

***Jagadūcarita* of Sarvānanda: Relocating the Text**

Synopsis of the PhD Thesis (Arts)

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Abbreviations Used

BCE	:	Before Common Era
c.	:	Circa
CE	:	Common Era
ed.	:	Edition
Ed.	:	Editor
EI	:	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i>
HCSL	:	<i>History of Classical Sanskrit Literature</i>
IA	:	<i>Indian Antiquary</i>
MS./ MSS.	:	Manuscript/ Manuscripts
P/ PP	:	Page/ Pages
Prnt	:	Printed
Pub.	:	Published
Rpt. /rpt.	:	Reprint/ reprint
v/ vv	:	verse/ verses
Vol.	:	Volume
VS	:	Vikrama Samvat

Synopsis of the PhD thesis entitled

Jagaḍūcarita of Sarvāṇanda: Relocating the Text

1. Introduction:

1.1. Introduction to the Research work: The *Jagaḍūcarita*, a late fourteenth century Sanskrit historical poetry from Gujarat, composed by a Jain poet named Sarvāṇanda¹ Sūri in the form of a *mahākāvya*, is a panegyric of the thirteenth-century Jagaḍū or Jagadeva², a wealthy and famous Jain merchant of Bhadreshwar on the Kutch coast of Gujarat. It is perhaps the earliest of the cycle of stories and legends that gathered round its hero, Jagaḍū, who instead of being the usual king or minister, is a simple merchant. So, it claims a unique position in the field of Sanskrit 'historical' *kāvya*s (also termed *carita*-s by historians of literature), as it has its central character as a merchant, not a ruler (king) or a minister. The composer of this narrative, Sarvāṇanda Sūri chose to compose this Sanskrit poetry describing the life and the philanthropic deeds of merchant Jagaḍū instead of resorting to any Jain mythical hero. Actually, there was an emerging trend of *kāvya* literature in the Jain circle from about eighth century which were devoted mainly to Jain preachers. The Jain monks employed court poetry for religious propaganda and their *kāvya*s belong to the narrative literature or as they deal with holy places and the legends associated with them, to the category known as *māhātmyas*, i.e., works describing great men or places of pilgrimage. Whereas Sarvāṇanda Sūri selected his theme from the life of a wealthy merchant named Jagaḍū, the political engagement of him with the Caulukya rulers of his time, his active participation in building a new city wall for his native town and his great role for mitigating widespread distress in the terrible famine of 1256-1258 CE in Gujarat. Therefore, the nature of composition is different from that of the contemporary writings of Jain poets. Though the poet had an intention to promote Jainism through his composition based on the life and works of Jagaḍū, who was also a lay disciple of Jainism. From a different view the work was meant to strengthen the Jain religion during the transitional period experiencing co-existence of Islam and 'Hinduism' in 13th century Gujarat.

1.2. About the Text: The work *Jagaḍūcarita*, comprising of seven cantos and 388 verses, is designated a *mahākāvya* by the poet himself in each of the intermediate colophons marking the end of the chapters.³ Though it shows some deficiencies in the matter of language, proficiency in poetics and metrics is not generally missing in

contemporary Jain verse legends. This *carita kāvya* possesses characteristics of both Jain and Brahmanical compositions. It has same character and poetic merit as the Sanskrit poems of other Jain monks of the twelfth and later centuries CE. Although the poet had a keen intention to have his composition considered as a Brahmanical *kāvya*, he has worked out all poetic treatments found in Brahmanical literature. In order to simulate a Brahmanical *kāvya*, he carefully avoids all allusions to Jain legends and doctrines and substitutes those with the illustrations of the hero's greatness and goodness from the Sanskrit Epics and Brahmanical history. But sometimes the result of this slavish imitation of the Brahmanical *kāvyas* proves harmful for the aesthetic aspect. With the *alamkāras* or figures of speech Sarvāṇanda seems to face considerable trouble. So he does not venture beyond the easier and common ones, such as *Upamā*, *Rūpaka*, *Utprekṣā*, *Śleṣa* and *Atiśayokti*. However, Sarvāṇanda has used variety of metres besides the more regular ones in every *sarga*.

1.3. Historical Importance of the Text: Apart from the literary and linguistic features, the content of *Jagaḍūcarita* is much more interesting in reflecting a real picture of contemporary Gujarat and in particular its maritime trade relation with West Asian countries, particularly Arabia. *Jagaḍūcarita* reflects a transitional condition in the political, social and religious domain of the thirteenth century Gujarat. The political, social, maritime and religious history can be traced through a perusal of the text. It must, however, be admitted that every narration of the text is not a piece of historical importance. There are many legends with no historical significance as such which make it difficult to pick up sober historical accounts of political, social and religious importance. In the present dissertation an attempt is made to sieve out the reliable information to situate the text in its true historical perspective. Here are some glimpses of relevant historical information:

- The *Jagaḍūcarita* mentions port Hormuz on the Persian Gulf, where the merchant prince Jagaḍū is known to have been running trade with Persia with the help of an Indian agent named Jayantasimha stationed at Hormuz. It is an unmistakable evidence of the presence of Indian merchants at Hormuz and the cordial relations between 'Hindu' and (Arab) Muslim communities in an Islam dominated area.
- Apart from controlling a vast maritime trade empire and maintaining and extending contacts with merchants of West Asia, Jagaḍū was a devoted Jain. He made benefactions when a terrible famine afflicted Gujarat (c.1256-1258 CE) with no religious discrimination.

- Jagaḍū was also a patron of religious shrines and built not only Jain temples but also a *masīti* or mosque for the Ismā'ili community at Bhadreshwar. The author uses the term *mlecchalakṣmīkāranataḥ* while referring to the reason for building the mosque, indicating that the trade with the *mleccha* (foreigner) was Jagaḍū's source of wealth and this was his acknowledgement and thanks giving.

2. Objectives of the Research:

2.1. The Objective: The references of *Jagaḍūcarita* are profusely quoted and referred in many books and articles relating to contemporary history of Gujarat and its maritime activities in the thirteenth century with the Arab countries across the Indian Ocean. The text is specially utilized to show the amiable relationship between different religious groups in thirteenth century Gujarat after several Islamic attacks. Only a few works are there which contain mainly a general discourse on the text or contain only the text without annotation or commentary. There is no comprehensive work encompassing the full text and detailed discussion on the importance of the text from various perspectives. I, therefore, started to contemplate higher research on this subject which may culminate in my PhD thesis.

2.2. Inspiration and purpose of the Research: While working on my M.Phil. Dissertation, I first found the mention of *Jagaḍūcarita* in an essay authored by Prof. Ranabir Chakravarti which is based on the bilingual (Sanskrit and Arabic) Veraval inscription (1264 CE). The said inscription speaks of a Hormuzi *Nākhudā* (ship owner), who came to Somnath with some business. It kindled my interest for further study on this work and I could somehow manage to get hold of the text of *Jagaḍūcarita* (Nirṇaya Sāgara, Ātmānanda Jain Sabhā, Ambala, 1925 CE) and a thorough internet search revealed that G. Bühler had edited a considerable portion of it in the year 1892 which has been published in *Indian Studies*, No.1, Wien: Akademie der Wissenschaften. But apart from these two, no other edition of this work is available, though it is an important source for contemporary history of Gujarat. So, when I started researching on the subject, my work demanded an edited full text of *Jagaḍūcarita* and a comprehensive discussion highlighting its socio-political and religious importance with special focus on the amiable cultural and religious relationship of the different religious communities in Gujarat during this time.

2.3. The Aim: My aim in this regard of this research work are to relocate the text:

- i) In the sphere of *carita kāvyas*, both Brahmanical and Jain

- ii) In the sphere of *mahākāvya*s
- iii) As a literary product of the 14th century India
- iv) As a text with an extraordinary content reflecting interaction and mutual regard between traders which transcended all business relations, religious affiliations as well as political loyalties.
- v) Comparative study with other similar accounts. That Jagaḍū was a historical figure may be asserted with certainty. Several Jain writers have told the story of Jagaḍū in a number of accounts. Śubhaśīla's (fifteenth century Jain writer) *Pañcaśatīprabodhasambandha* is one of the most dependent accounts among them. The incidents described here, sometimes differ from the statements made by Sarvāṇanda in his *Jagaḍūcarita*. My effort had included a comparative study of *Jagaḍūcarita* with the above mentioned work and other works available during the concerned time.

3. Review of Existing Literature:

Following is a review of the existing literature for the historical romance *Jagaḍūcarita*, on which the research work is based. The sources which contain the edited text of the poetry are considered primary sources. The literature which contain critical discourse about the text are considered secondary ones.

3.1. Primary Sources of the Text:

3.1.1. G. Bühler first published an article bearing the title "The Jagaḍūcharita of Sarvāṇanda, a historical romance from Gujarat" in *Indian Studies*, No. 1 in the series *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-Hisrotischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Wien: F. Tempsky) in the year 1892. His essay was based on the manuscript which was collected by him between the years 1863 and 1888 during his visit to Indian subcontinent and later he presented the manuscript to India Office Library. In an article written by him in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLII, p. 551, he has listed this manuscript (Sanskrit MSS. Bühler, No. 291, fols.10). Bühler has mentioned in his article that this manuscript was kindly lent to him in 1876 CE by Rāo Sāheb Dalpatrām P. Khakhar, then Educational Inspector of Kutch, who of late has sanctioned its presentation to the Indian office.⁴ He has not also forgot to mention that the MS., on which his essay in the *Indian studies*, Vol. I is based, is a modern, but very correct copy, made for Mr. Khakhar from an old MS., belonging to a Jain *Yati* in Bhuj.⁵ In this

article of Bühler, there is no complete translation of the text and only an outline of the content of the text is drawn by him.

3.1.2. Later, in the year 1925, the text of *Jagaḍūcarita* of Sarvānanda Sūri was published by Nirṇaya Sāgara, Ātmānanda Jain Sabhā, Ambala in the name of *Śrīmajjagaḍūcaritamahākāvya* edited by Śrī Umaṅgavijaya Gaṇī in the series named Śrī Ātmavallabha Grantha Series. No 6. It contains merely the main text of the *carita*. There is no translation or any comments about the text.

3.2. Secondary Sources for the discourse of the Text:

For the discourse on the text *Jagaḍūcarita* (fourteenth century CE), the contemporary literature written on the history of medieval Gujarat is considered as the secondary sources for the proposed research work. The book of A.K. Majumdar⁶ is an indispensable reference for the history of ruling Caulukya dynasty of Gujarat in the time of Jagaḍū. The next major works on medieval Gujarat focusing the Islamic conquest were monographs by S.C. Misra⁷ and S.A.I. Tirmizi.⁸ For the economic history, the book of V.K. Jain's book⁹ is a helpful testimonial. For the study of religious history of that time especially Jainism, Paul Dundas *The Jains* is a good reading. An unpublished thesis "State and Society in Gujarat, c. 1200-1500: The Making of a Region" by Samira Sheikh (Wolfson College, Oxford University) has put the reference of *Jagaḍūcarita* to show the relation between trade and politics in Kutch.

These Primary and secondary sources and other web sources have been used for reconstructing the text *Jagaḍūcarita* along with the history of contemporary Gujarat, but the target area of this dissertation is completely different from these sources. The work of Bühler has direct contribution in this research work but the intention of this research is to relocate the text *Jagaḍūcarita* from different points of view to proclaim the importance of it in a very sensitive time period of Gujarat's history. The secondary sources have very minor contribution in the present research work as the area of research has a holistic view based on the text *Jagaḍūcarita*, whereas the secondary sources are dispersed in their area. Under these circumstances, the dissertation has the purpose to relocate the present text sketching the political, social, religious importance and also the literary significance of it.

4. Chapter Design:

4.1. Name of the Chapters:

The present research work is divided into five chapters along with two appendixes. The chapter arrangement is as follows:

Chapter 1: Introduction

Chapter 2: About the Text and the Author

Chapter 3: Edited and Annotated text

Chapter 4: Political, Social and Religious Importance of the Text

Chapter 5: Concluding Remarks

Appendix I: Linguistic Features of the Text

Appendix II: Gallery of Images

4.2. Summary of the Chapters:

4.2.1. Chapter 1: Introduction

4.2.1.1. Introducing the topic: Introducing the research topic by providing a brief conceptual note should be provided in the very beginning of the dissertation. For this research work, the primary concept about the text *Jagaḍūcarita* has been given. It has been discussed that though it is belonged to the category of *carita kāvya*, *Jagaḍūcarita* is different from others in this category due to its central character who is a merchant, not a king or a minister. The historically important incidents described in the text about the hero of the narrative make it a vital document for knowing thirteenth century Gujarat. Jagaḍū, the Jain merchant and ship-owner was an important person in the trade with Arabs. He is said to have been extremely wealthy, trading with Hormuz, and this allowed him to compete with the Arab merchants from Khambat, although his base was in Kutch, Gujarat. He is said to have governed the city of Bhadreshwar through a royal charter of the Caulukyas.¹⁰ Before Jagaḍū ruled over the city, Pīṭhadeva of Sind attacked it. Jagaḍū was involved with an extensive reconstruction of the city which was destroyed by Pīṭhadeva. In few instances described in the text, the humanitarian face of this wealthy merchant was manifested preventing against the terrible famine in Gujarat during the year 1256-1258 CE. He also reconstructed fort walls, tanks, well etc. for the sake of the local inhabitants or the preachers. His role in religious activities also portrays a further side of the mercantile ethos which helps delve into the social and religious scenario of that time and relocate the text in various perspectives.

4.2.1.2. Review of Sources: After introducing the topic of research and the importance of it, the review of the sources has been presented. The primary sources of the text, the secondary source literature and inadequacy of the existing literature for a full knowledge of the nature of the text have been stated. It is also noted down that how the sources inspired and helped contemplate the research work and what insufficiencies therein stimulated the urge for situating and relocating the text. Thus the present research work may humbly promise to make an attempt to fill up the lacuna of the previously mentioned sources and to produce a comprehensive study of the text *Jagaḍūcarita*.

4.2.1.3. Historiography: The references where the text *Jagaḍūcarita* is mentioned are put together in this section. The books dealing with the history of classical Sanskrit literature just introduce the *Jagaḍūcarita* as a *carita kāvya*. Nothing much is found there. Keith has introduced it as “a panegyric of a pious Jain layman who aided his townfolk by building new walls and affording them great support in the terrible famine of 1256-58 in Gujarat”.¹¹ S.N. Dasgupta and S.K. Dey has categorized it under the historical kāvyas and noted that the life and good deeds of a merchant Jagaḍū extolled in Sarvānanda’s *Jagaḍū-carita* written in the 14th century.¹² Apart from the works on the history of Sanskrit literature, A.K. Majumdar’s book *The Chaulukyas of Gujarat* has recorded the history of Caulukya kings who reigned Gujarat in the time of Jagaḍū. It is an essential source of Caulukya history. Samira Seikh has also spent a considerable part of her thesis named “State and Society in Gujarat, c. 1200-1500: The Making of a Region” (Wolfson College, Oxford University) to discuss the importance of the text *Jagaḍūcarita*. Ranabir Chakravarti’s essay “Nakhudas and Nauvittakas: Ship-Owing Merchants in the West Coast of India (C. AD 1000-1500)” in *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, (Vol. 43, No.1, 2000) is a worth reading. But all these sources put together are not sufficient to evaluate the text properly for the lack of their integrated approach. Actually it demands a micro-study of the text as a document of significance for discussing the political, social and religious history of 13th century Gujarat and also as a piece of literary composition by a Jain poet of the 14th century.

4.2.1.4. Aim and Objective: It has been stated earlier that there have been several mentions about *Jagaḍūcarita*, but there is not any complete work on it discussing the importance along with the main text. The present research work aims to give an edited text of *Jagaḍūcarita* and to highlight the historicity of the narrative. To relocate the text in the

sphere of *carita kāvya* and *mahākāvya* and as a literary product of fourteenth century India are the objectives of this research.

4.2.1.5. Methodology of this Research Work:

The research methodology followed in this dissertation is elaborated in this portion.

a. while preparing the edited text of *Jagaḍūcarita*, the two printed materials (1. the text given by Bühler is a little portion of the main text which is extracted from the MS.¹³ and 2. the full text published by Nirṇaya Sāgara Press) are collated and the foot notes are given where readings differ or any comment is needed.

b. The chapter division is done broadly. There are sub topics and themes discussed under the chapters.

c. The proper names of popular places are used according to the modern day spellings.

d. In this thesis “Times New Roman” font face with font size 12 and line spacing 1.5 are used. However, for editing text the font face (style) “Barāha Devanāgarī” with size 14 and line spacing 1.5 are used.

e. The Reference Bibliography has been prepared as per MLA handbook. Since most of the materials used in this thesis were in print format, in the Reference Bibliography the term ‘Print’ is not mentioned in each citation. The ‘pdf’ format of works wherever used is mentioned.

4.2.2. Chapter 2: About the Text and the Author

4.2.2.1. Jagaḍū’s time: The *Jagaḍūcarita* is composed by a Jain poet named Sarvāṇanda Surī centering the main character Jagaḍū, a wealthy merchant of Gujarat. In an attempt to relocate the text from different points of view, it is the first and foremost task to determine the time of Jagaḍū, the central character of the text and also the time when the text was composed by the poet Sarvāṇanda Surī. There is neither any clear mention of the time of Jagaḍū nor the author of this narrative anywhere within the text. In this sub-topic, an effort is made towards accumulating and analyzing the information found from the text to suggest an acceptable time of Jagaḍū. Jagaḍū’s remarkable activities described in the text in collation with other related sources about him help form an idea about his time.

a. Jagaḍū or Jagadeva, the fabulous Jain business magnate of Bhadrashwar, whom the Jains revered as one of the role models of their community, could have flourished between the first half and the beginning of the second half of the thirteenth century CE. It seems plausible from few instances described in the text. Jagaḍū had an encounter with Pīṭhadeva, the Sumrā chief of Pāra or Pārkar, a peninsula on the north-east side of Kutch,

The merchant Jagaḍū, as he became a prominent citizen, wished to rebuild the walls of his native town in order to secure it against further attacks. Jagaḍū then made an appeal to the ruler Lavaṇaprasāda of Aṇahilapāṭaka and his prayer for protection was readily granted, and a Rajput force was sent with him to Bhadreshwar in order to restrain Pīṭhadeva from interfering with the re-fortification of the town. But, the Caulukya force was recalled from Bhadreshwar probably because Gujarat was invaded about this time (c.1229 CE), by Siṅghaṇa, the king of Devagiri. Jagaḍū, then, probably took the assistance of other wealthy inhabitants of Bhadreshwar, and with another army of the town finally he succeeded to reconstruct the city and his activity induced Pīṭhadeva to conclude a peace with the inhabitants of Bhadreshwar. We came to know that Pīṭhadeva's attack commenced during the third decade of the thirteenth century. Thus it naturally follows that Jagaḍū, who had confronted Pīṭhadeva in a struggle, must have flourished during the first half of thirteenth century CE.

b. Mehrdad Shokoohy has mentioned in his book¹⁴ that Jagadeva or Jagaḍū is said to have governed the city of Bhadreshwar through a royal charter of the Caulukyias in the thirteenth century. He is also said to have conquered the *Mudgalas* with an army of Caulukya king and gave peace to the world.¹⁵ The *Mudgalas* are identified as Mughals and probably, the raid was organized against Kutch from Multan by Jālāl-ul-Dīn in 1224 CE.¹⁶ These instances clearly show that Jagaḍū belonged to the thirteen century.

c. During the VS 1313, 1314 and 1315, or about 1256-1258 CE, Gujarat was affected by one of the most terrible famines during the reign of Viśaladeva and when the charity was entirely lacking, Jagaḍū came forward with succor.¹⁷ As a responsible citizen, Jagaḍū showed that charitable disposition which has always distinguished him from other rich merchants. Examining all these sources we may suggest that Jagaḍū must have continued to live till the third quarter of the thirteenth century CE.

4.2.2.2. Time of the composer of the narrative: The author of *Jagaḍūcarita* is Sarvāṇanda Sūri. In the colophon of every chapter there is a clear mention of the poet Sarvāṇanda Sūri as the author of this *mahākāvya* and as a pupil of Dhanaprabha.¹⁸ But apart from the name of the author along with his religious teacher nothing definite is known regarding the time or related matters. It also cannot be traced what sources have been used by the author to compose this narrative about Jagaḍū. However, the internal evidence of the text enables us to determine the date of the author Sarvāṇanda Suri with a fair degree of certainty.

a. Sarvāṇanda's work must have been composed later than the middle of the thirteenth century CE as is evident from two facts. First, Jagaḍū, the central character of his narrative belonged to the second half of the thirteenth century and there are various instances to prove that the poet was not exactly a contemporary of the hero of his poem. Secondly, there is a conspicuous reference to the king Vīśaladeva of Aṇahilavād, who ruled from VS 1302-1320 i.e. c.1244-1264 CE.

There is a description within the narrative of an important historical incident about the terrible famine in Gujarat during the years Vikrama Saṃvat 1313-1315, or about 1256-1258 CE and Jagaḍū's role as a succor in this crisis. Soon after the famine, Jagaḍū died during the reign of Vīśaladeva which falls within 1258 to 1264 CE. Here the question arises whether Sarvāṇanda wrote his narrative immediately after Jagaḍū's death or years later. The narrative describes the complete life of Jagaḍū with various imaginary anecdotes regarding him. However, it is quite natural for the *Carita* writers to describe their heroes' activities with much exaggeration and disproportionate imagination to establish the heroes as divine characters. It is also common with the authors of most of the Gujarat chronicles to transform their mortal heroes into semi-divine beings even if they are their contemporaries. But it seems a bit absurd to think that the *Carita* of Jagaḍū was composed by Sarvāṇanda at a time when Jagaḍū was celebrated as a living legend. Some factors lead us to think that Sarvāṇanda appeared after Jagaḍū and he did not write the *Carita* when Jagaḍū was alive, though he should not be placed much later than the poet. Rather it is quite possible that the extraordinary help made by Jagaḍū was so much remarkable and popular among people that after a few years the public fancy turned the actual figures into an incredible amount. During the time of famine where food is the only need of people, Jagaḍū opened his grain store for everyone and his donation for the people was so prepossessing that his contribution set an example and the amount of the help touched the level of mythology.

b. The poet Sarvāṇanda seems to have committed a mistake regarding the lineage of the Vāghelā kings. If he had lived at the same time as Jagaḍū, he would not do so. It is probable that he lived at a period later than these Vāghelā kings, viz. Vīśaladeva and Arjunadeva, which made him swap the order of the kings and the incidents related to Jagaḍū.

c. Sarvāṇanda has mentioned various details which are confirmed by other contemporary evidences and are credible. Hence he may not have lived many centuries later than the hero of his narrative. Otherwise many historical facts about Jagaḍū could have been distorted after so many years of his death. On the other hand, another account

containing the life of Jagadū, titled *Pañcaśatīprabandhasambandha* written by Śubhaśīlagāṇi (composed in Vikrama Saṃvat 1521 or about 1421 CE), states that Jagadū was a contemporary of Vīśaladeva and alleviated the distress in the famine of 1256 CE. It may be inferred that after two hundred years of Jagadū's life, the historical events dissolved in mist and lost their historical accuracy regarding chronology.

Thus examining the circumstantial evidences we may assign Sarvāṇanda's work to a period near about hundred years after Jagadū's death and this calculation places the work in the second half of the fourteenth century CE.

Being a Jain monk Sarvāṇanda composed a literary piece in the form of a *mahākāvya*, spotlighting the character Jagadū, a merchant who was his senior contemporary, not very far removed in terms of years. It is not sure whether poet Sarvāṇanda was a *kaviyaśahprārthī* or not! But after all he was a Jain who followed all the established Brahmanical poetic conventions. The poet was proficient in Sanskrit grammar, poetics, lexicons and metrics. But it seemed that while using the *alamkāras*, he had some uneasiness which may indicate that he was not a poet by profession. He just wanted to compose a *kāvya* following the Brahmanical tradition. It is possible that the main character of the poem Jagadū was very much popular in Jain tradition and culture and with a wish to make Jagadū known in all spheres and to popularize his deeds to all, Sarvāṇanda took to composing a *mahākāvya* following the Brahmanical poetic style. Actually in order to popularise his work, the poet used all the illustrations and metaphors from the Epics and Brahmanical mythology. He was so particular to follow the trend that he had completely avoided all allusions to Jain legends and doctrines and instead of it, he had used the Brahmanical or Puranic allusions. It is quite obvious that, being a Jain by his religion, Sarvāṇanda composed his narrative by making a merchant as the central character who was also a Jain by religion, but describing his achievements the poet hints that his only purpose was not to preach Jainism but also to popularize Jagadū's story among people and society. More or less hundred years elapsed after Jagadū's death when Sarvāṇanda wrote Jagadū's accounts. So it was popular among people even after a century and the poet indulged himself in the task to make it everlasting and attain poetic fame. The poet Sarvāṇanda was not the court poet of any king of his time. Even if he was a court poet, there is nothing known to us about his patron. Therefore it is also uncertain that by whose encouragement he took the initiative to compose this work.

4.2.2.3. Structure of the text: *Jagadūcarita* is composed by the Jain poet Sarvāṇanda Sūri which is written in Sanskrit language consisting of seven *sargas* and 388 verses. Following

the trend of Sanskrit rhetorics, the chapters of the *mahākāvya* is called *sargas*. The names of the *sargas* and their topics are as follows:

1. *Vīyaṭṭhuprabhṛtipūrvapurūṣavarṇana* – This very first canto gives the lineage of Jagaḍū and describes Vīyaṭṭhu as his ancestor along with other. It contains 45 verses and the chief metre is *Vasantatilaka*.
2. *Bhadreśvarapuravarṇana* – This *sarga* describes the town Bhadreśvara. It contains 28 verses and the chief metre of this *sarga* is *Upajāti*.
3. *Ratnākaradānavyāvarṇana* - The *sarga* mainly tells about the boon conferred by the Ocean to Jagaḍū. It contains 61 verses and the main metre is *Anuṣṭubh*.
4. *Bhadrasuradarśana* - It is about the manifestation of the God Bhadra. It has 36 verses and the chief metre is *Upajāti*. The ms. marks erroneously 35 verses. Verse 27 is left uncounted.
5. *Pīṭhadevanarapatidarpadalana* - The chapter is all about the king Pīṭhadeva's pride. It has 42 verses and *Upajāti* is its chief metre.
6. *Sakalajanasamjīvana* - This chapter produces an account of Jagaḍū's great contribution towards the people of his country during the famine. It has 137 verses. The ms. marks erroneously 136 verses. Verse 116 is not counted. The chief metre is *Anuṣṭubh* here.
7. *Triviṣṭapaprāpaṇa* - The concluding chapter describes Jagaḍū's attainment of heaven. The chapter is consisted of 39 verses and the chief metres are *Pramitākṣara* and *Anuṣṭubh*.

Besides these chief metres, several varieties of metres have been used. Some very popular *alaṅkāras* or figures of speech like *Anuprāsa*, *Rūpaka*, *Utprekṣā*, *Śleṣa*, *Atiśayokti* have been used by the poet.

4.2.2.4. Relocation of the text in the sphere of the so-called *carita kāvyas*: *Kāvya*s centering on a historical character, is designated *carita kāvya*, which is not at all supported by any treaties on Sanskrit rhetorics. The main reason behind coinage of the name is that the word *carita* is appended to the name of the hero of the poem. For example, *Buddhacarita*, *Harṣacarita*, *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*, *Rāmapālacarita*, *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, *Kumārapālacarita* etc. The word *carita* means glorious achievement or famous deeds. The *kāvya*s where the life and achievements of any famous person, usually royal personages, are described are generally called *carita kāvya* by writers of modern times. These narratives were sometimes composed at the behest of or with the permission of the central character, usually a king or an influential celebrity, who were eager to make posterity remember their activities for ever.

When a poet composes a chronicle under the patronage of any king who is the central figure of his composition he is psychologically forced to exaggerate his achievements and ignore historical events. In such circumstances the poet pays little attention to reality and pampers metaphorical expressions and hyperbolic imageries. The present text under investigation, *Jagaḍūcarita*, may be called a *carita kāvya* as it narrates the *carita* or acts or the deeds and achievement of Jagaḍū, the central character of the poem. The hero of the poem is undoubtedly a historical character and he achieved a remarkable place through his acts in his lifetime among the people in his native town. Jagaḍū became so popular that his great deeds have been remembered by the later generations of Gujarat as well as the neighbouring territories. Gradually many other started to compose the life history of Jagaḍū. As already stated Sarvāṇanda Sūri composed the *Jagaḍūcarita* after almost hundred years of Jagaḍū's death. Naturally, the narratives about Jagaḍū have not been presented in true historical manner. The time gap between the hero and the composer of the narrative being nearly hundred years, the author took the advantage of making his composition more like a creative *kāvya* than a representative of sober history, knowing that nobody would ever challenge the veracity of his statements. It should not be lost sight of that no classification of poetry as *carita kāvyas* exists in Sanskrit rhetorics. The poets of these so-called *carita kāvyas* always were sure that they were composing *mahākāvyas*. However, in view of the general characteristics of *carita kāvyas* discussed earlier, *Jagaḍūcarita* may be said to belong to that genre keeping in mind the terminology of the modern writers of history of Sanskrit literature. Bühler has called it a "historical romance". He has not discussed further about the category of this *kāvya*, but mentions that the *carita kāvya* is different from other popular works of this category. In his words "It differs from the other works of the same kind, like the *Śrī-Harshacarita* of Bāṇa, the *Vikramāṅkadevacharita* of Bilhaṇa, the *Kīrtikaumudī* of Someśvara and the *Sukṛitasamkīrtana* of Arisimha, only by its comparatively late origin, by a want of artistic finish and by the circumstance that its hero is not a king or minister, but a simple merchant, who did much for his native town by rebuilding its walls, and for Gujarat by alleviating the wide-spread distress during a terrible famine in A.D. 1256-58."¹⁹

Sarvāṇanda Sūri, the author of *Jagaḍūcarita* was a follower of Jainism. There was an emerging trend of composing *kāvyas* in the Jain circle from about eighth century which were devoted mainly to Jain preachers. Though the people who were confessed to the faith of Mahāvīra mainly wrote these, but the effect was not limited to those of this faith, but

spread over the whole Indian sub-continent. They started religious propaganda through this poetical form. Their works were edifying and aimed at spreading the religious faith. So not all works going under the name of *kāvya*, are considered as of purely literary nature. The Jain poets often enjoyed the patronage of any king or high official at royal courts like their counterparts with Brahmanical faith. When they composed the *kāvyas* centering an actual person their creations are reckoned as historical *kāvyas* in modern terminology. But they may be held historical only in the broad sense of the word. They generally produced the incidents and the characters in favour of their patron and naturally history got compromised there. Actually the main object of these poets was mainly to produce any effectively poetical piece which would help him earn praise and reward from his patron and critics, but not a piece of historical interest. The poets worked on historical themes on the whole but their attempt was to conform to the rhetorical prescriptions.

4.2.2.5. Relocation of the text in the sphere of the *Mahākāvyas*:

Kāvyas may be long or short extentwise and accordingly called *mahākāyas* or *laghukāvyas*.²⁰ The term *mahākāya* is derived from the combination of two words, viz., *mahat* (big) and *kāvya* (poetry). Thus the word *mahākāya* stands for a big poem. The *mahākāya* as an extensive and an elevated poetic endeavour, probably came to be regarded as the highest type of composition and as the indispensable test of a great poet.

The word *mahākāya* is essentially described as *sargabandha*. Almost all the Sanskrit rhetoricians have accepted the term *sargabandha* in their definitions of the *mahākāya*. According to many scholars it is Bhāmaha who comes first with the definition of a *mahākāya*. After that Daṇḍin in his *Kāvyaḍarśa* has framed the definition of *mahākāya* (though the chronological order of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin is debated till date). The poet Sarvāṇanda has followed the characteristics given by Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. Another popular Sanskrit rhetoric work *Sāhityadarpaṇa* by Viśvanātha is probably composed after Sarvāṇanda's time. According to him, a *mahākāya* should be divided into *sargas*, not less than eight, which is not maintained in *Jagaḍūcarita*. The characteristics of the hero, the story, the *rasa* (sentiment), the style of writing, the narration, the metre, the descriptions according to the Sanskrit rhetoric is identified thoroughly with the *Jagaḍūcarita* to relocate it in the sphere of *mahākāya*. As already pointed out the poet is not comfortable with complex *alamkāras*. There are also occasional violations of grammatical rules and use of wrong words. As expletives, which merely serve to make up the verse, Sarvāṇanda uses

ca, tu, hi, atha, kila, tadānīm, sutarām and like, and he is much more liberal with them which does not help his composition become a great poetry.

4.2.2.6. Comparative study of the text with other similar accounts:

In this sub topic, other accounts about Jagaḍū, who was so much involved in philanthropic services for the people of Bhadreshwar in Kutch have been discussed. Many Jain writers have told the story of Jagaḍū. Within these accounts a few historical events can be traced amidst of the absurd legends and can be compared with the account under discussion. Among such accounts may be mentioned *Pañcaśatīprabodhasaṃbandha* composed by Śubhaśīlagaṇi, composed in VS 1521 or 1463-1464 CE. The eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth *saṃbandhas* of this composition contain a version of Jagaḍū's story in a haphazard mixture of Gujarati and Sanskrit.

Śubhaśīlagaṇi's *Pañcaśatīprabodhasaṃbandha*, which is evidently different from *Jagaḍūcarita* is full of absurd legends. It may be that a long interval of time, turned the story of Jagaḍū into myth. The latter is composed much earlier than the former and the poet Sarvāṇanda had access of more reliable sources of the story than Śubhaśīlagaṇi. Some instances are discussed in this portion for substantiating the point. Another account of Jagaḍū by Kantavijaya has been compared with the narration of Sarvāṇanda to get a clear picture about the differences between history and legends about Jagaḍū.

4.2.3. Chapter 3: Edited and Annotated Text

In this chapter, the edited text of *Jagaḍūcarita* of Sarvāṇanada Sūri has been prepared collating two primary source texts of the proposed work as mentioned earlier. The complete text of *Jagaḍūcarita*, published by Nirṇaya Sāgara press (1925 CE) is labelled as MS. A. The extract of the text by Bühler is labelled as MS. B. Seven cantos and 388 verses of the text are given with comments in the foot note. The verses where only one source text is available, few readings are suggested for the grammatical mistakes or any other irregularity. A summary of every canto is given after the edited text. The text of Śubhaśīlagaṇi's three *saṃbandhas* of *Pañcaśatīprabodhasaṃbandha* by Śubhaśīlagaṇi have been given also with a summary of it.

4.2.4. Chapter 4: Political, Religious and Social Importance of the Text

In the introductory part of this chapter, it is discussed comprehensively that the text *Jagaḍūcarita* reflects a transitional condition in the political, social and religious domain of the thirteenth century Gujarat. After that the political, religious and social importance of

the text is discussed with references to available information. Every narration of the text is not a piece of historical importance. There are many legends with no historical significance which make it difficult for the researcher to separate sober historical accounts of political, social and religious importance from fantasy. The present discussion of the chapter is an attempt to sieve out the reliable information to situate the text in its true historical perspective.

4.2.4.1. Political Importance of the Text:

a. As regards the details of political interest contained in the text, some incidental notes bearing on the history of Kutch, have been discussed first. Kutch is a district of Gujarat in present western India. Gujarat does not owe less to its structure, but it owes much of its complex culture to its position. Geographically, there are two divisions of Gujarat, Coastal and Peninsular. At present, Kutch, the largest district of India has a geographically unique position in the map of India. Kutch, literally means something which recurrently becomes wet and dry and in Sanskrit origin, the word is also used for a tortoise. The Gulf of Kutch and the Arabian Sea to the south and west has surrounded the Kutch district. A shallow wetland submerged in water during the rainy season that becomes dry during other seasons is known as the Rann of Kutch.²¹ Kathiawar is a peninsula and it is situated in the west coast of India, bordering the Arabian Sea. The Gulf of Kutch in the north-west and the Gulf of Cambay in the east bounded. It is connected to the rest of Gujarat in the north-east and borders on the low, fertile hinterland of Ahmedabad.²² Kathiawar is known to be a very famous port from ancient time.

Bhadreshwar, the site is located in Kutch district, on the north-east of the Gulf of Kutch. Bhadreshwar is the site of the ancient city of Bhadrāvati. It has been known since the mediaeval period. The city is situated very near the sea coast (over one kilometer north), 20 kilometers north-east of Mundra Taluka and 36 kilometers east of Mandvi.²³ Several Islamic historians have also recorded the fact that Kutch is the only district of India known from the ancient time to have an excellent breed of horses of Arabian race. As a port of the Kutch, the Bhadrāvati may have the possibilities to get a connection to have Arabian horses. Also this horse's connection may be comparable in origin to the *Mahābhāra*'s story. Ptolemy in the 2nd century CE and Al-Birūnī in the 10th century CE have also mentioned the city. Ptolemy has mentioned it as Bardaxena and Al- Birūnī described it as Bhadra along with Kutch, which is likely to be Bhadravāti. Al- Birūnī has referred to

Bhadra as a state, not as a city, which is interestingly comparable to the information of *Bantvijaya Chronicle* that from the very ancient time to the mediaeval period the city was an independent state.²⁴

b. From verse 47 of the sixth sarga, it appears that there were two tanks at Bhadreshwar constructed by Kumāra and Mūlarāja. Kumāra, no doubt, stands for Kumārapāla. Both the persons named are in all probability Caulukya kings of Gujarat, who, as known from other sources too, held sway over at least the eastern portion of Kutch, the Vāgaḍa district. Another important information is conveyed by verses 4 and 27 of the fifth *sarga* that the walls of Bhadreshwar had been built by Bhīmadeva, the chief ornament of the Caulukya race. The identity of these kings have been discussed thoroughly with reference to relevant sources. As far as the Vāghelā period is concerned, the succession of the first three princes Lavaṇaprasāda, Vīradhavalā and Vīsaladeva has been given correctly. The facts, known from other sources, make it also credible that Jagaḍū found on his first visit to Aṅhilvād Lavaṇaprasāda in power as regent while during his second visit Vīsaladeva was on the throne.

The kings Mūlarāja I and Kumārapāla, throw some light on the political importance of the text *Jagaḍūcarita*. First, the king Mūlarāja I ruled over the extreme east of the Kutch and the city Bhadreshwar was an important place where he decided to dig a tank probably for arranging the water supply of the area. The inhabitants of the city needed another tank after 200 years later because, probably the number of inhabitants increased during the time. So king Kumārapāla dug another tank in the city. It is also proved that the Kutch area was under the Caulukya rule in the time of Kumārapāla also from the time it was owned by the king Mūlarāja I. Jagaḍū caused to be made a square well in connection with these two tanks. It is assumed that the two tanks were adjacent and the inhabitants of the city needed a well for the daily use which was fulfilled by Jagaḍū.

c. Even more important for the character of Sarvāṇanda's *carita* and even more interesting for the history of Western India is Pīṭhadeva, the king of the Pāra country. The identification of the Pāra county and the encounter between Jagaḍū and Pīṭhadeva along with the incident of rebuilding the walls of Jagaḍū's native town in order to make it secure against further attacks from the Sumrā chief Pīṭhadeva have been discussed in detail. The *Jagaḍūcarita* has preserved the name of a Sumrā king and corroborates the account of the Sumrā dynasty given in the *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh*. It also confirms the time of Pīṭhadeva or Phatū mentioned in the *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh*. The account, *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh* has registered that Phatū has reigned for 33 years which is 1197-1230 CE. According to

the *Jagaḍūcarita*, Pīṭhadeva invaded kutch and died there. So, his invasion was probably before some time before of 1230 CE. Jagaḍū sought help from the king Lavanaprasada to resist the attack of Pīṭhadeva. The last date known of the Vāghelā ruler Lavanaprasada was 1231 CE. So it is exactly the same period which is mentioned in these two sources. The other accounts such as *Tārīkh-ī-M'ausūmī*, *Tuhfatul-Kirām*, which has not produced the right time about Pitthu or Pahtū also confirmed by the *Jagaḍūcarita*. This is a remarkable fact, because hitherto the Sumrās have not been traced in any Indian work.

d. Jagaḍū's position appears to have been at this period even more important than that of a Nagaraśeṭh or head of the mercantile community. Though perhaps not officially appointed, he must have been the de facto civil governor of Bhadreshwar and have acted as such with the consent of the rulers of Gujarat. Jagaḍū wanted to re-fortification of his town to ensure the safety of it. Being a very responsible and wealthy citizen, it was his duty to protect the town from further attack. His appeal for seeking the help to rebuild the rampart was immediately granted by the ruler Lavaṇaprasāda of Aṇahila pāṭaka. Eastern Kutch as far as Bhadreshwar was held by the Caulukyās for some centuries. So it was also the primary duty of the ruler Lavaṇaprasada to help in rebuilding the walls of the rampart within his kingdom. But it is also notable here that Jagaḍū certainly was such a prominent and wealthy powerful merchant of Gujarat at that time, so that Lavaṇaprasāda readily granted his appeal and sent a Caulukya army immediately. Being a very powerful and wealthy merchant of that town, he had that capacity to make agree the ruler for supporting the refortification of the town. Actually, there was a considerable increase of power and status of the merchants during thirteenth century Gujarat. They actively participated in politics, also sometimes very important decision maker for the state and they used to play a crucial role to protect the country from different invasions by the foreigners. Vastupāla, the minister of Lavaṇaprasāda was also a merchant. Many chronicles and inscriptions describe him and his brother Tejaḥpāla's political activities and power. The merchants of Gujarat were transformed acquiring skills beyond their traditional role of business starting from the 10th century CE. The text *Jagaḍūcarita* also produces such information which confirms that the merchants only not dominated the economic sphere but also wielded influence and power in political affairs. Thus the text *Jagaḍūcarita* can be relocated with a special reference of all such historical events it produces in the sphere of thirteenth century political history of Gujarat.

4.2.4.2. Religious Importance of the Text: An attempt has been made in the following discourse to give an account of the religious importance of the text *Jagaḍūcarita*. The central character of the text, Jagaḍū belongs in the thirteenth century Gujarat and possibly the text was composed after hundred years of Jagaḍū's time, which coincides with the second half of the fourteenth century. This is the period of transition intervening between the declines of 'Hindu' and starting of Muslim period in Indian mediaeval history. The text narrates many incidents which confirm that the text is a piece of importance in the religious history of mediaeval India and it can be relocated in the sphere of religious perspective with special reference to the amiable cultural and religious relationship among the different religious communities in Gujarat during this time. It also portrays a complex settlement between trade and religion which helps review the text from the socio-politico-religious perspective of the said time.

a. Jagaḍū was a Jain by faith. It is known from the narrative of Sarvāṇanada that the ancestors of Jagaḍū were also the devotees of Jainism. They are said to have belonged to the Śrīmalī group, which is an important Jain mercantile caste of Śvetāmbara affiliation, mainly concentrated in Rajasthan and Gujarat. This caste is also found among the Hindus, hailing from Śrīmāla in Rajasthan. Paramadeva, a pious monk of the *Pūrṇimā gachchha* is said to be the spiritual director of Jagaḍū's family. Nothing is known from the other sources about this Jain religious teacher, Paramadeva and his pupil Śriṣena. Moreover, the detail of the branch *Pūrṇimā gachchha*, to which they belonged have not yet been found. But it is obvious that it is a sub-sect of Śvetāmbara Jains. *Jagaḍūcarita* is the only text, where the name of the Āchārya Paramadeva, his pupils name are known from the *Pūrṇimā gachchha*. The detailed description of the activity, pilgrimage, religious popularity of this spiritual teacher and his pupil is given in the text *Jagaḍūcarita*. So, it has to be admitted that the characters are not imaginary. It is true that they are not known from any other sources that may prove them as historical. The present text may thus be relocated as a historical piece of religious importance in the sphere of Jainism to record the name of the spiritual teacher and his pupil of *Pūrṇimā gachchha*.

b. Jagaḍū made an arrangement of a pilgrimage with the people of Jain community to various holy sites of Jainism under the leadership of the *guru* Paramadeva. Many rich people and merchants of the city took part in the pilgrimage. As Sarvāṇanda's description, the whole pilgrimage was a great success as they visited many places which includes Śatruñjaya and Raivatāka or Girṇār.²⁵ These two places have been considered very holy to the Jains because they believed many *tirthaṅkaras* attained *nirvāṇa* in these two hills.

Neminātha, the 22nd *tirthaṅkara* is believed to attain the *nirvāṇa* in the Girnar hills. The hill, Śatrumjaya is also a holy place as many Jain *Tirthaṅkaras* have attained *Nirvāṇa* here. As Jagaḍū along with Paramadev and other pilgrims visited the two hills among these five, it also confirms that they belong to the Śvetāmbara Jain group.

c. Jagaḍū conducted numerous acts of piety for the religious interest. He was engaged in building, renovation and ornamentation of several Jain temples and images. He ornamented the temple of Vīranātha in Bhadreshwar as well as, he built several temples of Ādinātha and a house of twenty four *tirthaṅkaras* in different towns of Kathiawar also. He also set up an image of the *tirthaṅkara* Vīra and also fifty two *jinās*. He set up a place for his spiritual teacher Paramadeva and also made an arrangement with all expenses of the festivities, in which Paramadeva's pupil Śriṣena was made a *ācharya*. Not only for the Jains, Jagaḍū made the restoration of a temple of Hariśaṅkara in the town of Kunnaḍa which was probably a Saiva temple.

Jagaḍū was also caused to be erected a mosque (*masjid, masīti*) for Śīmalī (concern to Ismā'īlīs) by the reason of the wealth of the mlecchas.²⁶ Jagaḍū is accredited to have built and renovated several Jain temples. He also consecrated many Jain images. Apart from that, he also funded for building some 'Hindu' temples and for restoring a Saivaite temple. Moreover, there is another evidence of Veraval Inscription, which is a bilingual inscription, written in Sanskrit and Arabic language in the time of Caulukya-Vāghelā Arjuna of 1264 CE²⁷ records about the endowment of a mosque (Sanskrit-*mijigiti*) by a ship owning merchant (*nākhudā*) named Nuruddin Firuz from Hormuz port of Persian Gulf with the cordial help and co-operation of the leading persons of Somnath Pāṭan and about the arrangements done by him for the maintenance and expenditure of the mosque. This is a remarkable example of tolerance, cooperation and amity between a Muslim *nākhudā* and a local 'Hindu' elite merchant.

The cause behind erecting the mosques might be the spiritual interests of the 'Muslim' sailors or local inhabitants of the port towns of Gujarat. Being a merchant, Jagaḍū felt the necessity to meet the religious demands of his 'Muslim' sailors and inhabitants of the port town of Bhadreshwar. The 'Muslim' sailors who used to come from other cities to the port towns of Gujarat and stayed there for a certain time for business purpose needed to perform their religious duties. The text mentions the term *mlechchhalakṣmī karanātaḥ* while indicating the reason behind the construction of the mosque by Jagaḍū, that means the source of his income is the trade with the *mlechchha* (foreigner) and it was a way of acknowledgement and thanksgiving to the foreigners living permanently or temporarily in

the port town for business. Jagadū did his maritime trade with Hormuz. His trading partners from Hormuz, who came to Bhadreshwar, the western Indian coastal town needed a mosque for their religious prayers. So, Jagadū constructed the mosque for them.²⁸ It is a very interesting thing here to mention that Dr. Burgess has mentioned that “at the present day an old mosque in Bhadreshwar is there, the columns of which are, much in the same style as those of the Jain temple.”²⁹ Probably the mosque was built by the artists who were associated to the Jain architectures.

The mosque built by Jagadū in Bhadreshwar holds a greater importance as it is identified by M. Shokoohy³⁰ as the earliest Islamic monument in India. There is no such evidence till date that the Caulukya rulers had directly hold the patronages of any Islamic monuments. But, the rulers did not also oppose such constructions. The inscriptions and narratives tell that mainly merchants built the mosques in the coastal towns of Gujarat. An epigraphic reference³¹ of early thirteenth century speaks that Sa'id, a rich member of Muslim traders' community built a mosque in Cambay for the 'Muslims' living there. The mosque, built by Jagadū was associated with the Ismā'ili. Ismā'ilis have a very important role in the religious history of Medieval India and it demands a brief description as the text *Jagadūcarita* mentions about them. The description is given in due course.

d. The influence of Jainism also played a very crucial role from the early period of the Caulukya rule in Gujarat. The Caulukya rulers were mostly Śaivas, few were inclined to Jainism. But Jainism was the regulating factor in the relation between rulers and their ministers and with the powerful wealthy merchants as well as with the feudals of the state. Gradually, Gujarat became a place of religious diversity which attracted the missionaries, priests, prophets in a various range. The merchants or chieftains started to secure the powerful positions of patrons of any religion. The increasing importance of pilgrimage traverse the trade routes as the gathering of pilgrims started to enrich the new sites. The 'Muslim' merchants started their establishments in the coastal towns of Gujarat from very early time. Specially Ismā'ili missionaries and Suhni 'Muslim' missionaries were active in Gujarat including the western India and Sind. But by the thirteenth century, the inland settlements in Aṇahila Pāṭan, Brauch and Junagadh were prominent.³² The local 'Muslim' communities started living in a wide range and the people of this community chose different occupations like oil-pressers, white-washers and others.³³

The text *Jagadūcarita* records the spirit of amiable relation, mutual trust and cooperation among different religious groups even in this sensitive period from the point of

view of religion and the junction of political power change in Gujarat. The maritime trade had come to play a vital role in the political economy of the Caulukya state. In this political scenario, political wisdom also demanded a tolerance towards the powerful merchant community. Caulukya kings were wise enough to stick to this policy. Merchants played a great role in the activities and exchange of economic, religious and cultural ideas. That they were not only carriers of commodities is testified by the text under description and also many inscriptions of that time. With the expansion of maritime trade, the social status of merchants began to rise in Gujarat. They had started to secure the positions of ministers or important administrative posts at the king's court. The most famous merchants during the Caulukya period were the Jain brothers Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, who held important posts at the court of the Vaghālā kings Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavalā. They played a critical role in the political and economic consolidation of the Caulukya Kingdom in the first half of the thirteenth century. In the Veraval inscription also, Amarsimha from the merchant class held an important position in *Pañcakula*. So, *Pañcakula*, whose members are nominated by the state, includes also the merchants of the society. It definitely shows the influential powers of trader community, because there used to be a representative of their class in the *Pañcakula*.

Now we would like to retrospect the situation of Bhdreshwar from the point of view of political authority prevalent during the period in question. In first half of the thirteenth century Gujarat was governed by the 'Hindu' Caulukya dynasty. Vāghelā kings were the rulers, when this wonderful event of the construction of a mosque by a Jain merchant took place. Some examples of Caulukya rulers' religious tolerance towards the Muslims are found in literary sources also. The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* notes that by the end of the eleventh century a number of Sufi saints had established their *khankah* monastery and *mādrāsās* in Pāṭan, the capital of Gujarat, and propagated Islam peacefully. The Sufi Haji Hud arrived in Pāṭan during the reign of Karṇadeva (1064-1094 CE) and many 'Hindu's embraced Islam under his influence. It is also said that, when Karṇadeva came to know about him and his teachings, he went to meet him and granted him permission to establish his *khankah* and *madrassa*. So we are not sure that, either the economic profit from maritime trade or the inferior military power of the ruling dynasty in comparison with that of the Muslim invaders, made the Caulukya kings tolerant towards the Muslims. But the social milieu of Gujarat especially port towns were well tuned to this coexistence of cultural and religious heterogeneity.

So, it may be said that, the text reveals the relation of extreme communal harmony among various religious communities, especially with the 'Muslim' even after the devastations of the Gaznavid raid of 1025 CE in Somnath. The people of the place in general and the ruling group and elites in the coastal society could rise above the religious intolerance and welcome others belonging to different religious faiths into the existing social and cultural setting. This was not the only time when Gujarat passed through a period of such religious transition. In the early fourteenth century Gujarat's political picture changed as a result of the Sultani expedition. But before that there was a socio-politically suitable situation where different religious sects could practise their own religious pursuits peacefully. The hostility and riots among 'Hindu' and Muslim were not the real culture of Gujarat from the early time; the seed of intolerance and hatred had been consciously sown during the British rule in colonial India.³⁴

4.2.4.3. Social Importance of the Text:

The social life of people could be distinct hardly from their religious life in early India and also in early-medieval India. For the followers of any religion has their own religious and social rites to follow. The text of our discussion *Jagaḍūcarita* narrates mainly the activities of the Jain merchant Jagaḍū. From this narrative, an effort has been made here to pen a picture of the contemporary society where Jagaḍū lived and also his impact of a rich and powerful merchant in the society. Jagaḍū's economically strong position and his political power gave him a social status, which is also the matter of the discussion here in the following discourse.

a. Jagaḍū and his ancestors hailed from the traders' family of Śrīmāla race. This was a regional sub-caste of merchants in western India. The name of this merchant group originated from their original home town of Śrīmāla or Bhillamāla, the modern Bhīnmal in southern Marwad.³⁵ This regional sub-caste and their activities in trading and also in creative areas are also noted in the inscriptions³⁶ of the eleventh century to thirteenth century. The mention of the caste of Jagaḍū's caste along with his ancestors in the text, helps to look back the origin of it and also it bears the instance of immigration, rise, settlement and the social significance of this particular group of people who are businessmen by profession.

b. Different cultures of the society has been traced underlying in the description of the life of Jagaḍū, the merchant prince of Gujarat of thirteenth century. The *Jagaḍūcarita* records an example of re-marriage of widows of that time which is a mirror of society as a custom

of marriage. It is recorded in the *Jagaḍūcarita*³⁷ that, Jagaḍū had a young widow daughter named Prīmatī and he wanted to make the arrangements for the re-marriage of her to a suitable groom. What is noticeable here that re-marriage of the widows were not unheard and it was permissible in the Śrīmalī Vaṇiyas and between other merchant class also. But it needed the permission of the elders.

c. The text *Jagaḍūcarita* describes the incident of getting a talisman from the neck of a she-goat which was bought from a shepherd and which made him richer and granted him all prosperity.³⁸ Jagaḍū was a successful merchant and he earned lot of money from the maritime business. But this story about the primary source of his wealth and prosperity tells about the common Indian belief that every successful person must have any influence of talisman or mantra which helps him to gain his wealth. The author Sarvāṇanda Sūri has included the incidents to make his narrative more attractive to common people.

d. Another incident of Jagaḍū's propitiation to the gods to obtain a son reveals a remarkable socio-religious aspect of that time. As Jagaḍū had no son, his wife Yaśomati has advised him to worship the gods to get a boon of getting a son. Jagaḍū worshipped the god of ocean for seven days with a great devotion. Hereafter Jagaḍū, 'the lamp of Sola's race, whose ships always arrived safely by virtue of the boon granted by the Ocean, shone in that town with exceeding brilliancy, his glory being equal to that Indra'.³⁹ The incident described in the text has two aspects.

First, in spite of being a Jain, Jagaḍū did not worship any Jina. But he has worshipped another deity, Susthitāmara, the god of ocean who is not any Jain deity. This god may be any local deity to the merchant class and the name suggests that it follows the Brāhmaṇical culture. There was no restrictions for a Jain follower to worship deities of other religious orders. It is a very remarkable example of religious empathy of thirteenth century Gujarat. Another incident records that one of Jagaḍū's assistant found a mysterious stone from the port in the Persian Gulf and later advised by a Śaivite yogi, Jagaḍū broke it and found it as full of jewels. The local Śaivites also cooperated with him many times. These are the examples of Śaivite influence to a Jain merchant which surely embraced the socio-religious harmony of the society.

Secondly, the performance of devotional rites for the sake of a son evinces a social aspect of that time. After having a daughter, wish for a son to increase own family race and performing the penances were very common from the very early age of Indian culture. There was no exception of it in the society of thirteenth century Gujarat. It is a fact that Jagaḍū was fabulously wealthy. He acquired a lot of money, jewels etc. which made him a very rich

person. The poet of *Jagaḍūcarita* has tried to show that he has acquired the wealth by the grace of gods and the smooth seamless business is also possible by god's wish. This style of presenting the incidents of a narrative also draws a socio-religious picture of the contemporary society.

e. The humanitarian face of Jagaḍū, one of the wealthiest merchant of thirteenth century in Gujarat was manifested through his role at the times of natural calamities also. His charitable works towards the society of Gujarat caused him to be remembered till date as an exemplary philanthropist. Gujarat was affected by one of the most terrible famines in the time of Vāghelā king Vīsaladeva's reign which is said to have lasted for three years, from VS 1313-1315, or about 1256-1258 CE. As a responsible citizen, Jagaḍū showed that charitable disposition which has always distinguished him from other rich merchants. He did his relief operation at his best during this great famine. He opened a number of relief houses in his native town Bhadreswar as well as other towns of Gujarat with which he was connected through business transactions or where he held property. He also liberally distributed the stores in his granaries among the starving multitude. When the distress was at the pick, the charity was entirely lacking, Jagaḍū came forward with succour. The Vāghelā chief Vīsaladeva sought Jagaḍū's assistance to meet the exigency of food-grains at that time. He gave large portion of grains to his king Vīsaladeva and also to some of the chiefs in the districts adjacent to Kutch.⁴⁰ It is stated in the *Jagaḍūcarita* that he had been warned by his Jaina teacher, Paramadeva about this devastating famine. So, accordingly he stored large quantity of grains so that he could make use of at the time of hunger and alleviate the sufferings of the people, which could have helped him to gain great fame.⁴¹ It also suggests that Jagaḍū was a big grain dealer of Kutch. That's why he was able to store a huge portion of food-grains. He did the business of grains within Gujarat beside his maritime business with other countries. He used to bring grains from eastern Saurashtra and other places for the disbursement in local regions of Kutch or for onward sale in Sind and Marwad. It is probable that Jagaḍū could meet up the necessity of grains in the area of Kutch which is almost entirely isolated from the mainland as it is surrounded by Rann which dries up during the summer and remains inaccessible for humans. Only twenty to thirty miles broad area lying between Bhuj and south-east coast, is the agricultural region which produces wheat, barley and cotton.⁴² The shortfall of food grain in Kutch was taken care of by the trader Jagaḍū which he imported. This picture of society can be drawn only from the information of *Jagaḍūcarita* for which it is relocated as a piece of economic importance.

The account of relief operation described in the *Jagaḍūcarita* seems to be exaggerated. Bühler also has held it “as full of exaggerations. Nearly all the details are obviously fictitious”.⁴³ It is told that he has opened 112 alms houses for the distresses. He sent 12000 *mūṭakas* to Hamāira, the ruler of Sindh; 18000 *mūṭakas* to the King Madanavarman of Avanti; 21000 *mūṭakas* to the lord of Delhi Mojadāna; 32000 *mūṭakas* to Pratāpasimha, king of Kashi and many more. Totally he distributed 999,000 *mūṭakas* of grain which costs him altogether almost 180 million of money.⁴⁴ The term *mūṭaka* or *mūdā* used for a local weight of highest denomination, mainly used in the sources of western India. 1 *mūṭaka* or *mūdā* was considered equal to 160 *sei* or 640 *māṇa*.⁴⁵ The number of alms houses Jagaḍū opened seems to be grossly exaggerated. The amount of money spent for distributing the food grains is also unbelievable. Undoubtedly, Jagaḍū spent a lot of money in order to alleviate the fearful sufferings of his countrymen during the famine and distributed grains to the people and also to the kings of his state and to the neighbouring states in order to help the distressed. But the poet Sarvāṇanda Sūri has narrated it in an apparently exaggerated manner to portray his hero as the most philanthropist personality. Jagaḍū’s charitable work made him so popular that Someśvara, the court poet of Viśaladeva eulogised him with hymns.

4.2.5. Chapter 5: Concluding Remarks

The last chapter of the dissertation contains the key findings of the work. Before highlighting the concluding remark, it is planned to show the modern day impact of the narrative of Jagaḍū. Jagaḍū is still remembered for his munificent work in the Jain community. His generosity during the thirteenth century famine has so great impact on people that after so many years, he is remembered for his work. Many dramas have been written and staged on the life of Jagaḍū or Jagadushah. One of the very popular Gujarati drama is *Daneshwari Sheth Jagdu shah*.⁴⁶ There are also so many you tube short videos on Jagadu shah.⁴⁷ It proves that after 700 years he is still a popular character among the Gujarati Jain community. One place near Saurashtra is marked as the destroyed palace of Jagadu shah and people has started to visit that place. Though the authenticity of this place is questionable.

Undoubtedly, the *carita kāvya*, *Jagaḍūcarita* of Sarvāṇanda Sūri is the most accepted composition on the life of Jagaḍū. The present thesis is based on this text. The last chapter contains the key findings of the research already highlighted above.

Appendix I: Linguistic Features of the Text

The poet Sarvānanda employs a few rare Sanskrit words, or of common Sanskrit words with irregular gender and uncommon meanings, and a few Prakrit words which have been transliterated into, and made to look like Sanskrit. Among the Sanskrit words the following deserve to be mentioned as they do not appear in the standard dictionaries and also because their use is not sufficiently illustrated by quotations. A list of unusual words is given in this appendix.

Appendix II: Gallery of Images

This appendix contains the images related to the wealthy merchant Jagaḍū, famous for his generosity and philanthropic activities. The images exhibited here are visual representation of the stories/ accounts about Jagaḍū as told in the Jagaḍūcarita and other chronicles. These may be treated as corroborative documents of some of the information gathered and analyzed so far.

Notes and References

- ¹ The spelling of this proper name is taken as mentioned in the intermediate colophons of the text after every chapter.
- ² Jagaḍū or Jagaḍu is the nominative of a diminutive in *ḍa*, formed from the first half of a proper name, beginning with Jaga. The diminutive affix *ḍa* is as common in Gujarati as in Prākṛit. Ḍu for ḍa would be correct in Sindhī, to which the Kachhī dialect is closely allied.
- ³ ...श्रीसर्वाणन्दसूरिविरचिते श्रीजगडूचरिते महाकाव्ये..
- ⁴ George Bühler, *Indian Studies*, No 1, p. 1
- ⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁶ *The Chaulukyas of Gujarat*. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1956.
- ⁷ *The Rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat: A History of Gujarat from 1298 to 1442*. Asia Publishing House, 1963.
- ⁸ *Some Aspects of Medieval Gujarat*. Munshiram Manoharlal, 1968.
- ⁹ *Trade and Traders in Western India, 1000-1300*. Munshiram Manoharlal, 1990.
- ¹⁰ M. Shokoohy, *Bhadreshvar*. pp. 8, 38.
- ¹¹ *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 173.
- ¹² *A History of Sanskrit Literature: Classical Period*, p. 679.
- ¹³ Sanskrit MSS. Bühler, No. 291; presented by Bühler to India office Library. The MS. Was kindly lent to him in 1876 by Rao Saheb Dalpatram P. Khakhar, then Educational Inspector of Kutch, who of late has sanctioned its presentation to the India Office. It is modern, but very correct copy, made for Mr. Khakhar from an old MS., belonging to a Jain community in Bhuj.
- ¹⁴ M. Shokoohy, *Op.cit.* p. 38
- ¹⁵ Text, canto V, v. 68
- ¹⁶ A.K. Majumdar. *The Chaulukyas of Gujarat*. p.168
- ¹⁷ Text, canto VI, vv.71-90
- ¹⁸ इत्याचार्यश्रीधनप्रभगुरुचरणराजीवचञ्चरीकशिष्यश्रीसर्वाणन्दसूरिविरचिते श्रीजगडूचरिते महाकाव्ये..
- ¹⁹ George Bühler, *Op.cit.* P. 1.
- ²⁰ Krishnamacariyar, *HCSL*, p.79.
- ²¹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kutch_district
- ²² <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kathiawar>
- ²³ M. Shokoohy, *Op.cit.* p. 3.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.
- ²⁵ Text, canto VI, vv. 1-40
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, v. 64
- ²⁷ *EI*, Vol. XXXVI, 1961-1962, p. 141-150.
- ²⁸ Romila Thapar, *Somanatha: the Many Voices of a History*, p.31.

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- ²⁹ *Archeological Reports of Western India*, Vol. II. p.209.
- ³⁰ M. Shokoohy, *Op.cit* p.33.
- ³¹ The Cambay Arabic Inscription, *EI: Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1961, pp. 2 ff.
- ³² Samira Sheikh, *Op.cit.* p.123.
- ³³ Veraval Inscription, *EI*, vol. XXXVI, 1961-1962, pp. 141-150.
- ³⁴ Cf. B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *Representing the Others? Muslim in Sanskrit Sources*. Delhi, 1998.
- ³⁵ *IA*, Vol. XVII, p. 192.
- ³⁶ Abu Inscriptions, *EI*, VIII, pp. 205-208.
- ³⁷ Text, canto III, vv. 19-27.
- ³⁸ Text, canto III, vv. 10-20.
- ³⁹ Bühler, *Op.cit.* p.10.
- ⁴⁰ Sulagna Pradhan, “Three Merchants of Thirteenth Century in Gujarat”. In *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vol.78, 2017. pp.275-281.
- ⁴¹ Text, canto VI, vv. 67-137.
- ⁴² V.K. Jain. *Op.cit.* p. 16.
- ⁴³ Bühler, *Op.cit.* p. 37.
- ⁴⁴ Text, canto VI, vv. 123-137.
- ⁴⁵ Cf. V.K. Jain. *Op.cit.* p. 165.
- ⁴⁶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=the7ezypujk>
- ⁴⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3EHmBk1Rzgc>

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