich merchants. The discovery of early medieval Jaina images (of the tenth and eleventh centuries) from the underground of this place proves that it was invaded by Muslim forces. The ruler, who seems to have come into clash with Mahmūd, was the Chauhāna ruler Govindarāja II, son of Durlabhāraja of Śākambhari, which is only at a distance of thirteen Kms from Naraṇā. Firishta also states that Mahmūd came to Somanātha by way of Sāmbhar.¹

During the reign of the Chauhānas, Naraṇā became a great centre of Jainism. Siddhasenaśī, an author of the twelfth century A.D. in his Sakalatirthastotra, mentions it as a holy place of the Jainas.² Jaina saints used to reside here. An inscription of 1026 A.D. (V.S. 1083) on the pāduka gives the name of a Jaina Āchārya.³ The Bijauli rock inscription dated 1169 A.D. tells that Pūnyarāsi, one of the ancestors of Lolāka of the Prāgvāta caste, built the temple of Vardhamāna.⁴ An inscription of 1079 A.D. (V.S.1135) records that a person named Mathana of the Prāgvāta caste performed the installation ceremony of images with the members of his family.⁵ From these two inscriptions, it is clear that the Poravāla Jainas were living at this place. The standing image of Pārśvanātha is dated 952 A.D.⁶ There are also other old undated images. The images of Jaina goddesses are remarkable from the artistic point of view. The Jaina goddess Sarasvatī is dated 1045 A.D.⁷ Besides, there are three Jaina goddesses of Simhavāhinī seated on a lion. The two are of white marble, and the one is black. Dhanapāla, an author of the

1. The Struggle for Empire, p. 23 (f.n. 13).
2. GOS, LXXVI, pp. 312-316.
3. See Appendix No. 23 for the text.
4. EI, XXVI, p. 84 (V. 36).
5. See Appendix No. 24 for the text.
6. See Appendix No. 25 for the text.
7. See Appendix No. 26 for the text.
eleventh century A.D., refers to the famous temple of Mahāvira of this place in his poem *Satyapuriya Mahāvīra Utsāha.*

Probably, these early images, pillars, doorways and other sculptures discovered from the underground of the field, near the temple of Bhairava, belonged to the temple of Mahāvīra. From these remains, it seems that this temple was made of white marble, and when preserved intact, it was excellent in construction from the architectural point of view. It was probably destroyed by the Muslim invasions in the twelfth century A.D., because we do not find the later sculptures of this temple.

After the defeat of Prithvīrāja III in 1192 A.D. at the hands of Muhammad Ghorī, Narainā came under the control of the Sultāns of Delhi. After the death of Firūz Tughluq in 1388 A.D., there came about the disintegration of the Muslim empire. Zafar Khān, who became an independent ruler of Gujarat, gave the territory of Nāgarūr to his brother Shamskhān. Shamskhān was succeeded by his son Firūz khān. Mokala, who became the ruler of Mewār in about 1420 A.D., defeated Firūzkhān of Nāgarū. He is said to have conquered the whole of Sapādālaksha and made Delhi a doubtful possession to its sovereign, who can be identified with Mubārak Shāh. In this way, Narainā became a part of Mewār dominions under Mokala.

Afterwards, Firūzkhān’s younger brother Muzaid Khān took possession of Narainā along with Sāmbhar and Dīdwānā after defeating Mokala, the Rājā of Mewār. In 1437 A.D., he repaired the fort and a tank, which he named after the Mustafa (i.e. prophet Muhammad). The Muslim rule in Narainā brought destruction of the Hindu temples. Muziddkhān erected the Jāmāmasjid. This mosque consists of a pillared hall, which is divided into four aisles, each of the latter being sub-divided into nine bays. The pillars show Hindu

1. *JSS, III, p. 1.*
2. *ARRMA, 1924-25, No. 6, p. 3.*
3. *EI, XXI, p. 278.*
4. *EIM, 1923-24, p. 16.* At present, this tank is known as Gaurīśāṅkara tank.
workmanship and the mosque seems to have been built of the remains of an old Hindu temple. To the immediate north of the mosque is a large gate with three arched openings, styled the Tripoliā. It is built of the remains of Hindu build- ings. The gate is in a dilapidated condition and near it, are lying some elaborately carved sculptures, which evidently once adorned it. Again, it was won over by Mewār from the Muslims. The Ranapur inscription of 1439 A.D. records that Rānā Kumbha seized the fortress of Narainā. During the reign of Akbar (1556-1606 A.D.), this town was placed under Ajmer Sarkār. The inscription of 1605 A.D. records the visit of the emperor Akbar to Narainā.

During the Mughal period, Narainā was ruled by the Kachhāvāhas. Rāva Jagamala, son of the Kachhāvāha ruler Pṛithvirāja of Āmber, occupied the territory of Jobner and Narainā after defeating Tejasimha and Hammiradeva. He was also given an ināmat of one thousand by Akbar. He accompanied Mānasimha to fight against Mahārāṇa Pratāpa. From his elder son Khāṅgāra, who ruled over Jobner and Narainā after him, the Khāṅgāra dynasty started. His younger son founded Jambu State and thus, he is the ancestor of the rulers of the former Kashmir State. Rāva Khāṅgāra was a great general, who commanded the Mughal army both against Rāva Surtāna of Sirohi and Rāva Durjanāsāla Hāḍā of Bundi, and defeated them. He had two sons namely Nārāyaṇadāsa, and Manoharadāsa, who were assigned the jāgirs of Narainā, and Jobner separately. Durjanāsāla, Satrusāla and Giradharadāsa, the three sons of Nārāyaṇadāsa, as being incompetent, could not gain the favour of the Mughal emperor Jahāṅgīr who, therefore, ceded a part of jāgīra to Sūrasimha, the ruler of Bīkāner, and gave Narainā to Bhoja-
rāja, a nephew of Nārāyaṇadāsa. Bhōjarāja was a great warrior as well as patron of religion. He saved the female apartment (janānā) of Jahāngīr from the unexpected invasion of Khuram (Shāhjahan). In lieu of his services, Jahāngīr increased his mansaba. Bhōjarāja, being pleased with Dadūdayāla, the founder of Dādupanṭhi sect, gave him Naraīnā in donation, which became a seat of the Dādupanṭhi sect.

In medieval times also, Naraīnā remained a Jaina centre and, was often visited by Jaina monks. In 1691 A.D., Bhaffdraka Kshemendrakirti of Idar and Jagatkirti of Chātsū visited this place and a grand function was organized by the people in their honour. A copy of the Bhaktāmarastotravṛtti was prepared by Nayanaruchi at this place.

There was also a great importance of Naraīnā from the social point of view. The Naraīnā caste, is mentioned in a list of the twelve and half castes of Vaiśyas in the Simhāśana-batṛīśi written in 1636 A.D. At present, the Naraīnā Kumāra is found as a gotra among the potters.

(53) MĀNDALGARH

Māndalgarh is a small town situated in 25° 13 N and 75° 7 E, about one hundred sixty one Kms north-east of Udaipur city. This town is specially famous for its fort, which is about half a mile in length with a low rampart wall, and bastions encircling the crest of the hill, on which it stands. There are some traditions about its foundation. In early inscriptions, the name of the town is mentioned as

1. See Appendix No. 29 for the text.
2. Bhaffāraka Paṭṭāvāli Manuscript No. 430 in the temple of Sambhavanātha, Udaipur. See Appendix No. 30 for the text.
5. AAR, p. 734. It is said that Māndalgarh was named after the Bhil Dandoo. The fort is said to have been constructed in about the middle of the twelfth century A.D. by a chief of the Balnotc clan of Rājpūts (a branch of the Solankis).
6. EI, XXI, p. 277; ARRMA, 1925, p. 3 and the Bijaullā rock inscriptions 1169 A.D. published in EI, XXVI, p. 84.
Māndalakara which probably originated from its being circular in shape. In the twelfth century A.D., this town was included in the dominions of the Chauhānas and probably, it might have been constructed by them. From the Bijauliā rock inscription dated 1169 A.D., it is known that Siyaka, the father of Lolāka, beautified the great fort of Māndalakara by building a beautiful temple of Neminātha.1

After the defeat of Prithvirāja III at the hands of Muhammad Ghorī in 1192 A.D., Māndalgarh also came under the Muslim possession. From a praśasti of the Dharmāṃritaṭīkā of Āśādhara, it is known that he left Māṇḍalgarh for Dhārānagarī because of the Muslim invasion.2 When the Chauhāna ruler Hammira deva of Raṇṭhambhōr started on digvijaya, he exacted tribute from the fort of Māṇḍalgarh.3 Afterwards, it was occupied by the Häḍās of Bundi, who were forced to surrender it to Kshetrasimha and he became the ruler of Mewār in 1364 A.D. He inflicted a defeat on the Häḍā chiefs, destroyed their fort Māṇḍalgarh and brought under his control the Häḍā lands.4

According to Firishta, Muzaffar Shāh I of Gujarat in 1396 A.D. besieged Māṇḍalgarh with battering rams and caused subterranean passages to be dug in order to enter the fort by that means, but all his endeavours would have proved futile, had it not been for a pestilence, which broke out in the town, and obliged the besieged Rai Durga to send out deputies to declare his surrender. These persons came with shrouds on their shoulders, and swords suspended from their necks and at the same time, several women and children exposed themselves almost naked on the waist, begging for mercy. The Sultan agreed at length to raise the siege on payment of a large sum in gold and jewels.5 According to G.H. OJHA, Māṇḍalgarh is here meant for Māṇḍū in Malwa.6 Muzaffar Shāh is already known to have in-

2. JSAI, p. 344.
4. ARRMA, 1925-26, No. 4, p. 3.
5. TFM IV, p. 6.
6. URI, p. 269.
vaded Māṇḍū. At this time, Mahārāṇā Lākhāsimha was the ruler of Mewār, and the fort of Māṇḍalgarh was under the Hāḍās of Bambāvāda. Had he invaded Māṇḍalgarh, he would have passed through Mewār. Mahārāṇā Lākhā is not known to have fought against the ruler of Gujarāt.

Rāṇā Kumbha, who ascended the throne of Mewār in about 1433 A.D., conquered Māṇḍalgarh from the Hāḍās of Bambāvāda. This place was taken twice by Mahmūd Khiljī of Malwa in the middle of the fifteenth century A.D. and subsequently appears to have been regained by Rāṇā Kumbha. The Mughal emperor Akbar took possession of this fort in 1567 A.D. At this time, it was placed under the Sarkār of Chitor. In about 1650 A.D., Shāhjahān granted it in jagīra to Rājā Rūpasimha of Kishangadḥ, who partially built a palace here but Rāṇā Rājasimha retook it in 1660 A.D. Twenty years later, Aurangzeb captured the place and in 1700 A.D., made it over to Jhūjhārsimha, the Rāṭhor chief of Pisangan, from whom it was recovered by Rāṇā Amarsimha in 1706 A.D., and remained ever since in the uninterrupted possession of his successors.

As Māṇḍalgarh remained under the Muslim control for a considerable time, early Hindu and Jaina temples were destroyed. The temples of Undeśvara, Jālesvara, Guptesvara, and Rishabhadeva are of medieval times. One of the numerous inscriptions carved on the pillars of the mandapa of the temple of Jālesvara Mahādeva records the building of the temple by Solaṅkī Sāvanta, son of Balabhadrasmimha in 1560 A.D. The temple of Guptesvara is in reality a natural cave, divided into two parts, the shrine and the hall. The door frames of both are old. An almost illegible

2. See the Ranpur inscription published in ASI, An. Rep., 1907-08, p. 211. See also Kumbhalgarh inscription published in EI, XXXI, p. 277.
3. VV, p. 163.
4. Ibid.
6. PRAS. WC., 1905, p. 53.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid, 1905-06, p. 60.
scrawl on the lintel of the entrance doorway informs us that
the temple was constructed in 1514 A.D.1. Besides temples, 
there was also a monastery. One of the inscriptions dated
1514 A.D. (V.S. 1571) speaks of the erection of the monastery 
of Rāmanātha.2

(54) NARHAĐ

The old name of Narhaḍ, which is situated at a distance
of eight Kms from Pilani in Jhunjhunu District, was Nara-
bhāta. That it was a flourishing town in the past is clear 
from the old remains of temples, images, and other buildings. There are also anecdotes prevailing among the people about its past prosperity. In the Kharataragachchha Paṭṭāvalī, it has 
been described as a premier city of Vāgaḍa Province.3 The 
Chaudharīs named after this town are found among the 
Mahēśvarīs, Jāts, barbers and wood-cutters. It shows that 
Narhaḍ was once a populous town, inhabited by the people 
of different classes. Its prosperity is clear from the fact that 
in the fourteenth century A.D., it was a mint town.4

Narhaḍ, which was in existence in 1158 A.D., was 
included as a District in the territory of the Chauhāna ruler 
Vigrarahāja, and was ruled by Vishayapati (District officer). An inscription of 1158 A.D. records that Tālha, son of Bilhaṇa, and grandson of Thākura Chandra belonging to the 
Naigama Kāyastha family, died during the reign of Para-
mabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parmēśvara Vigrarahājadeva.5 
This inscription shows that at this time, the Kāyasthas of 
the Naigama family were residing at this place. During the 
Chauhāna period, Jinadattasūri installed a nine-hooded figure 
of Pārśvanātha6, which became a miraculous object in course 
of time. Even before, Jainism was in existence. Two very 
beautiful images of Neminātha and Śantinātha of the 
late Gupta period have been discovered.7 Along with

1. PRAS. WC., 1905. p. 58.
2. Ibid, 1905-06, p. 60.
3. KB, p. 65.
4. MB, VI, October issue.
5. ARRMA, 1932-33, No. 3, p. 2.
6. KB, p. 72.
7. IAr, 1956-57.
Jainism, there are traces of Vaishnavism. The images of Mahishamardini of eight arms and of Dikpāla found at this place prove the existence of Brahmanical temple in the eighth century A.D.\(^1\)

Up to the reign of Prithvirāja III, Narhaḍ was included in the Chauhāna empire. After his defeat in 1192 A.D. at the hands of Muhammad Ghorī, this town, along with Nāgaur and Hānsī, came under the Muslim possession. From the Narahaḍi coins described by Pheru,\(^2\) it is clear that Narhaḍ possessed some sort of independent status in the fourteenth century A.D. It is not improbable that the autonomous status of this place might have remained even before. There are such cases that even after accepting the suzerainty of the emperor, the Hindu rulers remained autonomous in the internal affairs of their States. During the Muslim period also, it continued to retain its pristine prosperity. In 1318 A.D., the Śrāvakas of this place participated in Nandimahotsava at Nāgaur under Jinachandrasūri.\(^3\) Narhaḍ itself remained a place of pilgrimage in early medieval period. The Saṅgha, which started on pilgrimage to Hastināpur in 1318 A.D. along with Jinachandrasūri, stayed at this place to worship Pārśvanātha and they were all cordially welcomed.\(^4\) The Śrāvakas of this place also joined this Saṅgha for pilgrimage to Hastināpura. In 1319 A.D., on his way to Mērā from Delhi, Jinachandrasūri stayed at Narhaḍ.\(^5\) In 1323 A.D., when Jinakuśalasūri started on a pilgrimage to holy places such as Ujjayanta, he dropped at Narhaḍ to worship the image of Pārśvanātha installed by Jinadattasūri in the twelfth century A.D.\(^6\) Vinayaprabhasūri, an author of the fourteenth century A.D., in his Tirthayātrāstavana mentions this holy place, and refers to the image of Pārśvanātha.\(^7\)

The temple of Pārśvanātha of Narhaḍ was probably

1. MB, VI, October issue.
2. Ibid.
3. KB, p. 65.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid, p. 68.
7. JSP, XVII, p. 15.
destroyed when Firûz Tughluq founded the fort of Hisâr in the fourteenth century A.D., and proceeded towards the South. He is said to have converted the Chauphānas of this area to Islam. When Bikā, the founder of Bikaner, invaded this place in about 1488 A.D., it was ruled over by Dilâwara Khân.¹ Bidā, the younger brother of Bikā, went to Narhaḍ to see Dilâwar Khân before he attacked Fatehpura.² In this way, this place was ruled over by the Pathâns in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A.D. It is said that the famous mosque of this place was built during the period of the Pathâns. The Pirâji of Narhaḍ was the Divâna of Muinuddin Chisti of Ajmer. His name was Fariduddin Šakaragaṇja: Several mosques after his name are found in Northern and Southern India. His father Kamâluddîna Sulaimân was the son of Farukhâ-Shâh, the ruler of Kâbul.³ During the rule of the Pathâns, wells were constructed for the purpose of cultivation. An inscription of 1506 A.D. records that this well was constructed by Chaudhari Narapâla, and his sons.⁴ His brothers Jagamâla Donapâla, and Gunâpâla also constructed such type of wells.

(55) BAGHERĀ

The town of Bagherâ, situated about seventy four kms south-east of Ajmer, is simply a corruption of the Sanskrit Vyâghra, which means a tiger.⁵ There are legendary traditions about its early names and foundation.⁶ Actually, this town was probably founded during the Pratihâra period. Mihi-

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¹ BRI, pp. 100-101.
² KR, p. 40 (V. 478).
³ MB, VI, October issue.
⁴ Ibid.
⁵ There are other towns of this name.
⁶ Vyâghrapataka is mentioned in the Râjor inscription dated 1016 A.D. Mathanadeva, the Gurjara Pratihâra ruler, granted this village to the temple of Nilakantha Mahâdeva. There is also an old town named Vyâghrapalli about sixteen kms from Anâhilavâda. Vâghelas originated from this place.

⁶ We know from the Padmapurâna that in the Satyayuga, the name of Bagherâ was Tirirthâra; in the Tretâyuga Patviga, in the Dwâpara yuga Vâsanâtpura and in the Kaliyuga, it was called Vyâghra (See ASC, VI, p. 136).
rabhroja, the Gurjara Pratihāra ruler of Kanauj, (843-881 A.D.) ruled over this place, as is clear from the ancient coins\(^1\) found at this place with a representation of the \textit{Varāha Avatāra} on the obverse, and the \textit{Śri madādi Varāha}, the biruda of Mihira Bhoja on the reverse. During the Chauhāna period, it seems to be a notable town because here Vigraharāja is represented to be in the fourth act of the \textit{Lalita-Vigraharāja-nāṭaka}\(^2\). In the Bijauliā inscription of 1169 A.D., Vyāghreraka is mentioned.\(^3\) It was also famous by the name of Varāhanagara. The old tank of this town is known as Varāhasagara.

Bagherā remained a great centre of Vaishnāvism, and it is believed to be the actual traditional scene of the \textit{Varāha Avatāra}. There was an ancient temple dedicated to the \textit{Varāha Avatāra}. The old temples of this place are said to have been destroyed by Aurangzeb. But, still there are old ruins, which give us some idea about the artistic achievements of the people. Several sculptures\(^4\) have been discovered from this famous site of antiquarian interest. The specially noteworthy sculpture is an image of Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa on Garuḍa, which is really superb art-specimen of medieval period (twelfth century A.D.). Though partly damaged, there is a clear indication of an excellent workmanship in the charming facial expression of both Lakshmi and Nārāyaṇa, as well as in their sitting posture. Of the other interesting exhibits from Bagherā, special mention should be made here of the following twelfth century images of Kubera, Vishnu, a fourteen-handed Vishnu, an attendant, mother and child, Harihara and Baladeva.

Along with Vaishnāvism, Bagherā was a stronghold of Jainism too. From the Bijauliā rock inscription dated 1169 A.D., it is known that Vaiśravaṇa, the ancestor of Lolāka, built many a temple at Bagherā, and other places.\(^5\) This

\begin{itemize}
  \item 1. ASC, VI, p. 137.
  \item 2. IA, XX, p. 262.
  \item 3. EI, XXVI, p. 84.
  \item 4. The sculptures discovered from this place have been placed in the Ajmer Museum.
  \item 5. EI, XXIV, p. 84.
\end{itemize}
place was a seat of the Bhāṭṭarakaś of the Mūla-Saṃgha in the twelfth century A.D.¹ They placed several Jaina images² in the temples of this place. The images of Jaina goddesses of Ambikā, Padmāvatī, Brahmāṇī and Sarasvatī are noteworthy from the artistic point of view. Actually, these images are the beautiful specimens of early medieval sculptures.

The importance of Bagherā is further clear from the fact that the Bagheravāla caste among the Jainas originated from this place in the eighth century A.D. There is a belief that Rāmasena and Nemasena, the Digambara Jaina saints, converted the king and his subjects of this town to Jainism.³ If not all, majority of the citizens of this town, must have embraced Jainism and all such converts formed the Bagheravāla caste after the name of the town. Āśādhara, who left Māndalgarh for Dhārānagar in the twelfth Century A.D. because of the Muslim invasions, was of the Bagheravāla caste.⁴ Punasimba, who constructed Kīrtistambha at Chitor during the reign of Kumbhakarṇa, was of this caste.⁵ This indirectly proves that this town was once populous, and people migrated to different places from here.

(56) HARASAUR

Harasaur,⁶ situated on a bus route between Pushkar and Degana in the District of Nāgaur, is a place of great antiquarian interest. Its early name seems to be Harshapura.⁷ The extant remains, which are lying scattered over a wide area, indicate that its history may be traced back to the

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1. IA, XXI. See the table of Pontifical residences, p. 61.
2. See Appendix No. 31 for the text.
3. This is known from a manuscript in the Śāstrabhāṇḍāra of Ajmer.
4. JSAI, p. 134.
5. ARRMA, 1926-27, No. 10, p. 4.
6. From the local traditions, it is known that Hamsā Gurjara founded this town. He is said to have built the Devajī ko Devaro and Gūjari Nādi.
7. There is also another town of the name Harshapura. A daughter of the Huṇa prince named Hariyādevī who was the queen of Guhila ruler Allāta of Ālār in Mewār, built this town in the tenth century A.D. See the Atpur inscription of Śaktikumāra dated V.S. 1034 published in IA, XXXIX, p. 186.
ninth century A.D., and even earlier. This city has been described in the Jaina books in the following manner—"In the first century B.C. at the time of Priyagrantha, it had three hundred Jaina temples, four hundred mansions, eighteen hundred Brähmin houses, thirty six thousand vanîk houses, nine hundred parks and gardens, nine hundred wells and seven hundred houses of charity." The name of the king given is Subhaṭapāla, but he is not known to history. This statement, based on the works of the seventeenth century A.D., cannot be easily relied upon. Though this description regarding this town may be hyperbolic, yet there is sufficient evidence to prove that it was in a highly prosperous condition in early times.

Harsaur was ruled by the Chauhānas of Śākambhari and Ajmer since the monuments and the inscriptions of the Chauhāna period have been discovered in the neighbourhood. Jainism prospered under the Chauhāna rulers. Sidhasenasūri, an author of the twelfth century A.D., mentions this town in his Sakalatīrthastotra. Harshapuriya gachchha, a branch of Śrī Pārśvanātha Kula, originated probably from this place. Some Āchāryas of this gachchha were very powerful, and they had a great influence over their contemporary rulers. At the request of Abhayadevasūri, the Śākambhari Chauhāna ruler Prithvirāja I, who lived in 1105 A.D., put the golden cupolas on the Jaina temples of Ranthambhor. His pupil was Maldhārī Hemachandra, who had influence over Jayasimha Sidharāja of Gujarāt. The name of this gachchha is mentioned in the inscription of 1498 A.D. found at Nāgaur. Besides, there is an old temple known as Osavāla Khā Mandira, facing the east in Vasī Mohallā. No doubt, it belongs to the thirteenth century A.D., but some of its

1. Ancient India by TRIBHUVANA LAL SHAH, III, p. 140; BPPI. p. 150; Their accounts are based on the works of the seventeenth century A.D. such as Kalpasūtra Subhodhindī Tikā by Vinayavijaya (1604 A.D.), Kināvatiṭṭikā by Dharmaśāgara (1572 A.D.) and Subodhikī Tikā by Upādhyāya Vinayavijaya (1649).
2. GOS, LXXVI, p. 156.
4. NJI, II, No. 1295.
portion shows that it was built even earlier. A Jaina stone image with the inscription of 996 A.D. has been also discovered.¹ Along with Jainism, Brahmanical religion was also popular. There stood once a beautiful temple of Brahmā. A large number of excellent red stone sculptures of Brahmā, Vishnu, Śiva etc., belonging to the ninth century A.D. or earlier, are found scattered in this town. An inscription of 1182 A.D. on the pillar records some gifts to this temple of Brahmā.²

After the Chauhānas, Harasaur passed under the possession of the Muslims. The existence of the Persian inscription on a city gate in ten lines as well as the damaged condition of early relics justify the Muslim rule over this place. The temple of Brahmāji was destroyed before 1538 A.D. by the Muslims. A fierce battle was probably fought on this site, because the bones of human beings, and ashes are still noticed. After the Muslims, this place was probably occupied by the Rāthors. An inscription on a Chhattrī records the death of the Rāṭhor ruler Abhairāva in 1538 A.D.³ A tank was excavated on the site of the temple of Brahmā, and its inauguration ceremony was performed in 1542 A.D. by Bhaṭṭāṇī Khulhā, queen of the Rāṭhor ruler Kalyāṇamala.⁴ These Rāṭhor rulers may be of the same line as those of Maṇḍor. This town was under Ajmer Sarkār in the time of Akbar.⁵ In 1576 A.D., Akbar is said to have given this place to Gordhanasimha Kūmpāvata. A big chabūtarā was built in memory of Gordhanasimha. After the Kūmpāvatas, this place was occupied by the Meratiā Rājpūts. At last, it was annexed by the Rāṭhors of Jodhpur.

In medieval times, Harasaur became a seat of the Nātha sect of Vaishnavism. It is said to have been founded by Rāmachandra in the fourteenth century A.D. It might have

1. See Appendix No. 32 for the text.
2. See Appendix No. 33 for the text.
3. It is difficult to decipher this inscription, because it has been whitewashed.
4. See Appendix No. 34 for the text.
5. See Appendix No. 35 for the text.
exercised a great influence over the masses. Some names of the sādhus of this paṭṭa are known from the inscriptions. An inscription of 1546 A.D. records that Sanukhanātha made Surasanātha his disciple.¹ The names of other saints have also been mentioned.² The Niraṅjani Sādhus, who worshipped Narasimha, lived at this place. Jainism was also followed in medieval times as Ratnabhūshaṇasūri composed the Jinarāta in 1743 A.D. at Harasaur.³

Once Harasaur was a populous town, because one of the Mahājana castes named Harasaurā originated from this place.⁴ The Muslim invasions brought about destruction of the town, as is clear from the study of the old monuments. Even one hundred years before, there were five hundred families of the Mahēśvaris and one hundred thirteen of the Osavālas.⁵ Afterwards, the flood of the tank, and the epidemics completely ruined this town.

(57) RANTHAMBHOR

Ranthambhor, one of the strongest fortresses of India, is situated near Sawai Mādhopur. This town was in existence in the eleventh century A.D., and formed a part of the Chauhāna Kingdom of Śakambhari. Prithvirāja I, who ruled over Sāmbhar in 1105 A.D.,⁶ put golden cupolas on the Jaina temples of Ranthambhor.⁷ This proves his suzerainty over Ranthambhor, and the existence of Jaina temples here in so early a period. Siddhasenasūri, an author of the twelfth century A.D., also includes this place in the list of holy places.⁸

After the defeat of Prithvirāja III at the hands of Muham-
1. See Appendix No. 36 for the text.
2. See Appendix No. 37 for the text.
3. See the manuscript No. 96 of the Sambhavanātha Jaina Temple, Udaipur.
5. There is a record of the invitations for marriage sent to the local families in an old bahi of SONARAJA KATARIA
6. ARRMA, 1933–34, No. 4, p. 3.
7. GOS, LXXVI, pp. 312 and 316.
8. Ibid, p. 156.
mad Ghori in 1192 A.D., his son Govinda had neither courage, nor power to resist the rising tide of the Muslims and, therefore, he thought it better to leave Ajmer, and found a new kingdom at Raṇṭhambhor. In order to escape the Muslim inroads, he gave rich presents to Qutbuddin, and accepted his suzerainty. Govinda was succeeded by his son Vālḥaṇa. Like his father, he continued to recognize the supremacy of Delhi Sultanate, which is clear from the Manglāṇā stone inscription of 1215 A.D. Sometimes after 1215 A.D., he threw off the Muslim yoke. But, again in 1226 A.D., Iltutmish led an army against Raṇṭhambhor, and conquered it probably during the weak rule of Viranārāyaṇa, the grand son of Vālḥaṇa.

Subsequently, Vāgbhaṭa, the uncle of Viranārāyaṇa, wrested Raṇṭhambhor from the Muslims after the death of Iltutmish, taking advantage of the weak rule of Firūzshāh Ruknuddin, and Raziyā, and the resultant turmoil all over the country. Ulūghkhān, later known as Balban, invaded this place in 1240 and 1258 A.D. during the reign of Vāgbhaṭa, but he could not get decisive success. Vāgbhaṭa must have, by that time, become very powerful, because Minhaj calls him the greatest of the Rāis of Hindustan. He also seems to have constructed a splendid temple of Bahar Deo which was razed to the ground at the time of the invasion of Alāuddin Khilji. He was succeeded by his son Jaitrasimha. He harassed a chief named Jayasimha of Maṇḍapa. who is Jeherally identified with the Paramāra Jayasimha of Mālwa. He killed a Kūrma king, identified with the Kachhāvāha ruler of Āmber and a king of Karkarālagiri. Lastly, he had to face the forces of Nāsiruddin, which were commanded by Mālik-un-Nawāb, but unfortunately for Jaitrasimha, the Muslim forces returned unsuccessful.

Jaitrasimha was succeeded by his son Hammīra in 1283 A.D. He was the most powerful ruler and extended his
kingdom by his conquests. The Hammiramahākāvyā gives a description of his digujaya. He first defeated Arjuna, the ruler of Bhimarasa, and then exacted tribute from the fort of Māndalgarh. Striking southwards from here, he reached Ujjainī and Dhārā, and defeated the Paramāra ruler Bhoja. From here, he turned northwards and reached home passing through Chitor, Ābū, Vardhanapura, Chaṅgā, Pushkara, Mahārāṣṭra, Khāṇḍilla, Champā, and Karkarālā, at the last of which places, he received the homage of the ruler of Tribhuvanagiri. After his return, he performed a Koti-yajña under the direction of his purohita Visvarūpa. His enemies in Mewār, and Mt. Ābū were respectively the Guhila Sāmantasimha, and the Paramāra Pratāpasimha, a subordinate of the Vāghela Sāranga-deva of Gujarāt. The Balvān inscription of his reign mentions his victory over the king of Mālwa named Arjuna. This suggests that he led two expeditions against Mālwa, once during Arjunavarman’s reign, and next during the reign of Bhoja II.

From the Muslim source, it is known that Jalāluddin Khiljī led an unsuccessful invasion against Raṅthambhor in 1290 A.D. In 1296 A.D., his nephew Alāūddin Khiljī became the Sultān of Delhi after the murder of his uncle. Alāūddin was a man of high ambitions and wanted to conquer the whole world like Alexander the Great. The presence of two powerful personalities, namely Hammīra and Alauddin Khiljī, in the political horizon of India with the ideals of paramountcy, led the conflict unavoidable. Alāūddin Khiljī declared war against Hammīra, because the latter stopped the payment of tribute, and gave shelter to some rebels from Gujarāt. He sent a number of expeditions against Raṅthambhor under his general Ulūgh Khān, but failed to overcome the enemy. Then, Alāūddin himself led the army. Hammīra too maintained a veritable siege, but Rājpūt chivalry could not triumph over the vast means and

1. HM, IX, 99.
2. EI, XIX, p. 45.
3. HIED, p. 540.
resources of the Khilji emperor, who at last succeeded in capturing the fort in 1301 A.D., but not until a single Rāj-pūt soul was alive inside the fort. Afterwards, the city was systematically sacked by the Muslim victors. The temples along with many other splendid buildings were razed to the ground.

Not only a brave soldier, Hammira was also a successful ruler. He patronized art and literature. He erected a three storied golden palace Pushyaka (pushpaka) at Ranthambhor. Both the Balvān inscription and the Hammīramahākāvya show that he patronized the poet Bijāditya. He was generous in religious matters too, and respected all religions. He worshipped the images of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras at Mt. Ābū. Jainism was in a prosperous condition during his reign. Sāha Chandavāda, and his wife Bhāravata performed the installation ceremony of the Chaubīśi through Bhāṭṭāraka Dharma Chandra in his reign.

After the death of Alauddin Khiljī, Rajasthan became practically independent of Delhi Sultanate. Taking advantage of the prevailing confusion, Rāṇā Hammira of Mewār first of all restored Chitor in 1326 A.D. and later on, he conquered Ajmer, Ranthambhor and Nāgaur from the Delhi Sultan. After the death of Firūz Tughluq, the Muslim Governors of Gujarāt and Mālwa practically became independent. Ranthambhor remained a bone of contention between the Khilji rulers of Mālwa and the Mahārānās of Mewār. Alauddin Khiljī was made administrator of Ranthambhor by the Sultan of Mālwa. From a prāsasti of the Dhanarāja prabandhamālā, a work of the sixteenth century, it is known that Dhanarāja of the Prāgvaṭa family was a faithful Minister of Alauddin Khiljī. He was a devotee of Ratnasirīha-

2. HM, VII, p. 124; El, XIX, p. 52.
3. Ibid, IX, p. 34.
4. An inscription on the Chaubīśi image of white marble Pañchāyata temple, Bharatpur. See Appendix No. 38 for the text.
5. The Delhi Sultanate, p. 70.
suri (1395-1461 A.D.). From the Kumbhalgadh inscription dated 1460 A.D., it is known that Maharāṇā Kumbha Karna conquered Ranthambhor probably from the Khiljīs of Mālwa. Again, it passed into the hands of the Khiljīs of Mālwa. Daulat Khān was a Governor, when Sikandar Lodī was the Sultān of Delhi. Rāṇā Sāṅgā inflicted a severe defeat on Mahmūd II in 1519 A.D., and seized Ranthambhor. From the Pārśvanāthaṭravāna Sattāvīṣi of Thakkura, a poet of the sixteenth century A.D., it is known that Ihrāhim Lodī attacked Ranthambhor, but suffered defeat at the hands of Rāṇā Sāṅgā. Rāṇā Sāṅgā was succeeded by his elder son Rāṇa Simha, who assigned Ranthambhor to his younger brother Vikramasimha in jāgīrā.

When Shershāh invaded Rajasthan in 1543 A.D., he conquered Ranthambhor. From a prāṣasti of the Holīreṇyuḥa-Charitra written in 1551 A.D., it is known that the great physician Rekha was welcomed by Shershāh for his vast knowledge in the science of medicines. Shershāh gave Ranthambhor to his son Salim Shāh in jāgīrā. In his time, Kidir Khān was administrator of this place. The rulers of the Sūr dynasty, though followers of Islam, were tolerant in religious matters. During their reign, the copies of the Jina-datta-charitra, and the Holīreṇyuḥa-charitra were written respectively in 1549 and 1551 A.D. by the Śrāvakas for presentation to Lalitakirti who visited this place.

Surjana Hāḍā, the ruler of Bundi, purchased the fort of Ranthambhor from Jhunjhar Khān, who was a Kīlaṛī of Muhammad Shāh Adil. In 1569 A.D., Akbar himself proceeded to conquer this fort. But, before the trial of strength of both the parties, Akbar negotiated with Rāo Surjana through

1. EI, XXI, p. 279
2. The Delhi Sultanate, p. 145.
3. TF, 1V, p. 263.
4. MNK, p. 254.
5. JGPS, pp. 65-66.
6. RJSBGS, p. 69.
7. Ibid.
8. Manuscript No. 15, Pāḍoli Ke mandira kā Śāstra Bhāṇḍāra, Jaipur. See Appendix No. 39 for the text.
Rājā Bhagavānādāsa, who made him round, and got a treaty concluded, which was honourable. Akbar assigned this fort to Jagannātha under whose reign Jainism made some progress. In 1507 A.D., Sāhā Chokhā and his wife Pārvatī got a copy of the Shāṅkarmopadesamālā written, and presented it to Rūpachanda. An unknown poet at the initiation of Shāh Chokhā wrote the Sitāprabandha at this place. Jagannātha made Khīmasi of Toda-nagara (Toda-raisingh) his Minister who constructed a beautiful Jaina temple, and installed the image of Mallinātha in it with great rejoicings. Kanakasoma, who with Yugiapradhāna Jinachandra visited the court of Akbar at Lahore, wrote the Nemifāga at Raṇthambhor.

Jahāngīr felt delighted after his visit to Raṇthambhor in 1619 A.D. According to him, this name was kept after the two hills namely Raṇa and Thambhor, situated close to each other. Shāhjahān made Bīthaladāsa Gauḍa the Kiledāra of this fort in 1631 A.D., but Aurangzēb took it back from him. It remained under the control of the Mughals up to the eighteenth century A.D., when Shāh Ālam entrusted it to Mādhosimha of Jaipur for its protection from the Marā̄thās.

(58) MĀROṬH

At a distance of eleven kms from Kuchāman Road station in Nāgaur District stands the town of Māroṭh. It is said that originally, it was known Garākā Bhairava after the famous deity of this place, and on this site, Māṭhā Gurjara founded a town in V.S. 1010 Bhādra sudhi 10 after his own name. In the beginning, it appears to be a small hamlet, but in course of time, it developed into a flourishing town. It became so extensive that the neighbouring villages situated at a distance of one or two kosa round it are believed once to

1. RJSBGs, III, p. 169.
2. AK, VIII, No. 12.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. VV, pp. 1263-65.
be its wards. In the \textit{Hammiramah\={a}k\={a}vya} of \textit{Nayachandras\={u}ri} (14th century A.D.), its name is mentioned as Mah\={a}r\={a}sh\={t}ra-nagara. This Sanskritised name was used even up to the eighteenth century A.D. as is clear from the epigraphical and literary evidences. In \textit{Apabh\={a}r\={a}n\={s}a}, it was known as Mah\={a}roth.

As M\={a}roth is surrounded by hills, the ruling chiefs, seeing its strategical position, selected it for constructing forts. It is said that in the beginning, it was ruled by the R\={a}j\={p}\={u}t clans such as the Chandellas, the D\={a}liy\={a}s and the Daihiyas, who were all feudatories of the Chauh\={a}nas. It is believed that first, it was under the possession of the Chandellas. As the Chandellas were ruling over Rev\={a}s\={a}, a place near M\={a}roth, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries as feudatories of the Chauh\={a}nas of Ajmer, it is not improbable that they might be also governing M\={a}roth. Afterwards, it was probably ruled by the D\={a}liy\={a}s, a branch of the Chauh\={a}nas founded by D\={a}l\={a}. After them, this area began to be called Dal\={a}t\={i}.

M\={a}roth was also governed by the Daihiyas, who ruled over this area for about three hundred years as feudatories of the Chauh\={a}nas. The name of this area Daihiy\={a}v\={a}t\={i} is enough to testify the fact that the Daihiyas held some sort of sway over that part of the country in some past time. The Kinsariy\={a} inscription dated 999 A.D. of the Dadichika (Daihiy\={a}) ruler Chacha and the Nai\={n}asi's Khy\={a}t\={a} give a list of rulers, who ruled over this area. The Kinsariy\={a} inscription tells us that Chacha caused a temple of Bhav\={a}n\={i} to be built. His elder son was Jagadhara R\={a}vala, and his younger was Vilhana, who held

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1. The neighbouring villages are \textit{Pirot\={a} k\={a} b\={a}sa}, \textit{Dar\={a} k\={a} b\={a}sa}, Kh\={a}li k\={a} b\={a}sa, s\={a}ng\={a} k\={a} b\={a}sa, sol\={a}ny\={a}, Jinavala Bhagav\={a}napur\={a}, Mah\={a}r\={a}japur\={a} and Ajitapur\={a}.


3. The inscriptions of \textit{Jaina temples} and the \textit{Pra\={a}s\={a}t\={i}s} of manuscripts in the \textit{Jaina Bhand\={a}r\={a}s} of this place mention this name.

4. Kes\={a}ris\={i}m\={\=a}ha Chandell\={a} is said to have founded the temple of Bha\={r}ava known at that time as \textit{G\={a}d\={a} k\={a} Bha\={r}ava}. The rule of the Chandell\={a}s over this place seems to be still known from the old well Chandell\={a} k\={a} ku\={a}.

5. \textit{El}, XII, p. 56.
sway over the whole District of Māroṭh. He is said to have resided in the village of Depārā, six kms from Māroṭh, where an old fort, and a tank still exist. Some Dahiyās are still called Depārā Dahiyās. Vilhaṇa was a powerful ruler of this dynasty, and his memory is still fresh in local traditions of this place.¹

The Dahiyās continued to rule over Māroṭh after the twelfth century A.D. even after the defeat of the Chauhānas at the hands of the Muslims. There is an inscription of 1243 A.D. (V.S. 1300) containing the name of Vikrama, son of Kṛtisimha Dahiyā.² This fact is again corroborated by the inscription³ of 1215 A.D. (V.S. 1272) discovered at Maṅglāṇā, near Māroṭh. The inscription refers itself to the reign of Śrī Vālhaṇadeva of Raṇthambhhor, and records the construction of a step well by Vālhaṇa’s feudatory Jaitrasimha, son of Mahāmanḍaleśvara Padmasimhadeva of the Dādhičhaka family. This proves that the Dahiyās of this place were the vassals of the Chauhānas of Raṇthambhhor. Hammīrādeva, who ascended the throne of Raṇthambhhor in about 1282 A.D., soon started on a conquest of all the quarters (digvijaya). Afterwards, he reached home passing through several towns including Māroṭh.⁴

Then, Māroṭh was ruled by the Gauḍas, who probably seized it from the Dahiyās. Māroṭh, and villages round it are still called Gauḍāṭī on account of their having been held by the Gauḍas. No definite information of the early Gauḍa rulers is available.⁵ During the reign of Jahāṅgīr,

¹. Vilhaṇa was a powerful ruler of this dynasty. His horse named Tejana is well known throughout Rajasthan. When a bridegroom starts for marriage from his place on a horse (known as Nikāḷi), women give him see off by singing ‘Tejana ai Māroṭha ṛt’. By wandering on this horse, he is said to have looked after his kingdom.
². IA, XL, p. 267.
³. Ibid, XLI, pp. 87 f.
⁴. HM, IX, 99.
⁵. It is said that Vachchharāja and Vāmana, the ancestors of Gauḍa Rājpūts came to Ajmer in the time of Prithvīrāja Chauhāna III from outside Rajasthan. In course of time, their descendants seized Māroṭh from the Dahiyās and began to rule over both at Māroṭh and Rājgarh, near Ajmer. See RIO, pp. 273-274.
Gopāladāsa, the ruling chief of this place, was made Kile-
dāra of Āsera. He and his son Vikrama were killed in a
battle of Ṭhāḍhā, which they fought in favour of Khuram
(Shāhjahān) against Jahāngīr. After him, his son Bithala-
dāsa, who was the most powerful ruler of this dynasty,
became a ruler. He was made Ḥākim of Raṇthambhōr in
1630 A.D. by Shāhjahān. After the death of Vajirkhān,
Shāhjahān appointed him as a Subedāra and Kiledāra of Agra
in 1640 A.D. His near relative Bihārdāsa, in 1639 A.D.,
gave directions to the revenue collectors of Māroṭh known as
Chaudhāris, to rehabilitate the deserted Paraganās and
emphasized," As you serve, so shall you get the reward." After him, his son Arjuna extended his kingdom because Mālapurā, now in Jaipur District, was ruled by him. It is
clear from a Jaina inscription of 1653 A.D. (V.S. 1710) that
Lālachanda performed a big installation ceremony of images
at Mālapurā during the reign of Arjuna Gauḍa through
Bhaṭṭāraka Chandrakirti. Mālapurā was probably taken by
him from the Kachhāvāhas of Āmber.

The Gauḍas were fond of buildings, and as such, they
constructed fort and palaces at this place, the remains of
which are still traceable. The temple of Lakshminārāyaṇa
on the hill, which seems to be of the fourteenth century A.D.
from the architectural point of view, is said to have been
built by some Gauḍa chief. This temple was repaired from
time to time. Though its major part has fallen, its old
pillars and śikhara are still surviving. The Śaiva temple is
also attributed to them. A big garden, known as 'Naula-
khābāga' with the income of nine lakhs was erected by these
Gauḍa rulers.

Jealousy, and strife were continuing between the Gauḍas
and the neighbouring Śekhāvatas of Khaṇḍelā. The Śekhā-
vatas, with the help of the Mughal emperor of Delhi,
defeated the Gauḍas on the battlefield of Ghaṭāvā, a place

1. RIO, I, p. 273.
2. See Appendix No. 40 for the text.
3. See Appendix No. 41 for the text.
twenty four kms from Māroṭḥ. It was kept under Ajmer Sūbā. The Mughal emperor Shāhjahān gave this Paraganā to his vassal Raghunāṭhasīṃha Meratīa Rājput, relative of Śekhāvatas in 1659 A.D., because of his valuable services in the battle field. Some documents give us valuable information of the effect on the revenue system of the change of the ruling dynasty. The new ruler Raghunāṭhasīṃha violated the rights and privileges of the Chaudharīs, who were enjoying themselves in previous reign, and even imprisoned some of them. Bhūpata and Lālachanda, residents of Māroṭḥ, attended the court of Ajmer and made request through their courtiers that Raghunāṭhasīṃha had imprisoned Shyāmadāsa and Bailakarṇa who were in the service of Chaudharī Kāṇūṇgo. The Sūbedāra of Ajmer named Hafiz directed Raghunāṭhasīṃha in 1662 A.D. to release them after taking their security. Further, it was conveyed that two Chaudharīs, and two Kāṇūṇgos might be appointed to look after their subjects, so that, they might not be terrorized by their large numbers. Afterwards, Shyāmaladāsa, and Ratanasī were appointed as the Chaudharīs, and Jasavanta and Jethamala as the Kāṇūngos for the Paraganā Māroṭḥ by the Ajmer Sūbedāra. Further, the Gumatās of Jāgiradāras were also directed that all records must be got prepared according to the directions of the Chaudharīs and the Kāṇūngos, and submitted to the royal Daftarakhānā of Ajmer. Bihāridāsa also attended the court for his claim to be appointed as the Chaudharī of Paraganā Māroṭḥ, and he was invested with the above job.

Rāghunāṭhasīṃha had several sons such as Sabalasīṃha, Indrasīṃha, Vijayasīṃha and Lālasīṃha. They constructed their separate forts, and palaces, which are still surviving. Impressed with the services of Sāmvaladāsa, Sabalasimha, the eldest son of Raghunāṭha-sīṃha, gave him a well and a piece of ten bighas land. After the death of Raghunāṭhasīṃha,

1. See Appendix No. 42 for the text.
2. These documents written in Urdu are under my possession.
3. It is known from a sanada under my possession.
there ensued a struggle for power among his sons. Taking advantage of their weak position, Ajitasimha, ruler of Jodhpur, annexed their territory in 1708 A.D. He appointed his administrator Māyārāma to establish his sway. In order to maintain law and order, the special contingents were garrisoned, and their expenses were extracted from the neighbouring Jāgīrdāras. Ajitasimha directed his administrator that the former Kānūngos and Jāgīradāras of this place might be given the same rights and privileges as enjoyed by them previously.

Māroṭh remained a stronghold of Jainism from early times. Many Jaina images of the eleventh and twelfth centuries have been found here. From some of their inscriptions, it seems that their consecration was performed by Sakalakīrti of the Māthura Sāṁgha in 1175 A.D. (V.S. 1232). The temples of the early period could not survive by now, however there are four Jaina temples of the medieval period. Bēnīrāma Ajmerā performed an installation ceremony of the temple of Ādinātha chaityālaya in 1328 A.D. Chandraprabhu chaityālaya was built by Jīvanadāsa Pāṭodi in 1425 A.D. Rāmasimha, the chief Minister of Bairīsāla, performed an inauguration ceremony of the temple, and images with great rejoicings in 1737 A.D., through Bhaṭṭāraka Anantakīrti of Ajmer. On this occasion, a large number of Śrāvakas assembled to witness this ceremony. Udayarāma composed a Jakari giving a description of this ceremony. Rāmasimha also presented a manuscript of Pāṇḍavapurāṇa to the Jaina temple. The temple of Terāpanthīs was built by Pārāsa Rāma in 1795 A.D. The temples of Ādinātha chaityālaya, and Chandraprabhu chaityālaya were repaired from time to time, but still some surviving original portion in them supports their early date. The ceiling decorations of the Chandraprabhu temple, and the pillars of the Ādinātha temple are of the style, which was popular in the fourteenth century A.D. These two temples were

1. See Appendix No. 43 for the text.
2. See Appendix No. 44 for the text.
3. See Appendix No. 45 for the text.
4. Anekānta, XVI, p. 89.
constructed on the cremation ground, as old chhattrīs and pādukās are still found.

The Bhaṭṭārakas of the Mūlasaṅgha played a prominent part for the propagation of Jainism in medieval times. Some of them remained closely associated with Māroth. Dharamachanda Sethī, whom Śrībhūṣana made Bhaṭṭāraka, was a native of Māroth. He composed the Gautamacharitra in 1659 A.D. at Māroth, when it was ruled over by Raghunāṭhasimha.1 His disciple Dāmodara wrote the Chandraprabhucharitra in the Jaina temple of Ādinātha in 1670 A.D. Devendrakirti2, a pupil of Bhaṭṭāraka Dharmadāsa, belonged to Māroth. In 1767 A.D., a rathayāṭrā function was held with great rejoicings in honour of the visit of Bhaṭṭāraka Vijayakirti to Māroth during the reign of Hukamsimha, a Meratīā feudatory Rājpūt. Vijayakirti also spent the rainy season at this place.3 Some chhattrīs and chabūtrās of medieval times commemorating the death of the Digambara Jaina Bhaṭṭārakas, and the Pandits are also available.

TOWNS UNDER THE PARAMĀRAS

(59) CHANDRĀVATĪ

Chandrāvatī, an ancient city, is situated near Ābū on the bank of the river Banās. Its old names were Chaḍḍāuli, Chaḍḍāuli, Chaḍḍāvalī, Chandrāvai and Chandrāvatī. In the age of prosperity, it was an extensive town, and the modern villages, such an Dattānī, Kīverlī, Kharādī and Sāntapura, were, then, said to be its wards. The old ruins, such as temples, toraṇas and images scattered over the long area bear testimony to its past glory. Its prosperity seems to have lasted from the tenth to the beginning of the fifteenth century, when it was the capital of the Paramāras and the Devarā Chauhānas. It lost its charm and glory, when the Devarā rulers shifted their capital to Sirohi in 1425 A.D.

1. BS, Nos. 292-294.
2. JGPS, p. 71.
3. See Appendix No. 46 for the text.
4. EI, VIII, p. 201.
Chandrāvati was ruled by the Paramāras of Ābū who often ruled as vassals of the Chālukyas of Gujarat. The first Paramāra ruler of this area known to us was Sindhirājā who is referred to as the Mahārāja of Maruṃadala. He was succeeded by Utpalarāja who is identified by D.C. GANGULY with Vākpati Muṇja, the Paramāra ruler of Malwa and who is also known by the name of Utpalarāja. He has built the ingenious theory that Vākpāti II led his armies in the neighbourhood of Ābū, conquered it and appointed his son Aranyarāja to look after the administration of the Province of Arbudamandala. Actually GANGULY was misled by similarity of names. Vākpati Muṇja of Malwa had no son, and Aranyarāja of Ābū lived earlier. At time of Vākpati Muṇja, Dhārṇivarāha (972-1002 A.D.) was ruling over this area. He was a contemporary of Mūlarāja I Chālukya who is said to have deprived him of his kingdom.

Utpalarāja was succeeded by his son Aranyarāja, and Aranyarāja by his son Kṛishnarāja. An inscription dated V.S. 1024 (967 A.D.) engraved on the pedestal of an image of Mahāvīra at Varkanā records that during the reign of Kṛishnarāja, it was set up by one Vardhamāna of Veshtika family. This is the earliest known inscription of this family. Kṛishnarāja was succeeded by Dhārṇivarāha in about 967 A.D. The Bijāpur inscription of Dhavala of Hastikunḍi informs us that he gave asylum to Dhārṇivarāha who was deprived of his kingdom by Mūlarāja.

Probably after the death of Dhārṇivarāha, the kingdom passed first to Dhūrbhaṭa and then to Mahipāla alias Devarāja, Mahipāla’s son and successor was Dhandhūka who became the ruler in 1010 A.D. The Chālukya ruler Bhima I, sent forces under his Commander Vimala against Dhandhūka who took refuge with Bhoja, the lord of Malwa. By the efforts of Vimala, who was made Governor of Chandrāvati, Dhandhūka was restored to power. In 1024 A.D., Chandrāvati was

1. IA, LXI, pp. 135-136.
2. History of the Paramāra Dynasty, pp. 52, 298.
attacked and plundered by Mahmūd Ghazni, when he passed through Rajasthan to attack Anāhilavāḍa, the capital of Bhīma I. This is somehow clear from the Apabhramṣa poem *Satyopūrīya Śri Mahāvīra Utsāha* of Dhanapāla. Dhandhuka had three sons, Pūrṇapāla, Dantivarman and Krīṣṇa II, all of whom ascended the throne one after the other. Pūrṇapāla (1042 A.D., 1045 A.D.) declared independence, but Bhīma I brought Mt. Abu again under his control in the later part of his reign. Since then, the country remained a part and parcel of Chālukya kingdom.

Krīṣṇa II was succeeded by Yogarāja, Rāmadeva, Kākaladeva, and Vikramasimha. Vikrama-simha revolted against the Chālukyas but was defeated and thrown into prison by king Kumārapāla who then placed Yaśodhavala on the throne of Mt. Ābū. Yaśodhavala, who is known to have been ruling in 1145 and 1150 A.D., fought with Ballāla on behalf of his overlord Kumārapāla, and killed him. He was succeeded by his son Dhārāvarsha sometime before 1163 A.D. Dhārāvarsha helped Kumārapāla in his war against Mallikārjuna of Koṇkaṇa, and his younger brother Prahlādana saved the power and prestige of the Chālukya Ajayapāla, successor of Kumārapāla, by defeating the Guhila Sāmantasimha of Medapāṭa. In the meantime, Raṇasimha, son of the deposed Vikramasimha, usurped the throne of Mt. Ābū, but soon Dhārāvarsha got it back through his master’s favour. Dhārāvarsha repulsed an attack of the Chāhamāna Prithvirāja III against Bhīma II of Gujarāt.

Having defeated Prithvirāja III in 1192 A.D., the Muslims also attacked the territory round about Chandrāvatī. In 1197 A.D., Dhārāvarsha suffered defeat at the hands of Qutbud-dīn’s general Khusrav, near the foot of Mt. Ābū. He helped Viradhavala of Gujarat in repulsing an attack of Sultān Iltutmīsh and after 1219 A.D. was succeeded by his younger brother Prahlādana, who is the author of the drama *Pārthapa-

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1. JSS, III, 1.
2. EI, XXXII, Pt. 3.
4. Ibid, XXXII, p. 156.
rākrama. Prahlādana was succeeded by Somasimha, Kṛṣṇa-rāja, and Pratāpasimha. Pratāpasimha reconquered with the help of Vāghelas, his paternal kingdom, which was occupied by Guhila Samarasiṁha. He ruled over his kingdom as a vassal of the Vāghela Śāraṅgadeva and was succeeded by his son Arjuna, who is known to have been ruling in 1290 A.D.

In about 1315 A.D., Chandrāvatī passed into the hands of Devaḍā Chauhānas. The word ‘Devadā’ is said to have been derived from Vijaḍa Devarāja, the son of Pratāpa, and grandson of Māṇavasiṁha, who was the son of Samarasiṁha of Jālor. Vijaḍa Devarāja is referred to as the lord of Maru-thali-manḍala.¹ He was succeeded by his eldest son Lāvanākarna. After him, his younger brother and successor Lumbhā became the ruler.² He conquered Chandrāvatī from the Solāṅkis.³ His successors were Tejasimha and Kānhaḍadeva. The latter was succeeded by Sāmantasimhadeva, Rāṇamalla and Śivabhāna. After Śivabhāna, Saisamala became the ruler. His reign witnessed many ups and downs. His energetic policy led to the extension of the Devaḍā dominions in the Western direction. At this time, Mālwa, Mewār, and Gujarāt were the three great States extending for supremacy in Western and Central India. At some time before 1452 A.D., Mahārāṇā Kumbha of Mewār made himself the master of Ābū, and Chandrāvatī also became so indefensible that Sahasamala transferred his capital to Sirohi, which he founded in 1425 A.D. Thus, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Devaḍā kingdom of Chandrāvatī became transformed into the ‘kingdom of Sirohi.’

Besides the capital of the Paramāras, Chandrāvatī remained a place of pilgrimage, and hence, it was visited by Jaina saints, scholars and laymen from time to time. Their writings throw some light on the past glory of this place. Siddhasena sūri, who lived in the twelfth century, refers to

¹. EI, IX, p. 152.
². He was known also as Lūndha, Luntīga, Luntāgāra, Luntigadeva Luntakara and Lūṅiga.
³. EI, IX, p. 148.
this place in the *Sakala Tīrtha stotra*,\(^1\) Jinaprabhasūri, author of the *Vividha Tīrtha Kalpa*, written in 1389 A.D., describes the city as full of wealth, and he also mentions the temple of Chandraprabhu.\(^2\) Megha in his *Tīrthamālā* (written in about 1443 A.D.), describes its prosperity and compares it to Laṅkā. According to him, there were about 1800 Jaina temples, and the most prominent among them was the temple of Rishabha.\(^3\) From the *Upadesasaptati* of Somadharama written in 1446 A.D., it is known that there were 999 Śaiva temples and 444 Jaina temples.\(^4\) Śilavijaya, in his *Tīrthamālā* of 1689 A.D., writes that there were about 1800 beautiful Jaina temples at the time of Vimala.\(^5\) All these statements show that there was a large number of temples in the past. The predecessor of Padmadevaśūri, who lived in 1235 A.D., built the Jaina temple of Chandra Prabhu.\(^6\) Pethādakumāra and Saṅgarāma, who were the Ministers of the Sultān of Mālwa, constructed the Jaina temples in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when they came for a pilgrimage to this place.\(^7\)

These religious activities gave an impetus to the development of art and literature under the Chauhāna and the Paramāra rulers. Resultantly, this town became a great artistic centre. There were a large number of temples, gateways, *toranas*, and images. This wealthy town is said to have been sacked every time the Muslim army passed through it.\(^8\) The place was, therefore, forsaken, and became desolate. Some idea about the surviving artistic specimens can be obtained from the writings of the European scholars, who visited this deserted place in the nineteenth century A.D. TOD has given the pictures of some of these temples in his *Travels*

1. GOS, LXXVI, p. 156.
2. VTK, pp. 16 and 85.
3. JTSS, I, p. 279.
4. II Part, 4-5.
5. JTSS, p. 279.
6. All these statements are exaggerated but there is little doubt that a large number of temples were existing in ancient times at Chandrāvati.
7. PR, I, XX, 11.
8. *Arbudāchalapradakashinā*, p. 43.
in Western India.\textsuperscript{1} In 1824 A.D., CHARLES COLVILLE\textsuperscript{1} and his party visited Chandrāvatī, and found twenty marble edifices of different sizes. One temple to Brahmā was adorned with rich, and finely executed sculptured figures, and ornaments in high relief. The chief images were a three-headed male figure sitting on a car, with a woman on its knees, and a large goose in front; two statues of Śiva, one with twenty arms, the other with a buffalo on the left, the right foot raised, and resting on a small eagle; and a figure of death with twenty arms, one holding a human head by the hair. The best executed were the dancing nymphs with garlands and musical instruments, many of them extremely graceful. Close by were richly carved columns, supporting an entablature and sculptured pediment and probably triumphal pillars. According to FERGUSSON,\textsuperscript{2} the pillars are so highly ornamented in details, and varieties that no two pillars are exactly alike.

Besides art, the rulers of Chandrāvatī patronized literature. In 1038 A.D., Dhaneśvarasūri wrote the Sūrasūndari Kathā in Prakrit.\textsuperscript{3} Vijayasimhasūri of the Chandra gachchha composed the Upadeśamālāvṛitti, as is known from a praśasti of the Śantinātha-charitra, written in 1246 A.D., by Ajitaprabhasūri.\textsuperscript{4} The copies of the Upadeśamālāvṛitti and Paṁchāṭakā\textsuperscript{5} were written respectively in 1186 and 1231 A.D. Udayasūri, who died in 1256 A.D., defeated his opponents in discussions before Rāula Dhandhuka of Chandrāvatī in his court. He is known to have written the Pīndāviśuddhivivarana, Dharmavidhi-vṛitti and Chaityavandana Dipikā.\textsuperscript{6}

A large numbers of Śrāvakas lived in Chandrāvatī. Some of them were distinguished, and held special position. Anupamadevi, the virtuous wife of the Minister Tejapāla, who

\textsuperscript{1} Gazetteer of Sirohi state (Rajputana Gazetteers), pp. 298-299.
\textsuperscript{2} HIEA, p. 239.
\textsuperscript{3} At present, there is not a single temple in order. The pieces of old monuments were removed and used in temples in distant cities. The remaining monuments were destroyed by the hekedārs of the Rajputana Malwa Railway.
\textsuperscript{4} Arbudāchala-pradakshinā, p. 43.
\textsuperscript{5} JSSI, pp. 240-330.
\textsuperscript{6} GOS, LXXV, pp. 23, 98, and 208.
\textsuperscript{7} JSSI, pp. 434-698.
constructed the famous temple of Neminātha known as the Lūṇavasahi temple at Delavāḍā, was a daughter of Dharanīga son of Gāgā, the Poravāla Mahājana of Chandrāvatī. Mahāmātya Tejapāla made Khibasimha, Ābasimha and Ḫudala, the brothers of his wife as trustees. From the inscription of 1230 A.D., it is known that the Śrāvakas of this place supervised the ceremonies of the festival to be celebrated for eight days on the anniversaries of the temple. The ceremonies of bathing, worshipping etc. of the festival were performed by the laymen of Chandrāvatī.

(60) ARTHŪṆĀ

Arthūnā, now a small village, is situated in 23° 30' N and 74° E about thirty nine kms west of Bāṅswārā town. The old name of this place was Utthūnaka. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it was the capital of Paramāra chiefs who were the vassals of the Paramāra rulers of Dhārā. Under their rule, both Jainism and Śaivism prospered. This place is remarkable, as it possesses the old remains of about a dozen Hindu and Jaina temples of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; some of which still show fine carving. From these old remains, it appears to be an extensive city in past.

In the middle of the ninth century A.D., Dambarasimha, the younger son of Upendra, and younger brother of Vairisimha, the king of Dhārā, founded a kingdom in Vāgaḍa, (modern Bāṅswārā and Dūṅgarapur States) the capital of which was Arthūnā. He was succeeded by Dhanika, who built the temple of Dhaneśvara near the temple of Mahākāla at Ujjain. Some of the Paramāra rulers of Vāgaḍa fought on behalf of their masters. Dhanika's successor Chacha fought on the side of Siyaka II against Rāshtrakūṭa Īkotita, and lost his life in the battle. Chachcha was followed by Kaṅka-deva. He destroyed the forces of the king of Karnāṭa on the

1. EI, VIII, p. 217.
2. Ibid, p. 220.
4. This name is mentioned in local inscriptions.
5. EI, XXI, p. 43.
banks of Narbadā. He, thus, destroyed the enemy of the Mālava king Śrīharsha, but he lost his life on that occasion. 1 Kaṅkadeva was followed by Chaṇḍapa and Satyarāja one after another. Satyarāja assisted Bhoja in his war against the Chālukyas. 2 After Satyarāja ruled Limbarāja, Maṇḍalika (1059 A.D.), Chāmunḍarāja, and Vijayarāja (1108-09 A.D.). Maṇḍalika, who is called Maṇḍaladeva in the Arthūnā inscription, was a feudatory of Bhoja and Jayasimha-deva of Mālwa. He caught the powerful Commander-in-chief Kāṇha with his horses, and elephants and presented to his master Jayasimha. 3 But, it is not known as to on whose behalf Kāṇha was fighting. He is also said to have built the temple of Maṇḍalesvara after his name at Paṇherā in Bānswārā in 1059 A.D. After Maṇḍalika, his son Chāmunḍarāja became the ruler. He built a temple of Śiva called Maṇḍalesa at Arthūnā in honour of his father in 1079 A.D. 4 He is also said to have defeated Sindharāja. To which dynasty he belongs, is not known. After him, his son Vijayarāja became the ruler. His Minister of peace and war was Vāmana, son of Rājapāla of the Kāyastha community.

Before 1172 A.D., Vāgada was occupied by the Guhilas of Mewār. When the Chauhāna king of Jālor named Kirtipāla, and the Chālukyas of Gujarāt forced Samarasiṁha to leave Chitor, he took shelter in the territory of Vāgada. He founded his new kingdom here with his capital Barodā in place of Arthūnā. One of his successor Devapāladeva is said to have taken Galikot, a place near Arthūnā from the Paramāras after 1249 A.D. From the Chirvā inscription of 1273 A.D., it is known that it was a place of battlefield. Madana, the son of Jaitrasimha’s officer Kshema, fought on behalf of Jesal with Paṁchalagudika Jaitramalla on the battlefield of Utthunaka, which is identified with Arthūnā, the capital of Vāgada. Jesala may be taken as identical with the Guhila ruler of Mewār Jaitrasimha, who was known as Jaya-

2. EI, XXI, p. 43.
4. Ibid.
History of Selected Cities and Towns

Jaitramalla is taken as the Paramara Jayatungideva of Malwa.

Kišanasimha, the noble of Genoda estate, obtained Arthuṇā from Jagamala in reward for his services. After the death of Rāvala Udaisimha in the battle of Khanwāh in 1527 A.D., he helped Jagamala against his elder brother Prithvīrāja in a war of succession. When Mahārāṇā Jagatasimha of Mewār invaded Bānsvārā in 1635 A.D., Kišanasimha's great grandson named Bhīmasimha was killed fighting gallantly in a battlefield. Having recognized Bhimsihha's meritorious services, Maharava Samaśarimha returned Arthuṇā permanently to his son Jaśakarana.¹

The Paramāra rulers of Vāgāda were followers of Śaivism so that the Śaiva temples were constructed during their reign. An inscription dated 1180 A.D. of the Paramāra prince Chāmunḍarāja records that he built a temple of Śiva called Maṇḍalesa in honour of his father. Another inscription² of 1080 A.D. mentions that his officer had three sons namely Āsadeva, Bhavyāsarāja, and Anantapāla. The last one founded a temple of Śiva. In a group of temples known as Hanumānagadhi, there are three temples of Śiva. Besides these temples, there was an old monastery for the residence of Śaiva saints. From the iconographical evidence, it is known that this place was especially associated with the Lakulīśa sect of Śaivism. The temples of Hanumāna, Varāha and Vishnū also belong to early period. On the image of Hanumāna is engraved an inscription of 1108 A.D. of the time of the Paramāra ruler Vişayrāja.³

Bhūshana, who was a pious man, built the Jaina temple in 1109 A.D. and he also performed the consecration ceremony of the image of Vṛishabhavanātha during the reign of Vişayrāja. His elder brother was Pahuka, who was well versed in śāstras and in his old age, he became a recluse. His father, who was benevolent, and well-grounded in History, was a pupil of Chhatrasena of the Māthura Sarṅgha.⁴

¹. BRKI, p. 223.
². ARRMA, 1931-32, No. 1, P. 2.
³. BRKI, p. 19.
⁴. EI, XXXI, p. 50.
Bärmer is situated at a distance of about two hundred nine kms south-west of Jodhpur. It is also known by the names of Bämnera and Bäramera. D. R. BHANDARKAR is of the opinion that Bámanera is nothing but Brähmaṇakaranagara i.e. the town of the Bhāhmanas. Almost the whole of the population of this area consisted of Golval Brāhmanas.¹ This view is, actually, not correct. From the literary² and epigraphical³ evidences, it appears that the early name of the town was Vāgbhaṭameru. A person named Vāgbhaṭa seems to have founded this town after his own name (the hill fort of Vāgbhaṭa). It is said to have been founded in the thirteenth century⁴ but even before, it was well known and in flourishing condition.

Bärmer was ruled over by the Chauhānas of Nādol in the twelfth century A.D. Ālhaṇa was governing his vast empire through his sons, and near relatives and Bärmer was entrusted to his son Kumārasimha.⁵ During the reign of Kelhaṇa, his nephew Ajayasimha, (the son of Kumārasimha) who was governing this place, made a grant of land to a Brāhamaṇa named Nārāyaṇa of Koraṇṭaka in 1166 A.D.⁶

Bärmer was, according to Nainasi,⁷ once a seat of the Paramāra Principality. Kirāḍuş, which is only a few miles from this place, was in 1171 A.D. under Someśavara Paramāra, in 1187 A.D. under Mahārājaputra Madanabrahmadeva and thereafter under Āsala.⁸ It is not unlikely that Bärmer too might have been under this Paramāra Principality of Kirāḍuş before its capture by the Chauhānas for some time. As the Paramāra ruler Someśvara of Bhīnmāl rendered good service to Kumārapāla in more than one campaign, he trans-

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¹ PRAS. WC., 1909, p. 53.
² JPPS, No. 111 and KB, pp. 50, 80 and 86.
³ El, IX, p. 73.
⁴ Rajputana Gazetteers, III-A, p. 204.
⁵ PRAS. WC., 1909, p. 52.
⁶ Ibid, p. 53.
⁷ MNK, p. 233.
⁸ See Madanabrahma's inscription noticed by D.R. BHANDARKAR in PRAS. WC., 1906-07, p. 42 and edited by BISHESHWARNATH REU, IA, 1933.
ferred the territory round about Kirāḍū to Someśavra from the Chauhānas of Nāḍol. It is said that Jayaprabhasūrī converted the Paramāra ruler Somakarna, and his sons to Jainism in 950 A.D. This view is unhistorical because the Paramāras began to govern this area from the twelfth century A.D. The question of their early rule, therefore, does not arise at all.

Bārmer was again taken away by the Chauhānas of Nāḍol. In 1201 A.D. (V.S. 1258) during the reign of Sāmantasimha, the charities were granted to the Sun-temple of this place. Afterwards, the territory under Nāḍol passed into the hands of Udayasimha, the Chauhāna ruler of Jālor. From the Sūndhā inscription, we learn that Udayasimha, who perhaps ruled from 1205 to 1257 A.D., was the lord of various Districts including Vāghhaṭameru. During the reign of Sāmantasimha in 1291 A.D., a grant was made for the fair of the Sun temple, and a pillar of the Jaina temple was built in 1295 A.D. In 1310 A.D., when Alāuddin started to conquer Jālor from Kānhaḍadeva, he captured and sacked Bārmer. It was again restored by the Chauhānas because in 1334 A.D., it was ruled by the Chauhāna ruler Śikharasimha, who received Jina padmasūrī enthusiastically. It is said that Rāva Rāyapāla, the Rāṭhor ruler of Kheḍā, conquered this place from the Paramāras. This view is not correct because in the fourteenth century A.D., Rāva Rāyapāla actually seized it from the Chauhānas who were ruling over this place at this time. In the fifteenth century, Rāṭhor Durjanasāla was ruling over this place.

There is the Sun temple known as the temple of Bāla-

1. JTSS, p. 181.
2. PRAS. WC., 1909, 52.
3. EI, IX, p. 73.
4. PRAS. WC., 1909, p. 52.
6. KP, p. 29.
7. KB, p. 86.
8. JRI, p. 168.
rīkha at Bārmer. In early times, it was known by the name of Mahāśvāmī and various charities were made to it from time to time. One copper plate inscription of the reign of Kelhana records the gift of a well on the occasion of ekādaśī to this temple of Mahāśvāmī by Ajayasimha, nephew of Kelhana in 1166 A.D. ¹ Three inscriptions² dated 1201 A.D. of the reign of Sāmantasimha record the gifts to this temple by individuals. In 1291 A.D., a Saliahasta, whose name is lost, granted three rupees per arohaṭa or machine-well of the tatapada, or suburbs of Koraṇṭaka for the fair festival of the god Mahāśvāmī.³

The rulers of Bārmer were liberal in matters of religion. It was, therefore, but natural that Jainism received patronage from them. Jaina saints visited this place and urged the Śrāvakas to organize the religious functions. They constructed temples, and installed images in them. In 1166 A.D., Kuladhara, son of the Minister Uddharana, constructed the Jain temple of Uṭṭūṅga Toranaprāśāda at this place.⁴ The temple of Rishabhadeva was also famous. In 1226 A.D., Jinesvarasūri hoisted a flag over this temple.⁵ Bachchhahaḍa, son of Sēṭha Sahaja-rāma, installed two golden Kalaṭas over the Śikhāra of this temple with great rejoicings in 1252 A.D.⁶ The inscription of 1295 A.D. mentions some donations to it by the Śrāvakas during the reign of Sāmantasimha.⁷ In 1299 A.D., the Śrāvakas built Madhyachatushkikā and Pārvavachatushkikā in the temple of Tugāḍideva,⁸ another name: Rishabhadeva. There was also the temple of Mahāvīra, in which Sāḥa Kaduyā with the members of his family placed the image of Pārśva in 1237 A.D. for the merit of his brother Udā.⁹ Vinayapra-

1. PRAS. WC., 1939 p. 52.
2. Ibid:
3. Ibid
4. JTSS, p. 181.
5. KB, p. 49.
6. Ibid.
7. NJI, No. 918.
8. ARSMJ, 1929, p. 8
9. Ibid.
bhasūri, in his Tirthamāla, mentions the temples of Rishabha and Śānti.¹

When Jineśvarasūri came to Bārmer in 1226 A.D., he initiated some persons to monkhood, and conferred upon others the title of Upādhyāya.² Chandratilaka Upādhyāya, a pupil of Jineśvarasūri, began to write the Abhayakumāracharita at Bārmer in 1255 A.D. but he gave finishing touches to it at Khaṁbāta during the reign of Visāladeva.³ In 1309 A.D., the Śrāvakas of Bārmer participated in the Saṁgha led by Seṭha Jesala for the pilgrimage from Khaṁbāta.⁴ At the invitation of the Śrāvakas, Jinakūsaḷaśūri visited this place, and various functions such as Amārighośnāpūrvakadikṣā, Mālāropāṇa, Samyaktvāropāṇa Śāmayikāropāṇa, Parigrāha-parimāṇa, and Nāṇ-dimahotsava⁵ were organized in his honour. The Śrāvakas from various places such as Jaisalmer, Lāṭaḥṛida and Pālanpur came to participate in them. In 1334 A.D., this place was visited by Jinapadmaśūri, who was warmly received by the Chauhāna king Samarasimha and his subjects.⁶ He was taken round the city in procession as a mark of respect. Jinapadmaśūri worshipped the temple of Ugādideva with Vidhibhāva.

TOWNS UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE GUHILAS:—

(62) BARODĀ

Barodā, the old capital of Vāgada, is situated at a distance of forty-five Kms from Dūngarpur. Its early name, as known from the old inscriptions, and the manuscripts, was Vaṭapadraka. Originally, it was a small village included in the Ghaghadrora District of the Stalī Maṇḍala (Province), which was under the possession of the Paramāras of Mālwa. In an inscription⁷ of 1020 A.D., Bhojadeva informs all royal

¹. JSP, XVII, p. 15.
². KB, p. 49.
³. GOS, LXXVI, p. 394.
⁴. KB, p. 62.
⁵. Ibid, p. 80.
⁶. Ibid, p. 86.
officers coming to Vaṭapadraka, and the Brāhmaṇas, and other inhabitants, that, at the anniversary of the conquest of Koṅkana, having bathed and worshipped Śiva, he granted one hundred nivartanas of land in this village to the Brāhmaṇa Bhāila, son of Vāmana of Vasishṭha gotra and the Vāji-Mādhyaṇḍina Śākhā, whose ancestors had emigrated from Chhī-ṇichhā city. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it was under the Paramāras of Arthūṇā.

In course of time, Barodā became a flourishing town, and was made the capital of Vāgaḍa in place of Arthūṇā under the rule of the Guhilas. When the Chauhāna king of Jālor named Kirtipāla, and the Chālukyas of Gujarāt compelled Samarasiṃha to leave Chitor, he fled to the territory called Vāgaḍa, and established his new kingdom with his capital at Barodā. He seems to have ruled over this new kingdom for about six years. From an inscription1 of 1171 A.D. found at Jagat, it is known that he made a gift of the Suvarnakalāśa (golden Pinnacle) to the temple of Ambā-devi at Jagat. Another inscription2 of his time dated 1179 A.D. is found on the wall in the temple of Boreśvara on the river of Māhi in Dūṅgarpur State.

Not only from Mewār, but even from Vāgaḍa, the Chālukyas of Gujarāt turned out their enemy Sāmantasimha, whom they did not allow to rule peacefully. From the Virapura copper plate grant,3 dated 1185, A.D. it is clear that when Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Bhīma-deva II of Chālukya family was ruling at Anahilapur, his subordinate chief Mahārājādhirāja Amṛitaṭāla, son of Mahārājādhirāja Bhartṛipatiṭa of Guhiladatta family, was the ruler of Vaṭapadraka of Vāgaḍa Country. From this inscription, it is clear that the Chālukyas of Gujarāt seized this Province of Vāgaḍa, and entrusted it either to Bhartṛipatiṭa or his son Amṛitaṭāla. Amṛitaṭāla was the ruler of Barodā in 1185 A.D. but his relation with Sāmantasimha is not known. The rule of Bhīmasimha II over Vāgaḍa is also clear from an inscri-

1. ARRMA, 1915, p. 3.
2. Ibid, 1914-15, No. 6, p. 3.
ption\(^1\) of 1196 A.D. found at Diwra (Divadā) in Dūṅgarpur State. It records the name of Vaijā, (the son of Elhā) who erected the image of god called Nityaprasādīta at Devakarṇa during the reign of Bhimadeva II of Gujarat.

Probably, after 1196 A.D. or before 1220 A.D., Jayatasiṁha or his son Sihaḍadeva took away Vāgaḍa from the Chālukyas of Gujarat. Two inscriptions of this time are known to us. An inscription\(^2\) dated 1220 A.D. (V.S. 1277) found at Jagat engraved on a pillar of the temple of Ambādevī records that his Minister of peace and war named Rāṇā Vilhaṇa granted the village of Rūnijā to the temple of goddess. Another inscription\(^3\) dated 1234 A.D. found in a temple about a mile from Bhekrod records that the temple of the goddess Vindhyavāsini, situated at Viṇjhalapura, was rebuilt by Vayajā, son of Mahilaṇa, when Sihaḍadeva was ruling at Vaṭapadraka. The name of his Mahāpradhāna Vihaḍa is mentioned. From these inscriptions, it is clear that his capital was Barodā. His independent status is known from keeping his own Mahāpradhāna and Mahāsānhivigrahika.

After Sihaḍa, Vijayasiṁha became the ruler. An inscription of 1249 A.D. found at Jagat records the erection swarṇadāṇḍa (golden flag staff) on the temple by Jayasiṁha-deva, son of Sihaḍa, and grandson of Jayatasiṁha of the Guhila family.\(^4\) From an inscription of 1251 A.D., it is clear that the Śaiva temple of Vijayanātha was constructed at Jhāḍolā during the reign of Vijayasiṁha.\(^5\) He was followed by Devapāladeva, who is said to have taken Gaḷiyākoṭa from the Paramāras.\(^6\)

Devapāladeva was succeeded by Virasiṁhadeva. He is said to have defeated the powerful independent Bhila Chief-
tain Dūṅgariṇā, taken possession of his territory, and founded the town of Dūṅgarpur in 1358 A.D.\(^7\) Actually, this view is

\(^{1}\) ARRMA 1914-15, No. 5, p. 2.
\(^{2}\) Ibid, No 8, p. 3.
\(^{3}\) Ibid, No. 9.
\(^{4}\) Ibid, No. 10.
\(^{5}\) DRI, p. 57.
\(^{7}\) Ibid.
not correct. From his inscriptions, it is clear that he was not living in 1358 A.D. At this time, his grandson Dūṅgarasimha was the ruler, who might have founded the town named Dūṅgarpur after his name. The copper plate dated 1286 A.D. (V.S. 1343) of Vīrasimhadeva found at Mār about five kms from Barodā, records the grant of land, and a house to a Brāhmaṇa Tālḥā, son of Vayājā for the spiritual welfare of Mahārājākula Devapāladeva. The names of important citizens such as Minister Vāmana, Khetala, Purohitā Mokala, Vyāsa Somāditya, Rājaguru Sūdā, Sētha Pārasa, Bhīma, Śrōtīya Vāvana and Paṇḍita Tālḥā are mentioned. Another inscription dated 1280 A.D. (V.S. 1337) records the construction of a stone cistern. His two inscriptions dated 1302 A.D. found at Varvāsā record grants of land. These inscriptions prove that Barodā was a flourishing town, and was inhabited by influential citizens. The next great ruler was Dūṅgarasimha, who ruled from 1331 to 1361 A.D. He founded the new town Dūṅgarpur after his name, where he shifted his capital from Barodā.

Śaivism and Jainism were the two main religions of this place in early times. In the eleventh century, the temple of Śiva was very famous. Bhojadeva, the well known ruler of Malwa, came to Vātappadraka with his officers. He bathed, and worshipped Śaiva temple at the anniversary of the conquest of Koṅkana. The temple, which Bhojadeva visited, might be the old Śaiva temple situated near the tank. Only a small original portion of the temple with beautiful carving remained intact. This temple also contains the old images of Śiva.

Barodā was also a centre of Jainism in early times. Vinayaprabhasūrī, an author of the fourteenth century, refers to the temple of Ādinātha of this place in his Tīrthayātrā stavaṇa. There are several remains of the old Jaina temples. One of them is the temple of Pārśvanātha. Its lower portion is

1. ARRMA, 1915, p. 3; 1914-15, No. 11, p. 3.
2. Ibid, No. 12.
4. JSP, XVII, p. 15.
old, but the upper portion is of recent times. On the black wall of the temple are carved the images of twenty four Tirthankaras and their pañchakalyāṇas. The installation of this stone-wall was performed by Jinachandrasūri of Kharataragachchha in 1308 A.D. Various copies of the Jaina manuscripts, concerning Jaina religion and philosophy, were prepared here in medieval times between the twelfth and the fifteenth century A.D.

(63) ĐŪNGARPUR

Đūngarpur is situated in 23°51' N and 73°43' E about one hundred five kms south of Udaipur. It was the capital of the State of the same name. This town was founded in 1358 A.D. on the site of early town, and was called Đūngarpur after the Bhil chieftain Đūngariā, whom Rāvala Bīrasimha caused to be assassinated. This view does not seem to be tenable. From the inscriptions of his time, it is clear that Bīrasimha was not living in 1358 A.D. At this time, his grandson Đūngarasilimha was the ruler, who might have founded Đūngarpur after his name. This town was also known by the synonymous name Giripura, which was used up to the eighteenth century A.D., as known from inscriptions and literature.

After Đūngarasilimha, his son Karamasīmha became the ruler in 1362 A.D. He is said to have completed the work of construction of the town and fort started by Đūngarasilimha. From the inscription dated 1396 A.D. on a stone wall, it is known that Mānakade, wife of Rāvala Karamasīmha, got it constructed. Whether Rāvala Karamasīmha was alive

1. DKI, p. 16.
2. Satīvegaraiṣādāla in 1150 A.D. and Syādevādaratnākaratarika in 1168 A D. (GOS, XXI, p. 27)
6. DRI, pp. 61-62.
or not that time, is not definite. Kāmāsimha was succeeded by Kānhaḍadeva, who constructed the gateway after his own name known as Kānhaḍapola. The next ruler was Pratāpasimha who constructed Potala gate and tank. He also founded the town named Potalapura. Three inscriptions of his time dated 1399, 1404 and 1411 A.D. are found.1

After Mahārāvala Pratāpasimha, his son Gopinātha or Gajapāla became the ruler before 1426 A.D. According to the Tabakāt-i-Akbari, Gaṇesa or Gajapāla fled on the approach of Ahmad Shāh I of Gujarāt in 1433 A.D., but subsequently repented and returned to wait upon the Sultan, when he was received as an adherent, and offered some tribute.2 But a different account is given in the Praṣasti dated 1468 A.D. of Śantinātha temple at Āṇṭri.3 The king Gajapāla, having defeated the army of the Lord of the Gūrjara country, seized his wealth, and became famous as Gopinātha. Ahmad Shāh’s successor Muhammad Shāh is said to have plundered, and wasted the country of Vāgaḍa, and to have received the submission and tribute of this same Gaṇeṣarāja in about 1446 A.D. Mahārāṇa Kumbha of Mewār attacked Giripura fearing which, Gajapāla deserted his capital.4

The next important ruler was Somadāsa. Firishta5 tells us that Mahmūd Khilji of Malwa marched to Duṅgarpur in 1458 A.D. encamping on the borders of the lake. Rai Shām Dās fled to Kohtana, whence he sent two lakhs of tankās and twenty one horses. When his son Gayāsuddin himself became the Sultan of Māndū, he stormed Duṅgarpur. At this time, Rātakāla, the son of Biliā with his meagre force showed feats of remarkable chivalry, and sacrificed his life for the ashes of the fathers and temple of the gods.6 The chief Minister of Rāvala Somadāsa was Sālhārāja, who chastised the Bilhas at Chanda-Udavāṭaka (Chūṇḍāvāḍā) and

1. DRI, p. 64.
2. History of Gujarat, p. 120.
4. EI, XXI, p. 279.
5. TF, IV, p. 225.
6. DRI, p. 69.
made the District of Kātāra free from their oppression. After him, Mahārāvala Gaṅgādāsa became the ruler in 1480 A.D. From the inscription of 1561 A.D. in the temple of Vaneśvara at Ḍūṅgarpur of the time of Āsakarna, it is known that Gaṅgādāsa fought against Bhaṇa, the ruler of Īḍar, and defeated him.

Rāvala Udaisimha, who succeeded to the throne in 1509 A.D., assisted Mahārāṇā Rāimala of Mewar against the invasion of Gayāsuddin of Māṇḍū. He also gave help to Rāva Rāimala of Īḍar in securing the throne. He was killed in the battle of Kanwāh in 1517 A.D. fighting under the standard of Rāṇā Sāṅgā against Bābar. After his death, his territory was divided between his two sons Prithvīrāja and Jagamala, the former getting the country to the west, and latter to the east of the river Māhī. When the Mughal empire became fairly consolidated, the Ḍūṅgarpur chief had direct connections with the imperial court, as we find Rāwal Āsakarṇa mentioned as waiting upon Akbar in 1577 A.D., and being given a royal reception. His successors paid tribute, and did military service, and were placed under the charge of the imperial Governor of Gujarāt. But, when the Mughal power began to wane, the Mahārāvalas of Ḍūṅgarpur began to pay tribute to the Marāṭhā chief with a view to escaping their depredations.

Soon after its foundation, Ḍūṅgarpur specially became associated with Jainism. From the Pravāsagītikātraya of Jayānanda written in 1370 A.D., it is known that there were five Jaina temples, and about nine hundred Jaina families living at that time. The Jaines were given high posts of Ministers of the State. They constructed temples, and celebrated the consecration of the images with pomp and show. Ḍūṅgarpur was visited by the Jaina saints from time to time, and manuscripts were presented to them as a mark of honour.

In 1404 A.D., Prahlāda, the Minister of Rāvala Pratāpa

1. ARRMA, 1930, p. 3.
2. DRI, p. 72.
Sirhha, constructed a Jaina temple. We have copies of the four manuscripts namely Pañchaprasthāna Vishamaṇḍa Vyākhyā, Dvāṣrayamahākāvya Saṭṭika, Dvitiya-kaṇḍa granthā-gratiryāsakalagrantha and Kathākọṣa written respectively in 1423, 1428, 1429, and 1430 A.D., during the reign of Gajapāla. It is clear from the Gurūguraratnadakariráyttya that Sālhā, who was the Chief Minister of Somadāsa, renovated the temple of Pārśvanātha. He got the big metal images constructed in order to perform their installation ceremony through Lakṣmīśāgarasūri in 1453 A.D.² He was highly charitable, as is evident from the fact that he fed two thousand people every day during the famine of 1464 A.D.

The Bhattārakas of the Mūlasaṅgha, and the Kāśṭhā Saṅgha had a great stronghold at Dūṅgarapura. The temple of Ādinātha of this place was very famous. It was an abode of Bhattārakas who carried on their literary activities. Various copies of the manuscripts were prepared by their inspiration. In 1425 A.D., the Saṅghāpati Kuladīpaka celebrated the initiation ceremony of the Bhattāraka Saṅkalakirti of Mūlasaṅgha with great rejoicings.³ He was a powerful saint as well as an erudite scholar of his time. Bhattāraka Subhaschandra of the Mūlasaṅgha, who lived in the sixteenth century, composed the Chandanacharitra.⁴ Several copies of the manuscripts were written by his inspiration for presenting them to him, and his disciples.⁵ Bhattāraka Kshemendrakirti of Mūlasaṅgha visited Girivara in 1674, and even afterwards. On this occasion, the people of neighbouring places assembled at this place to organize various functions in his honour.⁶ The Kāśṭhā Saṅgha also remained popular here. In 1472 A.D., a copy of the Pañjapata was written to present it to Bhattāraka Jñānakshusuṇa of the Kāśṭhāsaṅgha.⁷ In 1674 A.D., a copy of the Chaubisa

1. ARRMA, 1916, p. 3.
2. Śrī Mahāraṇavala Rajata Jayanti Abhinandana Grantha, p. 398.
4. Śrī Saṅkalakirtirāśa by Bhuvanakirti in Khaṇḍelavāla Digambara Jaina Mandira, Udaipur. See Appendix No. 47 for the text.
5. JGPS, p. 53.
6. Śastrabhandhāra Śrī Digambara Jaina Mandira Sambhavanātha Badābāzār, Udaipur, Manuscript Nos. 255 and 268.
7. Bhattāraka Paṭṭaṇavi from 1697 to V.S. 1757, in the Sambhavanātha Mandira Udaipur, Manuscript No. 430.
thānā Charchā was prepared for presenting it to Bhaṭṭāraka Rājakīrti, and Bhaṭṭāraka Abhayaruci of the Kāśīkhā Saṅgha.

TOWNS ASSOCIATED WITH THE YĀDAVAS

(64) TAHANGARH.

Amidst the tangled hills, and rugged forests, there stands an old town of Tahangarh. In olden times, it was one of the famous forts of Northern India. It is twenty three kms to the south of Bayānā. The foundation of Tahangarh is ascribed to the Yādava king Tahanapāla, son of Rājā Vijayapāla, whose time is known from the Bayānā inscription, in which, his name occurs with the date of 1043 A.D. The date of his son may, therefore, be placed in the latter half of the same century. Like his father, he also built the fort after his own name. The territory round it, in course of time, became famous after the name of the fort. It was also famous by the name of Tribhuvanagiri. When Mohammedans occupied it, it assumed the name of Islāmābād.

During the reign of the Yādavas, Jainism remained specially associated with Tahangarh. Mānikyasūri, in a praśasti of the Pārśvanāthacharita, wrote that his ancestor Pradyumnasūri defeated his opponents in the courts of the rulers of Sapādalaksha, and Tribhuvanagiri, and was honoured by them. Kardamabhūpati, the ruler of this place, is said to have been initiated to monkhood by Abhayadevasūri, a disciple of Pradyumnasūri, and was named Ghaṇeśvaraśūri. Whether Kardama was his name or title, is not known. From a praśasti of the Chitāṇḍirāsa, it is known that Bhaṭṭāraka Vinayachanda of the Māthura Saṅgha wrote it in the Ajaya-narendraśrivāra at Tribhuvangaḍha during the reign of Ajaya-

1. ONS, III Vṛttavilāsa, p. 1.
2. ARRMA, 1913-14, pp. 1-2. See also IA, XIV, p. 10.
3. ASC, XX, p. 89.
4. PR, III, pp. 158-162.
5. Ibid, Kardamabhūpati is said to be a contemporary of the Mālava king Mañju, who died in 897 A.D. But, this view is doubtful, because Tahangarh itself was not founded at that time.
6. See Appendix No. 48.
This town was in a prosperous condition, because the poet compares this place to heaven in prosperity. Ajayapāla may be identified with the Yādava ruler of this name who was a nephew of Kuñivarapāla ruling in the twelfth century A.D. The other known works of Bhaṭṭāraka Vinayachanda are Nirjarapañchamirāsa, and Kalyānakarāsa. In 1157 A.D., Jinadattasūri visited Tribhuvanagiri, and addressed Kuñivarapāla, the ruler of this place. He performed an installation ceremony of the golden Kalaśa, and hoisted a flag of the temple of Śāntinātha with great pomp and show. Jinapālagani, and Dharmaśilagani, disciples of Jinapatisūri, studied with Yasobhadrāchārya at this place. After receiving orders from their teacher, they started on a pilgrimage with the Saṅgha of Tribhuvanagiri in 1188 A.D. Vādidevasūri, who lived in the twelfth century A.D., defeated some scholar in discussions at this place. From the Upakeśa-gachchhapattāvalī, it is known that there was an old temple of this gachchha. Along with Jainism, Śaivism was also followed by the people. It was a centre of the Paśupati sect of the Śaivas in the twelfth century A.D.

The capture of Tahangarh by Muslims is recorded by two contemporary writers. In the Tāj-ul-Maṣir, Hasan Nizāmi says. "In the year 1196, Muhammad Ghorī, and his lieutenant Qutubuddin Aibak marched towards Thangar, and the centre of idolatry and perdition became the abode of glory and splendour. Kuñivarapāla, who was ruling at this time, was defeated and his life was left to him. The Government of Tahangarh was conferred on Bahā-ud-din Tughril. Similarly, Minhāj-i-Sirāj in his Tabaqāṭ-i-Nāsirī tells us that when the Sultan Ghāzi Muizuddīn conquered the fort of Thāṅkar in the country of Bayānā after finishing with the Rāi, he consigned it to Bahā-ud-din, and he so improved

1. KB, pp. 19-20.
2. Ibid, p. 34.
3. PGA, pp. 171-182.
5. ASC, XX, p. 90.
7. TN, p. 545.
the condition of the country, that merchants and men of
credit came thither from all parts of Hindustān, and Khurā-
sān. He gave all of them houses and goods, and also made
them masters of landed property, so that they settled there.
As he, and his army did not like to reside in the fort of
Thāṅkar, he founded the city of Sultānkoṭ in the territory of
Bayānā, and made it the place of his residence.

During the Muslim rule, the population of the Muslims
increased, and several Hindus and Jainas migrated to differ-
ent places for safety, and security from Tahangarh. The
Muslims destroyed Hindu temples and caused persecutions of
the Hindus. Formerly, it was a prosperous town, but incess-
ant invasions and plunders of the Muslims devastated this
place. From a prasasti of the Jinadattachariu¹ written in 1218
A.D., it is known that Lakshmana fled to Vilāsapura from
Tribhuvanagiri in panic on account of the Muslim persecu-
tions. A Śrāvaka named Śrīdhara gave him shelter, and by
his persuasion, he composed the Jinadattachariu in 1218 A.D.

Tribhuvanagiri is also mentioned in the Hammīramahā-
kāvyā² of Nayachandrasūri. When Hammira ascended the
throne in V.S. 1339, he started on a digvijaya, or conquest of
all the quarters. He reached home passing through all towns
such as Chitor, Ābū, Vardhamānpura, Chaṅgā, Pushkara,
Khaṅḍela, Champā, and Karkarāla, at the last of which
places, he received the homage of the ruler of Tribhuvanagiri.
Even in later times, the importance of this place continued.
We also come across the record of the visit by Sikandar Lodī
in 1516 A.D. to this place³. At the time of Bābar's invasion,
Ālam Khān was the Governor of this place.

(65) TIJĀRĀ

Tijārā, situated on the crest of a hill, is forty eight kms
to the north-east of Alwar. It was well suited for the purpose

1. AK, VIII, p. 400. PARAMANAND SHASTRI has identified
Vilāsapura with Willarampur in Etah District of U P. Actually it is
Krishnavilāsa located near Kota.
2. HM, IX, p. 99.
3. ASC, XX, p. 90.
of defence, and in view of the strategical situation, it was, therefore, made the capital of Mewāt in early times. Local traditions tell us that it was founded by Tejapāla, Rājā of Sarahata, a place six kms from Tijārā. He is said to have belonged to the Yādava family of Bayānā, and one of his ancestors after his defeat at the hands of the Muslims, came to this area in about the twelfth century A.D. Some old palaces built at this place are also attributed to Tejapāla, whose descendants became famous by the name of Khānzādās.

During the Muslim rule, Yadu Bhātīs of Mewāt area rose in revolt frequently against the emperors of Delhi. With a view to suppressing them, Iltutmish led expeditions to Mewāt. After him, Balban also took effective measures to bring the situation under control. As a result of it, the chiefs of Mewāt afterwards maintained happy relations with the imperial throne. Bahādura-Nāhara Mewāti, whose stronghold was at Koṭilā in the Tijārā hills, accepted Islām in order to please Firūz Tughluq, emperor of Delhi. As a result of the change in religion, Bahādura occupied a prominent place in the royal court and wielded a considerable influence for thirty years in the politics of the day. After the death of Firūz in 1388 A.D., he helped Abū Bakr, grandson of Firūz Shāh, in expelling Abū Bakr’s uncle Nasiruddin from the throne. In a short time, however, Nasiruddin defeated Abū Bakr, who fled for shelter to Bahādura Nāhara’s stronghold at Tijārā. He was hotly pursued by Nasiruddin, and naturally a struggle ensued. But, after some fight, Abū Bakr and Bahādura Nāhara surrendered. Abū Bakr was placed in confinement, but was allowed to go home. Two years later, when the emperor became ill, Bahādura Nāhara, taking advantage of the situation, plundered the country, and went up to the gates of Delhi. This infuriated Nasiruddin who, though, had hardly recovered from his illness, in order to punish Bahādura, attacked Tijārā. Bahādura Nāhara could not resist the imperial forces, and had to flee from this place to Jhirka for safety. But, this was only a temporal phase. Even after the death of Nasiruddin, Bahādura continued to intervene in the political affairs of Delhi.

1. ASC, XX, pp. 117-118.
for three years, and rose to so much power that he did not allow the rival claimants to become the emperors.¹

Several historians, including the great conqueror himself, make prominent mention of the conduct of Bahādura Nāhara during the invasion of Timūr in 1398 A.D. Timūr states that he sent an embassy to Bahādura Nāhara at Tijārā to which an humble reply was received. A present of two white parrots, which had belonged to the late emperor, was sent. Timūr remarks that these parrots were much prized by him. Subsequently, Bahādura Nāhara and his son (together with others, who had taken refuge with him) came to pay homage to Timūr. After the departure of Timūr, Khizārī Khān, Governor of the Punjab, calling himself Timūr’s Viceroy, became virtually emperor of Hindustān. He plundered Tijārā, and Sarahata and besieged Bahādura Nāhara in Koṭilā in 1421 A.D.²

Khizārī Khān was succeeded in 1421 A.D. by Saiyad Mubārak, who in 1424 A.D. ravaged rebellious Mewāt. The Mewātīs took refuge in the mountains of Tijārā, a place so strong that the emperor had to return to Delhi without taking it. In 1425 A.D., he again marched against Mewāt. The Mewātīs gave heroic resistance under the headship of Jallū, and Kaddū, grandsons of Bahādura Nāhara. In this struggle, Kaddū lost his life. At last, in 1420 A.D., the inhabitants were obliged to pay tribute.³ From a praśasti of the Harivanśapurāṇa of Yaśakirti, it is known that it was written in V.S. 1500 (1443 A.D) at Indaura in the reign of Jalālkhān who should be identified with the Mewātī chief of this name who gave plenty of trouble to Saiyyad Mubarak Shāh, and was besieged by the latter at Andwar.⁴ In 1450 A.D., Bahalol Lodī succeeded to the throne. His first movement was against Mewāt. Ahmed Khān Mewātī, who held this country with its capital Tijārā, submitted to him.⁵

1. TF, I, pp. 471-81.
2. Ibid, p. 495. See also HIED, III, p. 449 and IV, pp. 25, 53.
3. Ibid, 518-521; HIED, IV, p. 61.
4. JGPS, II p. iii.
5. TF, I, p. 553.
In 1488 A.D., Sikandar Lodi sat upon the throne of Delhi. At this time, Tijārā was the seat of an imperial Governor named Alauddin Ālam Shāh and Khān-zādā Ālam Khān was the ruler of this place. Khān-zādā Ālam Khān was tolerant in religious matters. His reign gave an encouragement to the activities of Jainism. In 1497 A.D., (V.S. 1554), a Jaina image of Chandra Prabhu was installed by Triloka chanda of the Goyala gotra at the preaching of Bhāṭṭāraka Guṇabhadra of the Kāśṭhā Saṅgha.

The copies of the Pañchāstikāyaṭīkā and the Harivamśapurāṇa were written respectively in 1516 and 1520 A.D. Alāuddin Ālam Shāh, Governor of Tijārā, was the brother of Sikandar Lodi, and held this post for a long time. He is said to have built a great Paṭhān Tomb to the south of the city, now called Bhartarī, because the land on which it stands formerly belonged to a Hindu of that name. When Bābar invaded India, serious differences arose between him and Ibrāhim Lodī, and, therefore, he joined Bābar. At a short distance to the south-west of Bhartarī, there is a very pretty stone Masjid, which is said to be the resting place of the famous Khān-zādā ruler named Hasan Khān, the opponent of Bābar. He fell on the battlefield of Kanwāhā in 1527 A.D. From a copy of the Bṛihatkalpasūtra, it is known that Umārakhān was governing this place in 1540 A.D. That in 1552 A.D., this place was ruled by Salīm Shāh, ruler of the Sūra dynasty, is clear from a prāśasti of the Śrīpravachanasāroddhāra. When this place was taken away by Akbar, Jainism developed by leaps and bounds on account of his liberal policy in religious matters. Several copies of the manuscripts

1. TF, p. 566. See also HIED V, p. 97.
2. See appendix No. 49. While digging the ground for constructing the road, this image was unearthed at Tijārā.
3. See Appendix No. 50 for the text.
4. See Appendix No. 51 for the text.
5. ASC, XX, p. 115.
6. Ibid, p. 117.
7. SPS, p. 96.
are known to have been prepared in 1562 and 1573 A.D. during his reign.¹

During the reign of Muhammad Shāh in 1720 A.D., Chūrāman, the first great freebooter, reached Tijārā plundering the country. He could not annex it permanently. But between 1745 and 1763 A.D., Şūrajmal, the grand nephew of Chūrāman, overran the Mewāt country and occupied Tijārā. In order to curb his power, Najaf Khān, an imperial officer, was sent with a strong contingent, but he could not succeed. During the period of Marāṭhā supremacy, Ismāil Beg, a celebrated Mughal General, was sent to bring the Jāṭ leader to reason. The two, however, played into each other’s hands, and Ismāil Beg held Tijārā unmolested until the Marāṭhās, whom he had defied, came to oust him. After fluctuations of fortune, Ismāil Beg was finally defeated by the Marāṭhās, who occupied Tijārā. Some years after, it was recovered by the Jāṭs. They were, more or less subject to Najafkhān, who was, perhaps, the last of the great imperial officers, whose dominions embraced all Mewāt. In 1805 A.D., after the defeat of the Marāṭhās, Tijārā with some other Paragaṇas was conferred on Bakhtāwar Simha of Alwar.

(66) BAHĀDURPUR

The old town of Bahādurpur is situated twenty one kms to the north-east of Alwar. It is said to have been founded in the fourteenth century by Bahādura Nāhara, who accepted Islam during the reign of Firūz Tughluq. But, as a matter of fact both in the inscriptions², and the Praśasti³ of the sixteenth century, its name Bahudravyapura is mentioned. It seems that some other town might have been existing earlier because old relics have been discovered. In the past, it was a flourishing city with large bazārs, numerous fine houses, temples, and tombs.

¹. SPS, p. 115.
². ASC, XX, p. 119.
³. SPS, p. 35-149; p. 54-212.
During the rule of the Nikumbha Rājpūts, this place was a flourishing city but it was destroyed during the Muslim period. Bahādura Nāhara, the founder of the Khānzādā dynasty, seems to have rehabilitated this town. Afterwards, this place somehow remained associated with the Khānzādās. Maun Khān ruled over this territory for a long time, because copies of manuscripts were written in 1475 and 1495 A.D. during his reign. According to local traditions, Hasan Khān, the great opponent of Bābar, had his seat of government at this place. The Mughal emperors governed this place through their Governors. From them, it was seized by the Jāts in a period between 1724 and 1763 A.D. at the time of their ascendancy under Sūrajamal. From the Jāts, it was taken into possession by the Narukās. Taking advantage of the depressed condition of the Jāts, Pratāpasimha conquered Bahādurpur, and other territory between 1775 and 1782 A.D.

As Khānzādās were originally Hindus, they retained their old customs and traditions. By nature, they were tolerant, and showed great regard towards other religions. The activities of Jainism continued during their reign without interference. During the reign of Maun Khān, copies of the manuscripts namely Śrīvaśyakanirīyukti and Śrīnāgasaggadāsamūla were written respectively in 1475 and 1495 A.D. Rūpa, with the members of the family, got a copy of the Śilopadesamālā prepared for self reading in 1465 A.D. A Jaina inscription of 1516 A.D. records the construction of the Ādīnāthachaiya at Bahudravyapura by Śrīmāla Saṅgha, and the installation of an image therein was made by Āchārya Punyaratnasūri during the vijayarāja of Jinahaināsūri of the Kharatara gachchha. Bhaṭṭāraka Bhūshana, of the

1. SPS, p. 35-149.
2. Ibid, p. 54-212.
3. Ibid, p. 35-149.
6. ASC, XX, p. 120.
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Kāshṭhasaṅgha, performed the installation ceremony of images at this place in 1619 A.D. Amichanda wrote a copy of the Chārudattacharitra in the Chintāmaṇi temple in 1666 A.D., when Devendrakīrti was the Bhāṭṭāraka of the Mūla Saṅgha. These activities prove that Jainism was followed by a large number of people at this place in medieval times.

(67) LODORVĀ

Lodorvā, which still exists about sixteen kms north-west of Jaisalmer, is the town of high antiquity. Originally, it seems to have been founded by the Lodra Rājpūts, probably a branch of the Paramāra Rājpūts. It is said that Bhāṭṭī Devarāja, ruler of Devagarh, defeated the Lodra Rājpūt ruler named Nįpabhbānu, and took possession of the city in the tenth century A.D. He is considered the real founder of the Jaisalmer family, and assumed the title of Rāwal.

The son and successor of Devarāja was Munḍa. In 1025 A.D., Mahmūd Ghazānī reached Lodorvā, which was defended by a strong citadel, and a body of brave soldiers. The Sultān captured it. The ruler, who fought against the Muslim forces, is identified with Rāwal Bachchherā. In 1034 A.D., Rāvala Sāgara was ruling over this place. This town was under the possession of Vijayarāja in 1163 A.D. After him, his son Bhojadeva became the ruler. His uncle Jaisala conspired against him. He paid a visit to the king of Ghor, and by swearing allegiance to him, obtained military help from him to dispossess his nephew. Lodorvā was encompassed and sacked. Bhojadeva was slain in the defence.

1. BŚ, No. 686.
2. AK, V, p. 50.
3. AAR, II, p. 262.
4. Devagarh is known as Derāwar at present. It is about 90 km from the northern frontier of the Jaisalmer State.
5. AAR, II, p. 262.
7. AAR, II, p. 264.
8. NJI, No. 2543, See also p. 28.
10. AAR, II p. 267.
Ghori, who conquered Multan and Uch in 1175 A.D., might have attacked Lodorvā with his army. This army marched away with the spoils. Lodorvā was, however, not a proper and safe place for defence, so Jaisala sought for a better place which could be helpful to him from military point of view. Having searched out a place sixteen kms to the south-east, he laid the foundation of the fort and city of Jaisalmer after 1163 A.D., and not in 1156 A.D., as TOD¹ thinks.

Vaishnavism seems to be popular under the early Bhāṭi chiefs of Lodorvā. An inscription of 913 A.D. engraved on a Govardhana records that Bhadruka, son of Rāmadhara, born in the Kshatriya family, set up the Govardhana with great devotion.² Another inscription engraved on a Govardhana dated 1163 A.D. records that during the reign of Vijayarāja, Rājī Rājaladevi built a tank, and erected a Govardhana in memory of her daughter’s son Sohāgapāla.³ One early temple of Mātājī is also attributed to these Bhāṭi rulers.

Side by side with Vaishnavism, Jainism also received an impetus at the hands of the early chiefs of Lodorvā. In about 1034 A.D., there was a king named Sāgara, in whose time, Jinesvarasūri, pupil of Vardhamānasūri of the Kharatara gachchha, came to this town. His two sons namely Śrīdharā and Rājadhara constructed the temple of Pārśvanātha.⁴ This temple belongs to the eleventh century A.D. from the architectural point of view. The style of architecture in the lower part of the temple is purely of South Indian Hindu type, while the upper part is of north-west Indian type. The exquisite carvings of some of dwarf pillars are like those found in the famous cave temples of

¹. AAR, II, p. 268 This date is not possible because his predecessor Vijayarāja was ruling over Lodorvā in 1163 A.D. as known from the inscription.

². ARRMA, 1935-1936. p. 2. Govardhana is a four-sided pillar, having on the upper portion of its four sides the images of four gods, viz. Brahmā, Vīṣṇu, Śiva and Sūrya one on each side.

³. Ibid, No 8, p. 3.

⁴. NJI, No. 2543. See also p. 28.
Ellorā and Ajantā. The torana dwarf is elaborately carved and excellently decorated. TOD also obtained a copper plate inscription from Lodorvā of the period of Vijayarāja and also some clay signets given to pilgrims bearing Jaina symbols. All these relics prove that Jainism was prevalent at this place in the twelfth century A.D.

At the time of the Muslim invasion of Muhammad Ghorī, the temple of Chintāmanī Pārśvanātha of Lodorvā was probably destroyed. Afterwards, it was repaired by Khīmasī and his son Pūnasī as known from a praṣasti of the Śatadala Pārśvanātha Tantra written by Sahajakirti in 1618 A.D.² Again, Thāharusāha, a descendant in the line of Khīmasī, renovated it in 1618 A.D.³ The installation ceremony was made by Jinarāja Sūri. Ravi Jethi composed the Lodorvāji Tirtha Maṇḍana Śri Chintāmanī Pārśvanātha in 1620 A.D., probably on the occasion of installation ceremony.⁴ In 1635 A.D., he also built the Pārśvanātha devagriha for the merit of her wife Kanakadevi through Jinarājasūri.⁵

(68) JAISALMER

Jaisalmer, capital of the State of the same name, is situated in 26° 55’ north and 70° 55’ east about one hundred fifty three kms north of Bārmer station on the Jodhpur Bikaner Railway. Its early history, as based on old chronicles, is not reliable. It is said that Jaisaladeva founded the fort and city of Jaisalmer in 1156 A.D. at a distance of thirteen kms from the old capital Lodorvā.⁶ Actually, the time assigned to its foundation does not appear to be correct. One of the predecessors of Jaisala named Vijayarāja was ruling over Lodorvā in 1163 A.D.⁷ He was succeeded by his son Bhojadeva. After him, Jaisāla became the ruler.
Hence, this town might have been founded after 1163 A.D. The princes, who followed Jaisal, are known to be Sāli-vāhana, Bijaladeva and Chāchigadeva. Karna was ruling in 1283 A.D.¹, and he was followed by Lakshmana and Punyasena.

Jaitasimha seems to be the most powerful ruler of the Bhāṭī dynasty ruling over Jaisalmer. The genealogy of the dynasty has been described as beginning from him.² He is said to have ruled from 1276 to 1294 A.D.³ According to the local bards, Alāuddin, who was the emperor of Delhi at this time, despatched a large army to punish the Bhāṭīs for having carried off certain treasure, which was being conveyed from Thaṭṭam and Multan to his capital. The fort of Jaisalmer is said to have been besieged for nine years, and to have been captured in 1295 A.D. These dates of Jaitasimha are misleading, because Alāuddin began to rule in 1295 A.D. Jaitasimha is known to have ruled over this place in 1299 A.D.⁴ He and his sons Mūla Rāja and Ratnasimha have been described to have fought against the Muslims and sacrificed their lives for the sake of their mother land.⁵ The Muslims occupied this town, and kept their possession for a couple of years. Afterwards, some Rāṭhors of Māllāṇi wanted to seize it but they were driven away by Jaitasimha’s son Dūdā, who afterwards became the ruler and repaired the town and fort. One of his sons named Tilaka Simha was renowned for his predatory exploits. He extended his raids to Jālor and Ajmer. Alaūddin is said to have again attacked Jaisalmer, and Dūdā and Tilaka-simha, and seventeen hundred of the clans died in action. The next chief was Gharsi, who like a lion tearing up the elephants in the shape of the Mlechchhas, forcibly wrested their vupradari (hereditary kingdom) from them.⁶ An inscription engraved on a memorial tablet records that Mahārāja Gadāsiha died

¹. KB, p. 58.
². NJI, III Nos. 2112 and 2139.
⁴. KB, p. 61.
⁵. NJI, No. 2172.
⁶. Ibid.
in 1361 A.D., and his memorial was set up during the reign of Mahārāja Śrī Kesārī.1

The chiefs, who followed Kesārī, were Lakshmanā, Vairāsinha, Chāchigadeva, Devidāsa, Jaitasimha II, Karṇasimha, Lūnakarṇa, Māladeva, Hararāja, Bhīma, Kalyāṇa-Dāsa, Manoharadāsa, and Rāmachandra. Among these chiefs, Lūnakarṇa was the powerful ruler, who opposed Humāyūn in 1541 A.D. on his way to Ajmer via Jaisalmer and Nāgaur.2 In the sixteenth century A.D., Turkoman, Governor of Umarkot, under the Arghun dynasty, married the daughter of a chief of Jaisalmer, and the son of this marriage was Khān-i-zamān, a distinguished General of his time in Sind which was then on friendly political terms with Jaisalmer. The Beg-lār-nāmāh3 mentions the deputation of Khān-i-Zamān on a mission to Rāwal Harā Rāja with a rob of honour from Mirzā Jan Beg of Sind. The name of Rāwal Bhīma appears in the Ain-i-Akbari,4 in the list of Mansabadārs of 500, and Jahāngīr described him as a man of rank and influence. Rāwal Bhīma married the niece of Rājā Sūra Simha of Bīkāner.

Bhīma was followed on the gaddi by his brother Kalyāṇa Dāsa in 1624 A.D. According to the Ain-i-Akbari,5 he had been appointed Governor of Orissa in 1610 A.D., while the Tuzak states that he was made a Commander of 2000 about six years later. Jahāngīr writes that he summoned him to the court in 1626 A.D., invested him with jīkā, and bestowed on him the title of Rāwal.6 The next great ruler was Sabala Simha, a great grandson of Rāwal Māladeva, who ruled during the reign of Shāhjahān. He is said to have served with distinction at Peshawar, where on one occasion, he saved the royal treasure from being captured by the Afghan mountaineers. As a reward for this exploit, Shāhjahān ordered that he should be in-

1. ARRMA, 1935-36, XIV, p. 4.
3. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Tuzak-i-Jahāngīr, p. 159.
stalled as the ruler of Jaisalmer, although he was not the legitimate heir to the gaddi. During his reign, the State reached the height of its power, and it included the whole of Bhawalpur, and many Districts subsequently annexed by the Rathors, and incorporated in Jodhpur, and Bikāner. But from this time till the accession of Mūlarāja II in 1762 A.D., the fortunes of Jaisalmer rapidly declined, and her boundaries began to squeeze in.

Though the rulers of Jaisalmer were Hindus, they were great patrons of Jainism, which made a striking progress during their reign. Several beautiful temples were built, and numerous images were placed in them with great celebration. Even the princes took a keen interest in their religious affairs. From a praśasti of the Daśaśrāvaka-charitra written in 1218 A.D., it is known that Jagaddhara, son of Kshemandhara, constructed a temple of Pārśvanātha at Jaisalmer. In 1187 A.D., the people accompanied the Saṅgha of Ajmer organized by Abhayakumāra of Anahilapātan under Jina-dattaśūri. Nemikumāra, and Gaṇadeva of this place were wealthy persons, who spent huge wealth on religious activities. In 1268 A.D., they got the golden cupolas of the temple of Pārśvanātha prepared for installing them through Jineśvarasūri. When Jina-prabodhasūri visited this town in 1287 A.D., the king Karnadeva with his officers and army went to receive him. At the request of the ruler, he spent the rainy season at this place. The images of Chaubīṣi, Jinamandira and Ashtāpada were installed by Nemikumāra and Gaṇadhara. On this occasion, some persons were also initiated to monkhood. In 1299 A.D., at the request of Jaitrasimha, ruler of Jaisalmer, Jina-chandraśūri paid visit to this town. The king himself went to receive him. The functions of mālāropana, and initiation were performed with great rejoicing in 1300

3. KB, p. 34.
5. Ibid, p. 58.
In 1301 A.D., Tolā, son of Hasana, performed the installation ceremony of images. Even afterwards, Jainism continued to make progress at Jaisalmer. During the reign of Lakshmaṇa Simha, the temple of Chintāmaṇi Pārśvanātha was repaired at the preaching of Āchārya Jinarāja in 1416 A.D., and the image of Pārśvanātha brought from Lodorvā was placed in it. Afterwards, the building was named Lakshmaṇa Vilāsa. It indicates the love of the subjects towards the king, under whom, their religion must have flourished. The successor of Lakshmaṇa was Vayarasiṃha. In 1436 A.D., Pāsada, with the members of his family, set up an idol of Supārśvanātha in the temple of Chintāmaṇi during his reign.

Sāha Hemarāja and Pūnā constructed the temple of Sambhavanātha in 1437 A.D. The festivities in connection with the consecration ceremony took place in 1440 A.D. when Jina-bhadra put three hundred idols of Sambhavanātha, and of others. Even the king Vayarasiṃha took part in them. In his reign, Sāha Lolā with the members of the family, set up the image of Pārśvanātha in the standing pose in 1440 A.D.

A copy of the Kalpasūtra was prepared in 1440 A.D., when he was ruling. Chāchigadeva became the king in 1448 A.D. During his reign, Sajāka, Sachoharāja and Sajja celebrated the consecration ceremony of Nandiśvara paṭṭikā, Satruṇjaya Gīrāvratāra paṭṭikā, and Nandiśvara Paṭṭikā respectively through Jinachandra Sūri in 1461 A.D.

Jainism made a striking progress during the reign of Devakarna. The copies of the Kālāpakā vyākaraṇa Vṛttisahā and Trishastisalākāpurushacharitāra were written in 1469 and 1479 A.D. respectively. Kheta of Saṅkhavalechā gotra and Pañcha
of Chopadā gotra constructed two temples of Śāntinātha, and Ashtāpada respectively in 1479 A.D. during his reign. There was some sort of matrimonial alliance between these two rich persons. Saṅghavī Khecā with his family made pilgrimage to Satruṇjaya, Giranāra and other Tirthas many times. He also performed the consecration ceremony of the famous Tapapattikā of the temple of Sambhavanātha. In 1479 A.D., Dhanapati of Pāṭaṇa installed an image of Śāntinātha in the temple of Pārvanātha. In the same temple, Hāma and Bhimasī made Jina-varendra Paṭṭikā. The image of Marudevi was also erected at this time in the temple of Rishabha.

The Jaina religion continued to progress in the time of the later rulers of Jaisalmer. A copy of the Uttarādhya-anasūtra Dipikāsaha was written at Jaisalmer during the reign of Rāula Harirāja in 1571 A.D. The copies of the Tattvārthasūtra, and Kālikāchārya were made respectively in 1585 and 1602 A.D., when Bhimasena was ruling. In 1593 A.D. the pādūkā of Jinakusalasūri was erected by Saṅghavī Pāsadatta. The consecration ceremony of a pillar of the Pārvanātha temple was also performed in 1606 A.D. In 1615 A.D., during the victorious reign of Kālyañā Daśa, Jinasimha Sūri built a pādūkā of Jinachandrasūri. In 1616 A.D., Mautrī Todaramala constructed a door of upāsarā. Jinasimha Sūri came to Jaisalmer, where he celebrated the consecration ceremony of the image of Chintāmaṇi Pārvanātha brought from Lodorvā to the temple named Lakshmana-
vihāra in 1621 A.D.¹ In the reign of Buddha Simha, Gangā Rāma with his family installed images at the preaching of Tattvasundara Gaṇi in 1712 A.D.² The Pujyapādūkā of Jīnodayasthāna was erected by his disciples in 1749 and 1755, A.D., when Akhai Simhaya was ruling.³

Besides religion, art and literature prospered under the patronage of the rulers of Jaisalmer in medieval times. Thinking this place to be safe and secure from the Muslim invasions, scholars pursued their literary activities. Pūrṇa-bhadra Gaṇi,⁴ pupil of Jinapati, wrote the Daśaśāvakacharitra in V.S. 1275 (1218 A.D.), the Dhanyāśālibhadtrakaritra with saṃvedanāchārya in 1285 V.S. (1228 A.D.) and Kṛityapunyacharitra in 1305 V.S. (1248 A.D.). Sarvarāja, pupil of Jinesvara-sūri, wrote the treatise on the Pānchaliṅgī Prakaraṇa at Jaisalmer.⁵ The Aṇjanā Sundarikathā was written by Guṇasāmṛiddhi Mahattārā in 1350 A.D.⁶ It is said that Jinabhadrasthāna, who lived in the fifteenth century A.D., spent the best part of his life in establishing the store-house of knowledge at this place.⁷ The preparation of various copies of the manuscripts was done by the scribes working under him. He also brought the manuscripts from other places for preservation. It was through his efforts that a part of the great treasure house of the medieval learning was saved to acquaint us with the glories of the people. There are thousands of valuable and important manuscripts both on palm-leaves, and paper in these bhandhras. Padmamandira of the Kharatara gacchha composed the Rishimaṇḍala vṛtti in 1496 A.D.⁸ The Jambudvīpaṇaprājñāpī Tikā was written by Punyasāgara Mahopādhyāya in 1588 A.D.⁹

The great Jaina temples of Chintāmaṇi Pārśvanātha,

¹. NJI, No. 249.²
². Ibid, No. 2498.
³. Ibid, No. 2501.
⁴. Ibid, Nos. 2508 and 2509.
⁵. RB, III, Pt. II.
⁶. JSP, p. 282
⁷. Ibid, XVI, p. 16.
⁸. RB, III, Pt. 2.
⁹. Ibid.
Rishabhadeva, Śāntinātha, Sambhavanātha and Mahāvīra in the fort of Jaisalmer constructed one after another in period between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries were excellent. The temple of Pārśvanātha, which was built in the twelfth century, is the oldest and most beautiful. It was repaired from time to time. The most important part of the temple is the shrine containing the image of Tirthaṅkara. The four walls of the shrine are beautifully carved with animals, and human figures. Over the roof of this particular shrine is built a highly decorated śikhara invariably crowned by an āmalaka. Above the āmalaka is the water pot containing a lotus flower. There is a porch and bhoga maṇḍapa in front of this shrine. Facing this porch, there is the naṭamaṇḍapa octagonal in shape, which is decorated with themes of Jaina and Hindu mythology. Profuse ornamentations in the shape of foliage, flowers, birds and human figures were used in decorating every part of the pillar, arch, lintel or bracket. There hang the graceful full blown lotus-shaped pendants from the centre on the ceiling of the Naṭamandira dome. Over the columns of the porch are the bracket capitals, which are also surmounted by dwarf columns, which support the architraves of the dome, and the struts supporting the gallery. Between the bracket capitals and under the struts are placed beautifully ornamented toraṇa-shaped figure forming a kind of pierced arch. The surrounding courtyard is enclosed by a double colonnade of smaller pillars, finely carved and ornamented ceilings. Behind it, there stands a range of cells and each of it contains the cross-legged seated Tirthaṅkara. Before the entrance gate of the temple is the porch supported by decorated columns. Just over the chhujas at both corners in the friezes of the porch are two figures of elephants. The carvings perforated in the architraves, Kangura, parapet, specially the śikhara or dome, and over the porch are elegant and graceful. The greatest attraction of these temples is the toraṇa that stands on a pair of decorated columns in front of the entrance porch of Pārśvanātha temple. The columns are ornamented with lotus, animals, makaras and adorned with sculptures, which seem almost instinct with
life and motion. There is a wonderful grace in these sculptures of different gods and apsarás.

**TOWNS ASSOCIATED WITH THE KACHHAVĀHAS**

(69) ALWAR

There are different views about the origin of the name of the town Alwar, but all of them do not seem to be correct. The generally accepted view is that Alwar was founded by Aladhurāya, the second son of Kurma or Kachhavāha family of Āmber in V.S. 1106 after destroying the Bada Gurjaras. After him, the Nikumbhas are said to have seized the power from his descendants. The earliest notice of Alwar is found in Firishta, who speaks of a Rājpūt of Alwar contending with the Ajmer Rājpūts in

1. (a) According to MĪRBHASAN DAHESAVI, Alāvalakhān Khānz-dī founded Alwar in about V.S. 1582.
   (b) BADRINATH GHARAN holds that it was named after a Chārāṇa saint named Alānātha who lived in the sixteenth century.
   (c) According to RAHIMBAX, it was founded by Alāuddin Khilji.
   (d) GHAUBE GHAGAN MAL observes that the Ghauhana king Ālānadeva of Nāḍol founded Alwar and the fort in the Twelfth Century A.D.
   (e) In the baḥī of BHURAJAGA of Lālagadha, it has been mentioned that a Nikumbha ruler named Alavā founded Alwar. POLLAT writes that the Nikumbha Rājpūts were the first occupants of Alwar. They are said to have built the fort and the old town, the remains of which are still noticed.
   (f) Some derive it from Alpur, the strong city and others from Arbal, the name of the mountain range, on which, it is situated. (The Rajputana Gazetteer, III, p. 276).
   (g) According to GUNNINGHAM, the old name of this place was Sālvapura which originated from the old tribe of the Sālvas. From an expression in the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, (1-2-9) it appears that Matsya and Sālva were situated close to each other. The early Mohammedan authors mention the capital city of Salmur in the hills to the south of Delhi. (ASC, XX, p. 120). Sālvapura would become Salwar and as the name is spelt with the palatal’s, it might pass easily through Halwar to Alwar.
Cities of Rajasthan

1195 A.D. From the Nikumbhas, it was seized by the Baḍa Gurjara Rājpūts of Māchārī. From an inscription of 1382 A.D., it is known that the ancestors of Āsala were Jagannātha, Pipaladeva, and Matsyadeva who conquered Alwar. Afterwards, it remained, undoubtedly, in the hands successively of the Khāنزādās, Mughals, Pathānas, Jāts and Narukas. From the Jaina sources, it is known to be the tīrtha of Rāvaṇa Pārvanāṭha in medieval times.

Bahādurā Nāhara, a Yādava Rājpūt by birth, is the founder of the Khāنزādā race. He became a Musalamāna to gratify Firūzshāh Tughluq, emperor of Delhi. He was the most powerful ruler who governed Alwar from his seat at Tijārā. Sayyid Mubāarakshāh, who became the sultan in 1421 A.D., led the repeated expeditions against the Mewātīs. They were raising rebellions from time to time under Jālū, and Qaddū, grandsons of Bahādurā Nāhara. In 1427 A.D., the emperor, after putting Qaddū to death, sent troops to Mewāt. Jālū with Ahmed Khān, and Malik Farikuddīn, who probably belonged to the same family, collected a force within the fort of Alwar, and defended it so bravely that the imperial commander had to accept a war contribution and return to Delhi. In 1450 A.D., Baholol Lodi succeeded to the imperial throne. His first military movement was against Mewat. Ahmed Khān, who held this country, submitted to the imperial force. In 1488 A.D., Sikandar Khān sat upon the throne of Delhi. He appointed his brother Ālam Khān to rule over this territory.

Bābar, after his victory at Pānīpat, took possession of Delhi, and Āgrā. Rānā Sāṅgā, who led the struggle for independence against the invader, invited the Mewātī chief Hasan Khān for help. The political position of Hasan Khān at this time was an important one. Bābar, in his autobiography, speak of him as the prime mover in all

1. TF, I, p. 193.
2. ASC, VI, p. 79.
3. TF, I, p. 521.
4. TF, I, p. 566; HIED, V, p. 97.
the confusions, and insurrections of the period. Hasan Khān’s seat at this time was at Alwar, but local tradition says that it was originally established at Bahādurpur, thirteen kms from Alwar. He had either fallen in the struggle, or had immediately, afterwards, been murdered by a servant instigated by his relations. Bābar advanced towards Mewāt, and encamped six Kosās from the fort of Alwar. Here, a messenger from Hasan Khān’s son Nāhara Khān arrived suing for pardon, and on receiving assurances of safety, Nāhara Khān himself came in and obtained a paraganā of several lakhs for his support.

The political power of the Khānzādā chiefs of Mewāt was not permanently broken. No doubt, they are not noticed as the powerful opponents or principal allies of the emperors of Delhi. There was a regular succession of Mughal Governors or fort Commandants of Alwar for their control. They tried to suppress them but the Khānzādās still retained their local importance. After his victory, Bābar gave the charge of the fort of Alwar to his military General Fardi-khān. He himself visited the fort, where he spent a night. He examined it, and found a treasure which he bestowed on his son Humāyūn.1 After Bābar, his son Humāyūn became the emperor of Delhi. He seems to have conciliated the Khānzādās by marrying the elder daughter of Jamal Khān, nephew of Bābar’s opponent Hasan Khān, and by causing his Minister Bairām Khān to marry a younger daughter of the same Mewāṭī. Mirzā Hindal, brother of Humāyūn, had been placed in charge of Mewāt after the death of Bābar, and when contending with Humāyūn, he is once referred to as having retired to Alwar, where he lived in security.2 In 1543 A.D., Shāh Ālam was in the possession of the great fort of Alwar as known from a prāfasti3 of the Śrī Laghusamgrahāṇisūtram. He was the brother of Sikandar Lodi, who made him the Governor of Mewāt. He sided

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1. HIED, IV, pp. 262-73.
Bābar against his nephew Ibrāhīm Lodi in the battle of Pānipat. He lived up to Humāyūn’s reign, but is not known when or where he died.¹

Humāyūn was supplanted by Sher Shāh in about 1540 A.D. His son Islām Shāh became the ruler after his father. During his reign, a battle was fought, and lost by his troops at Firozpur in Mewāt. But he, apparently, did not, in consequence, lose his hold, for an inscription on a fine tank in the Alwar fort states that it was constructed by Chānd Kāzi, Governor of the fort, under orders from Islām Shāh and that it was completed in 1550 A.D.² Islām Shāh died in 1554 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Firūzkhān, but the latter was soon murdered by his maternal uncle Mubārik Khān, who ascended the throne under the title of Muhammad Shāh. He got a considerable help from his able, and brave Minister Hemū. Akbar defeated Hemū in the battle of Pānipat in 1556 A.D., and sent his forces towards Mewāt. At this time, Hāji Khān was the Governor of Alwar. He did not venture to resist Akbar’s troops, and fled to Ajmer.³

When Alwar came into the possession of the Mughals, Akbar visited it on his way to Fatehpur Sikri in 1579 A.D. Badāūnī, the historian, was with him on his visit to Alwar. At this time, it was a place of residence of the celebrated saint named Sheikh Mubārak Maulānā. Akbar is known to have visited him, and was made to feel his miraculous power. It appears from the Aīn-i-Akbari⁴ that the country of Mewāt was divided into two Sarkārs, Alwar and Tijārā. The Sarkār of Alwar contained 43 sub-divisions, which comprised 1612 villages, having an area of 2457410 bighas, and yielding a revenue of 5924232 dams. Sawāi Jaisimha, the famous ruler of Jaipur, obtained Alwar in Jāgīr from Aurangzeb. Seeing the strategical importance of the fort of this place, the emperor soon took away from him. He repaired, and

1. ASG, XX, p. 114.
3. HIED, IV, p. 484.
garrisoned it with imperial troops. It would appear that Aurangzeb himself visited Alwar, for the inscription on a mosque in the city notifies that it was built by his order.\(^1\)

During the later Mughal period, the Jāts under the leadership of Chūrāman, and Sūrajamal overran the Mewāt country. They could not occupy it permanently. They were, however, more or less subject to Najaf Khān, who was perhaps the last of the great imperial officers, and whose dominion embraced all Mewāt. The Narukas\(^2\) had, now, joined in the struggle for the territory, and the Jāts, weakened by Najafkhan, could not resist them. Rao Kalian Simha (1671 A.D.) appears to have been the first of the Lālāwat Narukas to settle in the present Alwar territory. He supported his chief Jaisimha against his Jāt rival, and received Māchārī. His successors remained loyal vassals to the chiefs of Jaipur. One of his successors Pratāpasimha developed it into a Principality. He helped the chief of Jaipur against the Jāts, and obtained his permission to build a fort at Rājgarh. At this time, the Alwar fort was in the hands of the Jāts of Bharatpur, who were reduced to great straits by Najibudaulā, the imperial Minister and Najaf Khān.

Taking advantage of the depressed condition of the Jāts, Pratāpasimha conquered Alwar between 1775 and 1782 A.D. He was a man of great courage and ability. Bakhtawarsimha succeeded him in 1791 A.D. He was followed by Bannisimha in 1825 A.D. He was a great patron of art and literature, and attracted painters and skilled artisans from various parts of India to his service. He spent large sums of money on the collection of a fine library. For one book alone, a beautifully illuminated copy of the 'Gulistāna', he paid Rs. 50,000/-. He has left many splendid monuments to his name, such as a grand and extensive palace in the city, and a smaller but

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2. Naru, the Kachhavāha prince of Āmber, gave his name to the class descended from him known as Naruka. He had five sons. One of them is Lāla, ancestor of the Lālawat Narukas, to which the Alwar family belongs.
more beautiful one called the Motí Dúngharí, or Banni Bilása, situated at a short distance from the town.

The Khánzádás were converted from Hinduism and, therefore, they showed liberal attitude towards other religions. During the Muslim rule, both Bráhmanism and Jainism were liberally followed by the people. There is a definite evidence of the association of Jainism with this place from the fifteenth century. This evidence may be divided into three classes:

(1) In the Tirthamālās, Alwar, a place of pilgrimage, was known as Rāvaṇa Pārśvanātha Tīrtha.

(2) Jaina literature was written in Alwar, and

(3) there is mention of its name in the inscription.

In the Tirthamālās, Alwar has been described as a place of pilgrimage known as Rāvaṇa Pārśvanātha Tīrtha. It means that Rāvaṇa worshipped the image of Pārśvanātha at this place. It is legendary, but it points out the importance of Alwar as a centre of Jainism.

Some works² such as the Maunaikādaśī Stavana in 1567 A.D. by Śādhukīrti, the Vidagdhhamukhaṇḍanavijiti in 1642 A.D. by Śīva Chandra, the Devakumāra-chaupāī by Lālcandra in 1625 A.D. and the Mahāpāla Chaupāī in 1821 A.D. by Vinaya Chandra were composed in Alwar. Several manuscript copies³ on religion and philosophy were prepared in the sixteenth century by the inspiration of the Jaina saints, who often visited this place.

The name of this place is also found in the inscription of the sixteenth century. In 1531 A.D., a Śrāvaka of the Upakeśa caste, belonging to Alwar, installed the image of Sumatinātha through Siddhasūri.⁴ An inscription of 1589 A.D. engraved on a slab of stone records the building of a temple of Rāvaṇa Pārśvanātha at Alwar, and the consecra-

1. See Appendix No. 52 for the text.
4. NJI, II, No. 1464.
tion of this image by Hirānanda originally of yogini-pura (Delhi), and, then, residing at Āgrā.¹

Along with Jainism, other religious sects, such as Laladāsī, and, Charanādāsī became popular at Alwar in medieval times. Laladāsa, the founder of the Laladāsī sect, lived in the sixteenth century A.D. The followers of these sects have temples, and monasteries. The popularity of Vaishnavism is clear from the temple of Jagannātha, which is the most conspicuous of its class. Islām also dominated this place, as we notice a large number of mosques, and tombs.

(70) MĀCHĀRĪ

At a distance of thirty five kms to the south of Alwar stands the town of Māchārī. Its old name is said to be Sānchārī.² The name Māchārī or Māchādi is generally supposed to have been derived from that of the Matsya dynasty of Rājās. It seems to have been founded by Matsyadeva, the Bāda Gurjārā ruler in the thirteenth century A.D.

Even before, the Bāda Gurjāra rulers were ruling over Nilakantha. Mathanadeva, who was a feudatory of the Pratihāra ruler Vijayapāla of Kanauj, ruled over this place in 960 A.D.³ Matsyadeva seems to be in the line of Mathanadeva of Nilakantha. It appears that he founded an independent dynasty with its capital at Māchārī in the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D. In the inscription⁴ of 1382 A.D. of the Bāda Gurjāra ruler Āsaladeva, Matsyadeva is mentioned as the earliest ancestor. His successor was Pipaladeva.⁵ After him, Jagannātha became the ruler. The

1. ARRMA, 1920, No. XV, p. 4.
2. ASC, VI, p. 77.
3. EI, III, p. 263.
4. ASC, VI, 79.
5. The horseman and bull type of coinage started by Shāhi kings was also issued by P.paladeva. GUNNINGHAM notices these coins with the legends 'Śrī Pīpala.' SMITH ascribes the coins with the legend 'Śrī Pīpala' to Pipaladeva, a chief of Māchārī. See CGIM, I, p. 258.
son and successor of Jagannātha was Gogādeva. A satī pillar inscription of 1369 A.D. refers to Gogādeva as the ruler of Māchārī.1 The inscription of 1382 A.D. refers to the construction of a well (Baori) in the time of Gogādeva, son of Āsala-deva by the family of Khaṇḍelavāla Mahājanas of Kāśyapa gotra, when Firūz Shāh was reigning over Delhi. It seems that Rājā Āsala-deva accepted the suzerainty of Firūz Tughluq. From the same inscription, it is also known that the ancestors of Āsala and Gogā named Jagannātha, Pīpaladeva, and Matsyadeva were of Godlike race, who had conquered Alwar and made Māchārī their habitation. After Āsala-deva, Iśvarasena became the ruler, whose queen Champanadevi constructed another well in 1458 A.D., when Prāladeva was ruling as a feudatory of the Sultān Bahalol Lodī.2 Prāladeva is known to be the last Bada Gurjara ruler of Māchārī. After that, it was conquered by the Khānzādās of Tijārā. The old palaces found at this place are attributed to the Bada Gurjara rulers.

The importance of Māchārī continued even afterwards. This place is said to have given birth to Hemū who became the Chief Minister of Muhammad Ādil Shāh.3 Another account4 tells us that he was a native of Rewārī in Mewāt. Though a Baniā by caste, he was a consummate General and a wise statesman. He had given evidence of his military genius in the civil war of those days and led a large army to expel Humāyūn from the Punjāb. When the Mughals reappeared, he resisted them successfully and was regarded by them as the most formidable of their foes. It seems, probably, that he would have succeeded in finally defeating the invaders, had he not been mortally wounded, when on the point of winning a battle at Pānīpat in 1556 A.D. He was carried before the young Akbar, and his famous Minister Bairāmkhān, the latter failing to induce the emperor to slay him, himself put him to sword. A force was sent

1. ARRMA, 1918-19, No. 7, p. 2.
2. ASC, VI, p. 81.
into Mewāt to take possession of Hemū’s wealth, which was there with his family. At Māchārī, however, where Hemū’s family resided, a tough fight was given to invaders, but finally, it fell into their hands. Hemū’s father was taken alive and his conversion attempted, this failing, he was put to death. In this way, this place was taken into possession by the Mughals.

Aurangzeb assigned Māchārī to Jaisīmha, who later on having been pleased with the meritorious services of his Jāgirdār Rao Kalyān Sīmha of Lālāwāt Naruka family, ceded Māchārī to him. In course of time, the members of the Māchārī family became the rulers of Alwar and Bijāwar.

(71) ĀMBER

Āmber, the old capital of Dhūndhāra, is situated at a distance of ten kms from Jaipur. There is some controversy among scholars about its origin. According to TOD and CUNNINGHAM, this name is derived from Ambikesvara, the title of Śiva, whose symbol is in the middle of a tank in midst of the old town. This view seems, to be doubtful, because in the Jaina inscriptions and praśātis of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D., the name of this town is mentioned as Ambāvatī, the name of the goddess, after whom the town might have derived its name. It seems that the Mīnās founded Āmber after Ambā, the universal mother. They also styled her Ghaṭṭā Rāṇī ‘queen of the pass’. This may be confirmed to some extent by an old sculpture of the tenth century A.D. with three figures, probably a fragment of some old door-frame, which is worshipped as the image of Śītalāmātā. This Śītalāmātā most probably represented

2. It is believed that the place Āmber was named after Rājā Ambarīśa, son of Māndhātā. It is actually a legendary view.
3. ASG, II, p. 50.
4. PRAS. WG, 1910, p. 47.
Ambā, after which the place became Ambāvatī. Āmrapurā and Āmrāgadha have also been mentioned as the old names of this place.

The early history of Amber is not definitely known. That it was in existence even in the tenth century A.D., is known to us from an inscription and the old remains of the town. An inscription of 954 A.D. engraved on a pillar of the Sun temple appears to record the obeisance of a private individual to this temple. His name is illegible and his father’s name is given Chāmunḍahari. The stone pillars of the mandapa, and the ceilings, however, remain unaltered, and one of the pillars in the front row bears a two armed figure of Gaṇapati, Khaṭṭāṅga in the right hand and an uncertain object in the left.

The early Kachhavāha rulers of Amber were petty chiefs and their history is in darkness. TOD says that Dholā Rāi, when expelled from his paternal Kachhavāha principalities of Marwar and Gwalior, laid the foundation of the State of Dhoondhar in 967 A.D. This view does not seem to be correct. As the Principality of Narwar seems to have been established in the last quarter of the eleventh century by the Kachchha-paghāta dynasty, there is no sense to associate Dholārāi with the Kachchhapaghāta dynasty. Actually, there is no conclusive evidence connecting the Kachchhavāhas of Amber with the Kachchhapaghātas of Gwalior, Narwar or Dubkund except the nominal similarity in the names. Dholā Rāi might well have been an adventurer of unknown origin. His successors, according to TOD, were Kankil, Maidul Rao, Hoondeo, Koontul, Pajjuna, Malesi, Beejul, Rajdeo, Keelum and Joonsi, and they had to continue long struggle against the Minaś in order to establish their sovereignty in this region. Their early capitals are said to be Nain and Dausā. Afterwards either Kankila or Hanu is said to have taken Amber into possession after expelling the Minaś and made it their capital.

Pajjuna was in all probability a contemporary and
vassal of Prithvirāja III. TOD informs that he had the honour of marrying the sister of his suzerain. He occupied a conspicuous place in the council of the Chauhāna emperor. He put to flight a host of the Yādavas and was engaged in war with one Rava Chamand, a certain "Babhan" and with the Badgujaras. Twice did he distinguish himself in the service of his liege lord, once by defeating Muhammad of Ghūr and a second time by helping Prithvirāja to conquer Mahoba, the country of the Chandelas.

It is said that once, when the Chauhāna ruler Viranārayana started for Āmrapura (Āmber) to marry the daughter of the Kachhavāha prince, he was attacked on his way by the forces of Iltutmish (1211-36 A.D.) and had some difficulty in getting back to Raṇathambhhor. The Kūrma king, who is said to have been killed by Jaitrisimha, ruler of Raṇathambhhor, belonged to the Kachhavāha family of Āmber. The ruler was probably the successor of the Kachhavāha prince of Āmrapuri, whose daughter was to have been married to Jaitrisimha’s cousin Viranārayana. In the fourteenth century A.D., Udaikarnā, the grandfather of Śekhājī, conquered the entire region, which is now called as Śekhāvāṭī. From the Kumbhalgarh inscription dated 1460 A.D., it is known that Kumbha destroyed the town of Āmber. From the Rāyamalarāśa, it is known that Kilhaṇa of Āmber served under Mahārāṇā Kumbha of Mewār.

After Kilhaṇa, his son Uddharana became the ruler of Āmber. He was succeeded by Chandrasena, who fought against the emperor of Māṇḍū, and whose sway extended up to Cāṭsū. The emperor of Māṇḍū may be identified

1. HM, IV, 41-75.
2. Kurma is a synonym for Kachhavāha. The entire dynasty is, therefore, called Kurmakula. Hence, this Kurma king must have the same name. See El, XIX, p. 47.
5. El, XXI, p. 279. Āmber is mentioned as Āmradādri in the inscription.
6. VV, p. 1268.
7. Ibid.
with Ghiyāsa Shāh Khiljī of Malwa, whose inscriptions of his reign dated 1481 and 1491 A.D. have been discovered at Chātsū. After the death of Chandrasena, his son Prithvīrāja became the ruler in 1503 A.D. His wife was Bālābāi, the daughter of Lūṇakarṇa, king of Bikaner. The royal couple were great devotees of Hari. Bālābāi constructed the temple of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa at Āmber. Formerly, Prithvīrāja was a follower of the Nātha sect of the Kāpālikas, but later he was deeply inspired by the teaching of Kṛishṇarāja Palhari, and became his disciple. It may, however, be added here that Kṛishṇarāja's defeat to the Nāthas in religious discussion is largely responsible for this change.  

The importance of Āmber, and Kachhavāha family in Indian History may be traced back from the time of Akbar, the Great. In 1561 A.D., when Akbar made a pilgrimage to Ajmer, Bihāridāsa with his entire family gave an honourable reception to him at Sāṅgāner, and afterwards, he gave him his daughter in marriage and entered the imperial service along with his sons. His son Bhagavāndāsa was made the Governor, and given a high mansabi. Māna Sīrhā, the adopted son of Bhagavān Dāsa, gave evidence of his remarkable chivalry, and generalship by fighting various battles specially in Orissa and Assam. At this critical time, he maintained his authority as the Governor of Kābul against heavy odds. As a mark of the recognition of his services, he was also rewarded with the government of Bengāl, Bihār, and the Deccan. Besides, being an able administrator, and an undaunted soldier, he was also a great patron of art and literature. The temple of Jagatsrāvānājī, a very fine building famous for the remarkable gateway, and with a beautifully carved Garuda pavillion in front, was built by him at this place. He also constructed some palaces.

1. AREB.
2. An Inscription on Siddhachakra Yantra in the Jaina temple of Sūvatājī at Āmber. See Appendix No. 53 for the text.
3. VV, p. 1268. A work named Bhaktamālā gives us information about Prithvīrāja, his wife Bālābāi and their religious preceptor Kṛishṇadāsa.
The next imperial ruler of Amber of note is Jaisimha, (the third in succession from Māna Simha) who was commonly known by his imperial title of Mirzā Rājā. He also rendered valuable services to the cause of imperial throne. After an interval of three chiefs, we come to Jai Simha II, commonly known as Sawāi Jai Simha. He was in every aspect a remarkable man for his scientific aptitude, and industry, his skill as an engineer and architect, his liberal support of science and art and his own personal accomplishments as a mathematician and an astronomer. He constructed upon his own invention observatories at Jaipur, Delhi, Mathura, Banaras, and Ujjain. He built the beautiful city of Jaipur in 1728 A.D. and transferred the seat of his Government from Amber to this place.

The Kachhavāha rulers, though followers of Vaishnavism, were tolerant in matters of religion. They were on friendly terms with the Mughal emperors of Delhi. Jainism, therefore, flourished exceedingly in their reign. A large number of Jaina temples were constructed, and images were placed in them. Various copies of manuscripts were written and presented to Jaina monks by the Śrāvakas. Encouraged by their preachings, they also led Saṅghas to holy places from this place. Even the Jaina pontiffs of the Mūla Saṅgha transferred their seat from Chāṣṭū to Amber in the eighteenth century A.D. The Śāstrabhāṇḍāra was established by Mahendrakīrti at this place, and it became famous by the name of Mahendrakīrti bhaṇḍāra.

Jainism began to develop at Amber from the time of Bhāramala. A copy of the Jīnādattacharitra1 was written during his reign in 1554 A.D. The Praṣasti of this manuscript is important, as it mentions the name of this town as Amragadha. In 1559 A.D., the copies of the Harivināśapurāṇa2 and the Pāṇḍavapurāṇa2 were written at this place during his reign. Jainism also made progress during

1. PS, p. 104.
2. Ibid, p. 77.
the reign of Māna Simha. In 1598 A.D., a copy of the Vardhamānakathā¹ and of the Sahasragunanātpūjā² in 1614 A.D. were written. In 1594 A.D., Gaṅgādāsa installed a Tantra in the temple of Neminātha of this place with great rejoicings through Bhaṭṭāraka Chandrakirti.³ The stone images were installed in this temple at this time.

Jainism also received an encouragement during the reign of Mirzā Rājā Jaya Simha. A copy of the Amrītachandrātya Kalaśa⁴ in 1660 A.D. and of the Pradyumnacharitra⁵ in 1664 A.D. were written during his reign. The inscription dated 1657 A.D. (V.S. 1714) in the Jaina temple at Āmber says that Jayasimha’s Chief Minister Mohan Dāsa built the temple of Vimalanātha at Ambāvatī, and adorned it with golden kalaśa. It further mentions that in 1659 A.D. when Mahārājā Jaya Simha was ruling at Ambāvatī as a great feudatory of Shāhjahan, some additions were made to the temple by the Chief Minister of Mahārājā Jaya Simha.⁶ In 1659 A.D., Jagatsimha of this place went on pilgrimage to Hastināpura. After his return, he celebrated the installation ceremony of Hṛiṅkāra Tantra through Bhaṭṭāraka Narendra Kirti of the Mūla Saṅgha.⁷ In 1675 A.D., Saṅghī Narahari Dāsa and Sukhānanda of this place led Saṅgha to Sammedśikhara, where they installed the Daśalakṣaṇa Tantra as a result of the preaching of Bhaṭṭāraka Surendrakirti of the Mūla Saṅgha⁸.

1. Paṭodi kā Śāstra Bhaṅgāra, Jaipur. Manuscript No. 53. See Appendix No. 54 for the text
2. Śāstra Bhaṅgāra, Kāmān, Manuscript No. 5. See Appendix No. 55 for the text.
3. An Inscription in the Jaina temples of Tholiyās, at Jaipur. See Appendix No. 56 for the text.
4. Paṭodi Kā Śāstra Bhaṅgāra, Jaipur. Manuscript No. 104. See Appendix No. 57 for the text.
5. Paṭodi Kā Śāstra Bhaṅgāra, Jaipur. Manuscript No. 155. See Appendix No. 58 for the text.
6. ARRMA, 1923-34, No. XIII, p. 5.
7. See Appendix No. 59 for the text.
8. See Appendix No. 60 for the text.
During the time of ascendency of the Kachhavahas, Amber became a centre of learning. They gave patronage to scholars. Nandarāma wrote the Pachchisī in 1630 A.D. Mirza Rājā Jayasimha was a patron of Bihārilāl, who wrote his famous Satasai, a collection about 700 dohās and sorathās in 1662 A.D. He is said to have given him a gold ashari for every dohā. The verses are mostly amorous utterances of Rādhā and Krishna, and their meaning is not easy to comprehend. The Bhaṭṭārakas such as Jagatkirti, Devendrakirti, and Mahendrakirti contributed considerably to the cause of learning. They also inspired their disciples to get knowledge. The Harivamśapurāṇa was written in 1712 A.D. by Nemichandra, pupil of Jagatkirti. Ajayarāja Pāṭani, who lived in the eighteenth century, is the author of several works such as the Nemināthacharitra, the Yasodhara Chaupāī (1735 A.D.) and the Šantināthajayamāla. Dipa Chanda Kāśālīvāla, who originally belonged to Sāṅgānera, settled at Amber afterwards. He wrote the Anubhavaprakāśa, Ātmāvalokana, Chidvilāsa etc. Thāna Simha, who lived in 1790 A.D., is somehow associated with Amber, and composed the Ratnakarandairdvakāchāra, and Subuddhiprakāśa.

SUB-SECTION:

2) HOLY PLACES:

The Rajput chiefs had great passion for religion. They usually selected beautiful spots for their deities in the midst of nature. That they were tolerant in matters of religion is evident from the fact that a large number of Jaina holy places are found in their kingdoms. There are certain religious places, where both Jainism and Brāhmanism flourished side by side. These places were selected in such
regions as were considered safe and secure for preservation of the culture.

**BRAHMANICAL PLACES:**

(72) **SAKRĀI**

Sakrāi is a village situated about twenty three kms north-west of Khandelā on the side of a rivulet called Sarkarā. Just like today, this place was reputed for the temple of the goddess Sakrāi or Sakrāyamātā. It seems that both the rivulet and the place became well known after the name of the goddess. The original and correct name of the goddess is not Śākambhārī, but Śaṅkarā as known to us from the old inscriptions of the temple. The outside walls of the shrine are doubtless old and cannot be later than the second half of the eighth century. But no other portion of the ancient temple now survives except two or three pillars.

This temple of Śaṅkarādevī was in existence in the eighth century A.D. The inscription1 struck in a corridor wall of the front entrance to the temple records the construction of a maṇḍapa in front of the goddess Śaṅkarā by an association or a committee composed of eleven members, all of whom were bankers. According to B.C. CHHABRA2, the expression 'surāṇāṁ maṇḍapottamaḥ' 'excellent pavilion of gods' leads one to think that pavilion was intended to receive images of various secondary deities by the side of the principal divinity that was Śaṅkarādevī. And the fact that eleven different members of a wealthy community jointly put up that structure warrants, as it were, that it was not a mean addition to the temple of Śaṅkarādevī. Possibly, what was dedicated by the Śrēṣṭhins was not a bare pavilion but a pavilion-cum-images of various gods, each properly installed in its respective niche. However, such details as these can no longer be verified, for, according to D.R. BHANDARKAR'S report on the temple in question, very little of the original structures now survives.

1. El, XXVII, p. 27.
2. Ibid, p. 28.
One of the members of the temple committee of Sakrāi named Ādityanāga, son of Vodda, is known to have constructed the temple of Ardhanārīśvara at Khaṇḍelā in 807 A. D. Various readings have been suggested by different scholars for the date of Sakrāi inscription. According to D. C. SIRCAR, the date of the Khaṇḍelā inscription2 201 Harsha era (807 A. D.) throws welcome light on the disputed date of the Sakrāi inscription because Ādityanāga, son of Vodda, is actually mentioned in both the Khaṇḍelā and Sakrāi epigraphs.

It appears that people of the Dhūsara, and Dharkaṭa communities lived at this place. The people bearing the surname Dhūsara called themselves Bhārgava Brāhmaṇas though they are suspected by the people to have been originally baniās. Maṇḍana Dhūsara, one of the members of the temple committee, was called Sreshṭhī i. e. Sēṭha which title is borne by none other, but the baniā class. Another Gosṭhiḷika of the temple committee was the Śreshṭhin Garga of the Dharkaṭa family. The Dharkaṭa caste3 is found both among the Jainas and the Maheśvarīs. It is not the branch of the Osavālas, as D. R. BHANDARKAR thinks.4 Among the Jainas, it is a separate caste found both among the Diṃbhara and the Śvētambara Jainas.

This temple of Śaṅkara-devī was also popular during the Chauhāna period. One inscription5 of V. S. 1055 engraved on a slab of the temple, apparently, refers itself to the reign of the Chauhāna king Vigraharāja, and records that Dayikā, queen of Yachchharāja, i. e., no doubt Vatsarāja, uncle of Vigrāharāja, as we know from the Harsha inscription, repaired the temple of Śaṅkara-devī. Another inscrip-

1. V. S. 879 (822 A.D.;) by D. R. BHANDARKAR, PRAS. WC, 1910, pp. 12, 28, 56-57; See also INI No. 23; V. S. 749 (692) by G. H. OJHA, ARRMA, 1934, pp. 287 No. 1; V. S. 699 (642 A.D.) by B. GH. GHABRA, XXVII, pp. 27 ff.
2. El, XXXIV, p. 159.
3. This caste 'probably originated from Dhakaḍaḍagṛha, a place near Bhinmāl. See Jainism in Rajasthan, p. 108.
4. PRAS. WC, 1910, p. 56.
5. Ibid, p. 57.
tion lying loose on a platform near the temple states that in V. S. 1156 (1099 A. D.), the mandapa of Saṅkarādevi was built by the son of Śivahari, and his nephew’s son Siddharāja during the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Durlabharāja. Durlabharāja of this inscription is identical with the Chauhāna king Durlabharāja II of Sāmbhar. He was the son of Simhāraja, brother of Vīgrahāraja II.

(73) HARSHANĀTHA

Harshanātha, a small village about eleven kms south of Sikar, and ninety seven kms north west of Jaipur, remained famous for the ancient temple of Harshanātha, the family deity of the Śākambhari Chauhānas. According to the inscription, there were two temples dedicated to the god Harsha, one on this hill, and the other down below. Güvaka I, who is said to have attained pre-eminence in the court of Nāgabhaṭa II, and who probably fought against the Muslims of Sind under his master Nāgabhaṭa II, built this temple in the tenth century A. D., and his successors made many grants to this temple.

His son Simhāraja, who was the first Chauhāna ruler of Śākambhari to assume the title of Mahārājādhirāja by freeing his territory from the suzerainty of the Pratihāras, seems to have set up the gold shell of the spire of the temple. After having bathed at Pushkara tīrtha, he granted villages to Harshanātha, and at the same time, he induced his brother, sons, officers, and his people to follow his path. He himself gave the village Simhagoshṭha in the Tūṇakūpaka group of twelve, Traikakaksha and Iśānakūpa in the Paṭṭabaddhaka Vishaya and Kanhapallikā in the Sarāḥkoṭṭa Vishaya. His brother Vatsarāja gave the village Kardamakhāta in the Jayapura Vishaya. His sons Chandrarāja and Govindarāja donated two hamlets in the Paṭṭabaddhaka, and Darbhakaksha Vishayas.

1. ARRMA., 1933-34, p. 2.
2. IA., XLII. p. 57.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
His official Dhandhuka granted the village Mayūrapadra in the Khaṭṭakūpa Vishaya, and a certain Jayanarāja the village Kolikūpaka. His son Vigraharaṇa, who became the king after him, assigned the villages Chhattradhārā and Śāṅkarāṇaka.

Besides, field had been given by various pious people at Madrāpurikā, Nimbadikā, Marupallikā, Harsha, and Kalāvānapadra to this deity of Harshanātha. The traders of Śākambari assigned one vimśopaka per heap of salt, and one dramma on per horse sold by them for benefit of the temple of Harshanātha in 973 A. D.¹

This temple of Harshanātha was put in the charge of Śaiva Saints of the Lakuliśa Pāṣupata sect. Allaṭa of this sect repaired this temple with the wealth received from the people.² His grand teacher Viśvarūpa lived in the Ananta country, and followed the Paṭīkārthāl doctrine. His teacher’s name was Praśasta. Allaṭa’s pupil was Bhavadyota who with the orders of his preceptor completed the other works started but left unfinished by him probably on account of his death such as raising an orchard for furnishing flowers to the Śiva temple, a watering place for cattle and a well for sprinkling the orchard and fitting the prapā.³ There was probably a Pāṣupata monastery attached to this temple where the study and practice of this Pāṣupata doctrine must have been given the first place. Many maidens had been also presented to this temple.

This religious edifice throws a flood of light on the contemporary art and iconography of this region. The numerous sculptures have been shifted from this place to the Sikar Museum and some of them are in the Ajmer Museum.

There are numerous decorative panels depicting the Kirti-mukha motif, dancers and musicians, elephants and warriors. The pillar of Harshanātha temple is profusely carved with Kirti-mukha motif in uppermost portion whereas the lowest portion presents dancers, and musicians to the right.
A panel depicting two rows of elephants, and warriors, perhaps, decorated the exterior portion of the Śiva temple.\(^1\)

In addition to numerous decorative panels, most of the sculptures are of a religious nature, and pertain to various representations of Brahmanic divinities. The black stone image of standing Hari, Vishnu lying on the coils of Śesha (Serpent), three-faced Vishnu surrounded by dancers and musicians on both the sides are some of the imposing Vaishnava icons of this site, now, placed in the Sikar Museum. In one panel, Vishnu has been endowed with eight hands, and additional faces of a boar and a lion. Such images should represent Vishnu in his Vaikuntha form. The fragmentary sculpture from the same place, of course, presents three-faced Vishnu as lifted by Garuḍa in a traditional manner. Another panel\(^2\) presents the Chakra of Vishnu, under the guard of warriors holding swords in their hands in a vivid manner. The depiction of dancers and musicians here is equally imposing, so also in numerous other independent panels from the same place.\(^3\) Dancers and musicians also figure in the reliefs depicting the Tāṇḍava Dance of Śiva, dance in Indra’s Heaven,\(^4\) Śiva Pār̥vati seated on bull Nandi in the Āliṅgana pose etc. Indra in the panel cited above has taken his seat on the Airāvata Elephant, which can further be seen moving in a procession in an elegant manner. The presence of double-pronged Vajra in the left hand of two-armed Indra is here in strict accordance with the injunctions of Indian iconography. Colossal, and life size statues from Harshanātha appear to represent the Pāṇḍava brothers, a passing reference to whom has also been made in the wellknown tenth century inscription of this place. The crown in all these statues presents the Simha-Makarikā motif. Bows and arrows are carved on the left shoulders of the divinities. They are really masterpieces of contemporary sculptures of Rajasthan. A

1. Marg, XII, No. 2, p. 69.
2. KHT, Vol. II, Pl. LXIX.
4. KHT, p. 403, Pl. LXVIII.
passing reference may also be made to the sculpture wherein some divine being has been shown in combat with an elephant. The former holds a mace in his right hand, and may tentatively be identified with Bhima so well known for his valour.

The composite form of Sūrya, Brahmā, Vishnu and Śiva presented in a panel is also very important from iconographic point of view. The three-faced deity is endowed with eight hands, holding respective weapons therein. Besides this, the depiction of a swan, and a horse near the left leg, couchant Nandi and Garuḍa near the right leg, also bear testimony to the composite aspect of these prominent deities of Hindu pantheon.

There are also a number of sculptures and panels bearing the depiction of Mātrikās, incarnations of Vishnu, composite form of Śiva and Vishnu (Harihara), four-armed Lakulīśa seated with his penis erect, Agni—the god of Fire, Yama—the god of Death, Pārvatī performing penance etc.

The Rājputānā Museum at Ajmer also preserves about half a dozen imposing sculptures which have been transferred from Harshanātha Hill. Of these, those depicting the Nine Planets (Nava Grahas) standing Sūrya, Revanta riding on a horse back and the Liṅgodbhava theme¹ are some of the elegant specimens in the realm of ancient Indian Art. The last one presents a vivid view of the mighty attempts of Vishnu and Brahmā in measuring the height of the mighty Śiva Liṅga shown as a Fiery Pillar in the existing style. A lovelier specimen of this type has not been discovered throughout Northern India, as yet. The image of Sūrya has been praised by many scholars.² The presence of standing, and horse-faced Aśvinī Kumāras as attendants of Sūrya here, add lustre to the beauty of the relief.

¹. KHT, Pl. LXVII.
². T. G. RAO. Development of Hindu Iconography, Madras, 1914 Pl. 90 and Ancient Indian Bulletin of Archaeological Survey of India Vol. VI, Pl. 3 E.
Bijauliā, a small fortified picturesque town, is situated in an elevated hollow, or table land valley, in the midst of what is called the Uparamāla hill range of the great Arāvali mountain system. This Uparamālo was known in early times as Ullamādrisikhara, and the extensive forest round about it was famous as Bhīmauana. Bijauliā lies about eighty kms to the north-east of Chitor, and its ancient name was Vindhyāvalī.

Bijauliā is said to have been founded by the Hūṇas, but during the reign of the Chauhānas, it assumed the great importance as a holy place both of the Jainas, and the Śaivas. Subsequently, it passed into the hands of the Guhilots of Mewar. Rāṇā Sāṅgā (1508-27 A.D.) assigned this estate to Aśoka, the Rāo of Jaganera (near Bayānā in the Bharatpur State) who, migrated to Mewar. His successors rendered valuable services to the Rāṇās of Mewār in the time of crisis. Keśava Dāsa I was killed fighting for Rāṇā Amarasiṁha against Jahāṅgīr’s army. Bairisāla, who was also the brother-in-law of Rāṇā Rāja Siṁha I, fought against Aurangzeb’s troops and was wounded. Šubhaṅkara II was wounded in the battle of Ujjain in 1769 A.D., and received the title of ‘Sawāī.’ After him, Keśava Dāsa II became the ruler. During his reign, Bijauliā was occupied by the Marāṭhās, but later on he ousted them and regained his possession.

Even before the manifestation of Pārśvanātha in the twelfth century A.D., Bijaulia was considered to be a great centre of Śaivism. There were several Śaiva temples constructed, probably, during the reign of the Chauhānas, who were the staunch followers of Śaivism. Though, most of the Śaiva temples do not exist any more, the few surviving reveal the glorious past. The temple of Hajāreśvara Mahādeva of Sahasralinga consists of a shrine, and a maṇḍapa. The shrine contains a rather high liṅga, covered with hundreds of small liṅgas, and hence called Sahasralinga. In the twelfth

century A.D., it was famous by the name of Svarṇajālasvara. The inscription with the letters "Achintyadhuja Jogi" in the mandapa indicates that this temple was associated with the paśupati sect of the Śaivas. The double-shrined temple of Mahākāla, and Baijanātha consists of two shrines, a common sabhāmandapa, a porch facing the west and two small side chambers, one above the other. This temple of Mahākāla was well known by that name in early times. The temple of Undeśvara Mahādeva consists of a shrine, a sabhāmandapa and three porches. Inside the temple, there is an inscription, which bears the date 123 (?) V. E.

It appears from these temples of Bijauliā that their exteriors have undergone repairs and re-arrangements from time to time. From the date 123 (?) V.E. contained in an inscription on a pilaster of the sabhāmandapa of the Undeśvara temple may be drawn the reference that this temple and others also, which are practically of the same style, were in existence as early as the latter half of the twelfth century. The early age, to which these temples have been assigned, is corroborated by the Chāhamāna rock inscription dated V. E. 1226. This inscription mentions the names of several Brahmanical temples, then existing in Vindhyāvali, and neighbouring places. One of these names, that of Mahākāla, has been preserved up to this date. Close to the temple of Mahākāla is a tank Mandākinikunda called by the people. Kapiladhāra appears to be also another name of this tank. The tīrtha of Varalāika is a tank, whose embankment is strewn with ancient temples, now almost in ruins. The old temple of Atimukta has been, perhaps, destroyed.

Among these various holy places of Bijauliā, the temple of Mahākāla, and the tank called Mandākinikunda were famous, and the people from different places came to visit them. There are numerous inscriptions recording the names of the pilgrims, who visited this place. A festival was held

2. PRAS. WC, 1905-06, p. 58.
3. Ibid.
in connection with the God Mahākāla, and on this occasion the pilgrims bathed in the Mandākinīkunda. The merit of bathing in its waters was considered as high as that of offering oblation balls at Gayā on the Ravi Parvan day. An inscription of 1292 A.D. records the visit of a prince Ballāladeva, son of Hamsarāja. This tīrtha was specially associated with the Māthura, and the Naigama Kāyasthas. The inscription of 1319 A. D. and the remaining two of 1329 A.D. mention the names of certain pilgrims, who were Māthura Kāyasthas and who had come there for the Mahākāla Tātrā. Another inscription of 1329 A.D. records obeisance to Mahākāla and the bathing in the Mandākinī tīrtha of a Naigama Kāyastha. In the inscription of 1331 A.D., there is mention of salutation of a Māthura Kāyastha to the god Mahākāla. Besides, there are six small inscriptions with the dates 1345, 1355, 1356, 1388, 1446 and V. S. 1556, which speak of the Mahākāla Tātrā, obeisance to Mahākāla, and bathing in the Mandākinī tīrtha by the pilgrims.

Bijauliā became a holy site of the Jainas after the manifestation of an image of Pārśvanātha in the twelfth century A.D. In accordance with the instructions of his preceptor Jinachandrasūri, Lolāka, a Poravāla Mahājana, constructed or repaired the temple of Pārśvanātha, and surrounded it with seven smaller temples. The existing temples cannot, in fact, be the same as those constructed by Lolāka, as they are inferior in workmanship, and look quite modern. They are only five in all, whereas those built by Lolāka as the inscription tells, were no less than eight. Besides, he built a monastery, probably, for the residence of the Jaina saints. The Revati Kūnda (reservoir) made by him in front of the temple of Pārśvanātha, probably, derived

1. PRAS. WC, 19050-06, p. 58.
2. Ibid, No. 2145.
3. Ibid, No. 2150.
4. Ibid, No. 2151.
5. Ibid, No. 2148.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
its name from the river Revā, flowing by the side of the temple.

Some Chauhana rulers of Ajmer, though followers of Śaivism, granted villages to the temple of Pārśvanātha of Bijauliā.² Prithvirāja II, who lived in 1168 A.D., gave the village Morājhari. He was succeeded by his uncle Somesvara, who with a desire to gain heaven, endowed the temple of Pārśvanātha on the bank of the Revā with a village named Revāṇā in absolute charity. The Bijauliā inscription records various donations made to the temple by certain persons of the neighbouring places. Thus Guhilaputra Rāvals Dadhara and Mahattama Ghanasimhā donated one Kshetradōhali lying midway between the villages of Kāmvā and Revāṇā. Gauda Soniga and Vāsudeva, residents of the village Khadumvarā, gave one dohālikā. One inscription of 1169 A.D., incised near the shrine door of the temple of Pārśvanātha, records the obeisance of Manoratha, son of Mahīdhara. This spot gained such a wide reputation, and became so holy to the Digambara Jainas that a mythological treatise called the Uttamāsikhāra Purāṇa was composed, and engraved on a large rock nearby.

Being a holy place of the Jainas, Bijauliā was visited by the Jaina saints from time to time. In early times, it was a seat of the Jaina Āchāryas of the Māthura Saṅgha. The author of the Bijauliā inscription dated 1170 A. D. was Guṇabhadra, a Mahāmuni, who belonged to the Māthura Saṅgha. Afterwards, it became a centre of the activities of the Mūlasaṅgha. There are two inscriptions² of 1408 and 1426 A. D. when the Jaina pontiff Śubha Chandra was living. The first inscription speaks of a nishedhikā of a Jaina nun named Bāi Āgramasiri, and the second speaks of nishedhikā of Hemakirti, pupil of Śubha Chandra. With regard to these nishedhikās, a wish has been expressed that they may be endured as long as the Sun and Moon last. On the same pillar, that bears the second inscription, are sculptured the

1. EI, XXVI pp. 96-97.
2. PRAS. WC, 1905-06, p.58 (No. 2141).
foot prints of some saints. On one side is engraved the name of Bhaftâraka Śrī Padmanandi, and on the other Bhaftâraka Subha Chandra.

(75) MENĀL

The name of the town Menāl, situated in the Udaipur District, is derived from Mahānāla, the great chasm or cleft, in the western face of the Pathār, presenting an abyss of about four hundred feet in the depth. It is covered with a thick forest. The Chauhāna rulers, who were followers of Śaivism, selected such a spot for their deities. They constructed temples and monasteries, which are actually the architectural wonders.

A stone inscription\(^1\) from Menāl dated V. S. 1312 (1255 A. D.) informs that it was ruled by a petty chieftain Maṇḍalika named Meghananda. Meghananda was the son of Rāṇaka Tribhuvaneśvara who was the son of Maṇḍalika Naravarmaka. Meghananda’s wife was Lakshmīdevi, daughter of Kirtisimha who was born of Kolhā. It is possible that Meghananda might have recognized the suzerainty of the Chauhāna ruler Jaitrasiṃha of Ranathambhor who was very powerful. Rāṇaka Tribhuvaneśvara, the father of Meghananda, is probably identical with Rāṇaka Tribhuvana of the Chirwa Pratasti dated V. S. 1330. In this inscription, it has been mentioned that Bālaka, the eldest son of Mahendra, died fighting with the Rāṇaka Tribhuvana in the presence of king Jaitrasiṃha.

Under the rule of the Chauhānas, Menāl became a great centre of Śaivism. The temple of Mahānāla, named after this place, was very famous. It is mentioned as a place of pilgrimage in the Bijauliā rock inscription of 1170 A.D.\(^2\) This is the magnificent temple probably of the tenth and eleventh century A.D. from the architectural point of view.

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1. EI, XXXVII, p. 155.
S. RAJAN reads the date as Saṅvat 1212, but it is not correct. See JIH, XL, p. 9.
This is confirmed by the earliest Praśasti record dated 1081 A.D. (V. S. 1137) referred to by TOD.1 The main temple consists of a shrine, a sabhāmandapa, and a small porch with a Nandi pavilion in front. Although the sikharas of the temple have fallen away, and their garbhagrihas are also empty, yet the relics of outer sculptures and the pot and foliage designs of the pillars testify to the exquisite beauty of the contemporary art. On the garbhagriha are engraved the traditional figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, and in the centre of the lintel, a four-armed figure of Vishnu riding on the Garuḍa is depicted. On the outside, the execution of the mithunas, kirtimukhas, and leaf and flower designs are also attractive. The Ardhanārīśvara image in a sitting pose, depicted in a panel on the outside is also worth notice. This temple was visited by pilgrims from time to time. An inscription records the visit of Mahanta Kadava, son of Mahāmantri Vāpta.2 Another inscription of 1266 A. D. records the obeisance of pilgrims to this temple.3

The inscription4 of 1255 A.D. on the pedestal of a broken image of this temple records the erection of the image of Meghānanda in the temple of Mahānāla Śiva as offering obeisance not only to the main lord of the shrine but to the venerable mahanta named Sukhākirti of the shrine. It is likely that Sukhākirti was the religious preceptor of the ruling Chief and had considerable influence over him. He was presumably in charge of the day-to-day rituals of the temples at Menal.

Besides, other shrines, temples and monasteries were added from time to time and they were all dedicated to Śiva. To the north-west of the temple of Mahānāla is another temple containing three shrines all facing the east. About a quarter of a mile to the west of these ruins are what are known to be the Rūthirāṇī’s palace and temple. The temple contains an inscription, which informs us that it

3. PRAS. WC, 1905-06, p. 59.
was built by Suhaḍadevi in 1168 A.D. and dedicated to Suhaveśvara.\(^1\) In the sanctum is a high linga, the pedestal of which is beautifully carved. Both the interior and the exterior of the temple are plain. This temple was also visited by the outsiders. An inscription engraved on a slab in the temple of Suhaveśvara records that the Māthura Kāyastha Ṭhākura Vilhama and his brother Dhaneśvara granted twenty drammās every year out of the income of the village Pārolī to the temple of Suhaveśvara built by Mahārājīṅī Suhaḍadevi in 1168 A.D.\(^2\) Suhaḍadevi was the queen of the Chauhāna king Prithvirāja II, and is known as Rāṭhirāṇī in Rājasthān.

Being a centre of Śaivism, Meṇal was a place of the residence of Śaiva saints. A monastery was constructed for them. An inscription records that the monastery was built by an ascetic called Bhavabrahma in 1169 A.D. during the reign of the Chauhāna king Prithvirāja II.\(^3\) The pillars of this monastery are of various pattern, and artistically carved.

After the Chauhānas, Meṇal passed into the hands of the Guhilas of Mewār, who governed this place later on through Häḍā Chief of Bambāvada. From an inscription of 1389 A. D. found at Meṇal, it is known that Mahādeva, feudatory Häḍā chief of Kshetrasimha, rescued his master in a struggle with his neighbour Dilāvar Khan Ghūrī, ruler of Malwa also known by the name of Amishāh, and won a victory. He also built a temple at Mahānāla. As his mind was bent on devotion in Mahānāla, he abdicated in favour of his son Durjana whom he constituted Yuvarāja or king while he was yet living (Jīva). He passed his days in devotion to the temple founded by him. At this place, Brāhmaṇas performed various rites.\(^4\)

(76) REVĀṢĀ

Revāṣā is at a distance of twenty-six kms from Khāṭū in Sikar District. From the old remains, it seems that this

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1. PRAS, WC, No. 2191.
3. PRAS. WC, 1905.
4. AAR, II, pp. 804-06.
town was in existence in the tenth century A.D.\(^1\) Its old name was Khaluvāna, and it was included in the Chandella District. In the twelfth century A.D., it was ruled by the Chandellas, who were feudatories of the Chauhānas of Ajmer. An inscription of 1186 A.D. records that during the reign of Prithvipāladeva, the Chandellas named Nānnava,\(^2\) Durlabhadeva\(^3\) and Simhārāja\(^4\) were killed in some battle at Khaluvāna belonging to the Chandella Pratīgaṇaka (District).

Revāsā is specially famous for the temple of Jīnāmātā, which is situated near the hill at a distance of ten kms in the south. It is surrounded by a thick forest. Its full and real name was Jayantīmātā. When this temple was built, is not known. But, there are local traditions about its construction.\(^5\) The temple of Jīnāmātā was in existence in the tenth century A.D. The sabhāmanḍapa of this temple is undoubtedly old. The pillars closely resemble those of the later Osiā temples, and cannot be older than the tenth century A.D. The shrine door is a patch work of old pieces. Other sculptures are also struck into them. The architecture again resting on two pillars of the sabhāmanḍapa, immediately in front of the shrine, is a devali, i.e., memorial stone, bearing the sculpture of a warrior mounted on his horse, and records that one Khemarāja died in 972 A.D.\(^6\) The images in the niches are unquestionably old, perhaps, as old as the pillars of the hall themselves.

1. The temple of Kalyānāji of this place contained two or three pillars of the twelfth century; still more interesting object was a Chattrī which is said to have been built by a Vaṇjāri. The pillars used here are deeply carved, and cannot be later than the tenth century A.D.
2. ARRMA, 1934-35, No. 3, p. 3.
3. Ibid, No. 4.
4. Ibid, No. 5.
5. It is said that a king named Hariśchandra of Āhār in Mewār came to this place with a Pārāśāra Brāhmaṇa named Mallājī, who was his priest. The king got a cure of the leprosy from the water of the stream of this place. The king built a temple to Mātā, and kept his priest as her Pujārī. The ancestors of Mallājī known as Pārāśāra Brāhmaṇas acted as Pujāris of this temple for several centuries. The ruler Hariśchandra is not known to have ruled over Āhār from the literary and epigraphical evidences.
The temple of Jinamātā was a place of pilgrimage from early times. The pilgrims of different places used to visit this place from time to time. It was rebuilt several times. First, it was repaired in the twelfth century during the Chauhāna period. The earliest inscription dated 1105 A. D. records the rebuilding of the temple by one Haṭhadā, son of Bohila, during the reign of Prithvīdeva I, the Chauhāna ruler of Sāmbhara.² Two inscriptions dated 1139 A. D. of the time of Arñorāja, grandson of Prithvīrāja I, record some repairs made by Ālhaṇa, son of Vaḍadatta.³ The same persons Ālhaṇa, son of Udayarāja, rebuilt the temple and maṇḍapa in 1173 A. D. during the reign of Somesvara, the Chauhāna king of Ajmer.² In 1289 A. D., Rāṇā and Āsādita, sons of Chaudhari Jchaḍa, repaired the temple of Jinamātā.⁴ An inscription of 1325 A. D. engraved on a pillar of the temple records that it was repaired by Thākura Vichchhāja, son of Thākura Depati of the Lohtānī family during the reign of Sultan Mahammad Sāhi. It also records the name of Bhojaka Tālhā, (son of Deda) who seems to be the chief priest of the temple.⁵ This inscription is important, as it points out that this area of Ṣekhāvāti was included in the dominions of Muhammad Tughluq. An inscription of 1463 A. D. records the obeisance of one Thākura Iradasa of the Māṇika Bhaṇḍārī family to the temple of Jinamātā.⁶ This temple was, again, renovated in 1478 A.D.⁷ by Kesavānanda.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Revāsā was ruled by the Kachhavāha rulers, who were feudatories of Akbar. An inscription⁸ of 1604 A.D. records that during the reign of emperor Akbar and his subordinate chief Mahārājā-

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1. ARRMA, 1933-34, No. 4, p. 3.
2. Ibid, No. 5.
3. Ibid, No. 7.
4. Ibid, No. 8.
5. Ibid, No. 9, p. 4.
6. PRAS. WC, 1910, p. 52.
7. Ibid.
8. ARRMA, 1934-35, p. 5. Rāyasāla, in course of time, became the famous ruler of Khāṇḍelā.
dhirāja Rāyasāla of Kachhavāha family, the temple of Ādināthia was constructed by Sāha Jitamala, and his brother Nāthamala, the two sons of Devidāsa, the Chief Minister of Rāyasāla. Devidāsa belonged to the Khāndelavāla family. The inscription further states that the temple was built under the advice of Yaśakirti of the Mūlasamgha.

(77) VISALAPUR.

Visalapur, the town founded by the Chauhāna ruler Vīgraḥa-raja IV in the twelfth century A. D., is situated at about eleven kms to the south-west by south from Tōḍā-raisingh. The name of the town is mentioned as Vīgraḥapura in the inscription of 1187 A.D.¹ Vīgraḥa-raja founded a number of towns² after his alternative name Vīsala. Visalapur was preceded by a still older city called Vana-pura, which was so named after Vanarishi, an ancient sage, who appears to have become the tutelary saint of the locality.³

There are the remains of older city such as the fortification wall, citadel, and ancient temples. Some fragments of Jaina images probably belong to some Jaina temple.⁴ All these old remains were in existence even before Visalapur was founded.

In the beginning, Vana-pura, the earlier city than Visalapur, seems to have been ruled by the Takshakas (Nāgas) of Tōḍā-raisingh. After that, it appears to have remained under the possession of the Guhīlas of Chāṭśū in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The name of the town Vīgraḥapura shows that it was ruled by the Chauhānas of Ajmer afterwards. Then, it was governed by the Solaṅkīs of Tōḍā-raisingh from the thirteenth century. According to local traditions,⁵ a powerful chief, whom they called Kīhaṇa, and who is said to have rebelled against one of the Delhi monarchs, had at one time taken refuge in this fortified hill fortress, and held

1. PRAS. WC, 1921, p. 119.
2. There is a town named Visalpur founded by Vīgraḥa-raja IV in Mewār. Another old town of this name is at a distance of 33 kms south-east of Jodhpur. See PRAS. WC. 1907, p. 37.
3. ASC, VI, p. 156.
5. Ibid.
it for sometime. Kilhana seems to be the Solañki ruler, whose descendants are known as Kilhanota Solañkis. At what time Kilhana ruled over this place, is not known. In the sixteenth century, it seems to have come under the possession of the Kachhavâha rulers of Amber.

The importance of Visalapur is due to its temple of Gokarnesvara. It faces west and is picturesquely situated at the junction of three streams. It is in an excellent state of preservation. The temple is 74' in length by 51' in breadth. It is complete with its śikhara, antarāla, its square mandapa, and portico. The Śiva liṅgam and the yoni in the middle of the chamber are original, and gave the name of Gokarnesvara to this temple. As Vigraharaṇa IV was a devotee of Gokarna, this temple seems to have been built by him. This temple is surmounted by the hemispherical dome, which is supported on eight tall pillars. These pillars consist of a lower shaft, and the upper shaft. The upper shaft is plain, but the lower shaft is most richly sculptured with floral festoons, chains, bells and circular wheel ornaments.

Visalapur remained a holy place of pilgrimage because of the existence of the temple of Gokarnesvara. There are several short inscriptions, which record the visit of pilgrims from time to time. The earliest of these inscriptions is dated 1154-65 A. D., which is merely the record of the visit of a pilgrim, who was a Kāyastha and whose father's name was Thākura Śrīvatsa, but whose name cannot be read properly. ¹ The second inscription dated 1174 A. D. engraved on the pillar records the salutation of certain Kāyasthas of the Naigama family at the temple of Gokarnesvara.² The inscription of 1187 A. D. records the visit of the prince Rājpūta Galhana in 1187 A.D.³ Another inscription of the same year is more important, as it is one of the very few records which mentioned Chāhamāna chief Prithvirāja, III. The object of this inscription is the donation of two sword handles in the mandapa of the temple of Śrī Gokarna at Vigrahapura.

¹. PRAS. WC, 1921, p. 96.
². ASC, VI, p. 155, See also plate XXI.
³. Ibid.
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in the Sapādalaksha country.¹ The three short lines on one of the pillars with letters 'Jogī Achintyadhwaja' prove that this temple was associated with the Pasupati sect of Śaivism.²

(78) GHOTĀRSĪ

At the distance of eleven kms from Pratāpagarh in the east, is the village of Ghotārsī. Its Sanskrit name was Ghontāvarshikā. In the tenth century A.D., it was ruled by the local Chauhāna rulers who were feudatories of the Imperial Pratihāras of Kanauj. There are remains of several old temples, but this place was specially famous for the temple of Vatayakṣinīdevī, and the Sun temple of Indrārājādityadeva. The rulers, their officers and laymen from outside, came to visit them, and granted charities.

The three known Chauhāna rulers ruling over Ghotārsī were Govindarāja, his son Durlabharāja, and Durlabharāja's son, and successor was Indrarāja.³ The occurrence of the two names within the three generations of Govindarāja and Durlabharāja, so common among the Śākambhari rulers, probably indicate that their ancestor was of Śākambhari line. One of the predecessors of Govindarāja is said to have been a source of great pleasure to the Pratihāra Bhoja. From the Harsha inscription⁴, it is known that Güvaka I of Śākambhari held an honoured place at the court of Nāgabhaṭa II. Güvaka II gave his sister in marriage to the lord of Kanauj, most probably Bhoja I.⁵ So, it is not unlikely that one of the predecessors of Govinda, who rendered valuable service to Bhoja, might have been a member of the Śākambhari line. Govindarāja is said to have helped the goddess of victory to cross the sea of battle with his powerful arms acting as oars. This might be a mere conventional praise or might refer to valuable help rendered by him to his overlord Mahīpāla

¹. ASG, VI, p. 155. See also PI. XXI.
². Ibid, p. 156.
³. ARRMA, 1215-16, No. 2. p. 2.
⁴. IA, XLII, p. 57.
⁵. PV, p. 108.
against Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The next ruler Durlabharāja appears to have been just an ordinary prince, in whose reign, the Jaina temple of Pārśvanātha was built.¹ His son, and successor was Indrarāja who built the Sun temple of Indrādityadeva. He acknowledged the suzerainty of the Pratihāra ruler Mahendrapāla II of Kanauj in 946 A.D., and asked for some favours for this temple from the representatives of his overlord at Ujjainī and Maṇḍapikā (Māṇḍū) about the same time.

Ghoṭārśī was specially famous for the temples of Indrājādityadeva, and Vaṭayakshinidevi. The temple of Indrājādityadeva was built by Indrarāja Chauhāna before 942 A.D., and was named after him. It was also known by the names of Trailokayamohanadeva and Nityapramodityadeva. In 942 A.D., Mahārājādhirāja Bhartripaṭṭa,² son of Khommāna, dedicated a piece of land ‘Vavvūlika’ in the village Palāsakū-pikā (probably Palāsī, twenty four kms south of Mandsor) to the shrine of the Sun god. Bhartripaṭṭa, the ruler of Mewar, with his capital at Āhār, was ruling in 942 A.D. The nature of the relations between Bhartripaṭṭa of Āhār and Indrarāja, ruler of Ghoṭārśī, cannot be ascertained from this inscription. He, like Indrarāja, seems to be a feudatory of the Gurjara Pratihāra ruler Mahendrapāla II of Kanauj. At the request of Indrarāja, he might have given this grant. For the maintenance of this temple, Mādhava, son of Dāmodara, a great feudatory chief, and leader of army at Ujjain, granted the village called Dhārāpadraka (probably Dhariawad in Mewar) at the request of Indrarāja in 946 A.D. Mādhava, and Indrarāja were both feudatories of Mahendrapāla II, the Pratihāra ruler of Kanauj. Devarāja, son of Chāmunḍarāja, and Indrarāja also gave the gifts of land to this temple. Another contemporary officer of Indrarāja at Maṇḍapikā (Māṇḍū) appointed by Kokāṭṭa, the Commander-in-chief of the king Mahendrapāla II of Kanauj, was Śrīsaraman who gave donations to this temple.

Mahendrapāla II, the Pratihāra ruler of Kanauj, made a grant of the village named Kharpadraka (now Kharot, eleven

¹ ARRMA, 1920-21, No. 2.
kms south east of Partāpagarh) to another temple of Vatayakshini attached to the monastery of Hariśeśvara in 946. A. D. The signatures of Vidagdha on the grants of Mahendrapāla II, the Pratihāra ruler of Kanauj, and his feudatories, prove that he was Governor of the Province including Ghotārsī. The trading community of this town made the permanent endowment of one Palikā of oil per mill, five bundles of foliage, hundred garlands of four strings, on the ninth day of the bright half of the month of Chaitra together with two palas of saffron and one pala of betel nuts in favour of Vatayakshini. The existence of the trading community here indicates that it was a prosperous town inhabited by a large number of traders. The fragmentary inscription of the time of Durlabharāja records the building of the temple of Pārśvanātha. It also proves that there were followers of Jainism who worshipped this temple.

These temples are not noticed at present, but there are the ruins of several old temples. The present temple of Bhairava might be the temple of Indrājādityadeva, because the lower portion of this temple is old, and full of carving and the upper portion underwent repairs from time to time. These old temples prove that Ghotārsī at one time was a flourishing town.

(79) KEŚORĀYAPATṬANA

Keśorāyapaṭṭana,² located at a distance of fifteen km in the north-east of Kota on the bank of Chambal, was a famous Brahmanical and Jaina holy place. Its early names were Āśramanagara,³ Āśramapattana⁴, and Pattana.⁵ Its

2. In Dec. 1949, M. S. VATSA, the Joint Director General of Archaeology, Government of India, New Delhi, visited Keśorāyapaṭṭana at the request of National Heritage Preservation Society, Bundi. He was of the opinion that there must be a buried town of Keśorāyapaṭṭana which can be traced back to Gupta period. The bricks with the characteristics of the Gupta period have been discovered at a depth of about 25 feet from the surface of the mound.
early name Āśramanagara suggests that originally it was a hermitage of holy saints. It was so chosen, because it is a spot of natural beauties. When gradually it developed into the town, it was known as Āśrama-nagara or Āśramapattana. During the time of Akbar, it was known simply by the name of Pattana, as known to us from the Surjanacharitra of Chandraśekhara. In 1601 A.D., Satrusāla constructed the temple of Višnu known as Keśorāya, and in course of time, this town became well known after the name of the deity.

In the eleventh century A.D., Keśorāyapaṭṭana was ruled by the Paramāras of Malwa. From a Prātasti of the Brahad-drayya Saṅgraha, it is known that Nemichandra composed it in the Jaina temple of Muni Suvara for Soma, who was a Bhāṇḍāgārika, when Śrīpāla, a near relative of Bhoja was governing as Maṇḍaleśvara (Governor) of this place. That this region was under the domination of Paramāras is also clear from the Sheragarh inscription of Udayāditya, who was the cousin of Bhoja. The Chauhānas of Raṇathambhor ruled over this place in the fourteenth century. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was under the possession of the Hāḍās of Bundi.

Keśorāyapaṭṭana remained a famous place of pilgrimage in early times. The temple of Mrityuṅjaya Mahādeva of this place was well known. It was also known as Jambūpathaśārthavāhī and Jambumārga. From the Hammīramahākāvyā of Nayachandra Sūri, it is known that Jaitrasimha, the Chauhāna ruler of Raṇathambhor in his old age, retired to this place after placing his son Hammīra on the throne.

2. E I, XXIII, p. 13.
5. On the way from Raṇathambhor to Āśramapattana, there were Palli at the river Tiladroni, the temple of Vilvēsvara Mahādeva situated on Pāriyātragiri, Shatpura etc. Now Palli may be identified with modern Pālāi, Tiladroni with Tilarjuni, and Shatpura with Khatakada. The temple of Vilvēsvara Mahādeva is situated at a distance of four kms from Pālāi.
Hammīra, in company with his wife, visited this place for worship of this temple, and he also performed sacrifices.

The locality, now known as Jambudvīpa just near the Kesorāī temple, was actually the site of the ancient temple of Mrityuñjaya Mahādeva. Still there are remains of the three old temples. Because of the whitewashing, it is difficult to recognize all the images carved in the temples. Besides, the temple of Mrityuñjaya Mahādeva, the two other temples were probably of Brahmā, and Vishṇu because their images have also been found.

Kesorāyapattana was also the holy place of the Jainas. It was famous for the temple of Jaina Tirthāṅkara Muni Suvarata. In this temple, Nemichandra wrote the Brihad-draya-saṅgraha. Madanakīrti, an author of the thirteenth century A.D., mentions it as a place of pilgrimage in the Śāsanachatustriṃśatikā. He refers to the communal conflict between the Jainas and the Brāhmaṇas in connection with the Jaina temple of Muni Suvarata. In the Prākritī Nirvāṇakāṇḍa and the Apabhraṃśa Nirvāṇabhakti also, there is a reference to this Jaina temple of Muni Suvarata. Now, it is known as Bhuvidevarā as it is an underground temple. One Kalpavṛksha paṭṭa of Jaina mythology and other Jaina sculptures discovered at this place may probably have belonged to this Jaina temple.

JAINA PLACES

(80) NĀṆĀ

NāṆā is at a distance of three kms. from the Railway station of the same name on the Ahmedabad Ajmer line. Its ancient name was Nāṇaka.² This town was in existence even in the tenth century A.D., as is known from the inscriptions of 960 A.D. in the Jaina temple of this place.³ It continued to flourish from the tenth century to the fifteenth century. In 1226 A.D., the territory near NāṆā was under one chāha-māna Dhāmḍhaladeva, son of Viradhavala, a feudatory of

2. PRAS. WC, 1908 p. 49.
3. Ibid.
Bhimadeva II. \(^1\) Sometime before 1230 A.D., this place was seized by the Paramāra ruler of Ābū named Somasimhā who declared his independence from ViradHAVaLA of GujarAT.\(^2\) Afterwards, it remained under the control of the Devarā Chauhānas. In 1602 A.D., it was governed by Rāṇā Amarasimhā of Mewār.\(^3\)

Nāṇā was specially associated with Jainism as the tīrtha of Jīvitasvāmī. It means that once the life size image of Mahāvīra was worshipped there. It is legendary, but in the tenth century A.D., there was a temple of Mahāvīra. A small fragmentary inscription on the door of the shrine dated 960 A.D.\(^4\), definitely proves the existence of Jainism at this time. In 1111 A.D., the wife of Mahāditya constructed a toraṇa of the temple.\(^5\) In 1146 A.D., Nāgadra and other Śrēṣṭhis built an image, and its installation ceremony was performed by Mahendrasūrī.\(^6\) In 1183 A.D., JasadhavaLa, Vidana and other Śrāvakas of Dharkaṭa Vanśa, and of Nānaka gachchha performed the installation ceremony of Sambhavanāṭha at the instruction of Śāntisūrī.\(^7\) The image of Mahāvīra was set up by the same Āchārya in 1448 A.D.\(^8\) In 1449 A.D., Dūdā, Vīrāma, Mahipā etc. with the members of their families constructed parikara of Vira.\(^9\) An inscription of 1612 A.D. records a grant made by Rāṇā Amarasimhā of Mewār to the temple of Mahāvīra.

Nāṇāvāla, and Jānānakiya gachchha seem to be the one and the same gachchha. It was founded by Prabhānanda at Nāṇā. Numerous inscriptions from the eleventh century to the fifteenth century discovered in the area round about Sirohi indicate its hold over the masses. The earliest mention of this gachchha is found in the inscription of 1045 A.D.\(^10\)

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1. PRAS. WC, 1903, p. 49.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. APJIS, No. 341.
5. Ibid, No. 342.
6. Ibid, No. 344.
8. Ibid, No. 349.
10. Ibid, No. 367.
Mahendrasūri and Śāntisūri seem to be the influential Āchāryas of this gachchha, because several images are known to have been installed at their instructions. In course of time, its followers and Āchāryas migrated to other places. This gachchha was popular in Jaisalmer from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century A.D. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it was found in Mewār.

Śaivism occupied the next place to Jainism at Nānā. The temple of Nilakanṭha Mahādeva of this place was the famous one in early times. An inscription of 1180 A.D. contains the name Jādana, a Paramāra Rājpūt, and of Rājasīha and Vāgaḍa, both Sāhanīs or Masters of royal stables. These persons, probably, made grants to this temple. The other inscription of 1200 A.D. records a grant of thirty three drammas and six Viṁśopakas to Brāhmaṇas by a Gaūḍa Kāyastha named Udayasīha for the maintenance of a Kapilī or a cow. This temple was repaired in 1226 A.D. when Bhimadeva, son of Ajayapāladeva, was sovereign at Anahilanagara, and Dhāndhaladeva, son of Vīradhavala, was his feudatory. An inscription of 1233 A.D. refers itself to the reign of Mahārājādhīraja Śrī Somasimhadeva, a Paramāra king. We, further, learn from it that Nānaka itself was in the possession of one Lakshā, who was a favourite of the heir apparent Kānhaḍadeva, i.e. son of Somasimha. The object of the inscription is to record some grant made by Kānhaḍadeva in connection with the god Lakulīṣadeva. The fact that images of Lakulīṣa are found sculptured on these shrines, affirms that the entire group was dedicated to the worship of the god Lakulīṣa.

The presence of Vaishnavaism at Nānā is clear from the early Vaishnava temple dedicated to Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa. In early times, it was known by the name of Chakrasvāmī. A stone inscription of 1257 A.D. speaks of an annual gift of

1. APJLS, Nos 346, 407, 409, 412, 413 and 425.
2. NJI, III.
4. PRAS, WC, 1908, p. 48.
5. Ibid, p. 49.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
four drammas by the Mahanta Gaṅgādhara to the God Chakravāmi.¹

(81) MŪNGATHALĀ

Mūngathalā, near Mount Ābū, is an old village in Sirohi District of Rajasthan. Its old name was Mūngasthala. The worship of the Śaiva temple of Mogaḍeśvara in 838 A.D. proves that this town was of an earlier period than that of the ninth century A.D. This place was sacred both to the Jainas, and the Brāhmaṇas. The Jaina temple of Mahāvīra, and the Śaiva temple of Mogaḍeśvara were the celebrated temples.

Mūngathalā remained famous as a Mahātirtha of the Jainas. Jinaprabhasūri, in the Vividha tīrthakalpa written in 1332 A.D., refers to the temple of Mahāvīra of this place.² This place was believed to be visited by Mahāvīra. An inscription³ of 1369 A.D. found on the door of the main Gambhāra in Jīvitasvāmī Śrī Mahāvīra Jaina temple at Mūngasthalā Mahātirtha tells that Lord Mahāvīra visited Arbudabhūmi and an image was consecrated by Keśī Gaṇadhara during the 37th year of the life of Śrī Mahāvīra. It is further confirmed by the literary source. A writer of the thirteenth century in the Ashtottari Tīrthamālā⁴ mentions that in the 37th year of the life time of Mahāvīra, the temple of Vīra was constructed. This temple of Mahāvīra has been described in the Jaina Tīrthamālās as the temple of Jīvitasvāmī. The temple of Jīvitasvāmī means to be a temple of the life-time of Mahāvīra. These statements are of a later period, and, therefore, cannot be easily relied upon.

This temple of Mahāvīra was renovated from time to time, and the images were installed. In 1158 A.D., the four pillars of the sabhāmaṇḍapa were erected by Visāla.⁵ In 1332 A.D., Mantrī Dhāndhala placed two big pair of Jaina

¹. PRAS. WC, 1908, p. 49.
2. VTK, p. 86.
3. APJLS, No. 48.
5. APJLS, Nos. 44, 45, 46 and 47.
images in this temple. Sirapāla, son of Mahīpāla of the Poravāla caste, renovated this temple in 1359 A.D. and at the same time, the consecration ceremony of the images and Kālaṣa was performed by Sarvadevasūri. Visaladeva, son of Kānhaḍadeva, donated a village and other presents to it in 1385 A.D. Visaladeva seems to be the Devaḍā Čhauhāna king ruling over Chandrāvati.

A large number of Śrāvakas lived at Mūṅgathalā. They used to manage the affairs of the festival held on the anniversary of the temple of Neminātha on the fifth day. From the Upadeśa-taraṇghini of Ratnamandiragani written in 1460 A.D., it is known that the Śrāvakas of this place paid contributions to meet the expenses of daily snānapūjā and flag-hoisting of the temple of Vimala. Vasahī. Sundarasūri gave the title of Vāchaka Upādhyāya to Lakshmīsāgara in 1444 A.D., and his brother Samghapati Bhīma organized a grand function on this occasion.

The importance of Mūṅgathalā was also due to the Śaiva temple of Mogadēśvara, which was in existence in the ninth century A.D. There are various deities installed in the temple. Several grants were made to it. In 837 A.D., a certain person named Subhadra made a gift of land in order to attain heaven. This gift of land consisted of six pieces of both dry and wet land. The first plot, measuring five dronas, was granted in favour of the temple of the god Sambhu. The object of this gift was to provide guggula (a particular gum resin), lamps, and oil for the repairs of the temple. The second plot also measuring five dronas was granted in favour of the temple of god Mogadēśvara. The object of this gift was the provision of guggula, dipa, and taila.

1. APJLS, Nos. 254 & 255.
2. Ibid, No. 50.
3. Ibid, No. 51.
4. Ibid, No. 251.
5. UT, p. 224.
6. GRK, I, p. 90.
7. JUPHS, III, Pt. 1. This inscription is important, as it proves that Kṛita era, the early name of the Vikrama era, was retained even up to the ninth century A.D.
in equal shares for the various deities that were already installed in the temple and also that might be installed in future. The third plot of the gift land, which is stated to have been granted in favour of the god Bhatheśvara, measured two *dronas*. The fourth plot of land granted in favour of the goddess Āmbalohikā also consisted of two *dronas*. The reference to the grant of the fifth plot of land is, now, lost. The sixth plot was granted for making provision of sesame in favour of the god Mogadeśvara.

Thus, it is clear that being a centre of Jainism and Saivism, it was occupied by the followers of these two faiths; and it seems to be a big town. Its prosperity continued up to 1665 A.D., as is clear from the *Tīrthamālā* of Mahimā. Then, its decline began, and it was reduced to a mere village.

(82) TALAWĀḌĀ

The old name of Tālāwāḍā, situated at a distance of thirteen kms from Bānśwārā, was Tālāpāṭaka. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, this town was governed from Arthūṇā by the Paramāras who were merely feudatories of the rulers of Dhārā. It was seized by the Chālukyas of Gujarāt in the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. From the inscription of 1104 A.D., it is known that Siddharāja Jayasiṁha of Gujarāt humbled the pride of Naravarman, crushed Paramardi, and founded the temple of Gaṇapati. Naravarman of this inscription is the well known king Naravarman of Mālwa and paramārdi is the famous Paramā rular of Mahobā. From sometime before 1172 A.D., it was ruled by the Guhila ruler Sāmantasiṁha who founded a new kingdom and made Barodā his capital. From the inscription of 1460 and 1481 A. D. found at this place, it is known that this town was governed by the successors of Samarasiṁha. Tālāwāḍā remained a famous holy place of the Jainas. From the *Upadeśakandaliyṛtti* of Bālachandra Sūri, it is known

1. Prāchīna Tīrthamālā, II, p. 60.
2. ARRMA, 1914-15, No. 4, p. 2.
3. DRI, pp. 69 & 72.
that Pradyumnasūri, who lived in the tenth century A.D., visited this place and addressed its ruler.\(^1\) Ambaṭa, ancestor of Bhūṣaṇa, who constructed the Jaina temple at Arthuṇā in 1109 A.D., was a resident of Talapāṭaka.\(^2\) He was a learned physician, and jewel of the Nāgara family. Siddhasena Sūri refers to this place in his \textit{Sakala Tīrtha Stotra}.\(^3\) Vinayaprabha Sūri, author of the fourteenth-century A.D. in his \textit{Tīrthayāṭrā stavana}, mentions this place and the temple of Śantinātha.\(^4\) By the inspiration of Jinabhadrasūri, who was a great saviour of Jainism in medieval times, the Jaina temple was constructed at this place and images were placed.\(^5\) Samghakalasa Gaṇi, pupil of Udayanandi, composed the \textit{Samyaktvārāsa} in 1448 A.D.\(^6\) At present, there is a big Jaina temple of Sambhavanātha, in which, there are some images of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Besides Jaina temples, there were the Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa temple, and the Sun-temple of the twelfth century A.D. The old temple of Gadādhara of this place is famous. Its carving of the roof is fine, and resembles that of the temple of Vimalavasahī at Ābū. It was visited by the pilgrims from time to time as known from their names on the \textit{garuda} pillar.\(^7\) Even up to the sixteenth century A.D., this temple was well known by the name Gadādhara. From these Brahmanical temples, it can safely be imagined that this region must have been inhabited by a large number of Vaishnavites.

\textbf{(83) \textit{MAdāRA}}

Maḍāra is situated at a distance of thirty-two kms from Ābū. Its old names, as known from the inscriptions and

\begin{enumerate}
\item GOS, LXXVI, p. 331.
\item El, XXI, p. 50.
\item GOS, LXXVI, p. 156.
\item JSP, XVIII, p. 15.
\item Ibid, XVI, p. 16.
\item JSSI, 383-550.
\item BRKI, p. 15.
\end{enumerate}
the literature, were Madahrita\(^1\) and Mađāhada\(^2\). Probably, the name of this place was kept after the goddess Mađārādevi. In an inscription of 1230 A.D. on the wall of the temple of this deity, the name of the place Mađāhada is mentioned\(^3\). This definitely proves that Mađāhada was an old name of this place. This is famous as a holy place of the Jainas, and Mađāhada gachchha was also named after this place.

Jainism is noticed at Mađāra from early times. An inscription engraved on the back of a brass-image in temple of Ajitanātha at Sirohi records that Dhanadeva, son of Devachandra belonging to Ghārāpadriya gachchha, set up the image of Vardhamāna at a place called Mađāhada for his own spiritual welfare in 1081 A.D.\(^4\) The famous saint Vādidevasūri was born at this place in 1086 A.D.\(^5\) His father was Viranāga of the Poravāḍa caste. Chakresvarasūri wrote the Tapascharanabheda Svarūpa Prakaraṇa in 1156 A.D.\(^6\) The work of the festival for celebrating the anniversary of the consecration of the temple of Neminātha at Aḥbū, which continued for eight days, was entrusted to the Srāvakas of the neighbouring places. During the festival, the ceremonies of bathing, worshipping and Pańcha-Kalyāṇas were performed. The ceremonies of the eighth day were entrusted to the Srāvakas of Mađāhada in 1230 A.D.\(^7\)

A sect known as Mađāhadīya or Medahada gachchha among the Jainas originated from village Mađāra. The oldest inscription of 1230 A.D. of this gachchha has been found at Mađāra, the place of its origin.\(^8\) A large number of inscriptions of this gachchha discovered in this area indicate its stronghold. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it was prevalent in the area of Jaisalmer and Chitor. After

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1. SRI, p. 48.
2. APJLS, No. 66.
3. JTSS, p. 301.
5. PCa, pp. 171-182.
6. JSP, p. 53.
7. EI, VIII, p. 206.
8. APJLS, No. 66.
the foundation of Sirohi State in 1425 A.D., the seat of the Āchāryas of this gachchha was shifted from this place to Sirohī. The Āchārya of this gachchha constructed a Bhadraprasāda in the temple of Ajitanātha and its installation ceremony was performed in 1463 A.D. by Kamalaprabha Sūri.

Madāhaḍa was considered a holy place of the Jainas in early times. Megha, in his Tīrthamālā written in about 1442 A.D., refers to the temple of Mahāvīra of this place. Silavijaya, in his Tīrthamālā written in 1691 A.D., describes this place. Besides Jaina temples, there were the old temples of Madāhaḍadevi and Mahādeva. The people of this place went to Varmāṇ for pilgrimage. The inscription of 1029 A.D. in the Sun temple of Varmāṇ mentions a grant of the land by a native of Madāhaḍa.

(84) MORAKHĀNO

Morakhāno is about nineteen kms south east of Desanok in Bikaner District. Its old name as known to us from the inscription of 1666 A.D. was Morakhiyāna. The chief object of interest at Morakhāno is the temple of Susāṇī, the Kuladevi of the Surāṇās, a gotra of the Mahājanas. In this temple, there is an inscription of 1172 A.D. It is important because it furnishes the evidence that the temple of Susāṇī was built previous to the year 1172 A.D. in this town. That the town was of an earlier period than the eleventh century A.D. is clear from the inscription on the Govardhana or

1. JSP, X, p. 191.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
5. SRI, p. 148.
6. The Surāṇās derive their descent from the Sāṅkhalā branch of the Pavāra Rājpūts. The Surāṇās descend from Suro, a son of Jage De, the well known Pavāra hero who lived at the court of Siddharāja Jayasimha. Suro, their ancestor, seems to have been converted to Jainism.
7. BJLS, No. 2603.
Kirlistambha¹. This Kirlistambha is in red sand stone sculptured on all its four faces on the frontal face.

The temple of Susāṇī of Morakhāṇo rests on a high platform and consists of a cellar, open hall and frontal porch. It is built of Jaisalmer stone. The external walls of the cellar are carved with figures of deities and dancers. The doorway is likewise carved. The śikhara over the cellar is built hollow. The cellar contains a stone image of the goddess apparently, carved in the same style as the doorway. Round the cellar, there is a low wall built in line with the outer wall of the hall, so as to form an open circumambulatory passage. The hall has a flat-roof resting on sixteen pillars, twelve of which are peripheral, and four central. The four central pillars, and the two pillars in front of the cell are of the ghapatapallava style, i.e., characterized by the water pot, and foliage ornament, but the pattern of the two posterior, or central pillars differs somewhat from that of the other four. On one of the central pillars, there is engraved the figure of a man in a sitting posture, which the local tradition identifies with the Nawāb of Nāgaur.

The temple of Susāṇī of Morakhāṇo was a place of pilgrimage in early times. An inscription of 1172 A.D. records some perpetual charity made by a man who came from Sebalākoṭa.² From an inscription³ of 1516 A.D., it is known that Hemarāja, son of Śivarāja, renovated this temple, and Samghesā, son of Chāhaḍa of the Surāṇā gotra, installed an image through Nandivardhana Sūri.

(85) PHALODHI

There are two places of the name Phalodhi in Mārwār Division of Rajasthan. One is just near Pokarnā, while the other is at a distance of two kms from Merta Road Station. The ancient name of the latter, as known from inscriptions and literature, was Phalavardhikā. Phalavardhikā seems to be the name of the goddess, after which the town was named. The temple of Brahmani of this place was actually the temple

1. BRI, p. 58.
2. BJLS, No. 2603.
3. Ibid, No. 2602.
of Phalavardhikā in early times.

Phalodhi was considered to be a sacred place of the Jainas from early times. Gurudatta, and other saints are said to have attained Moksha (perfection) on Dronagiri hill near Phalodhi. At present, people identify this place with Dronagiri of the village Sendhapa in Bundelkhand. Actually, this identification is doubtful, because there is no place of the name of Phalodhi in its neighbourhood and no early remains of Jainism are found at this place. On the other hand, this Phalodhi is known as a tirtha from early times. It became a famous tirtha of Pārśvanātha from the twelfth century A.D. Even before, it was a prosperous town, and a temple of Mahāvīra was also there.

The ups and downs of the times desolated Phalodhi, but again fortune smiled on it. People from various places, majority of whom were Mahājanas, came and settled here. By chance, an image of Pārśvanātha appeared in 1124 A.D. and this tirtha was founded by Dharmaghosha Sūri, pupil of Śilabhadrasūri. Vādidevasūri, while wandering through Sapādalaksha, came to Phalodhi. He performed the consecration of this temple in 1147 A.D., and the Śrāvakas of Ajmer and Nāgaur also assembled to participate in it. The expenses of the installation ceremony were met by Dhandhala, according to the vivadhātīrthakalpa. In the Purātanāprabandha Samgraha, it is mentioned that they were borne by Pārasa. He also constructed a Jaina temple. Soon this Jaina temple, and the image of Pārśvanātha were destroyed by the Muslims, and the necessity of its renovation arose. An inscription of 1164 A.D. speaks of a gift of Chaṃdaka together with Śrī-Chitrakūṭiya Śilāphāṭa in the temple of Pārśvanātha in Phalavardhikā by the Poravāda Ropimuṇi, and Bhaṇḍāri Daśāḍhā. The other inscription bears no date, and records the sculpturing of Uttānapāṭṭa by Setha Muni Chandra. In 1177 A.D., Jinapatisūri placed the image of Pārśvanāth in

1. JSAI, pp. 442-443 (f.n. 2)
2. VTK, pp. 105-106.
3. JTSS.
4. VIK, p. 106.
5. PRAS. WC, 1910, p. 60.
6. Ibid.
Most probably, it was a renovation ceremony performed by Jinapālasūri.

Phalodhi remained closely associated with the Kharatara gachchha of the Jainas. In 1182 A.D., Jinapatisūri visited this place where he had to face the opposition of the Śrāvakas of Padmaprabha. From Phalodhi, he was invited for discussion to Ajmer, where he defeated Padmaprabha in the court of Prithvirāja Chauhāna. The Śrāvakas of Phalodhi requested Jinapatisūri to visit this place again, and they spent a large amount of wealth on Saṁghapūjā, and charities. In 1185 A.D., Jinaṃmatopādhyāya breathed his last. The Śrāvakas accompanied the Saṁgha led by Abhaya-kumāra of Anahilapura with Jinapatisūri in 1187 A.D. Setha Rāyapati of Delhi also came to Phalodhi with the Saṁgha headed by Jinakuśalasūri in 1323 A.D. A great function was organized on this occasion and persons of neighbouring places came to witness it. From the Vijñaptipatramahā-lekha written in about 1380 A.D., it is clear that Jinodayasūri came to this place to pay his respects to Pārśvanātha.

Karmachandra, Minister of Rāyasimha, ruler of Bikāner, built the stūpas of Jinadattasūri and Jinakuśalasūri in the seventeenth century A.D.

Phalodhi gradually became a tīrtha of Pārśvanātha because of the miraculous effect of the image on masses, who came to this place from outside. It became one of the most popular tīrthas of Rajasthan in medieval times. The independent stavanas and the Tirthamālās were composed about it from time to time. Jinaprabhasūri, in his Vividha Tirthakalpa, describes it along with other holy places of India. Another scholar named Vinayaprabha Upādhyāya of the same period gives a vivid description of the temple of Pārśvanātha of this place.

1. KB, p. 24.
3. Ibid, p. 34.
5. Vijñaptipatramahālekha Saṁgraha. R has not been published.
7. JSP, XVII, p. 15.
Being a holy place of Jainas, Phalodhi was visited by the Jaina saints and scholars in medieval times. Some of them wrote their literary works. The *Motikapāśivā* was written by Śrīsāra in 1632 A.D. He also composed the *Phalodhi Pārśva Stavana.* Sumatisundara got a copy of the *Sārasvata Vyākaraṇa Ṭīkā* written by his pupil Sumati Hemagiri in 1659 A.D. Jinavijaya wrote the *Chaubisa Jināstavāna* in 1674 A.D. The *Simhāsanabattisī* and *Vikrama Chaupāi* were written by Vinayalābha in 1691 A.D.

The temple of Brahmiṇi at Phalodhi is well known. Originally, it was the temple of Phalavardhikā, after which the place is named. Jinaprabhasūri in his *Vividhatīrtha Kalpa* refers to this temple. The temple appears to be the eleventh century structure, The parts of the original śikharā are deeply carved and cannot be later than the period of the tenth century A.D. Its pillars are also old. There are some inscriptions which refer to this temple. The earliest inscription, which is without date, commences with obeisance to Phalavardhikādevī and specifies the name of a Sūtrakāra called Sivaravi, son of Macharavi, grandson of Bhadrāditya, and great grandson of Bālhaka. He was a resident of Kachāri which was in Pushkaranī; perhaps the Province of Pushkara.

Another inscription dated V.S. 1465 refers itself to the reign of some Mohammedan emperor and says that the temple of Phalodhi was repaired by one Doṭhā, a Guhilātā. The third inscription is dated V.S. 1535 and states that the temple was rebuilt by three persons, viz., Jaita, a Hul, Satā, son of Piṭhā and Hārākhu, a Rāthod.

(86) JIRAVALĀ

Jiravalā, a famous holy place of the Jainas, is situated at a distance of thirty-two kms from Delwādā. Its old names

1. JGK, p. 536.
2. Ibid.
3. JSP, p. 320.
4. JGK, p. 1288.
5. Ibid, p. 1319.
were Jirāpalli, Jirikāpalli etc. It is known by the name of Jirāvalā Pārśvanātha. This tīrtha came into existence in the twelfth century A.D. A wealthy person named Dhāndhala of Varman got the Jaina image of Pārśvanātha in some cave of the hill, and placed it in the temple of Mahāvira, which was then already in existence. The consecration ceremony of this image was performed by Ajitadevasūri in 1134 A.D. This tīrtha got popularity in the fifteenth century, and the pilgrims from the different places began to visit it. The Jaina saints composed stotras in honour of the deity.

In about 1311 A.D., Alāuddin Khiljī attacked Jālor, which was ruled at this time by the Chauhāna ruler, Kānha-
deva. He defeated him and annexed the kingdom. In this campaign, the Muslim forces probably invaded Jirāvalā and destroyed the Jaina temple and images. Sīhāḍa, in the line of succession of Dhāndhala, renovated this temple.

Hearing the name and fame of the Jirāvalā tīrtha, people from different places started visiting it from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Saṅghavi Pethāḍa and Jhānjavaṇa of Māṇḍavagaḍh in Malwa visited this place for pilgrimage. They also constructed a Jaina temple, but its ruins are not traceable. Perhaps, it was destroyed by the Muslims when they invaded this area. Like Jhānjavaṇa, his sons were also pious. His eldest son Chāhaḍa spent a large amount of wealth on his pilgrimage to Ābhū and Jirāpalli and gave charities. His fifth son built a maṇḍapa of the temple of Pārśvanātha. His sixth son Saṅghavi Pāhu made a pilgrimage to Jirāvalā and Ābhū along with Jinaḥhadrasūrī, and other saints. Saṅghavi Samdāka in company of Lakshmīsāgara-sūrī paid a visit to this holy place. After seeking permission

1. Upadellasapatiṅa, pp. 36-37. See also Viravantisvali in JTSS, p. 299. This date is also mentioned in the Jirāvali-Pārśvanātha-dvāritīṣikā, published in JSP, IX, p. 162. Its copy of 1493 A.D. is under the possession of AGAR GAHNAD NAHATA.
2. KP, III, p. 209.
4. UT, p. 178. See also the Jirāvali Pārśvanāthadvāritīṣikā.
5. Arbudāchala Pradakshinā, p. 94.
6. GRK, III, 36.
from the Sultan, Velā led the Saṅgha from Ratlam, Ilādurga etc. to Jirāpalli.¹ Lākhā's (the ruler of Sirohi) ministers named Ujala and Kāja, who led Saṅgha to Śatruñjaya, made pilgrimage to Jirāpalli with Somadevasūri, and stayed for seven days.² In 1526 A.D., Kochana, son of Ābā, went on pilgrimage both to Ābū and Jirāvalli from Jaisalmer.³

The Śrāvakas of the different places⁴ such as Kalavagrā Kodināra, Vāgharā, Visalanagara, Pāṭana and Stambhatīrtha visited Jirāvalā in the fifteenth century, and constructed devakulikās, śikharas, raṅgamanḍapas etc. It seems that these places were inhabited by a large number of Śrāvakas. Among Jaina's, this place was specially associated with the Osavals, Śrīmālis, and Poravālas. The Āchāryas of the Tapāgachchha such as Jayachandrasūri, Bhuvanachandrasūri, and Jinachandra made great efforts to popularise this īrtha. Most of the Śrāvakas of Kalavagrā constructed devakulikās through the preaching of Bhuvanachandrasūri. It shows that the followers of the Tapāgachchha lived in a large number at Kalavagrā. From the inscription of 1426 A.D., it is shown that the Śrāvakas of Bhuvanachandra of Tapā gachchha, Jayasimhasūri Kṛishnarshi gachchha, Vijayachandrasūri of Dharmaghosha gachchha and Vidyāsāgarasūri of Maladhāri gachchha got the consecration ceremony performed of the newly constructed devakulikās through the Āchāryas of their respective gachchhas on the same day. It seems that in 1426 A.D., these Āchāryas spent the rainy season at this place. People of different places came here to pay respects to their Āchāryas. Jirāvalā became such an important town that it could provide facilities easily for the Chaturmāsa to the four saints of the separate gachchhas.

Jirāulā gachchha or Jirāpalli gachchha, a branch of the Brīhad gachchha, is territorial in nature and originated from this place. It remained confined only to Sirohi State. In the fourteenth century, it was found at the very place of its origin. The Āchāryas of this gachchha performed the consecration ceremony of the images. Rāmachandrasūri of

this gachchha constructed devakulikās in the temple of Pārṣva-
nātha in 13541 and 1356 A.D.2 at Jirāulā. Virachandrasūri, pāṭṭadhara of Vīrasimhasūri, celebrated the consecration
 ceremony of Śāntinātha in 1378 A.D.3 After Virachandrasūri, Śālibhadra became the pāṭṭadhara, who performed the installa-
tion ceremony of Śrīchaturvīṃśatī Jīnapaṭṭā in 1396 A.D.4 and of Pārṣvanātha in 1405 A.D.5 In 1451 A.D., Udayachandrasūri installed the images.6 He was succeeded by Sāgarachandra
sūri who placed the images with great ceremony in 1470 A.D.7

In course of time, Jirāulā became a place of pilgrimage, and was visited by Jaina saints and scholars. They composed the independent Tīrthastotras and Tīrthastavanas, such as Jirāvalli Maṇḍana pārṣvanātha Vinati,8 Jirāvalli pārśvāvātrimśatikā9 and Jirāvalli pārśva Stavana,10 praising the deity and the holy place. Bhatāraka Padmanandi, pupil of Prabhāchandra, wrote the Jirāvalli Pārśvanātha stotra in the fifteenth century.11 This indicates that the holy places of the Śvetāmbaras were also visited sometimes by the Digambara Jainas. Vinaya prabhasūri12, Megha13, Śāntikuśala.14 Śilavijaya15, etc. describe16 this holy place along with other holy places in their Tīrthamālās. They give a brief history of its coming into existence. They describe the temples and images. They tell how the worldly ambitions are fulfilled, diseases cured, worries removed, and

1. SJPLS, No. 309.
2. Ibid, No. 310.
4. Ibid, No. 62
5. APJLS, No. 74.
6. SJPLS, No. 256.
8. Arbudāchalapradakśinā, p. 92 (f.n. 1)
9. JSP, XIX, p. 162.
10. Ibid, VII, p. 563; of another author see, VI, p. 51.
11. AK, IX, p. 246.
12. JSP, XVII, p. 15.
15. Arbudāchalapradakśinā, p. 246.
16. See the manuscript No. 72 in the Śāstrabhaṇḍār of the Khaṇḍela-
vāla Digambara Jaina temple, Udaipur.
also how people find peace and contentment at the visit of this holy place. They also give us information about the influential persons who visited this place.

Before the seventeenth century A.D., the temple of Jīrāulā was dedicated to Pārśvanātha, but afterwards an image of Neminātha was made, and installed. It seems that during the Muslim rule, the temple was attacked, desecrated, and plundered by a band of Mohammedan troops. During this raid, the image of Pārśvanātha was pulled down, and smashed to pieces by the bigoted iconoclasts. A long time after, when the temple was repaired, an image of Neminātha was again made, and installed in the place of the old image, and, thus, the temple was renovated.

(87) NAGARA

Nagara is five kms south-west of Jasol, in Māllāṇī District of the former Marwar State. This town was in existence in the fourteenth century A.D. Its very old name was Mahevā. According to AGAR CHAND NAHATA, it began to be called Viramapura in the fifteenth century after Rāvala Virama, who ruled at this time, as known from the inscription of 1455 A.D. But actually this view is not correct. Viramapura was well known even in the fourteenth century. Vinayaprabha Upādhyāya, author of the fourteenth century A.D., mentions both Mahevā, and Viramapura in his Tīrtha Yātrā Stavana,2 This Viramapura seems to be named after Virama, brother of Mallinātha, ruler of Kheḍa. Mallinātha, probably, assigned Mahevā as Jāgir to his brother Virama, who lived there. He was killed in 1383 A.D. (V.S. 1440) while fighting against Johiys at Gajaner.3 In the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it was known both by the names of Mahevā and Viramapura.4 When the image of

1. JSP, XX, p. 73.
2. Ibid, XVII, p, 15.
3. JRI, p. 199.
4. Literary and Epigraphical sources.
Pārśvanātha was installed in the Jaina temple of this place, the place became famous by the tīrtha of Nākoḍā Pārśvanātha.

Mahevā was first ruled by the Chauhānas. After their decline, the Rāṭhors occupied this place. Mallinātha assigned this place to his brother Vīrama, who was killed in a fight against Johiyās in 1383 A.D. His son Chūndā occupied Manḍor, and Mahevā was ruled by the descendants of Mallinātha afterwards. In 1511 A.D., Rāvala Kushakāna was ruling here. Megharāja is known to have enjoyed a long reign (1557 to 1580 A.D.). In 1610 and 1621 A.D., Tejasī and Rāvala Jagamala were ruling respectively over this place.

Even before the temple of Pārśvanātha, Nagara was considered a holy place of the Jainas. There were temples of Mahāvīra and Śāntinātha in the fourteenth century, as known from the Kīrtiratnasūrīvivāhalā of Kalyāṇachandra. From the inscription in the temple of pārśvanātha, it is known that it was originally the temple of Mahāvīra. The inscription of 1621 A.D. (V.S. 1678) states that a Chatushkikā was constructed by the Jaina community in the temple of Mahāvīra through the favour of Nākoḍā Pārśvanātha. Such a mention is also found in the inscription of 1560 A.D. This holy place was visited by Jaina saints from early times. Vinayaprabha Upādhyāya, author of the fourteenth century A.D., mentions this place in his Tīrthayātrāstavana. In 1423 A.D., Jinaḥadrasūrī came to this holy place, and conferred the title of 'Upādhyāya' to Kīrtiratnasūrī. Kīrtiratnasūrī was born (1392 A.D.) and died (1468 A.D.) at this place. The Kīrtiratnasūrī Vivāhalā and the Kīrtiratna-Sūri-chāupāi of Kalyāṇavijaya, pupil of Kīrtiratnasūrī, give us valuable information of the town regarding temples, people and other religious activities in the fifteenth century A.D. Jinachandra-

1. PRAS. WC, 1912, pp. 54-55.
2. JSP, XX, p. 73. See Appendix No. 62 for the text.
3. Ibid., See Appendix No. 64 for the text.
4. PRAS. WC, 1912, p. 55.
5. JSP, XX, P. 73.
śūrī gave the title of 'Āchārya' to Śāntiratna, pupil of Kirtiratna. Afterwards, he became famous by the name of Guṇaratnasūrī. A copy of the Kalpasūtra in Suvarṇākṣhari (in golden ink) was also written at Viramapura in 1478 A.D. for presenting it to a Jaina monk.¹

As the Raṭhōr rulers of this place were liberal in religious outlook, Jainism flourished exceedingly in their time. New Jaina temples were built, and the old ones repaired. The temple of Nākoḍā Pārśvanātha was built by the Paṅcha.² Afterwards, this place became a well known holy place after the name of Nākoḍā Pārśvanātha. A poet named Mahimāsamudra in his Mahevdnagarastavana describes the renovation of this temple in 1507 A.D. Śāntikuṣāla mentions it in his Śīri Gaudi Pārśvanātha Tīrthamālā written in 1612 A.D.³ Samayasundara was also impressed with his visit to this place.⁴ The temple of Rishabhadēva was constructed by a woman called Lāsibāi of the Osavāla caste. The temple of Śāntināthā was made by the Seṭha Mālāsā of the Paṭwā family from Jaisalmer. The walls of these temples as well as sikhara are old but not of an earlier period than the thirteenth century A.D. At the advice of Chāritrasādha Gaṇi, the raṅgamaṇḍapā of the temple of Vimalanāthā was erected in 1511 A.D. In 1557 A.D., the nalaṃṇḍapā of Śāntināthā was built. The inscription of 1624 A.D. records the erection of a nirgama-chatushkikā together with three windows in the temple of Pārśva by the Jaina community.⁵ There was a stronghold of Pallivāla gachchha in the sixteenth century A.D., and its teacher Yaśodevāchārya is known to have performed the installation ceremony of several images.

1. JSP, XX, p. 73.
2. PRAS. WG, 1912, p. 54.
3. JTSS, p. 184.
5. JTSS, p. 184.
6. PRAS. WG, 1912, 54-55.
SUB-SECTION

(3) Centres of Art and Architecture:

Art and architecture reached the stage of culmination during the early medieval period. Most of the monuments have been destroyed, but those preserved give us an idea of the nature of art. In this sub-section, we have chosen only those towns, which could not be incorporated into the previous classifications. Though these towns are lying desolated at present, their importance is only due to their artistic achievements. We may call these towns as the cities of temples.

(88) KIRĀḌŪ

Kirāḍū is situated near Ḥathamā twenty-six kms north-west of Barmer in Jodhpur Division of Rajasthan. Its old name was Kirāṭakūpa. The extensive ruins of temples, fort and other buildings, spread over wide area, point out that it was once a flourishing town and a great centre of art. Originally, it was ruled by the Paramāras, who ruled as feudatories of the Chālukyas of Gujarat. Afterwards, it was invaded by the Muslims, who brought about destruction of the town.

Socharāja, a son of Krishnārāja II of the Paramāra dynasty of Chandrāvatī, established a separate kingdom at Kirāḍū, sometime between 1075 and 1125 A.D.1 GANGULY2 is of the opinion that Sindhrāja of the Kirāḍū inscription is the same as Sindhrāja of Malwa, and a Kirāḍū branch of the Paramāras was founded by Dūśala, a son of Sindhurāja of Malwa. PRATIPAL BHATIA3 has rightly suggested that there is no evidence to prove that Sindhurāja of Malwa had any son named Dūśala. Sindhrūja of the Kirāḍū inscription ruled sometime in the first quarter of the tenth

1. IA, LXI, pp. 135-136.
2. History of the Paramāra Dynasty, p. 52.
century A. D. whereas Sindhurāja of Malwa was on the throne in the first decade of the eleventh century.

Sochchharāja was succeeded by Udayarāja in about 1326 A.D. He and his successors acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chālukyas of Gujarat. He fought at Choḍa, Gaṇḍa, Kanṭāta and Mālava for his master Solāṅkī Jayasimha Siddharāja. His son and successor Someśvara, recovered the lost possession of Sindhurājapur by favour of Jayasimha, and in 1148 A.D., got it confirmed by Solāṅkī Kumārapāla. He ruled at Kirāḍū for a considerable time, recovered 1700 horses from Jajjaka as fine in 1161 A.D. (V.S. 1218), and took possession of the forts of Taṇot (now in Jaisalmer), and Navāsar (in Mārwār). But when Jajjaka acknowledged the supremacy of the Solāṅkī Kumārapāla, he returned the said forts.1 Ālhanadeva, son of Āsārāja Chauhāna, ruler of Nāḍol, helped Kumārapāla in the war against Saurāshṭra and probably in return of his service, he gave him Kirāṭakūpa and some other territories to rule.2 But, afterwards, the jāgīr of Kirāṭakūpa was transferred to its hereditary ruler Someśvara Paramāra, who also had rendered good service to Kumārapāla in more than one campaign.3

Kirāḍū in 1161 A. D. was under Someśvara, in 1178 A.D. under Mahārājatputra Madanabrahmadeva, and thereafter under Āsala. Muhammad Ghori, who was appointed to the governorship of Ghaznā in 1173 A.D., led his first expedition into India in 1175 A.D.4 He, with his forces advancing by way of Mūltān, Uchchha and Kirāḍū, captured Nāḍol, the capital of the Chauhāna ruler Kelhaṇa.5 Most probably, passing by way of Kirāḍū, the Turushkas might have destroyed the image of the deity of Someśvara. The inscription of 1178 A. D. records that in the reign of Solāṅkī Bhimadeva, and his feudatory Madana Brahmadeva, a Chauhāna Rājpūt Tejapāla put a new image of the God Śiva in the temple

1. ARSMJ, 1930, p. 10.
2. EI, XI, p. 43.
3. NJI, I, No. 942.
4. TN, p. 449.
5. PV, p. 256.
as the previous one was destroyed by the Muslims. Asala was probably Madanabrahma’s successor. He was a feudatory of the Chālukyas, and is said to have been wounded by arrows of Kīrtipāla, the founder of the Jālor branch of the Chauhānas.

Most of the temples of Kīrāḍū were destroyed by the Muslims, but those preserved throw a flood of light on the contemporary art and religion of Western India. Śaivism was a dominant religion of this place. The most prominent and the largest of all the temples is the Śaiva structure popularly known as the temple of Someśvara. It consists of a shrine, ante-chamber hall and a porch. The short pillars are of the pot and foliage type, which was popular in the eleventh century. The pillars are profusely decorated with kīrtimukhas, and Varāhamukha motifs in successive rows.

The bracket capitals of the pillars present the monster makara in a vivid manner. The scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata have been illustrated. There are the images of Śiva, Sūrya, Bhairava, Naṭeṣa and Chāmuṇḍā. The doorway, the outer walls and the spire of the shrine leave no doubt as to the temple having been built in the earlier part of the Solaṅkī period. Besides, there are two other old Śaiva temples of the above design. One Vaishṇava old shrine is also found, but in dilapidated condition. Various beautiful figures, such as a lady holding a manuscript, youth carrying a quiver of arrows, in the jaws of a makara, churning the ocean, fighters and warriors and a panel depicting three dancing figures surrounded by a standing lady on both the sides throw copious light on the aesthetic sense of the people in early times. They also inform us about the dress and ornament put on by the people during that period.

Siddhasenasūri, author of the twelfth century, mentions Kīrāḍū as a holy place in his Sakalatīrtha-stotra. No Jaina

1. PRAS, WG, 1907, p. 42.
2. EI, IX, p. 72.
4. GOS, LXXVI, p. 156.
temples are noticed at present, but there is not the least doubt about their existence in the past. From the Nābhinandana-jinodāra written by Kakkāsūri in 1338 A.D., it is known that Vesāṭa, the eighth predecessor of Śreṣṭhi Samarasimha, settled at this place, and installed an image of Pārśvanātha in the newly constructed temple through Kakkāsūri. From the Vaiṣṇavālī, it is known that several Jaina temples were constructed at this place from time to time by the Śrāvakas, who used to lead Sanḍhis to holy places. In 1153 A.D. Alhanadeva, ruler of Nāḍol, on the Śivaratri day with a view to protecting the animals, issued injunctions to the mahājanas, tāmbūlikas and other subjects, forbidding the slaughter of living beings. This clearly shows that it was done at the request of the Śrāvakas who lived here in a large number. The Brāhmaṇa priests, Ministers and others were also ordered to respect this edict of non-slaughter, and the defaulters and accused were fined five drammas.

(89) KEKIND

Kekind is situated at a distance of twenty-three kms in the south of Merta. Its old name as known from the inscriptions is Kishkindhā. In the twelfth century, it was ruled by the family of Rāṇās who seem to be the feudatories of the Chauhānas of Nāḍol. Kishkindhā is also mentioned in the Dhulev plate of Mahārāja Bhetti of the seventh century A.D., but this place is different from the present one. Kishkindhā of Dhulev plate is situated near Dhulev in Mewār, while it is in Mārwār. In early times, this place

1. BPPI, pp. 153-160.
3. Ei, XI, pp. 43-44.
4. PRAS. WG, 1911, p. 35.
5. Ei, XXX, p. 1. The two copper plate grant inscriptions issued in the years 48 and 83 (probably Harsha era) also mention the city called Kishkindhipura which was ruled in the seventh century A.D. by the rulers of the new Guhila dynasty so far unknown to us. This Kishkindhipura must have been a. locality in the Udaipura-Dungarpur region (Ei, XXXIV, pp. 167-172).
Cities of Rajasthan

was famous on account of two well known temples known as Nilakanṭheśvara and Vidhichaitya.

The Śiva temple, now, dedicated to Nilakanṭha, was undoubtedly the temple of Guṇeśvara in the twelfth century A.D. It seems to represent fundamentally the same design and form as those of Kirāḍū and Ostā. The niches are well carved by the images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā. In addition to the Āśṭadikpālas, the Āśṭamātris or eight divine mothers are also carved. The only gods, that are figured, are Narasimha on the north, and Naṭeśvara or Śiva dancing on the west. It is also decorated with the sculptures from the scenes, and incidents of the life of Kṛṣṇa such as Yaśodā with the infant Kṛṣṇa sucking, Kṛṣṇa carried by Vāsudeva, Kṛṣṇa stealing butter and Kṛṣṇa sucking Pūtana to death. This temple gives us some idea of the art and architecture of the Western India during this period.

The temple of Guṇeśvasa of Kekind was very famous in early times, and charities were made to it by kings and queens, merchants and cultivators. The inscription of 1119 A.D. records that on the day of a lunar eclipse, Rājpūt Rāṇā Mahipāla and the Chāhāmāna Rudra of Kekind made some grant to the god, Guṇeśvara. In 1121 A.D., it was ruled by Mahāmandaḷika Śrī Rāṇaka Pīpalarāja, and he and his wife Hāmusakadevi made charity to this temple. The grant consisted of one hāraka of wheat from each machine well. The inscription of 1145 A.D. records two separate grants of Rāṇi Sāṁvaladevi, and Rāṇaka Śrī Sāhanapāla. The third inscription of 1167 A.D. makes mention of three separate grants to god Guṇeśvara, one by Mahāmāṇdeśvara Jasadharapāla, the other by the Mahājanas, and the third by the cultivators. Originally, it was dedicated to some goddess as it appears from the figures of the Āśṭamātrikās on the outside walls of the shrine.

Jīneśvarasūri, who lived in the tenth century, protested against the Chaityavāsi sect, and propagated Vidhimūrga. Jaina temples of this sect were constructed in different parts of

1. PRAS. WC, 1911, p. 35.
Rajasthan at the preaching of the saints. One such temple was constructed at Kekind in the twelfth century A.D. The inscription\(^1\) of 1173 A.D. speaks of the consecration of an image of Mūlanāyaka in the temple of Vidhi in the town of Kishkinda through the orders of Ānandasūri. The temple, thus, was originally dedicated to Vidhi and not to Pārśvanātha, as it is now. After the twelfth century A.D., it was, probably, destroyed by the Muslims, and in 1608 A.D., it was restored, and new images were placed in it by Nāpā. In 1608 A.D., Nāpā caused to be constructed the Mūlamandapa and two side chatuskikās of the temple. He, with the members of his family, made a pilgrimage to Ujayanta and Satrunjaya in 1602 A.D., and Arbudagiri, Rānapur and Nāradapurī were visited by him in 1607 A.D. In 1609 A.D., Nāpā and his wife commenced the turya-vrata with gifts of silver.

(90) RĀMGARH

The old name of Rāmgarh, situated about sixty-seven krams to the east of Kota near a thick forest, was Śrīnagara or the town of wealth. The very name Śrīnagara is indicative of the fact that it might be a prosperous town in early times. It is also confirmed by the old monuments. From the ninth or tenth century A.D., this town was ruled by the Meda dynasty. This dynasty originated from Meda\(^2\) or Meva, an aboriginal tribe, the people of which are still found in large number in this area. From an inscription of the tenth century A.D., it is known that a king named Malaya Varma of the Meda dynasty, in order to commemorate his victory over the enemy, built a temple in honour of his deity.\(^3\) In 1162 A.D., this temple was repaired by Triśāsavarma of the same dynasty.\(^4\) The old fort now in the dilapidated condition was probably built by the rulers of the Meda dynasty.

Under the patronage of the rulers of the Meda dynasty, art and architecture—received a great encouragement at

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1. PRAS. WC, 1911, p. 36.
2. Mewār or Medapāta also originated from this Meda tribe.
3. KRI, p. 31.
4. Ibid, p. 32.
Rāmgarh. Beautiful Hindu and Jaina temples were constructed. The Bhāndādevarā temple of this place is the most famous and one of the largest temples. It consists of a shrine, sabhāmaṇḍapa and entrance porch. This temple is star-shaped in plan and has its śikhara of the Drāviḍa style. It stands more or less intact except the broken outer ornaments of the śikhara. It is a little bigger than the temple of Baroli and of the same size as the Dāladeo temple in Khajurāho. The carvings, which cover the whole of the outer circle of the temple from the base of the plinth up to the śikhara, are on a very high level of accomplishment. Some of the brackets supporting the roof of the hall inside are as delicate and exquisite as in Khajurāho. Only, unlike the Khajurāho temples, where the sculpture is scooped out of the stone, and stands in its own integrity as figure sculpture, the carvings on the outer facades of the Rāmgarh temples are like a series of base reliefs.

The general early medieval style seems to have matured to a finer accent at Rāmgarh than at Chandrāvati near Jhālrāpātan. A few of the single figures of this town are as monumental as some of the biggest in Baroli. The torso of a mother and child lying with broken head on the debris of the smaller temple behind the main shrine, is one of the finest specimens of the whole period. The celestial beings on the upper tiers of the main temple show the transition of the Khajurāho style to a more primitive, but vital chisel in the interior of Rajasthan. The figures are larger, and the carving rougher. As there were a few master craftsmen employed, there are fewer isolated pieces of high plastic quality here, but the general standard of sculpture is higher except at Baroli and Osia, which are more vital. It impresses us with its massiveness. One sculpture kissing on the top to a pillar inside the shrine is only one of the few unique erotic pieces in Rāmgarh, where the style of figure elaboration is quite different from the sister shrines. These figures are more earthly, and thus more human than divine.¹

The second temple as known from its sculpture and

¹ Marg, March, 1959.
images seems to be of Vishnu. In the ante-chamber of this temple, there are human figures of Dandanāyaka Solāṅka and of rāula Dāndūka. These are instances of portrait statuary, which are unfrequent in Rajasthan. As from their titles, these portraits seem to be of officers of the rulers of Meda dynasty who probably constructed this temple. The third temple is known of Gaṇapati.

Under the rulers of the Meda dynasty, Jainism flourished at Rāmgarh. There are Jaina caves of the ninth or tenth century A.D., situated at a distance of five kms from Rāmgarh. They are covered with thick forest, infested with tigers and lions. Several Jaina monks like the Jaina monks of Ellorā passed their time in isolation from busy towns and devoted to a life of meditation and contemplation. Jaina images with inscriptions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries found here, prove that there were Jaina temples at that time. Even Jaina pilgrims used to visit this place as is known from their inscriptions.

(91) KRISHṑNAVILĀSA

Krishṇavilāsa is standing in the heart of the Jungle eighteen kms north-east of Bārān in Kotā District on the bank of the river Vilāsi. In early times, it was famous simply by the name of Vilāsa. It is an old place with the relics of many temples, and old fort, which probably belong to the ninth or tenth century. They prove that, perhaps, it was a flourishing town at this time.

There was a stronghold of Vaishnavism at Krishṇavilāsa as is known from its past relics. Most of them are dedicated to Vishnu. His ten Avatāras carved in red stone have been often repeated. Krishṇa with his flute has been depicted in a charming way. There is also a magnificent image of Vishnu sleeping on Śeshaṇāga surrounded by images of Mātrikās. The carving is not so heroic like that of Baroli, because the treatment of redsand stone was probably more difficult. The

1. PRAS. WG, 1905-06, Inscriptions Nos., 2120-2121.
2. Ibid, Nos., 2125, 2126, 2130 and 2131.
composition is, somehow, clear in every detail. There is a scene of battle between demons and gods. Among the pieces of sculptures are themes, which have been repeated in temple sculpture throughout the medieval period—a woman holding a mirror, another removing a thorn from her ankle and scenes of dancing. These figures are more primitively human than similar figures at Khajuraho. There is a sculpture of a devotee seated in the Yogic Padmāsana. The ruined pillars, sculptures, and skeletons of temples of Vishnu indicate that they must have been magnificent ones at one time. They also point out the popularity of Vaishnavism which must have been followed by a large number of people.

Along with Vaishnavism, Jainism also seems to be popular at Krishnāvilāsa as is clear from the old remains of Jaina temples. It gave shelter to scholars of the neighbouring places at a time when they were plundered by the Muslims. From a Praśasti of the Jinadattachariu written in 1218 A.D., it is known that Lakṣhmaṇa, who originally lived at Thanagarh, left it for Vilāsapura in panic with the members of his family at a time, when it was plundered by the Muslims. By the persuasion of a Shrāvaka named Śrīdhara, who gave shelter to him, he composed the Jinadattachariu in 1218 A.D.

It is said that a certain Muslim Governor of Ranathambhor brought about the destruction of the town of Krishnāvilāsa. That Governor fell in love with the daughter of Bhaimśāśāha. When Bhaimśāśāha declined to allow his daughter to marry him, he attacked the town. In the battle, Bhaimśāśāha was killed, and his daughter drowned herself in a whirlpool of Vilāśi at a spot which ever since has been known as Kanyādeha. The infuriated Governor depopulated the town and demolished the temples. Probably, this incident might have taken place in a period between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century.

1. AK, VIII, p. 400. PARMANAND SHASTRI identifies it with Willarampur in Etah District of U.P., but his view seems to be doubtful.
2. The architectural activities continued up to the thirteenth century A.D. at this place but afterwards we do not find buildings of the later times.
Atru is a railway station of some importance on the Bina Baran line. It abounds in ruins of ancient temples. The most prominent of them all is known by the name of Gadgach-Ka-Mandir, on the side of a large tank called Budhasagar. It is all a heap of ruins, only a few pillars, and a portion of basement remaining intact. The temple must have been very lofty and grand, when it stood entire. Vestiges of a mandapa to the east of the ruins are traceable. The pillars and the images scattered on all sides are all deeply, and elegantly carved. The gentle image of Śiva from Atru is cognate of the Baroli technique of carvings. The image of Pārvati is also an artistic piece of sculpture.

This temple of Gadgach-Ka-Mandir seems to have been built in the tenth century A.D., and the traditions attribute it to Rāja Bhaiṁśāśāha who is said to have built some temples at Krishanavilāsa. This shrine was built without mortar. Pieces of stone shaped into pillars, arches and cornices were placed one on another, balancing their massive piled weight to form a magnificent place of worship. Wherever there is visible surface, intricate designs were carved on the stones, and for sheer exuberance of ornamentation, the temple at Atru could have few rivals.

This temple was in existence in the thirteenth century A.D. because an inscription on the pillar of a ruined temple dated V.S. 1314 (1257 A.D.) records that the illustrious ruler Mahārājādhirāja Jayasimhadeva granted the village Mahāsārā to Tāhākura Nārāyaṇa, the best of the great poets. This Jayasimhadeva of the inscription should be identified with the Paramāra ruler Jayavarman II of Mālwa who began to rule before 1256 A.D. ¹

1. Marg, XII, No. 2, p. 17, fig. 8.
2. Ibid, p. 31, fig. 1.
4. PRAS. WG, 1905, p. 48. D.R. BHANDARKAR, who first noticed it, read its date as 14 and referred it to the Simhā era which would make it equivalent to A.D. 1127. Subsequently, he changed his view and restored the date as 1314 which referred to the Vikrama era, corresponds to 1257 A.D.
There are also two exquisite Jaina temples of about the twelfth century A.D. The main structure of the one with a mutilated statue of Pārśvanātha in the sanctum is still standing, though in a precarious condition. The other temple has practically disappeared, but the huge statue of Mahāvīra, which is too heavy to be transported, still stands on a pedestal, and round about, there are signs of the foundations which reveal the plan of a pretty big Jaina temple. It is said that Aurangzeb brought about the destruction of the ancient temples of this place.

The other old temples are also in existence. One is that of Māliomkā Phuldevā Mahādeva. Another ancient temple is known as Lāl Bihārīji-Kā-Mandir. The next temple is Shyām Sundar-Kā-Mandir. Gosāvi’s temple of Mahādeva has some pieces of old sculpture built up into the doorway and the walls. About a mile from this place is the shrine of Mahākāleśvara, near the temple of Ganeśa, the door-frame of which is old. Other temples are Chaniādi Mahādeva and Budhasāgara Phūladevarā Mahādeva.

(93) BAROLĪ

At Baroli about five kms north-east of Bhaiṁsrorgarha and about forty-eight kms in the south-west of Kota, there is a group of Brahmanical temples on the bank of the Chambal river. The landscape chosen for the abode of gods seems to be after the full consideration of its beauty. It has green forest covered with mountains on all sides, and the river flowing by the side. It is just like a heavenly site meant for the abode of the gods. There are traditions

2. It is said that the main temple as well as the smaller shrines around it were built on the orders of Rājā Hūna, master of Bhysror fort which stands on the opposite bank of the river. Presumably, this king belonged to the Paramāra dynasty and ruled at Chandrāvatī. He married Pīṅgalā, daughter of Rājā Somachandra. And it may be that this prince ordered the temples in honour of his marriage with Pīṅgalā. Actually the rulers of the Maurya dynasty were ruling over Chandrāvatī in the eighth century A.D. The Paramāra rulers are not known to have ruled here from any other source.
about the construction of the main temple, as well as the smaller shrines around it but they do not seem to be historically correct.

Baroli is famous only for these temples. FERGUSSON considers them to be the most perfect of their age, and in their own peculiar style, they are perhaps as beautiful as anything in India. There are certain affinities in the workmanship of these temples with those of Osīā and Jhārlāpātan. The accent of the carving is similar except that the buff-sand-stone at Baroli probably lent itself more easily to larger and more rounded forms than Osīā.

The principal temple dedicated to Ghaṭēśvara, stands in a walled enclosure which is full of other interesting buildings, and remains the most important being the Śīṅgār Chaorī of nuptial hall; the shrines of Gaṇeśa and Nārada, two columns, one erect, and the other prostrate, the shrine of Asḥīta Mātā, and the shrine of the Tri-mūrti or Hindu triad, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. These temples belong to the ninth or tenth century A.D.

The main temple faces east. It is 58 feet high with a sikhara of the medieval style, carrying a plane āmalaka and kalaśa on, the top of the spire. The sikhara is adorned with carvings specially with figures of a number of monkeys in various exciting poses specially one who sits with his face between his paws. Another carving at the back of the sikhara shows a man climbing up towards the spire.

On either side of the doorway that leads into the actual shrine are finely-carved images of the personified rivers, Gaṅgā and Jamunā. And, above the doorway is the masterly life-size sculpture of the dancing Śiva with his bejewelled crown, already involved in the movement of the great Tāṇḍava dance.

But beyond the main shrine is an enormous maṇḍapa, supported by decorative round pillars, each 18 ft. in height. Above these pillars, there are loving couples carved in high relief, by artisans who obviously knew a good deal about the fervours of the physical embrace. And, beyond the

1. Marg, XII, No. 2, p. 35.
mandapa is a 40 ft. square structure, supported by a double row of columns known as Śrīṅgār Chowrie, where Rājā Hūṇa is supposed to have enacted the loves of Śiva and Pārvatī with his own queen Piṅgalā. The four shrines dedicated to Devī, Maheśa, Nārada, and Gaṅeśa are mostly bare.

Outside the enclosure of the main temple, there is a fountain or kunda with a miniature temple in the middle, and surrounded by small shrines in one of which there was a figure of Vishṇu,¹ but now it is in the Kota museum. This highly intricate carving of the god Vishṇu lying on the snake with his consort Lakṣmi seated on his feet is one of the masterpieces of Rajasthan sculpture. Similar images have been found in Ātru and Krishnavilāsa, but this particular carving is impressive because of its bigger size, and the clarity with which the incidental figures have been crowded into the relief without impairing the effect of the central figures. The seated figure of the headless Lakṣmi² is also a fine artistic piece of sculpture.

The figures of Lovers both from inside and outside the main temple are beautiful. The middle panel from the frieze on the left hand side of the main shrine dramatizes the mood of a shy maiden on the approach of her lover³. One lovely torso breathes the vibrant charm of the female figure.⁴ The shapely limbs are almost in ideal proportions. There are figures of lovers from a niche outside the main temple. The clarity of line, and the pose of these figures is noteworthy.

(94) JAGAT

Jagat, forty-six kms to the south-east of Udaipur, is famous for the temple of Ambādevi⁵ which is, actually, unique from the architectural point of view. On the stylistic grounds, this temple belongs to the early tenth century A.D. Indeed,

¹ Marg., XII, No. 2, 14, fig. 4.
² Ibid, p. 17, fig 7.
³ Ibid, p. 35, fig. 3
⁴ Ibid, p. 36, fig. 5.
⁵ Vishveshvarananda Indological Journal, I, p 130.
the name of the place and the nature of the cult seem to have been associated with 'Jagat' of Ambā cult and hence Jagadambā (or the world mother) was consecrated. This temple is rich from the iconographic point of view, and it is exclusively meant for the devī-cult.

The temple complex has two parts, the entrance maṇḍapa in two storeys, and the main shrine separated from it by about fifty yards. The main temple is constituted of an entrance maṇḍapa with a short flight of steps and side parapet with pilasters, and kakshāsana top, resting on which four-dwarf pillars in corbel-brackets carry the chaṭṭā of the porch, and its gabled roof. From here access is got to the sabhāmaṇḍapa which is resting on the four squarely placed central pillars, and is having a flat inner ceiling which has been divided into several compartments in a decorative way, each of this containing sculpture embellishments of divinities and secular themes.

The main temple is triratha in plan which is connected to the sabhāmaṇḍapa, also of triratha plan, by a median major inset carrying the antarālā and mukhamaṇḍapa within and an overlapping triple-gable projection above forming the front extension of the main tower, and similar in this respect to the front porch roof of the temple. The main tower is of the Nāgara style, with a flattened uruśriṅga applied to the main face of the śikhara up to about half the height from the triple series of cornices on the roof level, the side or corner offsets of śikhara being marked out by karnāmalakas into different bhūmis.

This temple is exclusively meant for devī cult, and on its exterior walls are depicted the major manifestations of Ambā. No quarter has been given to any male mūrtis except Dikpālaś who are shown in the niches at Jaṅghā level. Grotesque or cruel aspect of the goddess like Kāli, Shoḍaśī, etc., are not, generally, depicted in this temple, but we have a standing Chāmunḍā facing south on the southern circuit. Saptamātrikas are totally absent in the main shrine. These are actually found in a very miniature form on the door jambs of the entrance maṇḍapa, or dvāra-maṇḍapa of the temple situated about 50 yards to the east of the main temple. The
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topmost friezes over the cornices of the main temple are full of musicians or dancing groups wherein musical instruments of all kinds, group dances, etc., form the dominant topics. In the Jagat temple, however, they are fully in tune with the various appellations of Ambā as Svīgitarasikā Viṇā-Veṇu-mridanga-vādyarāsikā, Saṅgita-mātrikā, etc., extolling Ambā as the very presiding deity of the musical lore. It is a Durgā-Lakṣmī- Sarasvatī cult. It is benign and protective, and not terror striking and destructive. It is well known that the Durgā- Lakṣmī- Sarasvatī conception is of cardinal and fundamental significance in Devī cult, and in this temple, we have the sculptures of all the three although Durgā manifestations are supreme. It is also relevant to observe that even the Durgā manifestations are all of the Mahishāsura-mardini complex. They do not involve either the Kāli aspects or the esoteric Yogi aspects.

The Durgā- Mahishamardini theme is a very elaborate, and suitably complex one and we have different representations in this temple. The main niche on the south wall of the temple shows a very attractive young female form of the goddess with eight hands, holding different objects. On the northern side, the main niche shows the goddess with the right leg planted on the ground behind the Asura and the left leg flexed and placed on the demon, who curiously enough is shown in entirely human form but in a crouching position. We have two more representations of Durgā as Mahishamardini which are situated respectively on the south-east corner pilaster of the sabhamandapa wall, facing south and north, east pilaster of the sabhamandapa wall, facing east. The other Durgā figure, facing east, is again unique in that no buffalo form of the Asura is shown, but here again, the demon is shown entirely in human form and in standing position challenging and combating with the goddess who is having the weapons in her eight hands.

The temple of Ambādevī at Jagat remained a holy place, and the Guhila rulers of Mewār made gifts to it. An inscription1 of Mahārāja Sāmantasimhadeva of Mewār dated

Sam. 1224 (A.D. 1171) records that he made the gift of a Suvarnakalasa (golden pinnacle) to the temple of Ambadevi at Jagat. Another inscription of the time of Sihadadeva dated Sam. 1277 (A.D. 1220) is engraved on a pillar of this temple. An inscription of Sam. 1306 (A.D. 1249) records the erection of Suvarnada (golden flag staff) on the temple by Jayasimhadeva, son of Sihada, and grandson of Jayatasiha of the Guhila family. Jayatasiha of this inscription is the famous Jaitrasaha of Mewar.

(95) ĀBU

Ābu is a celebrated mountain in the south of Sirohi District, situated between 24° 31 and 24° 43 N and 72° 38 and 72° 53 E. A town after the name of the mountain gradually developed at this place. The name Aboda mentioned in the Sanchi inscription of the second century B.C. may be identical with Ābu. It records the erection of two pillars by the committee (goshthi) of the Borayasikhas from Aboda. This inscription proves the antiquity of the town, as well as the existence of Buddhism in the second century B.C. From the early medieval period, this place began to be called Delavada because there were several Brahmanical and Jaina temples.

Ābu has been regarded as the cradle of the Paramaras, and it is not unlikely that the Ābu family represented the main family. The Paramaras of Ābu generally recognized the suzerainty of the Chalukyas of Gujarat. In 1315 A.D., it passed into the hands of the Devada Chauhanas.

Both Saivism and Jainism flourished side by side at Ābu. From the various inscriptions including the earliest one bearing the date 671 A.D., it appears that his place was a stronghold of Saivism. The inscription of V.S. 1265 of Kedararasi, who seems to have been the superior of a Saiva

2. Ibid.
5. Gazetteer of Sirohi State, p. 287
6 IA, XI, p. 22.
monastery at Ujjain, records his building operation at the tirtha of Kanakhala in Achalagadha. He renovated the temple of Koṭeśvara; he paved the whole tirtha with large slabs and surrounded it with high walls; he renovated the temple of Atulanātha; he built two new temples of Śūlapāṇi and embellished the temple of Kanakhalaśambhu by erecting in its maṇḍapa a row of pillars of black stone. His sister Mokheśvari also built a temple of Śiva.

Jainism existed at Ābū much earlier than 1032 A.D. In the Bṛihatkalpasūtra of Ārya Bhadrabāhusvāmi, it is mentioned as a place of pilgrimage. On the basis of the old traditions recorded in the Vividhatirthamālā, and the Upadeśasaptatikā also, it has been described as a place of pilgrimage. From an inscription of 1369 A.D. found on the door of the chief shrine in Jivantasvāmi Śrī Mahāvīra Jaina temple, it is known that Lord Mahāvīra visited Arbudabhūmi, and an image was consecrated by Śrī Keśi Gaṇadhūmi during the 37th year of the life of Mahāvīra. It is believed that Uddyotanasūri, founder of the Vaḍagachchha, visited Ābū in V.S. 994. All these facts prove that Ābū was already the place of pilgrimage even before 1032 A.D., and there were Jaina temples also.

Ābū is, actually, famous for the two celebrated Jaina temples—Vimalavasahī temple, and Lūṇavasahī temple. The former dedicated to Ādinātha was built by a Minister named Vimala in 1032 A.D. Vimala was appointed Governor by the Chālukya king Bhīma I after ousting the Paramāra ruler Dhanduka of Ābū who took refuge with king Bhoja, the lord of Dhārā. Soon, he became successful in reconciling him to Bhīma, and called him back to rule. The latter temple Lūṇavasahī dedicated to Neminātha was built by Tejāpāla

1. It is mentioned in the Vividhatirthamālā that Ārya Sushṭhita, tenth Paṭṭadhara of Mahāvīra (291 years after Mahāvīra) went to Ābū for pilgrimage.

2. From the Upadeśasaptatikā, it is known that in the first century A.D., Pādaliptasūri daily used to visit five holy places including Ābū by means of Ak-hayagāminīyādā.

3. APJLS, No. 48.

in 1230 A.D. for the religious merit of his wife 'Anupāmadevi' and his son Lāvanyasimha when the Paramāra ruler Somasimha was ruling over Ābū. Tejapāla, and his brother were first in the service of Bhīma II, and the latter at the request of Viradhavala gave them to the Vāghela prince as a token of friendship.

Both these temples are similar in style. The beauty of the buildings, and the skill of the artists have been appreciated by several scholars. COUSINS remarks, "The amount of the beautiful ornamental detail, spread over these temples in the minutely carved decoration of the ceilings, pillars, doorways, panels and niches, is simply marvellous; the crisp, thin, translucent, shell-like treatment of the marble surpasses anything seen elsewhere, and some of the designs are veritable dreams of beauty." In the words of FERGUSSON, "These temples for minute delicacy of carving, and beauty of detail, stand almost unrivalled even in the land of patient, and lavish labour". TOD justly remarks, "The delineation of it defies pen, and would tax to the utmost the pencil of the most patient artist" and, he further asserts, "No ornament of the most florid style of Gothic architecture can be compared with it in richness. It appears like a cluster of the half-disclosed lotus, whose cups are so thin, so transparent, and so accurately wrought that they fix the eye in admiration."

The temple of Ādinātha built by Vimala is one of the most complete examples of Jaina temple. It formed some sort of model and illustration for the other temples. The entrance is through a domed square portico building supported by six pillars. The main object in this temple is a cell with a figure of a Tirthanākara which terminates upwards in a śikhara of pyramidal spire-like roof. It is attached with a portico of a large size, surmounted by a dome resting on eight pillars, and the whole is enclosed in oblong courtyard about 140 feet by 90 feet surrounded by a double colonnade of small pillars, forming porticos to a range of cells fifty in

1. PRAS. W G, 1910, p. 3.
2. HIEA, p. 36.
number which enclose it on all sides. Each cell is occupied by the cross-legged figure of a Tirthankara. The great pillars are of the same height, as those of the smaller porticos, and like them, they furnish with the usual bracket capitals. Upon them, the upper dwarf columns are placed to give them additional height, and on these upper columns rest the great beams which support the dome. The lovely marble dome in this temple is further beautified by rich carvings. In the roofs of the corridors also, the most complicated ornamental designs have been carved. Externally, the temple is perfectly plain, except the spire on the cell.

The temple of Neminātha built by Vastupāla and Tejapāla stands in a court-yard measuring about 155 feet by 92 feet. The plan of the temple is largely an imitation of Vimala's temple, but it also differs in certain aspects. It has two porches or maṇḍapas, one of which is called the mahāmaṇḍapa and the other ardhamaṇḍapa. The pillars supporting the porch are somewhat taller, and of eight different types. Around the court-yard are arranged the seventy cells with a covered, and enclosed passage in front of them, and each of these contains a cross-legged seated figure of the Tirthankara. On the pillars, there stand the massive architraves on which there is a dome. The domical ceiling of the temple and especially the pendant ornament therein surpass in beauty.

The beautiful figures of the deities such as Sarasvatī and Ambikā are found carved in the Jaina temples of Abū. There is a beautiful figure of the goddess Sarasvatī showing the four symbols such as Viṇā, book, rosary, and the lotus in her four hands preserved in an architrave panel sculpture in the famous Vimala Vasahī temple. In this same temple, a beautiful sculpture preserving a sixteen-armed form of the great goddess of learning on the ceiling is noticed. She is attended by a dancing male figure on each side. The goddess sits in bhadrāśana showing the lotus, conch, and the varāda in the right hands, and the lotus, the book; and the kamandalu in the three left ones. All other hands along with the symbols are mutilated beyond recognition. The figure of the swan can, however, be seen on the pedestal. On a pillar in the temple built by Tejapāla, there is a figure of Sarasvatī
seated in bhadrāsana, and showing the same symbols with the difference that the book in the left hand is replaced by a kamanḍalu.

There is a figure of twenty-armed Ambikā on the ceiling of famous temple of Vimalaśāha. Ambikā in lalitāsana is sitting on the lion. She shows the khaḍga, śakti, the snake, the mace, the shield, the axe, the kamanḍalu, the abhaya, and the varada mudrās. The rest of the symbols cannot be identified, because they are partly or wholly broken. The goddess wears a crown, ear-rings, necklaces, garland, mekhāla, bracelets, anklets, lower garment and a scarf.

In the Jaina temples of Ābū, the ceiling, and the surfaces are, sculptured with innumerable incidents from the various epics such as the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. The scene of the birth of Kṛṣṇa, and his various activities have been skillfully sculptured. In the sculptures, the incidents are drawn from the stories in the Satrūḍjayamāhātya as shown by the names of heroes, and other persons being engraved beneath them. In the rangamanḍapa of the temple of Vimala, the scenes of the battle between Bharata, and Bāhubali, and the marriage party of Neminātha have been artistically sculptured. The incidents in the previous lives of the Tīrthaṅkaras have been excellently illustrated by the sculptures in the temple of Ābū.

Tejapāla also made arrangements1 of bathing, worshipping, supervising, etc., in this temple, and for this purpose, the trustees, were appointed. Rules were also made for celebrating the festival on the anniversaries of the consecration of the temple. The festival was to begin on the third day of the dark half of the month Chaitra and to last for eight days. During this festival, the ceremonies of bathing, worshipping, etc., were to be performed by the laymen of certain local community. About half of the people belonged to the Poravālas and the rest were Osavālas, Śrīmālis, and Dharkaṭas. The places inhabited by them were the

1. EI, VIII, p. 204.
villages Umbarâñki, Surauli, Kâşahraďa, Brahminâ, Dhauli, Mundasthala, Philini, Han chaudra, Davâñî, Gadâhaďa and Sâhilavâďa. The five Kalyâñikas of Neminâthadeva, i.e., the feasts on the anniversaries of the conception, birth, initiation, enlightenment and final deliverance of the saint were to be celebrated annually on the fixed days by all the laymen residing at Deulavâďa. The care of the temple was entrusted to king Somasirnâhadeva, his son Kânhaďadeva and the other princes, all royal persons, Sthânapatis, Bhaṭṭarakas and merchants of the neighbouring places, such as Chandrâvati and Achalesvara. The ruler Somasimha also granted the village Davâñî to the holy Neminâthadeva for worship.¹

It seems that from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century A.D., a large number of Srâvakas lived at Deulavâďa, as is clear from the fact that they installed images from time to time, and they also participated in the festival of anniversary to be celebrated. In the Jaina temple of Vimalavasahi, the image of Pârśvanâtha was installed by Devachandra in V.S. 1222², and another image of the same Tirthankara was placed in V.S. 1245 by Ānavirâ³. The metal image of Mahâvîra made by Jhâjhaña of this place is found in the Jaina temple near Rohida.⁴ The fact, that the saints spent rainy season here from time to time⁵, also proves that the Srâvakas were in sufficient number in early times.

Both these temples were repaired, and renovated from time to time. Hemaratna and Daśaratha, descendants of Vimala, repaired the cell of the temple in V.S. 1201⁶. Prîthvipâla and his son Dhanapâla renovated several cells in 1204, and 1245 V.S. respectively.⁷ These temples were destroyed by the Muslim forces, when Alauddîn Khilîji

1. Ei, VIII, p. 204.
2. APJLS, 171.
3. Ibid, 55.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Tîtharôja Ḍî, p. 41.
7. Ibid.
invaded Jālor in V. S. 1378. The temple of Vimalavasahī was renovated by the descendants of two brothers Gosala and Bhīma of Maṇḍor, and its installation ceremony was performed by Jñānachandrasūri. Similarly, the temple of Lūṇavasahī was renovated by Pethaḍa in V. S. 1378.

As Ābū became the holy place of Jainas, several stāvanas, stotras, chaityaparipāṭis, Tirthamālās, etc., were written about Ābū by Jaina scholars from the fourteenth century onwards.

(96) SĀNGĀNER

At a distance of thirteen kms to the south of Jaipur stands the town of Sāngāner. In old inscriptions, praṣastis, its name is found Śaṅgrāmapura. It is said to have been founded by Śaṅgā. There is a temple named Śaṅgā-Śābab-kā-śaṅkara-Mandira, wherein his picture is worshipped. The temple of Śaṅgeśvara Mahādeva was erected by Śaṅgā. He was one of the seventeen sons of the Kachhavaha ruler Prithvīrāja, who ascended the throne of Āmber in 1553 A.D. Being displeased with his nephew Ratna Śīha, the then ruler of Āmber, Śaṅgā went to Bikāner to seek military help of his maternal uncle Jaitasīha, who responded favourably. Having, thus, fully equipped himself, he proceeded towards his country, fought against his enemies at Maujamābad, and defeated them. Afterwards, on a route, he founded Sāngāner on the ruins of an old town, and began to reside there. As he killed Karma Chand and Jayamallā Naruka at Maujamābad, one Chāraṇa named Kānha wreaked vengeance on him, and succeeded in putting him to death. After him, his younger brother Bhārmal became the ruler of Sāngāner. In 1561 A.D., he gave a warm welcome to the Mughal Emperor Akbar at this place, when he was going to Ajmer to pay homage to the dargāh of Khwāja Śāhib.

No doubt, Sāngāner was founded by the Kachhavāha

1. Tīrtharāja Ābū, p. 42.
2. Ibid, p. 112.
3. S. Pat., V, Part I. (Rājasthāna Śāhityā me Ābū.)
4. VV, p. 1268.
prince Sāṅgā in the sixteenth century A.D., but its history goes to early period. This town is specially famous for the Jaina temple called Simghīji Kā Mandira, which is a wonderful specimen of Jaina architecture. It is not known as to who was this Simghī? D.R. BHANDARKAR\(^1\) holds that this temple does not appear to be of an earlier period than the fifteenth century A.D. But, his view is not tenable, because there is an inscription\(^2\) of 954 A.D. on a bandaravāla of the main shrine in the second hall of the temple. This definitely proves that the temple belongs to the tenth or eleventh century A.D. Further, this temple may be compared with the temples of Ābū built at this time for its deep beautiful carvings and the style of pillars. There are three stone images of the eleventh century A.D. The door of this temple is beautifully carved with the figures of dwarfs, elephants, kinnaras, kinnāris and Tirthankaras. Then comes the sabhāmanḍapa or open porch.

There are two courtyards on both the sides with twelve pillars. Between the two pillars, there is a beautiful bandaravāla. On the capital of the pillar is standing the figures of Kinnari, holding child, flower, sometimes drum and chamvāri. These Kinnāris are skifully carved. Then comes the entrance of the second sabhāmanḍapa. It is also carved with apsarās, devas and peacocks. In the hall, there is a central shrine, most beautifully carved with scrolls, lotus-flowers, creepers, and elephants pouring water over the heads of the Tirthaṅkaras. The central shrine has excellent bandaravālas on the three sides. Besides, there are nineteen subsidiary cells in a row, in which images are placed. The main shrine, and these subsidiary cells are surmounted by Sīkharas.

During the medieval period, Sāṅgāner became a great literary centre. The scholars of this place wrote their works in Hindi. Brahma Rāyamalla, who settled in his last days at Sāṅgāner, composed the Nemiśvara-Kathā, Sudarśanarāsa, Hanumantokathā (1569 A.D.) Pradyumnacharitra (1571 A.D.)\(^3\)

1. PRAS. WC. p. 48.
2. See Appendix No. 65 for the text.
In 1605 A.D., the well known Jaina poet *Samayasundara* of Rajasthan visited Sāṅgāner, where he composed the *Dānaṭīla Taṇabhāvanā, Sanvādaṣatakā* and *Dānādichaudhaliā*. Pūṇyakirtī⁴ and Sahajakirtī⁵ wrote respectively the *Punyasārāṣa* in 1609 A.D., and *Pritichhattīṣi* in 1631 A.D. Jodharāja Godīkā of Sāṅgāner is the author of several works as *Pritīnakaracharita* (1664 A.D.) *Jñānasamudra* (1665 A.D.) *Samyaṭvakaumudī* and *Padmanandī Paṇḍhavimśati* (1667 A.D.) *Pravachanasāra* (1669 A.D.) and *Dharmasarovara*. Khuṣāla Chanda Kāla of Sāṅgāner translated the *Harivamśapurāṇa*, into Hindi in 1724 A.D., and his other works, namely, *Padmapurāṇa, Uttarapurāṇa, Dhanyakumāracharitra, Jambūcharitra* and *Ṭasodharacharitra* are available.⁶ Kiṃsamsimha is the author of fifteen works and the chief among them are *Kriyākośabhāṣā* (1727 A.D.) *Punyāśravakathākosa* (1715 A.D.) *Bhadrabāhu-\[\text{charitra} (1723. \text{A.D.})

Sāṅgāner was visited by Jaina monks from time to time and, therefore, manuscript copies were prepared to present them. Sāha Nānaga of the Khandelavāla caste got a copy of the *Vāraṅgacharitra* written in 1574 A.D., when Bhagavānsimha, was ruling.⁹ In 1605 A.D., during the reign of Māṃsimha, Sāha Kalyāṇasimha, and his wife got a copy of *Harivamśapurāṇa* written, and presented it to Bhaṭṭāraka Devendra Kīrīṭi. In 1619 A.D., a copy of the *Karmacākṛiti* was presented to Ācārya Rāmākīrīṭi, disciple of Devendrākīrīṭi.¹¹ In 1690 A.D., Bhaṭṭāraka Kshamendrākīrīṭi also visited this place.¹²

1. JGK, p. 335.
2. Ibid.
4. JGK, p. 405.
8. RJSBGIS, III, p. 364.
10. PS. p. 76.
11. RJSBGIS, p. 4.
Chapter VII

Town Planning of Ancient Towns and Cities

Some ancient towns and cities grew up at random while others were built scientifically, systematically and in a planned way. It seems that certain basic principles of city planning were observed strictly in their construction. The archaeological excavations conducted at old city-sites yield information about their planning in ancient times. Besides, some early literary works incidentally give town description which is much exaggerated, and hence not wholly reliable. Both these sources indicate that the process in the development of town planning is a gradual one. First, the town was a small one in size, and it had only a few integral parts. The population was not so much. In course of time with the growth of population, the dimensions of the town increased. The fortification and the surrounding wall became characteristics of towns.

The grid or rectangular system seems to have remained characteristic of town planning in all ages. It was found in the ancient cities of Harappa and Mahen-jo-daro. The recent excavations at Kālibangān revealed that even in pre-Harappan period, there was a definite system of town planning, and it probably influenced the town building of the ancient cities during the Harappan period. The pre-Harappan deposits discovered from the excavations at Kālibangān included some houses and streets. The houses were built of mud bricks and sometimes also of baked bricks. They were built in a straight line, and sometimes separated by lanes.

During the Harappan period, the people of Kālibangān developed the system of town planning. The streets ran straightly and crossed each other at right-angles. The houses were built along the sides of streets with a definite plan. Mud-
bricks were used in their construction and they were placed in regular courses of headers and stretchers. They bore mud-plasters. Besides a court-yard, there were four or five large-sized rooms along with smaller ones in the house. On the exterior, sometimes mud platforms were added. The floors, made of rammed clay in mixture with terracotta nodules, bits of charcoal and burnt bricks, were paved to prevent them from getting slushy due to the water. These houses possessed flat mud roofs supported by wooden rafters embedded in mud with a cushioning of reeds. Small oblong enclosures of mud bricks often containing broken bits of jars and clay-lined oval pits full of charcoal are also noticed in the houses. In most houses, oval firing is found. These objects seemed to have served the purpose of fire altars. A substantial building of massive walls with a tripartite plan has been discovered, but its nature has not so far been determined.

According to LAL, the small mound in the west represents a citadel similar to the citadel of both Harappā and Mohen-jo-dāro. SANKALIA gives another explanation for the supposed mud-brick rampart. This mound overlooks the Ghaggar river and is also smaller and so is likely to be more easily flooded than the eastern one. Hence the need of a rampart and baked bricks was felt.

Like Harappā and Mohen-jo-dāro, the people of Kālbangān were well acquainted with the rules of hygiene and sanitation, and this proves that a high civic sense prevailed among them. The drainage system of both the houses and city was a remarkable one. Different types of drains with soakage jars were provided for the disposal of dirty water, and dirty material. There were burnt brick drains, and sometimes the wooden drains were also used in streets. The use of timber, scooped in a U-shaped manner for drains, is noteworthy. Houses, streets and markets were kept clean and neat. There was a proper arrangement for water supply to the people, because wells and bath-platforms have been discovered in excavations.

1. I. Ar., 1960-61, p. 32.
2. Pre-history and Proto-history of India and Pakistan, p. 160.
While an advanced city civilization flourished at Kālibangan in the Sarasvati valley, the rest of Rajasthan, it appears, was still passing through different stages of Stone Age Culture. The recent excavations at Āhār, Gilund and other sites in south-east Rajasthan have revealed the existence of people who slightly later than the Indus valley civilization lived in a copper Stone Age Culture in about 1500 B.C.

After 1500 B.C., there was a sudden and radical change in the cultural traditions of the people. The earlier developed urban civilization disappeared, and this change was brought about by the newcomers or the chalcolithic inhabitants with rural traditions. These people did not know the use of kiln-made bricks, though they made excellent pottery and even used the brick-like burnt debris as a floor.

Sometimes about in the sixth or fifth century B.C., the art of brick making was rediscovered. Iron also became popular at this time. Who introduced these new features is not known. But certainly, it was due to a new cultural contact. This led to the rise of new cities now once again built with bricks of much larger size than those of the Indus civilization. The excavations at Bairāṭ, Nagari, Nāgar, Naliāsar, Rairh and Rang Māhal brought to light the remains of early cities.

The old town of Naliāsar¹ was densely populated during the Kushān and Gupta periods; but it was not devoid of town planning. The streets and lanes were straight and the buildings were constructed in a systematic way. Most of these houses had several storeys and were provided with staircases. These dwellings were constructed on the usual plan of an open central court surrounded by rows of rooms three or all four sides. Some pottery models of a dwelling found both at Naliāsar² and Rairh³ give us a general idea of the planning of the house at that time. It comprises a miniature rectangular chamber with a gabled roof crowned by finials, large doorways with horizontal lintels in front flanked

¹. ARES, Pls. II and III.
². Ibid, p. 27.
³. Excavations at Rairh, Pl XXII, 3, 4 and 5.
by high-level windows, similar windows in the side walls and pierced lattice ventilators in the back wall. The workshops of the artists for the manufacture of ornamental pottery and interesting terracottas, and the workshops of blacksmiths for preparing implements, ornaments and utensils of iron and copper have been discovered at Bairāt\(^1\), Rairh\(^2\) and Naliāsar.\(^3\)

The usual material for the construction of the houses was sun-dried and burnt brick of varying sizes which was laid in mud-mortar. Morandi clay was employed for raising walls, and laying floors of the houses. Mud-mortar and mud-plaster were used for covering the walls. At Naliāsar\(^4\), the foundations of the houses were built of roughly cut blocks of Jhajhra stone. The floors were made of hard morandi soil upon layers of fine sand, broken burnt crucibles, which had been thrown away after use, or of ashes to keep off moisture and white ants. At Rairh,\(^5\) generally burnt bricks of exceptionally large size were employed for the construction of platforms, the foundations of which were composed of series of parallel walls. The space between these parallel walls was packed up with hard wet morandi clay. These parallel walls probably served no other purpose than the foundations of solid pavements. Iron refuse also served the purpose of foundation in some houses probably in order to keep off white ants, etc. The gabled roofs were covered with charred wood and pottery tiles.

From the excavations of the ancient cities, it is clear that the proper arrangement was made for the disposal of sewage. At Rairh,\(^6\) pottery pipe drains and brick drains were used to remove the waste matter of the house. Some pottery ring wells or pits found in the vicinity of pottery pipe drains formed parts of houses. In all, 115 ring wells have been brought to light. They are composed of pottery rings ranging from 5 to 25 fitted one above the other. Actually these were dust or

1. ARES, p. 30.
2. Excavations at Rairh.
3. ARES, p. 32.
4. Ibid.
5. Excavations at Rairh, p. 18.
rubbish bins meant for dirty and waste matter. At Naliāsar, narrow space was left between two houses for the use of scavengers etc. A broad street with its refuse gradually deposited at the sides can clearly be seen at Rang Mahal. Fragments of cylindrical drain-pipes were also found in some houses. A big bottle-shaped pit must be interpreted as some sort of dust-bin for dirty matter.

The size and population of the town increased in medieval period, and as a consequence, separate parts came into existence. Such a town planning in construction required the ramparts and trenches for defence, markets and streets, tanks, forts, temples, public buildings, parks, etc. Some ancient literary works incidentally give description of the towns. Their account is exaggerated and therefore not wholly reliable; but they point out the prosperity of the towns. Pātaliputra, Ujjain, Kanauj and Anahilapurapātan find special mention in these literary works. From such description, we may presume that the ancient towns of Rajasthan might have been built on the same traditional cultural pattern of the old towns and by the same builders. We do not know the exact plan of these ancient towns but a general idea can be formed on the basis of the description found in these literary works.

The proper examination of the soil and the situation was necessary before founding a new town for its growth. The ancient towns were founded on the basis of different considerations. The ramparts (prākāra) and trenches (mahāparikāha), which became a feature of the early medieval town, constituted an integral part of the town planning. This is confirmed both by the literary and archaeological sources.

From the Upamitibhavaprapoṇchakathā, it is known that in big

1. ARES, p. 21.
2. Rang Mahal, p. 165.
towns, there were high surrounding big walls to protect them from outside for defence purposes. They possessed gates, doors and windows. Their remains are still noticed in the ancient cities of Châtsū, Ajmer, Alwar etc. When Āhār was destroyed by the enemies in early times, Vairisimha erected a fresh rampart having four gates facing all the four cardinal directions round Āghāta in the twelfth century A.D.¹

From the inscription of the eleventh century A.D., it is known that Vaśishṭha founded a city called Vaṭa (Vasantagarh) adorned with ramparts, orchards, tanks and lofty mansions.² Samara Simha, who became ruler in 1182 A.D., was fond of buildings and built extensive ramparts on Kanakāchala at Jālor.³ The Prabhāvakacharitra tells us that the fort of Ajmer was surrounded by a belt of thorn trees and bushes. From the Prithvīrājvijaya⁴, we learn that it was full of temples, multi-storeyed houses, step wells, tanks and prapās.

The area of the town was divided into markets, streets and wards by a chess-board system of roads. Two wide roads known as Mahārājamārgas, which ran from one direction to the other, crossed the city at right-angles. Smaller roads called rathyās and mahārathyās further divided the mahārājamārgas. By these roads, towns were divided into pāṭakas or wards with their own chatushkas (quadrangles) and trikas (triangles). In medieval period, the city of Jaipur was laid out after a similar scheme which came to us from the old city builders in the form of traditions. Many ancient cities possessed curved streets because they are situated in hilly tracts.

The principal thorough-fares were lined with trees for sanitary and aesthetic purposes. There were drains on both sides of the road for passage of water. The streets were sometimes paved with slabs of stones. Dust-bins were also placed generally in the corners at the extremities of a street.

There were district wards or muhallās in accordance

¹. El, XXXI, p. 325.
². Ibid, IX, p. 11.
³. Ibid, p. 73.
⁴. PV, p. 129.
with professions and castes. These wards were again subdivided by a net-work of narrower and smaller streets into building blocks. All the wards were not laid out after the same pattern. Their planning was regulated by requirements of business which the residents of any ward carried on. Certain trades and industries were concentrated in specific streets and wards built for them. There were wards of the merchants, the Brāhmaṇas, the soldiers, the gold-smiths, the artisans, the potters, the barbers, etc. From the local traditions, it is known that Osia, Chandrāvatī, Khed Māroṭh, etc., became so extensive and prosperous that modern villages situated in the neighbourhood served as their wards and markets. Named after the deity Somanātha, there was a ward of Somanāthapalli at Shergarh in the tenth century A.D.¹ The poor fishermen, butchers, scavengers, public-performers and executioners had to live outside the city walls.

The number of markets has been mentioned eighty four². This number seems to be conventional and exaggerated but it proves that there were markets of different commodities. There was one market for grains, one for clothes, one for fruits and vegetables; one for jewellers known as Johari Bazār, one for gold-smiths etc. The jewellers-market was generally found situated in a centre of the town. The Kambali-hatța or animal market is found mentioned in the inscription dated 299 (906 A.D.) engraved on a pillar found at Kāmān³. The Pratihāra ruler Kakkuka established a hatța or market which was adorned with streets and shops, and he built many houses as known to us from the inscription⁴ dated 861 A.D. It is possible that some towns might have been the actual expansions of the original markets. Fairs and seasonal assemblies were held in the markets for buying and selling of goods. An inscription of the time of Allāṭa dated V.S. 1010 refers to a hatța organized within a week at Āhār.⁵

1. EI, XXIII, p. 133.
3. EI, XXIV, pp. 331.
5. IA, 58, p. 53.
Markets and streets were adorned with buildings. Although their plans exhibit considerable variety, they were all based on the same principles. The unit of their design was the open quadrangle surrounded by chambers (chatusšālā) and this was repeated two, three, four and more times according to the amount of accommodation required by the occupants. These buildings were both private and public. The houses of wealthy people might have been quite good. Besides, there were secular-buildings built in a systematic way. As their description is found in literature, they were actually existing. In capitals, royal places were used for the residence of kings and servants. There were royal courts where the king used to hear the petitions. A building like secretariat was also there. There might be some other State buildings used as offices for Ministers and other official staff of the king. Since administration was largely decentralized, there was no necessity of having an endless number of central offices to be located in the District headquarters. Each town, however, had at least one hall, which was used for the transaction of public business, the preservation of public records and other similar purposes by the town committee.

Religious public buildings such as temples and monasteries were numerous in old towns. They were comparatively larger in number than the religious buildings of the modern towns. This proves that people in those days were more religious, faithful and devotional than they are now. Their charity was usually directed to the erection, repairs, enlargement or endowment of temples and monasteries.

Forts:—

In some ancient cities, there were forts for defence purposes. Kauṭilya\(^1\) enumerates different kinds of forts such as water-forts, hill-forts, desert-forts and forest-forts, and gives minute details of their construction. In Rajasthan, hill forts are common, and they were the result of elaborate construc-

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1. *Arthaśāstra*, BK II, Ch. IV.
Cities of Rajasthan

These are known as garh, kilā and durga. As a rule, these forts consisted of four high walls, enclosing a rectangular space. They were provided with a bastion or tower at each corner and had a fortified gate on one side. Gateways were the strongest part of these forts. Several belts of walls and ditches round the fort are found. These walls were too high to be jumped by enemies. For strengthening fortification, the ramparts were planted with thorny and poisonous bushes. They had ample provision for arms, fuel, grain and water. There were residential quarters and markets in the forts.

The well known forts as known to us were at Maṇḍor, Chitor, Shergarh, Naraina, Māṇḍalgarh, Raṇathambhor, Tahangarh and Hanumāngarh etc. There was a fort at Maṇḍor when it was taken into possession by the Pratihāras in the sixth century A.D.¹ The Pratihāra ruler Rajilla built the rampart of the fort in about the sixth century A.D. Probably, it refers to the walls of the fort, which are still surviving. They were constructed of massive blocks of stone, and were further strengthened and protected by bastions on the outside. The present dilapidated town of Shergarh was considered to be one of the impregnable forts in the Hindu period, as is evident from its strong walls and ramparts which are still standing erect to tell this story. It is also expressly referred to as a fort in one inscription² of the eleventh century. The fort of Chitor is the strongest, and remained famous for centuries in history for its strategic position.

The Chauhāna rulers constructed several forts at strategic places in order to protect their empire from the foreign invasions. In their time, Naraina was a place of great strategical importance. In 1172 A.D., Prithvirāja III is said to have pitched his first camp at this place³. Its military importance continued even up to the time of Rāṇā Sāṅgā (1509—1528 A.D.) who mentions it in the list.

1. EI, XVIII, p. 98 (V. 10)
2. Ibid, XXIII, p. 132.
3. KB, p. 25.
of great fortresses, which were, according to him, inaccessible and impregnable. The fort of Māṇḍalgarh is about half a mile in length with a low rampart wall and bastions encircling the crest of the hill on which it stands. In early inscriptions, the name of the town is mentioned as Māṇḍalakara which originated from its being circular in shape. The fortress of Raṇathambhor is one of the strongest forts of India. The fort of Tahangarh is situated amidst the tangled hills and rugged forests. Hanumāngarh, known as Bhaṭner in olden times, was a strong and well fortified frontier place.

Water Supply:

Being the desert area, water scarcity remained a great problem in ancient towns, and therefore, wells, stepwells, cisterns and tanks were constructed for water supply. Wells found here are very deep, and in the construction of stepwells, a large number of steps were constructed to reach the deep water. The drinking water tanks supplied water to citizens. Water houses were also there to provide drinking water to people. Cisterns and tanks at holy places were meant for bathing with a purifying purpose.

From the Gaṅgdhār inscription of 423 A.D., it is known that Mayūrākshaka, the Minister of Viśvavarman, built a huge well for drinking water. The king Viśvavarman also devoted himself to the works of public welfare such as irrigation wells; tanks, temples, gardens and causeways. An ancient square shaped bāorī well built of huge massive stones was probably constructed at Nagara by Dhanika, the Guhila ruler of Chāṭṣū in 684 A.D. for the use of his subjects, for performing the abhisheka of Śaṅkara and for acquiring religious merit. An inscription of V.S. 742 (685 A.D.) on a step-well at Maṇḍor records that Madhu got built this

2. GII, III, p. 74.
step-well\(^1\). The Chānda bāori at Ābhānerī, built by the ruler Chānda in the eighth century A.D. is famous. From the Nābhīnandanaṅjinoddhāra written by Kakkasūri in 1338 A.D., it is known that there were tanks and a wonderful stepwell called Vidagdhā at Osiā\(^2\).

In capital cities like Nagara, Bhimnāl and Ajmer, tanks were many and some of them at least were set apart as public baths. There are still the remains of five ancient embanked reservoirs at Nagara which seem to have served the purpose of water supply to the people in ancient times. Arṇorāja, the Chauhāna ruler, built the famous Ānāsāgara lake at Ajmer in the twelfth century A.D.

There were some holy places the importance of which was only due to the sacred lakes and tanks. Pushkara is considered to be the most sacred place of the Hindus in India, and no pilgrimage to the Hindu places is considered complete till the pilgrim bathes in the sacred waters of Pushkara. Even in 125 A.D., Ushavadāta, son of Dīnīka of the Śakā dynasty, and son-in-law of the well known king Naḥapāṇa of the Kshaharāta family, visited Pushkara and gave in charity three thousand cows and a village\(^3\). Sāmbhar remained famous on account of the sacred tanks of Devayāṇī and Šarmishṭhā. Bijauliā was well known for the tank called Mandākinīkūnda, and the pilgrims came to visit it. A festival was held here in connection with the god Mahākāla, and on this occasion, the pilgrims bathed in the Mandākiniṇkūnda. The merit of bathing in its waters was considered as high as that of offering oblation balls at Gayā on the Ravi Parvan day\(^4\).

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1. ARSMJ, 1934, p. 5.
2. BPPI, p. 159. See also Nābhīnandanaṅjinoddhāra, Introduction, verses, 17-48.
3. EI, VIII, p. 79.
4. PRAS. WC, 1905-06, p. 58.
Inscription and literary sources hardly make any reference to the population and dimensions of cities. Sometimes, they mention that they were dense or otherwise. The Mauryan practice of census was not in vogue in Rajasthan in ancient times. We can get some idea of the dimensions of the towns by the study of their archaeological sites. The cities were not as big as the modern cities are.

The mounds of Mohen-jo-daro, Harappā and Kālibangān covered the area near about a square mile, and their population seems to have consisted of from five to fifteen thousand inhabitants. The number of cities prior to 1000 B.C. was small, and the degree of urbanization was slight. The reason was that agriculture was so cumbersome, static and labour intensive that it took many cultivators to support one man in the city.

The invention of iron and its general use in the sixth century B.C. augmented agricultural production which resulted in the growth and development of towns. During the rule of Rājpūt rulers in the early medieval period on account of the development of commerce and trade, old towns prospered and new towns came into existence. Bhinmāl and Chandrāvati, though important feudatory centres in their own days, were to judge from their ruins, only half a square mile in extent and their circuit was 4 or 6 miles. What was true in the case of these two towns, may be true in case of other prominent cities. They did not contain a population probably of more than 30,000 to 40,000.

If such was the case with capitals and forts, what was the case of towns, which were District head-quarters and Sub-divisional head-quarters, we can all infer. These were not the places even of the petty chiefs, who could attract to them the needy Brāhmaṇas or the aspirant poet; sometimes, it is true that the Governor of a District was a scion of the royal family; so he may have had a petty court of his own. But this must not have resulted in any appreciable augmentation of population. There were no irresistible economic forces operating at that time, as they operate now, causing
villages to be depopulated and cities overcrowded, so these towns, on the average could hardly have had a population of more than 10,000.

It is true that they were centres of administration of the whole District; but we must also note that in the ancient Hindu polity, the principle of devolution was carried to the greatest possible extreme. The adjudication of civil and criminal disputes used to take place locally in every village. Ancient Indian villages were independent, self-contained units, economically as well as administratively—a fact which must have adversely affected the development of District head-quarters into cities of considerable dimensions.

The urban population, it seems, probably consisted of five percent of the total population in ancient period. The people living in the industrial centres of Rairh, Nagara, Nialasar etc. were mostly artisans and workers. A large number of Brāhmaṇas, monks, their followers and pilgrims lived at the holy places of Pushkara, Bairāṭ, Jhālrāpāṭan and Osiā. Because of trade centres, the population of Bhinmāl, Pālī, Āhār and Bikampur consisted of traders and merchants. Government officials were serving at the District head-quarters and capitals. The population at some places consisted of Māthura and Naigama Kāyasthas.
With the growth of towns and cities, the necessity of their proper administration was felt for peace and order. As a consequence, towns became the seats of administration. Their administration was not uniform, but it differed from town to town. Sometimes, it is noticed that the same officer was known by different names in different towns and periods. When these ancient towns gradually became multi-functional from the eighth century A.D. onwards, the number of officers also considerably increased for performing different duties. At this time, the bureaucracy became efficiently organized in towns and cities, and there was a regular hierarchy of officials. With the growth of urban life, people began to understand their civic duties by taking interest in different aspects of life through the local bodies. The merchants exercised considerable control on the administration of the city on account of their wealth.

We get the glimpses of administration of ancient towns even in early times. Some inscriptions and coins give us information about their constitutions. It seems that they were ruled by monarchical and republican tribes. On the coins found at the ancient cities of Nagari and Nagara, we do not find the name of the ruler but simply the name of the tribe. This proves that their constitution was republican. On some coins and in some inscriptions of this period, we find the title, ‘Mahāsenāpati’ after the name of the chief. It seems that this title became popular both among republican and monarchical States. It is difficult to say whether these Chiefs were independent or vassals. Six senāpati coins with the legends ‘Senāpatisa Vachhāghasa’ of the third or second century B.C. have been found at Rairh. Senāpati Vachhāghasa must have

1. Excavations at Rairh, p. 50.
been the supreme authority of the State as he enjoyed the right of issuing coinage. One inscription discovered at Nāndsā contains the eulogy of one Mahāsenāpati Bhaṭṭisoma who has been described as a Sogī in the Mālava family. A fragmentary inscription dated the third century A.D. of the President with the title of Mahārāja Mahāsenāpati elected by the Yaudheya republic has been found at Bayānā. This proves that Bayānā was an important centre of administration under the Yaudheyas. In about the first half of the third century A.D., the Maukharīs were ruling over the territory of Bādvā in Kota District. Mahāsenāpati Bala was at its head in 239 A.D. and he had three grown-up sons to help him in the administration. These Maukharīs were probably owing allegiance to the western Kshatrapas according to A.S. ALTEKAR, while D.C. SIRCAR observes that they were serving the Mālavas. It is possible that they might have been independent like Senāpati Pushyamitra Śuṅga.

After the seventh century A.D., the Rājpūt rulers established a vast empire with several towns and cities of importance, and they introduced elaborate administrative system. There were capital cities, and the cities with Provincial and District headquarters. There were some towns under the charge of feudal lords. In capital cities, the king was the supreme authority with several officers under his control. In some capital towns, there were separate organs of administration such as Executive, Judicial and Military, and there were separate officers for each branch. There were central officers and local officers. The central officers were governed from the centre, while the local officers were concerned with the local affairs of the town.

Ruler

The ruler ruled over kingdom from his capital. He

1. IHQ. XXIX, p. 80.
2. CII, III, No. 58, p. 251.
3. EI, XXIII, p. 52.
4. The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 164.
formed the keystone of the administrative arch. Legally, he was an absolute monarch, the head of the civil as well as military administration, with his powers circumscribed indeed by the will of the overlord if he had any. He has been sometimes described as divine. But it did not mean that he was to rule arbitrarily. He was divine, if he upheld the established moral and social order, and fought against the enemies. If he acted contrarily, he was to go to hell. Local customs and traditions exercised check on the autocratic tendency of a ruler. Sometimes, he had to consult his Ministers on all important matters of policy, internal as well as external. Local bodies such as Pañcāyatas, guilds, and feudal-lords sometimes operated strongly against him. When any ruler overrode any of these salutary checks, there was the possibility of disaffection among the people.

The imperial titles though sometimes conventional assumed by some rulers indicate that they were probably paramount rulers and their sovereignty was recognized by the ruling chiefs. Dhavala, who assumed the imperial title of Paramabhatṛāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara by 644 A.D. as known to us from the Dabok inscription\(^1\), was really a scion of the Maurya dynasty. The Guhila rulers of Mewar, the ruling chiefs of the Brāhmaṇa family of Jhālrāpāṭan and others acknowledged the suzerainty of the Mauryas. After the downfall of Mauryas, the Guhilas of Chāṭṣū, Kalyāṇapura, Nāgḍā and Chitor, the early Chauhāna rulers of Śākambhari, the Śūrasena rulers of Bayānā, the Nāga rulers of Shergarh, and the Baḍa Gurjara rulers of Rājor acknowledged the suzerainty of the Pratihārās of Kanauj. Among the Chauhāna rulers of Śākambhari, Simhārāja was the first to assume the title of Mahārājādhirāja by freeing his territory from the suzerainty of the Pratihārās. From the time of Prithvirāja I onwards, they are styled Paramabhatṛāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara. Bhāṛtipatṭa II, the Guhila ruler of Nāgḍā who assumed the title of Mahārājādhirāja in 942 A.D., signifies that he enjoyed an independent position. These imperial royal titles indicate increase in the power of these sovereigns.

\(^1\) EI, XXXV, p. 100.
The Yuvarāja and other members of the family

Next in importance to the ruler stood the Yuvarāja. The ruler generally gave high offices to his younger sons so that they might get experience and proper training of administration before becoming kings. In the grants\(^1\) issued by the Guhila rulers of Kishkindha (Kalyānapur), we find the mention of Yuvarāja next to the king. From the Chauhāna inscriptions of Nāḍol, it is known that he had a share in the government of his father. The Kirāḍū stone inscription\(^2\) of Alhana carried the sign-manual of Kelhana and Gaja Simha, and the Bāmnera Grant\(^3\) of Kelhana bore a sign of Kirtipāla. Sometimes, they were made Governors of the Provinces. Maṇḍor seems to have been ruled by Ratnapāla, Sahajapāla, Gajasimha and Chāmunḍarāja who were the sons, and near relatives of Chāmunḍarāja.\(^4\) Alhana was governing Bāhādamera through his son Kumārasimha in the twelfth century A.D.\(^5\)

Some queens also exercised powerful influence on administration. Rudrāṇi, the queen of Chandanarāja, the Chauhāna ruler of Śākambhari, was a lady of great consequence\(^6\). Sommaladevī, the wife of Ajayarāja of Ajmer, had coins of her own.\(^7\) Jālhaṇadevī, the queen of Kelhana of Nāḍol, was in charge of Sandera.\(^8\) But mostly, we hear the queens only in connection with donations and charities. Sometimes, the royal members were also included in the committee to look after the affairs of the religious institution. An inscription\(^9\) of 953 A.D. (V.S. 1010) found at Āhār states that an assembly consisting of the gosṭhikas such as the royal members Mahālakṣmī, her son Allaṭa

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1. EI, XXXV, p. 56 and XXXIV, pp. 170 & 173.
3. Ibid, XIII, pp. 207-08.
5. PRAS. WG, 1909, p. 52.
6. PV, Verses 31 and 37.
7. ECD, p. 41.
then king, his son Naravāhana and some of his Ministers and officers, was constituted to look after the management of temple.

There are instances of the capital cities being administered by the regents after the death of the ruling sovereign when the heir apparent happened to be minor. After the death of the Chauhāna ruler Somesvara of Ajmer in V.S. 1234, his queen Kapûradevī proved an excellent regent. Jojalla, the rājyachintaka, a maternal uncle of Samarasiṃha of Jalor may have been a regent. Vāgbhata, the younger brother of Prahlādaṇa of Raṇathambhor, supervised the kingdom for his nephew, Vīrāṇāraṇa, during his minority.

MINISTRY

The capital cities became seats of government and we find the ministry and courts functioning there. The number of Ministers depended upon the size of the kingdom, and they were in charge of different administrative departments, and they advised the king on the important matters.

(1) Mahāmantrin or Mahāmātaya—The Mahāmantrin, in charge of the royal seals, exercised general supervision over all departments, specially revenue, and generally was the most trusted and influential member of the ministry. Mayūrākshaka, who built the temples of Vishnū and the Divine Mothers and a huge well in 423 A.D. at Gaṅgdhār, was the Minister of Viśvavarman. Voppaka, who was a great Court Officer or General in 689 A.D., played an important part in the political games of the Thākuras or feudatories of Durgagaṇa of Jhālṛpātan. Varmalāta, who ruled over Bhīnmaḷ in 625 A.D., has his Prime Minister named Suprabhadeva. Of Vigraharāja’s Mahāmantrins, we

1. PV, IX, 124.
2. EI, XI, pp. 53-54.
3. HM, IV, 41-75.
4. GII, p. 74.
5. VA, V.p. 182.
6. EI, IX, p. 189.
know Śrīdhara and rājaputra Sallakṣaṇapāla. Kadambavāsa was the chief adviser of Prithvīrāja Chauhāna. Of the Mahāmātyas of Nādol, Lakshmīdhara held the post in V.S. 1218 in the reign of Ālhaṇa and Bālhaṇa was Mahāmātya in V.S. 1249 in Kelhaṇa's reign. Yaśovīra and Jaita Devadā are names famous in history of Jālōr. Vihada was the Mahāpradhāna of Sihaḍadeva ruling at Baroda (Vaṭapadraka) in 1234 A.D. Narapati was the Minister of both Jaitrasimha and Hammira of Raṇathambhor.

(2) Senāpati or Daṇḍanāyaka—Next in importance to the Chief Minister was the Senāpati or Daṇḍanāyaka. He was the Commander-in-chief of the forces. Varāha Simha was the Commander-in-chief of Aparājīta who ruled over Nāgdā in 661 A.D. The Chauhāna ruler Vigraharāja IV's Commander-in-chief was Simha Bala. During the reign of the Chauhāna ruler Prithvīrāja III, this post was held by Bhuvanaikarralla, Chedi and Skanda.

(3) Sāndhivigrāhika—Sāndhivigrāhika was a Minister for peace and war. But in addition to this, his chief function was to draft royal charters and despatches. The name of this Minister is found mentioned in the grants issued by the Guhila rulers of Kālyāṉapura. The Minister of peace and war (Sāndhivigrāhika) of Allāṭa, who ruled in the tenth century A.D. over Āhār, was Durlabharāja. Sāndhivigrāhika Khetāditya is mentioned in the Kirāḍū inscription of Ālaṇa. Vilhaṇa was Mahāsāndhivigrāhika of Sihaḍadeva who ruled over Baroda in 1220 A.D. (V.S. 1277).

Other Ministers—There was a Minister named Padmanābha at the time of Prithvīrāja Chauhāna of Ajmer to

1. See respectively the Lalita-Vigraharājanālōka and the Siwālik Pillar inscription of V.S. 1220.
2. PV, IX, 35-5.
4. EI, XIX, p. 46.
5. Ibid, 1X, p. 39.
7. IA, 58, 161.
8. EI, XII, pp. 44. ff.
10. PV, XII, 58.
look after scholars. His duty consisted in calling conferences of learned people. Under Hammira of Ranathambhor, we find also an Amātya called 'Paurānika' who like the Purohita of an earlier period may mainly have been in charge of religious affairs.

There were several other officers both central and local known to have served the ancient towns in different capacities. Rājasthāṇiya was the Governor of the Province. A fragmentary inscription of about the sixth century A.D. discovered at Chitor records certain pious deeds (probably the building of some shrines) of Varāha's grandson who was the Rājasthāṇiya (Governor) of Daśapura and Madhyamā under the king of the Mālava Rajasthān region. This Rājasthāṇiya seems to be of the Naigama family and was working under the Aulikaras of Daśapura. Rājadeśika seems to be a title signifying the Governor of the District. In an old temple of Śiva (probably of the ninth or tenth century A.D.) at Semlī near Jhālārāpātān, there are six small inscriptions of one each line, giving the names of Rājadeśikas Sāṅgaṇa, Subhakara, Rāhu (Rāhula) Jassā, etc.³

Maṇḍalika also indicates the title of Governor. A stone inscription from Menāl dated V.S. 1212 informs that this area was actually being ruled by a Maṇḍalika named Meghānāda owing allegiance to the Chahamānas of Śākambhari.⁴ Vishayapati was a District officer. Narhāḍ was included as a District in the dominions of the Chauhāna ruler Vigrahamāja and was ruled by Vishayapati.⁵

There are instances where the rulers appointed their own Governors of the conquered Provinces for the administrative purpose. When Kumārapāla visited Chitor in 1150 A.D. (V.S. 1207), he made Sajjana the Governor of this place taking into consideration of his past services. He put Nāḍol under Daṇḍādhīṣa Vajjalladeva Chauhāna. Karmasimha was not only Governor of Sāņchor, Ratanpur and Radadhār

1. EI, XIX, p. 52.
2. Ibid, XXXIV, p. 55.
3. ARRMA, 1913-14., p. 2.
4. JIH, XL, p. 9.
5. ARRMA, 1932-33. No. 3.
but also in charge of the export and import departments of Bhinmāl in 1276 A.D. during the reign of Chāchigadēva.¹

There are several names of other officers known to us from the Guhila and the Chauhāna inscriptions. Pratihaṭra was the officer in-charge of the gate of the palace or capital. Pramātri was an officer in-charge of measuring the king’s share of grains. Balādhikṛita was the Commander of forces. Chaurodhānapikā was the name of the police officer to deal with cases of theft. Daṇḍapāṭika was the head of a group of policemen. Šaulkīka was the Collector of custom duties, and Pratisāraka was a Gate-keeper or a Collector of tolls. In all the important towns, there were custom-houses for the collection of custom duties on the goods entering the city. Sometimes, the expenses of religious institutions were provided by the custom houses. An inscription of 1156 A.D. of the Chālukya ruler Kumārapāla records the grant of one dramma per-day from the custom house of Nādol to the temple of Lakshmanaśvara.² In 1171 A.D., Ālhanadeva granted to the Jaina temple of Mahāvīra of this place a monthly sum of five drammas to be paid from the custom-house.³ There was also the market tax on goods brought here for sale and also tolls on roads. In 1018 A.D., Varāṅga was an officer connected with the collection of tolls on roads at Shergarh.⁴

Akshapāṭalika was the Depository of the legal documents. During the reign of Allāta in the tenth century A.D., Mayūra and Samudra were the Depositories of the legal documents (Akshapāṭala) at Nāgdā.⁵ After Allāta, his son Naravāhana became the ruler who appointed Śripati on the post of a Depository of legal documents, a post formerly held by Mayūra. This shows that sometimes the post was held on the principle of hereditary. Talāra was the Kotwāl of the town. Uddharaṇa, in the family of Tāmṭaraṇḍa, was made Talāraksha of Nāgdā by the king Mathanasimha who was ruling in

1. ARSMJ, 1922, No. 20.
2. ARRMA, 1937 No. 8.
3. EI, IX, p. 63.
5. IA, 58, p. 161.
1182 A.D.¹ When Kelhana was ruling, there was a Talāra to govern Sanideraka.² Bhāṇḍāgarika was in charge of treasury. Hammīra's Bhāṇḍāgarika was in charge of provisions as well as Hammīra's treasury.³

There were other officers⁴ such as Gamāgamika (messenger), Chāta (chief of a group of Paiks). Bhāta (Paik) and Sevaka (attendant). Chauhāna inscriptions mention also the usual Chāta-bhātaḥ (regular and irregular soldiers) and the Ratha-hastyādi-nyogins (servants employed for elephants and chariots etc.). Accounts were maintained by an Officer called Bahikādhikrita⁵ who might have worked under the 'Akshapatalika'.

Besides capitals, the country side and towns were governed by other officers such as Patṭakilas, Balādhipas, Talāras, Selahathas, Rakshākaras, Vahikādhikritas and Parigrahins. Patṭakila's duties might have been similar to those of the modern Pajel, a village official entrusted with the realization of the village revenue.⁶ Balādhipa, probably, was a military officer put in charge of the custom-house or maṇḍapikā and entitled to a certain share in its revenue known as the Balādhipābhāvyya⁷. The Talāra was a Purādhyaaksha or Nagarārak-shaka.⁸ It is obvious from the Prithvichandracharita of Māṇikya Sūri that he acted as a police officer going about the city at night and arresting thieves.⁹ Like the Balādhipa, he had his share of revenue from the customs house.¹⁰ Selahatha or Šalya-hasta was mainly concerned with country side,¹¹ and perhaps

1. ARRMA, 1927-28, No. 6.
2. EI, XI, p. 47.
3. HM, IX, 76.
4. EI, XXXIV, pp. 170 and 173.
5. Chāchigadeva's Bhīnmāl inscription of V. S. 1333.
6. For Patṭakila, see Ratnāpāla’s plates of V. S. 1176.
7. JRASB, XII, p. 104, Lekhapaddhati p. 14 gives four instances of a Balādhipa with the Paṅchakula in charge of a maṇḍapikā.
8. EI, XI, p. 47. This is the explanation given by Trivikrama and Hema Chandra. D.R. BHANDARKAR'S explanation of it as an officer-in-charge of the suburbs of a town (tala) does not seem to be right in view of the clear evidence of the Prithvichandra-charita (Prāchina Gurjara Kāvyasaṅgraha, GOS, p. 105). The Kāhḍadeprabandha mentions Talāras as Nagara talāras.
9. Prithvichandra-charita, p. 105
10. EI, XI, p. 46 f.
11. KP. IV, 40.
was a high executive and revenue officer, put in charge of a Mahāsthāna or administrative centre.\(^1\) Vahikādhikrīta was the village or town accountant\(^2\) and the Rakshākara, the village or town watchman.\(^3\) Parigrāhin\(^4\) may have been Peshkar.

**Feudal Lords** : There were some ancient towns which were under the possession of feudal lords known as Thākuras, Rāṇakas and Bhoktas and they recognized the suzerainty of the ruler. They had their own palaces, forts and courts. They supplied a certain quota of soldiers and paid annually the sum fixed by the State. They also fought in battle-fields if it was necessary. Besides, they were also required to put down minor disturbances, to safeguard the highways passing through their territory, and to recover and return any articles, that might be lost in the towns and villages under their Jurisdiction. The Pratiharas and the Chauhāna rulers governed their vast empire through their feudatories. In 1143 A.D., Rayapāladeva was governing Nāḍlāi through his feudatory Rājadeva of the Guhila family.\(^5\) Because of the feudatory centres, the importance of these ancient towns grew from all points of view.

**Territorial Administration** :- With the expansion of the kingdom under the Pratiharas and the Chauhānas, the territory was divided into several units for administrative purposes with their headquarters at some particular town. The kingdom was divided into Bhuktis or Maṇḍalas and they were further divided into Vishayas. There were also sub-divisional headquarters. Village was the lowest unit of administration. Maṇḍor, Sanderaka, Nāḍlāi, Kortā, etc., were the headquarters of the administrative units under the Chauhānas of Nāḍol. In 1179 A.D., Bikampur was the headquarters of the Maṇḍala (Province) including the territory of Phalavardhikā\(^6\) under

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2. Chāchigadeva’s Bhānmāl inscription of V. S. 1333.
3. Rāyapāla’s inscription of V. S. 1198 (EI, XI, p. 40)
4. Bijaulī Inscription of 1170 A.D.
5. EI, XI, p. 41.
the Chauhānas. Narhād was the District headquarters of the Chauhānas in 1158 A.D.¹

Revenue:— There were different sources of revenue in the town. The land tax was the chief source of income. The custom tax was levied on the goods sold in the market and on the goods which entered the city. There were customary presents to either the master or his officials of the town with a view to being used locally. There were fines for violating the orders of the ruler. There was income realised from prostitutes. Similarly, the person's following different professions such as goldsmiths, blacksmiths, oilmen, traders and merchants had to pay a certain percentage to the treasury. Mines and quarries, of which there are many in Rajasthan, must have yielded revenue. There was also income from salt lakes.

Local Self Government

There was a great extent of administrative decentralization in early times, and the towns and cities enjoyed considerable local administrative authority. There was popular element in the administration, because several local corporate bodies were functioning in the ancient towns, and the king granted corporate constitution to them in certain special spheres. By this type of arrangement, the people became politically conscious and responsible, and began to depend upon themselves for local affairs.

There were different local corporate bodies working in ancient towns. First, craft-guilds came into existence, and they not only increased in numbers, but became more specialised. Soon, the merchants followed suit, and formed guilds of their own. Gradually, the financially stronger merchant guilds came to control the older craft guilds, and then, they turned to control even the town. Finally they formed the town council and made themselves the real rulers of the town, controlling even the feudal lords. These corporate bodies held lands, administered justice,

¹. ARRMA, 1932-33, No. 3, p. 2.
exercised self-government, imposed taxes, and managed religious institutions.

Trade and industries in ancient cities were organized into guilds. There were both craft guilds and merchant guilds. The heredity of the profession was the marked feature of these guilds. The localisation of the industry in particular ward of the town was another important factor. These guilds had their own rules for their respective members to follow and those, who violated them, were punished. These organizations were invested with the power of making law.

Some inscriptions throw a flood of light on the functions and organization of the ancient guilds. These guilds performed the banking functions by receiving deposits of public money, and paying regular interest on them. Some charitable and religious deeds were also performed on behalf of these corporations. In the ninth century, there were three guilds at Kāmān namely those of potters, artisans, and gardeners and each guild consisted of all the members of the particular profession. These guilds made permanent endowments to the local temple of Kāmyakeśvara. The guild of potters, in consideration of a sum of money received in advance, stipulated to pay a permanent cess. Every potter was, without any exception, to pay one pana per wheel every month. The guild of gardeners, in consideration of a sum of money paid in advance, stipulated to supply permanently garlands to local temples. Every member of the guild of artisans was to pay one ‘dramma’ per month. There was also a guild of oilmen at Shergarh. Thiyaka, who was the Chief of this guild, made donation to the temple of Somanātha in 1028 A.D. The members of the guild used to supply oil for the lamps in the temple of Somanātha. Janna, the head of the guild of oilmen, built a temple of Śiva and dug a vāpi (tank) at Jhālrapāṭan in 1086 A.D.

The merchants also organized themselves into association or guild for safeguarding their interests. In some towns,
this merchant guild assumed the form of town council for the management of the affairs of the town. The donors, while making permanent endowments in favour of temples, frequently appointed the committee in charge of the towns or the assembly of Mahājanas to be the trustees for their charities. Such was the reputation of these bodies for integrity and efficiency that donors often placed permanent endowments in their hands for meeting the expenses of worship in temples out of the interest accruing therefrom at specified rates.

Generally, the town committee or merchant assembly carried on the administration of the town but sometimes it also managed the religious affairs. An inscription of 625 A.D. found at Vasantgarh records that a temple to a goddess Kshemaryā was erected by a trader named Satyadeva at the direction of the town assembly. An inscription in the temple at Śakrāi records the construction of a mandapa in front of the goddess Śaṅkarā in the eighth century A.D. by an association or a committee composed of eleven members, all of whom were bankers. An assembly consisting of the gosṭhikas such as the royal members, Mahālakshmi, her son Allāta, then king, his son Naravāhana and some of his Ministers and officers, was constituted to look after the temple built in 943 A.D. in Varāha form. It fixed the donations for the maintenance of the temple. The gosṭhi of Hastikundī renovated the temple of Rishaḥbadeva in 997 A.D. The three merchants namely Narasimha, Govarisha and Thirāditya, who constituted the town committee, jointly made a daily grant of one karsha of ghee for the purpose of smearing the feet of Bhaṭṭāraka Nāganaka living in the temple of Somanātha at Shergarh from out of the customs house in 1017 A.D. This committee was in charge of the market taxes of the customs house, which were usually collected in kind.

At the request of the temple committee, a merchant

1. EI, IX, p. 189.
2. Ibid, XXVII, p. 27.
4. EI, X, p. 20.
5. Ibid, XXIII, pp. 133-134.
called Jinaka renovated the temple of Mahāvīra of Osiā in the tenth century A.D. The temples of Śiva, Vishnu and Chāmuṇḍā existing at Kāmān in the ninth century A.D. were placed in charge of Śaiva Āchāryas of the Pāṣupata sect though the actual management was carried out by a committee (goshṭhi) constituted for this purpose. Tejapāla also made arrangements of bathing, worshipping, supervising etc. in the temple built by him at Ābū and for this purpose, the Śrāvaka trustees were appointed. Further, the care of the temple was entrusted to king Somasimhadeva, his son Kānhaḍadeva and the other princes, all royal persons, Sthānapalis, Bhaṭṭārakas, Brāhmaṇas and merchants of the neighbouring places.

In 1132 A.D., a committee consisting of the pañchas or pañchakula of the town was appointed to look after the religious benefaction made by Rudrapāla and Amṛtapāla, sons of Rāyapāla in conjunction with their queen mother Mānaladevī to the Jainā saints at Nāḍlāī. In 1143 A.D., the Mahājanas and bankers of Nāḍlāī, after meeting in an assembly, made some donations for the temple of Mahāvīra. It consisted of some fractions of various commodities in which they dealt. The Vaṇṭārakas of the neighbouring villages who, as members of the floating population, could not naturally participate in the proceedings of the mahājanas met separately to give a donation for the pious ascetics in the temple of Mahāvīra. From an inscription of V.S. 1250, it is clear that there was a local assembly consisting of Mharas, Vaṇṭikas and Kshatriyas at Ghaṅghānakā, near Maṇḍlor, which made the permanent provision for the annual expenses of the temple.

The ruler or his officer was assisted in his administration by these corporate bodies called as goshṭhi, pañchāyata, pañcha-

2. El, XXIV, p. 331.
3. Ibid, VIII, p. 204.
5. Ibid, p. 41.
6. BHSR, 405 or JASB, Nov. 1914, Vol. X.
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kula or chaukadika. It seems that all classes and castes were represented in the town committee. Sometimes, the town was divided into wards, and each ward sent its own member to the committee. Thus, in the town of Dhalop, there were eight wards and each of which used to send two representatives. How these members were selected, we do not know. Probably elderly persons possessing moral, literary and property qualifications must have been sent by a general consensus of opinion of the residents. Sometimes they were selected by lot.

The pañchakula or pañchāyata did not mean a committee of five members but it consisted of a large number of representatives. In some towns, it had its own executive known as vāra during the Pratihāra period. This name was given to the executive because it used to change by turn. An eleventh century record from Bhimāl refers to a gentleman as the vārika of the current year; this suggests that the executive committee changed annually at that city. At Siyadoni, the same persons are seen to have been vārikas both in 967 and in 969 A.D. It appears that the executive was elected at this city for a period longer than one year. The number of the executive members varied according to the needs of the town. It was their duty to look after all the executive work, the collection of taxes, the investment and recovery of public funds, the administration of trust funds etc.

The vārikas were assisted in their work by a permanent office and staff. The former was called Sthāna and used to keep carefully all records of important documents. A permanent Secretary (Karnika) was in charge of the records and correspondence of the committee. Important documents were carefully drafted by him under the instructions of the committee. He must have had a sufficient clerical staff under him. An officer called Kauptika used to be appointed for collecting the market dues.

5. Ibid, p. 79.
The protection of the people both from the internal and external dangers by introducing the principle of local responsibility was sometimes followed, as it is clear from the Nāḍol inscription\(^1\) of V.S. 1198. This inscription helps us to have a glimpse of the then local Government. Rāyaṃpāla, the ruler of Nāḍol, exacted from the Brāhmaṇas, assembled at Dhālop, a promise to find out, through the police system of chaukiś, the things lost by pilgrims, traders and sons of State servants. If anything was lost within their jurisdiction, they were themselves required to restore it. People supplied the police and the king the weapons.

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\(^1\) El, XI, p. 38.
Chapter IX
SOCIAL CONDITION OF ANCIENT TOWNS AND CITIES

The town does not mean merely the massing of population and buildings, but it should be a socially integrated unit with cultural heritage. Actually, the ancient towns and cities of Rajasthan were such units with glorious traditions. In very early times, when the number of towns was limited, people were not so culturally advanced. With the growth and development of towns in early medieval period under the Rājpūt rulers, people began to participate in different types of social activities, which actually led to the cultural growth. Archaeological excavations conducted at different ancient city sites are helpful to supply us the knowledge of social conditions such as dress, food, drinks, ornaments, recreations and amusements of the people who lived there in very early times. Some literary works and a large number of inscriptions throw a side light on the social life of the cities after the seventh century A.D. In social sphere, people differed from one ancient city to another, and even in the same city, their social conditions were not the same in different periods.

Dress and Ornaments:—

The dress and ornaments as shown on the figures of terracottas, sculptures and coins found in ancient cities are mostly identical with what were used by men in a particular period, because the images are mostly depicted in an anthropomorphic fashion. From the study of terracottas, it is known that men put on a short dhotī, jacket and turban, while women wore girdle, skirt and sārī like garment at Rairh.¹ For covering the upper parts of the body, they used the close fitting garment like the brassiere and dopattā. One clay toy presents a female head depicting two hair

¹ Excavations at Rairh, Pl. XV, b, d and g. See also Pls. XII and XIII.
strings known as *venis* falling on her back and a turban put on her head in a traditional manner. Such a head-dress of women is actually a peculiar thing at Rairh. On the terracottas of Rang Mahal, the men are represented bare-headed and beardless with naked busts except for a collar-like ornament round their necks and a sort of narrow scarf thrown over one or both their shoulders. The female dress consisted of pleated skirt, pleated bodice, and sārī which are called the *laṅghā*, *kāṇchali* and *odhani* respectively.

Even after the seventh century A.D., the usual dress must have been the upper garment (adhoverasana) and the lower garment (uttariyya). Besides, men used head-covers with jihvās at the back1 in the cities of Sapādalaksha. Women put on saris and also kūrpāsakas, a sort of bodice. Siddharshi2 mentions the soft clothes such as brihatikā, pravāra, rallaka, devāṁśuka, chināṁśuka and paṭṭāṁśuka used by the people.

From the archaeological excavations of Rairh, Naliāsar and Rang Mahal, it is known that women wore different kinds of ornaments such as bangles, bracelets, anklets, necklaces, car-pendants, beads and girdles. Gold was rarely used and most of the ornaments were made of clay. Bronze, copper, iron, shell, glass, lead, bone and different kinds of coloured stones were utilised for preparing ornaments. Ornaments were also worn by men.

Haribhadra Sūrī, who lived in the seventh or eighth century A.D., supplies the names of various types of ornaments as popular among the people in towns and cities in the *Samarādityakathā*3. Their names are bāhūsārikā, an ornament for the bāhumūla or arm-pits, a pearl dusurullaka for the neck, a plauṅgabandha for the breasts, raṅchanakralatā for the ears, and a chuḍārataṇa for the forehead. The *Hammira-mahākāvya*4 describes Hammīrā’s queens as decked

with kundalas in their ears, kastūritilakas on their foreheads, hanging pearl-drops in their noses, pearl necklaces on their breasts, nūpuras for their ankles, champaka buds for their dhamillas, rings for the fingers of both the hands, alaktaka for the feet and blue dukūla dress on their hips. From this, we may infer that such ornaments were also popular among the rich people of the cities at that time. This list is not exhaustive because it omits the jingling girdle (kāṇchi) ivory valayas and others which were in common use in Rajasthan. They are referred to not merely in the Rājasthāni literature of the period but also depicted in sculptures at Kirāḍū, Ābū and Pallū.

Toilets and Cosmetics:—

The objects like toilets and cosmetics are generally used by the town people. From the excavations at Rairh and Naliāsar, it is known that people were familiar with the toilet and cosmetic articles. Flesh rubbers of pottery of round and rectangular shapes found in large numbers show that these were very common articles of toilet. Other toilet articles include antimony-rods, small bronze bottles, a circular bronze mirror and a couple of antimony holders in the form of fish carved out of conch shell core. Articles such as kohl sticks and jars suggest that women and perhaps men also used kohl for blackening their eyelids. Numerous caskets of different shapes found at Rairh and Naliāsar were obviously meant to hold cosmetics or ornaments of precious metal. A finely-shaped copper vase and a well-executed cobra head fashioned from the stem of a conch shell found at Naliāsar were obviously meant to contain antimony powder. A fragment of an ivory comb was also found at Naliāsar.

Food and Drinks

We know about food and drinks of the people of ancient cities from different sources. The excavations at Kālibangān, Rang Mahal and other sites in Northern Rajasthan prove that this area was more fertile in the past.

1. Karnasundarī p. 7; Śiśupālavadha, VI, 14 VII, 5, X, 43 and Pārthavijaya, verse 38.
than that of the present. At Rang Mahal, people cultivated rice and wheat which were used for eating purposes. The meat of zebu, buffalo, sheep and goats was the most popular food. The meat was supplemented by means of successful gazelle and wild boar hunting with dogs. Milk was also included in their diet.

Wheat, rice, pulses, barley, jowar, millet, oil, ghee, spices and meat were the main articles of food. Betal chewing was common. Onions and garlic were avoided by respectable persons. Under the growing influence of Jainism after the eighth century A.D., vegetarianism became popular. A considerable section of the Hindu society had given up meat-eating. Those Rājpūts, who were converted to Jainism, avoided meat-eating, while others continued to be meat-eaters and drinkers of wine. There were also some Brāhmaṇas, who had not given up meat wholly, as is evident from the āmārighoshaṇā issued by Ālhaṇa, the ruler of Nāḍol in 1153 A.D. at Kirāḍū, which while threatening the Mahājanas and tāmbālikas with capital punishment, if they slaughtered animals on certain days specified in the inscription, laid on the purohitas a fine of merely five drommas for the same offence. Among the vegetarians, we find the use of milk, milk-products, sweets and numerous vegetarian dishes.

Amusements and Recreations:—

In ancient cities and towns, people did not lead dull life, but entertained themselves in various ways. The excavations carried out at Naliāsar, Raīrh, Rang Maḥal, etc., give us some idea about the different kinds of amusements and recreations of the people in very early times. Three figures of ministrels found at Naliāsar prove that music both vocal and instrumental, was a source of recreation of the people. The dicing was a common pastime of the people as several dices were found at some places in the course of excavations. Animal-fighting was probably another pastime, as is clear from some clay tablets. The hunting of

1. El, XI, pp. 43-44.
2. ARES, Pl. V, c, e, and f.
animals was also practised. The children amused themselves by playing with the toys of animals. Besides, there were large balls, small balls and rattles for the children to play.

After the eighth century A.D., when the number of ancient cities and towns increased, people began to enjoy themselves by different kinds of entertainments and recreations, as known to us from inscriptions and literary works. Dancing, music and dramatic performances were very popular in ancient cities and towns. Dramas were played on the stages. We learn from inscriptions that there were arrangements for performing dramatic shows both in Brahmanical and Jaina temples. In the Kuvaramahāra Jaina temple built by Kumārapāla in 1164 A.D. at Jālor, the ceremony of placing a golden cupola on the newly constructed hall for dramatic performances was done by Rāmachandrāchārya on the day of the lamps festival in 1211 A.D.¹ From the Kānhaḍadeprabandha also, it is known that in the towns like Jālor and Siwānā, there were platforms in most quarters where people staged dramatic spectacles to the accompaniment of music, vocal as well as instrumental.²

Different kinds of games were played by the people for recreation in cities and towns. From a verse of the Dvīḍārāya of Hemachandra, it appears that a game like modern hockey was popular and it was played by young people. Fights of birds and beasts, and pigeon-fights were well known. The game of hide and seek seems to have been quite popular among boys and girls. Another game probably played was mushtiḍiyūtam. It was a game of odd and even, played mostly by girls and boys. Another favourite amusement was wrestling. Gambling with dice was also common.

Fasts, Festivals and Pilgrimages:

Ekādaśī, Śivarātri, Mahāchaturḍāsi of Śrāvaṇa, Eclipses, lunar as well as solar, and others were the sacred days of the year, on which fasts were observed, and gifts were made by the people in cities and towns. Some rulers even issued the orders for prohibiting the slaughter of animals on these days.

¹. EI, XI, p. 55.
On the occasion of the solar eclipse, Indrajit, son of Chittralekhā, made the gift of a village Aluvadraka to the temple of Vishṇu in 955 A.D. at Bayānā.\(^1\) On the same occasion, Ajaya Simha, son of Mahārājaputra Kumāra Simha, gave the grant of a field in his town Kortā to a Brāhmaṇa named Nārāyaṇa in 1163 A.D.\(^2\) and Mahārājādhirāja Virya Simha made donation of the fifth part of the produce of Palli to Unalāchārya, son of the most respectable Āchārya Sāhiya for the advancement of his spiritual welfare and that of his parents in 1083 A.D.\(^3\) Mūlarāja I, the founder of the Anahilavāḍ branch of the Chālukyas, granted a village named Varanāka in the Satyapura-mandala to Dirghāchārya on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in 994 A.D.\(^4\) One copper plate records the gift of a well on the occasion of Ekāddāti to the temple of Mahāsvāmī by Ajaya Simha, nephew of Kelhaṇa at Bārmer. Ālhaṇadeva, the ruler of Nādol with a view to protecting animal life, issued an ordinance prohibiting the slaughter of animals at Kīrāḍū in 1153 A.D. on Śivarātri and other sacred days of the year\(^5\).

Festivals and fairs were also celebrated in ancient cities with great enthusiasm. A festival was held at Bhinmāl in the month of Āsvin, because in almost all the inscriptions of the famous Sun-temple Jagatsvāmin, this festival has often been referred to. On this occasion, the oblation was to be offered and for the permanent maintenance of this deity, various gifts were given by persons of different communities during the reign of the Paramāras and the Chauhānas.\(^6\) From the inscription of 1090 A.D., it is known how the festival in connection with all the gods was celebrated by the orders of king Jojaladeva of Nādol. The order is that when the festival of any particular temple commences, the dancing girls attached to the temple of the other gods must also put on their ornaments and best garments and attend with their

1.EI, XXII, p. 120.
2. ARRMA, 1910-11, p. 2.
3. EI, XXXI, p. 244.
4. Ibid, XI, pp. 43-44.
5. PRAS. WC, 1607-08, p. 37.
6. EI, XII, p. 27.
śulapālas to celebrate it with instrumental music, dancing, singing, and so forth. This proves that at this time, devadāsīs were attached to the temples in some cities and towns. A festival was held in connection with the god Mahākāla at Bijauliā, and that, on this occasion, the pilgrims bathed in the Mandākinīkunda, is known to us from some inscriptions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries1.

The festivals were held by the Jainas also on the days of the dikṣā or initiation, promotion to higher grades in the spiritual line, succession to the āchāryāpada, rathayātrā, etc., in important cities and towns. Festivities in connection with pratishṭā and dhvajāropaṇa are known to us from several inscriptions and the Kharataragachchha-brihadgurvāṇali. Rules were made for celebrating the festival on the anniversaries of the consecration of the Lūṇavasahi temple of Ābū.2 The festival was to begin on the third day of the dark half of the month Chaitra and to last for eight days. During the festival, the ceremonies of bathing, worshipping etc. were performed and the five Kalyānikas of Nemiṇāthadeva were celebrated on the fixed days by all the laymen residing at Delavāḍā.

Fairs were also held in ancient cities and towns where people assembled from far and wide. They not only served the purpose of trade and commerce but they used to promote the natural social contact among the people in different ways. From the Bāli stone inscription3 of V.S. 1200 (1143 A.D.), it is known that the horse fair was held at Bāli and charities were made to Bahuguṇaṃātā by the people. An inscription4 of 1706 A.D. records that Nāga Ānanda Rāma established an annual fair called Rāsamālā at Dhamnār.

The organization of Saṅgha to holy places for pilgrimage was also an important social activity in ancient times. The principal Brahmanical holy places such as Pushkara, Bajauliā, Jhālrāpāṭan. Menāl, Revāsā, Ghoṭārśi, Śakraī and Harshanātha, and the important Jaina centres of pilgrimage such as

1. PRAS. WC, 1905-06, Nos. 2145, 2150, 2151, 2148.
2. EI, VIII, p. 204.
3. PRAS. WC, 1908, pp. 54-55; See also EI, XI, No. 5.
4. ASG, II, p. 279.
Phalavardhikā, Narbhaṭa, Nāṇā, Chandrāvati, Maḍāra, Jirāvalā, and Osiā might have attracted big crowds from distant places to visit them because there were temples and monasteries. As known both from the Tīrthamālās, and the inscriptions, that the Śrāvakas of the different cities and towns of Rajasthan and adjoining territories after forming the Saṅgha went on pilgrimage to great tīrthas like Ujjayanta, Satruṇjaya Tāraṅgā hill, Rājagriha, Champāpurī and Sihambhanakapura and they gave charities and performed various religious ceremonies.

Education and Libraries:—In all important ancient cities and towns, proper facilities were provided for imparting education to the people. There were different methods of education. Children received education at the residences of Brāhmaṇa teachers. Monasteries and temples also became the centres of learning. There were also educational institutions known as vidyāmathas endowed by the public. One of them is the Sarasavati-mandira of Ajmer built by the Chauhāna ruler Vigrahapāla in the twelfth century A.D., and it drew students probably from the outside places. As feeding and teaching poor students were regarded as an act of great merit, there was no difficulty in running these institutions. The relations between the teacher and the taught were cordial. The teachers felt it their duty to shape the lives of the students, and the latter held them in high regard. The teachers were, though not rich, given high respect by the society.

Capital cities and holy places became seats of learning. Bhinmāl became a great seat of learning and there were large number of Brāhmaṇas who devoted themselves to the different branches of knowledge. Chitor also became a literary centre because of the intensive literary activities. Ajmer possessed great educational importance during the Chauhāna period on account of the royal patronage. Brahmanical and Jain holy places were centres of learning. There were Śaiva monasteries and temples of Harshanātha, Rājor, Bijauli, Menāl, Shergarh, etc., where the study and the practice of the Pāśupata doctrines must have been given. The Śaiva Āchāryas, who were in charge of these monasteries, were well known for their scholarship. Similarly, Jain scholars
pursued their literary activities at the Jaina holy places such as Ābū, Phalodhi, and Jirāvala. In order to keep the torch of education burning, the grants of lands and other charities were made to the Brāhmaṇas for performing literary and religious duties.

Besides there were libraries attached to the educational institutions in all important towns and cities. The credit for their foundation and the systematic preservation of the manuscripts in them goes, however, to Jaina monks who realized their great educational value. Jinabhādra Sūri is known to have established the storhouses of knowledge at Jaisalmer, Nāgaur, Jālor, etc. in the fifteenth century A.D.\(^1\) A large number of people were employed for copying the manuscripts which were required for study and learning. As the Jaina scholars understood the importance of an all-comprehensive library, not only Jaina books but those relating to various faiths, and those of secular character were kept for study and reference in Jaina temples. The kings and Ministers encouraged writing of new books for religious merit. Kumārapāla is known to have established twenty-one libraries in different towns of his kingdom.\(^2\) Vastupāla, Tejapāla, Pethedaśāha and others also founded libraries in order to encourage learning. The merchants, and bankers got prepared numerous copies of important manuscripts, and presented them to these libraries.

1. \textit{JSP, XVI}, p. 16.
ECONOMIC CONDITION OF ANCIENT TOWNS AND CITIES

The number of towns and cities was limited in very early times but with the growth of commerce and trade from about the eighth century A.D., their number also increased to a great extent. They were generally founded at the places where agriculture and mineral products from the countryside were easily available. With the growth of towns and cities, a number of new crafts and professions started, and they were organized in guilds. The emergence of a new mercantile community from the eighth century A.D. in towns and cities is the important factor in the history of Rajasthan. Inter-provincial trade also started, which led to the prosperity of cities and towns. Different types of coins, weights and measures began to be used by the people for business transaction.

Products—

From the excavations, inscriptions and literary works, we know that the main agricultural products of Rajasthan were jawār, bājarā, mudga, spices and motha but wheat, betel-leaves, sugarcane, cotton and rice were also cultivated in some parts. Of pastoral products, Rajasthan produced wool, ghee, milk and milk-products. Pasturage was an important industry as agriculture in those days. Salt from Sāmbhar and Diwānā was also an important source of income. There were copper mines near Māṇḍalgarh and Āhār in Mewār, Rairh, Bairāṭ and Nagar in Jaipur District, and various parts of Jodhpur and Bikaner divisions. Lead and zinc were also easily available at different places, so also the fine building stone, of which, marble, Jaisalmer stone and red sandstone have been very extensively used from old times. The precious stones such as agate, cornelian, rock crystal,
garnet and amethyst were available for the manufacture of different kinds of beads and ornaments.

Crafts and Professions:

In rural areas, people lived on agriculture and cattle-rearing, but in towns, there were different professions, trades and industries. In very early times, Rairh, Naliśar and Nagara were the industrial centres where people followed different crafts and occupations. There were potters who manufactured terracottas and pottery. Goldsmiths and jewelers were concerned with the manufacture of different kinds of ornaments and coins of metal. Blacksmiths made implements, weapons and vessels of iron. The discovery of a large number of spindle whorls and needles proves that weaving and sewing were practised. There were cobblers who used scraper and copper needle for sewing leather. The wooden work was performed by the carpenters.

The number of crafts and professions increased from the eighth century onwards in towns and cities, and the literary works and inscriptions throw welcome light on them. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, Shergarh was highly populated by the people of different classes such as land-lords, merchants, officials, oilmen and workers on conch-shells (*sankhika*). Among the merchants, Nara Simha, Govrisha and Thirāditya constituted the town committee which was in charge of the collection of the market taxes of the custom house which were usually collected in kind. Varāṅga was the officer connected with the collection of tolls on roads. Thāiyāka was the head of the guild of oilmen. At Kāmān, in the eighth and ninth centuries, there were traders, gardeners, potters, artisans etc. Generally, the trades and industries were organized into guilds. In the towns associated with the Chauhānas, the population consisted of Jaina merchants, Brāhmaṇas, Rājaputras, tāmbolikas, Ministers,

1. It is held by some scholars that there was a supply of metal and other precious stones to the people of Indus civilization from Rajasthan.
2. El, XXIII, pp. 133-134.
oilmen, artisans etc. The traders dealt in barley, javār, salt, oil etc. These goods were brought to the town on the back of horses, elephants, bullocks, asses, camels and in carts by the Vañjārakas. In every town, there was the custom-house for the collection of taxes on the goods coming and going out for sale. Generally, the money was spent from the custom-house to meet the expenses of charity and religion but sometimes additional taxes were also collected.

Grains and other goods were collected in store-houses to meet the situation of emergency in cities, and towns. One such granary establishment was at Shergarh as is known to us from the inscription of 1018 A.D.1 From the Jālor stone inscription2 of 1295 A.D. (V.S. 1352), it is known that a certain Narapati made for the spiritual welfare of his wife Nāyakadevi, the grant of bazār building or warehouse for storing goods to be exported.

That the merchants from outside visited some commercial cities of Rajasthan on business purpose points out the inter-provincial commercial intercourse and activity. In the tenth century A.D., Āhār became a great centre of trade and it was frequently visited by the merchants of Karnāṭa, Lāṭa, Madhyadeśa and Šakka, and they used to pay articles on sale. The people of different classes such as sweet-makers, gamblers, oilmen, garland-makers and fruit-sellers lived there.3 Merchants, sometimes, migrated from one city to another. Vasaṅṭgarh was a prosperous town in early times, but anyhow it seems to have fallen into decay, and forced its inhabitants for migration to different places. From the Sāmloī inscription4 dated 646 A.D., it is known that a Mahājana community headed by Jentaka, who had migrated from Vatanaagara, started an āgara (ākara, a mine) in Aranyakūpagiri, which became a source of livelihood for the people. During the reign of Saktikumāra, a person, who was originally from Vasantgarh, came to Āhār, and erected the

1. EI, XXIII, p. 133.
4. EI, XX, p. 97.
temple of Nānīgāsvāmī in 977 A.D. Bhinmāl, Osā, Khandelā, Pālī and Bagherā were the prosperous towns because most of the merchant-classes originated after the names of these ancient towns in about the eighth century A.D. Anyhow, these towns were destroyed and people had to migrate to different places for settlement.

The Kuvalayamālā and the Upamitibhavaprapāṇchakathā give an interesting account of the economic conditions of ancient cities and towns. From the Upamitibhavaprapāṇchakathā, we learn how the merchants earned profit by storing cereals, cotton, salt and wool, buying lac, trading in jaggery, pressing oil, manufacturing charcoal, cutting down forests, telling lies and cheating their customers by using false weights and measures. Some of them dealt in ivory, alchemic preparations and other articles prohibited by the Jaina canon. In some of them, the lust of money was so great that even they indulged in traffic of women and eunuchs.

For greater gain, the merchants, sometimes, sent out caravans of bullock-carts, camels and asses with merchandise to the distant lands such as Kośala, Dwārkā and Suvarṇadvīpa where they got fabulous wealth in exchange of their goods. But this was a very risky task. Besides heat and cold of the way, there were dangers from robbers and free-booters. From the Kuvalayamālā, it is known how the sārthavāha took with him a large number of soldiers well-equipped with arms and weapons in order to ensure safety to goods and people from the danger of dacoits. This was not enough for greedy merchants who even took sea-voyage to the adjoining countries without caring for their lives from the storms and other perils of the sea in order to make money out of articles of practically no value in their own country.

We can glean some facts about economic conditions of towns from the Kāṇhaḍdeprabandha. There is frequent
Cities of Rajasthan

reference to the eighteen varṇas in this work. Most of them were found in the towns of Rajasthan and they included skilled as well as unskilled workers. There were shoe makers, carpenters, printers of cloths, tailors, workers in metal, ivory workers, braziers, potters, jewellers, fisher folk, caravan traders, oil-millers, rush-workers, basket-makers, money-lenders, garland-makers, flower-sellers and barbers. They were organized in guilds, and transacted their own affairs. The merchants of Rajasthan did not confine their commercial operation to the towns of Rajasthan and India alone, but they had trade relations with the foreign countries such as Kūchi, Kālahasta, Jāvā and Hormuz. The articles of Indian as well as foreign make were available in towns like Jālor.

Several medieval towns came into existence in the desert area of Rajasthan, and prospered. They were inhabited by rulers, merchants and other professional classes, and all of them contributed to their prosperity. The ruling chiefs must have enriched themselves as well as their towns with the booty captured during their numerous raids and conquests. They constructed palaces, forts, roads etc. in cities. The traders always remained rich and spent their wealth in constructing beautiful temples, and for other charity purposes. There was no question of over-population and earning livelihood in those days. But, still some people were living in miserable condition. Slavery was prevalent in the society. Āḷhaṇadeva’s inscription\(^1\) of V. S. 1205 shows Mahārajaṇaputra Sāhaṇapāladeva of Nāḍol granting the Kuṭumbikas, Sohiya, Asarama etc., to the god Tripurushadeva, along with their sons and grandsons.

**Coinage:**

Coins are known to have been in use in ancient cities of Rajasthan from very early times because of the availability of metal in abundance for their manufacture. Some cities like Rairh, Nagarā and Nagarī were the mint towns even before the Christian era. Coins were manufactured at Bhīnmāl in early medieval period. Nāgaur, Narhad, Pāli and Bairāt were famous as mint towns in medieval period.

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\(^1\) ECD, Appendix G (III); line 20 for the inscription.
In ancient times, the barter system might have been prevalent in rural areas, but in cities, coins were the medium of exchange. It is also noticed that separate types of coins were prevalent in ancient cities; and coins also changed their names and denominations from time to time. The hoards of coins discovered in ancient cities may prove that these coins were current here in early times, and these cities were under the suzerainty of those rulers who issued them. The hoards containing 3075 silver punch-marked coins\(^1\) were unearthed at Raïrh which was a great metallurgical centre. These punch-marked coins were also found at Jhālrāpāṭan.\(^2\) In early times, these coins were known as Kārshāpanas. The Mālava coins were discovered in large number at Nagara\(^3\); some of them belong to the first century B.C., and the rest to the third and fourth centuries A.D. The coins of the Śibis were found at Nagari which was their capital known as Madhyamikā\(^4\). A very important hoard containing 2407 coins of the western Kṣatrapas was discovered near the village as Sarvaniā in Bāṃswārā District\(^5\). It proves that a part of Rajasthan was probably under the western Kṣatrapas. The coins of the Ārjunāyanas and the Yaudheyas have been noticed on some ancient sites. A big hoard of about two thousand one hundred Gupta coins found at Bayānā proves that it was probably buried by some rich merchant at the time of the political upheaval. Some hoards containing the Gadahiyā coins, and the coins of other dynasties were also brought to light. The Greek coins found at Bairāṭ and Pushkara do not mean that these ancient cities were ruled by the Indo-Bactrians; they were the centres of pilgrimage, and probably the coins were brought by monks and other people who came for pilgrimage from outside.

From the literary sources and inscriptions, it is known that several coin types such as drammas, vinīśopakas,
rupakas, panas and vojri were current in ancient cities in early medieval period. We may presume that the particular type of coin mentioned in the inscription and literary work belonging to the ancient city might have been current, and in use there. From the frequent mention of drammas in the literary works and inscriptions, it seems that drama was the basic coin, and the value of all other coins was adjusted in relation to it. Drama is the sanskritised form of the Greek word drachma which means a coin having the weight equal to sixty-seven grains. Generally, drammas have been used in the sense of silver coinage.

Drammas are very often mentioned in literary works and inscriptions without any specific name, but some times, they were known after the name of the king who issued them. From the Niśithacurṇī written in 676 A.D., it is known that the silver coins current in Śrīmāla at that time were known as Varmalāta-dramma after the name of the ruler who issued them. R.C. AGRAWAL considers 'Vyāghramukha' as the title of Varmalāta and the coins of Vyāghramukha with a lion on the reverse are actually of Varmalāta. The Śrīmad-Ādivarāha-dramma was issued by the Pratihāra king Bhoja I. Such coins with a representation of the Varāha-Avalāra on the obverse and the Śrī-Madādi-Varāha, the biruda of Mihira Bhoja on the reverse have been found at Bagherā. The Somanathā temple inscription of Shergarh mentions that the third donation of Devasvāmin given in V.S. 1084 (1028 A.D.) was the monthly payment of two varāhas to be made on the occasion of Sāṅkrānti. These varāhas are obviously the silver coins issued by the Pratihāra king Bhoja and probably by some of his successors as well, bearing the image of a boar. The donation of five vrishabhās by an officer Varāṅga connected with the collection of tolls on roads to this temple in V.S. 1075 (1018 A.D.) for incense and sandal were coins bearing as emblem of the animal on one of its sides.

1. JNSI, XX, p. 220.
3. EI, XXIII, pp. 133-134.
4. Ibid.
The silver drammas bearing Ajayadeva-mudrās were issued by Ajayadeva, the Chauhāna ruler of Ajmer who ruled in the twelfth century A.D. These coins are mentioned in the inscriptions. The Menāl inscription\(^1\) of V.S. 1225 (1168 A.D.) records that the Māthura Kāyasthas Ṭhākura Vilhana and his brother Dhaneśvara granted twenty drammas of Ajayadeva every year out of the income of the village Paroli to the temple of Suhaveśvara built by Mahārājñī Sūhavadevi. The Dhod inscription of V.S. 1228 records that during the Chauhāna ruler Someśvara, Karṇika Brāhmaṇa Mahanta Chāhaḍa sold his house to this temple for sixteen drammas of Ajayadeva\(^2\). These coins have been described as Ajayapriya-rūpakas in the Prithvirājaviśaya-mahākāvyā\(^3\). These coins are found minted both in silver and copper and bear the effigy of a seated goddess on the obverse. Not only he but his queen Somalladevi is known to have issued the copper coins which bear the effigy of a horseman on the obverse and queen’s name on the reverse\(^4\).

The Purātanaprabandha-saṁgraha\(^5\) mentions Bhimapriya-drammas, which may be identified with Bhimapuri coins of the Draṇyaparīkṣā. These were probably struck by the Chālukya ruler Bhīma II of Gujarat who ruled between 1235 and V.S. 1298. Bhimapriya-viṁśṭopakas are found mentioned in the Juna Bāhaḍmera stone inscription of Sāmantasimhā of V.S. 1352.\(^6\) Visalapriya-drammas might have been issued by the Vāghela ruler Visaladeva (V.S. 1301-1319). The Sāṅchor stone inscription\(^7\) of Śāmanta Simhā of V.S. 1345 records a grant in perpetuity of eight Visalapriya-drammas by Mēharas. An inscription of 1299 A.D.\(^8\) records the award of a few Visalapriya-drammas to the temple of Rāṭā Mahāvīra at Hathunḍī. These coins were current in some ancient cities which recognized the overlordship of the Chālukyas of

3. PV, vv, 87-88.
4. ECD, p. 41.
5. PPS, 33, 34, 65; JNSI, XVII, p. 71.
7. PRAS. WC, 1908, p. 35.
Gujarat. These inscriptions also prove that these coins continued in use long after the death of the rulers who issued them.

From the literary works, it is known that Pārutha-drammas were current in the ancient cities of Jālōr, Bhinmāl, and Chitor. From the Kharataragachchha-pañjāvalī, we know that Naravarman of Malwa (1094-1133 A.D.) became ready in offering either 300,000 Pāruthha-drammas or three villages to the Jaina saint Jinavallabha Śūri, but the latter accepted only two Pāruthha-drammas daily from the custom house of Chitor for the maintenance of two Kharatara temples. The Purātanaprabandha-saṅgraha informs us that Pāruthhas were prevalent in the kingdom of Jālōr during the reign of Udaisimha. This work further states that one Pāruthhaka was equal to eight drammas. The higher value attached to this coin was either due to the purity or superiority of metal. The Lekhapaddhati refers to the Pāruthha-drammas minted at Śrīmāliyar-mint. How the name of this dramma originated is not definitely known and at the same time, we have not been successful in identifying them with the available drammas.

There were coins of less denomination than drammas known to us both from literature and inscriptions. Like drammas, rūpakas sometimes have been used in the general sense of coinage. In the Upamitibhavaprapaṅchakathā, rūpaka appears to have been the coin most used. It is also mentioned in the Hathundi inscription of V. 1053 and Nādōl Grant of V.S. 1213. In the Prithvirājavijaya-mahākāvya, the drammas struck by king Ajaya are called rūpaka. The Āhār inscription of V.S. 1010 belonging to the Guhila king of Allāta records the tax of one dramma on the sale of an elephant and two
rupakas on that of a horse. From this example, it is clear that rupaka was different from and lower in value than dramma. There is no doubt that rupaka stands for a silver coin. From a commentary on the Gañitaśāra, of Śrīdhara, it is clear that five rupakas stand for one dramma. If this is true, some of the silver coins weighing about 13.5 grains were meant to be used as rupakas.

The coin called viṁśopaka was also quite popular in old cities like Bhinmāl, Rājor, Nādlā, Nānā and Harshanātha. It is clear from the Bhinmāl inscription dated 1182 A.D. that this was a coin considerably lesser in value than a dramma. This inscription refers to a tax of one ‘Vi’ on every dramma. D.R. BHANDARKAR regarded viṁśopaka as a copper coin equal in value to 1/20th of a dramma. As suggested by V.V. MIRASHI, the coin was so named because it formed the twentieth part of a dramma. In the Rājor inscription of 959 A.D. of Mathanadeva, three viṁśopakas were charged for every sack brought for sale to the market and two viṁśopakas per mensem for every shop were charged to meet the expenses of the temple of Nilakantha. From the Nādlā stone inscription of V.S. 1195 (1138 A.D.), it is known that Thākura Rājadeva of Nādulā, a feudatory of Rāyapāladeva of Nādol, granted one viṁśopaka from every oil mill on the occasion of the function of rathayātrā organized for the sake of his mother. In some inscriptions, we find both drammas and viṁśopakas. The traders of Śākambhari assigned one viṁśopaka per heap of salt and one dramma on per horse sold by them for benefit of the temple of Harshanātha in 973 A.D. The inscription of 1200 A.D. found at Nānā

1 IA, LVIII, p. 162.
2 JNSI, VII, p. 144.
4 EI, X, p. 19. f. n. 3.
5 ECD, p. 319.
6 GII, IV, p. clxxxix, f. n. 7.
7 EI, III, p. 263.
9 Ibid, II, p. 116. See also IA, XLII. p. 60.
10 PRAS. WC, 1908, p. 49.
records a grant of thirty three drammas and six vimśopakas to Brāhmaṇas by a Gauḍa Kāyastha named Udayasiha for the maintenance of a kapila or a cow. Bhimapriyavimśopakas named after Bhima II of Gujarat are found mentioned in the Bāhadmera stone inscription of Sāmanta Simha of V.S. 1352. The Vṛisha-vimśopakas are referred to in the Arthūnā inscription dated 1079 A.D. which may be identified either with the bull and horseman device or else those of bull and Śiva type. A coin called lohaṭika is mentioned in Ālhaṇadeva’s inscription of V.S. 1205. The term ‘lo’ of the Bhimnāl inscription seems to be lohaṭika. According to a commentary on the Gaṇitasāra of Śrīdhara, four lohaṭikas are equal to one rūpaka. D.R. BHANDARKAR takes the value of a vimśopaka to be the same as that of a lohaṭika.

In the Kāmān inscription of Bhojadeva, we find the mention of both pana and drammas in connection with the charities to the temple of Kaṃyakesvara. Every potter was, without any exception, to pay one pana per wheel every month. From the Gaṇitasāra, we learn that four kākinis also called vodiś made one pana. Vodi is found mentioned in the Somanātha temple inscription of Sheragrāh. In 1028 A.D., Thākura Devasvāmin undertook to give a daily gift of a vodi i.e. vodri of cowries for providing incense at pannaṭālā which means huts for hermits. The Gaṇitasāra informs us that vaṭṭakas were cowries (shells and twenty such shells made one kagini or sanskrit kakiṇi also called bodi. Both pana and bodi were the copper coins.

Rates of Interest:

In cities and towns, the money lending business on interest was specially very popular among merchants, and the

2. Ibid, XIV, pp. 295 ff.
3. ECD, Appendix G. (III) line 1.
6. EI, XXIV pp. 141 ff.
7. JNSI, VIII, pp. 141 ff.
8. EI, XXXIII, p. 133.
interest was paid both in cash and kind. The rate of interest was so high that merchants became very rich. It was high, because the money in circulation was not so much and the commodities were very cheap. Sometimes, the interest on money deposited by donor was utilised in meeting the expenses of temples and other charity purposes. A Bhinmal inscription\(^1\) of V.S. 1262 tells us that forty drāmmas put in the treasury of Jagatsvāmin produced yearly twelve drāmmas as interest. This gives us the rate of interest 30% per annum. Another Bhinmal inscription\(^2\) dated Vikrama year 1306, shows that the annual interest on forty drāmma coins deposited in the treasury of the god Jagatsvāmin was spent on meeting the expenses of items namely wheat 2 seis, mūṅg 1 maṇa, chokhā (rice) 2 pālīs, ghee 8½ kalaśa and articles for worship seven drāmmas in value. According to the same record, it is possible to have wheat 25 pālīs, mūṅg 3 pālīs, chokhā (rice) 2 pālīs, and articles of worship 2 drāmmas in value from the interest on 15 drāmmas. A Jālor inscription\(^3\) of V.S. 1323 mentions \(\frac{1}{2}\) drāmma as the monthly interest on 50 drāmmas. In this case, the rate of interest is 12%. The money was easier to obtain at Jālor than Bhinmāl. But the Ābū inscription\(^4\) of V. S. 1228 informs about the rate of interest as 30%.

It is also known that guilds in some cities were doing banking business. They received the deposits and guaranteed the regular payments. At Kāmān during the reign of Bhojadeva, we know that the three guilds deposited the amount, and spent the interest on the charitable purpose which the donor had in view\(^5\).

Weights and measures:

An accurate system of weights and measures was maintained in ancient cities and towns of Rajasthan. There were separate weights for weighing light and heavy articles. Some-

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2. EI, IX p. 56f.
3. NJI, II, No. 363.
4. EGD, p. 301.
5. EI, XXIV, p. 331.
times jugs of definite size were used for weighing liquids and grains. There must have been officers appointed by the State in cities to look after the weights and measures. Weights of different shape and size have been discovered in archaeological excavations at Nagara, Rairh and Naliāsar.

We find the mention of the name of different weights and measures in the inscriptions of early period which record charities not in cash but in kind. These inscriptions prove that these weights and measures were current at that time in that particular area. The Hastikuṇḍi inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas Dhavala and Bālāprasadāda mentions pāla, karsha, ādhaka, māṇaka, drōṇa and kalaṣa. The Rājor inscription refers to the levy of two pālikās from every ghataka-kūpaka of clarified butter and oil. The Tasa-ī (Alwar) inscription of 182 H.E. (788 A.D.) mentions the endowments made for the proper performance of worship namely two palas of oil for lamp, two palas of guggula (incense), forty garlands and eight māśhakas of saffron and two chaṭṭikas (i.e. pitchers) of wine. The Āhar inscription of Allāta dated V.S. 1010 refers to the levy of two pālikās from lāṭa, (division of crop between State and peasant), one ādhaka from a haṭṭa (a petty market held in a week), one ghatikā-pala (one ladle having a small jar of milk) from every iron saucepan (one confectioners) and one pala of oil from every oil-mill. An inscription of the ninth century A.D. found at Maṇḍor records that a certain worshipper of Keśava made the perpetual offering of a karsha of oil to it. In the Chauḥāna inscriptions, we find the different weights. The Nāḍlāī stone inscription of V.S. 1189 records the gift of two pālikās from each oil machine and was made for the Jaina saints. Another inscription of V.S. 1200 of the same place mentions a religious benefaction consisting of one vimśopaka coin from the value of the pāilās accruing to him.

1. EI, x, p. 120.
2. Ibid, III, p. 263.
3. ARRMA, 1927, 2; EI, XXXVI, p. 49.
4. IA, LVIII, p. 161.
6. EI, XI, p. 35.
and two palikās from the palas of oil due to him from every ghānaka or oil-mill. The inscription\(^1\) of V.S. 1202 of this place shows that Rājadeva granted rupees two for each 20 pailas loaded on bullocks and rupee one for cart filled with commodities for the sake of pious ascetics of Mahāvīra. The Lālrāi stone inscription\(^2\) of V.S. 1233 mentions the grant of four seis of barley corn to the god Śāntinātha in connection with the festival of the Gurjaras. In the Ālhaṇa’s inscription\(^3\) of V.S. 1205, kumāra-droṇa and droṇi have been mentioned. In the Bhinmāl inscription of V.S. 1306, 2 seis of wheat, 1 maṇa, mūrga, 2 pālīs (chokhā) rice, and \(8\frac{1}{2}\) kalaṣa are found mentioned. From the scheme of weights in the Śārīragadharasaṁhitā\(^4\), it seems that 6 raktikās made 1 māshaka; 1 karsha was equal to 96 raktikās; 4 karshas made one pala: 64 palas equalled an āḍhaka; 4 āḍhakas formed 1 droṇa or kalaṣa or ghāṭa and 1 droṇi had 4 droṇas.

In the Ganitasāra\(^5\) of Śrīdhara, we find the following scheme of weights:

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\begin{align*}
4 \text{ pāvala} &= 1 \text{ pālī} \\
4 \text{ pālī} &= 1 \text{ maṇā} \\
4 \text{ maṇā} &= 1 \text{ sei} \\
12 \text{ maṇā} &= 1 \text{ padaka} \\
4 \text{ padaka} &= 1 \text{ hārī} \\
4 \text{ hārī} &= 1 \text{ mānī}
\end{align*}
\]

Of measures of length and space, we have even less of direct information, because our land-grants refer to villages, fields and shops without giving their exact dimensions. The Mūṅgathālā inscription\(^6\) of 837 A.D. mentions a gift of land consisting of six pieces of both dry and wet land by a certain person named Subhadra to the Śaiva temple of Mōgdeśvara. The measurement of these plots of land have been given in droṇas as five or two. In the Sānderāv stone inscription\(^7\) of

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1. EI, XI, p. 41.
2. Ibid, p. 50.
3. ECD, Appendix G (iii).
4. EI, XI, p. 56 f.
5. ECD, Appendix M, p. 317.
6. JUPHS, III, Pt. 1.
7. EI, XI, p. 47.
V.S. 1221, there is a reference to one ĥāela which has been explained as much as land that could be tilled by a single plough in one day. In the Sevāḍī stone inscription\textsuperscript{1} of V.S. 1167 and the Lālarāi stone inscription\textsuperscript{2} of V.S. 1233, there is mention of corn measuring one hāraka from every one of the wells. From the inscription\textsuperscript{3} of 1020 A.D., it is known that Bhojadeva granted 100 nivartanas of land to a Brāhmaṇa named Bhāila at Barodā. In the Nānāṇā inscription,\textsuperscript{4} the words pada, droṇa and Kumāra’s droṇas have been used for the measurement of land.

After discussing coinage, weights and measures, we may draw the conclusion that commodities were very cheap in ancient cities of Rajasthan in comparison of today. The fact that a house could be purchased for sixteen drammas at Dhod in 1171 A.D. shows sufficiently the high purchasing power of a dramma\textsuperscript{5}. From the Bhīnmāl inscription\textsuperscript{6} of V.S. 1306, it is known that from 1 dramma, accruing as interest, one could buy at Bhīnmāl either $8\frac{1}{2}$ pālīs of wheat, 1 pāli of mūṅg, $2\frac{2}{3}$ pālīs of rice, and $2\frac{1}{3}$ kālas of ghee. The Sāndērāv stone inscription\textsuperscript{7} V.S. 1221 of Kelhana’s reign indicates that one dramma could purchase one ĥāel of yugandhari i.e. the jawār millet. Half a dramma from a custom house could suffice to celebrate an annual function festival of Śrī-Mahāvīradeva.

\begin{enumerate}
\item EI, XI, No. 3, p. 30.
\item Ibid, No. 15, p. 50.
\item Ibid, p. 181.
\item Ibid, XXXIII p. 238.
\item ARRMA, 1922-23, No. 3, p. 2.
\item EI, XI, p. 56 f.
\item Ibid, XI, p. 47.
\end{enumerate}
Chapter XI

ANCIENT TOWN ROUTES

"Towns are related to routes" is an aphorism of the French Geographer Vidal de Blache. A long period must have been taken for the development of routes in early period. In the beginning, routes were small in number, but in the early medieval period, they increased with the growth of urban life, because they were the connecting links of the towns. These ancient routes worked as the agencies for the spread of civilization, as they were crossed by warriors, merchants, saints, and others from time to time.

In Rajasthan, there were different natural obstacles in the way of travellers such as mountains, rivers, deserts and forests, which forced them in determining the location of routes in certain direction. High mountains could not be crossed except at certain definite points. Certain valleys or certain passes became the routes frequented by merchants, warriors or pilgrims. A series of towns arose on the way along the edge of desert because after the ordeal of difficult crossing, caravans found rest and safety here. In arid regions, water holes and oasis served the purpose of half-way stations. River crossing required halt on the way and gave opportunity for the city growth. Sometimes, the routes were made by clearing out the forests.

Topography determined the method of transportation. Either the beasts of burden or carts were suitable. The cart was, however, useless in the mountainous region, and the transportation there was on animal back. Generally horses and asses were used in this mountainous region. Such routes were famous by the name of 'ajapatha'. Cart was useful on the level nature of the ground. In the desert area, camels served the purpose of transportation and they were known as ships of the desert.

In very early times, routes were natural but gradually we find distinct advance in the evolution of transportation. Routes of stone paved of rubble masonry and of lime and stone began to be prepared. Some roads were provided with mile stones to indicate distances. In course of time, amenities were provided for travellers in the shape of shady trees, rest houses and wells. There was danger of wild beasts, robbers and invaders in the way and hence police and other security measures were maintained by the government. Fortified towns were also built for the safety of routes.

There is some material about the routes in our literary works, but it does not give us information in a systematic way. It gives simply a casual reference to the routes from one place to another, but it does not mention the important towns and halts in the way. There are Tirthamālās and Paṭṭā-valīs which simply mention the holy places, but not their routes. The writings of Hiuen Tsāng, Alberuni, and other Muslim travellers are no doubt valuable on this subject. Besides, we may form some idea of ancient routes by the study of old sites which were once connected by some routes.

A large number of ancient sites on both the sides of the dry bed of Ghaggar one hundred miles in length and four miles in breadth prove that once this route was a popular one in pre-historic times and it continued to be so up to the sixth or seventh century A.D. During the Harappan period, there were urban centres on the route and the principal one was Kālibangān. These urban centres must have been linked with others of this period in the Punjab, Sind, Saurashtra; U.P. and Baluchistan as the uniform objects have been discovered from all these places. It seems that there were commercial and cultural contacts among the people of these ancient towns through some route. In the second millenium B.C., there was habitation in south-east Rajasthan as is clear from the study of the archaeological excavations conducted at Āhār, Gilund and other sites. These sites were linked with the old sites of Malwa and Gujarat because similar objects have been found therefrom. Both from the literary and archaeological sources, we see the gradual expansion of the Aryans along the banks of the Ghaggar in the second and
first millennium B.C. This region is called the Proto-historic Trijunction because the remains of different cultures have been discovered.

In the time of Pāṇini (500 B.C.), there was the grand Northern Route (Uttarapatha) connecting the sea-port of Tamra-lipti with great capitals like Champā, Paṭaliputra, Vārāṇasi, Prayāga, Śāketa, Kāṇyakubja, Mathurā, Hastinā-pura, Sākala, Taxila, Pushkalāvati, Kapiṣā, Bāhlika and Kamboja. Megasthenes also mentioned it as Northern route. The other great route was that of Dvārāvati Kamboj which passed through Ānarta, Ābū and touching Madhyamikā and Āhār proceeded northwards towards Kambojas. The Greeks, who besieged Madhyamikā in the second century B.C., probably came by this route. There were some recognized branches of these main routes. One of them ran from Ābū to the east passing through Pushkara, Nāliāsar, Baiṛat, Rairh, Nagara etc. The other passed towards the north, probably through Mṛtikāvati, and met the famous Grand Northern route. The Bhāgavata mentions twice the Sarasvatī sector of this route and states that Krishna travelled by it between Indraprastha and Dvārakā. The Mahābhārata, while laying down the programme of Mahārāja Yudhishṭhira’s travel, says ‘Mahārāja, after entering the jungles of Sind and crossing the small rivers in the way, should bathe in Pushkara’. The several stūpas of Devanimori, Mirpur Khas and Mohejo-daro were erected on this route. It was also the trade route because there was mutual transportation of goods between the old cities of Rajasthan and Dvārakā. Rishabhadaṭṭa, (Ushavadāta) son-in-law of Nahapāṇa, who went to help the Chief of Uttamabhadra of the territory near Ajmer, probably went through this way. He also proceeded to Pushkara and gave many charities.

The route along the Ghaggar was the branch of the grand Northern route. From the archaeological and literary sources, it is clear that this route was active from the second

1. AIÒG, 22nd Gauhati Session (1965); Presidential Address, p. 13.
2. Sārthavaḥa, p. 3.
3. AIÒG, 22nd Gauhati session, Presidential Address, p. 13.
4. AHD, p. 394.
to the seventh century A.D. A large number of sites of this period have been discovered but the principal one is Rang Mahal. From the Vāmana Purāṇa, it is known that there were a number of sacred places in the region between Sarasvatī and Drīshadvatī, and it was frequently visited by pilgrims. After the seventh century A.D., this route remained only an archaeological memory, because it was perished along with the towns which were a connecting link. The grand Northern route (Uttarapatha) also passed from Kauśāmbī along the south bank of the Jamna to Mathurā, and from it a branch crossed the modern Rajasthan.

The writings of Hiuen Tsāng give us information about the routes used by the people. From Satadru (Satlaj), Hiuen Tsāng proceeded south-west, and after a journey of over 800 li, reached the country called Po-li-ye-ta-lo (Pāriyātra). The District here described has been identified by M. Reinand with Pāriyātra or Bairāt, but it is not definite. From Pāriyātra, the pilgrim continues a journey of about 500 li eastwards which brought him to the country called Mo-tu-lo (Mathurā). The other route, which he travelled from Valabhi, is about 1800 li north to the Ku-Che-lo country and its capital was Pi-lo-mo-lo. This name Pi-lo-mo-lo probably stands for Bhīnmāl, which was the capital of the Gurjaras.

Especially for trade and commerce with long distant places, caravan traffic was in vogue. Its main purpose was to avoid the dangers and difficulties of the way such as draught, famine, wild beasts, robbers and demons. Different merchants, with their carts and animals loaded with their goods and their men, made up a company under a common captain called Satthavāha who gave them directions. Another person associated with the caravan trade was the land pilot (thalamaniyamaka), who guided caravans through deserts and waste

1. The Wonder That Was India, p. 223.
2. YITIT, Vol. I, p. 302. The li may be reckoned as 3/16th's of a mile or somewhere between one-fifth and one-sixth.
3. Ibid.
Ancient Town Routes

places, steering by the stars. From the Kuvalayamālā, it is known how the Sārthavāha took with him a large number of soldiers well-equipped with arms and weapons in order to ensure safety to goods and people from the danger of dacoits. The caravans going across deserts required days to cross steering in the coolness of nights by the stars under their guide. The Vāmanapurāṇa informs us that a Vaisya of Śākala, on his journey to Saurāśṭra, was robbed in the Rajasthan deserts.

A network of routes developed between the eighth and twelfth centuries linking all the important cities which came into existence during the reign of Rājpūt rulers who carved out vast empires. There were new capital cities, District headquarters, trade and commercial centres, and holy places, and all were linked together by some route. Alberuni gives valuable information about the routes in North Western India in the eleventh century A.D. From his account, it is known that Bazānā probably Bayānā was just like the junction from where different routes passed in different directions connecting important cities. While marching from Kanauj towards the South-West, one comes to Āsī, 18 farsakh from Kanauj, Sahanya, 17 farsakh; Jandrā, 18 farsakh; Rajauri (Nilakantha) 15 farsakh; Bazānā, the capital of Gujarat, 20 farsakh. Marching from Bazānā 25 farsakh southward, one comes to Mewar. This is the kingdom, the capital of which is Jaṭṭaraur which has been identified with Chitor. From Bazānā towards South-West at a distance of sixty farsakh is Aṅhilwārā. Marching from Bazānā towards the west, one comes to Multān at a distance of 50 farsakh.

The Muslim historians who describe the Muslim invasions of India from the North-West also give us knowledge about the routes of ancient towns. There was a desert route from the Punjab to Gujarat in the eleventh century A.D. In order to attack Somanātha, Mahmūd Ghaznī decided to advance along that route. Soldiers were provided with food, water and forage for many days. Two hundred camels were

2. Alberuni’s India, pp. 198-205.
employed to carry additional water provisions to meet any contingency. In course of his wearisome journey, the Sultan first reached Lodravā, and then after a prolonged march through Mallāni, reached the Chīkūdar hill, which is identified with Chiklodarmata hill, twenty seven kms north of Pālanpur in Gujarāt. Next, he advanced towards Nahrwālā, identified with Anahillapaṭaka, the capital of Gujarāt and then to Dewalwārā, modern Delavāḍā. At last, he reached Somanātha. One road from the desert of Marwar passing through Bayānā reached Lahari Bandara or Karanchi via Bhāṭī. In 1178 A.D., Shīhābuddīn also known as Muizzuddīn Muham-mad marched towards Gujarāt by way of Multān, Uch and the tractless desert. He reached Kirāḍū near Bārmer in Marwar in 1178 A.D. and plundered the temple of Somesvara there. He then took possession of Nāḍol, the capital of a collateral branch of the Chahamānas. But when he reached Kasāhrada at the foot of Mt. Abu, he was defeated at the hands of the Chālukya Mūlarāja II of Gujarāt.

The Hammīra-mahākāvyā, which mentions Dig-vijaya of Hammīra somehow, throws some light on the ancient routes connecting important cities. First of all, Hammīra defeated Arjuna, the ruler of Bhīmarasa and then exacted tribute from the fort of Māṇḍalakṛta or Mandalgarh. Striking southwards from here, he reached Ujjainī and Dhāra and defeated the Paramāra ruler Bhoja. From here, he turned northwards, and reached home passing through Chitor, Ābū, Vardhanapura, Chaṅgā, Pushkara, Mahārāṣṭra, Khāḍillā, Champa and Karkarāla, at the last of which places, he received the homage of the ruler of Tribhuvanagiri. It seems that all these places were connected by some route.

From remote times, Pālī has been the connecting link between the sea-coast and northern India. It is said that in V.S. 1212 (1156 A.D.), Seoji, the founder of the Rāṭhor dynasty, passed Pālī on his return from a pilgrimage from Dvārakā to Ganges. The Kolīs. and Bhīls conducted the
caravans through this wildest and most desolate region. The traveller availed himself of such convoy who desired to proceed to the coast by Jālor, Bhīnmal, Sāñchor and Radhanpur, whence he pursued his route to Surat. The chief articles of import were elephants, teeth, rhinoceros hides, copper etc., and the things of export were salt, wool, coarse cotton clothes, paper etc.

Nāgaur lay in the route from the North-West to Delhi. In 1228 A.D., when emissaries of the Abbasid Caliph of Baghdad came to Delhi with rich and valuable presents from the Caliph, they passed through the District of Nāgaur. During the Khilji period, the ferocious Mongol hordes under their leader Kāpak came for plundering up to the boundaries of Nāgaur.

From the Tīrthamālās, we learn that several Jaina holy places came into existence during the medieval period. These holy places were frequently visited by the Srāvakas from the distant places, who formed Saṅgha for this purpose, and the Head of this Saṅgha was known as Saṅghapati. This arrangement was done simply for the purpose of safety and security. It seems that some proper routes were there connecting all these Jaina holy places such as Nānā, Mūŋthalā, Jīrāvalā, Nagara and Phalodhi. Jain monks, according to the rule prescribed for them, do not usually stay for a longer period at one particular place except in rainy season. These monks had to walk constantly through these routes visiting important towns and holy places for the propagation of Jainism.

Some emperors and ruling chiefs constructed roads in order to connect capitals with different parts of their dominions for efficient administration. Sher Shah is known to have constructed many such roads of which four are well known. One which ran from Sonargaon in East Bengal through Agra, Delhi and Lahore to the Indus, was 1500 Kos in length. It was known as Sarak-i-Azam, and might be identified with the modern Grand Trunk Road. The second ran from Agra to Burhānpur; a third from Agra to Jodhpur and

1. TN, p. 616.
2. Khazain-ul-Futūh, p. 29.
Chitor, and a fourth from Lahore to Multān. All these roads were well planned, and they connected the important towns for the purpose of transport and communication. Trees were planted on the road sides, and Sarāis were built for the facilities of travellers.

We do not find any substantial change in the old routes except that a large number of sub-routes came into existence linking the newly established towns which came into existence during the Mughal period.¹ There lay six halts between Delhi to Ajmer such as Sarāya Allāvardī, Paṭaudī, Rewārī, Koṭa, Chuksara and Sarasara. There were roads from Ajmer to Ahmedabad. One passed through Mertā, Sirohi, Paṭṭana, Dīsā and finally Ahmedabad. Another route passed with five halts such as Merta, Pālī, Bhagwanpur, Jālor and Pattanavala. The third from Ajmer to Jālor, then to via Haibatpuri reached Ahmedabad. The route from Ahmedabad to Agra passed through the principal halts at Mesānā, Sidhapura, Pālanpur, Bhīmāl, Jālor, Mertā, Hindōn, Bayānā and Fatehpursikri.

If we study thoroughly, we know that the modern Railway and Bus routes passing through cities and towns resembled the ancient routes in many ways. The only difference is that the number of cities and towns at present increased, and with it, several sub-routes came into existence connecting them. Besides, the invention of Railways and other such things greatly improved the means of transport and communication.

CULTURAL ROLE OF ANCIENT TOWNS AND CITIES

The city always remained the career and symbol of civilization. In Rajasthan, with the growth of cities and towns from about the eighth century A.D., there started the cultural renaissance, and these cities became the seats of religion, art and literature. This period was the epoch-making period in history. With a view to saving their lives and their properties, and also their creed and religion from Muslim invasions, a large number of people from the neighbouring Provinces migrated to this heroic land, the ruling princes of which were considered saviours of their faiths, and defenders of their religion. The scholars and learned saints received royal patronage, the merchants got shelter, and all of them settled in the capital cities. Impressed with the teachings of saints and sages, several people became their followers. Some of them adopted new castes, gotras and gachchhas after the name of towns and cities which became well known because of cultural activities. Multifarious religious activities in cities and towns gave a fillip to art and literature. The ruling chiefs, their Ministers and rich merchants spent huge wealth in the construction of beautiful temples at holy places. These ancient cities and towns contributed greatly to the preservation of ancient culture and civilization.

RELIGION

Religion always plays a prominent part in the cultural life of a nation. In early times, towns and cities were great religious centres, and the chief religions represented in them were (1) Brahmanism in its various forms, (2) Buddhism and (3) Jainism. In some ancient cities, not only the different sects of Brahmanical religion but even Buddhism and Jainism were found flourishing together.
BRĀHMANISM

Vedic Religion:—Vedic religion is one of the oldest religions of our country. The objects just like fire altars discovered in the archaeological excavations at Kālibangan throw some fresh light on the rituals practised by the people. There appears to be some sort of religion moulding the lives of the people even in the third millennium B.C.

After the downfall of the Mauryas in the second century B.C., there started a revival of Vedic religion under the patronage of the ruling dynasties, both monarchical and republican. The yāpas (sacrificial posts) were erected at important places for the performances of sacrifices. This type of religious activity created a new faith among the people in facing the foreign invasions of the Greeks, the Śakas and the Kushānas boldly. It seems that sometimes, they performed sacrifices in order to commemorate their victories. In the second or first century B.C., Gajāyana Sarvatāta performed an Āsvamedha sacrifice at Madhyamikā (Nagara). A pottery seal discovered in the archaeological excavations at Nalīśar, near Sāmbhar exhibits a yūpa or sacrificial post with the legend ‘Indasamāsa’ of the second century B.C. The earliest coins of the Ārjunāyanas and the Yaudheyas dated second century B.C. or little later discovered at some ancient city sites may well represent the bull before the yūpa i.e. sacrificial post. This proves that Vedic religion was popular among the people of cities and towns at that time.

Even afterwards, Vedic religion continued. From the Nāndsā yūpa inscription of V.S. 282 (226 A.D.), it is known that the Mālava leader Nandi Soma of the Sogī clan performed the Ekashastiirātra sacrifice to proclaim the independence of his republic. Another inscription discovered at Nāndsā contains the name of Mahāsenāpati Bhaṭṭisoma who is also described as a Sogī. It appears that Bhaṭṭisoma is

1. Indian Archaeology since Independence, p. 17.
2. EI, XXII, p. 204.
3. ARES, p. 19; See also Pi, VII a.b.
4. IHQ, XXIX, p. 80. A.S. ALTEKAR reads the name as ‘Śri-Soma’ See EI, XXVII, p. 22.
yet another member of the family of Nandi Soma. From the Barnāla inscription\(^1\) of 228 A.D., it is known that a king, whose gotra was Sohartri and whose name ended in Vardhana, erected seven \(yū\)pas. The reference to the group of seven \(yū\)pas may show that the king had performed seven sacrifices. Another \(yū\)pa inscription\(^2\) found here commemorates a sacrifice performed fifty one years later. This inscription of 279 A.D. commemorates the performance of five Trirātra or perhaps Gargatirātra sacrifices by a Brāhmaṇa sacrificer. The dakṣiṇā prescribed for a Trirātra sacrifice was one thousand cows. But the sacrificer was probably not rich enough to give it, and so he contented himself by giving only eighteen cows per sacrifice, but each accompanied by a calf. The Maukharis of Baḍvā also championed the Vedic religion. In 239 A.D., Mahāsenāpati Bala and each of his three sons had performed a Trirātra sacrifice\(^3\). An inscription of 264 A.D. found at Nagara records the erection of a sacrificial pillar by Ahiśarman, son of Dharaka who was Agnihotri.\(^4\) An inscription\(^5\) of 372 A.D. found at Bayānā records the erection of a sacrificial post on the completion of a Punḍarika sacrifice by Vishṇu Vardhana of the Varika tribe. The Vājapeya sacrifice\(^6\) was performed in the fourth century A.D. at Madhyamikā (Nagarī) by some person, and his sons erected a \(yū\)pa in order to commemorate it.

Śaivism:—Of the various sects of Brahmanism, Śaivism found the greatest acceptance in the ancient cities and towns of Rajasthān. From the study of the terracottas discovered at Naliāsara, Rairh and Rang Mahal, it is clear that Śaivism was prevalent at these places during the Kushāṇa and Gupta periods. The four main sects\(^7\) among the Śaivas known to

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1. EI, XXVI, p. 118.
2. Ibid, p. 22.
3. Ibid, XXIII, p. 52.
4. MB, I, p. 38.
5. GII, III, p. 252.
6. URI, p. 55.
7. Vāmana Purāṇa—A Study, p. 18. There is a possibility that the four sects or schools mentioned here were descended from the four dis-
Cities of Rajasthan

us are namely Šaiva, Pāšupata, Kāladamana and Kāpālikā. We do not know much about their distinctive beliefs and practices.

Among these sects, Pāšupata¹ became very popular after the seventh century A.D., and it was strongly organized in different ancient cities and towns of Rajasthan. Most of the rulers of the Chauhāna, Pratihāra, Paramāra and Guhila dynasties were highly devoted to Šaivism, and they all patronized it in every possible way. Some of them even built Šaiva temples, and granted charities to them. A large number of Šaiva temples were built in cities and towns in their times. The well known temples are Sitalesvara Mahādeva of Jhālīpātan, Ekaliṅga of Nāgdā, Guṇeśvara at Kekind, Hajāresvara Mahādeva and Mahākāla at Bijaulī, Nilakaṅṭheśvara at Nānā, Nityapramodityadeva of Dhoḍ, Somanātha of Shergarh, Gokarnesvara at Vīsalapur, Vayesvara at Sāncor and Someśvara at Kīrāḍū. Some of the Šaiva temples named after localities and the deity itself such as Moggadeśvara temple of Mūṅgathalā, Mahānāla of Menāl, Kāmyakesvara of Kāmān and Harshaṇātha after Harsha were very famous. The Šaiva temple of Maṇḍalesa² built by Chāmnunḍarāja at Arthūnā in V.S. 1080 in honour of his father and another Šaiva temple of Laṃchhukesvara built after the name of his mother by the Baḍa Gurjara Pratihāra ruler Mathanadeva³ in 959 A.D. at Rājor (Nilakaṅṭha) are also well known.

Most of these Šaiva temples were attached to the
ciples of Lakuliśa. This finds some support from the Mathurā pillar inscription of 380 A.D. of the time of Chandra Gupta II, which mentions two Pāšupata teachers as tenth in descent from Kuśika, the direct disciple of Lakuliśa. If this be so, then the school named Šaiva must have been descended from Garga and that of Kāladamana from Mitra and Kāpālikā from Kaurushya.

¹. The Pāšupata school, as the name indicates, believed in the metaphysical doctrine of Śiva as Paśupati and all creatures as Paśu who are under the influence of Paśa or bondage of the world and, who can attain liberation only through the grace of Śiva on the one hand and Sādhana on the other.

². ARRMA, 1932, p. 2.

³. EI, III, p. 263.
monasteries for the residence of Śaiva saints. Some of the saints were even entrusted with the task of the management of temples. The Bāda Gurjara ruler Mathanadeva assigned the administration of the temple of Lachchhukesvara Mahādeva at Rājorgarh to the holy ascetic Orkāraśivāchārya, a member of the Sopuriya line. From the Kāman inscription of the tenth century A.D., it is known that the temple of Śiva, Vishnu and Chāmunḍā were placed in charge of Śaiva Āchāryas of the Pāṣupata sect, though the actual management of them was carried out by a committee appointed for the purpose. The temple of Harshanātha was put in the charge of this sect. The Śaiva saint Allāta of this place repaired this temple with the wealth received from the people. The temple of Ekaḷihgaḷi was constructed at Nāgdā in the tenth century A.D. by the ascetics of this sect. The temple of Nityapramodityadeva at Dhōḍ gave shelter even to the saints of Kāpālika sect. An inscription of 1172 A.D. records that when Someśvaradeva was ruling at Ajmer, Bhaṭṭāraka Prabhāsarāsi built a monastery near the temple of Nilyapramodityadeva for the residence of Kapila ascetics from other places.

The Śaiva saints residing in the Śaiva temples and monasteries of these holy places resorted to the use of ashes, barks and matted hair. Some of the ascetics lived naked. Bhaṭṭāraka Nāganaka, who lived in the temple of Somanātha at Shergarh, did not put on clothes. These sages were conversant with Pāṣupata yoga, and worshipped the god Ekāṅga. A celebrated dialectician called Śrī Vedāṅga Muni, who defeated the disputants of the Jaina, Buddhist, and other sects, was living in the temple of Ekaḷihgaḷi at Nāgdā.

1. EI, III, p. 263.
2. Ibid, XXIV, p. 329.
3. IA, XLII, p. 57.
4. Vāmana Purāṇa—A Study, p. 18. The Kāpālika sect is obviously related to the Kapālin form of Śiva or Bhairava who roamed about as beggar with bowl in hand until he was relieved of the curse by the grace of Vishnu in the Kapāla-Mochana Tīrtha of Vārāṇasi.
5. ARRMA, 1929, p. 2.
6. EI, XXIV, p. 127.
in the tenth century A.D.¹ Allaṭa and his grand teacher Viśvarūpa, who followed the Pañcharthal doctrine, were well known Śaiva saints of Harshanātha.²

Various kinds of charities and grants were given to these Śaiva temples of different holy places to meet the expenses of oil, lamp, incense, sandal, etc. In some towns such as Shergarh³ and Rājorgarh⁴, the tolls collected from roads were provided to meet the expenses of temples. Sometimes, the immovable properties under the possession of temples were given on rent, the income of which was utilised for the expenses of temple. The Chauhāna ruler of Śākambhari Gūvaka built the temple of Harshanātha in the tenth century A.D. When his son Sīhharaja became the ruler, he granted some villages to this temple for meeting the expenses.⁵

Vaishnavism:—Vaishnavism was also popular in some ancient cities, and towns of Rajasthan as a large number of temples and images have been discovered. The Ghosundī (Nagari) inscription⁶ of the second or first century B.C. records the installation of the images of Vāsudeva and Saṁkarṣana in a temple which has been named Nārāyaṇavāṭikā. It definitely proves that there were followers of Vaishnavism at Madhyamikā. It also informs us that the followers of Vāsudeva took within their folk the cult of Saṁkarṣana and the latter came to be regarded as Vāsudeva’s elder brother. From a recently discovered inscription⁷ of the second century B.C. engraved on the pillar at Āmvarā near Pratapgarh, it is known that Pavanaputra, an inhabitant of Aparārka, was a Bhāgavata who erected a pillar by Vishnu.

The earliest terracotta panels⁸, depicting the life-scenes of Lord Kṛiṣṇa discovered at Baropel near Rang-Mahal,

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1. JBBRAS, XXII, p. 166.
2. IA, XLII, p. 57.
3. EI, XXIV, 127.
4. Ibid, III, p. 263.
5. IA, LXII, p. 57.
6. EI, XXII, p. 204.
7. See Appendix No. 66, for the text of the inscription.
prove that this cult became popular in this region during the Kushāna period. A series of reliefs¹ carved on two door jambs illustrating Krishnāyana scenes reveal that it was prevalent at Manḍor in the fourth century A.D. Vishnu in the form of incarnations of Fish, Tortoise, Boar, and Dwarf was worshipped by the people at Kāmān during the Gupta period². There are traces of Vaishṇavism even in the fifth century A.D. at Gaṅgdhār and Madhyamikā.

After the eighth century A.D., Vaishṇavism received great encouragement at the hands of the Pratihāra and Chauhāna rulers. A large number of temples and images of Vishnu of early medieval period have been found in the ancient cities of Nagara, Jhālrāpāṭan, Krishnavilāsa, Kirāḍū, Osiā, Bagherā etc. It shows that at all these places, the followers of Vaishṇavism were found in ancient times. Bagherā is believed to be the actual traditional scene of the Varāha-Avatāra. An ancient temple dedicated to Varāha-Avatāra and the images of Vishnu of early medieval period have also been found at this place.

**Worship of Brahmā:**—Though the worship of Brahmā is not so popular as that of Śiva and Vishnu, yet the images and temples are found in a pretty large number in Rajasthan. Pushkara, which is believed to represent the site of Brahmā’s sacrifice, had an old temple dedicated to Brahmā. There was a temple of Brahmā at Vasantgarh even in the seventh century A.D.³ An old temple of Brahmā is found at Khaḍa. The existence of this type of temple at Harasaur is proved by an inscription of V.S. 1239.⁴ The temple of Tripurushadeva, another name of Brahmā, was very famous at Naḍol and various grants were made to it by Chauhāna rulers⁵. Brahmā’s images were also found at Bijauliā, Kiraḍū Rāṃgarh, Osiā etc. This shows that there were also followers of Brahmā in these cities.

**Worship of the Sun:**—From the study of terracottas, it is

2. PRAS. WC, 1919, pp. 64-65.
3. EI, IX, p. 61.
4. See Appendix No. 33 for the text.
5. ARRMA, 1937, p. 6.
clear that the Sun-worship was prevalent at Rang Mahal\(^1\), Hanumāngarh\(^2\) and Naliāsar\(^3\) during the Kushāna period. After the seventh century A.D., it became very popular under the patronage of Rājpūt rulers as we find several Sun-temples and images in important cities and towns. The way, in which the Sun-worship is found, shows that foreign influence has definitely infiltrated. Sometimes, the Sun-image found wearing a tight-fitting long coat and boots and he is riding a chariot drawn by seven horses.

Chaṇḍamahāsena, who ruled in V. 898 (848 A.D.), was probably a devotee of the Sun-god for whom he had a temple built in the forest adjoining Dholpur.\(^4\) The temple of Jagatsvāmī at Bhinmāl is not in existence at present, but was an important one because it was visited by numerous devotees who made several benefactions to it between the tenth and fourteenth centuries.\(^5\) The Chauhāna ruler Indrarāja built the splendid temple of Indrādityadeva in 942 A.D. at Ghoṭārsī. Mahārājādhirāja Bhartripati, ruler of Āhār in 942 A.D., Mādhava, a great feudatory chief and leader of army at Ujjain in 946 A.D., and other officers such as Devarāja, and Śrīśarman made grants to this temple\(^6\). Durgarāja, the local chief of Pushkara region of the Chauhāna ruler Simharāja of Sākambhāri, made certain gifts in favour of the god Rannaditya, (i.e. the Sun-god), worshipped either at Thānwalā or in its neighbourhood within the Pushkara region and other people also made gifts to this deity in V.S. 1013\(^7\). The Sun-worship was also noticed at Varmān, Osiā, Maṇḍor, Mūṅghalā, Rājor (Nilakaṇṭha), Harshanātha Bārmer, etc. There is a Sun-temple known as the temple of Bālarikī at Bārmer. In early times, it was known by the name of Mahāsvāmī and various charities were made to it in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries\(^8\).

1. Rang Mahal, p. 158 (See also pl. 73)
2. PRAS. WC, 1921, p. 116.
3. ARES. PI. XIV, h.
4. ZDMG, XL, pp. 38 ff.
5. PRAS. WC, 1909-10, p. 36. See also ARSMJ, 1922; Nos. 16-22.
7. EI, XXXV, p. 239.
8. PRAS. WC, 1909, p. 52.
Saktism:—The worship in the form of Śakti by different names and in different ways was prevalent in ancient cities and towns of Rajasthan. The terracottas of Mother-goddess and the Votive tanks found at Naliāsar and Rairh represent the various aspects of the deity during the Kushāṇa and Gupta periods, and they all are related to Śaktism. In 423 A.D., Mayūrākshaka, the Minister of Viśvavarmaṇa of Daśapura, built a temple of the Divine mother at Gaṅgdhār. The reference to magic practices in this inscription of Gaṅgdhār shows how the Śakti cult was gradually tending towards Tantrism. From the inscription of V.S. 547 (491 A.D.) found at Chhoṭi-Sādrī, it is known that Gaurī of the Māṇavāyanī gotra built the temple of Devī known as Bhāvaramātā or Bhramaramātā after the name of the court poet Bhramarasama of the king. A temple to the goddess Kshemaryā was erected by a trader named Satyadeva at the direction of the town assembly in 625 A.D. at Vasantagah.5

Like other Brahmanical sects, Śaktism also became well known from about the seventh or eighth century A.D. There were temples of Chāmunḍā and Durgā called Ghaṭavāsinī at Kāmān and Dhoḍ respectively. The temple of Harsata Mātā found at Ābhāneri probably belonged to the eighth century A.D. Morakhāno is well known for the temple of Susāṇī. The temple of Vaṭayakṣinidevi of Ghoṭārṣi was so famous that even Mahendrapāla II, the Pratīhāra ruler of Kanauj, made a grant of the village Kharapadraka to this temple.6 The images of Durgā, Pārvati, Lakṣhmī, Mahishamardini, Gaṅgā and Yamunā have been discovered at different places such as Osīa, Harshanātha, Rājor and Narhaḍ.7 At Māṇḍor and Kekind, we have the images of

1. ARES, Pl. V, b; Pl. XII, m and Pl. XI, e and i.
2. Ibid, XII and XIV.
4. EI, XXX, p. 120.
5. Ibid, IX, p. 191.
9. EGD, p. 234.
Ashtamātrikās. The temple of Jinamātā or Jayantīmātā at Revāsā was repaired from time to time in early times. Phalavardhikā, Maḍāhaḍadevī, Śākambhari, Ambikā, Śaṅkarā and Jagadambā are famous local deities of Phalodhi, Maḍāra, Sāmbhar, Āmber Śakrāi and Jagat respectively from early times. By the influence of Brahmanism, Śakti cult was also adopted by the Jainas, and we find the images of Jaina goddesses such as Sarasvati, Simhavāhinī and Ambikā at Bagherā and Narainā.

Buddhism:—Buddhism was not so prosperous in ancient cities and towns of Rajasthan as in other parts of India. It was in existence in this region from the third century B.C. to the eighth century A.D., and afterwards it completely disappeared. Buddhism flourished at Bairāṭ from the third century B.C. to the first century A.D.¹ The two Āsokan pillars have been discovered at this place. One of them known as the Bhābrū Edict is very important, as it proves definitely that Āsoka was a Buddhist. In this inscription, he emphasized upon laymen, lay-women, monks and nuns to have respect towards Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha and to study the Buddhist texts. Indirectly, it proves that a large number of Buddhist monks and laymen were living at this place which is further confirmed by excavations. In them, there have been discovered the remains of a circular temple and Buddhist monastery which might have been built by Āsoka in the third century B.C. for the Buddhists.

In the second or first century B.C., Buddhism was in existence at Lālsoot, a place situated at a distance of ninety-seven kms from Jaipur because Buddhist railing pillars of some old stūpa are found in an old dilapidated chattree². They bear close resemblance in artistic devices to those of Buddhist railing pillars from Bharhūṭ: The fact that some of the inscriptions³ of the second century B.C. in the Buddhist stūpa at Saṅchī mention the charitable donations made by bhikshus Tuḍā, Saṁgharākṣita, Budhārākṣita, Nāgarākṣita,

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1. AREB.
Aya and Isidattā (a woman), all inhabitants of Pushkara, is sufficient to prove that a good number of Buddhists were residing at Pushkara. The people of Rairh had some contact with the Buddhist world, because a fragment of a chūmār sand stone bowl, a few pieces of highly polished Buddhist pottery and steatite caskets for the enshrinement of body relics have been found. As the traces of three stūpa sites were discovered at Bhadrakāli, Pir Sultān and Mūndā in the neighbourhood of Rang Mahal, TESSITORI considered Rang Mahal to be a Buddhist locality during the Kushāṇa period. But H. GOETZ, and K.D. BAJPAI are of the view that there is nothing of Buddhism at Rang Mahal. Buddhism was prevalent at Nagari during the Gupta period because a stūpa was discovered.

Buddhism was in decadance in the second quarter of the seventh century A.D. when Hiuen Tsāṅg visited the cities of Poliyetolo and Pi-lo-mo-lo which have been identified with Bairāṭ and Bhinmāl respectively by scholars. At both these places, the monasteries were in ruined conditions, and the number of the monks was small. But the region round about Shergarh and Jhāḷrāpāṭan was a great centre of Buddhism in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. Devadatta, who was of the Nāga family, built a monastery and temple at Shergarh in 970 A.D. There are also Buddhist caves found at Kholvī and Binaikā of this period, but the most important centre in this area was Dhamnār. The number of seventy Buddhist excavated caves proves that there was a great Buddhist monastic establishment in early times.

Jainism:—Jainism was in existence in Rajasthan even in the second century B.C., but from the seventh century A.D. onwards, it became a great cultural force in moulding the lives of the people. Priyagrantha, the second pupil of

1. Excavations at Rairh.
4. IA, XIV, p. 45.
5. ASC, II, p. 187.
7. ASC, II. p. 270.
Susthita and Supratibuddha, founded Majhamika branch of the Jaina Church Organization after the place named Madhyamika (Nagari) near Chitor in the second century B.C.\textsuperscript{1} This proves that there were Jainas living in Madhyamika\textsuperscript{2} at this time. An inscription\textsuperscript{3} of the third or second century B.C., which states that something was constructed for the welfare of all living beings, has been discovered at this place. It may be either of the Jainas or of the Buddhists.

The next reference to the existence of Jainism is known from the inscription of 687 A.D. incised on a pair of images of Rishabhadeva found in the temple of Vasantgarh\textsuperscript{4}. Afterwards, Jainism made striking progress under the heroic Râjpût rulers. No doubt, they were mostly the followers of Vaishnavism and Saivism, but they adopted a generous attitude and felt actively interested even in the progress of Jainism. These rulers were served by some highly talented Jaina statesmen who could not but evoke sympathy in their masters for Jainism by their loyal and valuable services. The merchants also contributed considerably to the growth and development of this religion by constructing temples and images.

At this time, the Jaina saints such as Haribhadra, Jinavallabha, and Hemachandra visited towns for the propagation of Jainism. They raised a powerful voice against the abuses of society. As they preached ethics but not religious dogmas, their doctrines were liked by all irrespective of caste and creed. They created a liberal atmosphere in the towns, and improved the tone of morality. They were received cordially both by the rulers and their subjects. Various functions were organized in their honour. By their persuasion, pilgrimages were organized to holy places. Temples were constructed and images were placed in them. By their

\textsuperscript{1} SBE, XXII, p. 293.
\textsuperscript{2} The Baḍālī inscription of Mahâvira Nirvâna Sāhuvat 84 proves the existence of Jainism at Nagari even in the fifth century B.C., but D.C. SIRCAR takes this inscription to be of the second or first century B.C., and it is not a Jaina inscription.
\textsuperscript{3} URI, p. 54.
\textsuperscript{4} APJLS, No. 365.
efforts, the new sect of Vidhimagga of Svetambaras became popular in the towns of Chitor, Nāgaur, Narhād, Ajmer, Bikampur, Tahangarh, Kheda, Jālōr, Phalodhi and Sāñchor. 1

Along with the Śvetambaras, Digambaras were also found in the towns in early times. The Māthurasaṅgha was dominant at the places such as Bijauliā, Nāgdā, Arthūnā and Māroth in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. In the medieval period, the Mūla saṅgha became the most powerful sect of Rajasthan because the consecration ceremony of temples and images was performed through the Āchāryas of this Saṅgha. Chitor, Ajmer, Baghera, Nāgaur, Chāṭṣū and Āmber were the seats of the Mūla saṅgha. The activities of the Āchāryas of the Kāṣṭhā saṅgha somehow remained confined to Giripura (Dūṅgapur) in medieval period. The number of holy places also increased in medieval times. Thus, various religious activities promoted by Jainism in towns actually led to the enrichment of our culture.

ART

The ancient cities and towns became the seats of art, which in its different aspects such as architecture, sculpture, terracottas and pottery developed highly. In very early times, only the art of pottery and terracottas developed, but from the seventh century onwards, a large number of temples and images were also built on account of the intensified religious activities and the accumulation of wealth in cities. This building activity reached to such an extent that some cities actually became city temples.

Architecture:

We have no complete idea of the characteristics of early art and architecture in Rajasthan. Before the seventh century A.D., we find only a few examples of temples. We have the earliest remains of a structural shrine at Bairāṭ that goes back to the third century B.C. The circumambulatory

1. IA, XXI, p. 61.
passage has been also discovered. The *Pūjātilāprākāra* mentioned in the inscription of the second century B.C. at Nagarī proves the earliest trace of the existence of Vaishnava temple. Two things were erected in Nārāyaṇavāṭikā. One is šilāpaṭa for the worship, and another the surrounding wall. šilāpaṭa was on the platform, which was surrounded by the walls. At this place, even fragments of an unearthed āmalaka, testify to the existence of the śikhara temple as early as the Gupta period. There are about seventy Buddhist excavated caves at Dhamnār. From the artistic point of view, these caves are of inferior quality in comparison with the Buddhist caves of Ajantā, Ellorā and Kanherī, and they may belong to the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries.

From about the eighth century A.D., temples began to be constructed in large numbers in old towns of Rajasthan. Most of them have been destroyed but those preserved give us an idea of the evolution and development of art. The temples of the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries A.D. were simple in style though in some respects, they were crude imitation of the later Gupta art. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D., as a result of long experience and continuous development, art and architecture reached its culmination in all respects. From that stage, it progresses towards greater richness, but in doing so loses the purity and perfection that it had attained at the earlier period, and from that climax, its downward trend can be traced.

Along with the other temples of Northern India, the cruciform plan and the curvilinear tower are however distinctive characteristics of early medieval temples of Rajasthan. But, still we find some variations and ramifications in the

1. EI, XXII, p. 204.
2. KHT, II, p. 348.
3. Marg, XII, p. 25.
4. ASC, II, p. 270.
Cultural Role of Ancient Towns and Cities

formal development of the style in this region. These temples possess greater affinities with those of Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat. The Mahāpīṣṭha supporting the temple is the characteristic of such monuments both in Rajasthan and Madhya pradesh. The shallow pillared porticos of the Osiā temples in Rajasthan have their parallels in the antaiūlas of the Madhya Pradesh temples of early date. A clustered arrangement of aṅga śikharas round the body of the main śikha is a characteristic of the typical Rajasthan temple as well as of the Madhya Pradesh. A three-fold division of the bāda is the characteristic of both the Rajasthan and Gujarat temples. The temples of these regions seem to be alike also in respect of design and composition, the form and disposition of the pillars and of the toraṇa in front. In the form of the plinth, and of its decorative scheme, the movements respectively in Rajasthan and Gujarat also appear to be related to each other. The projecting caves shading the bāda and its niches are also characteristics of the temples of these two regions.

The temples of the early stage have been discovered at some old towns in Rajasthan. These are small structures, but they are marked by simplicity and elegance. The pot and foliage type of pillars are found in them. The doorways are decorated with floral designs, nine planets, snakes entwined etc. Scenes of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata have been illustrated in some of them. The temples of Osiā belong to this stage. The most famous among them are the temples of Harihara, Sun, Mahāvīra, Pipaladevi, etc.1 A group of four or five shrines found at Jhālārāpāṭhan belong to this age. The temple of Śītaleśvara Mahādeva of this class is the most famous and elegant specimen of architecture. The pillars are minutely carved.2 The Brahmanical temples of Barolī are beautiful from the artistic point of view, and they have certain similarities in construction with those of Osiā and Jhālārāpāṭhan.

The ruined temples of Aṭrū belonging to this time are artistic, and their pillars and roofs are deeply and elegantly

2. HIEA, p. 440.
carved out. On the stylistic grounds, the temple of Jagat belonged to the early tenth century A.D., and is rich from the iconographic point of view. The Sun-temple of Varmān also belongs to this age. The careful finish of its carving, the proportion of its parts and its decorative details tend to show that it was built when the temple architecture was a living art. The remains of the Sun-temple and Kālikā Mātā found at Chitor belong to the Pratihāra period. Most of the Brahmanical and Jaina ruined temples of Rājorgarh belong to the Gurjara Pratihāra period. The temple of Nilakanṭheśvara Mahādeva is a large pyramidal-dome richly decorated with figures. The mandapa has four central pillars which are exquisitely sculptured with Nāyikās and with frescoes of musicians and dancers. Besides, artistic pieces of medieval sculptures are found. Among them, three life size Jaina figures are noteworthy. The Nilakanṭheśvara temple at Kekind and Someśvara at Köraṇdū seem to represent fundamentally the same design and form as those of Osiā temples. The monuments of Ābhānerī such as Chānda Baori and temple of Harshat Mātā are also of this period. In these temples, sensitive carving and the simplicity of ornamentation are the main features of these sculptures which illustrate scenes of music, dance, nature, beauty, and the meeting of lovers.

The Jaina temples of Ābū namely Vimalavasahī and Lūnavasahī are the true representatives of the temples of the second stage in the evolution of architecture. Their example was followed in other old towns. The temple of Sāṅgāner is famous for its beautiful deep carvings and excellent specimen of sculptures. The Dhātī dīna kā Jhōmparā of Ajmer, which was originally a Sanskrit college, is a wonderful specimen of art. Its pillars and roofs are richly carved. The style of architecture in the lower part of the temple of Pārśvanātha at Lodorvā is purely of the South Indian type.

1. PRAS. WC, 1917, p. 71.
2. ASC, XX, p. 124.
3. PRAS. WC, 1911, p. 35.
5. Ibid, p. 28.
The exquisite carvings of the dwarf pillars are like those found in the caves of Ellorā and Ajantā while the upper part of the temple is of North-West India type. The torāna of this temple is elaborately carved and richly decorated. The temple of Bhāṇḍādevarā of Ramgarh is the most famous and largest temple. It is star-shaped in plan and has its śikhara of Dravidian style. The torso of a mother and a child lying with broken head is one of the finest specimens. Its sculptures impress us by their massiveness. There are also erotic pieces which are more earthly, and are human than divine.¹

The ruins of temples of Kṛishṇavilāsa are the most magnificent and they are dedicated to Viṣṇu. His ten Avatāras have been carved in red stone. There are sculptures of Kṛiṣṇa with his flute and Viṣṇu sleeping on Śesanāga.²

Chandrāvatī near Abū is a great artistic centre. A large number of temples, gateways, torānas and images have been found out. One temple to Brahmā was adorned with rich and finely-executed sculptured figures and ornaments.³

The great temple of Toḍarāisingh, with a lofty and beautiful śikhara and basement adorned with sculptures, was probably built during the Chauhāna period. The doorway of the sanctum is the most beautiful and highly polished with greenish coloured stone. The doorway is ornamented from the top to the bottom with elaborate sculptures consisting of human figures, and figures of divinities.⁴ The temple of Gokarṇēśvara built by the Chauhāna ruler Vigrāharāja is found at Visalapur, near Toḍarāisingh. It is surmounted by hemispherical dome which is supported on eight tall pillars. These pillars consist of a lower shaft and the upper shaft. The upper shaft is plain but the lower shaft is most richly sculptured with floral festoons, chains, bells and circular wheel ornaments⁵ The beautiful sculptures of the period are found at the old places such as Bagherā, Harasaur and Narainā.

². Ibid.
⁴. ASC, VI, p. 124.
⁵. Ibid.
These sculptures prove that there must be excellent temples at those places in early times. Most of the buildings of old towns described above belong to the great age of architecture which extended down the 1300, A.D. or perhaps a little longer. Then a pause for more than a century, and after that started the revival in the architecture from the fifteenth century A.D. Most of these temples of this period are the copies of the early temples. In doing so, they lost the purity and elegance that characterized the early temples. They did not possess the magnificence, grandeur of plan, and wealth of details.

Rāṇā Kumbha, who lived in the fifteenth century, was a great patron of art, and was responsible for its revival. He built innumerable buildings such as forts, palaces and temples at several places. The most beautiful and well known among them was the Kirti Stambha (pillar of Victory) at Chitor. It is enriched by numerous images of Brahmanical gods and goddesses. Actually, it is a veritable text book of iconography. Another pillar at Chitor known as Jaina Kirti Stambha built in honour of Jaina Tirthankara Ādinātha by a merchant of the Bagheravāla caste, also belonged to his reign. It is full of decorations. He also constructed the temples of Kumbha-śyāma and Brahmā. A charming temple known as Śringāra Chaurī was erected in honour of the Jaina Tirthaṅkara Śāntinātha by his treasurer. Probably, the Sāsa-Bahu group of shrines at Nāgdā belongs to this period. Some of its carvings are remarkable. There is a war scene with the dynamic grouping of elephants, and horses proceeding to assault. Temples of Jaisalmer may also be placed in this class. Their shrines, śikharas, pillars, walls, torāṇas, columns, etc., are deeply carved with profuse ornamentation in the shape of foliage, flowers, birds, and human figures.

Sculpture:—

When the temples were built in ancient cities and towns, sculptures were placed in them for worshipping. In very early times, the number of these temples was also very small so that we find only a few sculptures. At Noh, about four
miles from Bharatpur, the life-size stone statue of a standing Yaksha is an important relic of the Śuṅga period. In chhatris at Lālsot, there are sculptured panels in the pillars of some Buddhist stūpas which probably belonged to the second or first century B.C. The stone sculptures of the Bodhisattva Maitreya figures from Noh, the unifaced Śiva Liṅga, the Yaksha from Aghapur and the colossal statue from Nand near Pushkara are some of the outstanding sculptures of the pre-Gupta period.

Several factors were responsible for the phenomenal rise in the worship of images from the seventh century onwards. A large number of sect and sub-sects originated in cities and towns after the Gupta period; and they introduced new practices to meet their needs, and to emphasize their individuality. Along with these sects, a number of new gods and goddesses came into existence, and their new forms and varieties have been devised. The ruling authorities also gave systematic patronage to these different sects and their forms of worship. The foreigners also introduced new changes in the form of worship to suit their own needs. Syncretistic icons were also introduced when the attempts of reconciliation and rapprochement were made between these rival creeds. The spirit of synthesis is also clear from the fact that we see the different deities of Brahmanism in the same temple. Osiā, Nilakanṭha Ābhānerī, Baroli, Harshanātha, etc., were the main centres where we find the masterpieces of sculptures. There were also some sculptures which served the secular purpose.

Śiva:

Different types of Śiva images are found in ancient cities. The dancing Śiva of Jhālrapātan is a superb example of the sculptural art in Rajasthan. One panel at Harshanātha also depicts the Tāṇḍava dance of Śiva. Above the doorway of the main temple at Baroli is a masterly life-size sculpture of the dancing Śiva with his bejewelled crown already involved

1. Marg, XII, p. 12.
in the movement of the great Tāṇḍava dance.¹ The wonderful Śiva as Naṭarāja, king of the dance found at Nilakaṇṭha, is a broken fragment but the figure is so enraptured in its cosmic dance that it appears to detach itself and leap free from the stone bondage of its background.² A sculptural piece from Aḍhāi Dīna Kā ṇhōmṛā shows Śiva as Naṭarāja.³ Though badly defaced, the dance pose deserves special attention.

Some sculptures illustrate the theme of Śiva’s marriage with Umā usually described as Vaivāhika-mūrti. The smaller slab representing the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī found at Kāmān is one of the finest known specimens of the Gupta sculpture.⁴ In the temple known as Harihara II at Osī, there is sculptured the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī.⁵ One panel at Harshanātha depicts Śiva Pārvatī seated on bull Nandi in the Āliṅgana post etc.⁶ The sculpture of Śiva and Pārvatī seated on the bull Nandi, found at Nilakaṇṭha is remarkable mostly for its detail.⁷ The seated Umā-Māheśvara on Vehicle Nandi happily embracing each other has been discovered at Bagherā. Besides, there is a standing Śiva and Pārvatī as a pair from the same place. In this sculpture, Śivā’s left hand is just below Umā’s left breast and Umā’s right hand is placed round the neck of Śiva.⁸

There is an image of Śiva as Tripurāntaka at Nilakaṇṭha with eight arms, holding a mace and a bow and arrow, in his left hand, while in two of his intact right hands, he holds a mṛīga and a damaru. The left foot is braced on the head of Nandi and a swaying garland of skulls sweeps across his full body.⁹

Some reliefs of Liṅgodbhavāmūrti have been discovered from some places. There is an interesting sculpture from

2. Ibid, p. 63.
4. PRAS. WC, 1919, pp. 64-65.
5. Márg, XII, p. 58.
7. Ibid, XII, p. 61.
8. The Researcher, I, p. 22.
Harshanātha now in the Ajmer-Museum. The long slender column on which Śiva's figure is depicted has the figures of Brahmā and Vishnu depicted on its sides in the act of soaring upwards and coming downwards respectively, and there are some accessory figures clustering round the central object. Brahmā and Vishnu are again shown as respectful attendants of Śiva. Lastly, mention should be made of the four-armed Lakulīśa seated with his penis erect found at Harshanātha.

Vishnu:—The Nagarī inscription of the pre-Christian period undoubtedly refers to the existence of Bhāgavata shrines in Madhyamikā. The images, that were once installed in them, must have been destroyed in course of time. The extant varieties of Vishnu images found in old cities are numerous, and they may be divided into several groups.

Various images illustrating the ten incarnations of Vishnu have been found at holy places. At Kāmān, there is a fragment of the Gupta period bearing the figures of Fish, Tortoise, Boar and Dwarf incarnations. Varāha, Narasimha and Vāmana as separate figures are more common than the others. There are several figures of the Boar incarnation of Vishnu found at Bagherā, Nagara, Jhālrapātan, Kṛishṇavilāsa, Osiā, etc. In the Trivikram sculpture found in the Osian temple, Vishnu is shown with tense right leg pressing the earth while with his left leg thrust into the mouth of Rāhu, he engulfs the mid-world between earth and heaven. The figure is exquisitely sculptured, the expression is one of tenderness and serenity, but there is inherent in it a certain primitive rigidity. There is a jamb of a toraṇa containing figures of Matsya, Kurma, Varāha, Narasimha and Vāmana Avatāras of Vishnu.

Among the main incarnations of Vishnu sculptured on

1. ARRMA, 1912-13, p. 7.
4. ASC, VI, p. 186.
5. Ibid, II, p. 266.
7. ARRMA, 1911-12, p. 5.
the walls of the main temple of Osiā is the Buddha in his Dhyāni aspect. His hands are placed upon his lap in the Yogamudrā pose. This shows that the Buddha had been accepted into the Hindu pantheon and had taken his place with the other Avātāras as early as the eighth century A.D. One four-armed seated image of Buddha Avātāra of Vishṇu with a mutilated inscription dated Sam. 1232 (1175 A.D.) has been found at Bagherā.

A finely-worked figure of Baladeva, assignable to early twelfth century A.D. was found at Bagherā. He holds a plough in hand, and his legs below knees are broken. Besides there are other images of Vishṇu found from this site.

The highly intricate carving of the god Vishṇu of Baroli lying on snake, with his consort Lakshmī seated at his feet is one of the masterpieces of Rajasthan sculpture. Similar images have been found in Ātru, Krishṇavilāśa and Harshanātha but this particular carving from Baroli is impressive because of its bigger size, and the clarity with which the incidental figures have been crowded into the relief without impairing the effect of the central figures. The magnificent image of Vishṇu sleeping on Śeshanāga found at Krishṇavilāśa is surrounded by images of Mātrikās, the Saptarishis, the ten Avātāras and scenes of the battle of demons and gods. An exquisitely sculptured figure of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa on Garuḍa of the twelfth century A.D. from Bagherā is a superb art specimen of the late Chauhāna period.

Scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata have been illustrated on the walls of the old temples at Maṇḍor, Osiā, Kīrāḍū, Krishṇavilāśa, etc. A series of reliefs carved on two partially preserved door jambs found at Maṇḍor were identified by D. R. BHANDARKAR to illustrate the following

1. Marg, XII, p. 58.
2. ARRMA, 1911-12, p. 5.
3. The Researcher, I, p. 22.
5. Ibid.
6. ARRMA, 1911-12, p. 5.
Krishnāyana scenes:—1) The uplifting of the Govardhana mountain by Krīṣṇa, 2) Krīṣṇa stealing butter; 3) infant Krīṣṇa upturning the cart with his tiny legs; 4) the slaying of the ass-demon Dhenukdā by Balarāma; 5) and the subjugation of Nāgakāliya by Krīṣṇa. The date of these sculptures as fixed by D. R. BHANDARKAR is the fourth century A.D. DAYARAM SAHANI considered them to be of the seventh century A.D. after comparing with other structures discovered from the excavations. Actually on stylistic grounds, they belonged to the fourth century A.D. Even on the outer wall of the three main Harihara temples of Osiā, the exploits of Krīṣṇa, such as his birth, the flight to Brīndāban, the destruction of Pūtana, Govardhana Giradhārī and Jala Kṛiḍā have been well illustrated.

The Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata scenes have been found depicted on the walls of the Śaiva temples of Kirāḍū. The details presented on the exterior of the shrine of Somesvara consist of various scenes from the life of Lord Krīṣṇa such as lifting of Govardhana Mountain, fight with Bull and Horse demons, upturning of the cart (Sakata-Bhaṅga) and Pūtana and Kaṁsa-Vadha, etc. The depiction of Rāmāyana scenes may be enumerated as fight between Sugrīva and Bāli, Monkey faced Hanumāna climbing up a tree and Sītā seated below, construction of the dam to approach Lāṅkā, and Lakṣmīnāra hurt with the Sakti as a result of which monkey attendants and Hanumāna have been shown in a pensive mood. The latter has been further shown making all possible attempts to procure the magic herb (Saṅjīvani-būṃti) in order to restore Lakṣmīnāra to consciousness. Equally interesting is a small panel relating to the well-known episode of churning of the Ocean (Amṛita Manthana) by the gods and the demons. The relief relating to Bhīṣmā-Pitāmaha lying on the bed of arrows is also interesting.

Sūrya: Some of the extant Sūrya images found in ancient cities and towns show the alien features. A standing

3. Ibid.
image of the Sun of about the eighth century A.D. discovered at Varmān¹ and the pedestal sculptured in the form of a chariot drawn by seven steeds in the niche of the sanctum is a marvellous piece of realism. The image of Śūrya in the Osia temple is a remarkable one. The image of the Sun is dressed in a tight fitting long coat reaching up to the ankles with his waist tied with a scarf, and the legs covered in long boots.² The seated figure of the God Sun at Manḍor is believed to have been carved in the eighth century A.D.³ An image of Śūrya with long boots was found at Mūṅgthalā⁴. There is an image of Śūrya with his three wives found at Bagherā.⁵ At Nilakanṭha, there is an interesting figure of Śūrya, riding a chariot drawn by seven horses.⁶ The image of Śūrya from Harshanātha has been appreciated by the scholars⁷. The presence of standing and horse-faced Āśvinikumāras as attendants of Śūrya add lustre to the beauty of the relief. There is a finely carved standing figure of Śūrya fully draped and profusely ornamented. It is interesting to note that Danda, Piṅgala and another female between two legs of the Sun-god have the same kind of boots as worn by the Sun god himself.

The worship of Navagrahas was also in vogue. At Varmān in the Sun temple, there are finely carved but partially mutilated images of Navagrahas and the eight dikpālas.⁸ One sculpture from Harshanātha depicts the nine planets.⁹ A fragmentary sculpture from Bagherā also represents Navagrahas¹⁰. At Kāmān, there is a sculpture representing the nine planets.¹¹

Brahmā:

The images of Brahmā are rare in ancient cities and towns. The Vasantgarh brick temple of Brahmā of the

1. PRAS. WG, 1917, p. 72.
5. Ibid, 1911-12, p. 5.
6. Marg, XII.
8. PRAS. WG, 1917, p. 72.
10. Ibid, 1911-12, p. 5.
11. PRAS. WG, 1919, pp. 64-65.
seventh century A.D. has a standing life-size image of Brahmā with three faces and a nimbus behind him, the figure is two armed, the hands holding an *akṣamālā* and *kamanḍalu*. There is also a sculpture of Brahmā with Sarasvatī at Rajor (Nilakanṭha). Both the figures in the erotic embrace reflect the wild rapture in the carvings. The old images of Brahmā are found at Pushkara, Bijaulī, Kirāḍū, Rāmgarh, Osiā, Harsaur, etc.

**Mother Goddess:**

The worship of the images of mother-goddess is found in different forms and names. There is a sculpture of elemental power at Osiā. Her one hand holds an uplifted sword, her left leg presses down the body of the headless buffalo-king who has declared to combat her. In the ten arms of the goddess are the attributes of the gods who have bestowed on her the essence of their power. The seated figure of the headless Lakṣmī from Barolī is the artistic piece of sculpture. The image of Pārvatī from Ātru is noteworthy. There are sculptures at Maṇḍor, Kekind and Harshanātha depicting the figures of divine Mothers. On either side of the doorway of the main shrine at Barolī are finely carved images of the personified rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā. The niches of the Śaiva temple of Nilakanṭha at Kekind are well carved by the images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā.

**Vyantara Devatās:**

There are certain gods whose images were worshipped

1. PRAS. WC, 1905-06, p-52.
3. Ibid, XII, p 57.
5. Ibid, p. 31.
7. Marg, XII, p. 35.
8. PRAS. WC, 1911, p. 35.
as the attendants of the chosen gods. One of such popular gods is Gaṇapati, the elephant-headed and pot-bellied. The Ghaṭiyālā pillar¹ contains four images of Gaṇapati facing four quarters and the inscription engraved on it informs us that it was erected by Kakkuka for the success of the business enterprise of the local traders.

An eight-armed dancing Gaṇeśa in a dark blue stone found at Nilakaṇṭha (Rājor)² is one of the exquisite images of Gaṇeśa in India. He is clothed in a girdle of jewels and a serpent coils its head around the rounded belly. The little eyes twinkle from above the jewels; the trunk is curved to the left and sways to the movement of the uplifted arms. One of the pillars of an old temple at Amber bears a two armed figure of Gaṇapati, Khaṭvāṅga in the right hand and an uncertain object in the left³.

The Gupta image of Kubera from Kāmān is well-known. The pleasing sculpture of the eleventh century A.D. of Kubera found at Bagherā⁴ is big-bellied and profusely ornamented. He holds citron in the right hand and long money purse in the left. The Rājputānā Museum at Ajmer preserves an interesting image of Gomukha Yaksha from this place⁵. There is also the figure of Yama, the god of death found at Harshanātha⁶.

The figures of attendants and dvārapālas are also found. The attendant from some Bagherā temple represents a Chaurī bearer in the tri-bhanḍa posture which has been carved out with special grace.⁷ The female figures from the door of the small shrine at the back of the main Chandrāvatī temple are unique Dvārapāla still upholding the structure⁸. In one temple of Rāmgarh, there are portraits of some officers⁹.

¹. EI, XI, pp. 279-81.
². Marg, XII.
³. AREB, p. 9.
⁴. ARRMA, 1911-12, p. 5.
⁵. Marg, XII, p. 48.
⁷. Ibid, p. 18.
⁹. PRAS. WC, 1905-06, Inscriptions, Nos. 2120-2121.
Cultural Role of Ancient Towns and Cities

Synchronic Icons:—

The composite sculptures of gods and goddesses are also found in old temples of some cities and towns indicating the spirit of reconciliation and rapprochement between the rival creeds. The Harihara mūrti emphasizes the reconciliation between the two major cults of Vaishnavism and Śaivism. In this group of images, the left half of the male deity carries the usual weapons of Vishnu whereas the right depicts Hara. The cult of Harihara was however quite popular in Rajasthan during the early medieval period. The two Hari (-hara) temples of Paṇchāyatana group at Osia present standing Hari (-hara) in an elegant manner. In the rare Hari-hara sculpture at Ābāneri, the upper hands of standing deity carry the emblems of Śiva whereas the lower ones the Vaishnava weapons.

Ardhanārisvara is a composite aspect of Śiva and Pārvatī in one form. The Archaeological Museum at Jhālāwār preserves a beautiful statue of standing variety. The early medieval relief from Ābāneri is a sublime product of early Pratihāra art of Rajasthan, and so also are the contemporary reliefs of this type from Osia, Menāl, etc.

The composite aspect of Hari and Sūrya is called as Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa. The cult thereof was quite popular, and standing images of this variety have been noticed at Baroda, Ātru, Jhālāwār Museum, etc. Besides, seated images of this group presenting the deity in a different manner are found at Varmāṇ and Kirāḍū.

Association of Hari with Śiva and Brahmā is well known as Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha, and we have a number of reliefs of the early medieval period wherein these divinities are shown separately side by side on the same slab at Arthūnā, Baroli, etc. A number of medieval reliefs supporting the blending of four principal deities, i.e., Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha and Sūrya in one form have been discovered at different

1. Marg, XII, p. 57.
4. Ibid.
places such as Osiā, Jhālrāpātan, Nilakaṇṭha, Kirāḍū and Harshanātha. Some images of snake both in human and serpentine form have been discovered at Dholpur. The image of snake with six hoods is noteworthy. One exquisite Nāgini figure is part woman and part serpent. The upper part being human and the lower is serpentine.

Jaina Sculptures:

Jaina sculptures of different types and varieties are found in ancient city-sites. On one pair of the metal images of Rishabhadeva discovered at Vasantgarh is incised an inscription dated 687 A.D, and it is the earliest image so far known to us in Rajasthan. Two very beautiful images of Neminātha of the eighth or ninth century A.D. have been discovered at Narhaḍ. Stone images of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras of the tenth century A.D. from Naraina are of high artistic merit. The colossal Jaina statue of the Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha at Nilakaṇṭha with the height of sixteen feet three inches is a remarkable one. The stone images of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the sitting pose are found at Sāṅgāner, Bagherā, Māroth, Shergarh, etc. A sandstone sculpture of Jivantasvāmi measuring about five feet three inches in height and two feet in width discovered at Khimvśar near Nāgaur is noteworthy.

Besides Tīrthaṅkaras, the Jainas worshipped several other deities such as Sarasvatī, Ambikā and Padmāvatī. A beautiful black stone image of Sarasvatī brought from Arthūṇā is now preserved in the Rājpūtānā Museum, Ajmer. The Jaina images of Sarasvatī and Ambikā have been noticed at Bagherā and Narainā. The beautiful image of Sarasvatī found at Pallū in the Bikaner District is an excellent specimen of medieval Indian sculpture. On the right side of a niche of the old Jaina temple is sculptured the figure of a goddess seated on a lion. The carving of this figure is very fine. This figure is most probably Ambikā. The figures of Sarasvatī and Ambikā have been beautifully carved in the Jaina temples of Abū.

There are also secular sculptures which illustrate

1. PRAS. WC, 1906-07, p. 34.
scenes of music, dance, fighting, natural beauty, and meeting of lovers. The relief of dancers and musicians from Pushkara is one of the loveliest of its kind. The delicacy of the chisel work and the fine composition reproduces the continuous flow of movement from figure to figure. There are numerous decorative panels depicting the kirtimukha motif, dancers and musicians, elephants and warriors in the temple at Kiradū. The pillar of Harshanātha temple is profusely carved with kirtimukha motif in uppermost portion and the lowest portion presents dancers and musicians. The pillars of the Śaiva temple at Nilakaṇṭha are exquisitely sculptured with Nāyikās and with frescos of musicians and dancers.

There are sculptures which depict erotic scenes. At Abānerī, human lovers have been shown as sitting in pleasure-gardens under the shade of trees leaden with fruit and flowers, and as being entertained by music, and dance. Another sculpture of the same place shows love-scene. The hero and his beloved are seated on a high stool. The woman’s arm encircles her lover’s neck, while the latter seeks to touch her chin. The female is restrained. She neither yields nor shirks away. Surrounding the lovers are figures playing various musical instruments and dancing. There is a mithuna couple at Nilakaṇṭha. Brāhma and Sarasvatī in the erotic embrace reflect the wild rapture in the carvings of the Nilakaṇṭha temple. There is a sensuous beauty of the languorous female at Rāmgarh. The view of lover’s lashing on the top of a pillar inside the shrine is only one of the few unique erotic pieces at Rāmgarh where the style of figure elaboration is quite different from the sister shrines. These figures are more earthy, and thus more human than divine. In the main temple of Baroli also, there are loving couples, carved in high relief by artisans who obviously knew a good deal about the fervours of the physical embrace.

1. Marg, XII, p. 20.
2. Ibid, p. 46.
3. Ibid, XII, p. 29.
5. Ibid, p. 2.
In very early times even before the use of sculptures, terracottas were very popular in cities and towns. They served both the religious and secular purpose. They were kept in temples for worship, and in the drawing rooms of the houses for decoration. These terracottas give us an idea of the social and religious beliefs of the people, and they also prove that people possessed aesthetic sense. They tell us about their costumes and garments. Specially on festive occasions, they were in special demand, and they also served the purpose of sculptures to the poor men.

The art of making figurines of baked clay is of high antiquity. In the ancient cities of Harappā, Mohenjo-dāro and even Kalibangān in Rajasthan, terracotta figurines of animals, birds and human beings have been found. At Kalibangān, there is a small terracotta human head with a receding forehead, long, ovalish eyes, straight and pointed nose, rather thick lower lips and firm chin. It certainly recalls a similar head from Mohenjo-dāro, although other features are missing. Equally notable and charming is the terracotta figure of a charging bull or goat. The ancient city sites such as Rang Mahal, Nagarī, Naliāsar, Rairh and Nagarā have yielded a mass of terracotta material. In some aspects, these terracottas are similar to those found at other ancient cities such as Ahichhatra, Mathurā, Taxilā and Hastināpur.

Different types of terracottas have been found in ancient cities and towns of Rajasthan. There are plaques which were meant to be nailed to wall surfaces of houses for decoration. A group of hollow pendants made of double stamped discs joined along edges might have served the purpose of ornaments for wearing. Some terracotta tablets and seals are interesting for the mythological subjects depicted upon them, while others were meant for magic and religious

1. Prehistory and Protohistory in India, Plate XII, Fig. 70 C.
purposes. Besides, some moulded bricks with decorations have been fixed on the walls of the temple.

There are different views among the scholars about the terracottas found in the Rang Mahal area and at Nagarī. TESSITORI considered these terracotta sculptures to be an offshoot of the Buddhist art in Gandhāra. On the other hand, H. GUETZ and K. D. BAJPAI hold the view that the style of the reliefs comes much nearer to the Mathura than to the Gandhāra school. Many scenes have been taken from the Hindu mythology. Some are Śaivite while others belong to the myth cycle of Krishṇa Gopāla. As regards the terracottas of Nagarī, D. R. BHANDARKAR ascribes them to the Śibis, but according to SANKALIA, they should belong to the Gupta period when moulded brick temples decorated with terracotta figures were in vogue. These terracotta figures may be classified under four heads—(a) gods and goddesses (b) male and female figures, (c) animal figurines and (d) miscellaneous objects. All these terracottas belong to the Kushāṇa and the Gupta period.

Gods and Goddesses:

Some Brahmanical deities found represented in the terracottas were meant for worship. An interesting two-armed standing figure found at Nalīāsar appears to be one of the very early anthropomorphic representations of Śiva as evidenced by a ḍamāru fastened to the head with a fillet and a snake necklace. The terracottas of Śiva and Pārvatī together have been discovered. One such terracotta is from Rang Mahal. There are some cast pottery plaques

5. ARES. PI. VI, b.
from Rairh which represent Śiva and Pārvatī¹. Another antiquity in typical Gupta style was a fragment of a pottery plaque showing Umā and Maheśvara standing side by side from Naliāsar. The goddess stands to the left of Śiva and holds a lotus bud in her right hand, while her left hand rests upon the hip and Śiva wears a girdle of mūjja grass.²

The panel³ depicting Lord Krishṇa as holding the Govardhana mountain is the earliest extant specimen of its type in the realm of ancient Indian art. Equally imposing is the second plaque⁴ representing Krishṇa in the guise of a cowherd boy and conversing with a milk maid. The smiling face of the latter, and so also the lovely skirt put on by her as nether-garment are equally imposing and graceful. Early finds of this nature and having a bearing on some of these prominent episodes from the life of Lord Krishṇa have not been reported even from Mathurā as yet. The Kaolin terracotta plaques from Nagara and now preserved in the archaeological museum at Āmber near Jaipur are also valuable finds, and present the goddess Mahishamardini, Indra Indraṇī, four armed Vishnu Kāmadeva, the god of love, etc., in a vivid manner having an important bearing on the early plastic art of Rajasthan.

According to V: S. AGRAWAL, the two figures on the bowl found at Rang Mahal represent a pair of Sūrya images with Śaka facial type⁵. In the Mathurā Museum, there are such twin images of the Sun-god. The two figures on the bowls are very impressive and appear to be very realistic portraits of Kushāṇa faces. An interesting pendant⁶ of the Kushāṇa period from Naliāsar represents a king or the God-Sun seated in a Chariot.

Besides, there are figures of other gods. A buffalo headed male figure⁷ holding a spear from Naliāsar

1. Excavations at Rairh, Pl. XV, b, d, and f.
2. ARES, Pl. V, a.
4. Ibid.
5. Rang Mahal, p. 158 (Plate, 73).
6. ARES. Pl. XIV, o.
7. Ibid, Pl. VI, e.
may represent the buffalo demon Mahishāṣuṣa or possibly Yama who rides the buffalo. Another extant portion from the same place shows a man perhaps a king or deity standing facing between two ladies and the three figures together constitute an excellent sculpture of man's and woman's costumes, and jewelry in the Kushāṇa period.

There are also handsome figures of Devas, Gaṇas and Yakshas from Naliāsar. There is a fragment of a terracotta plaque representing a flying deva in typical Gupta style. One of the terracotta tablets bears a pot-bellied and elephant-eared figure with hands applied to a chin. It, is the representation of Gaṇa or Gaṇapati. It is further confirmed by the inscription ‘Karabhikaksha,’ meaning the elephant-trunked one. A tablet bears in high relief a horse or goat-headed male figure holding what appears to be a rosary in the right hand, but what the other hand holds is not clear. The goat-like head connects this type with that of the god Harinaigamesa. Such a figure was also discovered in the excavation at Ahichchhatrā. The monster with bovine head, human bust and an elephantine foot from Rang Mahal is also remarkable. There are also figures of Yakshas from Naliāsar sometimes made with moustaches, grinning teeth and a prominent belly while other times putting on jewelry with drapery.

A large number of different female figurines found at Rairh have been considered to be the representations of the mother goddess. Small primitive female statues of Rang Mahal were also probably dedicated to the worship of this goddess. Small votive tanks have been also discovered at all these sites.

1. ARES, Pl. XIV, o.
2. Ibid, p. 22.
3. Ibid, Pl. VII, d and e.
7. ARES, Pl. XI, b, c, and f.
8. Excavations at Rairh, Plates XII and XIV.
V.S. AGARWAL believes that this type of worship was introduced in India under Parthian influence and was connected with the cult of the mother goddess. MARSHALL, on the other hand, considers them to be purely of Indian type. One of the fragmentary tablets from Nalīśar represents the goddess Durgā slaying the buffalo demon. The figure exhibits excellent Gupta style of workmanship. A terracotta figure of a dancing girl or Yakṣī which has lost the head and the feet has been discovered at Bairāṭ.

The left hand rests on the hip while the right arm is laid across the chest to support the left breast. The figure is naked except for a girdle of three strings of beads round the waist. Figures similar to this are found on railing pillars of about the first century B.C. at Mathurā. There were also some figures of Yakṣīs putting on ear-rings, and necklaces with fine dress standing on lotus discovered at Nalīśar.

Male and Female figures:

A group of male and female figures shows a great variety of forms. Some of them are noteworthy. Some figures at Rang Mahal are made of faience and porcelain. One is a seated headless figure of an Āchārya of Brahmanical faith holding his hands in a pose of teaching or exposition. Another is the head of, perhaps, a female mendicant. The third is the torso, probably, of a monk. A fragment of pottery plaque of Nalīśar represents a male figure standing in the style of a Sāranātha Bodhisattva with a twisted scarf thrown across the thighs.

There are figures of the foreigners such as Sakas and Kushāṇas who settled in North-West India. The artists working through the medium of clay reacted to the presence

1. Ancient India, IV, p. 125.
2. Taxila, III, p. 463 f.
3. ARES, Pl. V., b.
5. Ibid, Pl. XI, c and i.
7. ARES, Pl. V, c.
of these foreign types in their midst, and preserved their salient features in the figurines now available. There is a terracotta male figure seated in Kushāna style like the Kushāna royal statues at Mathurā found at Naliāsar. At the same place, another hand-made figure of a man in baked clay seated on a stool in Kushāna style was found. Besides there was a terracotta female figure seated in Kushāna style with ear-lobes containing red shaped distenders, also found at this place. At Rang Mahal also, two male figures with Kushāna features have been discovered. V. S. AGRAWAL compares it with the figure found at Ahichchhatrā. Some terracotta human figures with goat-like eyes have been also found at Rang Mahal. The eyes are similar to the eyes of figure at Ahichchhatrā illustrated by V. S. AGRAWAL. He refers this to Gupta time and considers that this racial type represents the Sassanian Persians i.e., the Pārasikas, well known during the Gupta and Post-Gupta periods, and engaged in frequent intercourse with India.

Besides, three figures of minstrels of the Kushāna and the Gupta periods have been found at Naliāsar. A pottery tablet shows a male playing on a four-stringed lyre. The serious expression of the face denotes that the minstrel is singing a highly pathetic song. The subject portrayed in another tablet is a male minstrel playing a curved six stringed musical instrument much in the fashion of the Gupta king Samudra Gupta on his coins of lyrist type and a pottery tablet bearing a figure of a minstrel seated on what must have been a stool and playing with his left hand on a lyre which is held in his lap.

1. ARES, Pl. VI, d
2. Ibid,
3. Ibid, Pl. VI, a.
4. Rang Mahal, p. 158 (Plates, 72, 4, 82, 63).
5. Ancient India, No. 4, Pl. LXVII, 305.
6. Rang Mahal, p. 158 (See also Plates 71 and 72).
7. Ancient India, No. IV, p. 156.
8. ARES, Pl. V, c.
The moulded bricks\(^1\) with human busts found at Nagari are of life-size, and are carved in great relief having a square flat background, but surrounded by a broad, slightly rounded and incised rim. The bricks are in fine red, though the core is blackish. It appears that the busts were always placed in pair, round the wall proper of the building, so that the two together form a semi-oval frame.

The Rider type of terracottas\(^2\) found at Rairh consist of (i) riders on horse-back *asvapāla* and (ii) riders on elephants *hastīpaka*. These crudely finished riders are of two different types. In the first type, the head fashioned out of a mould has a turban-like head gear, while the second type which is entirely hand-made, is fitted with a circular head-dress from both sides of which hang curved plaits. These figures were just stuck to the backs of horses or elephants. Such figures are also known from Ahichchhatra\(^3\). A terracotta plaque with an elephant carrying a prone man on his back has been discovered at Rang Mahal.\(^4\)

**Animal Figurines**:

A large number of figurines of animals have been discovered and majority of them are humped bulls. They must have been used for worship, and decoration. They might have served the purpose of children toys. Some of the terracottas found at Naliāsar are very interesting. A terracotta\(^5\) pendant shows a lion fighting an elephant. There is a figure of an ape seated on a tripod.\(^5\) One plaque bears in excellent high relief an elephant being attacked by a tiger with a wild buffalo and what looks like a boar in the lower field\(^7\). The monkey-faced tailed figure has been found both at Naliāsar and Rairh.\(^8\) Besides, there are clay models of tigers, horses, dogs, lions, rams and birds. The camel was rarely represented at all these sites which may prove that the

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2. Excavations at Rairh, Pl. XVI, 1 and 8.
3. Ancient India, p. 152.
4. Rang Mahal,\(^7\) p. 206, fig. 126.
5. ARES, Pl. VIII, c.
6. Ibid, Pl. XII, b.
7. Ibid, Pl. VIII, c.
8. Excavations at Rairh, XVII, b.
climatic condition was different from the present one and the necessity of the camel was not felt as it is now. At Rang Mahal, a terracotta fragment with a crouching Garuḍa was found. At Nagari, moulded bricks with animals in profile and moulded bricks with floral decorations have been discovered. The wheeled toys from Rairh such as bird chariot, clay cart model and models of chariot of bronze give us an idea of the means of communication and the type of chariot in vogue. A hand-made pottery rattle in the shape of a bird with projecting head and tail but no legs was discovered from Naliāsar.

Pottery:

The excavations at the ancient city sites such as Kālibangān, Bairāt, Naliāsar, Rairh and Rang Mahal have furnished a very rich treasure for the study of pottery. There are different varieties in its shapes and forms, and various devices have been employed by the artists to decorate it. It also gives information not only about art but also about the flora and fauna of the region, religious and social customs, and the economic conditions of the people. As the objective and systematic study of the pottery is in the beginning, it is a little difficult to give correct historical sequence, and characteristics of the particular period and region, and at the same time its relationship with the pottery of other ancient cities such as Taxila, Hastināpur, Ahichchhatrā and Kauśāmbī outside Rajasthan.

The pottery of Kālibangān is of special importance because it belonged to the oldest city. Not only the typical Harappan ware, plain as well as painted, but even the pre-Harappan pottery was also discovered. It was wheel-made, comparatively light and thin in fabric. It is of unslipped

2. PRAS. WC, 1916, p. 53.
3. Excavations at Rairh, Pl. XXII, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 11.
4. ARES, Pl. XIII, d.
5. I. Ar, 1960-61, Plates X, LV and XLVI.
6. Ibid, Plate X, LVII.
dull red fabric painted over in black pigment with broad or narrow bands. Generally, these bands were supplemented with fronds, hatched ovals, segments or triangles on the vessels of different types used by the people. Some scholars think that these vessels are similar to those found in the pre-defence deposits at Harappā and the lowest levels of Kot-Diji in Sind.

Some earthen wares found in the excavations at Bairat, Rairh and Naliāsar may be assigned to the Mauryan and Śuṅga period. Most of them are wheel-made and quite plain, uncoated even with any kind of slip. The only ornamentation noticed on these utensils consists of simple scratchings in vertical or horizontal rows generally around the shoulder or on the body of the vessels, a few of the sacred Buddhist symbols, e.g. the triratna, the dharmachakra, the svastika and the lotus rosette, the chain pattern made with the potter’s finger nails or plain incised lines. These vessels are all roughly made of coarse grey clay with a proportion of sand and mica. The commonest types distinguished among the earthen vessels of this period are as follows. The colossal pottery jars found both at Bairat and Rairh were meant for the storage of water and other things. The tumblers and beakers have been found both at Bairat¹ and Rairh². Bowls and dishes meant for drinking and eating purposes were found in large number at all these places. Lōḷa-shaped vessels are noticed both at Bairat³ and Rairh⁴. A large number of pottery lamps found at these places were used to illumine the buildings. Jar-covers and flesh rubbers were discovered both at Bairat and Naliāsar. Pottery finials too have been found both at Bairat and Naliāsar. The drinking bottle, which is often noticed at Buddhist sites, was found at Naliāsar.⁵

The only class of utensils that are made of a fine light

1. AREB, Pl. XI, p.
3. AREB, Pl. XI, n.
4. Excavations at Rairh, Pl. VIII, 5.
5. ARES, Pl. IX, k.
clay and coated with highly polished slips were alms-bowls, numerous fragments of which were collected at Bairat. These bowls had been ornamented or repaired with copper rivets and fillets, and fine pins of copper are still extant in several specimens. This pottery known as North Black Polished Ware had its home in ancient Magadha and from there, the Buddhist bhikshus took it to the Buddhist sites like Bairat. It was so costly that when it was broken, the bhikshus could not afford to throw away a broken vessel but got it repaired with copper-wire or by pin. It may also suggest that the ware had no adequate supplies at the place.

The pottery of the Kushāṇa-Kshatrapa period has been discovered at Sāmbhar and Rairh, but its centre was at Rang Mahal. The Rang Mahal Pottery is beautifully dark red, and extremely well baked. The finest fabric is that provided by sprinklers which have highly polished red slip. The artists have displayed great skill in decorating the various types of vessels with floral, zoomorphic and geometric patterns. Some vessels and potsherds were found with interval impressions.

Although the pottery form of Rang Mahal has its individual characteristics, its different shapes and designs are related to those found at other ancient cities such as Taxilā, Hastināpur, Ahichchhatrā and Rūpar outside Rajasthan. HĀNNAMAIiad maintained that the Rang Mahal Pottery, somehow, continued the Harappa traditions. There are affinities between the painted pottery from Rang Mahal and Waziristan. According to Y.D. SHARMA, the red ware of Rang Mahal may be a regional product with little dispersal outside Rajasthan. SUBBARAO demonstrated the wide spread of this type of pottery throughout Gujarat and Kathiawar during the Kshatrapa period. He sees an important technical affinity between the Roman red ware and the red polished ware. The moulded pottery owed its inspiration to

1. ARES, Pl. XI, e and f.
2. Rang Mahal, p. 142.
3. Ancient India, IX, p. 150.
4. The Personality of India, p. 46.
5. Rang Mahal, p. 155.
the terrasigillata of Romans. The pottery reached by way of Asia Minor and North Africa in the first century A.D.

The Rang Mahal Pottery is found of different shapes and designs which have parallels at other ancient city sites such as Taxila, Hastināpura, Ahichchhatrā and Rairh. There are globular or elliptical water pots which have been found at Taxila, Hastināpur, Ahichchhatrā, Rūpar etc. Spouted jars are of frequent occurrence both at Rang Mahal and Naliāsar. Some of them are in the shape of animal’s head. Outside Rajasthan, these have been discovered at Taxila, Ahichchhatrā, etc. The sprinklers, which are found both at Rang Mahal and Rairh, are of red polished ware. Probably, they had some religious purpose and perhaps Buddhist as has been hinted by PURI.1 These vessels are found in large number outside Rajasthan. Perforated pottery, which is rare both at Rang Mahal and Rairh, seems to be imported from outside.

The cooking vessels found at Rang Mahal, Rairh and Naliāsar varied considerably in form. Certain parallels can be drawn with vessels from Taxila and Ahichchhatrā. Pans are rare at Rang Mahal. PURI2 illustrates another fragment from Rairh. Such examples have been also recorded from Taxila where they are described as baking pans. Large storage jars of the type found at Rang Mahal are known from many sites. PURI3 also illustrates an enormous undecorated jar from Rairh. Smaller vases of the Rang Mahal type are paralleled outside Rajasthan and they may be compared to those found at Hastinapur and Taxila. Bowls are found very commonly both at Rang Mahal and Rairh, and there is a great variety of forms. There are certain bowls which have certain parallel at Taxila. Jar stands, lamps and incense-burners have been also found at Rang Mahal. Some of them are similar to those found at Taxila, Hastinapur and Ahichchhatrā.

Generally, the pottery vessels of the Gupta period have been discovered from the Naliāsar site. They are marked by

1. Excavations at Rairh, p. 21.
2. Ibid, p. 23.
3. Ibid.
ornamentation and such vessels with elegant ornamental patterns are rarely met with on other historical sites. Some ornamental vases with necks and handles are so designed as to represent what appears to be the Rāmāyaṇa legend relating to the descent of the celestial river Gaṅgā from the matted hair of Śiva.¹ One such handle of a jar depicting the river goddess was also found at Rairh.² These parts including the spouts were prepared from moulds separately, and attached to the vases before firing. A fragment of pottery, from which the head of Śiva was cast, was also discovered.³ The spouts of these vases had various shapes, e.g., those of a kneeling female holding a vase between her hands,⁴ a makara head⁵, a makara head with a pair of human hands⁶, lion’s head, a parrot’s head, a long bearded male figure and a boar’s head.

Another type of vessels was ornamental bowls. They are plain on inside but decorated all over on the outside with elegant ornamental patterns. These designs consist of a well executed full blown lotus round the bottom with two or more hands of other decorative devices⁷ higher up around the sides. The commonest patterns among these consist of undulating scrolls with the intervals filled in with bunches of grapes and leaves⁸, bands or chains of svastikas,⁹ left handed svastikas alternating with other motifs¹⁰ resembling the Vajra,¹¹ geese alternating with figures of panthers and other motifs¹², eight pointed rosettes alternating with motifs, left handed and spouted vases alternating with right or in one or two cases left sided svastikas, rows of combined trident, and wheel patterns, vase and palmetta patterns,¹³ zig-zags, chervons,
etc. There are jar-covers in the shape of a circular disc marked with concentric grooves and a tall moulded handle at the top. Other pot sherds are also painted with geometrical designs upon a light creamy wash or slip.

LITERATURE

Before the seventh century A.D., no special literary works are known to have been written in Rajasthan. Afterwards, the literary activities started in important towns and holy places, which became the seats of learning. The Rājpūt rulers of Rajasthan patronized scholars. Even the wealthy people gave them encouragement. The Jaina monks with their selfless motives rendered valuable services to the cause of learning by composing new literary works and also by preserving knowledge for posterity. In the medieval period, the creative genius of scholars gradually declined because commentaries, and copies of manuscripts were generally written. Even those works, which were written, are not of so much importance. Most of the works were written in Prākṛit, Apabhramśa, Hindi, and Rājasthānī.

Among the early towns, Bhinmāl was the most famous seat of learning. Scholars of this place were well known for their learning and wisdom. The famous astronomer Bramha Gupta wrote the Brahma-sphuṭa Siddhānta in 628 A.D. The poet Māgha, author of the Śiṣupālavadha, also lived in 680 A.D. The well known scholar Siddharashi wrote the Upamitiḥhayaprapaṇchākathā in 905 A.D. Chitor was a great centre of education in early times. Haribhadra, the great commentator, utilised the labours of early writers in his works. This obviously proves that Jaina scriptures were being intensively studied in the eighth century A.D. He was the author of the Dhūrtākhyaṇa which he wrote at Chitor. Virasena learnt the Shatkhandāgama and the Kashāyaprābhrita from Ailāchārya at Chitor and after that, he wrote the Dhavalā and a portion of the Jayadhavalā in the ninth

1. ARES, Pl. XLI, c.
2. SJS, XX.
century in the south. Harisheña, who wrote the Dhammaparikkhā in 987 A.D., was originally a resident of Chitor. Jālor was also associated with scholars. Uddyotana Sūri studied under the guidance of Virabhadra and Haribhadra, and wrote the Kuvalayamālā in 778 A.D. In 953 A.D., Jinesvara Sūri composed a commentary on the Ashtakasamāgraha of Haribhadra Sūri in 953 A.D. His brother Buddhisāgara Sūri wrote the Pañchagranthī Vvākarana. Jaya Simha Sūri, pupil of Krishnārshi, wrote the Kuvalayamālāvivarana in 858 A.D. at Nāgaur. In the tenth century A.D., Jinesvara Sūri visited Dīḍwānā where he composed the Kathākośa. The poem Satyapuriyā Mahāvīra Utsāha was written by Dhanapāla at Sāñchor.

Even afterwards, literary activities continued to be pursued. The Paramāra rulers of Chandrāvatī promoted literary activities. In 1038 A.D., Ghanesvara Sūri wrote the Surasundari Kathā in Prakrit. The Upadeśamālāvṛtti was composed by Vijaya Simha Sūri of the Chandra gachchha in 1246 A.D. The copies of the manuscripts namely Upadeśamālāvṛtti and Pañchāśaka were written respectively in 1186 and 1231 A.D. Udaya Sūri, who died in 1256 A.D., is the author of the Piṇḍaviṣuddhiwivarana, the Dharmaśiddhiyṛtti and the Chaityavandana Dīpikā. Durgadeva, the Digambara Jaina poet, finished the Rishiṣassammucchaya in the reign of Lakṣhmīnātā at Kāmān in 1032 A.D. Hemachandra, pupil of Abhayadeva Sūri, composed the Bhavabhāvanā after staying in the locality of a rich Śrāvaka at Mertā in 1113 A.D. Afterwards, he also wrote its Svapajñāvṛtti. Pāli was also a seat of learning and, therefore, literary activities continued there. Sthirachandragaṇi, a Jaina monk, started to write a copy of
the Pañchāśakavṛitti of Abhayadeva Sūri at Pālī in 1150 A.D.¹ Vijayasimha Sūri, pupil of Jinachandra Sūri, wrote a commentary of the Vineyajanahita ṭīkā on the Jambudvīpasamāsa of Umāsvāti Vāচaka by putting up with Śreshṭhi Śāhara in 1158 A.D.² Śāntimati, wife of Sādhāraṇa, got a copy of the Daśavaikālika Chūrṇī written in the twelfth century.³ Chanda-
nautilaka Upādhyāya, a pupil of Jineśvara Sūri, started writing the Abhayakumāracharitra at Bāhūdmer in 1255 A.D. and gave finishing touches at Khambhāta in the reign of Vīsaladeva.⁴ Āśādhara, originally a native of Māndalgarh, was a great scholar of Jainism in the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D. Under the patronage of the Chauhāna rulers of Ajmer, the literary activities received special encouragement. Vigraharāja was himself a great scholar who wrote the Harakeli drama. He gave patronage to Someśvara who wrote the drama Lalitavigraharāja. He constructed the Sarasvatimandira at Ajmer to which scholars flocked from the neighbour ing places for learning. Prithvīrāja III was a lover of learning. Jayānaka, the author of the Prithvīrajavijayamahākāvya, adorned his court. The other famous scholars⁵ were Vidyāpati Gauḍa, Janār-
dana, Viśvarūpa and Prithvībhaṭṭa. Prithvībhaṭṭa may be probably identified with Chandrabardā. Muni Chandra Sūri started to write Upadeśavṛitti in 1177 A.D. at Nāgaur and completed it at Pāṭan.⁶ Padmānanda, the Śrāvaka of Jina-
vallabha, wrote the Vairāgyaśataka.⁷ Copies of manuscripts were also prepared. The poet Āsiga wrote the Jivadayārāsa and Chandanabālārāsa in about 1200 A.D. at Jālör.⁸ Jineśvara wrote a commentary on his Śrāvaka Dharmavidhi at Jālör in 1260 A.D.⁹ The Minister of Udaisimha named Yaśovīra, who was himself a scholar, patronized poets and Paṇḍits. One of

1. GOS, XXI, p. 7
2. JSSI, p. 278.
3. JSP, p. 29.
4. GOS, LXXVI, p. 394.
5. KB, p. 25; PV, XI, 13-17
6. JSSI, p. 248.
the places, where Jñabhadra Sūri founded a bhaṇḍāra, was Jālor.\(^1\) Padmanābha, the author of Kānda-da-prabandha, lived at Jālor in the fifteenth century A.D. The literature also prospered under the patronage of the Bhāti rulers of Jaisalmer. Pūrṇabhadra Gaṇi,\(^2\) pupil of Jinapati, wrote the Daśatrāvakacharitra in V.S. 1275, the Dhanyāśālibhadracakāthā with the help of Sarvadevāchārya in V.S. 1285 and Kṛitapunyacharitra in V.S. 1305. The Aṇṭjanāsundarikathā was written by Guṇasmṛiddhi Mahattarā in 1350 A.D.\(^3\) Jñabhadra Sūri, who lived in the fifteenth century A.D., spent the best part of his life in establishing the storehouse of knowledge at this place.\(^4\)

After the fourteenth century A.D., the literary activities continued in Rajasthan, but we do not find works of literary genius. The poet named Govinda of the Agrawāl caste wrote the Purushārthānusāsana at Śripathapuri (Bayānā) in the fifteenth century A.D. by the inspiration of Lakṣhmaṇa of the Kāyastha caste.\(^5\) The Jambūsvāminu Vivāhalu was composed by Hirānanda in 1438 A.D. at Sāṇchor.\(^6\) In the fifteenth century A.D., several copies of the manuscripts were prepared and amended. Sāṇchor is a birthplace of the great scholar named Samaya Sundara who wrote the Sāṇchoramanan-dana-Virastavana in 1620 A.D.\(^7\) Both the Balvān inscription and the Hammīramahākāvya show that Hammīra of Raṇathambhor patronized the poet Bijāditya.\(^8\) Nayanachandra Sūri, author of Hammīramahākāvya, probably lived at this place. In the sixteenth century A.D., an unknown poet at the initiative of Shāh Chokhā and another named Kanakasoma composed the Sitāprabandha\(^9\) and Nemisāga\(^10\) respectively at Raṇathambhor.

1. JSP, XVI, p. 16. See also PR 4-I2.
2. JKSP, pp. 113, 114 and 116.
4. JSP, XVI, 16.
5. JGPS, p. 126.
8. HM, p. 12; EII, XIX, p. 52.
9. AK, VII, No. 12.
10. Ibid.
Some works as *Maunaekādaśīstavaṇa* in 1567 A.D. by Śādhu-kirti, *Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍanaṇavṛtti* in 1642 A.D. by Śivachandra and *Devakumāraachāotpā* in 1821 A.D. by Vinaya Chandra were composed in Alwar. Copies of several manuscripts on the subjects of religion and philosophy were prepared at Alwar, Bahādurpur and Tijārā during the reign of the Khānzaḍās. Chāṭṣu became a great centre of learning in medieval times. Thākura, the noteworthy poet of the Apabhramśa language, lived in the sixteenth century at Chāṭṣu where he composed the *Kripaṇacharita, Meghamālāvāyaṣṭa, Paṇḍhendrīyavela, Nemi-rājamativela* and *Pārśvanāthaśravanasattārīśi*. Other poets of this place known to us are Mallinātha and Toshaka. The poet Rājamalla composed the *Lāṭīśamhitā, Adhyātmakamalamārtanda* and *Paṇḍhādyāyi* in the latter half of the sixteenth century A.D. at Bairāṭ. *Bhaṭṭāraka* Subhachandra of Mūlasamgha, who lived in the sixteenth century A.D., composed the *Chandana-charitra* at Dūṅgarpur. Besides, several copies of manuscripts are known to have been written here in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Mīrā, the famous Hindi poetess, who composed the songs and hymns in devotion to Lord Kiṣhṇa in Hindi, was the daughter of Rāva Dudhāji of Merta. Samayasundara also visited this place where he carried on his literary activities. In medieval times, Jain scholars such as Dharmasamudra Gaṇi, Śāraṇga, Dāmodara, Samayasundara, Dharmavardhana, Karmachandra and Tilakachandra lived at Jālor where they devoted themselves to the cause of learning. The Jaina *Bhaṭṭārakas* and their disciples such as Tejapāla, Sāha Thākura, and Guṇachandra wrote their works in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries at Ajmer. The Kachchhavāha rulers of Āmber patronized Hindi scholars such as Bihārī and Nandarāma in the seventeenth century A.D. In the eighteenth century A.D., Āmber became a seat of the

1. Arāvali, I, No. 12.
2. AK, X, No. 1.
3. RB, III, No. 2.
4. JGPS, p. 53.
5. JGK, II, pp. 1330 and 1332.
Bhaṭṭārakas of the Mūlasaṁgha. The Bhaṭṭārakas and their disciples Nemichanda, Ajayarāja Pātanī, Dipachanda Kāshali-wāl and Thāna Simha enriched Hindi language by their literary contributions.1 Several scholars of Sāṅgāner such as Brahma Rāyamala, Samayasundara, Puṇyakīrti, Sahajakīrti, Jodharāja Godikā, Khusālachanda Kālā and Kiṣānasimha rendered valuable services to the Hindi language by composing their works.2 Bhaṭṭāraka Dharmachanda and his disciple Dāmodara wrote the Gautamacharita3 and the Chandraprabhu-charita4 respectively in 1659 and 1670 A.D. at Māroth.

SOCIAL ROLE

The period after the seventh century A.D. is remarkable in the history of Rajasthan, because several castes, their gotras and some religious gachchhas are known to have originated from towns and were named after them. This shows that these towns were once populous ones, and were of great religious and social importance. This period was of a great religious awakening. Some saints visited towns for the propagation of their religions. They carried on their conversions and formed castes after them.

Castes among the Kshatriyas:

Several Rājpūt clans originated in Rajasthan and some of them were named after the towns. Lodra Rājpūts, probably a branch of the Paramāras, were named after Lodorvā where they are said to have ruled in the tenth century A.D. Hathundīa Rāthors are the descendants of the Rāṣṭrakūtās of Hastikundī who ruled in the tenth century A.D. Hathundī Rāthors are found mentioned in the inscriptions of the thirteenth century A.D.5 Śākambhari, Nāḍḍoliya, Sonīgarā and Sāñchora are the celebrated clans of the Chauhānas

1. Patodi Kā Śāstra Bhaṇḍāra, Manuscript, No. 354.
2. Viravāni and JGK.
3. BS, Nos. 292, 293 and 294.
4. JGPS, p. 71.
5. IA, 56, p. 50 and ARRMA, 1924, p. 3.
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named after the old towns such as Sāmbhar, Nādol, Jālor and Sāñchor where they ruled in ancient times. Āhar gave the name of Āhaḍīa to one gotra of the Gehalot race. Mertiā Rājpūts, sub-clan of Rāṭhors, considered Mertiā their cradle.

Castes among the Brāhmaṇas:

Some castes among the Brāhmaṇas are said to have originated from the towns. The Pushkaraṇā Brāhmaṇas seem to have originated from Pushkara, and we find their mention in the inscription of 925 A.D. found at Pushkara. They are different from the Parāśara Brāhmaṇas who are found in a large number at Pushkara. Sāñchor is famous for being the cradle of the Brāhmaṇas called Sāñchorā. Āchārya Rāma, who is mentioned in the inscription of Pratāpasimha dated 1387 A.D., belonged to Sālyapurajñāti which is obviously the Sāñchorā caste of the Brāhmaṇas. The Śrīmāli Brāhmaṇas of Śrīmāla were well known for their learning. The Pallivāla Brāhmaṇas became famous after Pāli. The Rājoriā Brāhmaṇas were named after Rājor, now known as Nīlakanṭha, a place near Alwar. An inscription of 1604 A.D. found in the Isar Bāvaḍ at Toḍārāisingh describes the virtues of one Purohita Prabho of the Rājoriā family, who built the step well.

Castes among the Vaiśyas:

Several castes among the Vaiśyas are known to have come into existence after the name of the towns. In about the eighth century A.D., the Jaina saint Ratnaprabha Sūri is known to have visited Osiā, Śrīmāla and Pāli, where he converted people to Jainism and formed the castes of Osavālas, Śrīmalis and Pallivālas respectively after them. Khaṇḍelavāla caste and Bagheravāla caste appear to have originated before the tenth century A.D. from Khaṇḍelā and Bagherā respec-

1. PRAS. WC, 1909-10, p. 59.
2. EL, XI, p. 65.
3. ARES, p. 8.
tively. The earliest mention of the Khândelavâla caste is found in the inscription\(^1\) of 1197 A.D. Āśâdhara, who went to Dhârânagarî after leaving Mândâlagarh at the close of the twelfth century A.D. for the fear of the Muslims, was of the Bagheravâla caste. The merchant class of the Maheśvarîs came into existence before the twelfth century A.D. in Dîdwânâ. It was denoted by the term Dîndû in early times. It is mentioned in a list of the Mahâjana castes in the Simâhsanabattisi.\(^2\) An inscription of 1265 A.D. records that Mahâjana Ratna, belonging to the Dîndû family, built the Vâpi (well) at Ghâghasâ.\(^3\) At present, one of the branches of the Maheśvarîs is called Dîndû Maheśvari. The word Dîndû or Dîndû clearly shows that it originated from Dîdwânâ. Meḍatavâla, Harasarû, Narainavâla, Sâmbhariâ and Ajmerâ in the list of merchant classes seem to have originated respectively from the old towns of Mertâ, Harsaura, Naraina, Sâmbhar and Ajmer. Jaisavâla caste among the Jainas came into existence after the twelfth century A.D., when Jaisalmer was founded. The members of the Chittoḍâ caste and Nâgdâ caste among the Jainas are noticed to have performed the consecration ceremony of the temples and images from the fifteenth century A.D.

There are some communities who were originally Kshatriyas but in course of time merged into baniâ classes by adopting Jainism. The Sonigarâ Chauhânas originally named after Suvarṇagiri, the hill of Jâlor fort, merged into Sonîs. When the Hathûndiâ Râthors were converted to Jainism, they were called Hathûndiâ Śrâvakas.

Gotras after name of the towns:—

When these people of different castes multiplied, they formed gotras. Some of the gotras are territorial in nature, and found both in high and low castes. The Mândovara gotra of the Osavâlas became famous from Mândor. It was in

\(^1\) See Appendix No. 12 for the text of the inscription.
\(^2\) JGK, p. 235.
\(^3\) ARRMA, 1927, p. 3.
vogue in the fifteenth century A.D. The persons of this gotra are noticed in performing the installation ceremony of images at this time. Ajmerā gotra is found among the Maheśvaris and the Khāṇḍelavāla Jainas. Sunakhalī, the wife of Sāha Sujana of Ajmerā gotra, got the Pradyumna Charitra written and gave it to the nun Vinayāśrī in 1538 A.D.¹

The Chaudharies after the name of Narhāḍ are found among Maheśvaris, Jāts, barbers and wood-cutters. Āhaḍiā gotra after Āhar is prevalent among the Chāraṇas. The gotras after the names of the towns of Nāgaur, Māroṭh, Saṃbhar and Āmber are found among the barbars. The gotras of Dīḍavāṇiā and Phalodhiā among the tailors are well known after Dīḍwāṇā and Phalodhi. Among the lakṣāras, Nāguriā and Naṇavāyā were named after Nāgaur and Naṇā respectively.

The period after the seventh century A.D. was of intensive religious activities for Jainism. Several sects and sub-sects originated and some of them were territorial in nature. They prove that these places were strongholds of Jainism in early times. Sometimes, we find their temples and images installed by the Āchāryas at the headquarters of their gachchhas.

Gachchhas after the names of towns in the area of Sirohi District:—

Maḍāhaḍa gachchha, Naṇavāla gachchha and Brāhmana gachchha originated from the places Maḍāhaḍa, Naṇā and Varmān respectively before the twelfth century A.D. The oldest inscription of 1230 A.D., of Maḍāhaḍa gachchha was found at Maḍāra, the place of its very origin.² Numerous inscriptions from the eleventh to the fifteenth century discovered in Sirohi District indicate that it was a centre of Naṇavāla gachchha³ The Brāhmana gachchha was found at Varmān in the twelfth century A.D. The Jaina temple of Mahāvīra of this place belonged to this gachchha and it was built in 1125 A.D.⁴ Jirāvalā gachchha, a branch of the Vṛihad gachchha, origi-

1. PS, p. 138.
2. APJLS, No. 66.
3. APJLS, No. 66.
4. Ibid, No. 110.
nated from the place named Jirāvalā in Sirohi District. It was in existence in the fourteenth century at the very place of its origin.

Gachchhas after the name of old towns of Jodhpur Division:—

The Pallivāla, Upakeśa, Koraṇṭa, Saṃderaka and Nāgapuriya gachchhas originated from the old towns of Jodhpur Division such as Pāli, Osiā, Korṭā, Saṃderā and Nāgaur respectively before the twelfth century A.D. From the time of Āchārya Indradeva Sūri of Pradyotanāchārya gachchha, it began to be called Pallivāla gachchha after Pāli.1 The inscription of 1202 A.D. with the name of Upakeśa gachchha has been discovered at Osiā.2 Koraṇṭa gachchha, a branch of the Upakeśa gachchha, seems to have been started by Kaṇakaprabha Sūri at Koraṇṭa. The earliest inscription dated 1031 A.D. of this gachchha was found at Pindwāḍā in Sirohi District. Padma Prabha Sūri practised hard austerities at Nāgaur in 1117 A.D. and he was, therefore, given the title of Nāgauriya Tapā.4 The Saṃderaka gachchha was founded by Yaśobhadra Sūri in the tenth century A.D. Its early name was Vālabha gachchha. There were two Jaina temples of Mahāvira and Pārśvaṇātha of this gachchha at Saṃdera. An inscription of 1092 A.D. records that the gosṭhi of this place installed a Jaina image in the temple of Saṃderaka gachchha through Jinachandra.5 Hastikunḍī gachchha originated from Hastikunḍī in about the tenth century A.D. Satyapuriya gachchha of the Bṛihad Śākhā started from Sāñchor. Its inscriptions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are available. In 1745 A.D., a separate branch was started by Jinamahendra Sūri at Maṇḍor and was, therefore, named Maṇḍovara Śākhā.6

Harshapuriya gachchha originated probably from the place named Harasaur near Pushkara. Some Āchāryas of this

1. JSP, III, p. 430.
2. NJI, No. 791.
3. APJLS, No. 366.
4. JGPS, p. 85.
5. NJI, I, No. 881.
6. IA, II, p. 249.
gachchha were very powerful and exercised a great influence over their contemporary rulers. At the request of Abhayadeva Sūri, the Chauhāna ruler Prithvirāja of Śākambhari, who lived in 1105 A.D., put on the golden cupolas on the Jaina temples of Raṇathambhor. The name of this gachchha is mentioned in the inscription of 1498 A.D. found in Nāgaur.

Kāmyaka gachchha originated from Kāmān in Bharatpur District. It is mentioned in the Bayānā stone inscription of 1043 A.D. The names of the Jaina teachers Vishṇu Sūri and Māheśvara Sūri are mentioned.

1. GOS, IXXVI, p. 311.
2. NJI, II, No. 1295.
3. ARRMA, 1914, p. 2.
CONCLUSION

CHAPTER XIII

CAUSES OF DECLINE OF SOME ANCIENT TOWNS AND CITIES

In the previous chapters, we have discussed the origin, growth, history and other aspects of the ancient cities and towns which came into existence in different periods. Now we shall deal with the causes which led to the decay and disappearance of some of them. Foreign invasions are responsible for their destruction. The progressive desiccation of the Rajasthan desert is also considered by some as the cause of the evacuation of some old cities. Sometimes, earthquake, and flood might have destroyed them. These cities suffered by wars and battles of the native rulers. These towns might have been deserted frequently on account of pestilences, diseases and famines. Some other types of political disasters might have brought about their ruin. Some of these cities after destruction were renovated or rehabilitated, while others were deserted for ever.

In very early cities, the human dwellings were made of impermanent materials like mud, straw, bamboo, reed, etc., and a few buildings were of wood, and sometimes of bricks, and rarely was stone used for building purpose. Hence, most of these early cities along with their buildings perished and we do not find any trace of theirs.

There were towns of the pre-Harappan and Harappan periods on the banks of the Sarasvatī and Drishadvatī rivers. How these towns disappeared is not definitely known. The advancing desiccation of the Rajasthan desert is considered by some to be the main cause of their evacuation. But it has recently been shown by RAIKES, DYSON, and also FAIR-SERVIS that the inferences based on hydrographical, zoological, botanical, archaeological and architectural grounds
do not support the hypothesis of progressive desiccation. The latter-half of the second millennium B.C. was a period of great troubles and insecurity. It seems that like other contemporary metropolitan centres, these cities were sacked by the invading tribes, some of them might have been the Aryans. These turbulent people so ruthlessly destroyed these towns that people seem to have forgotten the urban traditions for a considerable long period. The flood of the Sarasvati and Drishadvatī rivers might also be the cause of desertion of these settlements. The danger of some epidemic diseases too must have led to the ruin of these sites.

The early towns suffered from the foreign invasions of the Greeks, the Scythians and the Kushāṇas. In the second century B.C., Nagari was attacked by the Greeks who were ruling over North-West India. Patañjali,¹ the grammarian, speaks of Madhyamikā as besieged by a Yavana king, and refers to it in such a manner as to show that this event took place in his time. The Greek king has been identified with Menander because his silver coins have also been found. From the archaeological excavations, it seems that Rairh and Naliāsār might have fallen prey to the invasions in the second century B.C., because we find break in the habitation.

The Mālavas and the Yaudheyas were the freedom-loving people, and they had to continue the struggle of independence with the Śakas and the Kushāṇas for a long time. This long drawn struggle must have afflicted the fortunes of the cities of that time. In one of the Nasik cave inscriptions, Rishabhadatta, son-in-law of Nahapāna, is said to have inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mālavas when he was sent to relieve the chief of the Uttamabhadra tribe in the beginning of the second century A.D.² The ancient cities of Nagara and Rairh associated with the Mālavas must have suffered greatly as a consequence of this defeat, and this is also confirmed by the archaeological excavations which show desertion of the sites during this time. From the Jūnāgarh inscription of 150 A.D., it is known that Rudradāman is

¹ Mahābhāṣya, 3—2-III.
² EI, VIII, p. 78.
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said to have inflicted a crushing defeat on the republican tribe of the Yaudheyas.

The Buddhist establishment at Bairāṭ was probably ruined in the wake of these foreign invasions before the third century A.D. as no antiquity of the later period has been found. The Buddhist circular temple was destroyed by a big fire and the ashes have been discovered in the excavations. The Aśokan pillars were broken to thousand pieces and the Buddhist monastery was also destroyed.

A large number of ancient mounds along the Ghaggar within Bikaner Division over a total distance of some one hundred miles proves that it was a densely populated area in early times. The archaeological excavations at one of the principal sites named Rang Mahal conducted by HANNA HYDH proved that it was settled properly for the first time in the second century A.D. during the Kushāṇa period and flourished up to the sixth century A.D. But afterwards, people of this area had to face the misfortunes. It is possible that the fire might have ruined the city. Hyenas, porcupines and boa-constrictors might well cause a mischief. But the main cause of the disappearance of this settlement was drying up of the Ghaggar. Both the archaeological finds and certain climatological features, however, indicate that Ghaggar did not carry water as a river after the middle of the sixth century A.D. It resulted in the shortage of food and forced the people to migrate to other places for their livelihood. The correct climate tradition about this region is also recorded in the Vāmana-Purāṇa which was compiled in Kurukshetra. There were several holy places which were once associated with big ponds, felt helpless against the advancing dunes of sand.

The barbarous Hūṇa invasions did a great harm to these cities. The Bayāṇā hoard of coins, in which the last ruler represented is Skanda Gupta Kramāditya, indicates that sometimes during his reign, life and prosperity became unsafe in the Bayāṇā region inducing the rich people to bury their

1. EI, VIII, pp-42-45
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treasures and flee away for safety. It seems almost certain that the cause of this panic was the Hūna invasion which had succeeded in penetrating up to Yamunā.

Probably as a consequence of the Hūna invasion, Madhyamikā, the old and prosperous town, was abandoned in favour of Chitor in the sixth century A.D. The Jaina author Somadeva (tenth century) refers to a tradition that a Hūna king conquered Chitrakūṭa, a place near Madhyamikā. The reference here is probably to Mihirakula who was ruling in 530 A.D. While conquering Chitor, he might have destroyed Madhyamikā. According to local traditions, Pushkara was destroyed as a result of the Hūna invasions but restored by the Parīhāra king Nāhaḍrāva of Māṇḍor in the seventh century A.D. From the archaeological excavations of Rairh, Naliāsar and Nagara, it is known that they were prosperous and densely populated during the Gupta period. These cities suffered greatly most probably on account of the Hūna invasions. The human bones along with a considerable amount of ashes and the relics of a large number of destroyed buildings found in the excavations prove that these cities were really destroyed by some sudden catastrophe.

There are other barbarous nomadic tribes such as the Ābhīras, the Medas and the Bhillas who caused harm to these cities. In the ninth century A.D., Osiā and Ghaṭiyāḷā were invaded by the Ābhīras, and as a result of their turbulent activities, life and property became unsafe, and good many people went to safer places. The Medas and the Bhillas sometimes attacked the urban centres. Lakshamaṇa, the founder of the Chauhāna branch of Naḍol in the tenth century A.D., afforded protection against the attack of the Medas, and thus made his rule welcome to the people. Sālharāja, the Chief Minister of Rāvala Somadāsa of Ḍuṅgar-pur chastised the Bhillas at Chūndāvādā, and made the District Kaṭāra free from their oppression in the fifteenth century.

1. BGV, p. 216.
2. MNK, p. 152.
3. ARRMA, 1930, p. 3.
4. EI, XX, p. 97.
In the second quarter of the seventh century A.D., Vasantgarh seems to have fallen into decay, and forced its inhabitants for migration to different places. From the Sāmolī inscription dated 646 A.D., it is known that a Mahājana community headed by Jentaka, who had migrated from Vasantgarh, started an āgara (a mine) in Āranya-kūpagiri which became a source of livelihood for the people. In the tenth century A.D., there were some other political upheavals, which brought further ruin to this place. Saṅgamrāja, successor of Bhavagupta, changed his capital from Vasantgarh to Badari. Perhaps, as a result of it, a person, who originally belonged to this place, came to Āhār in Mewar, and built the temple of Nānigasyāmi in 977 A.D. The Sun-temple, which was restored by Vigraharāja, might have been destroyed during this period.

The ancient cities of Rajasthan suffered greatly at the hands of Muslim invaders who destroyed temples and images, persecuted people and took away large booty with them. Such was their great fear that people left these cities and went to other places for safety and security. When the Arabs occupied Sind in 712 A.D., they also invaded Malwa and Gurjaradesa. As Bilāduri says, “They conquered Al-Bailman and Jurz.” Al-Bailman is identified with Bhillamāla and Jurz is Gujarat. At this time, Bhimnāl seems to be the capital of Gurjaradesa.

While invading India, Mahmūd Ghaznī also passed through Rajasthan and destroyed the cities of the way. In 1009 A.D., he led an army against Nārāyaṇa situated in the heart of Hind. The king of this place fought bravely in defence of this country, but was defeated. The Sultan ruthlessly broke the idols and returned to Ghazanī with large booty including the elephants and horses. The place was of great commercial importance. It is identified by CUNNINGHAM with Nārāyaṇapura, near Alwar, but it seems to be the

1. EI, IX, p. 12.
2. Ibid.
4. HIED, I, p. 126.
old name of Naraiñā, situated at a distance of thirteen kms from Sāmbhar. In his invasion in 1024 A.D., he decided to advance along the Rajasthan desert route to reach his destination. In course of his journey, he destroyed the cities of the way. He first reached Lodorvā which was defended by a strong citadel and a body of brave soldiers, but the Sultān captured it. Sāñchor and Chandrāvatī were also plundered by his forces on his way to Somanātha.

From the time of Ajayarāja, the Chauhāna ruler of Ajmer, the Turushkas i.e. the Yāminis of Lahore and Ghaznā started invasions, and as a consequence, some cities suffered greatly. We learn from the Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri1 and the Tārikh-i-Firishta2 that Muhammad Bahlim, whom Bahrām Shāh of Ghaznā had appointed the Governor of his dominions in Hindustan in 1112 A.D., captured and fortified the town of Nāgaur. He made it a base for further depredations on other cities. During Arñorāja’s reign, these foreign invaders reached as far as Ajmer, and must have affected the prosperity of the cities in the neighbourhood.

Muhammad Ghorī invaded India from time to time. In 1175 A.D., when he attacked India, his forces passed by way of Kirādū3 and probably, at this time, the Turushkas might have destroyed the image of the deity of Someśvara of the temple which was renovated in 1178 A.D.4 The Muslim forces also attacked Nādol. As a consequence of the defeat of Prithvīrāja III at the hands of Muhammad Ghorī, all the important cities of the Chauhāna empire were ruthlessly destroyed by the Muslim forces. The Sultān captured Ajmer after slaying thousands of its heroic defenders and reserving the rest for slavery. The pillars and foundations of its temples were destroyed and it was despoiled of the greater part of the wealth accumulated in the days of its prosperity. From the Prithvīrāja-Vijaya-Mahākāvyā5, we know about the wrong doings of the Mlechchhas at Pushkara. The lands given in

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1. TN, pp. 110-112.
2. TF, I, pp. 149-160.
3. PV, p. 256.
4. PRAS. WC, 1907, p. 42.
5. JASB, p. 262.
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charity were resumed. The Brähmanas were in tears owing to the oppression of the Musalmāns. Turushka women bathed while in their menses in the sacred water.

From the Upakēṣagachchha-prabandha it is known that the Muslim army of Muhammad Ghorī while passing destroyed Osiā in 1195 A.D. This Muslim invasion compelled the people to leave their homes and hearths in panic to other places for safety. From a praśasti of the Dharmāmṛitaṭikā of Āśādhara it is known that he left Māndālgarh for Dhārānagari because of the Muslim invasions. Sāmbhar, Nādol, Narainā, Narhaḍ, etc., were also affected badly as a result of the defeat of the Chauhānas.

In 1196 A.D., Muhammad Ghorī defeated the Śūrasena ruler named Kuṁvārapāla of Bayānā and placed it under the command of Bhāuddin Tughril. Kāmnā and Tahangarh also suffered greatly by this invasion. The Muslims destroyed Hindu and Jaina temples and on their ruins erected a large number of mosques. He invited the Muslims for settlement by providing all kinds of facilities at these places and the Hindus were forced to migrate. From a praśasti of Jinadatta-charita written in 1218 A.D. it is known that the poet Lakṣhmaṇa left Tribhuvanagiri for Krishṇavilāsa.

Even after the establishment of Muslim rule in the thirteenth century A.D., the rulers of Rajasthan continued their struggle for independence, and their territory was frequently attacked by the Muslim forces which brought about great devastation to the ancient cities. The Muslims under Sultān Iltutmish overran Mewār, and destroyed the Guhila capital Nāgahrida during the early part of the reign of Jaitra Simha. There was a heavy loss of men and money on that occasion. In 1226 A.D., he also led an army against Rāṇaṭhambhor and Manḍor and both these cities were plundered. In 1228 A.D., he besieged Jālor but after hard resistance, Udai Simha was compelled to surrender. He was

2. JSAI, p. 344.
3. AK, VIII; p. 400.
allowed to continue as a ruler on agreeing to pay a tribute.

In 1224 A.D., Jalāluddīn Firūz Shāh Khiljī undertook expedition against Maṇḍor and conquered it. This is also confirmed by a Persian inscription which records that the mosque was founded in the reign of Sultān Firūz Shāh. The Muslims brought about destruction of temples and images. Because of the military expeditions of Alāuddīn Khiljī, the towns were put to great loss. Alāuddīn led several expeditions against Ranathambhor and after much efforts, he became successful in capturing the fort in 1301 A.D. The city was systematically sacked, and the temples along with many splendid buildings were razed to the ground. Jaisalmer was also attacked twice and suffered greatly. After the conquest of Chitor by Alāuddīn in 1303 A.D., many temples were destroyed and the population became victims of the fury of soldiery. Jālor and the neighbouring places such as Bhīnmāl Bāhaḍīmer and Ābū also suffered tremendously as a consequence of the military activities of Alāuddīn when he sent the forces against Kānhaḍdeva of Jālor.

During the medieval period, some towns of Rajasthan such as Nāgaur, Bayānā, Jālor, Sāñchhor, Dīdwānā, Narhaḍ and Chāṭsū were ruled by the Muslim Governors. It was but natural that during their reign, old temples were destroyed and the people left towns in panic for safety. Sometimes, invasions also took place. During the Khiljī period, the ferocious Mongol hordes under their leader Kāpak came for plundering up to Nāgaur. In his Mālwa campaign, Shershāh destroyed the old city of Kośavardhana and found a new one named Shergarh after his own name. As a result of the iconoclastic activities of the Muslims, Chāṭsū lost its past prosperity, and was reduced to an insignificant position. Chitor suffered much by the attack of Akbar and Aurangzeb. By the iconoclastic activities of Aurangzeb, the seats of idolatory such as Āṭru, Rāmgarh, Bagherā and Bayānā were ruthlessly destroyed. Such a policy led to the change of the deity in the temple at Pālī, Sāñchhor, Jālor, Jiravalā etc., and this must have also caused ruin to the respective cities.

The ancient cities not only suffered from the Muslim
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invasions but also from the mutual wars fought among the native rulers themselves. The Paramāra ruler Muñjarāja of Dhāra, who became the ruler sometime between 972 and 974 A.D., had to fight against the combined forces of the Guhila chief of Mewar, and the Chālukya ruler Mūlarāja of Gujarat. He destroyed the elephant forces of the Guhila king who was either Naravāhana or his son Śaktikumāra and plundered his capital Aghāta. The struggle for supremacy continued for a considerable time between the Chauhānas of Ajmer and the Chālukyas of Gujarat. When Kumārapāla captured Pāli in 1150 A.D., his invasion probably involved the sack of the town and destruction of some of its important buildings. In his fight against the Chālukyas, Vigrarāja Visaladeva, the Chauhāna ruler of Ajmer, plundered Pallikā (Pāli), burnt Jābālipura (Jālor) and sacked Nāḍol. Formerly all these territories were included in the kingdom of the Chālukya ruler Kumārapāla. Mahārāṇā Kumbhā, who became the ruler of Chitor in 1433 A.D., plundered the town of Khaṇḍelā with his large army.

Because of strategic importance, some towns became the sites of battlefields, and thus they must have suffered greatly. In the eleventh century A.D., a battle was fought between the Gurjaras and the Chauhānas of Nāḍol at Saṇḍerā. The Sūndhā inscription states that Jindurāja Chauhāna, ruler of Nāḍol, burst through the multitude of his enemies at Saṇḍerā. From the first plate of Nāḍol, we find that the leader of this hostile force was none else than Bhīmadeva I, ruler of Gujrat. From the Chirvā inscription of 1273 A.D. it is known that Arthūṇā remained a place of battle-field. Madana, the son of Jaitra Simha's officer Kshema, fought on behalf of Jaisal with Pāmchhalaguḍika Jaitramalla on the battle field

1. EI, X, p. 18.
3. EI, XXVI, p. 105.
5. EI, IX, p. 72.
6. ARRMA, 1937, p. 3.
7. EI, XXIII, p. 285.
of Utthunaka, which is identified with Arthūnā, the capital of Vāgaḍa. Jesala may be taken as identical with the Guhila ruler Jaitra Simha of Mewār who was also known as Jaya Simha. Jaitramalla is taken as the Paramāra Jayatuṅgideva of Malwa.

During the early medieval period, the Pratiharas, the Chauhānas, the Guhilas and the Paramāras established their kingdoms and extended their empires by their conquests. At this time, the centre of political gravity shifted from other parts to Rajasthan. Several cities came into existence and they prospered. From the thirteenth century onwards, with the establishment of Muslim rule, these Rājput dynasties gradually disappeared and the prosperity of old capitals and towns also declined. They could not preserve their old glory and grandeur. In this way, we may account for the actual decline of Bhimnāl, Jālor, Chandrāvatī, Nādol, Rājor, etc. With the disappearance of the ruling authorities, the nobles, officers, scholars and others, who actually assembled round the capital of the king, went to other places for their livelihood.

The policy of shifting the capital from one place to another for one or other reason also caused the decay of ancient towns. The Guhilas shifted their capitals from Nāgdā and Āhār to Ghitor and this actually led to the decay of early capital cities. Maṇḍor and Āmōr suffered the same fate when the capital was made at Jodhpur and Jaipur respectively. Arthūnā and Barodā declined when the capital was shifted to Dūṅgarpur. Similarly Chandrāvatī lost its old prosperity when Sirohī was made the capital. The importance of some towns decreased when the power of the local feudal lords was crushed and their territory was annexed to the big kingdom. This is specially the case with Mároth and Mērtā annexed by the Rāthors of Jodhpur and with Khaṇḍelā and Chāstu taken by the Kacchavāhas of Jaipur.

Sometimes, the cruel policy of the ruling Chief and Ministers remained responsible for the decay of ancient cities. They imposed huge taxes on the subjects and they followed the policy of religious persecution. They did not care for the welfare of the people and denied proper justice to
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them. They failed to protect the honour of the females. The policy of founding new capital and changing it from one city to another by the ruling Chiefs is also responsible for the decline of so many ancient cities. The prosperity of the towns dwindled when the merchants and learned Brāhmaṇas left them. Bhīmāḷ gradually began to decline from the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. when these enlightened people of this place settled at Anhilapāṭan at the request of the kings who provided several facilities to them. The mutual quarrels among the people of different communities over some disputes led to vacation of the cities.

At Osiā, Khaṇḍelā, Pāḷi, Bhīmāḷ, etc., a large number of people were converted to Jainism by the preachings of Jaina monks. By the influence of Jainism, they gave up the profession of agriculture and therefore, there was the difficulty of earning livelihood for them. They left their ancestral homes and went elsewhere for settlement. In this way, these towns declined, but still the people belonging to the castes named after these old places are found in different parts of the country and they prove that these towns were once populous.

In medieval times, new routes came into existence, and therefore new towns were established. It affected the situation of old towns which gradually disappeared. With the change of routes, the trade and commerce also declined. The prosperous cities of Bhīmāḷ, Pāḷi, Osiā and Chandrāvati gradually declined in this way.

The possibilities of frequent famine remained in Rajasthan because of the arid land. In such circumstances, the ancient cities were deserted and the population migrated to other places. In V.S. 1175, a terrible famine broke out and a large number of people migrated to Gujarat.\(^1\) The dreadful diseases and pestilences brought havoc to these ancient towns and people suffered much. Sometimes, the floods of the tank and rivers did great harm to the ancient cities situated on their banks.

During the British period, when the peace and security were established and the facilities of transport and communi-

\(^1\) Jaina Sāhitya Na Ilīhāsa, p. 308.
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Changes improved, the adventurous people of Rajasthan left homes and proceeded to the distant industrial cities like Bombay, Calcutta and Madras for their prosperity. Besides, there were no sufficient means of livelihood for the growing population in old cities. Hence, inhabitants of these cities were compelled to migrate and as a consequence, these cities became desolated.
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APPENDICES

No. 1.

Praśasti of the manuscript No. 89 Jaina Śāstra Bhaṇḍāra, Kāmān.

आत्मप्रदेशः, ग्रंवकर्ता कुमार कवि, १५४७ फाल्गुन सुदी ११ श्रीपवा नगरे खंडेलवाल वंश गंगवाल गोवरे संख्ये मेणधाल लिखापित ।

No. 2.

Inscriptions of images in the Jaina temple of Bayānā.

(अ) अव संवत्सरदिन संि भवित विनकालदिल राज्य संवति १४६० फागुणमासे शुक्लपदे नयमी गुडळारे श्रीवासूकंतेन भरपल्लीवले भट्टारक श्रीमुनिन्दसुरीर तल्लेटे भट्टारक विसलचन्द्रे भाय अलफीरी राज ॥

पद्म प्रभु पापाण, वर्ण ध्याय, म ब्रह्मवाद वयाना ।

(आ) संवत १४९६ वर्ष माघ सुदी ६ दिने ॥ संघपति पौ पेमराज शुमाकचन्द सिन्मत्तू ॥ म ब्रह्मवाद वयाना । मृति विना भिन्न, पापाण वर्ण शेत, पद्मासन ।

(इ) संवत १५०५ वर्ष पीठ सुदी १५ दिने सं ६ धनराजन कारिन जुगमगविद्यव । म ब्रह्मवाद । युगमगर स्वामी पापाण ।

(ई) संवत १५१३ वर्ष वाङ्काल सुदी २ सीमदिने वण्वरसोवरे सा बिरे भा. मीवादे पु । पृष्ठ ब्रह्मवाद, वयाना, चन्द्रप्रभ, पापाण ।

No. 3.

Inscriptions in the Jaina Temple of Bayānā.

सिद्घ भी अव राजाभट्टे अस्मिन् भी नूरदीन झारागीर दिल्लीपति साह
No. 4.

Megha in his *Tīrthamālā* describes Sāñchor.

महानही साठी बड़गाम, साचर श्री बीर प्रणाम

No. 5.

Inscription on the Siddhachakra Yantra in the Jaina temple of Sāmvalaji at Amber.

No. 6.

Praśasti of the Manuscript No. 86 in the Ailaka Pannalal Jaina Sarasvati Bhawan, Beawar.
Appendices

Prasasti of a manuscript named Kalpasūtra in the Abhayagranthālaya, Bikaner.

No. 7

Gutakā No. 404 in the Jaina Śastra Bhandāra of Ajmer.

No. 8
जब सुलिंवत्तीरणि संग्रामि, रणथंबूवित्त्व दुग्गागढ़।
जन इन्द्रिण्य नाते हिंदु कोपिंड, बलु करकी मोकलिंड।
वेलु कबलु सबुदेण लोपिंड, जिव लगा उज्ज्वसिष्यासुद मेंच्छ।
मेंच्छ मूर्तमणवजिज चंपावति विगुदेस सच, गए दहुँ दिस मंगंज।॥२१॥
तबहिं कोपिंड सक्तुल पुरलोक, कोह न कपुक्सु वरजिंद रहइ।
भाजिदहिं किसि जान लगी, मिलिंिं करी तव बनती।
पार्त्यनाय स्वामीसु अजी, सवणा जोतिक केबली।
चित्र न करें विस्सु कलिवच मद दास पहुँ।
जग लंडउ तू आस।॥२२॥
तेन तू सिंदु कहड़ जगनाथ, पिसु निसिंदिसुंदरि खण।
इह निमंत्र कड़ किसउ, भूत भविष्यत जाण तुहुँ।
तुहुँ समत्त जग तरण दारणु उच्चावंत हुँ चि जिहु।
जह देखइ मद गाइ, जड़रिं देखइ पास पहुँ।
होइ रहइ थिसु नाइ।॥२३॥
एमजंगि विकरिति शुद्ध पुजा, मलिलदास
वंडें शवुँ शवूँ था समीज चापऊँ,
उच्चावंत न उच्चमव। हुवो जाणसुर
गिरि सवीपउँ, इहविधि परजिंद वारतिहु
पुरि विहारी भणति। जइ कतनुहा पास
पहु जणकरी गुजवसंत।॥२४॥
तामु परजिकेने नर भवनी भगा दिभुँ, रहया हुवा
सुलते तेन पर बास।
जे भगा भवमति
करिहुँ पासा बहु पहज़ा सारै।
अवरे परत्या वहु इहा प्रभु पूरिरी समत्त।
अजुहुँ नहुस्तियाहु मनुसी
नह निगुण निरत्यु।

No. 9.

Portion of the Tirthamālā written in 1529.

देलवाड़ नागद्रहा चीतवड़
आहुड़कर हेड़ुँ वदुण उर।॥७६॥
No. 10.

Praśasti of a Manuscript in the Śastrabhaṅḍāra, Śrī Digambar Jaina Mandira Sambhavanātha, Udaipur.

"Srīnjāna भूषण मुनिव्री प्रभृतिया की धृतास्म सारए।
हरुष्ण जिनवरि कहीय बसुगि देव माहिरास रचुमति सबड़हिमायाणे
जो नरसारे।
भाणेसि भणवेजे सामसेले लहिसाह कलविचार।
इति नागद्रा रास संहुण्य।

No. 11.

Praśasti of a Manuscript in the Śastrabhaṅḍāra of Ajmer.

इति आकाशार समाप्ततमिति। अथ संक्रमिन श्री नृपतिविकमादित्य
राज्ये। संवत् १५८५ वर्षं फाल्गुन वदि पण्डी सुमवासरे नागपुरसरे अरी
सह्मदवान राज्ये प्रवर्त्तमाने श्रीमूलसंवे श्रीमंडलार्या भूवनकीति तत्
श्रीण्य मुनि देवनन्दि तेन इत्य लिखापि कर्मक्षयनिमिति।

No. 12.

Inscription on an image in the Jaina Temple of Jaipur.

खंडेलवालान्यः सं॰ १२५० श्री मूलसंधे सा॰ राजद्रे सा॰ जगमाहा
पुनहरिसि, केशाल चुडी १ झुकल।

No. 13.

Praśasti of the Manuscript No. 16 in the Ailaka Pannālāl Digambar Jaina Sarasvatī Bhawan, Beawar.

वर्मानाचरित्रकर्त्तर दुरिचन्द्र स्वरि श्री सं॰ १५१८ वर्षं जोष्ट कि
वदि १४ नृह्स्तिवासरे खंडेलपुर शुभस्वाने राजव श्री उदयकरणराज्ये
श्री मूलसंवे बलाकारगं सरस्वतीच्छे नंदिसंवे कुंडिकान्ये महाटारक
श्री पद्मनंदिदेवा तत्त्वस्ते महाटारक श्री शुभचन्द्रदेवा तत्त्वंद्वांकार बालिक
चक्रवृद्धामणि महाटारक श्री जनचन्द्रदेवा तत्तिश्चाय तहा नीकत
जोग्य प्रदति। खंडेलवालान्ये पातनीमोगे सा॰ पाल्हा जाटी तत् पुका सा॰
No. 14.

Inscription in the Jaina temple of Hathundi.

संवत् १२९९ वर्षं चैत्रमुदी ११ शुक् श्रीरत्रभोपाध्यायशिष्यं श्री पूर्णचन्द्रोपाध्यायं राजकुम्भ मिश्रराणि च कारितानि सवाणि ॥

No. 15.

AAR, II, p. 429 (f.n.)

राजा चन्द्र का आभानेर
बीता संजोग आयो गिरनार

No. 16.

BPPI, p. 467.

आभा नगरी श्री आय्यो जगो जग में माण ।
साचल परची जव दीयों, तब शीक्षा चढ़ाई आण ॥
जुग जीमाड्यो जुगत सुँ दीवो दान प्रभाण ।
देशल मुत जगदीपता ज्यारी दुनिया माने काण ॥
चुपचारी वित्त भूप, जिमालई आगलचल अरवपति
अपार खड़गपति मिलीया माले ॥

No. 17.

Bhaṭṭāraka Paṭṭāvali from V.S. 1697 to V.S. 1757. See the Manuscript No. 430 in the Jaina temple of Sambhavanātha, Udaipur.

श्री पूज्य पालि पवार्या ल्यान्हा साँ बीरजी इं विश चोविशी पूजा कीवी ।
बली ल्यान्हा सा बीरजाजीइ विश चोविशी पूजा कीवी ।
बली ल्यान्हा सा जीवा
गांगु मुत तालवकी ज्यादव जा एणे विश चोविशी पूजा कीवी ।
बाई वासूईं कर्म-दंड पूजा कीवी ॥
Appendices

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No. 18-19.

Sāntinātha devarāsa (see also JSP XVII)

tatu padīṃ monument gūḍh mahīṃ nityatīśa mahāya
sāmpadiḥī nāṃdīṇa dūndrāṇa kāraṇa. 1
loki jinaṅkṣī sūtīṛhī, pāta pātṛāvīya
prahīṣāntairvidvā cavaḷcavaḷa śāṃgāya. ॥४५॥

viśvarē vaiśamī tāṣṭhāvān māhu
mahal pāṃchī dīvaṃ kīr śaivān. 1
sīmān dēvārāya kāraṇa pān ṛṇaḥ ṛdhi
apyaṇa mahīṃ dēśaṇa gūḍh mahāniḥ. ॥४६॥

vamam puram nāhuḥ kīṃtī jīvaḥṇur 1
kīṃtī dēśaṇaṇuḥ kīṃtī jīvaḥṇur 1
kīṃtī viṣṭhaḥ sāṃpuruḥ kīṃtī dēśaṇaṇuḥ 1
tāṭhī meḥ umāśāṃkām tāṃ ṛdhaṇuḥ ॥४७॥

No. 20.

Jīnēśvara Sūrī Samyama Śrivīvāhavārnaṇa-raśa.

cūtaśī ṛdhaṇa jānavāja ṛdhūṃṣṭī āṃtāś caṇa. ॥२०॥

udhāra Ṛvaḥ ṛśaḥvaṇa naḥkha fār ṕār nāru 1
jīnaṅkṣī sūrīṇa mūṇi ṛdhaṇa dēśaṇa ṛdhrī saṃgā. ॥२१॥

śaṃti jīvasaṅkha vṛt śvavoṇa mahīpdaḥ nāṃtī śuṅkendeḥ 1
vārañcāḥ mahāvī dān jālu jīvaṇa gāṇaḥ meḥ. ॥२२॥

tāṭhī upāśaṁkāḥ nēṃpāṇa śāraṇvaḥī pājātī 1
tāḥ sūnātīḥ nimiṃvaḥ ṛvaḥvaḥvaḥ saṃgūḥ ṛdhrī. ॥२३॥
Cities of Rajasthan

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Inscription on the Jaina Image, Ajmer.

No. 21.

Inscription on the Jaina Image, Ajmer.

No. 22.

Inscription on the Paduka, Naraina.

No. 23.

Inscription on the Standing Image of Stone, Naraina.

No. 24.

Inscription on the Standing Image of Pārśvanātha, Naraina.

No. 25.
No. 26.

Inscription on the Image of Jaina Goddess.

संवत् १९०२ वैशाख सुदी ९ श्री नेमिनाथीय समस्त वालयो प्रतिष्ठा
कारते अ. ही सी सरस्वति नमः ।

No. 27.

रामचन्द्र उत्तरदिशा, पर दक्षन गय वीर ।
बसुबा जाके वंश में, है जम्मू कश्मीर ॥

No. 28.

शुचि तो सव कोई वाँचे, अपने अपने भाग ।
तें वांची सुरताण पर, वांगा वांची पाग ॥

No. 29.

सांई सममल समझ कर तिय सुचि ब्रजराज ।
वो अरजुन से जंह रही, ते रक्तवी भोजराज ॥

No. 30.

Bhaṭṭāraka Paṭṭāvali Manuscript No. 430 in the temple of Sambhavanātha, Udaipur.

त्याहां थी श्री पूज्य गिरिपुर भावो श्रीसंपन्न शिख देखीन । साग पतन
उदयपुर ना श्री संपन्न बंदवीनि चैत वंद ३ दिने श्री सम्मेद शिखरी यात्रा
साह चाल्या मालपुर नराणि मोजावंद, सांगानेर, अविर मुरा ने श्रीसंपनि,
बंदवीनि नराणि भद्वारक श्री जगतकीर्तितिमलीनि । संवत् १७४८ नुं चौमासी
बागरे कीयु ।

No. 31.

Inscription on the Jaina Images of Bagherā.

(अ) संवत् १९७५ वैशाख सुदी १२ बुधदिने आचार्य प्रतिष्ठितः ।
(बा) संवत् १९५६ माघ सुदी ५ ।
(३) संवत् १२०१ मार्गशीर्ष सुदी ६ रविव अष्टभद्र नमः अ हा ही हो ही।
(४) संवत् १२०३ पनिवद सुत कील्ह वीरनाथ नितिंग प्रणमर्त, वेषाल सुदी।
(५) संवत् १२०९ बसेठ सुदी ३ गुरी सरोवीरभाय जुमदर तत्पुर वील्हा कर्मकायार्थ कारिता।
(६) संवत् १२२१ चैत्र सुदी १३ सवण सुत वड़ा नामु पद्म श्री निमित्त शाळिनाथ प्रतिष्ठापित।
(७) संवत् १२४५ आसार शुदि २ वानी साधु रावण सुत तरत श्री वीरनाथ प्रणमर्त।
(८) संवत् १२५५ वेषाल शुदि ७ श्री माधुरसंघे आचार्य श्री महासेन तक्षा अर्यिका ब्रह्मदेवी श्रीचन्द्र।
(९) अनसितकेन काराविनिका विभिकादेवी।
(१०) संवत् १२५० आपार शुदि १३ सोचनी का पुत्र काहह प्रणमर्त।
(११) संवत् १२३१ न्द्रि चैत्र सुदी १० सा वाले, सा० दिला, वील्हा वहिना पुत्र पनि भाविकायां अविकार्विच प्रतिष्ठिता च श्रीधरमंशोपस्तत् शिष्येश्व ५० हि।० वि।० भद्रार्जन।

No. 32.
Inscription on the Jaina Image, Harsaur.

संवत् १०५३ फागुन विध प्रतिष्ठित।

No. 33.
Inscription on a Pillar of the Chhatri, Harsaur.

संवत्—१२३९ पीपल विध ४ श्री सस्त्रा लोकेन—नधार्जी ने चवमणि वपव प्रदत्त।

No. 34.
स्वस्ति श्री संवत् १५९५ वर्ष वेषाल सुदी ३ सुमदिने राज श्री अमराव राठोड़ सुर्द लोके।
No. 35.

Inscription, Harsaur.

संवत् १५९९ वर्ष आसान गुढ़ि ९ सोमवारे राजि श्रीकल्याणमल्पिरा 
राठीढ़ श्रीरावपुरुष तस्य भार्या हट्टाजी खुल्हा तलाव हरसोर की प्रतिष्ठा की। 
कलिजुग प्रमाण सूत्रवारं करतिये।

No. 36.

Inscription, Harsaur.

संवत् १६०३ वर्ष श्री आसान गुढ़ी ३ मंगलवार साहं श्रीकैराज- 
पुत्रा गुमरानाथ ना सनुरवनाथ श्री सुरसनाथ के चैते कराई।

No. 37.

Inscription, Harsaur.

हरिनाथ जी रणजीतनाथ जी ओगड़नाथ जी गुमनाथ जी कलिजुग-
नाथ जी।

No. 38.

Inscription on Chaubisi Panchayati Mandira, Bharatpur.

संवत् माघ वदी ५ श्रीमूलसंघ सरस्वती गद्दे हट्टारक श्रीवर्ध- 
चन्द्र जी साहमल पीलमल चांदवाड़ भार्या भरवत महुरगढ़ रणवभीर श्रीराजा 
हम्मीर।

No. 39.

Prasasti of the Manuscript No. 15, Sāstrarhaṇḍāra Pāṭodi kā Mandir, Jaipur.

स्वस्ति श्रीमते शालितानाध्य। संवत् १६०८ वर्ष ज्येष्ठमासे शुक्ल- 
पक्षे दसमीतिवि शुक्वासरे हस्तनकचे श्रीरणस्तमुर्गस्य बालानगरे श्रेष्ठ- 
नामिन मिश्रालीनाध्यजिनिचाहवले मिश्रालालम श्री सलेमसाहर्वस्ये 
प्रवत्तत्ये श्रीमूलसंघे बलाकारणे नंदानाथे सरस्वतीगज्ये श्री कुन्दकुला-
चार्यनिवे म. श्रीपदमनदिवेश्वाससर्दित्ये म. श्रीप्रभाचन्द्रदेवाससर्दित्ये मो श्री
Content of the Sanada under my possession.

र्गनो आवाद कीजो। जीवी लीमती करौँ तासैं नतीजो पाओ।
उजड़ गाँव बसामो।

Inscription on the Yantra in the Jaina Temple of Jaipur.

संवत् १७१० वर्ष माहुसूदी ५ बृहपतिवरे पातिवराह श्रीशाहिहासंहां श्रीराजे पातिवरेने महाराज श्री अर्जुन नगोड़राजे श्रीमूलसंघे वलाकार गणे सर्वतिवरे नंदामाणे कु दुका दायकांत्ये भट्टाकार श्रीदुपनत्ती तत्परत्ते भट्टाकार श्रीदेवंद्रकृति तत्परत्ते भट्टाकार श्रीदेवंद्रकृति तदामाणे कंडेलवालांत्ये पाटनी गीव साह खानु मार्वी सुहागदे तेवां मध्ये संदी श्री नादा, भीलवा, साध श्रीसंस्कृत लालचन्द्र एतें प्रतिपादित्त्व श्रीमूलता दशालिक परं निध्य प्रमतित वर्षमाण जिज्ञ शासन।

No. 42.

गीव बुलाव चाटव, चढ़ थोर घेखा
बारी फोजा मार्वी, मन देखन का अभिलेखा।
No. 43.

Content of the Sanada under my possession.

चौबरी कानूंगा ने सदामद माफक दस्तूर दीवावजो वो चाकरी कराई जो वागेल वेगार दीजो।

No. 44.

Inscriptions on stone Images, Māroth.

(अ) संवत् १९२१।

(आ) संवत् १२३२ फालुण सुदी १० माघसाष्ट्रे पंजिताचार्य ध्रीसकल कौतित भक्त श्रृद्धि मनोरथसुत कुलचन्द्र लक्ष्मीपति प्रेयरे कारित्यें।

(इ) संवत् १२३२ फालुण सुदी १० माघसाष्ट्रे पंजिताचार्य ध्री सकलकौतित भक्तिन साह हेयाकेन प्रमवीत्हुतुतेन संकरिये।

No. 45.

Inscription on the Jaina Image, Māroth.

संवत् १७९४ माघ सुदी १३ अदितवारे महारोडणगरे महाराजाविराज महाराजा अर्जुनसिह जी तत्त्र प्रसारित राठीय श्रीवल्लसिह वरीसाल राज्ये श्रीमूलस्थे नंद्याम्नाये बलाचारार्ण तत्सवतीग्रे कुंदवीदाचार्यविषे मंडलाचार्य श्रीरत्नकौतित तत्स्त्वे मंडलाचार्य महानवत्मकौतित तत्त्वे मंडलाचार्य आनाय बंडेवालाच्याविषे साह गिरघर तत्त्वे साह रामसिहं तत्त्व भावार्ण रायसुरे सुदी दीलतराम, साहिवराम, गंगाराम, साह रामसिहं चिवं प्रतिष्ठा करायिता।

No. 46.

Inscription on the pillar of the temple of Sāha, Māroth.

संवत् १८२४ का भीति आसाड्युसरी १० दिने श्रीमद्भट्टराक श्री विजयकौतित महाराज महारोडणगरे मध्ये चालुम्सिह कियों। महाराज श्री विजयसिहं जी तत्सादात् भेद्याचार्जी श्रीहरिसिहं जी राजी यशवन्त
No. 47.

Sri Sakalakirtīrāsa by Bhuvanakirti in Khaṇḍclavālā Digambara Jaina Mandira, Udaipur.

चुढ़ाया न्यासीय संवति कुलदीपक नरपाल संवति
दू गुरुपूरि दीक्षा महोच्छव तीणि कीयाए ।
श्री सकलकीरति सहगुरि दीवी दीक्षा आण्डभरि
जयजयकार संयति सच्च सए गणवर ॥४॥

No. 48.

Praśasti of the guṭakā written in V.S. 1576.

तिक्षुवण गिरिपुर जगि विक्वाषु
संग बंडुंश घर्यति वायु ॥
तथां गिरिपुरे मुर्गिवरिण अजयण
रिरिर राय विहाराः ॥

No. 49.

Inscription on a Jaina image found in Tijara.

१५५४ वर्ष तेसाल सुदी ३ बुधवार काण्डासंगे भौ श्री मलयकीति
तत्पूर्वे भौ श्री गृहभ्रेण तदमानये गोवल गोळे मदन सी लारे होलाही
पुत्रेन लावूरूरे पुत्रेन गजायर चिण सत्तौकान्त एतयां मध्ये सत्तौलण तवई
चन्द्रस्रविता स्वापिताः ॥

No. 50.

Praśasti of the Manuscript No. 223 in the Śāstra-

bhaṅḍāra of Kāman.

पंचास्तिकाय टीका के ५० अमृतचन्द्र सुरिसंवत १५७७ वर्ष अश्विनवदि
९ बुधवारे लिखित टिजारास्त्राणे अल्लाबादः राज्ये प्रवर्तमाने श्रीकाण्डा
No. 51.

Praśasti of the Manuscript No. 98 in the Pātodi kā Śastrabhaṇḍāra, Jaipur.

हृतिवंशपुराण, देवो अचानक सं. १५७३ वाल्गुण सुदी ९ धनक वस्त्रसन्मये राज्यो वर्ष १५७३ वर्ष पाल्गुण सुदी ९ दिव्यार्तिये श्री तिजारास्वामी अल्लाबलाराज्ये श्रीकाप्रा...।

No. 52.

Tirthamālās about Alwar.

(अ) श्रीमद्रावणपत्तात्ताविपममुं श्रीमान्ध्वनाथजिनं भक्त्या संस्कृत-वाननित्यचरित: श्रीपदमंडली मुनि:।। इति श्रीमद्रावणपार्वतनायास्तोऽनं भूयः श्रेयः सौयालुः।

(अनेकांत वर्ष ८, अंक १२, पृ. ४३७)
(आ) रावण मन्मयो सर्वभारो चलवरपुर हो बाढ़ो प्रभु ठामे।
(कल्याणसागर की पार्वतनाय की चैत्यपरिपाटी)
(इ) हिंदू मेवादिशविविधाता अल्लरगढ़ कल्हवाय जी
रावण पार्व जुहारो रंगे सेवे युरनराय जी।
(सोभाम्यविजय की तीर्थमाला, पृ. ९८)
(ई) नववर अलवर रत्नभरि रावण पार्वजी रथ करि।
(सिन्हविजय की तीर्थमाला, पृ. १००)
(उ) अलवर रावण रमणियो जीरा नौली होतुं जाने देव।
(शांतिकुशल का गौड़पार्वतस्वत)

No. 53.

See No. 5.

संवत् १५४८ वैसाख नित्य प्रणमति।
No. 54

Praśasti of the Manuscript No. 153 of the Pātodi kā Sāstrabhandāra, Jaipur.

वर्षमानकाल, ले. ० जयमिन, सं. १६५५।

सं. १६५५ वर्ष वैशाख सुदी ३ शुक्लवारे मृगसीर मूलवंशे श्रीकुंद-कुंवावरे तल्लटे भट्टारक श्रीगुणमद्र तल्लटे भट्टारक श्रीमलिमूरणतः तल्लटे भट्टारक श्रीस्मानवंशे तल्लटे भट्टारक श्रीस्मानवंशे विसीमदत्वे तालाये अचावतीमद्र महादुरगिू श्रीमन्नारायणवलये कल्याणा-वर्ष महाराजविराज महाराज श्रीमान्नारायणवलये अजभे धीरा तत्त्वायने वारावे तत्त्व चत्त्वार प्रथम पुन सा...। अषोर्ण।

No. 55.

Manuscript No. 6 in the Sāstrabhandāra, Dīga.

थहुगुणि वल्लुजा, घुम चंद्र १६६९ मार्गसिक के शासनकाल मे अभिषे मे प्रतिलिपि हुई। वाई किसाने ने ब्राह्मणम ने बदाई।

No. 56.

Inscription on the Copper Yantra in the Jaina Temple of Tholiyas, Jaipur.

सं. १६५५ वर्ष मार्गसिकसम्म अंदवातीवास्तवे राजी श्री मार्गसिकहरामे श्रीमन्नारायणवलये श्रीमूलाङि तत्त्वाये विसीमदत्वे सरस्वतीगच्छे कुन्दकुंवावरे द्वाररणे श्रीमलिमूरणतः तल्लटे भट्टारक श्रीस्मानवंशे तल्लटे भट्टारक श्रीस्मानवंशे विसीमदत्वे तालाये अचावतीमद्र महादुरगिू श्रीमन्नारायणवलये पाटनीगोंते सा दानु मार्गी दानविरि मुनिव्र हो मो १० जिनं, दूधा पुरुवसतव रघुकल्लवलये टॉम्पलगोते सा तानु मार्गी मो १० मार्गी तारामदे ही लहुडी तत्त पुवास्तव: मो साथौ कोसा मार्गी हे मार्गी कृषीदे हि हलुडी तत्त्वम हि मो १० जसरं, हि मो तेजा, मार्गी दिम्बुवनदे हि बि मो गंगराज हि मो साथौ रानु भाौ रायदे तत्त्वानकः मो साथौ नेता मार्गी नामये हि मो साथौ जेता तद्भवले जेतलं... हि गंगवास एतेपं मध्ये सादू श्री मार्गसिकहरामे इंद्र ययं कारापित कर्मवय-निमित्त।
No. 57.

Praśasti of the Manuscript No. 104 of Pāṭodi kā Śastra-bhaṇḍāra, Jaipur.

लिखित १६९७ वर्ष असाध विद्यमान विभवकार सराजकावीर श्री जैनि जीत्रामन्दित्यायुण श्रीवर्मां विभवमायुण लिखित संदृश्य संडिक जीत्रामवर्मान्दित्यायुण जी पदनाथः। लिखित जोती अटिराज।

No. 58.

Praśasti of the Manuscript No. 155 of the Pāṭodi kā Śastrabhaṇḍāra, Jaipur.

लिखित १७२१ वर्ष आसोजबार ७ शुभदिने आमेरमये लिखित याचार्य श्रीमहेंद्रकृष्णायुण जी। लिखित जोती श्रीवर।

No. 59.

Inscription in the Jaina temple of Jaipur.

लिखित १७९६ वर्ष चैत वर्षे ६ सोमे श्रीमूलसंघे नंदामये बलाकार गणे सरस्वतीमण्डले युववंद्रायुणे मो श्रीमहेन्द्रकृष्णायुणे मो श्रीदेवेन्द्र कृतित्वसाही श्रीमहेन्द्रकृष्णायुणे अयुणवालान्ये गर्भायुणे सा समये तद्भायाय फलत पुरा सा केवले भार्यां परिमला तत्तुजः सा नदरम तद्भायाय सहोदर लयः पुनर्सङ्करः प्रधान द्याती तत्तु माता महती द्वितीय पुत्र संहिता जगसिद्ध तत्तु भार्यां निरमला लयः वृत्त चिरंजीव जीवदास तृतीय पुत्र सात्ता हरिसिद्ध तत्तु भार्यां जनकवर एतेर मध्ये संघातिप्रमोदः श्रीमहेन्द्रकृष्णायुणे विभवत्सले व्युट्विसचषणे द्वितीयपुरभुजे नित्य प्रतिष्ठापिता संघातिप्रमोदः श्री जगसिद्ध नित्य प्रभुमति।

No. 60.

Inscription on the Yantra in the Temple of Chaudharis, Jaipur.

लिखित १७३२ वर्ष ज्येष्ठ गुडी २ श्रीमूलसंघे मद्दर्कार श्रीमहेन्द्र कृतित्व सुमामये भे वालान्ये गृहपञ्चालि जी संहिता श्रीनर्दर श्री सुखानन्द
ता बारेर वास्तव में साह श्रीवासीराम तस्म र्मी घोटम्दे तवो: पुनरा द्वी प्रथम पुज पादोराम तस्म र्मी जोगोदे द्वितिय पुज रायकरण एवं प्रतिभा सम्मेद शहले कारिता।

No. 61.

नंद खंडेलवाल है अंबावती की वासी।
सुत विलंबार गोल है रावत मत है कृपण उपासी।

No. 62.

Praśasti Samgraha, pp. 278-279. The poet describes the fort, markets, streets and people of Amber in a praśasti of his work.

अंबावती गढ़ सोमिला गिर वीच वसे अपार।
कोट दुरेज भर कांगुरा दरवाजा वहसार।
वाजार सोहे छोपड़ उणा विविच की वस्त अपारतों।
पांडवर मरिया सवे मणि माणिक मोती परवारती।

No. 63.

कोटिरतसूरि विवाला में नगर का वर्णन—
देश महमंडल, खलिज बलि उज्जलतम महिम्मेलई भासंति भाल।
तिलुकजिम सोहे चढ़े जन मोहर तिहं महेन्द्रपुरे विवाल।
लोग बनवन गुणवंत सुविशाल, निकामणी सहमाद वा रस सत्य।
दीसई जनपुर जनपुरदस्तुपुर सोगां महरसीरींवंशाल।
संतीजिन जीरजण इन भवन घयवं मिसिण तज्जुपंतो दरम सोहसत।
साहजिन मणिय गुण अणादिण गाजाए, राजराउपिणघममभत।

No. 64.

कोटिरत सौरि—
महिमंडल पयउद घणिरिढ नवर नय वहसत्त।

No. 65.

Inscription on the bandarvāla of a Jaina temple, Sāṅgāner.

संवत् १००१ लिखितं प० तेजा शिण्ड आचार्य पूणंचन्द्र।
Appendix

No. 66.

Inscription on the pillar discovered at Amvala near Pratapgarh.

तैन उत्तररखितेन सारीकलीनेन पोणुतेन स स भागलेन भगवता अपरकआवासिना सबेसु लोकं सु सुतकोतिनो भगवता सेलाभुजा कारिता भगवता आपराता पुटेन तस पुत्र सभामहसं ।
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