THE EARLY HISTORY OF BENGAL
(From the Earliest Times to the Muslim Conquest)
Vol. II.

By
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To

Hon'ble Moulvi A. K. Fazlul Huq
Chief Minister of Bengal.

As a token of my deep respect for his untiring efforts for the educational uplift of the masses and the rural regeneration of the province.
A NOTE

The publication of this Second Volume completes the Early History of Bengal by Prof. P. L. Paul, M.A. It goes as the third number of the Indian History Series of the Indian Research Institute publications. It is expected that it will throw a flood of light on the obscure corners of the social, religious and cultural history of Ancient Bengal. It deals with dry topics in a lucid style and new materials have been digested and marshalled with accuracy and artistic skill. Properly speaking this being the first attempt of its kind, we expect it will stimulate further and more elaborate researches. Unfortunately, inspite of best efforts few discrepancies in dia-critical marks and misprints have crept in, and they will be rectified in the next edition.

We earnestly hope that the scholars and lay readers alike will offer it the welcome it deserves.

Janmāṣṭamī Day.
Dated the 26th August, 1940.
THE INDIAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE,
Calcutta.

Satis Chandra Seal.
## Errata list

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Author's Preface

This is the first attempt to write the social, religious and cultural history of ancient Bengal on a comprehensive scale. I have spared no pains to make it thorough and exhaustive so far as materials at present permit.

I have endeavoured my best to interpret the history of ancient Bengal in all its phases. I shall consider my labour worth while if these two volumes help others to go deeper into the subject.

In the publication of this volume I must express my thankfulness to my friends and colleagues Profs. G. S. Ghar M. A. and P. R. Burua M. A. for going through the proofs and to Prof. K. C. Chakravarty M. A. and Mr. Chittaranjan Das B. A. for preparing the Index. My best thanks are due to Mr. Satis Chandra Seal M.A., B.L., Secretary of the Indian Research Institute, for publishing these two volumes under the auspices of the Institute.

5th June, 1940

P. L. Paul
## List of Abbreviations

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<td>ASI</td>
<td>Archaeological Survey of India (Cunningham)</td>
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<td>ASIR</td>
<td>Archaeological Survey of India, Reports</td>
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<tr>
<td>BI</td>
<td>Banglara Itihasa</td>
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<td>BD. Icon.</td>
<td>Buddhist Iconography</td>
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<td>BS.</td>
<td>Bengali San.</td>
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<td>CHI</td>
<td>Cambridge History of India</td>
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<td>CII</td>
<td>Corpus Inscriptionum Indica</td>
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<td>DH</td>
<td>Dynastic History of Northern India</td>
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<td>DM</td>
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<td>DMC</td>
<td>Catalogue of the Dacca Museum</td>
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<td>DMS</td>
<td>Dacca University Studies</td>
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<td>EHI</td>
<td>Early History of India</td>
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<td>EI</td>
<td>Epigraphia Indica</td>
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<tr>
<td>ESMS</td>
<td>Eastern School of Mediaeval Sculptures</td>
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<td>GOS</td>
<td>Gaekwad Oriental Series</td>
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<td>IA</td>
<td>Indian Antiquary</td>
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<td>IB</td>
<td>Inscriptions of Bengal</td>
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<td>IHQ</td>
<td>Indian Historical Quaterly</td>
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<td>IM</td>
<td>Indian Museum.</td>
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<td>JASB</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal</td>
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<td>JBORS</td>
<td>Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society</td>
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<td>JBTs</td>
<td>Journal of the Buddhistic Society</td>
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<td>JDL</td>
<td>Journal of the Department of Letters</td>
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<td>JIH</td>
<td>Journal of Indian History</td>
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<td>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</td>
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<td>MASB</td>
<td>Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</td>
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<td>PHAI</td>
<td>Political History of Ancient India</td>
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<td>SBE</td>
<td>Sacred Books of the East</td>
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<td>Southern Indian Inscriptions</td>
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<td>SPP</td>
<td>Sahitya Parisat Patrika</td>
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<td>VJI</td>
<td>Vangera Jatiya Itihasa</td>
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<td>VRS</td>
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THE EARLY HISTORY OF BENGAL

CHAPTER VIII

Literature, Learned Men and Centres of Learning

The task of writing the literary history of a particular province is in one way more difficult than that of ancient India as a whole. The question of settling the chronology is common to both. But as many authors are silent on their place of origin, it is sometimes hardly possible to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion on that point. It is not often that in order to determine the nativity of an author, we have to rely on his cognomen, the popularity of his work in a certain locality and the provenance of the manuscripts. It is to be admitted by all that in the absence of some other stronger proof the claim of a particular locality or country on the above grounds rests on a very weak foundation. The fact being so, 'provincialism' is sometimes at work now-a-days in claiming the honour of adding many great writers of the ancient period to the native province of some modern writers. Kalidāsa has been claimed by many provinces and the so-called 'internal evidence' has not helped much and on the very same ground a claim has been put forward for the Bengali origin of Viśākhadatta. The Vaidika Brahmans of Bengal regard Murāri, the author of Anartha Rāghava, as one of their kinsmen, but this cannot be substantiated in any way.

Grammar—The science of grammar was cultivated assiduously. Candragomin, founder of the Cāndra school of grammar, seems to have belonged to Bengal. There were two other Candragominś. One was a logician and another appears to have been a Tāntrika scholar. These three Candragominś have been confused by Tārānātha and by the

author of Pag-Sam-jon-zang. The grammarian Candragomin has been assigned to the period between 450-660 A.D. and was a contemporary of Candrakirti. There can be no doubt about the fact that he was the earliest, for the other two flourished in the 10th century A.D. It is definite that the grammarian Candragomin hailed from eastern India and he has been connected by a story with Varendra and Candradvipa in Tibetan books. Later, the other two were also confused with him. He followed Pāṇini in many respects but he omitted Pāṇinian rules about Vedic grammar in order to make his work free from the "traditional Brahmanical element". The really original contributions of Candragomin amount to about 35 sūtras and these have been borrowed by Kāśikā without acknowledgement. Most probably his work was popular with the Buddhists and it is still used in Tibet and in a modified form in Ceylon. It was very popular in Java also.

It has been said that the Buddhist grammarian Jinendrabodhi, the author of Kāśikā-vivaranā-pañjikā or Nyāsa, may be looked upon as a native of Bengal or one who had lived and worked long in that province. The utmost that can be said in the present state of our knowledge is that his work was extensively used and some commentaries were written on it in Bengal. Govardhana, Dāmodarasena and Indumitra are three grammarians who seem to have flourished in Bengal in the eleventh century. Govardhana's Uṇādi-vṛtti is known only from quotations, and Dāmodarasena is the author of Upanīya-sarvasva. Indumitra is known by his Anu-nyāsa, a commentary on Nyāsa. It has been suggested that Maitreya Raksita, the author of Tantrapradīpa and Dhātupradīpa, was a northern Bengali Brahmana but nothing can be said in support of this

1. S. C. Das, Pag-Sam-jon-zang, pp. 95, 139
3. S. C. Vidyabhusana, History of Indian Logic, pp. 333 336
5. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
conjecture. Puruṣottamadeva flourished in the 12th century and in his Bhāṣāvytti he depended on Kāśikā and Nyāsa. He was a Buddhist and excluded the texts appertaining to the Vedas. He simplified difficult grammatical rules in such a way as would make them easy to be understood by preliminary students of the subject, and his quotations and illustrations are to the point. Besides this great work, he is credited with the authorship of Lalita-paribhāṣā, Jñānapākasaṃuccaya, Uṇādiyṛti and a commentary on Mahābhāṣya. Sarṇadeva, another Buddhist grammarian, was the author of Durghaṭavyṛtti. He was a younger contemporary of Puruṣottamadeva from whom he quoted extensively and was patronised by Lakṣmanasena.

Lexicography—Side by side with grammar, the science of lexicography was cultivated with equal zeal. The earliest writer seems to have been Vandyaghaiya Rāḍhiya Brahmana, Sarvānanda. He finished his Tīkāsarvasva, a commentary on Amarakoṣa in 1159 A.D. Puruṣottamadeva’s fame does not rest only on his grammatical works; as a lexicographer he is equally famous. His Tīkāṇḍaśesa is not a commentary but a supplement to Amarakoṣa. It adds the words that had come into use since Amara’s time. Many new names of Buddha, Avalokiteśvara, Tāntrika gods and goddesses are to be found in it, which were not perhaps known to Amara. He was not satisfied with writing a supplementary book but also wrote a separate book called Hāralilā. It consists of 278 ślokas and in it are to be found words that were obsolete or were not in common use in his time. In the opinion of Mm. H. P. Sastri his chief title to greatness lies in the fact that he is said to have composed a separate lexicon on spelling. Spelling in Bengal was greatly influenced by Prākrita and many words were capable of two spellings and double meanings. He laid stress on this aspect and his work was an example

1. Mr. D. C. Bhattacharyya wants us to believe that the name was Raksina Maitriya, and as Maitriya was the surname of a guyin of northern Bengali Brahmans he was a Varendra. But it is in the least convincing. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Published by Ganapati Shastri, Madras 1911, 1917
5. SPP, 1339, B. S. P. I.
6. Ibid.
of accuracy and preciseness in spelling. Another Buddhist, Maheśvara wrote a book on spelling in 1111 A.D.

Gaudī-riti—Gaudī-riti was one of the principal styles of poetic composition, the other important one being Vaidarbhi. Gaudī derived its name from the place of its origin and Daṇḍin calls it paurastya, i.e. eastern, and therefore there can be no doubt about the fact that it had its origin in Bengal. Bāṇabhaṭṭa informs us that the people of different places followed different poetic devices and the Gauḍās are fond of the display of bombastic words. Bhāmaha (7th-8th cent.) distinguishes between Vaidharbha and Gauḍa Kāryas, though he does not use the term riti. He refers to the opinions of previous writers according to which there are differences of manner and treatment but he does not attach much importance to the difference. In Daṇḍin’s time (8th-9th) the difference was very wide and marked. In Daṇḍin seems to be very severe in his condemnation of Gaudī which is “loose, more often cumbrous and bombastic, is vitiated by an inordinate craze for verbal juggles and alliteration and casts to the winds clarity of expression and all sense of proportion and welcomes verbosity, pedantry and hyperbole.” But it is also clear from Daṇḍin that the Gauḍās laid great stress on ojas and attempted at arthavyakti i.e., explicitness of meaning. Vāmana (9th A.D.), who follows Daṇḍin, admits that Gaudī has two guṇas, ojas and kānti, but is wanting in mādhurya and sāku-mārya (tenderness) and is full of harsh-sounding words. Rudraṭa (9th) says that in Gaudī compounds are formed by as many words

1. Ibid.
2. The minor two are Pāncālī and Lāṭī
3. Harṣacarita Sl, 7
4. S. K. De, History of Sanskrit Poetiscs II pp. 100 ff; we follow the dates of the writers on ritis as determined by Dr. De. 5. I, 31-35.
6. Jacobi holds that the Vaidarbhi style which came into existence in the third century A. D. was a reaction against the older and more ornate Gaudī (Mahārāṣṭrī pp XVI): Dr. Nobel also holds that the Gaudī was earlier (Foundations of Indian Poetcs, Ch. VI). But Dr. S. K. De maintains that Gaudī is a sign of further development or decadence (History of Sanskrit Poetcs, II. p. 116 n).

7. IHQ. III. pp. 377-78. 8. I, 80. 9. 1, 75
as possible. Rājaśekhara (10th) takes the rītis as forms of speech without further explaining them, and Mammaṭa considers them repetition of the same consonants. Thus the rītis lost their importance as given by Daṇḍin1.

It is not to be supposed that Gauḍi was used only in the land of its origin or eastern India. The Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman, Haraha inscription of Iśānavarman and Nālandā inscription of the time of Yaśovarman were written in this style. Bhava-bhūti, Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa, Murāri, Kṣemiśvara, Sandhyākaranandi and Śriharṣa followed this style, and therefore it seems that different authors chose their style according to their convenience and predilections. The poetry portions of the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman and of the Tippera plate of Lokanātha and of the Pāla and Sena inscriptions were written in this style which was evidently suited for praśastis.

Medical literature—In ancient India importance of the medical science was realised, as Ayurveda or the Science of Longevity was called an Upa-Veda. Yuan Chwang tells us that great stress was laid on it in the Nālandā monastery². The Tāntrikas were expected to have minute knowledge of human anatomy and physiognomy, as they tried to control the senses by regulating breathing and by some process of physical exercises. Madhavakara, author of Rug-viniśayya, or Nidāna, which enjoyed all India popularity and was translated into Arabic for the Caliphs of Bagdad in the latter half of the 8th century, has been claimed to be a Bengalee on the grounds that (a) his cognomen was "Kara", (b) his book was extensively used in Bengal and (c) many Bengali words occur in another of his works, Paryāya-ratnamālā³. But it has been questioned in the absence of stronger proofs⁴. We are, however, on surer grounds in case of Cakrapāṇidatta. He came of a celebrated family of physicians. His father Nārāyaṇa was the superintendent of the culinarian department of the Pāla king, Nayapāla, and seems to be identical with the author of Ratnamālā, a medical vocabulary, and with Nārāyaṇa

1. Dr. Nobel, Foundations of Indian Poetry pp. 124-5
2. Beal, Records, pp. 77-79 : Life, p. 112
Kavirāja who has been quoted in the Saduktikarnāmṛta. Cakrapāṇi’s brother Bhānu has been called an antaraṅga which means a physician of a high family. Cakrapāṇi was a prolific medical writer. His famous work, Cakradatta, was written on the model of a previous work, Siddha-Yoga of Vṛnda, and was meant for medical practitioners. It was very ably commented on by Sivadāsasena of the Pabna district in the 16th century. His Dravya-guṇa-Saṅgraha is a glossary of medical drugs and Sabda-candrikā is a vocabulary of vegetables and mineral substances. Besides, Cakrapāṇi is credited with the authorship of the Bhānumati and Ayurveda-dīpikā which were meant to elucidate the saṁhitās of Suśruta and Caraka.

We know of another family of celebrated physicians who served in many courts. Bhadreśvara was the physician of Rāmapāla. His grandfather, Devagana, served in that capacity to Govindaacandra who may be identified with the king of that name known from the Tirumalai inscription. Sureśvara, son of Bhadreśvara, was the important man of this family and was the physician of Bhimapāla, described as Pādiśvara (lord of Pādi) who cannot be satisfactorily identified. He composed a dictionary on medical botany, called Sabdapradipā, and another work on medical use of iron, called Lopa-paddhati. Another medical writer called Gadādhara-vidya in the Saduktikarnāmṛta may be identified with Gadādhara, a commentator of Suśruta. Vaṅgasena, the reputed author of Cikitsā-sāra-saṅgraha, was born in the house of Gadādhara and was an inhabitant of Kāṇṭikā. According to Hœrnle, his work was a compilation from different medical writers, although he himself declares at the end that his work is a new recension of a previous one, named Agastya-Saṁhitā. Hemādri in his commentary on Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya of Vāgbhaṭa II quotes extensively from Vaṅgasena who can therefore be

1. For the first time suggested by Mr. N. N. Dasgupta, IC, III, p. 156
2. IC, I. p. 684
3. IC, III, pp. 156-58
5. IC, III, pp. 157 ff.
7. JASE, 1891, p. 183.
placed in the 12th-13th century. The commentaries of Aruṇadatta, Vijayaraksita, Nīcalakara and Śrīkanṭha gained great popularity in Bengal but it is not certain whether they were Bengalees.

An interesting work on the taming and treatment of elephants has been ascribed to one Pālakāpya, son of the sage Lomaśa. It is written in Sūtra style and Mm. H. P. Shastri assigned it to a period before the Christian Era, and it was composed where “the Brahmaputra flows and the Himalaya is in the north”. Strictly speaking, it was written in Assam. (The Pāla kings were strong in elephants and they were a great dread to the other contemporary dynasties. It is therefore quite likely that the science of taming and treating elephants was cultivated in Bengal.)

Astronomy—The astronomer Mallikārjuna Sūri hailed from Vaṅga and flourished in the 12th century. He wrote a commentary on Śisyadhi-mahātāntra by Lallācārya and no other commentary on this is known. He also seems to be the earliest commentator on Śūrasiddhānta. He was of the Kaundinya gotra but his name Sūri and proficiency in astronomy suggest that his family might originally have been Jaina. It is to be noted that he invokes Viṣṇu and Gaṇeśa in his works and his grand-father was an ācārya. (SPP, 1340 pp. 83 ff.).

Philosophy—Various branches of philosophy were cultivated. According to Suresvarācārya, the Vedantic work Gauḍapāda-kārikā embodied the view of the Gauḍas. It is admitted by all that it is a very old work. Udayanācārya refers to a Gauḍa Mīmāṃsaka and his commentator Varadarāja says that it refers to Paṇḍjakā-kāra. Therefore Salikanātha, author of Paṇḍjakā, seems to have been a Bengalee. Śridharadāsa, author of Nyāya-kandali, hailed from Bhūrīsreṣṭha (in the Hoogly district) in Rādhā and composed his work in 913 S.E. under the patronage of a local Kāyaṭha chief, Pāṇḍudāsa by name. In his Nyāya-kandali there is reference to Salikanātha and also there are re-

1. IC, III, pp. 535 ff.
2. Ibid, III, pp. 159-160; also IV, p. 275.
4. Naśkarṇa-siddhi, IV. 41-44
5. JA, 1929, pp. 203-4; Belväkar and Ranade, Hist. of Ind. Philosophy, II, p. 963.
ferences to two of his own works, Advayasiddhi and Tattva-bodhasaṅgraha-ṭīkā, none of which is known from any other source. The Nyāyakandali was much used outside Bengal and commented on by non-Bengalee authors⁴. The Tautāṭita-matatilaka of Bhaṭṭa Bhava-deva, minister of Harivarmadeva, was a gloss on Kumārila Bhaṭṭa’s Tantravārtika. Halāyuddha, a judge of Lakṣmanaśena’s court, wrote a work on Mīmāṃsā, called Mīmāṃsā-saṃvāsa, which is a running commentary on the sūtras of Jaimini⁵. It has been argued by some writers⁶ that Śriharṣa enjoyed the patronage of Vijayasena in the early part of his career, but in his philosophical work Khaṇḍana-Khaṇḍa-Khāḍya (in which he criticises the main schools of Indian philosophy) he says that he was honoured by a Kānyakuvja king. Therefore this work does not seem to be a production of Bengal.

Śmṛti and ritualistic literature—The first Śmṛti-writer of note is Bhaṭṭa Bhava-deva. His Karmāṇuṣṭhāna-paddhati, also known as Daśakarma-paddhati, gives detailed description of the purifying ceremonies of marriage and domestic ceremonies to be performed by the Brahmans in accordance with the Chāndogya schools of the Sāmaveda. This work is very important for the Rādhiya and Vāren-dra Brahmans, most of whom belong to the Kauṭumika-ākhā of the Sāmaveda. His Prāyaṃcittā-nirūpaṇa deals with sins and modes of their expiation. Murder of men, women and animals is called great crimes. Other crimes are the taking of forbidden food and drink, thefts, sexual intercourse with forbidden persons, forbidden marriages, sale of forbidden goods and contact with untouchables⁷. Govindarāja, son of Mādhava Bhaṭṭa, wrote a commentary on Manusamhitā and the manuscript was copied in 1145 A.D. It seems to be one of the most comprehensive compilation of domestic and social regulations for the Brahmans of Bengal.⁸

Traditionally Jīmūtavāhana is known as amātya and prāṭihā-veka of Vijayasena⁹. He is styled in the colophons Paribhādriya Mahāmahopādhyāya or Paribhādri-kulāvadhiṭa. Paribhadra is the Pari gāiṇ of the Rādhiya Brahmans. Mr. M. Chakravarti⁰ draws

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1. IC, IV, p. 276.
2. JASB, 1915, p. 328.
4. JASB, 1912, pp. 335 ff.
5. JBORB, V, p. 173.
attention to the fact that in his Kāla-viveka Rādhā is mentioned along with Ujjayinī and suggests that he was referring to his homeland. The same scholar after a detailed examination of all literary references has come to the conclusion that Jīmūtavāhana is to be placed in the beginning of the 12th century. His Kāla-viveka deals with appropriate months and seasons for religious duties and festivals, The Dharmasūtras, Purāṇas and Brahmagupta and Varāhamihira are cited as authorities. The Vyavahāra-mātrikā deals with legal procedure in the court of justice and the nature of evidence. It is interesting to note that oral evidence, written documents, possession, and inference constitute various kinds of evidence, while trials by ordeals have no place in this book. “Like the Kāla-viveka, it is full of quotations, some six hundred in number.” This fact alone shows Jīmūtavāhana’s wide study and learning. His chief title to fame rests on the Dāya-bhāga which is the leading authority of the Bengal school of law and still determines the succession and inheritance of the Hindus of Bengal. “The Dāya-bhāga enunciates considerably advanced ideas of law on inheritance and partition, and displays an acute intelligence, a wide grasp of the subject and a skill in marshalling authorities in favour of its view.”

Aniruddha-bhaṭṭa was the preceptor of Vallālasena and composed two works on rituals, namely, Suddhi-viveka and Hāralatā. It was at his instance that Dānasāgara was compiled by his royal disciple, which deals with various kinds of gifts and ceremonies connected therewith. The composition of the Adbhutasāgara is also ascribed to Vallālasena and it deals with omens and portents.

Halāyudha, a judge of Laksmaṇasena, was a prolific writer on Smṛti. His father Dhanañjaya was also a judge and he himself was at first a rāja-paṇḍita, mahāmātra and finally a dharmādhikāra. In some of the introductory verses and final colophons he styles himself ‘āvasathika’. If āvasathika is a mistake for āvallika, he may be identified with āvallika paṇḍita Halāyudha of the Vātsya gotra, one of the donees of the Sāhitya Pariṣat plate of Viśvarūpasena. His mother belonged to the Gochasanḍi Kula (identifiable with Gocanḍi

1. JASB, 1906, p. 158.  
2. The suggestion that āvasathika is a mistake for āvantika is unwarranted, IC, 1, pp. 502-6.
gāṇ of the Vārendra Brahmanas of the Bharadvāja gotra). It may be that his father was also a Vārendra. Of all his works, Brāhmaṇa Sarvasvasa is the best known. It deals with the daily rites and periodical ācāras of the Brahmanas. He has explained the rites and ceremonies of the Brahmanas in the light of the Mantra-bhāṣya of Uvaṭa and the Gyhya-mantra-bhāṣya of Guṇaviśṇu. This work was meant for the Brahmanas of the Vājasaneyi Kāvyaśākhā. Besides, he is credited with the authorship of the Vaiṣṇava-sarvasva, Saiva-sarvasva and Paṇḍita-sarvasva. His two elder brothers, Paśupati and Iśāna, also composed several books. In the Daśakarma-paddhati, Paśupati is called Rājapaṇḍita and it deals with the ten domestic ceremonies according to the Sukla-Yajurveda. Paśupati also wrote Sraddha-kṛtya-paddhati and Pāka-yajña-paddhati. Iśāna is said to have written a book on rites relating to the āhnikā of the Brahmanas, called Dwijāhnikā-paddhati.

Kāvyā—Tradition connects Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa, the author of Venisamhāra, with Ādīśūra, but this is not corroborated from any other source. Mention may be made here of one Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa of Uttarā-Rādhā, belonging to the Vātsyya gotra. His son emigrated to Orissa where he figures as a donee of a grant of the eighth century. But it is to be noted that Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa connected with Ādīśūra was of the Sāndilya gotra.

A strong case has been made for regarding Abhinanda, the author of Rāmacarita, as a writer who enjoyed the patronage of a Pāla prince named Haravarṣa belonging to the family of Vikramaśīla. As Vikramaśīla was another name of Dharmapāla, the suggestion of identifying Haravarṣa with Devapāla is reasonable, though this is not corroborated from any other source. Abhinanda who enjoyed an all India fame and has been compared with Kālidāsa must have produced a work of high poetic merit like Rāmacarita. But it must be noted that most of the verses attributed to Abhinanda in the anthologies cannot be traced in Rāmacarita and only a few are traceable. Either Abhinanda composed other works or some other verses which

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1. Ibid. 2. JASB, 1906, pp. 188A. 3. HI, XXIII, p. 74. 4. Introduction, Rāmacarita published in GOS. 5. Ibid. 6. Ibid.
are not yet known, or there was another Abhinanda. It is also to be noted that in the anthologies Abhinanda is occasionally called Gauḍābhinanda. The father of the author of Rāmacarita was Śatānanda, and it is a significant fact that some verses have been attributed to one Śatānanda in Sadukti-karnāṃśa, and they either precede or follow those attributed to Abhinanda. It is his father's name that enables us to distinguish him from another Abhinanda, son of Jayantabhaṭṭa, and the author of Kādambarī-kathā-sāra and Yagavāsiṣṭha-sāra. The family of the latter originally belonged to Gauḍa but migrated to, and settled, in Kāśmīra six generations earlier¹. His grandfather Saktivarman was the minister of Lalitāditya Muktāpiḍa and his father Jayantabhaṭṭa was the author of Nyāyamaṇjarī. The author of Rāmacarita and the author of Kādambarī-kathā-sāra belonged to the same time. Rāmacarita fulfils all the tests of a Mahākavya and is written in the Vaidarbhī-ṛiti. It seems that Abhinanda ended his work with the 36th canto, and three other cantos have been added later.

Sandhyākaranandin's Rāmacarita² is a unique historical work. It is written in double en tendre. In one way it gives the story of the recovery of Sītā by Rāma and in another way it narrates the story of the recovery of Varendra by Rāmapāla from the Kaivarta chief Bhima. Most of the words used are capable of two meanings and the author has been called “not only a poet but also a linguist.” It is very difficult to understand the verses without the commentary which only comes up to the first canto and 36 verses of the second.

The Sena period has been called the Augustan Age of Sanskrit literature in Bengal³. The Sena kings lavishly patronised the scholars, and in Sadukti-karnāṃśa many verses are attributed to Lākṣmanasena, Keśavasena, Viśvarūpasena and Mādhavasena; and Vallālasena himself was a reputed author. The Sena court resembled Dhārā under Paramārā Bhoja and ancient Ujjainī. The outburst of Brahmanical learning made itself felt in two directions—in ritualistic works and in the production of Kāvyas. Śriharṣa, the author of Naiṣadhiya, is said to have enjoyed at first the patronage of Vijayasena. It has been suggested that this book has got some covert allu-

1. Ibid. 2. Published in MASA, III, pt. 1 3. JASA, 1906, p. 157,
sion in it to the Sena dynasty\(^1\). It deals with the story of Nala and Damayanti, and Nala is described as the son of Virasena. It is known from the Sena inscriptions that Virasena of Puranic celebrity was the remote ancestor of the Senas. It may be noted in this connection that the Sarnath inscription of Kumārādevī, queen of Jayacandra, was composed by Śrī-Kunda, a friend of the king of Vanga. In *Khanḍāna-khaṇḍa-khāḍya* it is said that he was honoured by the Kānya-kubja king Jayacandra. In the above inscription Śrī-kunda has been described as a “lion to attack the crowds of the elephant like heretics, and as a Rohana mountain of the flashing jewels of poetical composition”\(^2\). If this has any reference to the above philosophical work and to *Naiṣadhiya*, Śrī-Kunda may be identified with Śrī-Harśa, though this does not prove his Bengali origin.

Umāpatidhara, the composer of the Deopara prāśasti of Vijayasena, is quoted extensively in *Saduktikarṇāyāmṛta* and hundred verses have been attributed to him\(^3\). Referring to himself, the poet says that “his understanding has been purified by the study of words and their meanings” and this is amply proved even from this prāśasti. Jayadeva is said to have criticised his fellow-poets of Laksmanaśena’s court thus\(^4\)—“Umāpati is verbose in style, but devoid of sweet words. Śaraṇa has the merit of composing poems within a short time but his verses are very difficult to be understood. Govardhana is expert in erotic compositions. Dhojī could remember what he heard but is vain.” In *Saduktikarṇāyāmṛta* many verses have been quoted under Śaraṇadeva and Cirantana-śaraṇa all of whom according to Mr. M. Chakravarti,\(^5\) refer to the same man. The poet Śaraṇa has been identified with the grammarian of the same name\(^6\). Ācārya Govardhana is known by his *Āryā-saptāśati* which is full of erotic sentiment.

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2. HI, IX, pp. 323 ff.  
4. Then he praises himself with the remark that Jayadeva alone possesses all the merits of a good poet. I think this verse about his fellow poets and himself is a later interpolation, though it brings into prominence the characteristics of the five poets.  
Pavanadūtam of Dhoyi is a dūta kāvya and has been written in imitation of Meghadūta from which expressions have been sometimes borrowed. In spite of this, he exhibits a good deal of poetic skill. He wrote in an elegant and easy-going language and his descriptions are sometimes "vivid, lifelike and full of pathos." Of all the authors of Bengal Jayadeva is the best known. He was born at Kendubilva in the modern Birbhum district. His Gīta-govinda is one of the most popular books ever written in Sanskrit language. It is very sacred to the Vaiṣṇavas. There are very few hearts from which its sweet melody does not get response, and Jayadeva is known as the nightingale of Sanskrit poets.

Besides these, there are many authors like Udayana, Yogēśvara, Bālabhadra, Madhu (dharmādhiḥkāra), Vetāla, Vyāsa (Kavi-rāja) whose verses in praise of the king of Gauda or Vaṭudāsa, (the father of the anthologist) have been quoted in Saduktikarṇāṁṛta. They were either poets of Bengal or connected with the Gauda court. This anthology deserves more than a passing notice. The work was finished in 1205 A.D.. Vaṭudāsa is called a mahāsāmanta-cūḍāmaṇi and a friend of Lākṣmaṇasena, and Śri-dharadāsa was a mahāmāndalika. The work contains the names of more than 450 authors and "bears ample testimony to his taste and industry...... the authors have been fairly selected and sorted under different subjects; and they bespeak a fairly wide culture with formation of libraries".

The above account, incomplete as it is, is sufficient to indicate the extent and nature of the Brahmanical culture in various branches. Rājaśekhara in his Kavyamimāṁsā twice refers to the extreme popularity of Sanskrit in Gauda. From the foreign accounts and epigraphic records we can trace the following centres of learning in different parts of Bengal.

In Rāḍha—Fa-hein speaks of Tāmrālipti as an important centre of learning. There he lived two years in copying manuscripts. Yuan Chhwang was very much impressed by the love of learning of

1. C. Chakravarti, Pavanadūtam, Intro., p. 12.
2. Published by H. D. Sharma; see also JASS, 1906, pp. 157 ff.
3. Ibid., p. 175.
five capital towns of Bengal that he visited. It-sing learnt the Brahma language and science of grammar at Tâmralipti and describes in detail the organisation and working of Bhâ-râ-hâ monastery there. It is thus clear that Tâmralipti was an important centre of learning in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods.

Bhurisreththa where Nyâyakandali of Shrîdharâcârya was composed was in Dakshiņa-Râdha and it is identified with the Bhursut parganâ in the Hoogly district. It seems to have been a famous seat of learning. Krśna Miśra in his Prabodha-candrodaya (it was dramatised in the court of the Candella king Kîrtivarman c. 1065 A.D.) caricatured the pride of Gauda philosophers thus, “Gauda kingdom is the best; in that the town of Râdha is above all comparison; the residence of Bhurisreththaka is excellent; there my father is best.” It is known from an inscription2 in the temple at Mandhata in the Central Provinces that Halâyudha, an emigrant from Navagrâma in Dakshiņa-Râdha, composed 64 verses of that record, dated in 1130 V.E. There exists a village named Navagrâma in the parganâ of Bhursut3.

Siddhâla, home of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, is in the Birbhum district, and in the Bhuvanesvar prâṣasti an account of his seven ancestors has been given. The village itself has been described as an ornament of Uttara-Râdha and a pride of Aryâvarta. All his ancestors were learned men. His seventh ascendant was the recipient of a sâsana of the village Hastinibhâṭṭa from a Gauda king, and his grandfather Ādideva was a minister of a Vaṅga king and he himself a Sândhivigrâhika of Harivarmadeva. His extant works have already been noted. In the panegyric he is described as ‘omniscient’. “Having seen the other shore of the sea of Siddhânta, Tantra and

1. Prabodha-candrodaya, Canto II.
2. Hiralal, Inscriptions of C. P. and Berar, p. 84.
3. IC, I, p. 503. Mr. J. C. Ghose refers the date to the Śaka era but without any reason. He is also inclined to regard the three donees of the Mandhata plates of Devapâla and Jayavarman, dated in 1260-61 A. D. as emigrants from Bengal. One of them was an emigrant from Navagrâma, another from Tarkâri and the other from Ghatashrâhi. It is not unlikely that a batch of Bengal Brahmans emigrated to C. P. after the fall of Nadia.
Ganita, producing world-wide wonder in Phala-Samhitās, the maker and proclaimer of a new Horāśāstra, he became manifest as another Varāha (v.21). In the paths of Dharma-śāstra, by composing good treatises he blended old productions. By good glosses elucidating the Dharma-gāthās of sages, he wiped away doubt on points of legal acts (v.22). In Mīmāṃsā he composed, following the sayings of Bhaṭṭa, a guide in which thousands of maxims etc., etc. . . . " (v.23).

In Varendra—The Garuda pillar inscription introduces us to a Sāndilya family of hereditary ministers of the Pālas. Their political activity has already been noted but their learning also finds a conspicuous mention in this record. Darbhapāṇi was a master of four vidyās (most probably the four Vedas) and so also his son Kedārmiśra. Gurava Mitra, minister of Nārāyanapāla, was proficient in many subjects, viz., in Āgamas (sacred lore), Jyotisha (astronomy) and in Vedas. He seems to have composed a book on Sruti (v.24). He was a keen fighter in assembly as well as in the battle-field.) The Silimpur praṣasti of Prahāsa supplies us with the information of the existence of a learned Bharadvāja family and of some villages and localities where Brahmanical learning and rites were in a flourishing condition. The family originally lived in Tarkāri within the limits of Śrāvasti and migrated to Bālagrama in Varendra in the Puṇḍra country and again to an adjacent village named Siyāmbaka. All these places were abodes of learned Brahmanas and Vedic rites and homas were zealously performed. Palæographically Prahāsa may be assigned to the eleventh century and his grandfather Tapunidhi attained perfection in the doctrines of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. His father Kārtikeya was proficient in Mīmāṃsā, Srutis and Smṛtis. Prahāsa himself was learned in logic, Tantras, and Dharmaśāstras. The king Jayapāla of Kāmarūpa tried to induce him to emigrate to that country with the promise of a gift of 900 gold coins and a grant of land yielding an annual income of 1000 coins. This offer was refused. He set up an image of Varāha and absorbed himself in pious and charitable activities. In his old age he retired on the bank of the Ganges.

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1. EL X111, p. 283.
For location see supra.
BUDDHIST LITERATURE

Mm. H. P. Shastri classified the literature of the Pāla period under four headings—(1) Sanskrit Brahmanic, (2) Sanskrit Buddhist (3) Vernacular Brahmanic and (4) Vernacular Buddhist Literature. Though we cannot strictly follow this classification, it has got the merit of bringing into prominence the huge mass of Buddhist literature that was produced in the Pāla period. The later Buddhist literature has not yet been adequately studied, and we are not in possession of all the materials. Sometimes discoveries of some important books are announced from Nepal libraries. Many of the books are preserved in the Bstan-hgyur some of whose originals seem to have been lost. In studying this vast literature scientifically, there are various difficulties, some of which cannot be at present solved.

The later Buddhist literature is generally Tantric in character. Five important centres of Tantrikism were Kāmakhyā, Śrīhaṭṭa, Pūrṇagiri, Uḍḍiyāna and Zāhore. The first two are well-known places, and it is to be mentioned that Śrīhaṭṭa or Sylhet, though at present included in Assam, is linguistically and culturally a part of Bengal. Pūrṇagiri cannot be located. The last two localities are frequently mentioned as important centres of Buddhist Tantrikism and there is considerable disagreement among scholars about the location of Uḍḍiyāna and Zāhore. Uḍḍiyāna has been sought to be located in in Swat valley, Kasgarh, Orissa, on the north-east fringe of Bengal and in the Chittagong region; and Zāhore has been identified with Mandi in the Panjab, Lahore, Jessore, Sabhar in Dacca and Sahore in Rādhā. It is difficult to accept any one of these suggestions in the absence of definite evidence. Apart from the consideration that the stronghold of Tantrik Buddhism was in eastern India, the sug-

1. JBORS, V, p. 171.
2. Mm. H. P. Shastri could not mention any book of this class, though he asserted that there was such a class of literature. Ibid.
3. IHQ, V1, pp. 576ff; Dr. M. Bhattacharyya, Sadhadāmātī (GOS) intro. pp. xxxii-xxxix; IHQ, XI, p. 142.
gestion to locate Uḍḍiyāna in Bengal gains additional support from the simple fact that while Lui-pāda, Sarabha, Advaya-vajra and Tailaka-pāda have been described as of Uḍḍiyāna, they have been again called natives of Bangala (Vaṅgāla?). Again, Śāntarakṣīta has been described as a scion of the royal family of Zahore. But according to the Pag-sam-jon-zang, he was born in Bangala. This can be satisfied by locating Uḍḍiyāna and Zahore in Bengal or by the supposition that there were two sets of Tantric scholars bearing the above names—a contention not easily to be conceded without strong proof. Another difficulty that confronts us is the settling of the chronology of the authors. Information on this point comes from Tārānātha, Bu-ston and the Pag-sam-jon-zang whose chronologies and genealogies are admittedly faulty and inaccurate, and therefore these Tibetan authorities cannot be much relied on. In order to fix the time of the Tantric authors attempt should rather be made from some definite known dates, say from Śāntarakṣīta and disciples (guru-paramparās) as preserved by the Bstan-hgyur and the Pag-sam-jon-zang are to be utilised with the caution that, “the mystics still believe that the Siddhas do not die………..such alleged relation only speaks of a spiritual connection and not of any historical one.” The confusion of their chronology is worse confounded by the fact that many scholars of different periods bear the same name. There were at least three Candragomin, three Nāgārjunas, two Lui-pās and two Śāntidevas. I have got no doubt about the fact that there are many such cases of confusion in the Tibetan accounts. The apparent inconsistency and confusion in the Tibetan books cannot be solved until and unless the separate identity of different

1. IHH XI pp. 141-3
2. Ibid. pp. 142-43.
4. History of Indian Logic pp. 833 336
5. Sadhanamāla, Intro., p. XIV; JASB, 1930, pp. 142 ff
6. Lui-pā who has been identified with Matsyendranātha cannot be the same person to whom Śāntarakṣīta refers; former seems to have flourished in the 10th century, while the latter in the 8th.
7. Śāntideva, the author of the Śikṣā-Samuccaya, (whose latest possible date is the 8th century) cannot be identified with Śāntideva, disciple of Dipaṅkara Śrījñāna of the 11th century
scholars of different periods can be definitely established. This perhaps explains also why a great many books have been attributed to a single author in the *Bstan-hgyur*. The numbers come sometimes to thirty or even to forty, and it may be that they are not the productions of one author. But it must also be said that we need not be surprised by these numbers, for twenty works of Advayavajra, when published,¹ contain only about sixty pages.

The earliest known Buddhist author seems to be the grammarian Candragomin. *Sisya-lekha-dharma*, an epistle in *Kāvya* style, which has been addressed to the pupils, propounding Buddhist doctrines, is also attributed to him.²

Śilabhadra, the preceptor of Yuan Chwang, was a scion of the Brahmanical royal family of Samataṭa. He enjoys a unique position in the Buddhist world as one of the celebrated heads of the Nalanda University. He was a disciple of Dharmapāla and is said to have defeated a learned Brahman from southern India in a discussion and the local king (most probably of Magadha) was so much satisfied with his victory that he made an offer of a city to Śilabhadra which he reluctantly accepted, as it was opposed to the spirit of the Holy Master’s teaching. He made a religious offering of the city and built a monastery there. The Chinese pilgrim and disciple pays eloquent tribute to his learning and liberality and says that he wrote several treatises.³ “He rose to be eminent for his principles and subtleties and his fame extended to foreign countries.” A work entitled *Ārya-Buddha-bhūmi-svākhya*, preserved in the *Bstan-hgyur*, has been attributed to one Śilabhadra.

Sarahā is said to have belonged to Uḍḍiyāna⁴ but according to *Pug-sam-jon-zang*, he hailed from Bangala.⁵ He was also known as Sarahabhadra and Rāhulabhadra and was one of the earliest *Tāntrika*

1. GOS, No. XL. Edited by Mru. H. P. Shastri.
5. Index, p. cxxi.
Buddhist scholars. He was equally learned in Brahanical and Buddhist lore and has been assigned to the seventh century. In the Bstan-hgyur twenty-one books are attributed to him.

Sabaripa or Sabarīśvara came of a Sabara (huntsmen) tribe in Bangala and was a disciple of the Tantrika Nāgārjuna. He has been assigned to the seventh century and a Sādhana of Kurukullā in Sādhanaṃālā is attributed to him. Some of his vernacular songs are known.

Lui-pāda, according to the Pag-sam-jon-zang, hailed from Udḍiyāna but in the Bstan-hgyur it is mentioned that he belonged to Bangala. He came of the fisherman caste. He is said to have been the first Siddhācārya and has been assigned to the seventh century. In the Bstan-hgyur five works on Tantrika Buddhism are attributed to him. Some of his vernacular songs have been published.

Nāgabodhi was born in Varendra and was the disciple of Nāgārjuna who has been assigned to the 7th century. The authorship of thirteen works is ascribed to him in the Bstan-hgyur.

The Pag-sam-jon-zang states that Sāntarakṣita was a contemporary of Gopāla I and Dharmapāla and was a scion of the royal family of Zahore and a native of Bangala. He was a pandita of the Nālandā University and was invited by the Tibetan king Khri-sron-den-tsan to visit Tibet. He established the first Buddhist monastery Sam-ye in 749 A.D. and stayed there for 13 years and died in 762 A.D. Sāntarakṣita is one of the greatest Buddhist scholars. His literary fame mainly rests on his monumental work

3. Published by Muu, H. P. Shastri in the Baudhad-Gāna-o-Dohā.
9. Index, p. xcix, p. 112; Mr. S. C. Das, the famous Tibetan scholar, wrote that he was a native of Gauḍā. See JBTS, I, pt. II, p. 10.
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called Tattva-saṃgraha. It is an exposition of the Mahāyāna and refutation of other systems of Indian philosophy. He quotes from no less than sixty previous authors, the hollowness of whose arguments is exposed in this book. A learned commentary on Tattva-saṃgraha was written by his own disciple, Kamalaśīla. Besides, Sāntarakṣita is said to have written eight books.

Haribhadra flourished during the reign of Dharmapāla at whose request he is said to have written a commentary on Aṣṭa-sahasra-Prajñā-pāramitā in order to work out a compromise between Śūnyavāda and Vijñānavāda of Nāgārjuna and Maitreyanātha. Kāyastha Ṭaṅkadāsa was the chief lekhaka of Dharmapāla. He wrote a commentary called Suviśāda-sampūṭa on Hevajra-tantra.

Various legends have grown around the name of Matsyendranātha, also known as Mīnanātha and Mīnapāda. It is really difficult to know the truth about this man who occupies a foremost place among both the Buddhist and Hindu Tāntrikas. He was the guru of Gorakṣanātha and is much revered by the Nātha sect all over northern India. Most probably he was a fisherman by caste and was born in Candradvipa. He preached his doctrine in Kāmarūpa.

Dr. P. C. Bagchi after a careful examination of all the available legendary accounts is inclined to place him in the beginning of the 10th century A.D. and accepts the identification of Matseyndranātha with Lui-pā. His Kaulajñāna-nirṇaya deals with the Kaula doctrine of the Śaiva Tāntrikas but shows his acquaintance with Buddhist Tāntrika doctrines.

Ācārya Jetāri came of a Brāhmaṇa family. He was a teacher of Dīpaṅkara and may be assigned to the last part of the 10th century. His father Garbhapāda served the local king of Varendra, Sanātana by name. Jetāri is said to have been expelled by his kinsmen and consequently entered the Buddhist order. Three books on

1. Published in GOS, No. XXX.
2. Ibid., Intro., p., Hist. of Ind. Logic, pp. 828 ff.
3. JBORS, V, p. 177. 4° Spp, 1318, p. 254.
5. See the learned Introduction by Dr. P. C. Bagchi to Kaulajñāna-nirṇaya, published in the Calcutta Sanskrit Series, No. III.
logic called Hetu-tattvopadesa, Dharmadharma-viniścaya and Bālāvatārā-tarka are attributed to him in the Bstan-hgyur.¹

Tailika-pāda or Tilopa was a contemporary of Mahāpāla. In the Bstan-hgyur he is described as of Udḍiyāna,² while the Pag-sam-jon-zang³ records that he was originally a Brahmana of Chittagong and lived in the Paṇḍita Vihāra there. Several books on Tāntrika Buddhism are attributed to him.

(According to Tārānātha, Avadūtapāda Advayavajra was a contemporary of Mahāpāla I, and Dipaṅkara. Fifty-three works have been attributed to him. Twenty of them have been published under the heading Advayavajra-saṅgraha.⁴)

Jñānaśrī Mitra was born in Gauḍa. He was a gate-keeper of the Vikramāśilā monastery during the time of Dipaṅkara’s visit to Tibet and he is said to have owed a great deal to Jñānaśrī.⁵ He was at first a follower of the Śrāvaka school but later accepted Mahāyāna. Three works, entitled Kāryakāraṇa-bhāva-siddhi (on logic), Tantra-mūla-vytti (a Tāntrika Buddhist work) and Vṛtti-mālā-stuti (on metre) are attributed to him.

Dipaṅkara Śrījñāna Atiśa is a great name in later Buddhist history and in Tibet he occupies a place, second only to Buddha himself. His biography is known from a Tibetan source.⁶ He was born in 980 A.D. in the royal family of Vikramaṇipura in Bangala. He was the son of Kalyāṇaśrī and Prabhāvatī, and his original name was Candragarbhā. He learnt five minor sciences from Jetaṅ and piṭakas of the Mahāyāna doctrine, Mādhyamika and Yogācāra metaphysics from Rāhulagupta. At the age of thirty-one he became a full-fledged bhikṣu and spent 12 years in Suvarṇadvipa in studying under Dharmakīrtī. His vast learning won for him the exalted position of the high priest of Vikramāśilā. He mediated the hostilities between king Karna and Nayapāla. In course of the description of a

¹. For short notices of these books, see Hist. of Ind. Logic, p. 337.
². Cordier, II, p. 79.
³. Index, p. xli.
⁴. GOS, No. XL.
⁶. JBTS, I, p. 9 ff.
convocation at Vikramaśilā, the Tibetan envoy who was deputed to escort him says, "When all the rows of seats were filled up, there came lord Atiśa, the Venerable of Venerables, in all his glory at whose sight the eyes felt no satiety. His graceful appearance and smiling face struck every one of the assembly. From his waist hung down a bundle of keys. The Indians, Nepalese and Tibetans all looked at him and looked upon him for a countryman of their own. There was brightness mixed with simplicity of expression on his face, which acted as a magic-spell upon those who beheld him." After repeated invitations he went to Tibet to reform the Buddhist church there. He died in 1053 A.D. at the age of seventy-three. Twenty of his works are known in the Bstan-hgyur. Besides, with the help of some lotsavas (Paññitas) he translated many Sanskrit books, more than hundred of which are mentioned in the Bstan-hgyur.

Ratnākara Śántideva, also known as Bubhuksu, was a gate keeper of the Vikramaśilā monastery. Tārānātha says that he was a disciple of Dipaṅkara and was a native of Zāhorē in Bangāla. He composed a sādhana. He went to Ceylon to preach Buddhist doctrine. A work on prosody, called Chando-Ratnākara, is attributed to him. Two works on logic Vijñapti-mātrā-siddhi and Antarpvyāpti, are also known and some of his vernacular songs have been published.

Prajñāvarman hailed from Kāva in Bhoṅgala (Vaṅgāla) and was contemporary of Dānaśīla who flourished during the reign of Nayapāla. Prajñāvarman is known as a translator of Sanskrit books in Tibetan. He composed two works on Tāntrika Buddhism and a commentary on Udāna-varga.

Besides the above-mentioned authors and writers, there must have been many other Bengali scholars. In the above account only those have been included, about whom there is some definite evidence to show that they belonged to some part of Bengal. Some of the

2. No. 78. of Śadhuṇamāḷa, Intro., y. cxii.
4. Rockhill, Udānavarga, Intro., p. XII,
scholars whom we know only as teachers of the monasteries of Nālandā, Vikramaśīlā, Jagaddala, Paṇḍita Vihāra and Vikramapurī Vihāra must have hailed from Bengal but the fact is that nothing is known of their nativity.

Vernacular Buddhist Literature – Mm. H. P. Shastri published the mystic vernacular songs of 34 authors¹ and he regarded all of them as Bengalees because he noticed use of some obsolete and peculiar Bengali words in them. These mystic songs were composed by Mahāsiddhas who are said to have performed great miracles. There are various legends connected with their lives current in Nepal and Tibet, and it is difficult to know their real life-stories. The songs show that they were teachers of Buddhist Sāhaja cult and seem to have some connection with the Saiva Nātha-panthis. Matsyendranātha, Gorakṣanātha and Jālandharipā are claimed by both the sects and held in great reverence. It is also clear that the Siddhas practised esoteric doctrines and yoga. Attempts have been made sometimes to explain abstruse philosophy in a popular way through these songs.

The distinguished linguist Dr. S. K. Chatterjee² notices distinctive Bengali traits of speech in the dohās of 20 writers Lui-pā (2 poems), Kukkurī (2), Virūpa or Birūwā (1), Guṇḍari (1), Cāṭila (1), Bhusuka (8), Kāmali or Kambalāmbara (1), Dombi (1), Śānti (2), Mahīttā or Mahīdhara (1), Bijjila or Viṇā-pāda (1), Sabara (2), Aja or Āravinda (1), Dheṇḍhana (1), Dārika (1), Bhāde or Bhādhrapāda (1), Tāḍaka (1), Kāṅkṣa (1), Jaya-nandī (1), Guṇjarī (1). The only exceptions are the dohās of Saraha (4) and Kānha (12) which are written in Apabhramśa dialect. Judging from the language, he expresses the opinion that these authors should be assigned to the period between 950–1200 A.D. and finds great influence of Western Śauraseni Apabhramśa, “the most cultivated literary language” of that period on these songs, and he further says that their language seems to be

based on a West Bengali dialect. The same scholar admits that in the 8th-11th centuries Bengali, Maithili and Oriya characteristics were probably in "formative fluid" and only in the 14th century they were fully developed. Though there is difference of opinion about the date of these dohâs, it is generally admitted that they cannot be posterior to 1200 A.D.. It is therefore reasonable to hold that in the period of these Aścaryā-caryā-caya the distinctive features of Oriya, Bengali and Maithili were not fully developed from their common parent Magadhan Apabhraśa. There is nothing to show that all the authors were Bengalees. These songs were meant for the people at large and were very popular in eastern India. Most probably they belonged to different parts of eastern India, if not to other parts of northern India.

Buddhist Universities—The account of the Buddhist scholars remains unfinished without the description of the Buddhist Viharas in which they congregated for higher studies.

Nâlandâ—The first and foremost one was the famous Nâlandâ University. It came into prominence as a seat of learning from the time of Kumâragupta I, and since then many other kings bestowed their favours on it. The royal patrons mentioned by Yuan Chwang were Śakrâditya, Budhaguptarâja, Tathâgatagupta, Bâlâdityarâja, Vajra and Harṣavardhana or Silâditya. The Nâlandâ inscription of the time of Yaśovarman of Kanouj records that his minister's son, Mâlâda by name, made various offerings to the monks of this Vihâra.

With the establishment of the Pâla power over Magadha the Buddhist Pâla kings played an important part in the growth of the University of Nâlandâ. A copper plate of Dharmapâla has been found in course of excavations but the object of this grant cannot be ascertained because of its defaced condition. The two inscriptions of the time of Devapâla throw a flood of light on the importance of this international seat of learning. The Nâlandâ grant of his 39th regnal year records that king Bâlaputradeva of Suvaraṇa-

1. Ibid, p. 97. 2. IHQ, 1930, p. 169.

After the publication of this note, these songs should be better denoted by this term and not 'Gâryyâcaryyaviniscaya.

dvīpa and Yavadvīpa (Sumatra and Java) was “attracted by the manifold excellences of Nālandā” and built a monastery1 there, which was the abode of the assembly of monks of various good qualities and was white with series of stucco and lofty buildings.” This king requested Devapāla to grant five villages for the offerings, oblations, shelter, garments of the assembly of monks. This proves beyond doubt that it was a far-famed seat of learning and its fame was not confined within the borders of India. The Gosarawa inscription or Viḍadeva praśasti supplies also some interesting information. Viḍadeva, a native of modern Jalalabad, after visiting Kaniṣka-vihāra at Pusrapura and meeting the monks of his own country at Yaśovarmapura (which perhaps could not satisfy his thirst for knowledge) was attracted by Nālandā. His vast erudition won for him the admiration of Devapāla2 and the exalted position of the head of the great University. Many images were installed there during his regime and it seems that he added some structures to the establishments. A votive stūpa was built in the reign of Mahīndrapāla3 who is most probably to be identified with the Pratihāra king Mahendrapāla. An image of Vāgīśvarī was covered with golden leaves in the reign of Gopāla II.4 In the sixth year of Mahipāla I the Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā-Prajñā-pāramitā was copied by one Kalyāṇamitra.5 In the 11th year of his reign a temple was rebuilt by one Bālāditya, a jyāviṣa of Tiladhaka (modern Telera) who had emigrated from Kausambi.6 In the fourth year of Rāmapāla’s reign the Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā-Prajñā-pāramitā was copied7 and the same book was copied there in the 4th year of Govindapāla.8 All these show that the Pālas exercised control over the University of Nālandā upto their last days.

1. The remains of the monastery of Bālaputra-deva form one of the levels of Monastery No. 1, Kurashi, Guide to Nālandā, p. 4.
2. It is not clear whether he was appointed by Devapāla or elected by the assembly of the monks.
3. ASIR, 1925-6, p. 86 ; EL, VII, App., p. 118, Note 2.
4. JASB, NS, IV, p. 105.
6. JASB, IV, p. 106.
8. JRAS, NS, VIII, p. 3.
Vikramaśīla—The other important monastery of which some interesting details are known from the Tibetan accounts is that of Vikramaśīla. As regards its origin various legends have been narrated in Tibetan books, but it seems that it was founded by Dharmapāla who bore the title Vikramaśīla, and as such it is sometimes called "Śrīmad-Vikramaśīla-deva-vihāra." Opinions of scholars are divided as to the site of this famous monastery. It has been sought to be identified with Silas near Baragaon, with Patharghata and Keur. All that is definitely known from the Tibetan account is that it was situated on a precipitous hill in Bihar on the right bank of the Ganges. "Patharghata" says Mr. N. L. De, "is about six miles to the north of Colgong, 24 miles to the east of Bhagalpur and 28 to the east of Campanagar; while "Keur is in direct line with Nālandā and Odantapurī and within 15 miles of Nālandā, and its close similarity with Nālandā remains, amply satisfies every known detail of Vikramaśīla." Dharmapāla provided it with four establishments and 27 monks were accommodated in each of them. Provisions were also made for the maintenance of resident monks and pilgrims. In his time the head of the vihāra was Buddhā-jñāna-pāda. In Nayapāla's time the central hall had six gates which opened six colleges. Each college had one hundred students and eight professors. There was an encircling wall around the whole establishment. The portraits of Nāgārjuna and Atiśa Dipaṅkara adorned the main entrance and the subjects on which great stress was laid were grammar, theology and philosophy. But the most important subject that was taught here and which gained high recognition was Tāntrikism. Vikramaśīla's fame rests mainly on producing great Tāntrika scholars and it seems that because of this it outshone Nālandā in importance. Distinguished scholars like Jetāri of Varendra and Ratnavajra of Kāśmīra received the diploma of "panḍita" from the kings themselves. It may be men-

3. Cunningham, ASR, VIII, p. 75.
5. JBORS, XV, p. 276.
tioned in this connection that the titles of the Buddhist scholars were generally Acārya, Mahācārya, Upādhyāya, Mahopādhyāya, Pañdita, Mahāpañdita and Bhikṣu.

When Dipaṅkara was the head, there were 108 professors and each of the six gates had a gate-keeper. Only erudite scholars were appointed gate-keepers. Students seeking admission were put to a test before one of the gate-keepers who, I think, should be better called Heads of the Departments as in modern Universities. A board consisting of eminent professors supervised the affairs of the University and issued instructions to the professors. Disciplinary action against a monk was only taken on consulting the whole congregation of the monks. The life and character of Dipaṅkara, so vividly described by the Tibetan envoy Nag-isko, shows the regard for truth and the high sense of duty of the monks of Vikramaśilā.

In Bengal proper there were many monasteries. Nothing in particular is known of the monastery of Acārya-Sāntideva to which Vainyagupta granted land in 508 A.D. for providing perfumes, flowers, lights and incense and also garments, food, beds, seats and medicines for the sick. The vihāra of Acārya Jitasena is also mentioned in this record. It is recorded by Yuan Chwang¹ that in his time there were at least two famous colleges. In the Po-chi-po saṅghārāma which has been identified by Cunningham with Bhasu Vihāra, four miles to the west of Mahāsthāna,² there lived 700 Mahāyāna priests and many renowned priests from eastern India also dwelt there. Its courts were lighty and roomy; its towers and pavilions were very lofty. In the Raktaviti saṅghārāma at Karnasuvarna congregated all the most distinguished men of the kingdom, who strove to promote each other's advancement by exhortation and to perfect their character. Its halls were lighty and spacious and the storeyed towers were lofty. The monastery of the revered teacher Saṅghamitra to which Devakhaḍga granted land for the longevity of his son Rājarājabhaṭa seems to have been an important institution, although nothing is known about it. It is also to be mentioned that we have

2. ASR, XV, pp. 104-7.
reference in the second Asrafpur plate to four others (vihāra-
vihārikā-catuṣṭaya).

We are rather fortunate in having a vivid account of the
Bhā-rā-hā monastery at Tāmrālipti from Tsing. The residents
did not themselves cultivate lands of the monasteries but the tenants
did it for them. The priests received only 1/3 of the vegetables.
“Thus they live their just life, avoiding worldly affairs, and free
from the faults of destroying lives by ploughing and watering fields.”
Every morning the managing priest examined the water of the well
in order to see if there was any insect or animate being in it. Every
business was done with the assent of the assembly of the monks
There was no head. If any priest did anything according to his own
will in disregard of the decision of the assembly, he was expelled
from the monastery as he behaved like a householder. The nuns
wishing to visit the priests were to inform the assembly of their
purpose of visit. The priest were to go to nuns’ apartments after
making an inquiry. When the nuns walked outside the monas-
tery, they walked in a company of two and when they went to any
layman’s house, they were to go in a company of four. When
women visited the monastery, they did not go to the apartments of
priests but talked in the corridor. Monastic rules and rites were
explained on the four Uposatha days of every month to the
assembly of the monks. A junior monk had to leave the monastery
because of playing trick on a tenant’s wife, although it was not
considered an offence. The pilgrim observes that Rāhulamitra of
excellent character, who had never spoken with any woman face to
face except his mother and sister, was the model of all monks and
was the most honoured priest in the eastern districts of India.
Learned monks who had mastered the piṭakas were provided with
the best rooms and servants. If they delivered daily lectures, they
were relieved of the usual duties of an ordinary priest. On account
of the priests’ mutual confession, their faults were prevented before
their growth and as a rule they submitted to laws. The rites of
Nālandā, we are told, were still stricter and hence its great fame
and greater number of students.

2. Ably discussed by Sankalia, University of Nālandā, Ch. II, pt. II; Ch. VIII.
Somapuri Mahāvihāra—Although nothing definite is known from literary source regarding the site of this great monastery, the evidence is now overwhelming for its identification with the Paharpur temple.\(^1\) A clay seal found in course of excavations at Paharpur supplies the information that the Vihāra was founded by Dharmapāla.\(^2\) Tārānātha\(^3\) and the author of the Pag-sam-jon-zang\(^4\) attribute its foundation to Devapāla, and this perhaps indicates that he added some structures\(^5\) which were begun by his father. About the middle of the 12th century a Buddhist monk, Vipulāśrimitra by name, built a shrine of Tārā, and this temple has been identified with that of the same goddess, exposed at Satyapira Bhita\(^6\) at Paharpur. The Nālandā inscription of Vipulāśrimitra further informs that Karuṇāśrimitra died at Somapura when his house was set on fire by an army of a Vāṅgāla king. Karuṇāśrimitra was removed from him by two generations of teachers, namely Maitrīśrimitra and Asokaśrimitra. Besides the building of the shrine of Tārā, all other pious activities of Vipulāśrimitra have been enumerated in this record. On a festival day he offered a casket to the temple of Khasarpaṇa for the Prajñāpāramitā manuscript, installed four images at its alms-houses at Choyandaka, installed an image of Dīpaṅkara Buddha at Harṣapura and offered a gold ornament for the decoration of an image of Buddha at Somapura. It is known from a Bodh-Gaya inscription\(^7\) that a Mahāyāna monk named Vīryendrabodhi who hailed from Samataṭa and was a resident of the Somapura-vihāra installed a Buddha image near the Mahābodhi temple (in c. the tenth century). Other celebrated scholars connected with this monastery were Mahāpañḍita Bodhibhadra\(^8\) and Advaya-

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1. VRS, Monograph No. 5, p. 27.  
2. ASIR, 1628-7, p. 149; 1227-21, pp. 105-6.  
3. IA, IV, p. 386.  
4. Index, p. cxxxi.  
5. A colophon of Allâṣa Dīpaṅkara’s Ratna-Karaṇpodgaṭṭa ascribes the foundation of the Vikramaśilī-vihāra to Devapāla who most probably, as Mr. N. N. Dasgupta suggests, added some structures to both the monasteries started by his father, see IC. 1, p. 229  
7. SPP, 1823, B. S., p. 70.  
vajra. Atīśa passed some time in it in translating the Madhyamaka-Ratna-Pradīpa.

Jagaddala-vihāra—This last great Buddhist monastery was built by Rāmapāla at the confluence of the Ganges and the Kara-toyā. Its renowned alumni were Bibhūticandra, Dānasila, Mokṣa-karagupta, Subhakaragupta and Dharmākara. The works composed by its paññitas are grossly Tāntrik in character and generally deal with Piśācas, owls Nāgas, Yokṣas etc., and their sādhana. One special feature of Jagaddala-vihāra was that many lotsavas (Tibetan scholars) thronged here and translated many Sanskrit books in Tibetan.

Other minor Vihāras—The existence of Vikramapuruś-vihāra is known from the Bstan-hgyur but nothing definitely is known about its origin. Kumāracandra belonged to this monastery. The existence of the Traikutṣaka-vihāra in Baṅgāla is known from Pag-sam-jon-zang, and it was here that Haribhadra wrote his commentary on Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā. The same book refers to the Paññita-vihāra in Chittagong where flourished Tālikapāda. The Suvara-vihāra was in Nadia. The Kanaka-stūpa-vihāra was situated in Paṭṭikarā, easily identifiable with the Paṭikera paraganā of the Tippera district. From the Mainamati plate of Raṇavaṅka-malla Harikāladeva, dated in 1141 S.E., it is further known that there was a vihāra in that locality and it was dedicated to the goddess Durgottarā, a form of Tārā. Chittagong is the only place where a Buddhist community still thrives and traces of Buddhism can be found in many localities.

1. Ibid, pp. 116, 120; III, p. 5.
4. Sankalia, University of Nālandā, p. 189.
5. Mr. N. N. Dasgupta suggests that it owed its origin to Dharmapāla, Bhāratvarṣa, 1341 B. S., pp. 962-970; IC, I, p. 280.
6. Index pp. xcv, xli; MASB, III, No. 1, p. 5.
8. SFP, 1321, B. S. p. 205.
CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL CONDITION

Brahmana Immigrations—The genealogical books of the Bengali ghatakas (match-makers) form a class of literature by themselves and it is a separate śāstra by its special importance like the Srutis and Smṛtis. There is an extensive literature on the subject, variously called Kulaśāstras, Kulagranthas or Kulapāñjikās. The main object of the genealogical books is to keep a correct record of the lineal descendants of important families, their branches and sub-branches with their social impurities and indignities in order to enable to gauge their social rank and status. The list of the ascendants of a family is necessary on some ceremonial occasions and they are supremely useful in forming matrimonial relationship, as connection of a pure family with a lower one will degrade the former also. Generally the lists coming from different sources agree with one another. But it is very difficult to handle these books for historical purposes. None of them has proved to be old and most of them are based on current traditions, sometimes orally transmitted from generation to generation. But what diminishes their historical value is that they are 'propagandist' in the extreme sense of the term. The Rādhīya and Vārendra Brahmanas assert that they are the pure descendants of the five immigrants alleged to have been imported by king Adiśūra. The contention of their books is that the original Brahmanas of Bengal lost their purity and competence in performing religious rites and rituals correctly and hence the importation of five pure Brahmanas at the instance of Adiśūra. The Pāścātya Vaidikas declare that the Rādhīyas and Vārendras were incapable of understanding the proper meaning of the Vedic mantras, and so king Sāmalavarman had to invite some Vaidika Brahmanas from the western provinces because of their profound knowledge in Vedic lore and rites. Not to speak of the important sections like the Rādhīyas, Vārendras and Vaidikas, every genealogist or protagonist tries to prove the purity and superiority of those whose cause he
espouses. In course of the development of Kulinism with all its intricacies and complexities there arose a class of professional ghatakas who may properly be regarded as heralds. There are instances of their tampering with the Kulapaññikās with not very disinterested or good motives. What is most instructive and interesting in this connection is that even most of the modern writers on the subject (though they profess to be critical and scientific) suffer from this defect. Few would give out the social stigma, if there were any, on their own families and by distorting truths by every possible means they would prove their purity and superiority. Above all, it must be borne in mind that the desire to associate oneself with a celebrated man or family or to claim a high pedigree is more or less inherent in human nature. In spite of these defects, it may be said that the traditions may contain some historical truths underlying them. In the Kulaśāstras are to be found the social organisations and reorganisations in various ranks and grades that were made by great social reformers to meet the needs of the changing circumstances from time to time, and some of them still hold good in case of the majority of the Hindu society of Bengal. They offer us a glimpse into the Hindu society during the Muslim rule which it is impossible to have from any other source.

Scholars with a scientific bent of mind have generally expressed grave doubts on the Kulaśāstras as reliable sources of evidence. Thus Messrs. R. D. Banerjee and R. P. Chanda who have discussed the historicity of Ādiśūra at great length have ultimately come to the conclusion that so long as his name is not to be found in some other more reliable records, it is futile to determine his place in history. But both of them conceded the historical existence of a king of that name because of the unanimity of all traditions from different Kulapaññikās. The introduction of Kulinism by Vallālasena has also been doubted by this school of writers because of the absence of its mention in the Sena grants.

1. BL, 2nd and 3rd Appendices
2. Sāhitya, 1321 B S, p 761
The opposite school is led by Mr. N. N. Vasu¹ and the native orthodox school of writers² who are ready to accept the evidence of the Kulapaṇijikās in toto. They write generally from the social standpoint. Excepting Mr. N. N. Vasu, none of them seems to be well acquainted with the archaeological materials for history, and naturally the accounts of these books are given prominence and preference. But it does not seem that the 'scientific school' of writers have gone deep into this class of literature from the standpoint of social history. Most of the books are in MSS. and adequate study of the subject has not been made. A critical study of the subject is worth attempting.

It must be made clear that the accounts of the royal genealogies in Kulagranthas are faulty and inaccurate, and their composers were not so much concerned with political history. Sāmalavarmā is spelt as Śyāmalavarmā and Vijayasena has been made his father. They were written long after the Sena period, and their authors do not seem to have based their accounts on accurate history. Only echoes of some historical truths are sometimes heard, when Vallālasena is connected with the Śūra dynasty through his mother's side and the date 1079 A.D. is mentioned as the time of Sāmalavarmā. Their importance lies in the fact that they give a picture of the Hindu society which cannot be found elsewhere.

The Kulatattvārṇava³ (about the genuineness of which we have grave doubts)⁴ states that a king named Śūdraka imported Sāravata Brahmanas in Vaṅga in order to perform a putreṣṭi sacrifice, but this lacks corroboration from any other book. All books agree in stating that king Ādiśūra brought five Brahmanas

1. His ten volumes on Castes and Sects of Bengal (in Bengali) called Vaṅga Jātīya Itihāsa.
2. For names of authors, see Appendix E.
3. Vs. 10-20.
5.
from Kanouj or Kolâńca. In most of the books the names of the five Brahmanas are Kṣitiśa of the Śāndilya gotra, Vītarāga of the Kāśyapa gotra, Sudhānidhī of the Vātsyya gotra, Medhātithi of the Bharadvāja gotra, and Sambhari of the Sābarna gotra. The story of their migration is as follows:—Adiśūra was the lord of Pañca-Gaudas and vanquished many kings of different parts of India. He had a rival in Virasimha who is described in some books as king of Kanouj and in others, of Kāśi. This king was not subdued by ordinary warfare. Therefore seven hundred armed Brahmanas of Bengal were sent on cows’ back by Adiśūra to fight with him. There could not be any fighting without killing the cows and Brahmanas, which, as a pious and religious-minded man, Virasimha could not do. Thus he was compelled to send five pure Sāgnika Brahmanas to Adiśūra in whom Bengal was lacking. The Kulatattuvarṇava supports this story but adds that Adiśūra needed these Brahmanas for the performance of a putreṣṭi sacrifice. The Vārendra Kulapañjikā supplies the information that Adiśūra brought the Brahmanas from Kanouj for fulfilling the wishes of his wife Candramukhi, the daughter of the Kanauj king Candraketu, who wanted to perform a vrata by pure Brahmanas.

The dates of the migration of the five Brahmanas in different books fall within the period between the eighth and the eleventh centuries. The earliest is 654 S.E. = 732 A.D., and it is mentioned in many books. The dates S.E., 954, S.E., 994 S.E. and 999 S.E. are

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1. There is some discrepancy in the names of the five immigrants. According to the Vārendra Kulapanjikā, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, Dākṣa, Chāndaḍa, Harṣa and Vedagarbha are the original settlers. Mr. N. N. Vasu cites a book in which Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, Suṣeṇa, Dharādhara, Gautama and Parāśara are the original settlers but are called the sons of Kṣitiśa, Vītarāga, Sudhānidhī, Medhātithi and Sambhari. We therefore take this list (which is found in Rādhīya books) as more trustworthy and reliable. (VJI, I, p. 102).

2. VJI, I, pp. 73-82, see different versions of the story.

3. Ibid.

4. IHQ, XI, pp. 73-74, Appendix F.
also met with. It is definite that Adiśūra was not responsible for the migrations of the Brahmanas on all these dates which fall within three centuries. Either these dates are wrong or they record the time of migrations of different batches of Brahmanas. It is also interesting to note that at the time of Vallālasena there was the 13th generation of the Bharadvājas and Sābarnas, the 12th of the Śaṅḍilyas and Vātsyas and the 8th of the Kāsyapas in Rādha; and in Varendra there was the 14th of the Śaṅḍilyas, the 15th of the Kāsyapas, the 13th of the Bharadvājas and Sābarnas and the 4th of the Vātsyas of the descendants of the five immigrants. All the difficulties can be solved by the natural presumption that the Brahmanas came to settle from time to time, and every migration has been associated with the name of Adiśūra (whose zeal and effort were perhaps the cause of one) in the Kulaśāstras which were composed long after that event. It may be that all dates have not been remembered. It is not to be believed on the authority of the Kulaśāstras that there had been no Brahmanas of the above five gotras before the alleged migration through the efforts of Adiśūra. The evidence of the Faridpur plate (No. 3), the Vappagoshavata plate of the time of Jayanāga and the Nidhanpur plates is conclusive on the point, as they mention many Brahmanas of the five gotras. This may explain in a way why the ancestors of Sābarna Bhatta Bhavadeva and Bharadvāja Prahāsa of the Silimpur inscription and Śaṅḍiliya Guravamiśra have not been described as immigrants from outside, as their families had been settled in Bengal from very remote times.

There has been much discussion on the vexed question of Adiśūra, and previous writers could not offer any satisfactory solution of the problem. The present writer drew attention to a hitherto unnoticed king, Magadhādhirāja Adisinha of the Dudhanpani Rock inscription, who may be identified with Adiśūra3 of the Kulaśāstras with some degree of plausibility. There is no difference in the meaning of the names, the words ‘śūra’ and ‘śūna’ being used in the sense

1. See Appendix F.  
2. VJL I.  
3. IHQ, XI, p. 70.
of hero. Palæographically the record has been assigned by Kielhorn to the eighth century. The earliest date 732 A.D. of the migration has been mentioned in the majority of the books so far known. The king Adisimha is to be placed after the Later Guptas and before the extension of the Pāla power over Magadhā. There could not have been any room for Magadhādirāja Adisimha when these two dynasties were ruling there. There is nothing improbable in the fact that a king of Magadhā had some portion of Gauḍa under him. Gauḍa and Magadhā were on many occasions politically united. The unnamed king of Gauḍa who was defeated and killed by Yaśovarman of Kanauj in the first half of the eighth century has been described by Vākpati as Magadanātha also. It is mentioned in the Kulaśāstras that the five Brahmana immigrants were granted the villages of Paṇcakoṭi in Manbhum, Vaṭagrāma in Burdwan, Harikoṭi in Midnapore, Kāmakoṭi in Birbhum and Kaṅkagrāma not far from Bāṇakunḍa.1 After the discovery of the Saktipur grant of Lakṣmaṇasena2 the last mentioned village can be identified with some degree of certainty, and it seems that it is represented by Kāgrāma in the Kandi sub-division of Murshidabad.3 It is also to be mentioned that Bārakuṇḍa, a locality in P. S. Suri, may be identified with Bāṇakunḍa near Kaṅkagrāma of the Kulapaṇjikās.

Most of the books record that the five immigrants came from Kanouj or Kolāṇca. Only one Varendra Kulapaṇjikā4 states that they migrated from different places—the Sāndilya family from Jambucatvara, the Vāṭṣya from Tāḍita, the Bharadvāja from Audumbara, the Sābarṇa from Madra and the Kāśyapa from Kolāṇca. The fact that in this account there are the names of three important places like Audambara, Madra and Kolāṇca gives it some degree of credibility, though Jambucatvara and Tāḍita cannot be located. There are many epigraphic evidences of the fact that many Brahmana emi-

1. VJI., I, pp. 109-111.
2. EL., XXI, p. 214.
3. SPP., 1840 B.S., pp. 78.
4. VJI., I, p. 102.
grants from Tarkārī (variantly called Tarkkārī, Tarkkārikā), Kroḍānāja or Kroḍānca or Kulānca (easily identifiable with Kolānca of the Kulaśāstras) and from Madhyadeśa figure as donees of royal grants of different provinces. Let us first take the case of Tarkārī. It is recorded in the Silimpur praśasti of Prahāsa that his ancestors (a Bharadvāja family) originally lived in Tarkārī within Śrāvasti-janapada from where they migrated to Bālagrāma and Siyāmvaka which have been described as ornaments of Varendra. In two inscriptions it has been definitely stated that Tarkārī was in Madhyadeśa, and it deserves particular notice that in one of the Baudh plates of Raṇābhaṅjadeva of the year 50 Tarkārī has been specifically mentionedd to have been in Śrāvasti-deśa. In the Ayayagar inscription Tarkārikā has been called the chief abode of the Śrīvāstava Kayasthas who are still now an important section of the Kayasthas of the United Provinces. All these point to the fact that there was a Tarkārī within far-famed Śrāvastī in the Gonda district of U.P. Brahmana emigrants from Śrāvasti-manḍala, bhukti and viṣaya figure as donees in the Mahāśivagupta Yayāti’s Patna plates, the Katak plates of Mahāśivagupta II, the Sonpur plate of Someśvara-deva, the Madhuvan plate of Harṣavardhana, the Dighwa-Dubhali plate of Mahendrapāla and the Lucknow Museum plate of Kṛtipāla. The donee of the Bangarh grant of Mahipāla I has been described as an emigrant from Hastipāda. The donees of two grants from Orissa also hailed from a village of that name, and in one of them it is mentioned that Hastipāda was in Madhyadeśa. The donees of the Irdā plate of the Kamboja king Nayapāla and the Jajilpara grant of Gopāla II have been described as emigrants from Kunṭīra and Muktāvastu which cannot be located at present. The ascendants of the donees of the Belāva plate of Bhojavaran and the Barrackpore plate of Vijayasena have been described as Madhyadeśa.

1. SPP., 1341 B. S., pp. 25 ff.; see also IA., 1931, pp. 14 ff.; XLVIII, p. 208.
2. IC., II, pp. 386 ff.
3. IA., XLVIII p. 280.
4. IHQ, x, pp. 477.
5. N. N. Vasu, Kayastha Varṇa-Nirṇaya, p. 72
6. SPP., 1341 B. S., pp. 25 ff.
7. Ibid.
deśa-vinirgata. There are at least seven charters which record land grants to Brahmaṇa emigrants from Krodāṇja, the location of which is not yet certain; but it is to be observed that the tradition as preserved in the Kulaśāstras unanimously associates it with Kanauj i.e., in Madhyadeśa.

It is almost certain that there was a Śrāvastī in northern Bengal, the existence of which is perhaps indicated by a śloka in the Matsya and Kurma Purāṇaś and is proved by the evidence of the two inscriptions of the Kāmarūpa kings Dharmapāla and Indrapāla and the Vaigrāma plate. Its location in Bogra and Dinajpur Districts is also certain. It is also quite possible, as has been suggested by some scholars, that there was a Kolāṇca within the locality of Śrāvastī in Bengal (which has been identified with Kulāṇca in the Bogra district). It is to be noticed that this Śrāvastī and Kulāṇca were not far removed from the city of Gauḍa in northern Bengal. Long ago Cunningham pointed out that there was a Gauḍa in the Gonda district, and the Rāmāyaṇa and Vāyupurāṇa also mention a Gauḍa in Uttarakośala. It seems that northern Bengal had very important relations with Śrāvastideśa, so far as the migrations of the Brahmaṇas were concerned. The far-famed Śrāvastī was not only a centre of Buddhism, Jainism and Ājīvikism but also a strong-hold of the Brahmaṇical religions, as it has been shown by Dr. B. C. Law even from the stray references in the early

1. IC. II, pp. 388 ff.
2. E1, xiii, p. 290.
   The Assam inscriptions refer to Śāvathi and one of them mentions a place called Vagirāma in it, the identity of which is established by the Vaigram plate.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. ASI, I p. 327; IX, pp. 151-152.
Buddhist literatures. According to Baudhāyana¹ and Vaśiṣṭha² it was in Madhyadeśa that the practice and tradition of the Āryas or siśṭas (cultured men) prevailed and the customs of this place were regarded with special veneration. According to Manu,³ Madhyadeśa is the country which lies between Himavat and the Vindhya, to the west of Prayāga and to the east of Vinaśana, where the Sarasvatī disappears. It was here that the Brahmanical rituals and social institutions like the caste were developed and elaborated and hence it became “the model country for all ages” and for all Āryāvarta.⁴ Viewed in this light, the tradition of the Kulāśāstras seems to reflect some truth and the migration of the Brahmanas from Madhyadeśa and the honour shown to them are historically intelligible, if not a necessity of the Hindu society of ancient Bengal.

Bengal is not the only province where in epigraphic records the Brahmanas, significantly described as Madhyadeśa-vinirgata, have been honoured with grants of land and other endowments. The instances of the Brahmanas who emigrated from Śrāvasti-bhukti, maṇḍala and viśaya have already been noted. In the neighbouring province of Orissa there are about six or seven epigraphs⁵ and there is no doubt that such cases can be easily multiplied from the inscriptions of other provinces.

As regards the incident of the migration, there is nothing improbable in the tradition that a king brought some Brahmanas from upper India in course of an expedition. An instance exactly of this nature may be cited. It is known from a southern India inscription⁶ that Bīṣṭiga of the Hārita gotra, a minister of the Hoysala king Narasimha I, descended from one of the fifty chief Brahmanas whom Gaṅga kings brought from the agrahāra of Ahichatra in the north when he had gone there in course of a

¹. SBE., xiv. 143-4, 147.
². Ibid. 1-3.
³. Ibid. xxv. 83 ; IHQ., IV, pp. 84 ff.
⁴. Mr. N. K. Dutta, Aryanisation of India, pp. 89-91.
⁵. SPP., 1841 B. S., pp. 25 ff.
victorious expedition. The allegation that there were no pure Brahmanas in Bengal is perhaps to be understood with references to the manner and way in which tribes or parts of eastern India have been mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Aitareya Aranyaka and by Baudhāyana. In the later Vedic period Bengal was inhabited by non-Aryan and nomadic tribes and peoples, and orthodox writers like Baudhāyana did not deem it a proper place for Aryan habitation. There is no denying the fact that Bengal received her stock of Aryan population later than the Upper Gangetic countries. In discussing the Brahmaṇa immigrations, the early spread of two manifestly non-Brahmanical religions—Jainism and Buddhism—and their gaining strong foot-holds should also be taken into consideration. There seems to be much truth in the broad generalisation of Prof. Bhandarkar that Bengal was first śramaṇised and then Brahmānised.

But definite evidence regarding the active propagation of the Brahmanical religion and a vigorous movement for Brahmaṇisation of the country we have in the Gupta period, and in this connection the testimony of the five Damodārput plates is very significant. The objects of the purchase of land as stated in these plates were as follows:—for the purpose of conducting agnihotra rites by a Brahmaṇa (N.1), for conducting the daily sacrifices of a Brahmaṇa (N.2), for settling some prominent Brahmanas (No.3), for erection of temples of two Brahmanical gods (N. 4), and to make some repairs in a temple by an inhabitant of Ayodhyā (No. 5). The Dhanaidaha and Vaiagram plates also had almost similar objects in view. All these transactions were made within the confines of the Pundravardhana-bhukti and in most cases in the Kotivarṣa-viṣaya in the Dinajpur district. These plates bear ample testimony to the fact that during the rule of the staunch Brahmanical Gupta emperors Brahmanical influence was being spread in northern Bengal by the Brahmanas themselves, by local officers and chiefs (No. 3)

1. See Ante
2. and xx, pp. 111 ff.
3. El, xv, p. 113. The same fact is to be noticed in the Faridpur plates (IA 1910, pp. 193 ff)
and even by outsiders who were deeply interested in this faith (No.5). The Nidhanpur plates also go to show how almost in the same period Bhutivarman, great-great-grandfather of Bhāskaravarman, was inviting Brahmanas from western provinces by conferring rent-free land in Sylhet. It has been shown by Dr. N. K. Bhattasali that the land granted by these plates is to be located in Panchakanda in the Sylhet district. The plates are also very important in so far as they preserve the names of more than 200 Brahmanas with their gotras and the Vedas they studied. The Tippera grant of Lokanātha is extremely interesting as it reveals the process and way in which a jungly (and presumably non-Brahmanical) tract was brought under the influence of the Brahmanical religion. It is stated therein that in the viṣaya of Suvaṅga (not yet located but most probably in the Tippera district) "in the forest region, having no distinction of natural or artificial boundary, having a thick network of bush and creeper, where deer, buffaloes, boars, tigers, serpents etc., enjoy according to their will all pleasures of home life" a Brahmaṇa Sāmanta Pradoṣaśarman built a temple of Anantanārāyana and prayed to his chief Lokanātha for some land for the maintenance of the daily worship of the god. This plate also records the names of more than 100 Brahmanas but not their gotras and Vedas.

The Brahmaṇas mentioned in the Nidhanpur and Tippera plates deserve more than a passing notice. It has been pointed out by Mr. J. C. Ghose and Prof. Bhandarkar that they were Nāgara Brahmaṇas who emigrated from western provinces. The issues involved in the latter's illuminating paper on the Nāgara Brahmaṇas and the Kāyasthas of Bengal are various and many, but it is perhaps to be conceded that Vādanagar or Anandapura, Ahichatra and Sapādalakṣma were important centres of the Nāgara Brahmaṇas, from where they migrated in course of time to different parts of India. What is more important for our purpose is that, similar to the tradi-

1. Ibid, xii, p. 115, 245.
2. JASB, 1935, p. 419.
3. EI., xv, p. 301.
4. IHQ., 1930, p. 69.
5. IA., 1933, pp. 41, 91.
tion of the importation of five Brahmanas from Madhyadeśa by Adiśura, there is a strong tradition among the Sāmpradāyika Brahmanas in Sylhet¹ that five of their ancestors were imported from Mithilā by a king named Ādi Dharmapāla in 641 A.D.. The influence of the former tradition on the latter is perhaps easily traceable, but the date agrees fairly well with the time of Bhāskaravarman and Lokanātha. If there be any truth underlying the tradition current among the Sāmpradāyikas in Sylhet, the most interesting point is that those who claim to be their descendants have entirely forgotten the real identity of their forefathers.² /Mention may also be made of the existence of the Lāṭa Brahmanas in Bengal who were placed in charge of the temple of Nanna-Nārāyanā built by Mahāśāmantādhipati Nārāyaṇavarman during the reign of Dharmapāla.³/

Another significant fact is also worthy of special notice in this connection. While in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods private persons or officials and semi-officials in their personal capacities made gifts of lands to the Brahmanas or temples, the Pāla and Sena kings conferred lands of their own accord out of the traditional royal policy, as outlined in the Arthasastra that the king should reward the pious and learned men of the country or because of some services done to the kings or queens. Therefore it is quite reasonable to take the pro-Brahmanical activities of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods as active steps for Brahmanisation of the country.

In the story of the migration of five Brahmanas it is also obvious that there is a propaganda to discredit and lower the original Brahmanas of Bengal. The sendnig of a Brahmana army on cow’s back is an absurd thing and it needs no comment. In their zeal to prove their own purity and superiority the Rādhiya and Vārendra writers forget that this would reflect discredit on the king whose religious fervour was at the root of the immigration of their

1. IHQ., 1931, p. 716.
2. Dr. K. M. Gupta suspects that Sāmpradāyika is a modern literary infiltration of the long forgotten significant term Sapādalakṣa.
3. Prof. Bhandarkar is of opinion that these Lāṭa Brahmanas were also Nāgara Brahmanas.
five illustrious predecessors. It is said that there were seven hundred Brahmanas in Bengal before that event and hence they were called Sapta-sati. Again, it has been suggested that the word ‘Sātsati’ is the vernacular from of Sārasvatī but has been again sanskritised into Sapta-sati. Acceptance of this view means that the original Brahmanas were all Sārasvatas, but it has no basis to support it excepting the Kulutattvānava. The Gaṣṭhikathā sarcastically remarks that their knowledge of the Vedas was very poor and were engaged by the Śūdras as priests. The Sapta-sati in Rādhā had at least seven gotras, while those in Varendra had five. The Sapta-satis had gānis like the Rādhīyas and Vārendras and the number amounted to about forty.

In the Pāla and Sena grants there are many Brahmanas who, judged by their gotras, are to be regarded in all reasonableness as Sapta-satis. Their learning in the śāstras is evident from their description in the grants. They sometimes performed sacrifices and were readers of moral texts and religious books. Mention may be made of a Kauśika gotra Brahmana who migrated from Pundravardhana to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom in the ninth century. The charge of impurity and ignorance of the śāstras laid against the Sapta-satis is, therefore, altogether unjustified and must be regarded as merely a propaganda. But the most important fact is that this persistent propaganda has met with complete success. Few Brahmanas will give out the fact that they are really Sapta-satiis and in the Census of 1931 only nineteen persons were returned as Sapta-satis.

1. VJI, I, p. 88. They are Śunaka, Gautama, Kaundanya, Parāśara, Vaśiṣṭha, Hārita and Kautsa. Śaṇṭilīya and Ālambāna are also mentioned by N. N. Vasu for which he cites no authority.
2. Ibid., p. 89.
3. See Appendix F.
4. The donee of the Banagrh grant of Mahāpāla I was of the Parāśara gotra and followed the Vajasenya śākha of the Yajur Veda; of the Manahali plate is of Kautsa-gotra of the Kauthuma-śākha of the Śiṃvādēa; of the Angach plate is of the Kauśika of Yajurveda; of the Madhainagara grant of the Kauśika-gotra and Paippaladi śākha of the Atharvaveda; of the Sunderbhān plate is of Gārgya-gotra and of Aśvalayana-śākha of the Rgveda.
5. IA, xxxi, p. 220.
A careful investigation into the gotras and gāiṇs will undoubtedly reveal the existence of a greater number of them who are concealing their identity in order to escape the social stigma and odium due to this propaganda. Some have managed to merge themselves in the Rāḍhiya, Varendra and Vaidika societies and it is impossible to discern them. This explains why the number of the descendants of the Saptasati or seven hundred men has been returned as nineteen only, while those of the five Brahma immigrants of the time of Ādiśūra have reached such a big figure as 351,136 in course of 1000 to 1200 years. The Kulaśāstras bear testimony to the fact that the Saptasati entered the Varendra and Rāḍiya societies not in inconsiderable numbers. What is more interesting is that at a subsequent period three other gotras, viz. Parāśara, Vaśiṣṭha and Gautama, were added to the original five of the Rāḍhiyas. A modern Brahma author confesses that besides these eight gotras, three others, Ghṛtakausika, Kaundanya and Ālasyā, are also met with in the Rāḍhiya society.1

Rāḍhiyas and Varendra—There is a veritable wordy warfare between the Rāḍhiyas and Varendra for the claim of regarding the five immigrants as their own countrymen. Sāndilya Nārāyaṇa, Vātsya Dharādhara, Kāśyapa Suṣeṇa, Bharadvāja Gautama and Sābaraṇa Parāśara whom most of the Kulapaṇjikās claim to be the earliest ancestors of the Varendra appear to be the sons of the five predecessors of the Rāḍhiyas. It is quite possible that some of the sons of the Brahma immigrants migrated to northern Bengal. This is quite in agreement with our location of the five villages granted by Ādiśūra in Rāḍha. But the Rāḍhiya and Varendra quarrel does not end there. The Varendra accuse the Rāḍhiyas of Saptasati contamination and declare that they are the sons of the five immigrants by their Saptasati wives. The Rāḍhiyas counter-charge their Varendra brethren with the same blemish.2 But the

2. For the charges and counter-charges see Sambandha-Nirāaya by L. Vidvanidhi (pp. 617–634). After refuting the charges of the Varendra, the author himself counter-charges them. The author, it needs be mentioned, was a Rāḍhiya.
plain truth is that both the groups got *Sapta-sati* contact from very early times. But as the *Varendra* seem to be a sectionally conscious community and as the *Radhiyas* excel them in number, the *Sapta-sati* contact was perhaps more in case of the *Radhiyas*.

The descendants of the five immigrants in Radha came to be known as *Radhiyas* and those in Varendra as *Varendra*. Their emergence as two separate endogamous groups was not perhaps sudden and various causes might have contributed to this. There are few instances of *Radhiya* and *Varendra* inter-marriages in the *Kulashastras* even at a late period, but the geographical situation, political condition and difficult communications of that period did not promote such marriages. In course of time different social customs and usages grew up in two parts of Bengal and from that point of view such marriages were not perhaps liked also. Kulinism, the foundation of which is ascribed to Vallalasena by both the sections, has different history and developments in the two localities. It is difficult to say when these two sections had got separate denominations in spite of their common ancestry. Radha as the name of western Bengal is mentioned in ancient books like *Jaina Acaranga Sutra*, while the name Varendra is not known before the tenth century. The existence of the *Radhiyas* and *Varendra* as two separate sections is definitely known for the first time from the *Brhaftsara-sarasvati* of Halayudha, who was the chief judge of Lakshmapasena. He takes both these groups severely to task for their ignorance of the proper meaning of the Vedic *mantras*, and from his description it seems clear that the *Radhiyas* and *Varendra* as two separate sections were quite well-known in his time.

It may not be out of place here to note that there is no section or class of Brahmanas who are known by the territorial name of eastern Bengal, though a section of the *Kavyasthas* is called *Vaingaja*. Again, it would be a mistake to think that there were no Brahmanas in eastern Bengal, as the testimony of the four Faridpur plates, Nidhanpur and Tippera grants is conclusive on that point. In this connection it may be mentioned that the Cheedivlasa plates

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1. Ibid, p. 720; Appendix C, p. 204.
2. See Introduction.
of the Gaṅga king Devendravarman, son of Bhupendravarman, record grants of land to Vāṅgaja Brahmans who have been described as “eager in performing sacrifices and studying Vedas, well-versed in Vedas and Vedāṅgas, and practising Dharmas as described in Śrūtis and Śmṛtis.” It seems that the early Brahmaṇa inhabitants managed to get into the Rādhiya, Vārendra and Vaidika societies of eastern Bengal and their real identity cannot be traced at all. But it is also true that many Brahmans from western and northern Bengal migrated to eastern Bengal. The Kewar image inscription records the migration of a Vārendra Sāṇḍilya family and from palaeographical considerations this is to be assigned to the 12-13th century A.D. The Adavadi plate of Daśarathadeva refers to the settlement of a batch of Rādhiya Brahmans in Vikramapura. After the occupation of western and northern Bengal by the Muslims eastern Bengal remained under the Hindu kings for about a century more and it can be easily understood that with the fall of the Hindu political power in Gauḍa many Brahmans migrated to the neighbouring Hindu kingdoms. What is important for our purpose is that in eastern Bengal, which was not their early home, the Rādhiyas and Vārendras could establish their superiority and the earlier Brahmical population was absorbed in their societies.

It is stated in some Kulapaṇṭikās that Bhūśāra, son of Ādiśāra, was compelled to take shelter in Rādha owing to the rise of the Pāla power. His son Khitiṣāra is said to have granted 56 villages to the 56 descendants of the five immigrants in Rādha. It deserves special mention that it is by the names of these villages or gāṇīs that the Brahmans at a later period became known. The surnames Chatterjee, Mukherjee, Maitra, Bhaduri, etc. are derived from the names of these villages. It is to be noted that even in the Pāla grants some of these 56 gāṇīs have been mentioned in course of

2. EI. XVII, p. 355.
3. IHQ., XII, pp. 81-83.
4. VGI., I, pp. 115-127. The location of Mr. N. N. Vasu is not always correct and in some cases has proved to be wrong.
the introduction of the Brahmana donees. The donee Khodulaśarman of the Amgachi plate is described as Matsavāsa-Vinirgata, and and Matsyaśi is a well-known gāiṇi of the Kaṣṭa śrotiya Vaṃśeśvara Sāṇḍilyas. The donee Vaiśeśvarasvāmī of the Manahali plate is described as Campahitiya Campahiti vāstavāya. Campati is a well-known gāiṇi of the Vaiśeśvarasvāmī of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva that his mother belonged to a Bandyaḥāṭi family which is an important gāiṇi of Rādhīyas. Important is in this connection the evidence of the Adavadi plate of the 13th century in which all the Brahmana donees have been particularly introduced by their respective gāiṇus, and all of them correspond to those named in the Kulagranthas. Dharasūra, another Śūra king, is said to have classified these 56 gāiṇus into two divisions. Twenty-two were raised to the status of Kulācalas and the remaining thirty-four became sat-śrotiyas. It is not known on what basis this classification was made. If there be any truth underlying this, Vallālasena seems to have at least one precedent. Those who had got matrimonial connection with the Kulācalas commanded greater respect and honour, and inter-marriages between the two classes were not restricted.

The history of the Vaiśeśvaras practically begins from Vallālasena and the Kulāśastras are absolutely silent about them for the period intervening between Adiśūra and Vallālasena. The reason is not far to seek. Northern Bengal was under the Buddhist Pālas for about four centuries with very few short breaks. No doubt the Pālas were tolerant towards other religions. But to promote the welfare of a religion by actively associating with it is one thing and to be tolerant towards a religion is another. Their granting of lands to Brahmanas can be explained by the fact that they were following the traditional policy of rewarding the learned and the pious.

1. Y.C. Chakravarty, Kulaśastra-dipikā, p. 84, 85, 960.
2. He was of the Kausa gotra but Champati is a gāiṇi of the Sāṇḍilyas. His pravaras were Sāṇḍilya, Asita and Devala. The last two are also the pravaras of the Sāṇḍilya gotra. It is not unlikely that this Kausa family, having the pravaras of the Sāṇḍilyas and living in Champati, became Sāṇḍilya.
3. Bhāratvarṣa 1832 B. S., pp. 78-81, Appendix F.
The assurances in the Mongyr and Amgachi plates that Dharmapāla and Vīgrahapāla III preserved the four varṇas in their proper order are indications of their official policy towards the Brahmanical society. As protectors of the body politic, it was their duty to see that no one should deviate from the rules of the śāstras and social orders. The building of new monasteries, reconstructions of old ones and huge expenditure on Buddhist establishments clearly indicate where their active sympathies lay. The Kulaśāstras on one or two occasions refer to the gift of lands by the Pāla kings but otherwise they do not make the slightest reference to them. Strictly speaking from the point of view of the Kulaśāstras which were mainly concerned with the Brahmanical society, the Pāla period was a social and religious interregnum of which it is better not to take any cognisance at all.

Another fact also needs special emphasis. If our identification of Ādisimha with Ādiśūra be accepted, the Šūras seem to have originally belonged to Magadhā. Sāmalavārman at whose instance the Vaidikas are reported to have migrated belonged to the Varman dynasty whose original seat of power was at Simhapura which seems to have been outside Bengal. Again, Vallaśanas of the Sena dynasty who is credited with the foundation of Kulinism was Karnatic in origin. All the dynasties, which, according to the Kulaśāstras, took vigorous steps and measures in spreading the Brahmanical religion, seem to have come from outside. It appears, therefore, clear that these outside dynasties which seized political power played an important role in the Brahmanisation of Bengal. Apart from the migrations of some Brahmanas, it may be surmised that in the royal entourage and retinue from their native country that necessarily settled with the establishment of such political dynasties, there were in all probability many Brahmanical elements (like their domestic priests and the like) whose influence was not perhaps inconsiderable.

Vallaśanas and Kulinism in Rādha—It is well to mention in the beginning that on the subject of the organisation of the Brahmanical society on the basis of Kulinism evidences come from two

1. Ādigāni Ojha, son of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, is said to have received a village from Dharmapāla. It is said in some books that the Šūras fought with the Pālas.
interested parties. Those who are placed in privileged position and are consequently supporters of the system speak of some well-recognised principles on which the different grades of social standing were created. The other party or parties which are placed in an unfavourable position have fabricated stories by distorting facts which go to discredit the whole system. The fact being so, it is difficult to judge what propagandist account comes from which of these parties, because both these points of view have been jumbled together and the account of the Kula-pañjikās is confused. But something is so avowedly pro-Kulinistic and something so manifestly anti-Kulinistic that their significance or motive behind them is clear to every intelligent reader.

The Rādhīya Kula-mañjari states that Vallālasena through the grace of a goddess whom he worshipped for full one year with severe austerities was in a position to understand properly the nine essential virtues that are the tests of a good and pure kula. They are (1) ācāra, ceremonial purity; (2) vinaya, discipline; (3) vidyā, learning; (4) pratiṣṭhā, reputation for purity; (5) niṣṭhā, piety; (6) tirtha-darśana, zeal in pilgrimages; (7) āvṛtti, observance of marriages with men and women of equal rank; (8) tapah, ascetic self-devotion; (9) dāna, liberality. The Sena king is said to have examined the qualifications of 750 Rādhīya Brahmans of his time on the basis of these principles to determine their social status. Of the twenty-two Kulācala gāṇis of the time of Dharāśūra only eight stood all the nine tests and were raised to the status of the mukhya kulīna (highest in status). In the remaining fourteen all the nine qualifications were missing and became gauna-kulīna (inferior kulīna). On a further examination of the eight gāṇis selected for the highest rank, only nineteen men strictly fulfilled all the requirements and they were the recipients of the highest honour. Further, Vallālasena is said to have attempted to classify the thirty-four śrotiṇya gāṇis of Dharāśūra into two divisions, Suddha and Kaśtha, according to their respective qualifications. But this was opposed by them. The Kula-Mañjarī gives a very graphic account of the meeting in which a party of the śrotiṇyas headed by Vikartana protested against this and left the kingdom. They questioned the royal prerogative

1. VJl., I, pp. 146-52
to judge the qualifications or disqualifications of a Brahmana. “Every Brahmana is born pure *par excellence* and no earthly deed can make him impure. This is the divine dispensation. Like fire the utterer of the Gāyatrī mantra is the purifier of everything.” They challenged the king to cite any precedent for his proposed *Kulinism*. Indignant at this insolent conduct, the king is said to have left the meeting with the remark, “you must be satisfied with the rank of the *śrotiyas*."

The anti-party gives the following account: Vallālasena invited the Brahmanas to a meeting on a certain day to decide the question of *Kulinism*. Some came at 8-30 A.M., some at 11 A.M. and some at 1-30 P.M.. The daily duties and observances of a strict Brahmana take a long time and the presumption was that those who came earlier did not strictly observe their daily duties. Those who came last were regarded by the king as pure and strictly religious and were recipients of *Kulinism*. The next batch were made *gauṇa* and the early-comers *śrotiyas*. Contrary to the well-recognised principles mentioned above, the obvious motive behind this account is to show that *Kulinism* was based on nothing else than the royal whims. So far as we know, the earliest reference to these stories is to be met with in the *Vallālacarita*; a book which has been handled and rehandled many times by or for interested people like the Suvarṇavaṇṇikas and the Yogīs. This book, according to the confession of the interpolators, was not finally redacted before 1510 A.D., and there are sufficient reasons to disbelieve even this confession, because the sources from which the Mss. were procured are not above suspicion. But there are evidences to show that this sort of anti-propaganda was counteracted by the supporters and advocates *Kulinism* by counter-propaganda of equal nature. The section of the *śrotiyas* who revolted against the imposition of the artificial distinction settled in an intermediate tract between Midnapore and Orissa and were called *Madhyāśrenī*, but they were called by their opposite party *Madyadośi*, i.e., guilty of drunkenness. This propaganda and counter-propaganda have made the confused story

1. H. P. Shastri, *Vallālacarita* and *Eng. Trans. by him*; and also *Vallālacarita* by Sasibhusan Bhattacharyya.
of the development of Kulinism worse confounded. But the very fact that one party credits Vallālasena with the organisation of the Brahmanical society on the above basis—and this still governs the higher grades of the Hindu society of Bengal even now-a-days—and that the other party without denying the fundamentals want to discredit the system itself is somewhat clear proof of the fact that some sort of social reorganisation was attempted by Vallālasena, though it is difficult to determine its nature and extent because of the different and diverse colours it has received at the hands of different writers, parties and also in popular imagination in subsequent periods.

Circumstantial evidence also goes to indicate that some social reorganisation was necessary in the Sena period. The Buddhist Pālas were ousted by the Senas, who came from the Kārṇāta country and were Brahmakṣṭriyas, i.e., originally Brahmanas who became Kṣatriyas afterwards by wielding the sceptre instead of teaching the scripture. It is natural that the royal power under them should be used for the welfare and promotion of the Brahmanical religion and society. The fact that during the long period of the Pāla rule, only seven charters recording land grants to the Brahmanas have come to light, while during the single reign of Lakṣmaṇasena no less than seven grants for the same purpose were at least issued, is perhaps a clear indication of the rising tide of the Brahmanical religion. The accession of the Brahma-Kṣaṭriya Senas certainly gave a fresh impetus to the Brahmanical religion whose star was perhaps already in the ascendant. It has been emphasised by late Mm. H. P. Shastri that it was during the Sena period that many Buddhists were converted to the Hindu religion, and that for these new converts and adherents some castes and subcastes of Bengal were organised or reorganised and even new ones were formed.

There are positive evidences of somewhat definite character which go to affirm that the Senas were deeply interested in the reorganisation of the Hindu society. The Senas were preceded in eastern Bengal by the Varmans who also seem to have espoused the cause of Brahmanism to a great degree. The Pāścātya Vaidikas associate

their migration with Sāmalavarman, and Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, the Brahmana minister of Harivarman, seems to have typified the spirit of assertive Hinduism over decadent Buddhism and other 'heretical' religions.¹ His Tautātimata-ṭikā, a gloss on Kumārila's Tanṭra-vārtikā, and well-known smṛti works, Karmānuṣṭhānapaddhati, and Prāyaścitya-prakaraṇa are perhaps indicative of the forces employed to fight Buddhism and of the steps taken to make new converts, to regain the faltering ones and to purify the impure. Doubtless, ministers like Garga, Darbhapāṇi, Kedāramiśra, Guravamiśra, Jogadeva, Bodhideva and scholars like Prahāsa and Śrīdhara-dāsa, the author of Nyāya-kandali, kindled Brahmanical learning and religion in all their lustre and glory during the Pāla period. But when the king of a dynasty which boasts of their zeal in the propagation of the Vedic religion to counteract the preaching of the naked ascetics² is styled Dharmavijaya³ (applied to Harivarman) and chooses a man like Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva as his minister, it must be taken to have a special significance. It is now an admitted fact that in the Sena period there had been a renaissance of Sanskrit learning and literature. In that renaissance, it is to be specially noticed, there were a great number of Smṛti books, dealing with āhṇika (daily rites), Śaṁskāra (periodical rites), sūddhi or aśuca (purification), prāyaścitta (expiations) śraddhā (funerals), kṛtya (festivals), pūjā (worship), pratiṣṭhā (consecration), dāna (gifts) and kāla (appropriate time). To refer to the Kāla-viveka, Dāyabhāga, Vyavahāra-nātykā of Jīmūtavāhana and the Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva, Duija-nayana, Śrāddhā-paddhati-ṭīkā is to name only a few of them. The works of Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa, Iśāna and Pasupati also should be taken into consideration in this connection. From the middle of the eleventh to the close of the twelfth century all these writers wrote on Brahmanical rites and observances, having the Śrūtis and Smṛtis as their authority. It seems that these psuedo-smṛti books were composed with a view to suit the changed social and religious condition of Bengal and the

¹ Bhuuvanesvar praśasti, v. 20.
² Belava plate, v. 5.
³ Bhuuvanesvar praśasti, v. 16.
SOCIAL CONDITION

Growing needs of the Hindu society. What is more important to bear in mind is that all these writers were connected with the court and were liberally patronised and highly honoured. The Sena kings were not content with patronising only. Two encyclopaedic works, namely the Dānasāgara and the Abhutasāgara, are attributed to Vallālasena. He died before the completion of the latter work which was finished by his son. It is thus clear that the Sena kings and their court actively associated themselves with the propagation of the Brahmanical rituals and observances for which so many works were composed. These evidences read along with the strong tradition in the Kulaiśtras make it almost plain that some steps were taken to organise the Hindu society in the Sena period.

Some scholars have summarily discussed the question of social organisation by the Senas by asserting that the foundation of Kulinism attributed to Vallālasena cannot be credited with historicity, because there is not the slightest reference to it in the Sena grants. Deeper social and religious forces that were at work in Bengal in the twelfth century were not taken into consideration by this class of writers. But still more significant is the silence of the pseudo-smṛti books written by men like Halāyudha who were intimately connected with the Sena court. But this silence cannot be taken as an irreconcilable bar to the acceptance of the view that Vallālasena selected nineteen persons out of the twenty-two gāins of Dharāsūra. If that be true, there seems to have been at least one precedent for his action and there was continuity in determining the social status. It was perhaps no deviation or any departure from old rules and customs. It did not appear to be such a revolutionary or a very important measure to the contemporaries as would merit reference in the land grants in which generally the politictal and military achievements of the kings are given prominence. Nor is it to be believed that it was universally accepted by the Hindu society all at once that it would find a place in the smṛti books which have got the sanction of centuries behind them. When the Government of India with the advantages of modern communication and propaganda and with its elaborate administrative machinery cannot enforce all the provisions of a

1. Bl, See two Appendices on the Śuras.
moderate bill like the Sarda Act for the prevention of child marriages, it is hardly to be expected that a royal decree (if that was really the case) enforcing Kulinism which makes some socially higher than others, was accepted by all in the twelfth century. Such a measure must have taken a long time even for recognition, not to speak of acceptance. When people from other religions were entering into the Hindu fold and the Brahmanas themselves were contaminated to a certain extent by extraneous influences, Vallâlasena and Lakšmanaśena perhaps selected some pure and religious-minded Brahmanas who would serve as models to others by their conduct and conviction. It has been observed rightly¹ that “It is interesting to trace in Vallâlasena’s inquiry the survival or reassertion of the principle as recognised in ancient times, that the Brahmanhood depends not merely on birth, but also upon personal endowments. It is a question of virtue, not a question of descent. Vallâlasena, of course, could not go so far as this. The time had long passed when a Kṣatriya could transform himself into a Brahmana by a penance or self-denial. But the Sena monarch sought to affirm the ancient principle, so far as was then possible, by testing the qualifications of each Rādhiya family for the priestly office and classifying them, in order of their virtue, according to the results of the examination.” Vallâlasena was not perhaps conscious of the fact that he was taking a step which had in it the seeds of such far-reaching importance and consequence as the complicated and elaborate system that arose out of it had. Kulinism in the Muslim period underwent such radical and startling changes through extraordinary circumstances as its authors could not even dream of. Strictly speaking, Vallâlasena cannot be called the founder of later day Kulinism though he seems to have made some beginning in that direction. The word Kūlīna was not unknown in ancient literature and signified men of good social standing because of their learning and high heredity. In the above-mentioned nine qualifications the word āvṛtī, which in the Kulaśāstras means “marriage within equal ranks” contained the germ of later day Kulinism. It became the back-bone of the whole system and was carried to an unhappy climax. But in Vallâlasena’s

time it was one of the nine qualifications. He is said to have instructed his son to take particular and special notice of it and to judge the rank of the Brahmanas with reference to it only. The Kulinās must marry their girls to Kulinās only and not to any one of inferior status but they themselves could marry girls of their immediate lower rank. When the paryāya has been fixed with reference to āvṛtti, aṁśa was to be determined, which was divided into three grades. The best is ārtī which is gained by a man who marries his daughter to a man belonging to his father’s generation. When married to one of his own generation, he gains madhyāṁśa and the lowest comes when married to a man of his son’s generation. The generation (paryāya) is to be counted from the five illustrious immigrants of the time of Adiśūra. The nine disqualifications by which Kula is lost are—(1) miserliness, (2) aversion to ascetic self-devotion, (3) addiction to sensual pleasure, (4) greediness, (5) illiteracy, (6) extinction of the family, (7) offering of pīnda of a living man, (8) adultery and (9) to live a bachelor. It is reported that these instructions he left for Lakṣmaṇasena for his guidance in tackling the question of Kulinism. It is difficult to say how far this is true but we have the incontestable and incontrovertible evidence of the Mahāvaṁśa of Dhruvānanda Miśra that Lakṣmaṇasena made two examinations (called Samikarana) for judging the status of the Kulinās. After his first examination seven men were declared to be of equal rank and in the second fourteen others were added to the list. Of these twenty-one, seventeen were the same persons as were recipients of Kaulinya honour from his father and the other four were the sons of the two deceased Kuliṇas.1 It is also to be noted that in the Mahāvaṁśa the division of aṁśa which a Kulina shared has been mentioned.

1. We are not prepared to accept the remarks in the Kulamanjarī that Lakṣmaṇasena made a further sub-divisions of ārtī, and madhyāṁśa into 15 sub-divisions (see VJI, I, pp. 182-4). No other book refers to this. He is said to have introduced five kinds of paribarta, viz., ādāna, pradāna, kuṣa-tyāga, yoga and vara. Most of the Kulaśāstras are silent over it and there is no doubt that Kusa-tyāga was introduced at a later period.
It has been recently suggested by some scholars that the real cause behind this movement was political rather than social and religious. Those who were recipients of Kaulinya rank were royal favourites who helped the establishment of the Sena rule and on whom the Senas could rely for support in future. Mention must be made here of Vijayasena's marriage with a princess of the Sura dynasty. If the Kulasastras are to be believed, the Suras were the champions of the Brahmanical religion. The matrimonial alliance of the Suras and Senas might have some political importance. There are instances in the history of many countries that after a period of political religious and social upheavals the new kings and rulers try to create a new social order plaint to them. Legione de Honours of Napoleon, the champion of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, is an instance in point. But it is difficult to say how much Vallalasena was actuated by political consideration in offering the Kaulinya rank to some Brahmanas. Incidental reference from Vallalacarita go to indicate that the political considerations might have weighed with him in degrading the status of the Suvarnavanikas and the Kaivartas. The banker Vallabhanaanda, the leader of the Suvarnavanika community, refused to offer a loan to the Sena king except on certain conditions and was suspected of helping the Pala king of Magadha with whom the Senas were at war. His community also incurred the jealousy of the Brahmanas by wearing the sacred thread and by their enviable personal beauty. Vallalasena in alliance with the Brahmanas found an opportunity to degrade the mercantile community to the status of the Sudras by a royal proclamation. The Vanikas retaliated by the prohibition of slave trading in Gauda, which seems to have been their monopoly. The Kaivartas were employed in domestic service and were made a clean caste by a royal order and their headman Mahesa was raised to the rank of a mahamandalaika. There is no doubt about the fact

1. K. P. Bhattacharyya, Radhiya-Kula-tatva, p. 93; Dr. N. K. Bhattacharya has gone so far as to assert that Vallalasena adopted the policy of divide and rule in order to secure his own position against possible dangers, Bharatvarsha, 1843 B. S., Asadha issue, under the heading Kaivartaraja Divya; also Census of India, V, Pt. I, pp. 527-28.
that the Senas were at war with the Pālas for a considerable period and that the Vaṇikas might have sided with the Buddhist Pālas. In the latter part of the eleventh century the Pālas were ousted from Varendra by the Kaivarta chiefs Divvoka and Bhīma, and the raising of the social status of the Kaivartas, when the Pāla-Sena war was not over, might have some political significance. The story of the degradation of the Yogīs is also interesting. The royal Brahmana priest is said to have been insulted by a Yogī Buddhist priest in charge of the Mahāsthana religious establishment and this provoked Vallālasena's wrath on the community and hence their degradation. Judging the question from every possible source, it seems that causes behind the social reorganisation by Vallālasena were various and it is not unlikely that contemporary political events influenced this to a certain extent.

The Kulaśāstras confess that the genealogies of the Brahmana families had not been properly preserved before the time of Vallālasena and this perhaps explains some of the discrepancies regarding the number of the generations of the five immigrants of the time of Ādiśūra. It is also not unlikely that the details regarding their migration became very dim and faint and that those gotras from which some Brahmanas received the Kaulinya rank have been associated with the name of Ādiśūra. But henceforward the genealogies are more or less correct. Great attention and care was given to preserve them, as the Kulina families formed the social aristocracy of the Brahmanical society. This necessitated the rise of a professional class namely the ghaṭakas or match-makers, who should be properly called the heralds.

Vārendra Kulinism—It is said that at the time of Vallālasena there were 350 descendants of the five Brahmana immigrants brought at the instance of Ādiśūra, and the Sena king sent sixty of them to Tibet, sixty to Rabhāṅga, forty to Utkala, fifty to Magadha and forty to Mauḍāṅga.1 It is difficult to say how much truth is there in this statement. Of the remaining 100, eight received Kaulinya rank, and eight siddha-śrotiyas.2 Nothing more of the acti-

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2. Idid., pp. 21-25.
vity of Vallâlasena with regard to the handling of the rank of the Vârendra Brahmanas is reported in the Kulagranthas. The hero of Vârendra Kulinism is the famous ghaṭaka Udayanâcârya who seems to have belonged to the 14th-15th century, and his rules and regulations do not fall within the scope of this book.

The Pâścâtya Vaidikas — The special trait of a Vaidika Brahmana is that he is said to be very learned in the Vedas. The Bhavabhûmi-vârttâ by Râghavendra Kaviâkharâ which is said to have been written in 1581 S.E. is the only book which states that Gaṅgâgati Miśra was the earliest Pâścâtya Vaidika to come to Bengal from Kârṇâvatî on the bank of the Sarasvatî during the reign of king Harivarman. But it is to be noted that this book became known only after the discovery of the Samantasara plate of Harivarmandeva. It is also said in that book that Gaṅgâgati Miśra induced Yaśodhara Miśra to migrate to Kotalipara (in the Faridpur district) through the offer of his daughter. All other Pâścâtya Vaidika books are unanimous in declaring that their ancestors came on the invitation of Śyâmalavarman in 1079 A.D.. The story which has been made much of is the fall of a vulture on the royal palace which was taken to be nothing but a foreboding of a coming evil. There was no competent Brahmana to perform the requisite ceremony for the prevention of this evil. At the suggestion of the queen (whose name is given in some books as Sudakṣinâ and in others as Suśilâ) the king requested his father-in-law Nila-kaṇṭha, king of Kâśi (in one book the name is Jayacandra), to send a competent priest for that purpose. This priestly hero is Saunaka Yaśodhara Miśra who along with four other Brahmanas came to Bengal in 1001 S.E.. Again, it is also said that Yaśodhara was presented to Śyâmalavarman by his father-in-law on the occasion of his marriage. The four other Brahmanas of the Śaṅdilya,

2. For different versions of the story, Ibid, pp. 25-38.
3. Ibid., p. 1316.
4. Ibid., p. 18.
5. Ibid., p. 18.
6. Ibid., p. 16.
7. There is no agreement regarding their names and gotras, Ibid, p. 41.
Vāsiṣṭha, Sābarṇa and Bharadvāja gotras were induced by Yaśodhara Miśra to settle in Bengal in 1067 S.E.\textsuperscript{1}

The time of their migration mentioned in the Kulagranthas is in agreement with the Varman chronology. As regards their allegation that there were no competent Brahmanas to perform a ceremony, it is difficult to believe that all the Brahmanas of Bengal lost their aptitude in their profession in the 11th century. It is corroborated in one way only from the Brahmāna-sārvasva of Halāyudha that the Rādhīyas and Vārendras were not acquitting themselves very creditably in that aspect.\textsuperscript{2}

Kaulinya system in the Vaidika society is entirely of another kind but it does not fall within the scope of this work.

Other Castes—The Bhṛddharma Purāṇa, the internal evidence of which suggests that it was written in Rādha not long after the Muslim conquest,\textsuperscript{3} deals with the origin of the so-called thirty-six castes of Bengal. It was perhaps in the mind of the author to give an account of them but in fact, he named about forty castes and divided them into three grades in accordance with the prevalent notion of his time.\textsuperscript{4}

(1) Uttama-Saṅkaras (best mixed castes) who engaged Srotiya Brahmanas as their priests. They are (1) Kāraṇa (expert in civil service and in writing), (2) Ambaṣṭha (expert in medical science), (3) Ugra (warriors), (4) Māgadha (originally Kṣatriyas but now bards), (5) Gandha-Vaṇikas (trader in spices), (6) Kaṁsa-Vaṇikas

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\textsuperscript{1} Ibid., 39

\textsuperscript{2} Halāyudha observes, “the Utkalas, Pāścātyas and others only read the Vedas, while the Rādjīyas and the Vārendras without reading by means of Karma-mīmāṁsā discuss only the nature of sacrificial rites in connection with the Vedas. But there can be no (proper) knowledge of the Mantras from the soul of the Vedas.......In this way the Rādjīyas and Vārendras merely create improper conduct.” T. C. Vidyānanda’s edition, pp. 9-16; see also JASB, 1915, p. 211.

\textsuperscript{3} Bhāratvarṣa, 1337 B. S., Pt. II, pp. 673 ff.

\textsuperscript{4} Bhṛddharma Purāṇa, Vangabāsi edition.
(braziers), (7) Saṅka-Vanikas (shell-dressers), (8) Kumbhakaras (potters), (9) Tantuvāyas (weavers), (10) Karmakaras (blacksmiths), (11) Gopas (milkmen), (12) Dāsas (Cāsi-Kaivartas), (13) Rājputas (fighters), (14) Nāpitās (barbers), (15) Modakas (sweet-meat-makers), (16) Varaṇjivis (growers of betel-leaves), (17) Sūtas (bards and reciters), (18) Mālakaras (gardeners), (19) Tāmbuli (seller of betel-leaves), (20) Tailikas (traders in oil).


Besides, the author speaks of the Saṅkara or Devala Brahmans from whom the Gaṇakas originated, and of the Mleccha tribes (non-Aryans) like Pulindas, Kakkasas, Khašas, Yavanas, Sauhmus, Kambojas, Sabaras and Kharas.

The account of the origin of these castes is as it should be expected from an upa-Purāṇa. The wicked demon king Veṇa compelled men and women of different castes to procreate children. When the Uttama-Saṅkaras were born, he compelled them to procreate the rest. Sins and crimes were very common because of the confusion of castes and the Rṣis effected Veṇa’s death through super-natural power, and the pious and good Prthu was created to restore order. With his help the Brahmans fixed the proper duties and occupations of each caste. The criticism that it is an artificial systematisation composed long after the origin of castes, which is generally laid against Manu’s theory, equally holds good in case of this account. The above-mentioned castes or peoples can be divided into three classes—professional, functional and ethnic or tribal. There cannot be any doubt about the fact that in a professional and functional caste there were peoples of many castes and the author of a Smṛtyi or Purāṇa could not otherwise explain this
state of things excepting referring to fictitious mixed breeding. These castes are doubtless of mixed origin, as peoples of many castes followed one profession or were engaged in a single occupation and then formed a caste. The words Varṇa-saṅkara and Jāti-
saṅkara are important, as in case of the professional and functional castes there has been really confusion of Varṇas and Jātis in a single caste.

Appendix E.

Authorities.

The genealogical list of the Mukherjees, Banerjees, and Boses have been published. Two important Kārikās dealing with Kulinism are attributed to Harimisra and Edumisra who are said to have flourished during the reign of Danujamādhavadeva. Their works have not yet come to light, but later writers have occasionally quoted many passages from their works. The most important work on the subject discovered so far is that of the Mahāvāṁśa of Dhrur-
vānanda Misra who composed his work in 1407 S.E. = 1485 A.D. It deals with the Samikaraṇas of the Rādhiya Kulinas from the time of Lakṣmaṇasena. The Rādhiyas have Rādhiya-Kula-Maṇ-
jari, while the Vārendras have Vārendra-Kulapaṇjikā. Mr. N. N. Vasu quotes extensively from the Kulārṇava of Vācaṣṭāi Misra but I do not know whether this work has yet been published. Maheśa Misra's Rādhiya Nirodosa-Kula-Panjikā is also an important work. Nula Paṅcānan's Goṣṭhi-Kathā offers a scathing criticism on the whole system. Many witty couplets on the subject transmitted in oral tradition are attributed to him. It must be noted that none

1. Mukha-Vaṁśa and Bandhya-Vaṁśa published by Mr. L. M.
   Mukherjee.

2. Basu-Vaṁśa by B. Roy Chowdhury; Mr. J. N. Kumar has publi-
   shed in his Vaṁśa-Paricaya the genealogies of many important families.
of these works excepting the Mahāvamsa has been properly edited. The Dacca University has got in its collection about twenty Mss. of various descriptions. Few of them are complete by themselves, and of some only four or five leaves remain. Mr. N. N. Vasu refers to and quotes from many books collected by him from various sources. It is reported that they amount to about 200. Mr. Vasu's voluminous works on Castes and Sects of Bengal (Vaṅgera Jātiya Itiḥāsa) in ten volumes are mainly based on them. But his works are to be utilised with caution. Gauḍe-Bṛāhmaṇa by M. Majumdar and Sambandha-Nirnaya by L. Vidyanidhi are also important from one point of view. It is well-known that interested parties have tampered with the Kulaśāstras. Cases have occurred that with the discovery of an inscription or an important book the genealogical list of a royal dynasty or of the author, quite in keeping with their evidence, has suddenly sprung into existence. The genealogy of the Nandi family after the publication of the Mahasthana inscription¹ and of Sandhyākaranandī, the author of the Rāmacarita, are instances to the point. The older books like Gauḍe Brāhmaṇa and Sambandha-Nirṇaya supply us what were really the current traditions in the 19th century. Historical researches have made considerable progress since their publication. An interested and clever person can now fabricate a story or tamper with a Kulapaṇjikā but that was not easy in the previous century. Further references to other books or authors have been cited in the footnotes.

Appendix F.

1. Forty-two gāins of the Saptasatīs.


¹ JASB, N. S., XVIII, p. 489.
These forty-two are mentioned by Mr. N. N. Vasu. Mr. L. Vidyanidhi speaks of forty gātis excepting very few most of them agree. According to Vācaspāti Misra, there were only twenty-eight gātis of the Saptasātis.

2. Fifty-six gātis of the Rāḍhiyas. Some add Purba, Cautkhaṇḍi and Dīghal, thus making fifty-nine gātis.

Sāndilīyas (16) — Bandya, Gadjad, Kesarakopa, Kusumakali, Parīhā, Kulabhī, Ghośāla, Sejaga, Māsacātaka, Bāḍala, Basuyāḍi, Kadala, Kuśāri, Kuliśa or Kulkuli, Akāśa, Dirghaṭi.


Bharadvājas (4) — Mukhaṭi, Dīṇḍisāṇi, Sāhūdiyān, Rāyi.

Sābarṇas (12) — Gāṅguli, Kundalala, Siddhala, Dāyi, Nandī, Bāli, Sihari, Pūṅgśika, Sansdeśvari, Pāli, Ghanṭeśvari, Nāṇḍi.

Vāṭyas (8) — Mahintā, Ghośāla, Simbalāla, Bāpuli, Pippalāi, Putituṇḍa, Kāṇjilāla, Kāṇjāḍi.

3. The following gātis were made Kulinas —

Mukhya Kulinas (8) — Bandya, Caṭṭa, Mukhaṭi, Ghośāla, Putituṇḍa, Gāṅguli, Kāṇjilāla, Kundalala.

Gauṇa Kulinas (14) — Rāyi, Guḍa, Mahintā, Kulabhī, Cautkhaṇḍi, Pippalai, Gadjad, Ghanṭeśvari, Kesarakopa, Dīnsā, Parīhala, Haḍa, Pitamunḍi, Dirghaṭi.

The rest are Śrōtriyas.

4. The following gātis are mentioned in the Advadi plate of Daunjamādhavadeva: — Dīṇḍi Gāṇi, Pāli gāṇi, Seu gāṇi, Māsacātaka, Mula, Sehardai, Puti, Mahantiyāḍa, Karaṇja gāṇi.

5. Hundred gātis of the Vārendras —

Vātsayyas (24) — Sānnyaḷa, Bhīmkali, Bhaṭṭaśāli, Kāmkali, Kuḍamuṇḍi, Bhāriyāḷa, Lakṣa, Jāmrukhī, Simlī, Dhosāli, Tanuri, Vatsagrāmī, Deuli, Nidrali, Kukkuṭi, Bodhagrāmī, Śrutośaṭi, Akṣagrāmī, Sāhāri, Kaligrāmī, Kalīhal, Paunḍraṇkalī, Kālindī, Chaturbandī.

Bharadvājas (24) — Bhāḍaṭa, Lāḍuli, Jhāmal, Jhampaṭi, Ātur-
thî, Rái, Ratnâvalî, Uccarakhi, Gocchasî, Bâla, Śakâti, Simbi, Bahal, Sariyâla, Kṣetragrâmi, Dadhiyâla, Puti, Kâcchti, Nandigrâmi, Gogrâmi, Nikhaṭî, Pippâli, Śrînâga, Khorjar, Goswâlambi.

Sābarṇâs (20)—Śrîngdiyâla, Pâkaṭi, Dadhi, Śrîṅgî, Medâdi, Undhuḍi, Dhundhuri, Tatoyar, Setu, Naigrâmi, Nedhuḍî, Kapâli, Tutturi, Paṅcabaṭṭi, Nikaḍi, Samudra, Ketugrâmi, Jaśogrâmi, Sitalī.

Kâlyâpas (18)—Mitra, Bhâduḍi, Kârâṇja, Bâlayâsthi, Modhrâgrâmi, Balahâri, Moyâli, Kîral, Bijikuṇja, Sâragrâmi, Katigrâmi, Sâragrâmi, Madhyâgrâmi, Matîagrâmi, Gaṅgâgrâmi, Belagrâmi, Chama-grâmi, Asûkoṭî.

Sândilyas (14)—Rudrabâgchi, Lâhidî, Sadhubâgchi, Campâtî, Nandanabâsî, Kâmendra, Sîhari, Taḍâyâlabîsî, Matsyâsî, Champa, Suvarṇâ, Toṭaka, Puṣâna, Beluri.

6. The following gāiûns were made Kulînas by Vallâlasena.
Lâhidî, Bâgchi, Bhâduḍi, Maitra, Sânnyâla.

Bhâdaḍa became Kulîna for the sake of metre. The gāiûn of another man cannot be stated precisely.

Śiddhya Srotiyas—Kârâṇja, Nandanabâsî, Bhaṭṭasâlî, Lâḍulî, Campâtî, Jhampaṭî, Aturthi, Kalîhal.

Śadhya Srotiyas—Uccarakali, Jâmrukhî, Ratnâvalî Sîhari, Râi, Goswâlambi, Bîśi, Khorjarl.

The rest are Kaṣṭa Srotiyas.

7. The different dates of the migration of the five Brahmanas through the instrumentality of Adîsûra:

The Vârendra Kulapâñjikâ places it in vedakalaṁkaśatavimite i.e., in 654 S.E.; Vâcaspati Mîra vedabâñângasâke i.e., in 654 S.E.; and the Kularnava in vedabâñahîmêsâke. The Kulatattvârñava place it in 675 S.E.; the Vallâlacrâita in 954 S.E.
CHAPTER X

RELIGIOUS CONDITION

Jainism—The districts of Manbhum, Singhbhum, Birbhum and Burdwan derive their names from Mahâvîra or Vardhamâna. Of the 24 Jaina tirthânakaras no less than 20 attained Nirvâna on the Samadhisikhara (Samâdhi-sikhara) in the Paresnath Hill in the Hazaribagh district. It is narrated in the Ayâraṅga Sutta that Mahâvîra had to undergo much suffering and hardship in Vajjabhûmi and Subbhabhûmi in Râdha. It was difficult to travel in the country and the natives treated the ascetics very cruelly. They incited dogs to bite them and the ascetics had to carry bamboo staves to keep off the dogs. It seems, therefore, that western Bengal felt the tide of the rise of Jainism at the time of Mahâvîra.

The Vyhatkathâkosa of Harisêna, written in 931 A.D., records that the famous Jaina pontiff Bhadrabâhu, the preceptor of the Maurya emperor Candragupta, was the son of a Brahmana of Devakoṭa in the Puṇḍravardhana country. One day when Bhadrabâhu was at play with other children at Devakoṭa Govardhana, the fourth Sruṭakevali, happened to see him and perceived that the boy was destined to be the next Sruṭakevali. He took charge of him with his father’s consent, and the boy afterwards succeeded him as the great Jaina pontiff. Whatever may be the truth underlying the story of killing 18,000 people in Puṇḍravardhana for the crime of a Nirgrantha in the Divyâvadâna, it tends to show that there were many Jainas in northern Bengal in the 3rd century B.C.

1. IHQ., IV, p. 44 ; SPP, 1932, p. 5 ; JBOAS., 1927, p. 90.
2. SBR., XXII, pp. 85-8. That Puṇḍravardhana was a Jaina centre at the time of Buddha is corroborated by the story of Sumagadhâ, daughter of Anâthapiṇḍâka (Sumâgadâvadâna in the Bodhi Sattvâvadâna-Kalpalatâ, Bengali translation by S. C. Das, pp. 738-779 ).
Aṅga and Magadha are the eastern countries that occur in the list of Solaśa-mahājanaṇapadas of the Aṅguttara-nikāya. The 15th chapter of the Jaina Bhagavati Sutta also gives a list of sixteen countries, and the occurrence of the names of Aṅga, Vaṅga and Lāḍha (Rāḍha) in it shows that the Jainas had more acquaintance with Bengal than the Buddhists in an early period. The Kalpasūtra mentions four sākhās of the Godāsagana of the Jaina monks as Tāmalitīyā, Koḍivartinīyā, Poṇḍavardhāniyā and (Dāsi) Khabbaḍīyā. Tāmrālipti, Koṭivarṣa and Puṇḍravardhāna are in Midnapore, Dinajpur and Bogra districts respectively, and Khabbaḍīya has been identified with the principality of Kharvāṭa in western Bengal. The Jaina Upāṇgas, redacted in c. 454 A.C. but preserving earlier traditions, include Tāmalitīta and Vaṅga among Aryan lands, as opposed to Milikka (=Mlechha or barbarian) peoples like Śaka, Yavana etc. All these literary references go to show unmistakably that there had been considerable proselytising activity by the Jainas since the days of Mahāvīra, and Jainism had got strongholds almost in every part of Bengal. If the maltreatment of the ascetics narrated in the Āyāraṅga Sutta is to be believed, the Jainas seem to have met with much opposition from the natives. But the spread of the religion over the whole country shows that they were ultimately successful in their mission.

Though we do not know of any royal patron like Candragupta Maurya of Khāravela after the Christian era, Jainism did not lose much ground in Eastern India, as it is generally believed. A Mathurā inscription records the erection of a Jaina image in the year 62 of an unspecified era (=140 A.D.?) at the request of a Jaina monk of Rārā (Rāḍha?). The Paharpur plate of 159 G.E. records the gift of some land by a Brahmana couple for the maintenance of worship with sandal, incense, flowers for the arhats at the vihāra of Vaṭ-Gohāli. This vihāra was presided over by the disciples of the disciples of the Nīgrantha preceptor Guhanandin, belonging to the Paṅcastūpa section of Benares. The evidence of the Paharpur

1. SBE., XXII, p. 288, also Kalpasūtra by Jacobi, p. 79; for the location of Khabbaḍīya or Kharvāṭa see IHQ., VIII, pp. 529-30.
2. IA., 1891, pp. 374 ff.
3. JASB., V, p. 239.
4. EI., XX, 639.
plate, read along with the account of Yuan Chwang, testifies to the fact that Puṇḍravardhana, as a great Jain centre, maintained its position at least up to the first half of the seventh century A.D.

Yuan Chwang’s observations on the religious condition of India are, no doubt, of great importance for the proper understanding of the relative position of the important religions of the time. But it must be noted that in his account the details about all other religions excepting Buddhism are lacking and that he speaks of the Nirgranthas rather incidentally and summarily. The fact being so, the Buddhist pilgrim was constrained to remark that in Vaiśali, Puṇḍravardhana, Samatāta and Kaliṅga—all in Eastern India—the Nirgranthas were numerous. It is, therefore, clear that in these regions the Jainas had the largest number of adherents in the seventh century. The Chinese traveller does not refer to the Nirgranthas of the other localities specifically, but when he says that other religions live in pell-mell, it is to be understood that Jainas were included in them. His silence cannot be taken to mean that there were no Jainas in other parts of Eastern India. Thus in his description of Rājagṛha no mention is made of the Jainas, but he found many Nirgranthas near a stupa on the Vipula mountain on the spot where Budha once preached. ‘Many Digambaras now lodge here and practise austerities incessantly; they turn round the sun, watching it from its rising to its setting.’ Rājagṛha, famous both in Buddhist and Jaina literature, is still a place of pilgrimage to the Jainas. A considerable number of Jaina images lie scattered in or about this place.

We are quite in the dark about the state of this religion in Bengal after the seventh century. Its history, disappearance or absorption by another religion, is wrapped in complete obscurity. The fate of two other rival religions or sects is interesting and instructive in this connection. Whatever might have been the relation between Mahāvīra and Makkaliputta Gosāla at first, it is admitted by all

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that as founders and champions\(^1\) of two rival religions, their relation at a later period was far from being friendly, if not one of bitter rivalry and heinous propaganda against each other. The Jainas refer to Gosāla and his followers not in very honourable terms. If the Bhagavati account of Gosāla and Mahāvīra is to be believed, they lived together for six years in Panitabhumī, which was, according to some Jaina commentators, in Vajjabhūmi, one of the divisions of Rādhā.\(^2\) Mahāvīra in course of his wanderings in Rādhā found ascetics carrying bamboo staves in their hands, who, in accordance with Pāṇini’s description of maskarin, are to be identified with the Ājīvika ascetics and were also active in propagating their religion in western Bengal in the 6th century B.C. Maurya kings like Aśoka, Daśaratha and prince Vītāsoka sometimes patronised the Ājīvikas. The Nāgārjunī and Barabar caves\(^1\) go to show that the Ājīvikas had got a fair number of followers in Eastern India in the 3rd century B.C.\(^3\)

The Bhagavati refers to a king of Mahāpāuma of Pūṇḍa, a patron of the Ājīvikas. Pūṇḍa is said to be at the foot of the Viśūjā mountains and Mahāpāuma’s capital is described as having hundred gates.\(^4\) The very name Pūṇḍa suggests that it was most probably Pūṇḍra. Whatever may be the truth underlying the episode that Aśoka put to death 18,000 Ājīvikas in Pūṇḍravardhana for the crime of a Nirgrantha, it unmistakably shows that it was also a centre of the Ājīvikas. But the most important point in this episode is that the Ājīvikas were mistaken for the Nirgranthas, and there are other

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1. For relation with Mahāvīra and Gosāla, see Ch. on Jainism in CHI and also the excellent paper on the Ājīvikas in JDL, II, by Dr. B.M. Barua.

2. Ibid., p. 57, SBE., XXII, p. 254, Note. 4, It is a to be noted that other Jaina books have Paśucaabhūmi instead of Panitabhūmi. (See Mr. U. D. Barodia’s History and Literature of Jainism.)

3. JBOBS., XII, p. 58.

4. Dr. Barua identifies Pūṇḍa with Pāṭaliputra because Mahāpāuma’s capital is described with hundred gates p. 67; cf. Megasthenes, description of Pāṭaliputra.
passages in the Divyavadana in which the Ajivikas have been confounded with the Jainas. We are, therefore, inclined to accept Dr. B. M. Barua's opinion that at the time of the composition of the Divyavadana 'the meaning of the confounding of the Ajivikas with the Jainas is that the two sects living side by side at Punḍravardhana differed so slightly from each other, whether in their views or in their outward appearances, that it was difficult for a Buddhist observer to draw any sharp distinction between them.' In Southern India the Ajivikas were regarded by the Jaina authors as a sect of the Buddhist bhiksus. It is quite natural to think that there were many Ajivikas whom Yuan Chwang also confounded with the Jainas or at his time they became identical with the Jainas to all intents purposes and lived completely absorbed in Jainism, as the followers of Devadatta were living absorbed in Buddhism at Karṇaṇuvāraṇa, only retaining their individuality in the matter of taking food. Broadly speaking, the differences between the Ajivikas and the Jainas were not very fundamental. Amalgamation was perhaps possible when the initial bitterness was over and it was also possibly necessary in view of the vigorous activity of other rival religions in the field. Devadatta, the veritable Satan of the Buddhist Jātakas, was the founder of a sect, differing only in very minor points from Buddha but it was, according to the testimony of Yuan Chwang, living within the bosom of Buddhism in the seventh century, and to a non-Buddhist it was then nothing but Buddhism, pure and simple. Although proofs are still lacking, it may be surmised that Jainism was at a later period absorbed by Buddhism and by the different sects of the Brahmanical religion. The Paharpur monastery which seems originally to have been a Jaina establishment was at a later period converted into a Brahmanical one and finally into a Buddhist Vihāra, the famous Somapura-vihāra of northern Bengal. Mallikārjuna Sūri, the celebrated writer on astrology, who flourished in Vaṅga in the 12th cen-

4. IA., 1912, pp. 88ff.
1. Isan Ghose's Bengali translation of the Jātakas, Vol 1, Appendix, pp.214-6 ; IA., 1923, p. 267 ; 1924, p. 125,
tury A.D., seems to have been a Jaina,¹ but in his books he pays homage to the Hindu gods Gaṅapatī, Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa.

Nothing is known of the existence of Jainism after Yuan Chwang's account excepting a few images of Jaina tīrthāṅkaras. The Jaina images are not so rare in Bengal, as has been observed by late Mr. R. D. Banerjee² who could number four of them only. The exploration of a certain part of the Sunderbans by Mr. K. D. Mitra has brought to light no less than ten Jaina images.³ The fact that so many Jaina images have been found in one part of the Sunderbans, read along with the evidence of the Barrackpore plate of Vijayasena,⁴ tends to lead to the conclusion that north-western Sunderbans were also included in the old principality of Samataṭa where Yuan Chwang saw the preponderance of the Nirgranthas. A careful investigation in the districts of Birbhum and Bankura, where occasional finds of Jaina images are reported⁵ and which fall within the region which Mr. R. D. Banerjee calls the 'Jaina zone of influence,'⁶ may add to the known numbers of the sculptural remains of the Jainas in Bengal. Of about twenty-five images so far discovered only one belongs to the Svetāmbaras. This would go to indicate that the Svetāmbaras had a very small following and that the Digambaras had a greater number of adherents. The images of Rṣabhanātha, Adinātha, Neminātha, Sāntinātha and Pārśvanātha have been found, those of the last being more popular. The image of Rṣabhanātha in the VRSM, from

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¹ The very name ending in-Śūri suggests that he was a Jaina. The Jainas and the Ajivikas were famous for their proficiency in Astrology, Beal, II, p. 168; also see Dr. Barua's paper and Mr. P. C. Sen's paper, Vicitrā, 1940 B. S., pp. 659 ff. Dr. B. Dutta takes Mallikārjuna Śūri to be a Hindu because of his paying homage to Hindu god. SPP, 1340 B. S., p. 83.

² ESMS., p. 144.

³ VRSR., 1921-29, 1930-31, Antiquities of Khari and antiquities of North-Western Sunderbans.

⁴ IHQ., XII, p. 67.

⁵ ASIR., 1921-22, pl. XXIXD. Bīrkhāma-vivaraṇa, p. 188; another Jaina image in Saptagrāma, JASB., 1909, pp. 237, 245.


Surhor in Dinajpur is interesting from the iconographical point of view and deserves more than a passing notice. The central figure with the perfect meditative pose, the oval nimbus over the head, the attendants with fly-whisks, the flying couples of Vidyādharas with garlands, the umbrella between 4 pairs of hands, indication of celestial offerings, resembles in many respects a seated Buddha image of the Pāla period. The perfect nudity of the figure, the bull, the emblem of Rśabhanātha, and the presence of 23 tīrthaṅkaras who have come as if to pay their homage on the occasion of the installation of this remarkable image are clear indications of the fact that it was a Jaina image. In the representation of 24 tīrthaṅkaras in the Hanumān cave at Khandagiri the vāhanas of Sumatinātha, Supārśvanātha and Anathanātha are krauṇa, svasti and syena respectively and this is also the direction in Hemacandra’s Abhīdhāna-cintāmani. In this image the lāñchasas are the dog, wheel and bear. Most probably the Bengal school followed a different manual in the representation of the tīrthaṅkaras.

From stylistic considerations all the Jaina images may be assigned to the Pāla period. The small number of Jaina images in comparison with the large number of the Buddhist and Brahanical images is perhaps indicative of the fact that Jainism was losing ground in the Pāla period. It is known from the Vasantavilāsa that Vastupāla (1219-1233 A.D.), minister of Cālukya Viradhavala, who went on a pilgrimage, was attended by the Saṅghapatis from Lāṭa, Gauḍa, Maru, Dharā, Avantī and Vāṅga. It is important to notice from this incidental evidence that even in the 13th century there were heads of organised associations of the Jainas in Gauḍa and Vāṅga, however small their influence might have been in this period.

Buddhism-Bengal was the last strong-hold of Buddhism in India, but it is very strange that it has been very rarely referred to

1. Ibid., 1933-84.
2. This iconographical point of difference was first noticed by Mr. N. B. Sanyal.
3. Vasantavilāsa, Sarga X
in early Buddhist literature. It has been mentioned in the Saṁyutta Nikāya¹ that Buddha once lived at Śetaka, a town of the Sumbhas; and it has been suggested that they may be the Suhmas of western Bengal.² A Buddhist teacher Upasena has been described as Vaṅgānaputto in the Aṅguttara Nikāya,³ and it has been suggested on the analogy of such epithets as Videhapatto and Mallaputto that Upasena was originally perhaps an inhabitant of Vaṅga. No locality or city seems to have gained high recognition or to have been of much importance to the early Buddhists, and it is also doubtful whether in these two cases there has been really any reference to Bengal.

The story of Sumāgadhā, daughter of Anāthapindakā, narrates how Buddha came to preach in Puṇḍravardhana at the instance of this pious and devoted lady.⁴ According to Yuan Chhwang, Buddha is said to have preached in that city for three months and in Samatata for seven days and also in Karṇasuvarga. In these localities the pilgrim also saw the places where past Buddhas walked. But in spite of these allusions to Buddha’s personal ministration in Yuan Chhwang’s account, it is doubtful whether Budha really came in person, though it may be that Buddhism was making some headway in Bengal during his life-time.

It seems that there were vigorous attempts at proselytising activities during the reign of Aśoka. Yuan Chhwang saw many Aśokan topes at Puṇḍravardhana, Samatata, Tāmralipti and Karṇasuvarga. The vigorous religious propaganda of the Maurya emperor naturally produced its effects. The recently discovered Mahasthan inscription⁵ which is to be palaeographically assigned to the Maurya period records that oil, tree, paddy and small coins (gandhaka and kākanikā) were ordered to be stored for the saññavargikas in case of emergencies due to

2. Dr Majumdar, Early History of Bengal p. 8.
3. 1. XIV. 8.
5. IHQ., 1934, p. 54. We follow Dr. B. M. Barua’s interpretation of this inscription.
water, fire, parrots. Oil was to be conveyed from Puṇḍranagara. This store-house was not far from the Puṇḍravardhana city, the find-spot of this epigraph. Although the fact by whom this order was made is not known, it seems that like the Sohagaura plate this was also an official direction. The Saṅvargiyas have been identified with the Chabhagiyas of the Vinaya texts, who formed a 'Band of six men with their adherents' and who are said to have acted always contrary to the intent and purpose of the Vinaya discipline. The Chabhagiyas, like the followers of Devadatta, might have differed on some points of discipline, which the strict followers of the Vinaya texts did not like and approve. What is important for our purpose is that as early as the Maurya period Puṇḍravardhana became a centre of activity of the Chabhagiyas, so much so that provisions were to be made for meeting their emergencies. There are also evidences to show that pious Buddhists from Puṇḍravardhana visited the holy and sacred sites like Sanchi.¹

A Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription² which is to be palaeographically assigned to the 3rd or 4th century A.D. states that Vaṅga was one of the countries that gladdened the hearts of the Therāvādin teachers. That the Sthavira school flourished in eastern Bengal is also confirmed by Yuan Chwang, when in the description of Samatāṭa the Chinese traveller observes that it had 30 Buddhist monasteries and above 2000 Brethren, all adherents of the Sthavira school. The Gunaighar plate³ of Vainyagupta, dated in 508 A.D., records the grant of land to a congregation of Buddhist monks belonging to the Mahāyāna sect in the Tippera district.

From Yuan Chwang's account it appears that at the time of his visit the three principal religions, viz. Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism, had each a fairly large number of adherents in Bengal. The details about Buddhism left by him may be noted here. In Kajangal (modern Rajmahal) there were six or seven monasteries and above 300 Brethren. In Puṇḍravardhana there were 20 monasteries and above 3000 Brethren and both the Great and Little

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2. EL., xx, p. 23.
vehicles were followed. In Samataṭa there were more than 30 monasteries and above 2000 Brethren, all of the Sthavira school. In Tāmrālipti there were above 10 monasteries and more than 1000 Brethren. In Karṇāsvuvarṇa there were more than 10 monasteries and above 2000 Brethren who were all adherents of the Samatīya school. There were also three monasteries in which in accordance with the teaching of Devadatta milk products were not taken as food. Besides, there were two Universities—one in Puṇḍravardhana and another in Karṇāsvuvarṇa.

It seems from the accounts of the Chinese travellers that Buddhism was declining in Tāmrālipti. In Fa-hien's time there were 22 monasteries in all of which monks resided.¹ In Yuan Chwang's time the number of monasteries were ten and I-Ts'ing saw only five or six.² He has left a graphic account of the University of Bhā-rā-hā in Tāmrālipti. But Buddhism increased its influence in Samataṭa. In I-Ts'ing's time the number of monks rose from 2000 of Yuan Chwang's to 4000. The increasing influence of Buddhism within fifty years was perhaps due to the ardent and vigorous support of the Khadga dynasty which ruled in Samataṭa within the period between 625 and 725 A.D. All the known independent kings of Bengal before the middle of the seventh century were followers of the Brahmanical religion. The Khadgas were devoted Buddhists, and we are fortunate to have a picture of the flourishing condition of Buddhism and of the part played by Rājabhaṭā³ in its propagation at the time of Seng-chi. “He was an ardent worshipper of three jewels and played the part of a grand upāsaka. His sincerity was profound and faith very great. His glory exceeded that of his predecessors. Every day he made 100,000 statues in moulded clay and read 100,000 stanzas of Mahāprajñā-pāramitā-sūtras and made use of 100,000 fresh flowers...." When the royal party went, an image of Avalokiteśvara was placed in the front. His banners and standards concealed the sun, and instrumental

1. Legge, p. 100.
2. Takakasu, Intro. xxxiv.
3. Chavannes at first restores the text as Harṣabhaṭa but in a footnote says that it may be constructed as Rājabhaṭa.
music filled the space. The statues of Buddhas, bhikṣus and upāsakas all marched in front and the king followed behind them. In the capital city there were more than 4000 monks and nuns. All these were entertained by the king. Every morning royal messengers went to them and said, "I am commanded to ask if you have passed a good night." The monks and nuns replied, "We hope His Majesty is in good health. May he live long and his kingdom remain in peace." Only after these messengers had come back and reported, did the king begin to transact the business of the state. The best and most learned bhikṣus in the whole of India were assembled in this kingdom, being attracted by the renown of the king, which reached far and wide."1 Seng-chi himself lived in the royal temple and received extraordinary honour. It is, therefore, no accident that Śīlabhadra, a scion of a royal family of Saṁatāṭa, rose to the exalted position of the head of the Nālandā monastery and under his tutelage Yuan Chwang was placed,2 and to his learning and liberality the pilgrim pays glowing tribute.

Tantrikism—The Tantras claim great antiquity. The Hindu Tantras claim origin from the Vedas,3 while the Buddhists trace the Tantrik doctrines to the Mudrās, Mantras Maṇḍalas, Dhāranis and Yoga, as preached and practised by Buddha.4 But no avowedly early Tantrik books like the Guhya-samāja, Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa5 and the Kaulajñāna-nirṇaya can be placed before the 7th century A.D. It seems that from the 7th or 8th century onward both the Brahmanical and Buddhist religions were greatly influenced by Tantrikism. It is said in an early Jaina book6 that Śabarās, Drāviḍas, Kaliṅgas, Gauḍas and Gāndhāras succeed by occult sciences.

1. I am thankful to Dr. R. C. Majumdar for translating the relevant portion from Chavannes' 'Memorie les Religien eminents' pp. 128-29.
3. IHQ., IX, pp. 1 ff.
5. IHQ., IX, pp. 1 ff.
In the description of the centres of Tantrikism in the Sammola Tantra, Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga are mentioned first.

It is very difficult to define Tantrikism. MM. H. P. Shastri expressed the opinion that “The word Tantra is very loosely used. Ordinarily people understand by it any system other than the Vedas... the union of male and female energy is the essence of Tantra.” Winternitz holds that the term “Tantra ought to be restricted to the texts connected with śakti worship.” This is, no doubt, one of the main aspects of the Tantrika literature. Saivas look upon this union of male and female energy as that of Śiva and Śakti, the Sāṅkhya, of Puruṣa and Praṇīti, and the Vajrayānists, of Boddhicitta and Nirātmā (śūnya) or Upāya and Prajñā. Besides this abstruse philosophy, we find various other topics discussed in the Tantras, viz. the story of the creation, royal duties, social customs, male and female characteristics, curing of deseases, mantras for the extraction of snake-poison and even the introduction of the smoking of tobacco in human society. Above all, the Tantras are the repository of the esoteric beliefs and practices. In course of time the Tantras have become the encyclopedias of knowledge of varied kinds. Tantrika goddesses like Ekjaṭā and Mahācīnatārā seem to be of foreign origin, and it is quite likely that every Tantrika doctrine or practice was not of indigenous growth.

In the Tantras the mantras have very special significance. Like the muttering of the name of Hari by the modern Vaishnavas, they are thought to be highly efficacious. The mantras are the “verbal expression of the idea of god.” Almost every god has a mantra of his own and to the uninitiated the mantras appear to be meaningless strings of letters. An instance may be taken. The eight thousand couplets of the Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra after successive abbreviations and condensations were reduced to the syllable ‘Pra,’ which is the Bija mantra of the goddess Prajñā-pāramitā. The proper muttering of the mantras not only helped spiri-

1. IHQ., VII, p. 8.
2. Intro. to N. N. Vasu’s Modern Buddhism in Orissa, p. 10,
3. IHQ., IX, p. 4.
4. Ibid., VII, pp. 1 ff.
tual success but also could prove helpful in mundane affairs, as māraṇa (destruction of enemies) and ākārṣaṇa (attracting). The Tantras advocate the worship of gods and goddesses in Yantras (instruments, more properly magic diagrams). Some of the Tantrika Yantras in stone with figures of gods and goddesses have come to light. The devotee is to concentrate on the Yantra his mind which is fastened to the object of worship. The full correspondence between the mind and the body was aimed at. The intellectual process was supplemented by physical discipline to be attained by Yogas of various kinds like the controlling of senses and breathings.

It is quite natural that in such a mystic system the role played by the guru (preceptor) was a very important one, and the Tantras realise it. For the proper understanding of the mantras and for correct application of esoteric practices, initiation by, and the guidance of, a guru were enjoined as absolutely essential. People irrespective of caste, creed and sex were initiated. The use of Pañca-Mahāras were sometimes advocated for attainment of siddhi. There were three distinct stages of sādhana, viz., suddhi (purification), sthiti (illumination) and arpaṇa (unification), and there were three classes of sādhakas (devotees), viz. Puṣu, Vīra and Divya. It was the duty of the guru to prescribe to his initiates their mode of sādhanā according to their mental and spiritual capacities. If any disciple misused the mode of worship for his physical enjoyment, he was severely taken to task and the guru was also held responsible to a certain extent for his degeneration. The disciple was regarded as a spiritual son of his preceptor and was sometimes named after the guru after his initiation. In Tantrika sādhanā the devotee was identified with the deity and the preceptor enjoyed a higher status than the deity itself.

Divergent views have been expressed as to the valuation of Tantrikism. It has been claimed that it is the greatest contribution of India to the world and that the Tantrika method of sādhanā

1. They are madya, māśa, mātya, mūdṛā and maithuna
2. Dr. N. K. Brahma, Philosophy of Hindu Sādhanā, p. 291.
3. Dr. B. Bhattacharyya, An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism, see concluding remarks.
combines in it "yoga, bhakti, mantra, homa (oblation), jñāna and karma and can be best studied as the "synthesis of all that was good in the various forms of sādhana in vogue and as such its claim to be the shortest route to the summum bonum, and its promise to its adherents of the easy and speedy attainment of the end are perhaps justified." On the other hand it has been condemned as the most revolting and horrible practice that human depravity could think of, and compared with which the worst specimens of Holiwell Street Literature of the last (18th) century would appear absolutely pure. But the plain truth is that the vast Tantrika literature has not been adequately studied with the care and attention that it deserves and it remains yet an enigma to us. We may hope with Avalon that the true spirit of scholarship will endeavour to be just. There remains enough to show that Tantrikism necessitated multiplicity of gods and goddesses and "satisfied everybody, the cultured and the uncultured, the pious and habitual sinners, the lower and the higher ranks of people and devotees."

The Buddhist Pantheon—The study of the later Buddhist religion has been simplified by the publication of the Sādhanamālā, a special class of literature dealing with the Buddhist pantheon. This literature was mostly written in the monasteries of Bengal and Bihar, and the Buddhist images so far discovered answer in most cases to their descriptions in the Sādhanaśa. The task is made easier by the fact that the Buddhists were scientific in the classification of their gods and goddesses, most of whom were affiliated to a particular family of the five Dhyānī Buddhhas.

Dhyānī Buddhhas and Bodhisattvas—The conception of five Dhyānī Buddhhas and their association with their female counterparts (śakts) are for the first time met with in the Guhyasamāja Tantras and Jñānasiddhi of Indrabhūti, none of which can be at

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3. Tantrik Texts, VII, Foreward, pp. IV-V.
5. Our thanks are due to Dr. B. Bhattacharyya for his painstaking work in this direction and we follow him in the main.
6. GOS, No, LIII, Intro., p. xi. 7. BD. Icon., Intro. p. xxv.
present assigned before the 8th century. They are Vairocana, Ratnasambhava, Amitâbha, Amoghasiddhi and Aksobhya. Later on Vajrasattva was added, thus raising the number to six, and in Nepal Vajrasattva is the priest of five Dhyâni Buddhas. Dhyâni Buddhas generally appear as the sires of other gods and goddesses and their separate representation is rare. Only two images of Ratnasambhava are known so far. The VRSM. specimen is from Vikrampur and the VSPM. one from Bhagalpur. Only one image of Vajrasattva with an inscription in the tenth century script has been discovered from Sukhavaspur, Dacca. The six Divine Bodhisattvas are Sâmantabhadra, Vajrapâni, Ratnapâni, Padmapâni, Viśvapâni and Ghañtâpâni and they are affiliated to the six Dhyâni Buddhas. Three images of Vajrapâni come from Bihar but none from Bengal. It is quite possible that the images described in the VRSC as Bodhisattva, Lokanâtha, Padmapâni are those of this Divine Bodhisattva. Images of Maitreya, the Buddhist Messiah, are not very rare in Bihar and Bengal. He is represented separately either standing or seated and also appears in the company of seven mortal Buddhas.

Adi-Buddha—The conception of Adi Buddha or Primordial Buddha cannot be traced in literature earlier than the 10th century. In the later Buddhist pantheon he occupies the highest place, for it is said that the five Dhyâni Buddhas originated from him. In Nepal he is called Sayambhû and the Vthat-swayambhû-purâna deals with his cult. Again, some identified Aksobhya with Adi-Buddha. According to Getty, Prajñâpâramitâ is his Sakti and he is to be

3. No. C (a) 6/271. 4. DMC., No. 1A (1) a/1.
5. Bd. Icon., PI. XIIbc ; IM. Nos. 3784, 3785.
6. VRSC. A (b) 6/165.
7. ASIR. 1929-30, Pl. XLIII f, from Jhewari, Chittagong; VRSC. No. A (b) 13/361.
8. An excellent image from Biswanpur Tandwa, Bihar, ESMS, PI. XXXIIb.
11. Ibid. 12. Ibid.
represented as a ‘crowned Buddha’ with ornaments and princely garments. Many crowned images of Buddha have been found in Bengal and Bihar, and their identification with the saintly Sākyasimha in monkish robe has been questioned. According to Mr. N. G. Majumdar, the representation of the principal incidents of the life of Buddha around the crowned figure is explained by the fact that "Sākyasimha was given a place in the unreal mythological domain and has been thoroughly identified with the Primordial Buddha" and that eight (or four) important incidents of his life were regarded as signs of his Buddhahood.

Buddha Sākyasimha—The images of Buddha illustrate one of the eight principal incidents of his life. Besides (1) the birth (Māyādevī standing under the Śāla tree) and (2) the maha-parinirvāṇa (death), we have (3) the enlightenment at Bodh-Gaya in Bhūmisparśa-mudrā, (4) the first sermon at Sarnath in Dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā, (5) the descent from the heaven of 33 gods in Varada-mudrā, where he went to preach to his mother, (6) the submission of the elephant Nalagiri or Ratnapāla in Abhaya-mudrā, (7) the attempt of Devadatta to kill him with the help of assassins and (8) the miracle at Śrāvasti in Vyākhya-nā-mudrā. In addition to these incidents, two other events of the master’s life are also illustrated in the separate images of Buddha, viz., (1) protection from rains by the hooded canopy of the serpent Mucalinda and (2) the gift of honey by a monkey at Vaiśāli. The images of Buddha in one of the above attitudes are common in Bihar and Bengal.

There is another class of Buddha images in which the central figure is represented by Buddha in Vajrāsana or by a crowned Buddha or Buddha in one of the above eight attitudes, but on the back slab we find all the principal incidents of his life. Sometimes some other additional incidents2 are also to be found. The additional incidents are (1) the taking of first seven steps by infant Buddha, (2) the casting of the horoscope by the sage Asita Devala,

1. VRSR, 1923-27. pp. 7-10; for crowned images. see, IM, B. G. No. 80, Br. No. 68; Nos. 3713, 3708, 3755, 2971; VSPC, No. C(c) 2/185.
2. See the huge image of Buddha from Jagadishpur near Nalanda and the Sib-bati Buddha image from Khulna, ESMS, Pls., XIXC, XXA; also IM, No. Br. 5, pl. XIXb.
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(3) the boy Buddha at school,¹ (4) his concern at the sight of an old man,² (5) the mahābhiniśkramana or the great renunciation on the back of Kaṇṭhaka followed by the groom Chandaka, (7) the changing of the dress with that of Chandaka, (8) the cutting of hair, (9) the meditation of Buddha, (10) the attack of the Māra’s army, (11) allurements by his two daughters and (12) failure of that attempt.

After a comparison of the representations of these scenes from the master’s life with those of other schools, R. D. Banerjee³ observes that the Pāla school of sculptures introduced the representations of many incidents which had not been portrayed by the intermediate schools like Mathura and Sarnath after that of Gandhara. The same scholar very appropriately described these scenes on the back slabs as “images bas-reliefs” and the evolution of this style is peculiar to the Pāla school.

Mañjuśrī—The gods, Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara, require special treatment owing to their great importance. Their conceptions are known in early Buddhist literatures like the SukhāvatīVyūha and Karanḍavyūha and they are therefore earlier than their parental Buddhas. Mañjuśrī is the god of learning and his worship confers “wisdom, retentive memory, intelligence, eloquence for mastering the scriptures.” Two Dhyānī Buddhas claim his allegiance and on some varieties of his images the five Dhyānī Buddhas appear. Besides, there are independent forms. Vāk and Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara are emanations from Amitābha. Their representations in images are not known. Mañjughoṣa, Siddhaikavīra, Vajrānaṅga, and Nāmasaṅgīti are emanations from Akṣobhya and of them no image is yet reported from Bengal and Bihar. Vāgīśvara, Mañjūvara, Mañjunaṭha and Mañjukumāra forms bear the images of five Dhyānī Buddhas. The IM. possesses an image of Vāgīśvara.⁴ Of this variety Mañjūvara seems to have been popular. His two forms

¹ Only in IM. No. Br. 5, the identification is questionable, as it is not very distinct.
² Ibid.
³ ESMS., p. 44.
⁴ Bd. Icon, Pl. XIVd.
are prescribed in the Sādhanamālā. An image\(^1\) of the simpler form in Dharmacakra-mudrā of the late Pāla period has been discovered at Bara in the Birbhum district. The VRSC. No. A (b) 12/264 describes a six-handed image of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī surmounted by five Dhyānī Buddhas (one of them missing). The independent forms of Mañjuśrī are Aparcana, Sthiracakra, Vādirat and Mañjunātha. The DMC. No. 9A (ii) b/1 most probably represents Aparcana. He is holding the book against the breast in the left hand, brandishing a sword in the right, and it agrees with the Sādhana excepting that it bears the effigies of four Dhyānī Buddhas. The DM. also possesses a wooden image of standing Sthiracakra of high artistic excellence.\(^2\) The VSPC. No. C (d) 8/16 also agrees with the Sādhana excepting that the right hand shows Varada-mudrā and the left holds the stem of a lotus on which appears the sword.\(^3\) An image of Mañjuśrī in bronze of the Gupta period has been discovered at Mahasthan.\(^4\) It bears an effigy of Akṣobhya.

Avalokiteśvara—He is the most popular god of the Buddhists and is in charge of the world during the period between the disappearance of Śākyasimha and the advent of the future Buddha Maitreya. In the Maccandar Vihāra at Katmandu there are paintings of 108 varieties of Lokeśvara. In the Sādhanamālā his fifteen forms have been described. Excepting Vajradhara, all others are emanations from Amitābha. They are Śaḍākṣāri, Simhanāda, Khasarpaṇa, Lokanātha, Halāhala, Padmanarteśvara, Hariharihari-vāhana, Trailokyavasaṅkara, Rakteśvara, Māyājālakarma, Nilakanṭha, Sugatisandarśana and Pretasantarpita. Padmanarteśvara has three sub-varieties and Raktalokeśvara has two other forms. Of these different varieties the images of Śaḍākṣāri, Simhanāda, Lokanātha and Khasarpaṇa have been found in Bengal and Bihar. A representation of the Śaḍākṣāri group (in the company of Maṇidhara and Mahā-

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1. Ibid., Pl. XVp.
4. VRSR, 1926-27, Pl. I, fig. 2.
vidyā, broken) has been found in the Birbhum district. The VRSM., DM. and IM. each possesses a fair number of Śimhanāḍa images. Images of Lokaṇātha are very common. The DMC. No. IA(ii)a/2 is a fine specimen of Khasarpaṇa and agrees faithfully with the description in the Sādhana. It is one of the best products of the Pāla school of art. He is in Ardhaparyāṅka-āsana in Varada-mudrā with his companions Tārā, Sudhanakumāra, Bhṛkti and Hayagrīva with a lotus stalk in hand. The IM. No. 9808² represents another image of Khasarpaṇa. The VRSM.³ possesses an image of Avalokiteśvara in bronze from Mahasthan and has been assigned on stylistic considerations to the Gupta period.

R. D. Banerjee⁴ classifies the Avalokiteśvara images by the number of hands and attributes in them:—

(1) Avalokiteśvara with two hands—the lotus stalk in the left hand and the right in the Varada-mudrā.

(2) With four hands—the two additional ones holding a rosary (akṣamālā) and a kamanḍalu or a book.

(3) With six hands⁵—the other two hands holding a snare (pāśa) and a jewel-like substance.

(4) With multiplicity of hands.⁶ The VRSC. No. A(b)1/47 is a 12-handed image of Avalokiteśvara, but the attributes are not distinct. The VSPC. No. C(d)7/9 is also a 12-handed one with the figure of Amitabha over the serpent canopy. The VRSC. Nos. A(b)2/37 from Bogra and A(b)3/122 from Vikrampur, Dacca, represent a twelve-handed god and are surmounted by five Dhyāṇi Buddhas. The VRSC. No. A(b)4/93 from Vikrampur describes a Bodhisattva Lokaṇātha surmounted by five Dhyāṇi Buddhas.⁷ No such description is to be found in the Sādhanaṃālā. The presence of five Dhyāṇi Buddhas on so many images cannot perhaps be explained as “ornamental rather than parental,” and it may be that we have not yet

1. ASIR, Eastern circle, 1920-21, p. 27.
2. ESMS, pl. XXXIII.
3. Report, 1927-28, pl. V.
4. ESMS, p. 87 ff.
5. IM. No. 5860.
6. See ESMS, pl. XXXIVa.
7. For another image see ASIR, 1930-34, pl. CXXXIb.
known the Sādhanā which prescribes Avalokiteśvara as an emanation of five Dhyānī Buddhhas.

The VRSC. No. A(b)4/124 has been described as Bodhisattva Trailokyavaśaṅkara, crowned with an image of Buddha. It is a three-faced and four-handed figure. In the Sādhanaṃalā Trailokya-vasaṅkara is one-faced, two-armed and three-eyed, and therefore, its identification does not seem to be correct. The image may be a representation of Halāhala or Sukhāvatī form but in the Sādhhanas both are described as six-handed.¹

Family of Amitābha—He claims complete allegiance of the gods, Mahāvala, Saptasatika and Hayagrīva and the goddesses, Kuru-kullā, Bhṛkti and Mahāsītavaṭī. Kuru-kullā has four sub-varieties. It is reported that there are three images of Kuru-kullā among the large Kurkiharā finds.² No other image of this group is known.

Family of Akṣobhya—He commands the allegiance of a large number of gods and goddesses. His male emanations are Gaṅḍa-roṣaṇa, Heruka, Buddhiskapāla, Vajraḍāka, Hayagrīva, Yamāri and Jambhala. Heruka has three varieties—Dvībhuja Heruka, Heruka in Yab-Yum (in close embrace) with his Śakti and Caturbhuja Heruka. The DMC. No. IA(iv)b/l is a Dvībhuja Heruka in Ardha-paryāṇka or dancing pose with a horrible look, hurling a Vajra and wearing a garland of skulls. Vajraḍāka has three varieties—Samvara, Saptākṣara and Mahāmāyā. The IM. has recently acquired an image of Samvara from northern Bengal.³ The Sādhana prescribes four heads but this image has three. Otherwise it agrees in details with the description in the Sādhanaṃalā. Yamāri has two varieties—Rakta (red) and Kṛṣṇa (black). Kṛṣṇayamāri has again three sub-varieties and one image of the sub-variety, namely, Yamāntaka, has been discovered at Nālandā.⁴ Jambhala has another variety called Ucchusma-Jambhala.

The female emanations of Akṣobhya are Mahācīnātārā, Jān-

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3. ASIR, 1934-35, p. 80, pl. XXIVc.
guli, Ekajatā, Parṇāsavarī, Prajnāpāramitā, Vajracaracikā, Dhvajagrakeyūrā, Vasuhdarā and Nairātmā. Jānguli has three forms, Ekajatā has two and Prajnāpāramitā has four. The IM. possesses a representation of Ekajatā who offers a horrible and grim look and flames are gushing out from her person. A broken image of Parṇaśavarī with six hands, three faces and trampling on Ganeśa is in the Indian Museum. Prajnāpāramitā is the deification of the spirit of the popular Mahāyāna book of that name. The DMC describes an image of this goddess. Vasuhdarā is the Sakti of Jambhala and is the goddess of plenty and prosperity. One image of Vasuhdarā has been found in the Murshidabad district. The goddess Nairātmā is the deification of the idea underlying Śūnyavāda or Nirātmā (soullessness). The IM. No. 3941 represents an image of Nairātmā. She is dancing in Ardhaparyanka attitude on a corpse with a garland of skulls. With angry eyes, canine teeth and burning flames from her person she presents a terrible appearance. A bronze in VSPM seems to represent this goddess. The only thing that goes against the identification is that her sire Aksobhya is not to be found on the top.

Family of Vairocana—In the Sādhanamālā no male emanation of Vairocana is known. His female emanations are Mārīcī, Uṣṇīṣavijaya, Sitātapatrā, Aparājītā, Mahāsahasrapramardanī and Vajravarāhī. Of these goddesses Mārīcī was very popular. She has six varieties, of which only the images of Aṣṭabhuja Mārīcī are common. She is the Buddhist goddess of dawn and her chariot is drawn by seven pigs. She is four-faced and a Caitya appears on her head. In her four faces four sentiments, bhaya, bibhatsa, raudra and śanta were directed to be expressed. One of the faces is that of a boar. The IM. possesses an image of Uṣṇīṣavijaya which agrees in all details with the Sādhana excepting that it bears the effigy of Aksobhya in

1. Ibid., pl. XXVIIId,
2. No. 3957.
3. No. 1B (1)/1.
4. ASIR, 1927-28, pl. XLIIXe.
5. Bd. Icon., p. 91, pl. XXXb.
6. Ibid., pl XXXIc
stead of Vairocana. Vajrārāhī is the śakti of Hevajra and has three varieties.

Though no male emanation of Vairocana is known in the Sādhanamālā, a bronze image of Hevajra with this parental Dhyānī Buddha has been discovered in the Tippera district.  He is in fighting attitude and in his sixteen hands there are different attributes, mostly weapons. Eight goddesses dance a war dance around him. Another image of Hevajra in Yab-Yum has been found at Paharpur.  

Family of Amoghasiddhi—Like Vairocana only female emanations of Amoghasiddhi are known and they are Khadirvanī-Tārā, Vaṣyatārā, Saḍbhujā Sitatārā, Dhanada-Tārā, Parnaśavāri, Mahāmāyūrī and Vajraśrīkhalā. The images of Khadirvanī-Tārā are very comon. Both standing and seated forms are to be found. She is accompanied by Aṣokakāntā Māricī and Ekajaṭā. Two fine images of Parnaśavāri come from the Dacca district. She appears in fighting attitude and presents an angry look. The diseases and pestilences which are represented in human shape flee at her approach.

Family of Ratnasambhava—His male emanations are Jambhala and Ucchuṣma Jambhala. Jambhala is the Buddhist god of wealth and is represented with a pot belly and decked with ornaments. In his right hand he carries a mongoose which vomits jewel. He is a popular god and his allegiance is claimed by Ratnasambhava, Aksobhya and five Dhyānī Buddhas. The DMC describes two fine images of the present type from Vikrampur.

His female emanations are Mahāpratisārā and Vasudharā. Two eight-handed images from Dacca are generally identified with Mahāpratisārā but they do not belong to this form. Dr. B. Bhattacharyya refers to an independent form of this goddess in the

1. DMC. Addenda, pl. Ia.
3. DMC. Nos. Pl. XXIII.
Sādhanamālā. They agree well with the independent form excepting that they have three faces, while the Sādhana prescribes four. One image of Vasudharā from Jhewari, Chittagong, is known but the parental Buddha is lost and it is difficult to say under whose authority (Aksobhya or Ratnasambhava) she is.

Emanations from five or four Dhyāni Buddhas—The gods included in this group are Jambhala and Mahākāla and the female emanations are Vajratārā, Prajñāpāramitā,Sitārā and Māyājālakarma Kurukullā. The two images discovered at Majbari (Faridpur) and Patharghata (Bhagalpur) within a full-blown lotus with eight movable petals are generally taken to be representations of Vajratārā. But Dr. N.K. Bhattachariya* draws attention to the description of an image of Cakra-Mahāsukha in the Cakrasambhara Tantra and is perhaps right in his disagreement in so far as there are no parental Buddhas in the above two instances. The IM. No. 1004 represents the goddess Prajñāpāramitā of this form. The VRSC. No. A(d)2/137 describes an image of Mārici and the rim of its chariot roof contains five Dhyāni Buddhas. The only known emanation from four Dhyāni Buddhas is the goddess Vajratārā.

Family of Vajrasattva—His two emanations are Jambhala and Cundā.

Independent forms—Under this heading may be included the gods and goddesses who do not claim their origin from any of the five Dhyāni Buddhas or any combination of them. Independent gods are Gaṇapati, Bighnanātaka, Vajrahuṇkāra, Bhūtaḍāmara, Vajrajvālāmālākāra, Trailokyavijaya, Paramaśva and Nāmasaṅgiti. One image of Trailokyavijaya from Bodh-Gaya is only known. He is four-faced, eight-armed and tramples on Gaurī and Śiva. The VSPM. possesses an image of Bighnanātaka. Its provenance is not known but it seems to be a product of Nepalese workmanship.

1. Ibid., p. 117.
2. ASIR, 1927-28, Pl. XLIXb.
3. DMC., p. 51. The reproduction of Vajratārā from Nepal by Dr. Bhattacharyya is of entirely different type. Bd. Icon., Pl. XXXVla.
4. Ibid., Pl. XXXVIc.
5. Ibid., XXXIXe.
6. Ibid., Pl. XXXIXb.
Independent goddesses are Sarasvatī, Aparājītā, Vajragāndhārī, Vajrayogīṇī, Grahamātrikā, Gaṅapatiḥdāya and Vajravidarāṇī. The Buddhists seem to have borrowed Sarasvatī, the Brahmanical goddess of learning. That she was highly venerated and very popular is attested by the fact that five of her forms are found in the Śādhana-mālā, viz., Mahāsarasvatī, Vajravīṇā Sarasvatī, Vajrasāradā, Āryasarasvatī and Vajrasarasvatī. The IM. has an image of Aparājītā. The goddess is in fighting attitude and tramples on Gaṇeṣa. Another broken image from Nālandā probably represents her.

Miscellaneous gods and goddesses—Hāritī, protectress and giver of children, is not described in the Śādhana-mālā but is known from Buddhist mythology. The DM. has an image of this goddess with a fish and bowl in two hands and in the other two she holds a baby. The VRSM. has four specimens. Two images of Hāritī have been found in the ruins of Khādi.

The goddesses consisting of the Tāntrika Pañcarakṣā Maṇḍala are Mahāpratisarā, Mahāsaḥarapramardanī, Mahāmantrānusāriṇī, Mahāmāyūrī, and Mahāsitavatī.

All the Tārā images have not been properly classified. There are many varieties. Dr. B. Bhattacharyya classifies them under two general headings—(1) ordinary and (2) extraordinary. Ordinary Tārās exhibit the Varada pose in the right hand and hold a lotus in the left. Ordinary Tārās are again sub-divided into Green and

1. One image from Nālandā has been identified as Koṭiśrī (?) and is, in the opinion of Dr. B. Bhattacharyya, probably that of Vajrasūradā. Both these identifications are questionable. There is no similarity of this image with the Nepalese painting of this goddess reproduced by him. Bd. Icon., Pls. XL de, p. 153.
2. Ibid., Pl. XLIIa.
3. Ibid., Pl. XLId.
4. No. IB (VII)/c
5. A (c) 1/327. A (c) 3/106, A (c) 2/329, A (c) 4/115.
7. These five goddesses are illustrated in Bd. Icon by miniatures from a manuscript of Panca-rakṣā.
8. Ibid, p. 135 fn.
White Tārās. Green Tārā has four varieties—Khadirvanī, Vaṣya-tārā, Āryatārā and Mahattarī Tārā. Most of the Tārā images belong to this category. White Tārā has two varieties—Mṛtyuvañcana and Aṣṭamahābhaya. Extraordinary Tārās include a large number of goddesses we have described already.

The above account does not exhaust the number of known images and it is also to be noted that all the Sādhanas have not been discovered. In spite of some cases of doubtful and questionable identifications it is to be admitted that the Buddhist images as a rule faithfully agree with their descriptions in the Sādhānāmālā. The extant literature and the number of images hitherto discovered from different quarters make it abundantly clear that Buddhism in its later phase commanded a large following in the Pāla period.

1. The following identifications appear to us very doubtful. The VRSC No. A (g) 1/110 describes a ten-handed goddess as Vāgīśvari, the DMC No. 1B (iβ) a/l as Sitapātra and No. 1A (v) a/l as Piṇḍola-Buddha, God of Medicine. The sixteen-handed image (IM. No. 2076) cannot be identified at all. the eight-handed goddess from Bara (Birabhūma-Vījarāpa, fig. 30) appears either to be an image of Uṣṇīṣavijaya or Mahāpratisarā. Another image reproduced in the same book (fig. 27) appears to represent a Buddhist god. I am unable to suggest any identification from the indistinct photograph.
CHAPTER XI

RELIGIOUS CONDITION (CONTINUED)
Brahmanical Pantheon

Vaiṣṇavism—The Harivamśa narrates the story of a quarrel between Yādava Krṣṇa and Vāsudeva of Puṇḍra. The latter was a friend and ally of the Magadha king Jarāsandha and an enemy of Krṣṇa. It is said in this story that Puṇḍraka Vāsudeva considered himself to be the real Vāsudeva, the holder of saṅkha, cakra, padma and gadā, and regarded Devakiputra Vāsudeva as an impostor. In the battle that ensued on this account the Puṇḍra king lost his life. The story tends to show that at the time of the composition of the last part of the Harivamśa Vāsudeva with his usual attributes was regarded as a full-fledged god, but it may reflect the spirit of a previous age (as we know from the story of Śiṣupālavadha in the Mahābhārata) when there was a considerable opposition from a section of the people of eastern India to looking upon Krṣṇa as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. It may be noted that Puṇḍraka Vāsudeva was one of the kings defeated by Bhīma in his eastern expedition.

The earliest epigraph referring to Vaiṣṇava worship in Bengal is the Susunia inscription which records the setting up of a wheel of Viṣṇu by king Candravarman. The Vaigrama plate of 129 G.E. refers to a temple of Govindasvāmin (a form of Viṣṇu) and the Damodarpur plate No. 4 refers to a temple of Śvetavarāhasvāmin. The Tippera grant of Lokanātha records grant of land to a temple of Nārāyaña. The Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla mentions grant of land to a temple of Nanṣa-Nārāyaṇa in the Vyāghrataṭi-maṇḍala.

The Brahmanical images and terracotas unearthed in course of

2. Most probably it means Viṣṇu in Varāhāvatāra. This record also mentions Kokāmukhasvāmin. Dr. R. G. Basak says that Kokāmukha may mean a she-wolf. It cannot be ascertained what god was meant in this case.
excavations at Paharpur are assignable to the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. Stories and exploits connected with the life of Kṛṣṇa are illustrated profusely in panels and they go to show that the Kṛṣṇa cult was popular in Northern Bengal even in the Gupta period. Before the Paharpur excavations our knowledge of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult of ancient Bengal was very poor, the stone representations being the doubtfully identified ‘Mother and Child’ images as the birth of Kṛṣṇa. His sports with the milk-maids and the part played by him in the Mahābhārata have been mentioned in the 4th verse of the Belava plate of Bhojavarman, the last known king of the Vaishnava Varman dynasty. Jayadeva, the court-poet of Lakṣmanaśena, immortalised the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in his Gīta-Govinda. The Kṛṣṇa panels¹ at Paharpur which are possible of definite identification are lifting of the mountain Govardhana, the death of the demons Cāṇura and Muśṭika in wrestling combat with Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, the uprooting of two Arjuna trees and the killing of the demon Kesi.² An amorous pair³ with halos round their heads have been identified with Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. There are separate representations of Balarāma and the river goddess Yamunā. There are various other panels which may be representations of some scenes of Kṛṣṇa’s life. Two scenes⁴—a monkey carrying stone on his head for making the bridge in order to cross over to Lāṅkā and the fight between Bālī and Sugrīva—show the wide popularity of the Rāmāyana stories in that period. Besides the Paharpur finds, a bronze image of Viṣṇu from Rangpur may be assigned to the Gupta period.⁵ An ordinary Viṣṇu and Viṣṇu Śeṣa-Sāyin in the Tepa collection at Rangpur,⁶ Viṣṇu from Laksmankathi, Backerganjè,⁷ and another from Jogirsoan, Rajshahi,⁸ and a baked clay seal of the god from Sabhar, Dacca,⁹ may be assigned to the post-Gupta period.

1. ASIR, 1926-27, pp. 142 ff.
2. IC, III, p. 195.
3. ASIR, 1926-27, Pl. XXXc.
4. Ibid., Pl. XXXIVa.
5. Ibid., 1929-30, Pl. XXXVib.
6. VRS. Monograph, No. 4.
7. DMC, p. 87.
8. VRSR, 1930-31, fig. 1.
9. DMC, p. 83.
Viṣṇu images of the Pāla period lie scattered and uncared for all over Bengal, and all the museums and private collections possess a fairly large number. This is a clear proof of the wide popularity of the worship of this god. Viṣṇu is generally represented as standing with his four well-known attributes in four hands. He is accompanied by his two wives Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī, Vāhana being the devotee Garuḍa. Sometimes the door-keepers of Vaikuṇṭha, viz., Jaya and Vijaya, also appear. Most of the Bengal images belong to the Trivikrama and Vāsudeva varieties with the order of attributes PGCS and GSCP, in four hands.¹ A specimen of a four-headed bust of Viṣṇu is in the Tepa collection at Rangpur. The central face is normal, the left and right are those of Varāha and lion. The back one is described like that of a Bhairava.² The pedestal of a seated image of Viṣṇu (Yogāsana) from Itahar, Dinajpur, has been noticed by Mr. S. K. Saraswati.³ A standing Viṣṇu with a seven-headed snake canopy has been found in the north-western Sunderbans.⁴ A Seṣa-Sāyīn image is at Vainyesvara, Murshidabad.⁵

On some Viṣṇu images we find the representation of his ten incarnations on the back slab.⁶ The ten incarnations are Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasiṁha, Vāmana, Rāma (Dāsarathī), (Paraśu)-rāma, (Bala)rāma, Buddha and Kalkī. Of these we have some remarkable specimens of Matsya, Varāha, Narasiṁha and Vāmana incarnations in separate images. Representation of the Matsya-vatāra in a separate image is not very common in India,⁷ and Bengal can claim two—one from Vajrajogini,⁸ Dacca, and the other from Serpore.⁹

¹ For different varieties of Viṣṇu, see Viṣṇumūrti-Paricaya by V. Vidyavinode. So far as we know, varieties of Nārāyaṇa, Hṛṣīkeśa and Śrīdhara have been discovered. See VSPC No. F (a) 1/352; JASB, 1882, p. 179; VRSR, 1928-29, p. 18.
² VRS, Monograph, No. 4, pp. 80-3/.
³ JASB, 1936, p. ii, Pl. II, fig. 1.
⁴ VRS. Monograph, No. 4, Pl. III, No. 12
⁵ Birabhūma-Vivaraṇa, fig. 83.
⁶ DMC., No. 3A (1) a/5; ESMS, p. 103.
⁷ ASIR, 1924-25, p. 154.
⁸ DMC.; No. 3A (1) d/1.
⁹ Pravāṣā, 1838 B. S., pp. 516 ff.
Bogra. On ordinary images of Viṣṇu this form is indicated by a fish. In these two specimens the god is represented as half-fish (lower half) and half-man with usual attributes in four hands and with Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī on his two sides. Images of the Varāhavatāra are rather common, the VRSM. possessing the largest number. The images of Narasiṁha-avatāra are also fairly common. Three Narasiṁha images in the Abdulapur Vaiṣṇava monastery have six hands instead of four, the two additional ones being in the Abhayag and Tarjani mudrās. In the images of the Vāmana-avatāra the attempt to chastise the demon king Bali by raising the left foot in order to cover three worlds is cleverly depicted. The image of Parāṣurāma is extremely rare in Bengal. The DMC describes one from Ranihati Deul, Purapara in Vikrampur. The only difference from an ordinary Viṣṇu image is that the god holds a parasu instead of the gadā.

Many square slabs of stone or metal with the image of Viṣṇu on one side and his ten incarnations on the other in a circular order have been discovered and very appropriately called Viṣṇupaṭas. Most probably they are the Yantras used by the Tantrika Vaiṣṇavas. The finest specimen is from Khāḍi, Sunderbans.

The images of Balarāma are not very common. The VRSM possesses one from Dinajpur. The god is standing under a five- hooded snake canopy. The first right hand holds a cup (of wine?), the second a club and the first left a plough and the other rests on the knee. It may be noted that one image among the Kurkihar

1. DMC, Pl. XXXVII bed.
2. A pot-bellied and comparatively short sized Viṣṇu in IM, in the usual standing posture is described by R. D. Banerjee as Vāmanā. We think there is nothing to regard it as an image of Vamana-avatāra except its short size. ESMS, Pl. XLVI ḫa.
3. Pl. XXXIXb
4. DMC, p. 89.
5. Antiquities of Khāḍi, (Sunderbans) by Mr. K. D. Mitra in VP SR, 1928-29.
6. E (d) 1/386.
(Bihar) finds has been identified with Balarāma, and another of the reign of Devapāla has been found at Nālandā.

Garuḍa appears in Viṣṇu images as kneeling on the right knee with folded hands in adoration. He is sometimes represented as a human being and occasionally as a bird proper. The separate images of two-winged Garuḍa with folded palms are common. They might have adorned the pillars in front of Vaiṣṇava temples. The crowning figure of the Dinajpur Vaiṣṇava pillar is a double-sided Garuḍa. The DMC describes a fine specimen of a double-sided Garuḍa image. The VRSM. specimen from Nagail, Rajshahi, is aslo a good piece of sculpture. The wooden image of Garuḍa from Raghurampur is of fine workmanship.

The images of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa are not very common and only four of them are known. Representation of Lakṣmī in separate images is not also very common. The VRSC. reports the acquisition of three metal images from Bogra and the VSPM has one from Bhagalpur. Separate images of Sarasvati are also rare. The DM. specimen comes from Tolbari Bhita near the Nāstika Panditera Bhita (generally supposed to be Atiśa Dipaṅkara’s home) at Vajrayogini, Vikrampur. In the three specimens in VRSM. from Bogra and Rajshahi the ram appears as her vāhana, while the known Dhyānas direct it to be the swan. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali draws attention to the 7th Adhyāya, 12th Kāṇḍa of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, which connects a ram with Sarasvati worship. The practice of sacrificing the ram is still observed in some parts of the Dacca district.

2. ASIR. 1990-21, p. 35.
3. ESMS, p. 106; VRSC, No. E (a) 17/2
4. Ibid. E (a) 1/9.
5. 8A (1) c/2.
6. ESMS, Pl. XCIa.
7. DMC, No. 3A (i) e/1.
8. DMC., No. 8A (i) b/1; Mr. S. K. Saraswati notices three images in his reports of his tours in Malda and Dinajpur. See JASB, 1936, pp. 9 ff.
9. K (a) 1/268.
10. DMC, p. 187.
Śaivism—The spread of Śaivism in Bengal is obscure. In the Gunaighar grant of 508 A.D. Vainyagupta is styled as paramaśaiva, and in course of the description of the boundary of the donated land to the Buddhist monastery a temple of Pradyumnesvara has been referred to. The existence of a Śaiva temple in the Tippera district in this period indicates that Śaivism had considerable influence by that time. The bull symbol of the coins of Samacārādeva and Śaṅkha shows that they most probably belonged to this sect. The seal of the Asrafpur plates of the Khadgas bears a bull couchant, and the queen Prabhāvatī, wife of Devakhadga, consecrated a Śarvāṇī image. In spite of their ardent devotion to Buddhism it seems that the Khadgas had Śivaitic sympathies also.

Śiva has been represented in various forms at Paharpur and four of them have been described in the report of the Archæological Survey. In these four forms he has the uṛdhva liṅga (penis erectus) and has his third eye on the forehead, which along with the presence of aksamālā and kamanḍalu go to signify his ascetic aspect. (1) The scene of offering poison has been depicted in a simple but dignified way. (2) There is another standing Śiva image with a kneeling bull to his right with a heavy staff (triśāla?) in the left hand. (3) In another image his right hand shows varada pose and the left holds the triśūla. (4) In another there is a halo round the head and his two hands hold aksamālā and kamanḍalu.

In the Pāla and Sena periods Śiva was worshipped in various forms, of which two-armed Śiva, Sadāśiva, Bhairava, Kalyānasundara or Vaiśhikamūrti, Umā-Maheśvara or Umāliṅgamamūrti and Nātarāja types seem to have been popular. Four images of two-armed Śiva are known. They look like Viṣṇu images excepting their characteristic Śaiva symbols, the bull, tridents and Urdhvaliṅga. The seal attached to the Āṇa grants bears the figure of ten-armed Sadāśiva. The VRSM. has three Sadāśiva images and the VSPM.

1. 1926-27, pp. 146-47
2. Two in the VRSM, described in VRSC as Harihara, p. 11; and two in the IM., ASIR, 1930-34, p. 262, Pl. CXXXII. d.
two.\(^1\) Bhairava was originally an attendant of, or emanation from Śiva and instead of the bull, the dog is the vāhana of Bhairava. The VRSM. has four,\(^2\) the DM. possesses one and the Nahar collections, Calcutta, contains a fine specimen. Kalyāṇasundara images can be divided into two classes. In one class Gauri stands in front of Śiva\(^3\) and in another to his left.\(^4\) Umā-Maheśvara images predominate over all other Śiva images, and both metal and stone specimens are common. It is noteworthy that all the known images of Naṭarāja Śiva excepting one from Govindapur in N.W. Sunderbans\(^5\) come from eastern Bengal (Dacca and Tippera districts). The Naṭarāja images can be divided into two classes—ten-handed and twelve-handed varieties.\(^6\)

A rare type of Śiva with a trident and a rosary in two right hands and a skull-head staff and skull bowl in the left two is worshipped at Kasipura, Backerganj. Pārvatī and Gaṅgā stand on two sides and small figures of Ganeśa and Kārtikeya are also noticeable.\(^7\) The eight-armed Aghora images are not common and only three specimens are known.\(^8\) The VRSM. possesses a unique specimen of Ardhanāriśvara from Purapara, Vikrampur, whose images

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1. Another image has been discovered recently from Dinajpur and it is reported that it will be preserved in the IM. Mr. H. D. Mitra contributes a very informative paper on Sadāśiva worship in Bengal, see ŚĀSB, 1933, pp. 171 ff. Mr. Mitra places the earliest image of Sadāśiva in Bengal in c, 950-1000 A. D. Most probably the ten-handed Śiva in Bhrabhūma-Vivaraṇa, fig. 19, is an image of Sadāśiva. It may be noted that there is none from eastern Bengal.

2. The image described in VRSC, 26, as Revanta seems to be a representation of Bhairava. The image illustrated in Bhrabhūma-Vivaraṇa against page 188 appears to be that of Bhairava.

3. DMC., Pl. XLVIITA.
4. Ibid., Pl. XLVIIb.
5. VRS, Monograph, No. 5, fig. 7.
6. DMC., P. Ill, Nos. 3A (ii) a/3 are broken.
7. Dr. N. K. Bhattachariya calls it Nilakaṇṭha but admits that the Dhyāna prescribes five heads, while the present image has only four but the attributes in the hands agree. DMC., p. 117.
8. DMC., Pl. XLVII; VRS, Monograph, No. 5, fig. 9, another at Bhardrasila, Dinajpur, JASB, 1938, p. 12.
are of extreme rarity\(^1\) in Bengal. The images from Purapara, Vikrampur, are said to have been worshipped by Vallálasena and one of his queens.\(^2\) It may be mentioned that the Naihati plate of Vallálasena opens with an invocation to the Ardhanárisvara form of Śiva. The VSPM.\(^3\) has one broken image which appears to represent a seated Śiva (Dhyānī Śiva?)

The worship of Śiva in his phallic emblem was widely popular. The known Liṅgas can be divided into four classes. (1). The plain Liṅga with yoni or agrāpatṭa is represented as plain cylinder with a circular platform around its middle. They are very common and one inscribed in the 7th-8th century script has been found along with the Šarvāṇi image of queen Prabhāvati.\(^4\)

(2). The cylinder with one face of Śiva is called Ekamukha Liṅga.\(^5\)

(3). Liṅgas with the bust of Śiva on four sides of the cylinder is called Caturmukha Liṅga to which reference has been made in the Bodh-Gaya inscription of the 26th year of Dharmapāla. One specimen is at Aminpur, Dinajpur.\(^6\)

(4). The VRSM. has four Liṅgas encircled by four effigies of Devī and a similar one is at Delbandh, Dinajpur.\(^7\)

The bull, the Vāhana of Śiva, was generally placed in the outer wall of his temple. The DM. and VRSM. each has a massive bull and another is in the Dinajpur Collectorate.

The images of Gaṇeṣa are common. Generally we meet with seated or dancing Gaṇeṣa with four or eight hands.\(^8\) The VRSM.

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1. The VRSC. No. C (e) 2/288 is a fragmentary image from Akṣayavāta, Gaya.
2. DMC., p. 131.
3. G (c) 1/341.
4. DMC., pl. LXX.
5. VRSC., No. C (a) 1/82; one from Mangolkot, Burdawn. see ESMS. pl. Ela, one at Unakoti, Tippera.
6. JASB, 1932, p. 187; for two others see infra.
7. Ibid, pp. 188-89.
8. Mr. B. Bhattacharyya describes eight varities of Gaṇeṣas. But as the attributes do not agree with his lists, it is difficult to classify them accordingly, see Indian Images, p. 18
has the largest number of dancing Gañësas. The DMC.\textsuperscript{1} and VRSC.\textsuperscript{2} each describes a six-handed Gañësa. The DMC. describes a unique five-faced and ten-armed dancing Gañësa from Vikrampur, and the learned compiler of the Catalogue has quoted a Dhyâna from the Sāradâtilaka Tantra, which enables him to identify it as an image of the Heramba variety of Gañësa. Images of Kårtikeya are not very common. The DMC. describes only one and the VRSM. has three, of which No. C(g)\textsuperscript{1}/181 is described as very old. The IM.\textsuperscript{4} has acquired a splendid image of Kårtikeya from northern Bengal.

Saiva and Sākti goddesses—Durgâ is the sâkti of Siva and was worshipped in various forms. Her images of different varieties have been discovered but not properly classified. It can well be understood how many different forms she had from the simple fact that the Devipurâṇa\textsuperscript{3} alone mentions 62 types. A remarkable image of a goddess is worshipped at Kâgajipâdâ (paper-makers' village), Vikrampur. The lower half is a finely carved Liíga from which she emerges. She holds a rosary and a book in the upper two hands and the lower two are placed one on another in Dhyânamudrâ. The goddess has been tentatively identified as Mahâmâyâ.\textsuperscript{5} Images of Gaurî are common. The DMC. describes three and most of the ten images described in the VRSC. under the heading Cañḍî with Godhikâ (mongoose) as the vehicle are representations of Gaurî.\textsuperscript{7} The VRSC. N. D(a)\textsuperscript{7}/184 appears to be an image of Umâ, as the goddess holds a mirror which differentiates her from Gaurî and Pârvatî.\textsuperscript{8}

1. DMC. p. 146.
2. G (b) 1/224. For another six-handed dancing Gañësa, see Mediaeval Indian Sculptures in the British Museum by R. P. Chanda pl. XXI
3. DMC, pp. 146-47.
4. ASIR, 1934 85, pl. XXIVd
5. Vâñgavâsi edition, Ch. LX, pp. 180 ff
6. DMC, pp. 192-3, pl. XIV.
7. Also see the goddess at Mahesvarapasa, Khulna, ESMS, pl. LVIIc and the image illustrated in Birbhûma-Vivaraṇa against page 192 (Vol. II) fig. 67
Images of Pārvatī are fairly common. The Liṅga along with the rosary in the right hands is her distinctive feature. Three images have been described in the FRSC. as Śimḥavāhinī. One has eight hands and the other two have four each. The attributes in them have not been mentioned. But it seems clear that they represent Durgā in one or another form, as the Vāhana lion shows. The standing goddess with the lion as Vāhana from Mangalbari, Dinajpur, holds in her upper two hands a triśūla and an aṅkuśa and the other two are lost. She also represents a form of Durgā. An uncommon type of Caṇḍī of the 3rd year of Laksmaṇasena’s reign is worshipped in the Dacca town. There is a lion couchant on the pedestal and the goddess has a battle axe in her upper right hand. Two elephants sprinkle water on her and two females with fly-whisks attend her. But for the short inscription which labels her as Caṇḍī, it would have been very difficult to identify her, as it differs from known examples. The metal image of eight-armed Sarvāṇi installed by queen Prabhāvatī was discovered at Deulbadi, Tippera. Two rare and unique images of Devī have been discovered in Jessore and Birbhum, and their identification is far from certain. A six-handed goddess seated on a lotus, which is supported by a lion, is worshipped at Sankhahati, Jessore, as Bhuvanesvari. R. D. Banerjee labels it as Pārvatī. She is seated in ardhaparyauka-āsana with her right foot pendant on the lion and the pedestal contains two other small lions. The two lower left hands hold the Kamandalu and Triśūla and the other shows Abhaya pose. The two upper right hands hold a lotus and a rosary and the other exhibits the Varada pose. The form of Bhuvanesvari as described by Mr. Gopinath Rao is four-handed. Otherwise, it agrees with the details. The

1. Nos. D(c)1/130, D(c)2/32, D(c)3/29
2. ESMS, pl. LVIIa
3. DMC; pl. LXIX.
5. ESMS, pl. LVIIa.
6. Op. Cit., Vol. I. Pt. II, p. 37; see also Rao’s description of Tulast-devī; see also the descriptions of Vijayā and Umā in the Devipurāṇa, pp. 185 ff. But all of them are four-handed. Mr. S. C. Mitra proposes to identify her with Tripuresvari of the Tantrasāra.
other image\textsuperscript{1} at Deuli, Birbhum is a ten-armed goddess, standing in \textit{Atibha\-\=nga} pose. Three images discovered from that village are said to have been installed by the Sena kings. The \textit{V\=aha\=na} seems to be a lion. The attributes in four left hands are \textit{Tri\=\=ulu, Dar\=pana, Dhanuh}, and \textit{Kama\=n\=\=alu}, and the attribute or the posture in the lowest left hand is indistinct. The two upper right hands hold \textit{Kha\=\=a} and \textit{P\=\=a\=sa} and the attributes in other three are indistinct. The image seems to be a representation of Ma\=n\=gal\=a as described by Gopinath Rao\textsuperscript{2} or Mah\=a\=devi of the \textit{Devipur\=\=a\=na}.\textsuperscript{3} An eighteen-handed goddess seated on a lotus supported by a lion has been discovered at Simla, Rajshahi, and has been indentified with Mah\=a\=lak\=\=m\=i.\textsuperscript{4}

The above forms of Devi show, on the whole, beatific countenances inspite of many weapons in her hands and she does not actually fight. Let us now describe her images in fighting mood. Three V\=ag\=\=i\=\=var\=i images are known.\textsuperscript{5} The \textit{VRS\=C}. No. A(g)1/110 and the specimen in Dinajpur Raj palace have eight hands. Six additional hands hold different weapons and one of the normal two shows \textit{Abhaya} pose and the other is engaged in drawing out the tongue of the demon. The specimen from Kachra is a four-handed image.\textsuperscript{6} The known images of Mah\=i\=s\=a\=mardini can be classified according to the number of hands. Eight and ten\textsuperscript{7}-armed varieties are common. A splendid and remarkable six-armed image with an inscription written in seventh century script has been acquired by the \textit{VRS\=M}. from Gangarampur, Malda.\textsuperscript{8} A specimen of twelve-armed variety in metal was discovered at Kesavpur, Dinajpur.\textsuperscript{9} Two specimens of eighteen-handed Mah\=i\=s\=a\=mardini are known and the distinctive feature of the image at Vakre\=\=v\=\=ara,
Birbhum, is that the goddess is surrounded by other fighting goddesses. Mr. S. K. Saraswati has discovered a remarkable and unique image with thirty-two hands (called by him a form of Cāṇḍikā) at Betna, Dinajpur.

Cāṇḍikā is one of the terrible forms of the Devī in which she appeared to kill the demons Cāṇḍa and Munḍa. Various forms of Cāṇḍikā are known. (1) Kṣamā with two hands. The image at Amadi, Jessore, seems to represent this type. It is defaced and broken and the identification is therefore uncertain. The VSPC. No. J. (b) 1/345 appears to be an image of this type. (2) The VRSC. No. D (d) 9/207 is a four-handed Cāṇḍikā on an ass with the words Piśītāsanā inscribed on it. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali is inclined to identify this image with the variety of Kālikā Cāṇḍikā of the Mātyāpurāṇa. (3) Dhāntura is represented with her left knee pressed against the ground and the right one raised. The left hand is placed on the seat and the right one rests on the raised knee. Three images of this type are known. The earliest is at Katason, Dinajpur, and another at Dinajpur. The best specimen is in VSPM, from Atthaasa, Burdwan. (4) Rudra-Cāracikā has six hands. The VRSC. Nos. D (d) 10/280 and D (d) 7/384 represent this variety and on the former the word Cāracikā is actually inscribed. (5) Rudra-Cāṇḍikā has eight arms. The image illustrated in the Birabhūma-Vivaraṇa, Vol. II, against p. 124 seems to be an image of this type. (6) Siddha-Cāṇḍikā has ten arms and images of this type are fairly common. (7) Siddha-Yogeśvarī and Rūpa-Vidyā have twelve arms. The VRSC. No. D (d)

2. JASB, 1932, pl. IX, fig. 2
3. Illustrated in the History of Jessore and Khulna, against p. 166
4. JASB, 1932, pl. V. III, fig. 2
5. It is described in the above book as Fulleśvarī Devī
6. The image illustrated in Birabhūma-Vivaraṇa against p. 144 appears to be of this class and also VRSC. Nos. 3, 5, 6 and also Cāṇḍikā at Betna, JASB, 1932, pl. IX, fig. 3
2/252 and DMC. No. 3B (ii) h/1 may belong to these two varieties.1

A few representations of Mātrikāś have been found, but their worship is not prevalent at present. The VRSM. has two slabs. No. D (e) 1/7 represents nine Mātrikāś—(1) Brahmāṇi, (2) Raudrī, (3) Kumārī, (4) Vāgīśvarī, (5) Mahiṣamardinī, (6) Varāhī, (7) Indrāṇi, (8) Cāmunḍā and (9) Śīnha-vāhini. The other specimen contains seven of them. Besides, the VRSM. has three Varāhīs and one Vaiṣṇavi. The VSPM. has one slab from Devagram, Nadia, representing Brahmāṇi.

Generally, images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā adorn the doors of temples. All the images of Gaṅgā discovered so far are good pieces of sculpture and the Vāhana Makara is tastefully represented. The VRSM. has two, and the Birābhūma-Vivarāṇa2 illustrates two. One Gaṅgā image is worshipped in the Jaśoreśvarī temple, Khulna,3 and another at Bhadrasila, Dinajpur.4 Separate images of Yamunā are rare.

The section on Śaiva images cannot be closed without a passing reference to two important Śaiva centres at Unakoti in Hill Tippera and Deopara in the Rajshahi district. The name Unakoṭi is in imitation of the Koṭi-tīrtha (Kāśi) in which place, according to tradition, there are a crore of Śaiva images, and Unakoṭi was, as its name implies, second to Koṭi-tīrtha in importance to the Śaivas. There are many sculptures lying scattered here and there on the hill and on the rocky bed of the stream there. What is more interesting is that there are a series of colossal heads and figures carved on the rock. The central figure is a colossal Śiva head of "about 30ft. high, including the high embroidered head-dress which is itself 10ft. in height." There are other gigantic figures of Śiva and Gaṇeśa. A standing figure of Śiva holds the conch and the rosary in the right and left hands respectively. Figures of six and eight-handed Gaṇeśa stand erect with attenuated waists with three and four tusks. There is a Viṣṇu image, resembling that of the Sun-god. Besides, there are images of Hara, Gaurī, Hari-

1. In the description of Cāmunḍā images we have followed the Agnipurāṇa
2. Vol. 1L against pp. 74, 76
3. ESMS, pl. LXID.
4. JASB, 1936, pl. I, fig. 2
harâ, Narasimâha, Hanumâna, Ekamukha and Caturmukha Lingas. The site seems to have been sacred to the Śaivas since the 9th century A.D.3

The gorgeous and magnificent temple of Pradyumneśvara (Śiva and Viṣṇu combined) at Deopara which has been described by Umâpatidhâra in flattering terms is no more. The tank in front of it is called Padumsahar tank and the numerous sculptures found in it in course of excavations and preserved in the VRSM, go to show its importance as a religious centre.

Two inscriptions from southern India enable us to form an idea of the esteem and veneration in which the Śaivas of Gauḍa were held there. A Tanjore inscription2 records that Râjendra Cola built the Râjarâjesvara temple and appointed Sarvaśiva Paṇḍita-Sivâcârya as the priest of that temple and further directed that thenceforth the sîsya and their sîsya alone, belonging to Aryadeśa and Gauḍadeśa should be eligible for the office of the chief priest. It is stated in a commentary on the Siddhânta-Sâravali of Trilocana Śivâcârya that Râjendra Cola imported Saivas from the banks of the Ganges.3 A record2 of the fifth year of the Cola king Parakeśarîvarman (Râjâdhirâjadeva) states that the worship of Śiva by Umâpatideva, alias Jîâna Śivadeva, a native of Dakṣiṇa-Lâla in Gauḍadeśa, was responsible for the defeat of an invading Ceylonese army which was desolating the Pândya country. For this act by which the grace of Śiva was attained, Śivâcârya was granted a village, the income from which he distributed among his relations. According to Venkyya, this invasion took place in the 3rd quarter of the 12th century.

Saura images—Next to those of Viṣṇu, the images of the Sun-god are the most numerous in Bengal, but his worship is now dying out. He is generally represented with four hands, the upper two holding lotus stalks. He is dressed in udîcya-veśa, i.e., northern dress. The upper half of the body is covered with a coat of mail and the lower

1. ASIR. 1921-22, p. 87
2. SIL., Pt. I, p. 105
3. Nilakṣëntha Sāsîrī, The Colas, p. 254; an image of Gâñëśa of the Pâla school has been found in a Tanjore temple, and it has been suggested that it was carried by the army of Râjendra Cola, JIH, 1934, 306-11
4. Rangachariar, Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, I, p. 388
half is clad in a short skirt tied by an ornamental belt with two daggers on two sides. His legs are covered with boots in accordance with the canonical injunction that they should not be shown bare in any case. This feature is characteristic also of his attendants. His two wives Uṣā and Pratyuṣā stand by his two sides and the third Mahāśvetā in front.\textsuperscript{1} His male attendants are Daṇḍa and Piṅgala and his charioteer is half-bird Aruṇa. In some images the Adityas, the seven Rṣis, seven Mātriṅkas, the planets and the zodiac signs are represented.\textsuperscript{2}

The VRSM. has some unique varieties of Sūrya images. The VRSM, No. 693 is a two-handed Sūrya with a circular halo round his head and has been assigned to the late Gupta period.\textsuperscript{3} The lower parts of his legs are not shown at all and are covered by the figure of Aruṇa. The only other image\textsuperscript{1} of this type has been discovered at Khadi (Sunderbans). In this image the driving of the chariot by holding the reins of the horses is clearly exhibited and has made it more realistic. In these two specimens his three wives are conspicuous by their absence. The VRSM. has acquired a six-handed Sūrya from Mahendrapur, Dinajpur.\textsuperscript{5} The two uppermost hands hold lotus stalks, the intermediate hands have Aksamālā and Varada-mudrā and the remaining two have a Kamaṇḍalū and Varada-mudrā. It has been suggested that it represents the first of the twelve Adityas, as described in the Viśvakarmā-sūtra.\textsuperscript{6} The only discrepancy is that it prescribes four hands and the two hands showing Varada and Abhaya mudrās were not perhaps considered essential in the canon. A ten-armed and three-faced (or four faced with the uncarved one at the back) Sūrya has been acquired from Manda, Rajshai. Its existing six hands hold Śakti, Triśūla and Kaṭvāṅga (right) and lotus,

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1. According to some description his wives Sureṇu and Nikṣubhā are on two sides, and the other Uṣā in front.
2. DMC, Nos. 3A (iii) a/2, 3 (iii) a/4, and pl. I.X; illustrating Sūrya from Sonarang
4. Ibid., 1928-29, fig 17.
5. Ibid., 1932-34, fig I.
6. JASB, 1923, pp. 191-92
Damaru and Sarpa (left). The attributes show, as has been rightly observed, that it was composite image of Sūrya and Bhairava, and it most probably represents Sūrya in his Mārtanda-Bhairava form, as described in the Sāradātilaka Tantra. But it is to be noted that this Tantra prescribes four heads and eight hands. Seated Sūrya images are rare. A metal specimen, dateable in the 7th or 8th century A.D., was found at Deulbadi. A stone image of a seated Sūrya has been discovered at Ekdala, Dinajpur, and the god looks like a Dhyāni-mārti. The pose is unrealistic for one who is mounted on a moving chariot.

A few images of the hunting god Revanta, son of the Sun-god, are known. The VRSM. has two and the DM. has one only and another is at Sonapur, Dinajpur. Navagrahas or nine planets were worshipped. They are the Ravi, Soma, Maṅgala, Budha, Bṛhaspati, Sukra, Śani, Rāhu and Ketu. A fine specimen of a Navagraha slab has been discovered at Kankandighi in the Sunderbans. The VRSM. has four slabs. It is to be noted that Gānēṣa also appears in the company of nine planets.

Other gods and goddesses—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva constitute the Hindu Trinity. While Viṣṇu and Śiva each has such a large following, the god of creation does not claim the allegiance of many. Even his wife Sarasvatī has been afterwards appropriated by Viṣṇu. A fairly large number of images of Brahmā have been found in Bengal but it is to be noted that not a single specimen from eastern Bengal is known. The VRSM. has about ten images but the best specimen is in the VSPM. from Rajganj, Dinajpur.

2. DMC, LIX; For another seated Sūrya, see Brabhūma-Vivaraṇa, Vol. II, against 140.
3. JASB, 1932, pp. 147 ff.
4. Ibid, 1936, Pt. 2, fig. 4. The IM. possesses four from Bihar.
5. VRSR, 1929-29, fig 5.
6. Ibid., 1930-31, fig 5; 1928-29, fig. 5.
7. VSPC, Pl. VI.
A fair number of a species of bas-reliefs showing mainly the mother and the child have been found in northern Bengal. A controversy is raging about its identification. A lady is represented lying down on a couch in reclining position with her left elbow pressed against a pillow and supporting her head. A child is shown lying down close to the left side. A female shampoos her feet and other females attend her, ministering to her comforts. Gaṇeśa Kārikeya, Liṅga and Navagrahas are placed above the couch. According to Dr. N. K. Bhattasali,¹ their presence points to the Śaiva nature of the Mother and Child images and he proposes to identify the child with the Sadyajāta form of Śiva but admits that no appropriate Dhyāna can be cited. Mr. N. B. Sanyal² refers to the description of the birth of Kṛṣṇa in the Bhavisyottara Purāṇa in order to support the view that the Mother and Child images represent that scene. According to him, “the Navagrahas indicate the benign influence of the planets on the newly born baby. Liṅga (signifying Śiva) is connected with the birth of Kṛṣṇa, as he (Śiva) is said to have addressed a hymn to Kṛṣṇa when in his mother’s womb. The presence of Gaṇeśa means allaying of all troubles”.

The worship of the snake goddess Manasā is very popular in Bengal and her images are common. She seems to have overshadowed Sarasvatī and the Buddhist Jāṅguli who are also destroyers of the snake-poison, so far as that aspect of these two goddesses is concerned.³ The IM. No. 3950 shows a goddess under a hood of seven serpents with the book and pitcher in her left hands and with the rosary and boon in the right. The goddess Manasā seems to be an importation from southern India and has not been included definitely in any pantheon, Vaiśṇava or Śaiva. Generally Manasā is represented with two hands, seated on a lotus under a seven-hooded snake canopy with a snake in her hand. A pitcher is seen underneath her seat on the pedestal. In a stotra⁴ she is conceived as the spiritual daughter of

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1. DMC, pp. 134 ff.
3. The section on Manasā by Dr. N. K., Bhattasali in DMC, is very informative on this point. I think his conclusions are worth accepting.
4. Ibid.
Śiva and in a VRSM. specimen the Līṅga appears on the top of the halo. The Rangpur Sahitya Parisat collection has a four-handed Manasā with a child on her lap and another specimen of a miniature Manasā has been discovered at Paharpur. Another metal specimen of a Manasā image with a child on her lap has been recently added to the IM. from northern Bengal.

Images of Indra, Agni and Yama have been found in the old Paharpur temples as guardians of quarters. The VRSM. has two images of Yama with the buffalo as his Vāhana and has also an image of Agni with the goat as his vehicle. As in the Paharpur specimen of Agni flames are shooting out from his person. An image of Kuvera has been found at Chatrabhog, Sunderbans. Separate images of Nāga and Nāginīs are rare in Bengal, although some specimens of their representations in the IM. come from Bihar. An image of Kāma has been recently added to the IM. from northern Bengal. In the Varāha image in VRSM. from Silimpur the lower parts of the Nāgas and Nāginīs are graciously intertwined. In the Manasā image from Silghat we find Nāgas and Nāginīs hanging on two sides of the goddess, thus making a suitable back-ground for the snake goddess, the daughter of the Nāgas.

The above account does not exhaust the images of the Brahmanical gods and goddesses and many of them (specially in the VRSM.) remain unidentified. The current dictum that the Hindus

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1. ASIR, 1921-22, p. 112.
2. VRS, Monograph, No. p. 30. For a Dhyāna of four-handed Manasa as Madonna, see DMC, p. 227.
4. Ibid., 1926-27, Pl. XXXIIId.
5. VRSR, No. 4, fig. 11.
6. The IM has four of them.
7. ASIR, 1934-35, p. 79.
8. VRSR, 1930-31, fig. 3.
9. DMC., Pl. LXXIII.
10. VRS, pp. 31-33; JASB, 1936, Pl. III, fig. 6; See the broken image illustrated in Birabhūma-Viṣvāraṇa, Vol. I, against p. 140.
have thirty-three crores of gods and goddesses may not be actually true but it goes to indicate the richness of their pantheon.

The majority of the sculptures discovered in Bengal belong to the period between the 10th and 12th centuries A.D. Only four Buddhist images can be somewhat confidently assigned to the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. Besides the Paharpur finds, we have noticed a comparatively large number of the Brahmanical images of this period. Very few images of Bengal can be definitely assigned to the 8th and 9th centuries.

From the 10th century onward the Brahmanical images far excel in number those of the Buddhists, and of them the images of Viṣṇu and Sūrya predominate. Saivas and Sāktas worshipped a large number of gods and goddesses, and if none of them singly did command so great and wide popularity like Viṣṇu and Sūrya, their combined strength indicates that they had a great following and were as important in influence as the Vaiṣṇavas and Sauras. It was in this period that we meet gross Tantrik images, and both Buddhist and Brahmanical gods were represented with their respective Saktis in different poses. The Hindus did not go to excess like the later Buddhists by representing their gods and goddesses in Yab-Yum.

Relation between different religions and sects—A study of the inscriptions and images reveals some interesting facts on this topic.

1. Buddha from Biharaill, Manjuśrī and Bodhisattva from Mahasthan and Tārā from Sukhavaspur (in DM.). For references see supra.

2. R. D. Banerjee, “observed in this period there is a great paucity of Brahmanical or Hindu images in south Bihar as well as northern and western Bengal, but such is not the case in eastern Bengal. The collection in DM. is specially rich in Brahmanical images of the 9th and 10th centuries and at the same time, it must be admitted that as none of them is inscribed, their attribution is open to doubt.” His view was based on the date of the Khaḍgas who, according to him, flourished in the 9th and 10th centuries. This can no longer be maintained and consequently the Ṣarvaṇī and Sūrya images from Deulbadi of the time of Prabhāvatī cannot be assigned to the 9th century. We do not find any image in the DM. which can be assigned definitely to that period. But it is to be admitted that many Buddhist images of Bihar belonged to this period. (ESMS, pp. 123-24)
The Chittagong plate of Kāntideva offers an instance of the fact that different members of a family followed different religions according to their personal predilections. Bhadradatta, grandfather of Kāntideva, was a Buddhist. His father Dhanadatta was proficient in the Purānic literature and his mother was a devotee of Śiva, but he himself was a Buddhist. The Pālas were Buddhists and their seals show Dharmaçakra (Buddhist wheel of law). It is stated in the Badal pillar inscription that the king Śūrapāla I attended the religious ceremonies of his Brahmanical minister Kedāramiśra and accepted holy sacrificial water with great respect. Mention may be made of the grant of land by Nārāyaṇapāla for providing couches and seats, medicines for the sick to the congregation of Pāṣupata teachers at Kalosapota within the viṣaya of Kakṣa in Tīra-bhukti (Tirhuta). He is said to have built hundreds of temples for the Śaiva ascetics. That he had great devotion for Śiva is also proved by the fact that the land donated by the Bhagalpur plate was done in the name of Śiva (Śiva-bhaṭṭāraka), while all other Pāla kings made their grants in the name of Lord Buddha. Madanapāla granted land to a Brahmana in reward for his teaching the Mahābhārata to his chief queen Citramatiṅkādevi like the Hindu custom of paying daksinā. It appears that the Buddhist king Śricandra, like the Pālas, took part in the Brahmanical ceremony. The Rampal plate of this king was granted in favour of a Sāntivārika (i.e., the priest in charge of propitiatory ceremonies) and his Dhulla grant was issued on the occasion of the performance of a certain propitiatory rite, called Adhuta-sānti, during the Homacatuṣṭayā. The seal of the Irdā plate of the Kamboja king Nayapāladeva shows Dharmaçakra device like that of the Pālas, but the record opens with an invocation to Śiva. Rājyapāla, the first known member of the family, was a Saugata (Buddhist). His son Nārāyaṇapāla was a devotee of Vāsudeva and his other son Nayapāla was a Śaiva. From these instances of the different royal families it seems that the line of demarcation between a Buddhist and a Hindu was not very wide. Different members of a family could pay their homage to different gods according to their personal likings without affecting their normal relationship.

There are instances of borrowing and incorporating some gods and goddesses from one pantheon to another. It is admitted that the Buddhists borrowed Sarasvatī and Vighnanāṭaka from the Hindus.
Cāracikā and Mahākāla are common to both. The representations of Yogāsana Viṣṇu and Dhyānī Śiva seem to have been modelled after Dhyānī Buddha. Appearance of small figures of gods on the top of Brahmanical images\(^1\) reminds us of the presence of parental Dhyānī Buddhas. Buddha was regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu\(^2\) perhaps at a time when Hinduism had begun to absorb Buddhism, because the importance and popularity of so great a figure could not be neglected. It was positively advantageous to do so in order to gain the support and following of the faltering ones or of those who had no definite and clear-cut religious convictions. It is now admitted that the Hindus have borrowed Tārā from the Buddhists. In the Rudrayamāla and Brahmayamāla Vasiṣṭha has been asked to go to learn the secrets of Tārā worship from Buddha in Cīnavabhūmi where he has been residing.\(^3\)

Sometimes peculiar images are discovered, and it is difficult to ascertain whether they are Buddhist or Brahmanical. An image\(^4\) with a four-handed standing figure (looking like Viṣṇu) has been discovered in northern Bengal. Two main male attendants stand on two sides, and two small figures stand close to them. On the top of the main figure is a small figure (looking like a parental Dhyānī Buddha) and on the pedestal there is a small six-handed dancing figure. The attributes in the four hands of the principal figure appear to be Gāda, Padma, Śaṅkha and Cakra but it is to be admitted that these attributes differ from the representation in an ordinary Viṣṇu image. Mr. N. G. Majumdar\(^5\) suggests that these images may represent the conception

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1. See Viṣṇu from Laksmanakati, Ugratārā from Sikarpur and Gauri at Mahesvarapasa, Khulna (ESMS, Pl. LVIII).
2. R. D. Banerjee refers to a slab of ten Avatāras at Bodh-Gaya where the figure of Buddha is defaced. According to him, this was intentional and was due to sectarian jealousy. But this may be accidental too (ESMS, p. 108).
4. VRSR, 1928-29, p. 28 ff.; Modern Review, 1929, February Issue. This image is from Kalandarpur, Bogra.
5. Ibid.
of Hindu Trinity, the seated figure at the top being Brahmā and the dancing figure representing Naṭarāja Śiva. Again, it has been contended that the god without his Vāhana Garuḍa and without Laksṇī and Sarasvatī and with the figure of Amitābha on the top should be regarded as a form of Maṇjuśrī. Two almost similar images have been found in northern Bengal with the only difference that the god stands under a seven-hooded snake canopy, which, it has been observed, "probably shows that Viṣṇu is conceived here as Ananta, or the Eternal, the hoods of snake Ananta being utilised to give an idea of eternity". Four images illustrated from different parts of Bengal by R. D. Banerjee are regarded as the blending of Avalokiteśvara and Viṣṇu. Three of them have a hooded canopy on the head of the god and on two of them we find a seated figure on the top. The upper parts of the other two are broken and most probably they had also the small seated figure on the top. It is difficult to say what particular deity these images represent, as we have no Dhyāna to prove their identity. Two other images from Sagardighi, Murshidabad, look like Viṣṇu or Avalokiteśvara and in them the attendants of Viṣṇu are absent. The attributes in hands are not also clear. One represents a standing figure and the other a seated one and both of them have four hands. Whatever god or gods all these images may represent, the predominant Vaiṣṇava element is evident.

In Java there was a Śiva-Buddha cult in which Buddha was completely identified with Śiva. No definite evidence of the existence of such a cult is known. But it may be noted that at present images of Buddha and Tārā are worshipped as Śiva and Durgā by ignorant village-folk. It is now accepted by many that in many of the later Tantras there has been an admixture of Hindu and Buddhistic doc-

1. VRS, Monograph. No. 4, 11 ff.
2. VRSR, 1932-34, fig 4; JASB, 1932, Pl. IX, fig. 1.
3. ESMS, Pl. XXVII, pp. 134, 124. Three of them are twelve-handed and the specimen in metal has six hands. See also Ibid, pp. 95-96.
4. BI. Pls, XXVI, XXVII.
5. IC, I, p. 284.
6. ESMS, p. 45; Birbhumā-Vivaraṇa, p. 238,
trines, and it may be noted that the Hindu Tantras are in dialogue forms between Sīva and Pārvatī. The Śaivite Matsyendranātha and Gorakṣanātha were respected by the Buddhist Sahajayānists.

This shows one side of the picture only. There were enthusiasts in every religion to champion and fight for their own. The Chinese travellers record many incidents which go to show that there were debates by important personages of different religions, each trying to uphold their own doctrines and tenets and decrying those of the opposite school. Defeat sometimes meant humiliation and conversion to the victor’s side. The Bhuvalesvara pṛaśasti alludes to the fact that the scholar-minister Bhāṭṭa Bhavadeva was a great enemy of the Buddhists.2 Saroha-vajra, a follower of Sahaja-yāna, attacks other systems vehemently and glorifies the efficacy of his own.3 He shows the inherent inconsistency of the caste system, challenges the authority of the Vedas and criticises the conduct of the ascetics who covered their bodies with ashes. He argues if the nudity of the Jainas is capable of leading to the desired goal, the jackals and dogs would easily attain siddhi. In his opinion the great Śramaṇas with a large number of disciples earn their livelihood by deceiving the people and the Mahāyānists attempt to explain the Sūtras without grasping their meaning. Finally he exalts Sahajayāna, the best of all paths and the only surest guarantee to salvation.

There is one aspect in the representation of the Buddhist dieties which has not attracted sufficient attention that it deserves.4 The desire to prove the superiority of their own gods by humbling those of the Hindus is evident in some of the Sādhanās. Hariharihari-

1. See the accounts of the lives of Yuan Chwang, Silabhadra, and Karnasuvarga specially. The History of Indian Logic shows how the Hindus, Buddhists and Jainas tried to disprove the arguments and reasonings of one another.
2. 13, Bhuvanesvara pṛaśasti, Vs. 20.
4. Our thanks are again due to Dr. B. Bhattacharyya who for the first time emphasised this point. Bd. Icon., p. 162, Intro. Sādhanamāla, pp. CXXX ff.
vāhanodbhava (a variety of benign Avalokiteśvara) is to be represented as riding on Nārāyaṇa on Garuḍa. Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Indra are called the Māras (wicked beings and hence enemies). Siddhidāta Gaṇeṣa is often the target of attack and is trampled upon by many gods and goddesses like Aparājīta, Parṇaśavarī and Mahāpratisarā. Śiva is trampled by Daśabhuja Mārici, and Śiva and Gaurī by Trailokyavijaya. Indra who holds the parasol of Aparājīta is trampled on by Aṣṭabhuja Mārici, Paramāśva and Prasanna Tārā and pays homage to Udbhaya-varāhānana Mārici. Indranī is also mishandled by Paramāśva. The severed head of Brahmā is carried by Prasanna Tārā and Udbhaya-varāhānana Mārici. Such humiliating position of the Hindu deities served well the purpose of showing the powerfulness of the Buddhist gods and goddesses to the people at large. The Śunyā-purāṇa, admittedly of Buddhist origin but of uncertain date, gives vent to its wrath against the Hindus when Gaṇeṣa is identified with Kazi, Brahmā with Muhammad, Viṣṇu with Payagambar, Śiva with Adam, Nārada with a Sheik and Indra with a Maulānā.

The question has been raised: Does the presence of the Hindu deities Śiva, Viṣṇu, Pārvatī, Gaṇeṣa and Manaśa in Nālandā (we may add Bodh-Gaya and the Somapuri-Vihāra at Paharpur) testify to the catholicism and eclecticism of the Buddhists and the assertion of Hinduism over Buddhism? Mr. Sankalia suggests that the desire of the Buddhist to manifest the deity in various modes and forms as found in Vaishnavism and Śaivism and then to show the superiority of their own gods by humbling them was not perhaps absent. If the Hindu gods could have been regarded as manifestations of Buddhist deities, it is to be admitted that the line of demarcation was also becoming thinner. With the destruction by the Muslims of the monasteries the chief centres of Buddhist influence and activities

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1. See the sādhanās of Prasanna-Tārā. Vajrajjvālānalakā. Vidyujjvālākarālī.

2. It seems to have been composed after the advent of the Muslims, as the subject matter and developed Bengali forms of the book show. Edited by C. Bandyopadhyaya, pp. 233 ff.

3. University of Nālandā, p. 139.
were almost extinct, and it is an admitted fact that the Buddhists
did not claim so much loyalty and discipline from their lay followers
as the Brahmanical religion did. Those who could put a fight with
the Hindus became scattered. Their strength was broken and re-
sisting power gone. As the Hindu gods had already begun to
satisfy them, there was no great difficulty in merging them in
the Hindu society, as the history and fate of Buddhism in India show.
Therefore the presence of Hindu gods in the Buddhist strongholds
may be taken as the sign of the growing popularity, if not of assertion
and encroachment, of Hinduism upon Buddhism.

The relation between different sects of Hinduism is not much
known. Most probably the combined images of Brahmā-Viṣṇu¹ and
Harihara² indicate the attempt to show the harmony and amity
between the three principal gods constituting the Hindu Trinity³.
To a Hindu gods are after all gods and inspite of sectarian differences
all gods are to be worshipped and respected, to whatever class they may
belong. In the Pāla and Sena periods we have already noted the
preponderance of Viṣṇu images which tends to show the popularity
of his cult also. In the Tippera grant of Lokanātha (7th century)
Nārāyaṇa is adored by the chief gods, the Asuras, the Sun, the Moon,
Kuvera, Kinnarīs, Vidyādharas, chief serpent gods, Gandharvas,
Varuṇa, the Yakṣas and also by the Brahmanas. The presence of the
images of Viṣṇu at Īνakoṭi and Deopara, two important centres of
Saivism, certainly testifies to its popularity, if not something more.
Śiva is regarded now as a devotee of Viṣṇu, so much so that in Bhuva-
nesvara Śiva in the Liṅgarāja temple is not worshipped until the
worship of Viṣṇu has been finished in the adjacent Ananta-Vāṣudeva
temple and Śiva has no separate culinary department and he gets
prasāda from Viṣṇu.⁴ Lakṣmaṇasena was a Vaiṣṇava and his ins-

2. Ibid., 1929-30, Pl. XXVIc.
3. It is rather surprising that R. D. Banerjee finds in them difference
   of opinions between different sects, ESMS, p. 105.
4. We enquired of a Ṛṣaṇḍā in charge of a temple how long since
   this has been the custom. He told me from the beginning of the creation
   when these two temples were built by Viṣvakarmā. The Liṅga-rāja and
   Ananta-Vāṣudeva temples are not far removed in dates.
criptions open with an invocation to Nārāyaṇa. But the seal attached to them bears the figure of Sadāsīva. Vaiśṇava influence was felt on the Tantras also, which are sometimes referred to as Agamas and Nigamas. “An Āgama is so called because it proceeds from the mouth of Sambhu (Śiva) and goes to Girijā (Pārvatī), being approved by Viṣṇu, and a Nigama is so called because it is emanated from the mouth of Girijā to enter the ear of Giriśa (Śiva), being approved by Vāsudeva.”

In the Rg Vedic literature Sūrya occupies a more prominent position than Viṣṇu. In the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa Viṣṇu is one of the twelve Ādityas. But afterwards Viṣṇu superseded Sūrya in importance. The large number of Sūrya images discovered in Bengal is indicative of the popularity of the Saura cult but his worship has now-a-days almost fallen into disuse. Iconographically the representation of a standing four-handed Sūrya on a lotus seat with two wivesconstantly. Danḍa and Piṅgala may be compared with Jaya and Vijaya. Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena styled themselves parama-saura i.e. devout worshippers of the Sun. But their records open with an invocation to Nārāyaṇa. Vijayasena and Vallālasena were Śaivas, Lakṣmanasena a Vaiśṇava, and Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena Sauras. But the seals of their inscriptions invariably bear the figure of Sadāsīva. This is perhaps an indication of the fact that sectarianism was not carried too far, and that gods of other sects who did not command special reverence from one particular individual were not disrespected, if not actually worshipped.

1. Intro. the Principles of Tantras, XXI, fn.
2. SPP, 1340 B. S., p. 1.
3. B. Bhattacharyya, Indian Images, p. 18 for further elucidation of this point.
CHAPTER XII

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Very few images of Paharpur finds of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods have been illustrated. The illustrated images show soft, fine and lively modelling and easy flow of lines that are characteristics of Gupta art. It has been said that Paharpur images “combine in them the broad intellectualism of the Gupta epoch with the emotionalism of Bengal”, but it must be observed that they appear to be of inferior workmanship in suggestiveness and refined dignity to the famous panels of the Daśāvatāra temple at Deogadh, Jhansi. The standing Buddha image from Biharoil, Rajshahi,1 in Cunar sandstone has the common characteristics of a Sarnath Buddha with its diaphanous robe, curly hair, and had not the find-spot been known, it could have easily passed for a Sarnath image. The copper image of Viṣṇu from Kumarpur, Rajshahi,2 is a crude product and has no artistic pretension. Mahiṣamardini3 from Gangarampur, Malda, has an inscription in the seventh century script and is in gray sandstone. It has the majesty and grandeur of the Śaiva panels of Elephanta. Śūrya4 in black stone from Deora, Mañjuśrī5 in bronze from Mahasthan, Viṣṇu at Rangpur6 and at Lakṣmankathi are assignable to the late Gupta period and exhibit quiet, restrained dignity and calm conviction in which, to use Coomaraswamy’s words, “the inner and outer life are indivisible.” Viṣṇu7 from Deora (the same find-spot as that of the Śūrya image) is perhaps not earlier than the Baghaura Viṣṇu image of the 3rd year

1. ESMS, Pl. XIXa.
2. Ibid., Pl. LXVIIa.
3. VRSR, 1931-32, Pl. I.
4. Ibid., 1226-27, fig. 1.
5. Ibid., fig. 2.
6. VRSR, monograph, No 4; Rangpur Sahitya Parisad Collection.
7. DMC, Pl. XXXII.
8 ESMS, Pl. XLI,IVb.
of Mahipāla but is the product of Gupta artistic tradition and legacy. Amongst numerous Viṣṇu images of the Pāla period it stands apart in elegance and meditative calm. The position of Garuḍa suggests that a celestial being has condescended to climb down for a purpose and his stay will not be very long, as the bird is trying to rise up with his Lord.

It is now an admitted fact that a new school of art flourished in Bengal and Bihār simultaneously with the establishment of the Pāla power. Tārānātha records, "In the time of kings Devapāla and Dharmapāla there lived in Varendra an especially gifted artist, named Dhīmān; his son was Bitapāla; both produced many works in cast metal, as well as sculptures and paintings which resembled the works of the Nāgas. The father and the son gave rise to two distinct schools; as the son lived in Bengal, the cast images of gods produced by their followers were called gods of the Eastern style, whatever might have been the birth-place of their actual designers. In painting the followers of the father were called the Eastern school, those of the son, as they were most numerous in Magadha, were called followers of the Madhyadesa school of painting." We are not concerned with the Madhyadesa school of painting, the existence of which yet remains to be established. Numerous stone images, bronzes and a few miniatures from Bihār and Bengal go to show the existence of the eastern school of Tārānātha. As its rise synchronises with that of the Pāla power and its main activity was within the Pāla kingdom, it should be properly designated as the Pāla school. In the Sena period too this school continued its activity and does not show any separate and distinctive artistic development. Products of this school have been found in Gorakhpur, Gonda and Basti districts of the United Pro-

1. DMC, Pl. XXXa.
2. IA, IV, p. 102.
3. Coomarasaway also calls it Pāla school, see History of Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 118; R. P. Chanda calls it Pāla or Gaudian school, Medieval Sculptures in the British Museum, p. 48; R. D. Banerjee calls it "Eastern school of Medieval Sculptures".
Art of Konarak and Khiching, Mayurbhanj, both in Orissa, was influenced by this school, but Assam seems to have stood outside its influence. The art of Nepal and Tibet is regarded as direct continuation of the Pāla school. Its deep influence on some images at Pagan and on Java bronzes has been established beyond doubt. All these go to strengthen the opinion of M. R. Grousset that this school had an influence not inferior to that of the art of Gāndhāra and the Gupta Empire.

Every image of the Pāla period is an interesting study by itself and full justice cannot be done to the subject in a work like this. A great majority of the images are in relief, but the tendency to carve in the round is noticeable when the main figure is separated from the back slab. (Pāla art is to be understood in terms of its inheritance and in relation to its environments.) Its clear delineation and definition of the features and decorated nimbus can be traced to Gupta art and so also the diaphanous robe of many bronzes. The curly hair, presence of ārṇā and drapery of Buddha images are reminiscent of the Gāndhāran school as modified by the subsequent schools of Mathura and Sarnath. As in literature, language and religion, so also in art elaboration and ornamentation of old ideas, conceptions and techniques were due to the spirit of the age. In the absence of any inscription it is the richness of ornaments of the deities and the exuberance of decorations on the back slab that help us to determine the comparative date of an image, though it must be admitted that to fix it by the so-called style is always hazardous. The round top and the plainness of the back slab are generally the characteristics of an early Pāla image. But gradually the slab becomes pointed at the top and decorative devices and designs increase lavishly and profusely, which are finally conventionalized. In an ordinary Viṣṇu or Śūrya image we find leographs, scrolls, flying gandharvas, kinnaras and kinnaris, swans, cloud-motives

2. ASIR, 1923-24, pl. XXXIV; 1924-25, Pl. XXV
3. Ibid., 1922-23, dl. XXXIII; N. Roy, Brahmanical gods in Burma, pp. 80-91.
4. Kempers, the Bronzes of Nālandā and Hindu Javanese Art, pp. 70 ff.
and feather-arabesques. Sometimes the Vāhanas and attendant figures are represented as part of decorations (Haṁsa in the Sarasvatī of the DM, the bull in the IM. Śiva1 and the plumage of the peacock of the pleasing and graceful image of Kārtikeya2 in the IM). In the remarkable image of Rṣabhanātha from Surhor the representation of each of the other 23 tīrthaṅkaras in a separate temple appears to be a decorative device rather than due to iconographic prescription. The snake in the hands of Naṭarāja Śiva or in one hand of seated Maṇasā serves both the purposes quite well. The ugly Kirtimukha on the top was perhaps to express more effectively the beauty of the deity beneath it by producing a striking contrast. The aesthetic excellence of Pāla art lies in the combination of its wealth and exuberance of decorative designs with the translation of the inner state of mind of the deity. When worked out by a master hand symmetrically and proportionately, the decorative designs lend an added grandeur and beauty to the whole piece.

Pāla art is emphatically convincing and definite in its purpose. It is a plastic commentary on the Śilpaśāstras. What the Sādhaka conceived in his inspired moment in Dhyānas the artist gave expression to by his chisel, but to do it in numerous shapes and forms with the growth of variegated religious and spiritual experiences is the supreme achievement of the Pāla artists. It is doubtful whether so many mudrās, āsanas, poses and postures and attributes can be found in any other Indian school. Every one of them is full of deep meaning and special significance, and when rightly interpreted, they make Pāla art most expressive and suggestive. The Pāla artists could well produce the conception of a Madonna, an ineffable smile, benignity, grace, loneliness, serenity, juvenileness, horror, terror and wrath and almost every sentiment, as the subject matter demanded, and of them sāṅta and sundara types predominate. The definition of masculinity and femininity was well understood. The image of Ardhanārīśvara (half-man and half-woman) in round illustrates a clear conception of the physiognomy of the two sexes. In spite of multiplicity of hands in many images the figures are generally organic, and when in fighting atti-

1. ASIR, 1930-34, pl. CXXXIIId.
2. Ibid., pl. XXIVd.
tude, the whole energy is concentrated in two normal hands. The artists had to perform a difficult task when in different faces of the gods or goddesses (Māricī, Pārṇaśārvāri, etc.) they had to produce different sentiments. Those who have intimate knowledge of the Pāla sculptures will perhaps admit that the sculptors acquitted themselves creditably. The attendant figures are represented in keeping with the mood of the main figure. A squatting and emaciated figurine with its bones and veins vividly shown offers an appropriate setting for Cāmuṇḍā. The bull dances in ecstasy of joy with Nāṭarāja and so also the mice with Gaṅgā. Liveliness and vivacity that permeate the productions of this school are no less due to the minute carving, high polish and oily finish which are possible because of the non-crystalline grains of the black basalt, the most commonly used material, and even stone sculptures approximate to metal specimens in fine workmanship.

The only specimen of rock-cut carvings found in Bengal are at Ūnakoṭi, Hill Tippera. Mr. K. N. Dikshit, who examined them in situ, observes, "the style betrays a rudimentary and crude conception of the sculptor's art and illustrates in a remarkable way the canons of primitive art. The anatomical features of the different parts of the body are treated only in broadest aspects without any attempt to harmonise them."

The large finds of bronzes at Nālandā, Kurkihar, Bihar and at Jehwari, Chittagong, and the actual remains of bronze-casting discovered at Nālandā and Paharpur show the high degree of excellence and wide currency of this art. The Indian name of the metal is aṣṭadhatu and from that point of view as well as from the chemical point of view the coining of the term Octo-alloy is happy and appro-

1. ASIR, 1930-35, pls. CXXXIV.CXI.
2. Amounting to 218, see Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh Oriental Conference, pp. 791 ff.
3. ASIR, 1930-34, pp. 130 ff.
4. Ibid. p. 122.
priate. The bronze Mañjuśrī from Mahasthan and the Sarvāṇi image from Deulbadi were gold-plated, and a silver image of Viṣṇu of very fine workmanship has been discovered at Curain, Vikrampur, (now in the art-gallery of the IM.). Other important finds are Sūrya from Candimundu, Lokanātha from Sylhet, Piṇḍola from Sonarang, a Buddhist goddess (Sitapātra Tārā?) from Tippera, Vajra Tārā (?) from Faridpur and Bhagalpur, four Viṣṇu images from Rangpur and four Viṣṇu or Avalokiteśvara images from Sagardighi, Murshidabad, three miniature images from Comilla and Manasā from Rajshahi in the IM. This last one was set with precious stones. The VRSC. describes about eleven and so also the VSPC. and the DMC. supply the whereabouts of about a dozen more. The bronzes show finer workmanship than their stone prototypes and the figures appear more sensitive and sensuous.

Temples there were many in ancient Bengal and we have already referred to some for whose maintenance provisions were made by kings and other important personages. The finds of many images from certain localities of the Dacca, Tippera, Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Bogra and Birbhum districts suggest that there had been temples in those sites. The discoveries of door lintels and jambs go sometimes to confirm it. Plinths and walls of many temples have been exposed by the Archaeological Department. The recent excavation at Vaigram, Dinajpur, has perhaps laid bare the remains of the temple built by Śivanandin, which has been mentioned in the Vaigram plate of 128 G. E. All that can be surmised is that it had a garbhagṛha, a

1. DMC., Intro, p. XX.
2. Ibid., pl. XXIX
3. Ibid., pl. KIX
4. Ibid., pl. IV
5. Ibid., IA (V) a/l
6. Ibid., IB (IV) a/l.
7. Ibid., pls, XV, XVI, XVII,
8. ASIR, 1911-12, pp. 104 ff.
9. ESMS, pls, LXVIII, LXXIVa.
11. ASIR, 1934-35, pl. XXIVb.
circumbulatory passage enclosed by a wall and on four sides there was an open terrace adjoining the wall.\textsuperscript{1}

The most important and imposing structure hitherto unearthed is the temple of Paharpur, Rajshahi. It is described thus by its principal excavator, Mr. K. N. Dikshit,\textsuperscript{2} "The temple is one of the most extensive buildings of antiquity ever unearthed in India, its length from north to south being 356' 6" and its breadth from east to west being 314' 3". The ground plan consists of a colossal square cross with projecting angles in each corner, the number of such projections being four each in the north-east and north-west sectors and three each in the remaining two. The upper terraces were apparently reached by a stair-case on the north, opposite which was the quadrangular enclosure. The temple rose in three terraces above the basement in the first and second terraces. The plan of each terrace was more or less parallel to the ground plan, but the number of recessed angles between the arms of the cross naturally grew smaller at each higher terrace. The first and second terraces have each a spacious verandah or circumbulatory passage for worshippers, walking round the main shrine. At the second terrace level there are halls or mandapas, with stone pillars and antechambers behind them at each of the cardinal points. The main shrine at the summit was probably a square chamber with a verandah all round.

"The most striking feature of the monument is the scheme of decoration of the walls of the basement and those flanking the circumbulatory passages. The walls are of fine-jointed masonry of well-burnt brick in mud. The plainness of the surface is relieved at intervals by projecting cornices of ornamental brick, bands of terracotta panels and stone sculptures at the corners and in recessed niches in a lower part of the basement. The artistic level of the terracotta plaques and some sculptures leaves no doubt as to their age, which cannot be far removed from the best period of Gupta art and must be relegated approximately to the 5th and 6th centuries.

\textsuperscript{1} Ibid., p. 42.
“It is quite probable, as it has been suggested from the find of the Paharpur plate of 159 G.E.\(^1\) recording grant of land to the Jaina Vihāra of Vaṭa-Gohālī, that the temple was originally associated with Jainism and its shape may be traced to a Caturmukha Jaina temple with probably an antechamber on each side forming what may be called a Sarvatobhadra (equal on all sides) temple.\(^2\) It seems quite clear that both Buddhism and Brahmanism were amply represented in the scheme of reconstruction and decoration adopted in the fifth or sixth century, when the present outline of the monument must have come into existence. The reconstruction of the pillared halls on the second terrace, the repairs to some of the verandah walls and the provisions of cloisters for monks on a large scale, marked the establishment of the vihāra. There must have been at least 200 cells in the entire establishment, occupying a quadrangle of about 900 square and providing accommodation for about a thousand monks. No single monastery of such dimensions has yet come to light in India.”

The temple unearthed at Satyapir Bhita to the east of the Main Temple of Paharpur has been identified with the one referred to in the Nālandā inscription of Vipulaśrimitra.\(^3\) It had a sanctum, pillared hall, circumambulating passage and vestibule, surrounded by rows of votive stūpas. There were residential blocks for the monks to the south of the central temple.

Excavations of the mound at Bairagi Bhita, Mahasthan, have revealed the remains of temples of three distinctive periods, Gupta, early and late Pāla. At Govinda Bhita the remains of a huge temple have been unearthed and constructions of late Gupta and early Pāla periods are discernible.\(^2\) At Medh or Lakhindarer Medh, about a mile to the south of Mahasthangar, a group of small brick-built chambers, ranging themselves in parallel rows and rising in tiers or terraces, together with a huge and massive wall, have been unearthed. On the top of the mound a shrine, polygonal in plan, has

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1. EI, XX, pp. 55 ff.
3. Ibid., 1930-34, pp. 122-26
been found. The structure has been assigned on grounds of the style of the ornamental bricks to the late Gupta period.¹

Traces of an ancient city have been found at Rangamati in the Murshidabad district, and the remains of a structure of different periods of constructions have been unearthed, of which the lowest was probably a Buddhist monument of the 6th-7th century A.D.²

Other noteworthy remains are of a stūpa-mound of the Gupta period at Bharat Bhayana³ in the Khulna district and of a large temple measuring 195' by 150' with four gateways, a porch and mandapa at Bairat in the Rangpur district. The shrine was provided with a beautiful black basalt pedestal with a spout.⁴

Most interesting are the temples at Dihar in the Bankura district, which have been assigned to the eleventh century A.D. They are built of conglomerate and are cruciform in shape. The śikharaś are lost. "It seems that the lower parts were plastered and whitewashed. Over the plinth mouldings there is plain with the exception of the portion lying over the lintels of each opening. Above this portion begin the numerous cornices supported by elephant dwarfs, acting as brackets in different attitudes or brackets containing different animals."⁵

The extant stone temples at Barakar, (known as Begunia temples), at Chatna and at Harmashra, (Bankura) bear close similarity to the Jaina temple of Chotanagpur but do not seem to fall within our period and so also is the small stone temple at Gauri near Asansol.⁶

The extant examples of brick-built old temples are at Siddhesvari (Bahulara,) Bankura, Ichai Ghose's temple in Burdwan,⁷ at Govindapur, Deulbari and Jatar Deul in 24-Parganas⁸ and at Sat-Deul, Burdwan.⁹ Their attribution to the Hindu period in the absence

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1. Ibid., 1930-34, pp. 40-42.  
2. Ibid., 1128-29, pp. 98 ff.  
4. Ibid., 1925-26, p. 113.  
5. ESMS, p. 150  
6. ASIR, 1922-28 pp. 180,111 ; ESMS, p. 150,  
7. IMC, pl. XXXIIbc.  
8. VRS, Monograph, No. 5, figs, 1, 3, 4, 5, 6.  
of some positive data is questionable. Coomarswamy assigned the Bahulara temple to the 10th century,¹ but Mr. K. N. Dikshit² cautiously observes that “it is possible that the earlier (10th century) date is a century or two early, but there can be no doubt that these two examples (Bahulara and Jatar Deul) cannot be far removed in date from their stone prototype so well-known from the Bhuvanesvara style of architecture, the latest example of which is dated in the 12th century A.D.” Their sikhara are slightly curvilinear, the garbhagṛha square in size and the entrance has a triangular corbelled arch over it. They seem to have been surmounted by āmalakas.

We are somewhat on surer grounds as regards the age of the temples represented on the images of the Pāla period. The most common is the Bhadra type of temples, the roofs of their receding terraces being surmounted by a dominating sikhara. The trifoil arch is supported by pillars.³ The crowning āmalaka on the sikhara is very prominent in the image of Ēṣabhanātha from Surhor.⁴ It appears that this type was most popular in ancient Bengal. The miniature beautiful temple from Bangar (now in Maharaja’s palace at Dinajpur)⁵ deserves more than a passing notice. It shows the use of Caitya-windows on each facade which bears a niche, containing a figure of Buddha or Bodhisattva.

Stone pillars were extensively used in temples, the best examples of which are one from Sonarang⁶ in the DM. and four from Pabna.⁷ The old practice of erecting monumental columns as in the Maurya and Gupta periods was continued. Best examples are one from Rajmahal⁸ (originally at Gauḍa), the Kamboja king’s pillar from Bangar,⁹ two inscribed pillars from Paikore,¹⁰ Birbhum, Badal pillar of Gurava Miśra¹¹ and the pillar in the Dhibar Dighee¹² in

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1. History of Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 108
2. ASIR, 1927-28, p. 41.
3. IMC/pl. LXXXI.
4. VRSR, 1232-34, pl. III.
5. ESMS, pl. LXXXVIc.
6. DMC, LXXVb.
7. Ibid., pp. 157-58, XCIIVD.
8. Ibid., pls. LXXXIXa XCd.
9. Ibid., pl. LXXXIXc.
10. Ibid., pls. LXXXIXbc, 11. ASIR, 1927-28, p. 140.
12. Gauḍarajamāla, against p. 49.
Dinajpur associated with the name of the Kaivarta king Divya. The carvings on the first two are of exquisite workmanship and they perhaps belong to the tenth century A.D. The carvings on the two Paikore pillars are not of much artistic excellence. The finial on Vijayasena’s pillar is a broken image of Manasa. The Saiva pillars had bulls, while the Vaisnava ones had Garuda. The Kaivarta king’s pillar is almost equal in height to the highest Asokan column and has not been examined with the care that it deserves.

A large number of terracottas have been found at Paharpur, Mahasthan, Rangamati and Sabhar (Dacca). They were generally used to embellish the exterior of the temples of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods in Bengal. Of the pre-Gupta finds mention may be made of a few at Tāmrarāpiṭi,¹ one from Murshidabad in the VSPM,² and a few from Mahasthan.³ Very few terracotta plaques of the Pāla period are known, while the Paharpur finds of the pre-Pāla period alone amount to about 3,000, of which about 1,800 are in situ. It has been remarked that if all of them are arranged in a line, they would cover a distance of about a mile. The subject-matters dealt with in the plaques are most varied and of absorbing interest.⁴ Of gods we have representations of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Ganeśa, Buddha and Avalokitesvara; Vidyādharas, lion-faced, bird-winged men and men with short tails belong to the class of semi-human beings; various classes of men like soldiers, musicians, ascetics, amorous couples and others have been represented. The animal world is also well represented by elephants, deer, buffaloes, foxes, horses, tigers, dogs, cows, to mention a few only, and of the birds the common are parrots, peacocks, cocks and geese. More interesting are the representations of the stories from the Pañcatantra like Vānara-kīlaka-kathā and Siṁha-śaśaka-kathā and scenes depicting inborn animosity between mongoose

1. ASIR, 1921-22, pp. 74-75.
2. SPP, 1842 B. S., pp. 209 ff.
3. ASIR, 1930-34, p. 128.
4. All of them have not been described; a detailed monograph on Paharpur with the full description of the terracottas is a pressing necessity and will add much to our knowledge of the life of ancient Bengal.
and snake, the peacock devouring the snake, and of daily life and work. It has been rightly observed that "the delineation of homely subjects, everyday scenes of rural and out-of-door life must have made the artist in terracotta keen of observation and fully responsive to his environment. As a folk art of the soil to which it belongs the terracotta plaques of Bengal hold a very distinct and important position." Of other important specimens of potters' art found at Paharpur, mention may be made of several thousands of miniature votive stūpas, made of clay, and three remarkable pieces of glazed polychrome pottery with chocolate coloured and white floral ornament or white and green foliated leaves on a brown background.¹ At Medh ornamental bricks bearing floral patterns and a motif simulating the window have been found.²

Painting—Eight Mss. of the Pāla period, illustrated with miniatures, are known. They are—(1) Ms. of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā, dated in the 15th year of Gopāla II and copied in the Vikramaśila-deva-vihāra,³ (2) Ms. Add. 1464 of the same book in the Cambridge Library, dated in the 5th year of Mahipāla 1,⁴ (3) Ms. of the same book copied in the 6th year of Mahipāla in Nālandā,⁵ (4) Ms. of the same book in the Ghose Collection, Calcutta,⁶ probably of the 10th century, (5) Ms. Add. 1688 of the Pañca-rakṣā copied in the 14th year of Nayapāla (in the University Library of Cambridge),⁷ (6) Ms. of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā copied in the 39th year of Rāmapāla⁸ in the collection of Vandenburg, (7) Ms. of the same book, copied probably in 1136 A.D.⁹ in the Boston Museum.

1. ASIR, 1930-34, p. 126, Pl. LIHed.
2. Ibid., pl. XVIII.
3. JRAS, 1910, pp. 150-41.
6. Rupam, 1929, p. 78.
9. Intro. to Indian Art, p. 110; History of Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 141.
and (8) damaged last leaf of a Ms. of the same book copied in the 18th year of Govindapāla.1 Miniatures in a few Ms. copied in Nepal also show the same style of painting.2 The miniatures are "not organically and decoratively associated with the script but they occupy spaces left by the scribe to be filled by the painter." "The technique is calligraphic. The draughtsmanship is unusually strong and having regard to the material—fragile and soft plam leaf—on which the drawing is made, the beauty of line and colour evokes our admiration."3 The miniatures illustrate the divinities of Tantrika Buddhism. Figures are extremely sensuous and even the male figures have feminine grace.4

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1. H.P. Shastri, Des. Cat. p. 6
2. Rupam, 1929, 78ff.
3. Ibid.
4. For some good illustration, see DMC, Pls, I, II,
APPENDIX G

COINAGE

The earliest known coins of Bengal are gauḍaka and kākanika mentioned in the old Brāhmī inscription of Mahasthan. Many punch-marked coins have been discovered from different localities. The Tamluk High School preserves 350 coins of which the rectangular cast type predominates. The obverse of the rectangular cast coins shows Taurine, tree-in-railing and caitya with three windows, and the reverse shows square cross, elephahnt, svastikā and triangular-headed symbol. The obverse of the round cast ones shows three arches with crescent, and the reverse, elephant. Six rectangular copper coins have been found at Beracampa, 24-Parganas. The DM. cabinet has recently acquired a large number of them from Bhairavbazar, Mymensingh, but they have not yet been classified. One silver punch-marked coin was discovered at Jakra, 24-Parganas, and another at Tamluk. Thirty-five silver coins have been found near Manda, Rajshahi and of them five are in the IM. cabinet.

It seems that gold coin was current in the beginning of the Christian era. Alluding to the foreign trade of Bengal, the author of

1. There are differences of opinion regarding the weight of Kākāṇī. Prof. Bhandarkar is of opinion that half-Kākāṇī was equal to 1.14 grains at the most (Carmaichael Lectures, 1921, p. 112), while Dr. S.N. Clakrivarti holds that it was heavier than that (A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics, p. 119).

2. ASIR, 1921-22, pp. 74-74.  
3. Ibid, 1922-23, p. 109  
4. JASB, 1876, p. 245.  
5. Ibid, 1882, p. 112  
the *Periplus* says that there is a gold coin which is called Caltis.\(^1\) About six gold coins of the Kushana kings, Kapiśka, Vāsudeva I and Vāsudeva II have been discovered from Midnapore, Murshidabad and Bogra.\(^2\)

A large number of Gupta gold coins have been found in almost every part of Bengal, and besides important recorded finds and collections, there are many private collections too. In 1783 a large hoard of about 200 gold coins were discovered at Kaliaghát and they were transmitted to the Directors of the East India Company. Unfortunately many of them were melted down. Only a few coins of Candragupta II, Narasimhagupta, Kumāragupta II (?) and Viṣṇugupta are in the possession of the British Museum, Hunterian and Bodelian Collections.\(^3\) In the same year 13 gold coins were found near Hooghly,\(^4\) and they consisted of 1 Standard type of Samudragupta, 5 Archer type of Candragupta II, 3 Archer, 3 Horseman, 1 Lion-slayer types of Kumāragupta I. The other notable finds are from Muhammadpur, Jessore,\(^5\) and Mahanad, Hooghly.\(^6\) At the last mentioned place one unique coin of Kumāragupta I of the Elephant-rider type has been found. R. D. Banerjee notices a number of coins of Candragupta II,\(^7\) Kumāragupta I\(^8\) and Skandagupta\(^9\) from Burdwan, Midnapore, Hooghly and Faridpur. In all probability Gupta gold coins are *dīnāras*, so often mentioned in the land-sale documents of the period, the word being derived from the Greek *Denarius*.

Silver and copper coins were also used in the Gupta period. R. D.

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1. Benfi thought that it was derived from Sanskrit *Kalita*, meaning 'numbered'. Vincent Smith mentions one class of Bengal coins, called *Kallais*. Schoff is inclined to indentify it with *Kallais* of southern India. (Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 259.) Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua observes that the *Kalita* merchants of Assam used the gold coins called *Kaltis* (Early History of Kāmarūpa, p. 189.)
2. BL, pp. 88-89; JASB, 1933, pp. 127ff.
4. Ibid., p. cxxviii. 5. Ibid., p. cxxvii.
9. Ibid., pp. 71ff.
Banerjee\(^1\) refers to two copper coins from Katwa, Burdwan, with the legend samudra. It is reported that silver coins of Candragupta II, Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta were found at Muhammadpur, Jessore.\(^2\) Rūpakas have been mentioned in the Vaigram plate of 128 G. E., from which it is known that three kulyavāpas and two dronas of land were purchased by paying 6 dināras and eight rūpakas at the rate of two dināras per one kulyavāpa. It is certain from the Paharpur plate that eight dronas were equal to one kulyavāpa. From this it has been concluded by Dr. R. G. Basak\(^3\) that 16 rūpakas were equivalent to 1 dināra. But it is to be noted that in the Vaigram plate three kulyavāpas of khila (uncultivated) land were bought by paying 6 dināras, and two dronavāpas of vāstu (homestead) land were bought for 8 rūpakas. Prices of khila and vāstu lands might have varied and in that case the above ratio between dināra and rūpaka does not seem to be correct.

Gold coins were current in Bengal after the fall of the Imperial Guptas; the coins of Śaśāṅka and Jaya (nāga?) have been found not in inconsiderable number. Two coins of Samācā (rādeva?) should also be taken into consideration. The unattributed ‘Imitation Gupta’ coins\(^4\) from Muhammadpur, (Jessore), Kotalipara in Faridpur, Sabhar in Dacca and from Rangpur are crude in execution and have no pretension to artistic excellence. The legend on the reverse of four of them reads Sudhanyāditya, and the figure is that of a six-handed goddess.

It is strange that while coins of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods have been found in large numbers coins of Pāla and Sena periods are very rare. But it would be a mistake to conclude that there was no metalled currency in that period. The Bodh-Gaya stone inscription or Keśava prāasti records that Keśava excavated a tank at a cost of 3,000 drammās. Dramma is derived from the Greek word Drachma, and Prof. Bhandarkar\(^5\) has shown that its weight approxi-

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1. The Age of the Imperial Guptas, p. 214.
2. Allan, op. cit., p. cxxvii,
3. EI, XXI, p. 78ff.
mates to 65 grains of silver. Five copper coins have been found at Paharpur and they have been assigned to the early Pāla period and a silver coin (dramma) found there has been attributed to Vīgrahapāla I. Three silver coins of the Sassanian type with the legend Śri Vi or Vīgraha from Bihar have been attributed to Vīgrahapāla III by V. A. Smith. Twenty-five silver coins from eastern Magadha with the same legend and of the same type have been mentioned in the Supplementary Catalogue of the IM. It is very curious that of all the Pāla kings the coins of the Vīgrahapālas have come to light. In the grants of Lakṣmaṇasena, Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena the income yielded by the donated land has been mentioned in terms of purāṇas and kapardaka-purāṇas, but we do not know any specimen of them. Prof. Bhāndarkar suggests that “kapardaka-purāna is a purāṇa which is shaped like kapardaka or kaurī.” This is perhaps strengthened by the statement of Minhaj when he values the gifts and charities of Lakṣmaṇasena in terms of kaurīs.

4. See Ch. on Administration.
APPENDIX H.

THE GAUDAS AND GAUDA

The division of the Brahmanas from broad geographical point of view into Pañca-Gauḍa and Pañca-Drāviḍa is well-known. The five Gaudas are the (1) Sārasvatas, (2) Kānyakubjas, (3) Gaudas (4) Utkalas and (5) Maithilas. It is evident that they derive their names from the countries in which they settled and about the location of four (excepting the Gauḍas) there is no doubt whatsoever. There were more than one Gauḍa. Firstly, Gaudadeśa meant north-western Bengal in ancient and mediaeval times. It was by far the most famous of all the countries of that name. Secondly, it is known from the Rāmāyana and the Vāyupurāṇa1 that there was a Gauḍa in Uttarakōśala. It has been contended by Dr. R. G. Basak2 from the passage, “nirmitā yena Śrāvasti Gauḍadeśe dvijottamāḥ (or Mahā-puri)” in the Matsya, Kurma and Liṅga Purāṇas that this Śrāvasti is to be located in Bengal. If we accept that there was a Gauḍa in Uttarakōṣala, which has been identified with the Gonda district and the neighbouring tracts, this Mahāpurī Śrāvasti may be identified with the famous city of Śrāvasti of the Buddhist literature or present Sahet-Mahet. In the Sahyādri section of the Skanda-purāṇa, in which the division of the Brahmanas into Pañca-Gauḍas and Pañca-Drāviḍas has been mentioned, Gauḍas figure after Sārasvatas and Kānyakubjas and before Utkalas and Maithilas. It seems that they have been described in the geographical order from the west to the east, and if by the Gauḍas the Brahmanas of Bengal were meant, Gauḍas would have figured after the Maithilas. It is to be noticed that in the Brhat-Saṁhitā3 of Varāhamihira the territory of Gauḍa is placed along with Matsya, Pāncāla, etc. in the middle section of India.3 Thirdly,

1. EI, XIII, p. 200; the passages discussed by Dr. R. G. Basak in connection with the location of Śrāvasti of the Silimpur stone inscription.

2. Ibid.

3. XIV, 8.
there was a Gauḍa between Khandesa and Orissa, and Cunningham identified it with the districts of Betul, Chindwara, Seoni and Mandal. The five Drāvidaś are the (1) Mahārāṣtras, (2) Tailaṅgas, (3) Drāvidas or of the country of the Tamil language, (4) Karnaṭakas and (5) Gurjaras. It is difficult to say when the Brahmans came to be known by these names. Yuan Chwang speaks of Harṣavardhana as the king of five Indies. It cannot be precisely stated what the pilgrim meant by this expression, but from the extent of Harṣa’s empire it does not seem improbable that it extended over five Gauḍas. It is stated in the Rājataragaṇi that the Kāśmira king Jayāpīḍa made his father-in-law Jayanta, king of Puṇḍravardhana, the emperor of Paṇca-Gauḍas. The romantic element in the story of Jayāpīḍa’s visit to Puṇḍravardhana has led many scholars to doubt the veracity of the whole episode, and no king of Puṇḍravardhana, ruling in the 8th century over such a vast kingdom, is known. In one southern Indian inscription the epithet Paṇca-Drāviḍeśvara has been applied to Rājendra Cola.

The Gauḍa Brāhmaṇas are scattered over different parts of India. Writing in 1887, Wilson notices 17 classes of them. A careful search will reveal still great many other varieties. Among the Kāyaṣṭhas there is a section called Gauḍa-Kāyaṣṭha living near modern Delhi. Again, among the Rajputas there is one section called Gauḍa-Rājaput. There is a separate caste called Gauḍaṭagās who claim their origin from Gauḍa Brāhmaṇas. The distribution of Gauḍa Brāhmaṇas over almost all parts of India and the existence of Gauḍa-Rājaputas, Gauḍa-Kāyaṣṭhas and Gauḍa-ṭagās cannot be very easily explained.

1. Cunningham, ASIR IX, p. 159; see also VJ I, I, in the Chapter on Paṇca-Gauḍa. Dr Roy Chowdhury is of opinion that Gauḍa in the Mṣṣya, Kurma, Liṅga Mss. may be inserted as a Sanskritised form of Gonda. He cited the example of the Central Provinces where the name Gond is very often Sanskritised into Gauḍa (PHAI, p. 439) But Cunningham concluded just the opposite of it.
2. SII, I, p. 118.
4. See Viśvakoṣa on Gauḍa-Rājaputas, Gauḍa-Kāyaṣṭhas and Gauḍa-ṭagās.
By way of analogy an explanation can be suggested. The issues raised by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in his illuminating paper on the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas of Bengal are various and many, but his conclusion that there was a tribe called Nāgara in ancient India which in course of time spread over different parts of the country is perhaps to be accepted. The same also seems to be the case with the Gauḍa. The Gauḍa tribe seems to have migrated to different parts and entered into the Rajput and Kāyastha societies. It may be noted that the Āgarwalā Vanikas utilise the services of the Gauḍa section of the Brahmanas and it may be that this mercantile community might have some remote connection with the Gauḍas.

It is not known where was the earliest home of the Gauḍas. The Sārasvatas called themselves Adi Gauḍas, and it may be that their first settlement was in the region watered by the river Sarasvati. Again, Gauḍa in Uttarakośala might have been also the original land, because it seems that it has preserved the name of the tribe. There are epigraphic evidences to show that even in the historical period the Brahmanas from Uttara-kośala migrated to different provinces. Therefore the claim of Gauḍa in Uttarakośala as the original home of the Gauḍa tribe cannot be brushed aside.

But of all the settlements of this tribe, Gauḍa in the east was undoubtedly the most famous and important. It was certainly an ancient country. Pāṇīni associated it with the east. It rose in great importance under Dharmanapāla and Devapāla, and it is not unlikely that the title Pañca-Gauḍēśvara is “reminiscent to the Gauḍa empire under them because it cannot be equated with the ancient realm of Gauḍa kingdom in the early centuries of Christian era.” With the great importance of the Gauḍa kingdom in mediaeval India the title of Gauḍēśvara had some imperial glamour around it and it was difficult for the kings of Bengal to part with it when they had no authority

1. IA., 1932, pp. 41, 61.
2. For Adi Gauḍas see Wilson, op. cit.
4. VI, II, 99.
5. Dr. Roy Chowdhury, op. cit.
over Gauḍa. Keśavasena and Viśvarupasena, sons of Lakṣmaṇasena, ruled over eastern Bengal after the conquest of north-western Bengal by the Muslims but they retained the title of Gauḍeśvara. Govinda-pāla is generally taken to be of the Pāla dynasty but it is doubtful whether he had had any authority over northern and western Bengal; yet the title Gauḍeśvara was applied to him. This proud title was assumed by the kings of Cuttack in the 16th century.¹ Like the story connected with the reported immigration of five Brahmanas at the instance of Ādīśūra, one tradition is current among the Gauḍa Brāhmaṇas and Gauḍatagās of Delhi region that the services of their ancestors from Gauḍa in Bengal were in great demand by the epic king Janamejaya at the time of his snake sacrifice and hence their migration there. It is doubtful if Bengal itself was Brahmanised at the time of Janamejaya and therefore much weight cannot be attached to this story.

It may, then, be concluded that the Gauḍas were an important tribe in ancient times. They settled in different parts of the country and on account of their settlements many places were named after them. In the Brahman, Rajput, Kāyastha and Gauḍatagā societies many men of this tribe had entered and formed separate sections in these castes. Of all the settlements of this tribe, Gauḍa in Bengal outshone all in view of its great importance under the Pālas and many Gauḍas try to establish some connection with this famous country.²

1. IA. XL11, p. 49.
2. French says that there is strong and continuous tradition among the Panjab Hill tribes that the ruling families in certain states are descended from the Rājās of Gauḍa in Bengal. These are Sukhet, Keonthal; Kastwar and Mandi. See Art of the Pāla Empire, p. 19; Journal of the Panjab Historical Society, Vols. 111, IV, VI.
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