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EAST PAKISTAN
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EPIGRAPHIC DISCOVERIES IN EAST PAKISTAN

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FOREWORD

Perhaps no field of academic studies has felt the devastating effects of the partition of India more severely for the last twenty-five years than Indian history and archaeology. Political division of the sub-continent has made it next to impossible for scholars in India and Pakistan to be in touch with one another and exchange their views and publications on topics bearing on the country's common past. Since the division of the body-historic had not (to the utter chagrin of some political gods!) accompanied that of the body-politic, the situation had necessarily imposed vital limitations to our historical and archaeological investigations and left important gaps in some aspects of our studies in these fields. In the circumstances the Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series can congratulate itself on being able to include the present highly interesting and valuable monograph entitled Epigraphic Discoveries in East Pakistan in its publications. East Bengal (formerly East Pakistan, now Bangladesh) has always been a region rich in archaeological remains and the inscriptions surveyed and analysed in the volume were discovered here during the time when it had formed the eastern wing of the state of Pakistan. The records are of the highest importance from the point of view of the history of ancient Bengal. In fact they furnish fresh material which has enabled scholars entirely to revise and rewrite some aspects of the history of the Chandra Dynasty. It must be counted as a singular piece of good fortune that the epigraphs have been handled here by the most competent living epigraphist of India, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sircar. His masterly treatment has made this slim volume indispensable to all students of the early history of Bengal and we are only too happy to place it before the scholarly world. Meanwhile the emergence of independent Bangladesh has once more brought the basic unity of Bengali Culture to a focal point and one is led to hope that the limitations and deficiencies, that the scholars of the two Bengals had so far inevitably to accept in their respective fields of study, will be gradually removed in the near future.

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B
PREFACE

The present monograph embodies my lectures delivered a year ago in April, 1971, and the readers' attention requires to be drawn to a few facts in this connection.

The most important of such facts is that what was then 'East Pakistan' (i.e. the eastern wing of the State of Pakistan) is now 'Bangladesh'. The emergence of this new independent State, which was then unthinkable, reminds us of Kalhaṇa's remarks at the end of his description of the fall of the mighty Śāhis of Uttarāpatha with the defeat of Trilocanapūla (1013-21 A. D.). The Rājatarangini says,

Sa Śāhi-dehaḥ s-ūmātyāḥ sa-bhūḥṛt sa-paricchadaḥ /
kim=abhūk kimu vā n-ūbhūd=īti saṁcintyate=dhunā /// (VII. 69).

"That empire of the Śāhis [whose greatness on the earth has been briefly indicated in the account of king Śaṅkaravarman's reign]—now one asks oneself whether, with its kings, its ministers and its court, it ever existed or not.

Svapne= 'pi yad=asambhāvyam yatra bhagnā manorathāḥ /
he layā tad=vidadhato n-ūsādhyam vidyate Vidheḥ /// (VII. 67).

"Nothing is impossible to Fate. It effects with ease what even in dreams appears incredible to man, what human fancy fails to reach."

Of course the impossible has been rendered possible largely by the unwise policy followed by West Pakistani leaders like Yahiya Khan and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto; but the patriotism and heroism of the Bengalis and the help they received from India also contributed greatly to the creation of Bangladesh. Other factors were the popularity and leadership of the East Pakistani politician, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, and the sagacity of the Indian Prime Minister, Sm. Indira Gandhi. We greet the new sovereign State of Bangladesh whose rise is as important in the modern history of our sub-continent as the creation of Pakistan quarter of a century ago.
The second notable point in respect of these lectures is that no satisfactory and comprehensive account of the excavations on the Mainamati-Lalmai ridge has as yet been published and one has to depend on the inadequate (and sometimes unintelligible or conflicting; cf. below, pp. 57-58) notices in F. A. Khan’s (1) *Excavation at Salhan Raja Palace Mound on Mainamati-Lalmai Ridge*, (2) *Further Excavations in East Pakistan—Mainamati* (1956), (3) *Third Phase of Archaeological Excavations in East Pakistan* (1957); and (4) *Mainamati—a Preliminary Report on the Recent Archaeological Excavations in East Pakistan*, Karachi, 1963; cf. *B. C. Law Volume*, Part II, pp. 213 ff.; *Pakistan Archaeology*, No. 1, Karachi, 1964, pp. 18-20; *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. V, pp. 179 ff. Only two of Khan’s reports were available to me through the kindness of Prof. A. B. M. Habibullah of the University of Dacca. B. M. Morrison’s *Political Centres and Cultural Regions in Early Bengal*, 1970, has just reached me.

The third point to which we are inclined to draw the readers’ attention relates to the political geography of East Pakistan, i.e. the present Bangladesh, about which our knowledge was inadequate during the long years beginning with the creation of Pakistan in 1947. Thus we have referred many times to the ‘Tippera District’ though it appears that the name was changed by the Government of Pakistan to ‘Comilla District.’ Likewise, it appears that a separate District was created out of the old Tangail Sub-Division of the Mymensingh District.

Two other facts may also be mentioned in this connection. The first of them is the untimely death of Mr. David J. McCutchion who was so good as to lend me his personal copy of *Pakistan Archaeology*, No. 3, Karachi, 1956 (cf. below, p. 42). Whenever I think of this energetic young scholar, my heart fills with sadness. The other fact is that Sri S. N. Siddhanta’s paper on the Jagadishpur plate which appeared in Bengali in the *Bānglā Academy Patrika* (Dacca, B. S. 1370) and a photographic copy of which, made by Dr. S. C. Bhattacharya in London, was made available to me for study (see below, p. 8), has now appeared in English in the recently published *Journal of the Varendra Research Museum*, Vol. I, 1972, No. 1, a complimentary copy of which just reached me from the Museum. Of course there is no improvement in the present treatment of the
epigraph, and the article has been printed without the use of
diacritical marks. But I was thrilled at the feeling that now the
dark days of our historical studies are over at least with reference to
the two parts of Bengal and that epigraphs discovered in one part
will henceforth be available for study in the other zone without
much difficulty.

The index of the present volume has been prepared by Dr. S. P.
Singh to whom my sincere thanks are due.

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D. C. Sircar
LECTURE I

I

Introduction

I am extremely thankful to the authorities of the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, to have been so good as to invite me to deliver a course of three lectures under the auspices of its Research Seminar. The subject I selected for these lectures is 'Epigraphic Discoveries in East Pakistan'. This choice of mine probably requires a little explanation at least to persons who are not directly engaged in the reconstruction of the early history of Bengal including both the present West Bengal and East Pakistan. Needless to say that it is easy for the politicians to divide a country into two parts; but it is certainly impossible to separate the history of one of those parts from that of the other.

It is an established fact that the majority of the early inscriptions so far discovered in Bengal have come from what is now East Pakistan, i.e. East and North Bengal. It is therefore no wonder that, during the past few years, the only important epigraphical record of an early Bengal ruler discovered outside East Pakistan is the Jayrampur (Balasore District, Orissa) copper-plate grant of Gopacandra, while the number of valuable early copper-plate records alone, discovered in East Pakistan, besides numerous seal and image inscriptions, is at least no less than nine. More important is, however, another fact. It is not usually possible for us in India to get photographs or impressions of such records, and even copies of books or periodicals containing discussions on them are very difficult to secure. Some time ago, my old friend, Prof. A. B. M. Habibullah of the University of Dacca, told me that the same difficulty faces Pakistani students of history in respect of Indian books and periodicals. The difficulty with which I succeeded in

1. It may be noted that out of the 23 inscriptions (17 edited and 6 noticed in the Appendices) in N. G. Majumdar's *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III (1929), 1 came from Orissa, 15 from East Pakistan and 7 from West Bengal.
securing the materials for studying some of the inscriptions will be described in the course of these lectures.

In the present lectures, I am not inclined to include the East Pakistani epigraphs on which my writings have already appeared in the Epigraphia Indica or elsewhere howsoever important they may be. In this category falls the Mahisantosh image inscription of king Mahendrapāla I (c. 885-908 A.D.) of the Gujara-Pratiḥāra dynasty.

The village of Mahisantosh in the Dinajpur District of Pakistan lies close to Balurghat in the West Dinajpur District of West Bengal. Sometime ago, an image bearing an inscription was discovered at Mahisantosh and was secured for the gallery of the Directorate of Archaeology, Government of West Bengal, Calcutta. Unfortunately, the Directorate was unwilling to supply me with photographs or impressions of the inscription for study. However, I received materials for the study of the record from the Chief Epigraphist of the Archæological Survey of India, Mysore, for publication. The great importance of the inscription lies in its date which is the 15th regnal year of the Pratiḥāra emperor. Formerly, a number of inscriptions bearing dates ranging from the second to the ninth year of the same king’s reign were found in South Bihar and one epigraph of his 5th regnal year was found at Paharpur in the Rajshahi District, now in East Pakistan. It is now clear from all these inscriptions that wide areas of Bihar and Bengal were under the occupation of Mahendrapāla I for a long period covering more than a decade and that, during this period, the position of the contemporary Pāla king Nārāyaṇapāla (c. 854-910 A.D.) must have been precarious. Whether the Pāla king was busy in reorganising his forces for the recovery of his kingdom or was ruling over parts of his former kingdom as a subordinate ally of Mahendrapāla I cannot be determined in the present state of insufficient information. But he seems to have had an opportunity of recovering his position by siding with one of the claimants for the Gujara-Pratiḥāra throne of Kanauj after Mahendrapāla’s death. Cf. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXVII, pp. 204ff.

The Madanpara copper-plate grant of Viśvarūpasena, re-discovered by myself, may also possibly belong to the same category. It is well-known to the students of the Edilpore plate that, of the numerous writers on the history of the Senas, only Franz Kielhorn, Haraprasad Sastri and Nāgendranath Vasu read the name of the
donor of this charter as Viśvarūpasena, the son of Lakṣmaṇasena, while all others read the king’s name as Keśavasena who was regarded as a brother of Viśvarūpasena. Prinsep published a rough transcript of the inscription together with a ‘doctored’ illustration in JASB, Vol. VII, Part I, 1838; but the copper-plate was later lost from the custody of the Asiatic Society, so that most later writers wrote on the basis of the defective illustration published by Prinsep. Similar was the case with the Madanpara plate published by Vasu. However, in 1952, I succeeded in re-discovering this plate in the Dacca Museum, and my comparative study showed clearly that the reading Viśvarūpasena, preferred by Kielhorn, Sastri and Vasu on the other plate, is certainly correct. Both grants were originally made by Sūryasena. Cf. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 315ff.; also JAS, Letters, Vol. XX, 1954, pp. 209ff. Cf. JAS, Vol. LXV, 1896, Part I, pp. 6ff.

In these lectures, I am also not inclined to discuss certain East Pakistani inscriptions which are known for some years, though they have not yet been properly edited. This class includes the copper-plate inscription of Daśarathadeva which I noticed in the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for the year 1952, as well as in the Bengali periodical Itihās, Vol. VIII, B. S. 1364-65, Part III, pp. 160-63. Of course, the Kulpata copper-plate grant of Samācāradeva noticed in the History of Bengal, Vol. I, 1943, edited by R. C. Majumdar, p. 271, has not yet been published even though it was discovered long before the creation of Pakistan.

Many of the inscriptions discussed or noticed in my lectures were discovered in the course of excavations conducted by the Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan, on the Mainamati hills, also called the Mainamati-Lalmai ridge. This range of low and picturesque hills extending from north to south for nearly eleven miles lies about five miles to the West of Comilla, headquarters of the Tippera District of East Pakistan. An extensive centre of Buddhist culture was discovered on the peaks of the Mainamati hills accidentally by the military engineers while setting up their advance camp during the Second World War. The Archaeological Department of the Government of Pakistan undertook in 1954 a survey of the area and found that there were many ancient Buddhist shrines and monasteries on the hill tops.

One of the sites excavated by the Pakistan Department of Archaeology is called Salban Vihar because of the discovery of the
ruins of a vihāra or Buddhist monastic establishment at the place which is near Salbanpur. It is situated about the middle of the ridge. Several seasons’ excavations at the site laid bare a Buddhist monastery with a central shrine. The square layout of the monastery and the cruciform plan of the shrine with pointed angles and recessed corners recall similar peculiarities of the Somapura-mahāvihāra dug out at Paharpur in the Rajshahi District, also in Pakistan, nearly half a century ago. A copper-plate charter issued by king Bhavadeva was discovered, along with a number of silver coins which are stated to bear the legend ‘Patikera’ reminding us of the early medieval kingdom of Paṭṭikera, the capital of which bore the same name and stood in the vicinity of the Mainamati hills. It appears, as we shall see below, that the Salban Vihar is called ‘the Great Monastery of Bhavadeva’ in the legend of a red stone seal found in the course of the excavations.

The damaged copper-plates of Bhavadeva and Anandadeva from Salban Vihar have not yet been published. But the previously published copper-plate1 of Bhavadeva informs us that they belonged to the Deva dynasty ruling over the Samatā country from the city of Devaparvata standing on the Chandimura peak at the southern end of the Mainamati hills. The king was a Paramasaugata (a devout worshipper of the Sugata or Buddha) and enjoyed the imperial titles Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Mahārājadhīraja. Bhavadeva, who was also known as Abhinavamrgāṅka, is represented as the son of Anandadeva and the grandson of Viradeva. Palaeographical consideration suggests for the charter a date about the close of the eighth century A.D.

Another Buddhist shrine of square shape was discovered outside the main monastery in the north-western corner at Salbanpur. At Kotila Mura, which occupies a prominent part of the Mainamati ridge and is situated about three miles to the north of Salban Vihar, excavations revealed the layout of three stūpas built in the traditional style. The remains of an oblong shrine were unearthed about a mile and a half to the north-west of Kotila Mura at a site now called Char Patra Mura (literally, ‘the hillock of four charters’) because no less than four inscribed copper plates were discovered in the entrance passage of the said shrine, together with a bronze relic-casket.

INTRODUCTION

What has been said above would show that the excavations on the Mainamati hills have yielded a rich harvest of valuable antiquities such as the remains of a number of Buddhist monasteries and shrines, at least six copper-plate grants (two from Salban Vihar and four from Char Patra Mura), and a red sandstone seal from Salban Vihar (referred to as the Bhavadeva-mahāvihāra). Besides, a large number of terracotta sealings bearing writings and tiny stūpas in relief, one of them exhibiting the Dharmacakra and a three-line inscription, were also found. Kotila Mura has yielded a number of circular terracotta sealings bearing Buddhist inscriptions and the replica of a stūpa. Among old coins unearthed in the course of excavations, there are silver issues bearing the legends ‘Lalitakarah’ and ‘Dharmavijaya’ (besides those with the legend ‘Patikera’ referred to above) and some gold coins including a few issues of the Gupta emperor Candragupta II and a number of the so-called imitations of Gupta coins, one of which is said to bear the legend ‘Bangala Mriganka’, explained as ‘deer-stamp of Bangala’. There are also several hundreds of votive clay-stūpas, some encaasing small inscribed sealings and others containing bone relics, besides a bronze relic-casket already mentioned, several miniature bronze images of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas and the goddess Tārā, and a number of stone sculptures including some bearing inscriptions.

The ‘imitation Gupta’ gold coin on which the legend is supposed to be ‘Bangala Mriganka’ is very interesting. The legend seems to be the same as ‘Sri Bangala Mriganka’ as read on the seal of Bhavadeva’s copper-plate grant, although the correct reading of the legend on that of the previously published copper charter of the said king is known to be Śrī-Abhinavamrgāṅka, ‘the illustrious Abhinava-mṛgāṅka (i.e. Bhavadeva)’. The most important information supplied by the said coin is that some of the ‘imitation Gupta’ gold coins were issued by the kings of the Deva dynasty who appear to have ruled in the eighth century A.D. Since the imitation coins resemble the gold issues of the Gauḍa emperor Śaśāṅka (c. 600-25 A.D.) of Karnaśuvarsa, scholars have assigned such coins, which are generally found in the eastern region of Bengal including Samatata, covering the Tippera and Noakhali Districts, to the middle and latter half of the seventh century A.D. About that time, the Khaqgas of Vaṅga in the Dacca area ousted the semi-independent Rātas who ruled over Samatata from the city of Devaparvata. It
seems that the Khaḍgas were themselves ousted from Sāmataṭa by the Devas about the beginning of the eighth century and that the imitation coins were issued (sometimes by private moneyers) in Samataṭa during the regime of the Khaḍgas and the Devas, if not also of the Rātas.¹

It may be pointed out here that, of the six copper-plate grants discovered as a result of the excavations on the Mainamati hills, we are in a position to deal in details with only three and half records, viz. the two grants of Lāṇahacandra and one charter of Govinda-
candra discovered at Charpatra Mura and the first half of a record, of Viradhara Deva, found at Salban Vihar. The latter half of Viradhara’s charter and the Deva plate found along with the others have not been illustrated. The fourth copper-plate charter discovered at Char Patra Mura has been illustrated along with the plates of Lāṇahacandra and Govindacandra; but much of its writing is corroded and the contents cannot be satisfactorily made out. This charter seems to be issued by a Deva king.

Another important copper charter discovered in East Pakistan is the Dacca plate of Kalīyaṇacandra, son of Śrīcandra, which was issued in the king’s 24th regnal year. It has not yet been illustrated, but has been briefly noticed by Prof. A. H. Dani in his paper appearing in the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 1960, Aligarh, Part I, pp. 3ff.² It is said that the king is introduced in this epigraph as Paramasaugato Mahārajādhirāja-śrī-Śrīcandradeva-
pāḍ-ānudhyātā Parameśvaraḥ Paramabhaṭṭarāko Mahārajādhirājaḥ śrīmān Kalyāṇacandradevaḥ. The record is stated to contain the following two stanzas in the description of Trailokyacandra and Śrīcandra, grandfather and father respectively of Kalyāṇacandra.

1. Gauḍānām = apacitam = aṇjalimayo hastesu dṛṣṭo na ced =
   bandhas = arhi kaṭhora-śrīkhała-mayaḥ padeṣu santryopitaḥ /
   aṅgais = sārdhham = agat prāṇāma-rabhasān = mūrdhṇa
   dharitrīn = na ced =
   yen = ubhyunnata-karkṣena sahasā khaḍgena nītas = tadā //

---


2. प्रथ्यिवपल-भया-प्रमार्जना-विद्धव-उद्राह काृहोरा-क्रमाह, गोवाण-ण्मथाने महोत्सवा-गुरुर-गोपाल-साध्यमणे / लिला-निर्जी-रुद्धा-पाला-माहिषि-प्रत्यर्पणे सतापो / 
यस्य-अक्कार-रस-उस्पदाम सुक्ष्टीन विश-अवलाम्बो भुजाह \)

The first of the two stanzas speaks of Trailokyacandra’s success against the Gaudas (no doubt meaning the Pala emperor). About Trailokyacandra’s time (c. 905-25 A. D.), the Gurjara-Pratihara king Mahendrapala I (c. 885-908 A. D.) conquered at least South Bihar and North Bengal from the Pala king Narayanaapala (c. 854-910 A. D.) and rendered the latter’s position precarious as we have said above. It is possible that Trailokyacandra sided with Mahendrapala against Narayanaapala and succeeded in annexing wide areas of East Bengal to his original territory of Candraadvipa or Vaṅgala in the Buckerunge region.

The second verse states that Śricandra (c. 925-75 A. D.) was soft in removing the fears of other kings (or of a ruler named Pṛthvīpala), harsh in destroying Govarṇa, the initiator of rejoicing by installing Gopāla on the throne and shy in the matter of returning the queen of the Pala king to her husband whom he had easily defeated or captured. Whether Govarṇa is the name of a person or locality or fort cannot be determined. But Gopāla whom the Candra king claims to have installed on the throne is no doubt Gopāla II (c. 940-60 A. D.) who was the grandson of Narayanaapala. It may be that there was a struggle for the Pala throne between Gopāla II and another claimant and that the Candra king supported the former. In such a case, it may be the rival of Gopāla II who is stated to have been captured by Śricandra in the third foot of the verse, even though his name does not appear in the Pala records so far discovered. If, however, Gopāla was a friend of Śricandra about the time of his accession, the relationship between the two soon became hostile as is indicated by the discovery of an image inscription¹ of the first regnal year of Gopāla II from Mandhuk in the Tippera District (in ancient Samataṇa) when it is considered along with the issue of Śricandra’s charters from Vikramapur in the Dacca District and his father’s claim to have conquered Samataṇa and parts of Vaṅga in the Paschimbhag plate of Śricandra’s fifth regnal year, that was discovered in the Sylhet District of East

Pakistan and will be discussed in details in the course of my lectures. As will be seen below, the Candra kings were probably compelled sometimes to become subordinate allies of the Pāla monarchs.

II

The Jagadishpur and Kalapur Plates

1. Jagadishpur Plate of the Gupta Year 128

More than five years ago when I was adding a concluding section in the preface to the second edition (1965) of my Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization, Vol. I, I referred to the newly discovered inscriptions—included in the Supplement to the Volume—and in that context observed, “I was eager to add to them an inscription of the Gupta age reported to be published recently in East Pakistan. Unfortunately, it was not possible for me to secure any facsimile of the epigraph or a copy of the publication in which it appeared.”

The copper-plate inscription in question was secured for the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, in 1961, from a Hindu gentleman of Jagadishpur, a village under the Putia Police Station of the Rajshahi District of East Pakistan. It has been said that the plate was discovered underground, fifteen feet below the surface of the earth, by an ancestor of the gentleman while the former was digging the earth for the excavation of a ring-well. The account, however, may not be accurate. The plate was given to Sri Sachindranath Siddhanta, M. Sc., for decipherment and publication, and Siddhanta’s paper on it in Bengali appeared in the Baṅgalā Academy Patrika, Dacca University, Magh-Caitra, B. S. 1379, pp. 36ff. and Plates. Unfortunately, the said issue of the Patrika was not available in Calcutta. It was only in December, 1969, that Dr. S. C. Bhattacharya of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, who had an opportunity, while he was in London, to prepare photographic copies of the pages of Siddhanta’s paper together with illustrations, was good enough to supply me with the material in his possession for study. I found out from an examination of the material that the transcript
and translation of the inscription as published by Siddhanta contain many errors.

The preservation of the writing on the plate is unsatisfactory in a few places. Moreover, the inscribed text contains mistakes of omission and commission because the person responsible for its composition had poor knowledge of the Sanskrit language. The style of the record is similar to that of the copper-plate inscriptions found at Damodarpur, Baigram, Paharpur, Nandapur and Kalaikuri (Sultanpur); but none of these other epigraphs exhibits poverty of knowledge in Sanskrit in such a degree as the record under study. The above facts render the decipherment of the inscription somewhat difficult at places. It is therefore no wonder that Siddhanta has misread and misunderstood certain parts of the record.

As regards palaeography and orthography, the present inscription resembles the other epigraphs cited above. The resemblance of the document with other Bengal records to which we have referred is particularly close with the Kalaikuri-Sultanpur copper-plate inscription. The reason is that these two records were issued from the same place within a few years' interval by the same executive officer (Āyuktaka) and the board of administration (adhihikaraṇa) of the same area. The present charter was issued in the Gupta year 128 (447 A.D.) while the date of the Kalaikuri-Sultanpur plate is the Gupta year 120 (440 A.D.), i.e., the latter epigraph is only about eight years earlier than the former. Both the documents were issued from Pūrṇakauśikā which was the headquarters of the territorial and administrative unit called Śrīgavera-viśā. The officer in charge of the viśā or subdivision, who issued the record, was Āyuktaka Acyuta (called Acyutasā in the Kalaikuri-Sultanpur plate) described as meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of the Bhattāraka (i.e., lord) meaning the contemporary Gupta monarch Kumāragupta I (413-55 A.D.). Acyuta is part of the full name Acyutadāsa.

Āyuktaka Acyuta and the adhikaraṇa issued the document from Pūrṇakauśikā in the Śrīgavera-viśā as an address to the

chief householders (probably, agriculturists) including the Brāhmaṇas inhabiting Gulmagandhika and Sarāghalika. The locality called Gulmagandhika is also mentioned in the Kalaikuri-Sultanpur plate under the form Gulmagandhika, and it is interesting that the latter form is also used in the present epigraph in a few cases. Likewise Sarāghalika is mentioned in the other inscription with this difference that it is Sarāghalika and in the singular in the present epigraph, but Sarāghalī and in the plural in the other. The plural number probably indicates that it was a group of villages.

The address of the Ayuktaka and the adhikaraṇa to the inhabitants of Gulmagandhika or Gulmagandhika and Sarāghalika is to the following purport: This should be known to you that the following three persons of Pūṇḍravardhana, viz. the agriculturist householder Kṣemāka who is a resident of Mālakayastukā, Bhoyila residing at Gulmagandhika and Mahīḍāsa residing at the same place (Gulmagandhika) have informed us (i.e. the members of the adhikaraṇa) beginning with our following selves—(1) Kumāradeva, (2) Gaṇḍa, (3) Prajāpati, (4) Jyeṣṭhadāman, (5) Yaśoviṣṇu, (6) Umayaśas, (7) Hariśarman, (8) Sarpapālita, (9) Hiraṇyagupta, (10) Kumārayaśas, (11) Kumārabhūti, (12) Śīvakunḍa, (13) Śiva, (14) a second Śiva, (15) Somaviṣṇu, (16) Satyaviṣṇu, (17) Kaṇkuṭi, (18) Nandadāman, (19) Vīranāga, (20) Nārāyaṇadāsa, (21) Rudra, (22) Bhava, (23) Guha, (24) Acyuta, (25) Kuberā, (26) Śarvanāga, (27) Bhavanāga, (28) Śrīdatta, (29) Bhavadatta, (30) Dhanaviṣṇu, (31) Guṇaratha and (32) Naradeva. Nos. 1-4 of this list of the members of the adhikaraṇa are called Viṭhī-mahattara or member of the Viṭhī council, the rest being called Kuṭumbin or agriculturist householder.

Of these 32 names, as many as 18, i.e. Nos. 1-4, 6-8, 10-11, 13-19, 24 and 27, are also found in the Kalaikuri-Sultanpur plate which offers a bigger list of the Viṭhī-mahattaras. The Viṭhī-mahattara Umayaśas of that record of 440 A.D. is called a mere Kuṭumbin in the present document of 447 A.D. probably because he failed later to be elected to the Board of Elders. It may be noticed that the Kalaikuri-Sultanpur plate records a grant of land situated in Hastisṛṣṭa-Vibhīṭaka, Gulmagandhikā, Dhāṇyapāḷikā and the village-group of Sarāghalī, while the land granted by the present epigraph was situated in Gulmagandhika or Gulmagandhikā and Sarāghalika,
The representation of Kṣemāka, Bhojila and Mahīdāsa contained the following: We are desirous of purchasing one kulyavāpa of apratikara fallow land for dedicating it as an ākṣaya-nīvī in favour of (1) the vihāra (Buddhist monastery), built for ‘the worshipful Arhats’, at the siddhāyatana at Mecikāmra in the southern part of the vithī, (2) the vihārikā (small vihāra) built for the worship of ‘the Arhats’ at Gulmagandhika, and (3) the temple built for the lord Sahasrasamsi (the Sun-god) at Gulmagandhika, the purpose of the gift being the making of provision for bali (offerings to creatures), caru (offerings to the manes) and sattra (reception of guests) and of repairs at the establishments. Since the sale of one kulyavāpa of the above type of land at two dīnāras is prevalent in your vithī, you may please accept two dīnāras from us and let us have one kulyavāpa of land.—By the expression ‘Arhats’, used in the record in the plural, the Buddha appears to be indicated, the plural number signifying gaurava (venerableness). The expression apratikara is often explained as ‘without the right of alienation’, ‘without yield of revenue’; but the word pratikara is used in the Rājataraṅgini (V. 170) in the sense of a compensatory allowance, so that apratikara may really mean ‘land for which no compensatory allowances required to be paid by the government’. Dīnāra was the Gupta gold coin.

On receipt of the representation from the three persons, the record-keepers (pustapūla); Sirīhanandin and Yaśodāman, reported that the sale of the above type of land at the quoted price was prevalent in the vithī and that the proposal was in order; then Bhima, the Kulika (representative of the artisan class on the board of administration), collected two dīnāras from the applicants, and one kulyavāpa of land was made over to the three persons. Of the said land, six dronavāpas (i. e. $\frac{1}{6}$ kulyavāpa) purchased by all the three persons were entrusted to Balakūṭa described as the Śramanak-ucārya, i. e. Buddhist religious teacher. The area must have been granted in favour of the two Buddhist establishments of which the said monk was apparently in charge. The remaining two dronavāpas (i. e. $\frac{1}{4}$ kulyavāpa) of land were purchased by Bhojila and were given in favour of Sāmbapura which seems to be the name of the religious establishment in which the Sun-god was installed and

worshipped, probably so named because Śāmba, the most celebrated devotee of the Sun-god, was also worshipped in the shrine. It is stated further that out of these two dronavāpas of land, one plot measuring one dronavāpa lay near the temple (i.e. the Sun temple) and was utilised for making a flower-garden for the shrine and for creating its talavāṭaka, ‘adjoining land’, i.e. land granted in favour of a temple, at the time of its foundation, for its maintenance. The Sun temple at Gulmagandhika seems to have been founded by Bhojila who was an inhabitant of the said village. The popularity of the Sun-god in Bengal in the age of the Guptas is an interesting information supplied by the inscription especially in view of the fact that the earliest Śūrya images discovered in Bengal, assigned to the Gupta age, come from Kumarpur and Niyamatpur in the Rajshahi District which has also yielded the copper plate under study.1 Of greater interest seems to be the fact that Bhojila was probably devoted to both the Buddha and the Sun-god.

It is further said that, out of the one kulavāpa (i.e. 8 dronavāpas) of gift land, an area of seven dronavāpas was situated in the north-eastern part of Gulmagandhika and one in the vicinity of the temple (i.e. the Sun-temple). The boundaries of the gift land are described as—(1) the kandara of a tank in the east; (2) the deva-kandara of the tank of Dhanavīṣṇu (probably the Kūṭumbin of the same name mentioned in the list of the members of the adhiśarkara) in the south; (3) ‘Nabhraka’s property’ in the west; and some kunḍa or pond in the north. The word kandara means a cavity probably for enshrining a deity, so that kandara and deva-kandara here would mean the same thing. The following section of the inscription contains a prayer to the effect that the Vyāvahārins or administrators like the Viśayapatis (governors of districts), Āyuk-takas, Kūṭumbins or Adihkaraṇikas (members of the board of administration) of any time should be good enough to protect the permanent endowment (aṅgaya-nīvī) created by the document. This is followed by four of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas, described as uttered by Vyāsa. The date, viz. the 20th day of the month of Caitra in the year 123 no doubt of the Gupta era, is quoted in line 23. The concluding part of the record states that the document was written by Rudradāsa and that the plate was heated

(evidently for the purpose of affixing a seal) by a person whose name may be Susiśha. Rudradāsa either composed the document, or wrote the letters on the plate for facilitating the work of engraving.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the record, Puṇḍravardhana was the name of a city situated at the site of modern Mabasthan in the Bogra District (East Pakistan) as well as of the province covering North Bengal, of which the headquarters were at the city in question. The name of Śrīgavera can be traced in that of the present Singra Police Station in the Natore Sub-Division of the Rajshahi District, East Pakistan. The other places cannot be definitely located.

Now that we have discussed the contents of the Jagadishpur copper-plate inscription, some of Siddhanta’s mistakes of reading and interpretation may be mentioned here by way of illustration. In the passage mentioning the applicants for the creation of the permanent endowment, we have read Puṇḍravardhane ya(ye) Mūlakavastūka-vāstavya-kuṭumbi-Κσεμάκα(κα) Guλmagandhika-vāstavya-Bhoγilaḥ tair-aiva vāstavya-Mahīḍāśāviḥa(sas-tair=iha), so that there were three residents of the city of Puṇḍravardhana, viz. (1) the Kuṭumbin Kσεμάκα hailing from Mūlakavastukī, (2) Bhoγila hailing from Guλmagandhika, and (3) Mahīḍāśa hailing from the same locality, i.e. Guλmagandhika. I have regarded the dual number in Mahīḍāśav-iha as an obvious error, because of the use of Bhoγilaḥ in the first case-ending, and have explained the wrong use of the dual number as due to the fact that Bhoγila and Mahīḍāśa both hailed from a locality different from Mūlakavastukī. Siddanta reads Puṇḍravardhaneya-Mūlakavastukī-vāstavya-kuṭumbi-Kσεμάκα as an epithet of Guλmagandhika-vāstavya Bhoγilaḥ. I am sorry that this interpretation seems to me quite unconvincing. In the first place, Puṇḍravardhaneya in the sense of Puṇḍravardhana-vāstavya does not appear to be quite happy. Secondly, it is difficult to believe that the same person would be called not only Puṇḍravardhaneya in the sense of Puṇḍravardhana-vāstavya, but at the same time also Mūlakavastukī-vāstavya and Guλmagandhika-vāstavya, so that he would be represented as hailing from no less than three places. This seems to be quite unlikely. Thirdly, Kσεμάκα (cf. Κσεμάκα) is obviously a personal name; but Siddhanta takes it as an adjective of Bhoγila in the sense of ‘Saiva’, even though it is not supported by the Sanskrit lexicons.
Siddhanta reads the passage *dakṣiṇāṁśaka (nāṁsaka) vīthyaḥ,* i.e. 'in the southern part of the *vīthi* or subdivision', as *dakṣiṇena baka vīthyaḥ* which does not give any sense.

It is said that three-fourths of the land, which were made a rent-free holding in favour of two Buddhist religious establishments, were entrusted to the *Srava(ma)ṇak-ācārya* (i.e. Buddhist monk apparently in charge of the establishments) whose name was Balakūṇḍa. Siddhanta reads *Srava(ma)ṇak-ācārya* as *bravaṇaka cāsyah* which he fails to explain. In two defective passages, there is apparently reference to the *devakula* meaning the temple of the Sun-god which received one-fourth of the land. But Siddhanta did not realise it. There are many other minor errors in Siddhanta's transcript.

2. Kalapur Plate assigned to Sāmanta Marundanātha

Sri Kamalakanta Gupta, M.Sc., B.L., Advocate of Sylhet in East Pakistan, published a book entitled *Copper-plates of Sylhet,* Vol. I (7th–11th Century A.D.), in the year 1967. Thanks to the author, copies of the work reached us in India. This work contains a section entitled "Kalapur Copper-plate of Sāmanta Maruṇṭanātha (7th Century A.D.)" at pp. 68–80. The village of Kalapur lies under the jurisdiction of the Srimangal Police Station in the Maulavi Bazar Sub-Division of the Sylhet District. It is said that on the 8th of May, 1963, while a plot of land in the said village was being prepared for sowing, the earthen container, in which the plate had been interred in the earth, broke at the stroke of a spade and a portion of the plate was exposed to view. The owner of the plot of land in question, Sri Mahendra Kumar Deb of Kalapur, brought the matter to the notice of Sri Yasodagovinda Goswami, and the news of the discovery of the inscription soon reached Sri Kamalakanta Gupta who received the plate for study from Sri Goswami. The plate measures 6'8" by 10'2" and has a round seal (about 4'4" in diameter) soldered to its proper right. The writing of the record on the plate is in a very bad state of preservation and the photograph of the obverse of the plate published by Sri Gupta is useless for the purpose of deciphermen". Thus the passages deciphered by Sri Gupta cannot be checked with the help of the illustration. The bronze seal affixed to the plate is, however, in a good state of preservation, though its
photograph does not help us in checking the reading of the donor’s name embossed on it in a globular space to the proper right of the standing deity at the centre.

The seal bears on its obverse, in relief, the figure of the standing Gajalakṣmī with two elephants on her two sides pouring water on her from two jars lifted by their trunks. Below the two elephants and on the two sides of the goddess are two human figures in a sitting posture with cāmara in hands. Below the goddess is the legend Kumārāmāty-ādhikaraṇasya written in relief in characters of about the sixth century A.D. Above the human figure on the proper right of the goddess is a globular cavity. The upper part of its bed is occupied by the figure of a recumbent bull, and the lower part by the legend in relief which Sri Gupta reads as Śrī-Marunānātha. As indicated above, these letters cannot be read from the illustration published by him. The reverse of the seal represents a full-blown lotus.

The seal affixed to the Kalapur plate reminds us of the seals attached to such seventh-century records of South-East Bengal as the Kailan plate1 of Prāpta-paṇicamahātābra Śrīdhāraṇārātā and the Tippera plate2 of Sāmanta Lokenātha. The upper part of the space on both these seals has the figure of the goddess Gajalakṣmī standing on a full-blossomed lotus and flanked above on both sides by two elephants holding water jars in their upraised trunks. On the seal of Śrīdhāraṇārātā, below the elephants, are the figures of two devotees who are also found in the act of pouring water, and beneath the Gajalakṣmī device there are two lines of writing, in raised letters—

(1) bṛ-Śamataṭēśvara-pād-āṇūḍhāyasasya  (2) Kumārāmāty-ādhikaraṇasya. Another line, afterwards embossed horizontally on the seal just to the right of the figure of Lakṣmī, reads—bṛ-Śrīdhāraṇārātasya. The seal of Lokenātha also contains a line reading—Kumārāmāty-ādhikaraṇasya in a script slightly earlier than that of another line which reads—Lokenāthasya.

The seals actually belonged to the adhikaraṇa, i.e. the office of the board of administrators, attached to the Kumārāmātya or the administrative officer (Amātya) enjoying the status of a prince of royal blood, who was usually the ruler of a district or its subdivision. The

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names of Lokanātha and Śrīdhāraṇarāta were written on the seals apparently to indicate that they had countersigned the original documents afterwards incised on the copper-plates. The importance attached to the feudatory ruler Śrīdhāraṇarāta and Lokanātha may suggest that they had risen to a semi-independent status.1

The use of slightly earlier characters on the seals is due to the fact that such seals or dies for moulding them were kept ready for use at the office of the Kumārāṃśṭya and that they were authenticated by embossing on them the names of the rulers of the time being.

We have said above that the name of the ruler of the Sylhet region about the seventh century A.D., who authenticated the Kalapur plate, has been read by Sri Gupta as Sāmanta Maruṇḍanātha, though the reading cannot be verified. Supposing that the reading is correct, Maruṇḍanātha may probably be regarded as another semi-independent subordinate of the Gauḍa king in the south-eastern areas of the latter's kingdom like Lokanātha and the Rātas of the Tippera region (in Samataṭa) and the Khaṅgas originally of the Dacca area in Vaṅga, but later ruling also over Samataṭa.

The passages of the Kalapur copper-plate inscription that have been read by Sri Gupta appear to speak of Sāmanta śrī-Maruṇḍanātha-bhaṭṭāraka who was probably preceded in the rule of the area by Sāmanta-Sainyapati Śrīnātha. The grant seems to have been made at the request of Jayasvāmin who had previously received one pāṭaka of land (equal to 5 kulyavāpas or 40 dronavāpas) on which he had built a maṭha (temple or monastery) and installed therein an image of the god called Bhagavat Anantanārayaṇa. The land granted by the present charter appears to be meant for the preservation of bali, caru and sattrā in the temple of the said god and also for the maintenance of certain Traiśiḍya Brāhmaṇas. The gift land was created a rent-free holding styled agrahāra.

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1 Elsewhere we have suggested that Jayaṭuṅgavarṣa and Jivadhāraṇa (father of Śrīdhāraṇa) were refractory feudatories of the Paramesvarā (i.e. king of Gauḍa) of whom Lokanātha was a faithful subordinate, that Jayaṭuṅgavarṣa was subdued by Lokanātha on behalf of his overlord who next sent him against Jivadhāraṇa, and that Jivadhāraṇa had to pacify Lokanātha and the king of Gauḍa by the cession of territory, offer of money and acceptance of subsidiary alliance. Lokanātha's name may have been inserted in the legend on the seal to indicate the re-assertion of imperial authority over the territory recovered from Jivadhāraṇa. See Ind. Hist. Quart., loc. cit.
Among the interesting facts revealed by the record, one is that, although the donor of the grant had the bull as his emblem and was apparently a Śaiva, he had no scruple in creating the agrahāra in favour of the god Anantaśrīyaṇa, no doubt a form of the god Viṣṇu. We have numerous other cases of this kind even in the inscriptions of Bengal. The fact is that, according to the custom of those days, Jayāśvāmin must have paid a sum of money required for the creation of a rent-free holding, and the transaction was completed in the usual way.

Another interesting fact is the name of the ruler—Marunṭanātha—if it has been correctly read. The name reminds us of the Murunṭas. Indian literary tradition refers to Murunṭa rule at Pāñjaliputra about the second century A. D. sometime before the rise of the Guptas in the first quarter of the fourth century. Ptolemy’s Geography (c. 145 A. D.) places the Maroundai (supposed to be Murunṭa) in the same region. It is thus possible that the Murunṭas became powerful in Bihar even before the time of the Kuṣāṇa king Vāsudeva whose dates range between the years 64 (or 67) and 98 (142-76 A.D.). The Chinese annals speak of an ambassador of the king of Eu-nan, who reached, about the second quarter of the third century A.D., the mouth of a large river (probably, the Ganges) after a long voyage from T’eu-kia-li (Takkola in Malay) and went up the river to the capital of the king of the Meu-luen (probably Murunṭa), who sent the embassy back with a present of four horses of the Indo-Scythian country. This possibly indicates the continuation of Murunṭa rule till the middle of the third century A. D. As the Murunṭas are believed to be Scythians, their occupation of Bihar may be explained if it is supposed that they were originally viceroyos of the Kuṣāṇas in Bihar or in Eastern India.

1. Note that the Buddhist king Dharmapāla (c. 770-810 A. D.) granted four villages in favour of the god Bhagavan-Nananāryaṇa-bhāṭṭāraka at the request of Mahāśāṃant-ādhipati Nārāyaṇavarman who had built a temple for the installation of the said god. See Maitreyaka, Gauḍalekhamālī, p. 16.
4. See Sircar, Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature, p. 140. There is some doubt whether Ptolemy mentions Murunṭa or Punḍra.
The existence of the Muruṇḍas in Eastern India is associated with the question of the expansion of Kuṣāṇa rule in the said region. The circulation of Kuṣāṇa gold and copper coins and their imitations in Eastern India is interesting in this connection. Considering the fact that there was practically no pre-Kuṣāṇa gold coinage in India, the reference in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea to the prevalence of the gold coin called 'caltis' in the land watered by the mouths of the Ganges can only mean the Kuṣāṇa coinage. Reference may also be made in this connection to the discovery, in Bengal, of a number of sculptures in which distinct affinities with the Kuṣāṇa art idiom have been recognised. The possibility of the expansion of Kuṣāṇa rule in Bihar, Bengal and Orissa raises the question whether the Kuṣāṇa hold on Eastern India was maintained through the Muruṇḍas.

The name of Maruṇḍanātha also reminds us of that of Queen Muruṇḍadevi or Muruṇḍasvāminī, wife of king Jayanātha, and mother of king Śarvanātha (beginning of the sixth century A.D.) of Uccakalpa in the present Satna region of Madhya Pradesh. While Muruṇḍasvāminī may have been a Muruṇḍa princess, Maruṇḍanātha was possibly born of a princess of the Muruṇḍa clan. His name does not possibly prove the Muruṇḍa occupation of Sylhet.

LECTURE II

Paschimbhag Plate of Śrīcandra, Regnal Years 5

Of the five copper-plate grants of king Śrīcandra of the Candra dynasty of South-East Bengal, discovered before the middle of the present century, four have been already published, viz. the Rampal, Kedarpur, Madanpur and Dhuilla plates, the Idilpur plate, which is untraceable now, still remaining unedited. ¹ Recently another copper-plate inscription of Śrīcandra was discovered at the village of Paschimbhag in the Sylhet District of East Pakistan. In the year 1958, Sri Binod Bihari Chakravarti accidentally noticed a corner of the plate sticking out of the ground in a vacant plot of land in the said village. The inscribed plate was dug up and, soon afterwards, it passed into the custody of Pandit Syamapada Kavyatirtha Bhattacharya of the village of Bhumura near Paschimbhag. In 1961, Janab Aminur Rashid Chaudhury of Sylhet acquired it from the Pandit for the Historical and Archaeological Society, Sylhet. The copper-plate inscription, now preserved in the Museum of the said Society, was published with plates by Sri Kamala Kanta Gupta Chaudhury of the Sylhet Bar in the Nalini Kanta Bhattasali Commemoration Volume (pp. 166ff. and Plates XXXVI-XXXVII) edited by Prof. A. B. M. Habibullah and published by the Dacca Museum in 1966. ² A few years earlier, the same author published his transcript of the inscription in Bengali characters. Although the preservation of the writing is fairly satisfactory, certain parts of the published illustration of the writing on both sides of the plate are indistinct. However, the illustration helped us in determining some errors in Sri Gupta Chaudhury’s transcript and translation of the epigraph. We then prepared our own transcript and wrote an article on the


². A copy of this work was available to us as the contributor of a paper to the volume. ‘Gupta Chaudhury’ sometimes calls himself ‘Gupta’ only,
inscription for publishing it in the *Epigraphia Indica*. In the meantime, Gupta Chaudhury republished the inscription in his book entitled *Copper-plates of Sylhet* (1967), to which reference has been made above and copies of which were available to us in India through the author’s courtesy. Sometime afterwards, Sri Gupta Chaudhury was kind enough to supply us with a set of better impressions of the writing which helped us in checking our transcript of the record. We are extremely thankful to Sri Gupta Chaudhury for the said acts of kindness.

The inscription is written on both sides of a single plate having raised rims; the seal affixed to its upper fringe leading to the break in the continuity of the writing in the first two lines both on the obverse and the reverse. The emblem on the seal is the *Dharmacakra* found on the seals not only of the other records of Śrīcandra and of those of the other rulers of the Candra family, but also of those of other Buddhist rulers of Bengal including the Fālas. The legend in the lower part of the surface of the seal reads *śrī-Śrīcandra-deva*. The weight of the plate together with the seal is said to be about 11.5 seers (nearly 24 pounds). The charter was issued in the 5th regnal year of Śrīcandra (c. 925-75 A.D.), i.e. about 930 A.D.). This seems to be one of the earliest records of the Candra king whose latest known date, supplied by the Madanpur plate, referred to above, is the regnal year 46.¹

There are 28 lines of writing on the obverse and 37 on the reverse of the Paschimbhag plate, so that the record is written in 65 lines. The characters, like those in the other grants of Śrīcandra, belong to the East Indian alphabet of the tenth century A.D. when Gauḍī was emerging out of Siddhamāṭṛkā. The engraving is neatly done and credit for it has been rightly claimed on behalf of the engraver Haradāsa in the concluding stanza. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and the composition consists of both prose and verse. Some personal names indicate Prakrit and Desī influence.

We know that the introductory stanzas in Śrīcandra’s charters are not exactly the same in number and composition in the different records, though several verses are common to all of them. Thus, of the 15 introductory stanzas in the present record, some

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well-known verses found in most of the other epigraph are absent while seven stanzas of this epigraph are not noticed in any of the hitherto published charters of the king.

The inscription begins with the Siddham symbol followed by the benedictory expression svasti. Then follow the fifteen intro-ductory stanzas.

Verse 1, also found at the beginning of the other charters of Śrīcandra, is in adoration of the Buddhist trinity—the Jina (i.e. Lord Buddha), Dharma and Saṅgha. This is no doubt because the Candras were followers of the Buddhist faith. The said verse is followed in some of Śrīcandra’s records by another saying that Pūrṇacandra, the progenitor of the dynasty, was born in the family of the Candras of Rohitāgiri and that his name occurred in documents engraved on the pedestals of images as well as on pillars of victory and plates of copper. This shows that the Candra family hailed from Rohitāgiri (modern Rohtasgadh in the Shahabad District, Bihar) and Pūrṇacandra was a ruling chief of some importance. Instead of this verse, the said Pūrṇacandra is introduced in our epigraph in another stanza (verse 2) which is found in the Kedarpur plate wherein, however, it was not fully legible. It says that there was a fortunate person named Pūrṇacandra whose shameless enemies, on being defeated, took shelter under the unique umbrella created by the dust raised by his army.

Verse 3, which is found in the Kedarpur plate, introduces Suvarṇacandra as the son of Pūrṇacandra and compares him with pure gold even though, unlike gold, he was neither tested in fire nor weighed on balance. We know that some other grants of Śrīcandra introduce Suvarṇacandra in a different stanza stating that the said prince became a follower of the Buddha as if because he had been born in the family of the Moon-god who bears on his lap the Buddha born as hare in a previous birth (Sāhaka-ātaka). Suvarṇacandra may have been the first Buddhist king of the family. Verse 4 is also found in several of Śrīcandra’s charters and states that Suvarṇacandra was so named by the people because, when he was in his mother’s womb, the queen satisfied her longing by seeing the rising moon and, as a result, obtained the son comparable to the moon in beauty.

Verse 5, which is not found in the published records of Śrī-candra, introduces king Trailokyacandra (c. 905-25 A.D.), whose
great fame spread over the three worlds, as the son of Suvarṇacandra. The transcript and translation of this stanza as published by Gupta Chaudhury are not free from errors. Trailokyacandra is here compared once to the moon whose rise caused the oozing away of the moonstones that were the eyes of [the heroes] captured by him. He is also said to have been afraid of scandal and to have resembled the full evening twilight to the lotuses that were the congregations [of his rivals]. Trailokya was like the rising clouds to the groups of thirsty Cātaka birds (i.e. was liberal to the suppliants). He was also the watcher of the activities of his soldiers and his subjects, and this reminds us of Dilāpa’s description in the Raghuvamśa (I. 17) as the restrainer of his subjects from moving away from the right track. The mention of soldiers in this connection is interesting because they generally committed atrocities in the land of the defeated enemy.1

The next stanza (verse 6) is found in some of Śrīcandra’s published charters and states that the said king (Trailokyacandra), being desirous of conquering the earth bounded by the four oceans, but having no greed for wealth, destroyed his enemies by his sword.

Verse 7 throws welcome light on the capital of the Samataṭa country. The Ashrafpur (Dacca District) copper-plate grants2 of king Devakhaḍga (middle of the seventh century A. D.) of the Khaḍga dynasty of East Bengal were issued from the royal residence at Karmānta which may have been the capital of the Khaḍgas. Because a gold-covered Sarvāṇi image,3 caused to be made by Devakhaḍga’s queen Prabhāvatī, was discovered at Deulbādi about 14 miles to the south of Comilla (Tippera District) and the official designation Karmāntapāla occurring in the Narottamāvara image inscription4 found at Bharella under the Badkamta Police Station of the Tippera District was understood as ‘the Lord of Karmānta’ (though it really means ‘Superintendent of the royal barns’), N. K. Bhattachari was inclined to believe that Karmānta was the capital of the Samataṭa country (which, in his opinion, covered the Tippera and Noakhali Districts together with the eastern half of the

4. Ibid., p. 351.
Mymensing and Dacca Districts and the greater part of the Sylhet District) and that the city stood at the site of modern Badkamta (literally 'the Bigger Kamta') about three miles from Bharella. It is difficult to accept all these views. In the first place, 'the eastern half of the Dacca and Mymensing Districts and the greater part of the Sylhet District' do not appear to have formed any part of Samata. Secondly, the discovery of the Kailan copper-plate inscription of king Sridharaataraka of Samata shows that, about the middle of the seventh century A.D. when the Khaqgas were ruling over the Dacca region of Vaanga, the Ratas were holding sway over Samata, although very soon Devakhaqga extirpated Rata rule and annexed Samata to his dominions. It therefore seems that Devakhaqga's capital was somewhere in the Dacca region. Thirdly, the said Kailan inscription and the Tippera plate of Bhavadeva suggest that the capital of Samata in the seventh and the following centuries was not at Karmana, but at the city of Devaparvata on the river Ksirodh. This river is the modern Khira or Khirnai which is the dried up river course traceable as branching off from the Gomati just west of the town of Comilla. It flows by the eastern side of the Mainamati hills and skirts their southern end near the Chandimura peak where another branch of the river meets it flowing by the western side of the hills. The river thus surrounds the southern end of the Mainamati hills where the ancient hill-fort of Devaparvata seems to have been situated, and then runs south-west to fall into the Dakatiya river. Further light has now been thrown on Devaparvata, the capital of the Samata country during the early medieval period, by verse 7 of the Paschimbhag plate under study.

The stanza which mentions the city of Devaparvata on the Ksirodh river in the Samata country while describing the exploits of Trailokyacandra (c. 905-25 A.D.), the father of Sricandra, runs as follows:

\[
\text{Ksirodhām anu Devaparvata iti kṛimat ‒ tād ‒ etat ‒ puraṁ}
\]
\[
yatr = ṛgantu-jaṁasya vismaya-rasaḥ Kamboja-vārthādhuṛā /}
\[
Lalambī-vanam = atra nāvika-batair = anviṣya siddh-āvadhi-
vyāhārā iti ha sritās = Samatajan = mirjjitya yat-sainikaiḥ //
\]

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1. Loc. cit.
2. IHQ, Vol. XXIII, pp. 221ff.
The verse may be interpreted as follows: After having conquered Samataṭa, Trailokyacandra’s soldiers exclaimed, “That prosperous Devaparvata lying on the Kṣīrodā is this city where the visitor has the feeling of astonishment at the wonderful reports about the Kambojas,” and having searched the Lālambī forest in the area through hundreds of boatmen, they heard the tales about the superbly efficacious medicinal herbs.—Unfortunately, Gupta Chaudhury commits two errors in reading the verse: (1) He reads Kṣīrodāṁ anu as Kṣīrod-āmbu (which violates the metre), and (2) the word nāvika is read by him as vātika. His translation of the stanza consequently runs as follows: “In consequence of the strange news of Kamboja, the newcomers to this illustrious capital, like the venerable mountain (i.e. the Mandara Mountain) in the waters of the Kṣīroda [sea] were struck with feelings of wonder, whose soldiers conquered Samataṭa where was situated the forest of Lālambī traditionally said to have been filled with sure medicinal herbs sought for by hundreds of persons suffering from morbid affectation of the nervous system.”

The verse offers much valuable information. In the first place, it speaks of the conquest of the Samataṭa country, i.e. the present Tippera-Noakhali region of South-East Bengal within East Pakistan, by the Candra king Trailokyacandra. It has to be remembered in this connection that Trailokyacandra is sometimes described as the mainstay of the royal fortunes of the kings of Harikela (i.e. Sylhet) even though he is represented as the king essentially of Candradvīpa.¹ The claims of Trailokyacandra have now to be read along with his son Śricandra’s rule over Vaṅga, Samataṭa and Śrīhaṭṭa (Sylhet) with his capital at Vikramapura in Vaṅga. In the second place, the reference to Devaparvata in the Paschimbhag plate supports the evidence of the Kailan and Tippera plates and suggests that the city lying on the bank of the Kṣīrodā river was the capital of the Samataṭa country. The reference to hundreds of boatmen in the verse under study reminds us of the description of the Kṣīrodā river in the Kailan plate as naubhir = aparimitābhīr = aparacita-kūlā. Thirdly, shortly before the Candra invasion of Samataṭa, the city of Devaparvata seems to have been devastated by the Kambojas. The name Kamboja

is probably the Sanskritised form of the name of the Koch people of North Bengal,¹ a few kings of the same clan being known from their inscriptions to have been ruling in the northern and south-western regions of Bengal in the tenth century A. D.² Lastly, the Lālambī-vana, which is no doubt the present Lāmāi in the name Mainamati-Lalmai ridge, seems to have been famous for its medicinal herbs. Its mention in the present context throws welcome light on the controversy regarding the identification of Rohitāgiri mentioned in Candra records as the original home of the Candras. Most scholars identified Rohitāgiri with modern Rohtasgarh in the Shahabad District of Bihar; but N. K. Bhattasali suggested that Rohitāgiri might be the Sanskritised form of Lāmā, i.e. Lāl-māśī or ‘red earth’. Of course, the modification of Lāl-māśī to Lāl-māi seems to be philologically improbable. In any case, the verse under study mentioning Lāmā as Lālambī shows that Bhattasali’s suggestion is wrong and that it offers no challenge to the identification of Rohitāgiri with Rohtasgarh.³

Verse 8 of the Pashchimbhat plate is also interesting to the student of history. It is not found in any other of Śrīcandra’s grants, and there are likewise errors in Gupta Chaudhury’s reading and translation of the verse. It says that the forces of the victorious Trailokyacandra enjoyed, out of curiosity, the famous curds of the Vāṅga country at the village of Kṛṣṇaśikharin and its hamlets, next drank the waters of the river Suruṅgā and the allied streams in the forests girdling Mt. Vindhya and finally reached Mālaya where their own tumult became mixed up with the dull sound of the flow of waters of the Kāverī in which stones were falling from the Malaya. This is the conventional account of Trailokyac-
candra's digvijaya in the secondary cakravarti-ksetra of South India described here as bounded by the Vaṅga country, the Vindhya and Malaya mountain ranges and the river Kāverī. It has little historical basis and merely indicates the fact that Trailokyacandra claimed to be an independent monarch. The river Kāverī rises in the Western Ghats and runs through Coorg and the other Districts of Southern Mysore as well as the Coimbatore, Salem, Tiruchirapalli and Tanjavur Districts of Tamil Nadu to fall into the Bay of Bengal. According to the Purāṇas, it springs from the Sahya and not from Malaya; but the Rāmāyaṇa mentions it along with the Malaya and this suggests the inclusion of the southern part of the Western Ghats upto the source of the Kāverī in Coorg within the Malaya range, even though the Malaya is often identified with the Travancore hills. The village of Kṛṣṇaśikharin in the Vaṅga country and the Suruṅgā-nadi flowing through the Vindhyan region do not appear to be known from any other source. It seems that the curds of Vaṅga, in which the division (bhāga) of Vikramapura (Dacca District) was situated according to early medieval records, had a name in Candrādīpa (Buckergunge District) which was Trailokyacandra's original dominions. Gupta Chaudhury reads caṅga for Vaṅga in the passage bhuktvā Vaṅga-dadhīni Kṛṣṇaśikhari-grāmeṣu and translates it as 'drinking nice coagulated milk out of curiosity in villages ensconced amidst black hills'.

Verse 9 introduces Trailokyā's beloved queen named Kāṅcikā. The stanza, with some variations, occurs in several other records of Śrīcandra, though the queen's name in all those cases is Kāṅcana, and not Kāṅcikā. The queen was probably known by both the names, Kāṅcana being apparently more popular than

2. Ibid., pp. 52-53.
5. Trailokyacandra's success against Vaṅga was formerly conjectured on the basis of the following passage read by A. H. Dani in some of the newly discovered Candra records:

\[ tasy = \text{ibhyumnati-śālinaḥ pracaśino Vaṅgasya muktā-mañiḥ.} \]

Unfortunately, as we shall see below, the word vaṅkasya (vaṁśaya) has been wrongly read here as Vaṅgasya,
Kāścikā. Verse 10, found also in several other records, introduces Śrīcandra as the son of Trailokyacandra compared to Indra, from the said queen and states that the prince was born on the auspicious configuration of planets called rāja-yoga. Verse 11 is likewise found in some other grants of Śrīcandra and says that the said king brought the earth under his sole umbrella and put all his enemies in prison-houses.

The following three stanzas are not found in any of the other charters of Śrīcandra and their text and translation published by Gupta Chaudhury are erroneous. Verse 12 says that Śrīcandra’s forces, in the course of their conquest of the Kāmarūpa country (i.e. Assam), entered the woodlands near the Lohitya (i.e. the Brahmaputra) which were covered by the clouds that were the flying she-pigeons, had banana groves that were tawny owing to the ripening of the leaves or fruits and in which monkeys were roaming, had many plains on which drowsy yaks were ruminating leisurely, and were dark owing to the black aloe trees. The importance of the verse lies in the fact that it refers to an invasion of Kāmarūpa by Śrīcandra, which is not mentioned in any of his published records, although the Paschimbhag plate is one of his earliest grants. As we shall see below, the copper-plate grants of his successors refer to such achievements; cf. verse 5 of both the Mainamati plates of Laqahacandra discussed in the following lecture.

1. The words kāṃchā and kānchi are used by the Nepalese in the senses respectively of the youngest brother and sister or boy and girl. If the queen’s name can be taken to have derived from Nepalese kānchi, she may have been a Nepalese princess. Nepalese kāṃchā is the same as Bengali kāncā and Hindi kacā (fem. kacci) used in the sense of raw, unripe, immature (opp. pākā, pakhā, ripe, mature); cf. Bengali kāci; also kāncā-rāṇḍi (i.e. a young widow). See Turner’s Comp. Dict., s.v. kacca.

2. Cf.
Yat-sainyaiḥ kila Kāmarūpa-viṣaye rohat-kapot-ghanā
nirvuiṣṭāḥ bhalapāka-pitāga-kadall-kūṭāja-bhramad-vānaraḥ /
romanth-dālā-baddha-nidra-camari-saheseva-prāntarāḥ
Lohityasya vanasthail-parisarāḥ kāl-āguru-śyāmalāḥ //
The word bhalapāka is apparently a mistake for dalapāka or phalapāka; but the visarga at the end of the previous word probably supports phalapāka. Gupta Chaudhury speaks of ‘monkeys roaming in bhalapas (i.e. marking-nut trees), Kapiūga and plantain groves’.
Verse 13 states that Śrīcandra’s soldiers, in their eagerness to conquer Uttarāpatha, recited the following for a long time:

“This is that Citraśilā river covered with beautiful storax plants and this is the river Puspabhadrā marked by valleys full of the rustling sound of the palmyra leaves,” as if they were learned Brāhmaṇas reciting hymns at the proper time at the sight of the local deities on the Himagiri (Himalayas). Of the two rivers, the Citraśilā is mentioned in the Mahābhārata and the Puspabhadrā in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa,¹ the latter now being a small stream to the north of the Brahmaputra near Gauhati.² It is well known that Uttarāpatha was the name of the northern division of India, which included the Himalayan region. The author of the inscription apparently locates the Kāmarūpa country (also called Prāgjetīṣa) in Uttarāpatha. This is supported by the Mahābhārata and Kālidāsa’s Raghuvamśa, while the Purāṇas and later works like Rājaśekhara’s Kāvyāmimāṃsā locate Kāmarūpa or Prāgjetīṣa in the eastern division.³ Like verse 12, this stanza also refers to Śrīcandra’s invasion of Assam.

Verse 14 states how king Śrīcandra propitiated the god of war by his own deeds of valour and brushed off the patrāṅguli (lines of painting drawn with a finger dipped in coloured sandal paste, etc.) decoration on the breasts of the Yavana women, made the cheeks and abdomen of the Hūṇa women covered with the wounds of scarification carried out in grief⁴ and put an end to the fickleness in the glances of the Utkala women intoxicated by toddy. Here we have an indirect reference to Śrīcandra’s victory over the Yavanas (some foreign people, probably meaning here the Muhammadans), Hūṇas (settled in the western and north-western regions of India) and Utkalas (people of

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¹ See Monier-Williams’ Sanskrit-English Dictionary, s.v. citra (Mahābhārata, VI, 9.30) and puspa. Gupta Chaudhury fails to notice the reference to the Citraśilā river in the stanza. He interprets Uttarāpatha as ‘the northern region’.

² Cf. P. N. Bhattacharya, Kāmarūpaśākṣatā, p. 168.

³ See Sircar, Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature, pp. 65, 69, 103. Among later authors, Kalhaṇa of Kashmir (in Uttarāpatha) places Prāgjetīṣa in Uttarāpatha. Cf. Rājatarangini, IV, 163-76.

⁴ In the passage soka-prachana-varjana, Gupta Chaudhury reads prachanna which does not suit the metre. He also misses what the author of the epigraphic text says about the Hūṇa custom.
Orissa), though the language appears to indicate the poet’s skill in versification rather than his love for historical truth. The womenfolk of the Yavana and Utkala countries are described as fond respectively of painting their breasts and of drinking toddy. It may be mentioned here that painting the breasts was quite popular with Indian women, though we are not sure whether the custom was also prevalent among foreigners. More interesting is the custom of the Hūṇa widows scarifying their cheeks and the lower front of their body especially because Kālidāsa’s *Raghuvaṃśa* (IV. 68) speaks of the same custom as *kapola-pañjana* (scarification of the cheeks) which was popular with the Hūṇa widows. The purpose of the Hūṇa custom was apparently to render the widows ugly so that nobody may be eager to woo them.

Verse 15, with which the introductory part of the inscription ends, is found in a few of Śrīcandra’s other grants. It says that the multitude of dust arising as a result of the Candra king’s battles reached heaven, and there it was received by the Elephants of the Quarters who have a longing for it, but was avoided by the gods who remained at a distance because they are unable to shut their eyes, and also lent a false whiteness to the black hair of the heavenly damsels.

The above introductory section is followed by the text of the grant proper in prose which is a remarkable document of great importance for the reconstruction of the cultural history of Eastern India as we shall see.

The charter was issued from the *jaya-skandhāvāra* at Vikramapura which lay in Vaṅga and to which the capital must have been transferred from Candradvīpa before the 5th regnal year of Śrīcandra either by himself or by his father. The donor of the grant is then introduced as *Paramasaugata Parameśvara*

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1. Cf. *Raghuvaṃśa*, XIII. 55. It was also called *patra, patravallī, patrabhāṅga, patralekḍhā, patravallīrī*, etc.
2. If it can be believed that the Yavanas are the same as the Mlecchas of Prāgyotisa, they may be regarded as an indigenous people of India.
Paramabhaṭṭaraka Mahārājadhīrāja Śrīcandra-deva who meditated on (or was favoured by) the feet of Paramasau-gata Paramēkvarva Paramabhaṭṭaraka Mahārājadhīrāja Trailokya-candra-deva. It may be noticed that, in the later grants of Śrīcandra, his father is mentioned only with the title Mahārājadhīrāja, though he is endowed with the full imperial style in the present epigraph. The donor’s address in respect of the grant is then issued to the people associated with (samupāgata) the three viṣayas or districts of Garalā, Pogūra and Candrapura together with the half (or parts) of Veṇikā attached to Satala-Vargaja, all within the maṇḍala (division) of Śrīhaṭṭa (Sylhet) belonging to the bhukti or province of Puṇḍravardhana. It is well known that the territory of Puṇḍravardhana originally comprised the districts of North Bengal and had its headquarters at modern Mahasthan in the Bogra District of East Pakistan, though its jurisdiction later extended, probably due to the expansion of the Pāla empire, over Vaṅga comprising the bhāga of Vikramapura in the Dacca region and also over the Khāṭī-viṣaya in the present 24-Parganas District. The Mehar plate has shown that Samata formed a part of the same Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti, and we now learn from the Paschimbhag plate that the said bhukti also included the Śrīhaṭṭa-maṇḍala,

As in the other records of Śrīcandra, the people addressed by the king are enumerated as follows: (1) Rājīśi (queen), (2) Rāṇaka (subordinate ruler), (3) Rājaputra (prince), (4) Mahāśāṃdhi-vigrāhika (minister for war and peace), (5) Mahāsainyapati (commander of forces), (6) Mahāmudrādhikṛta (keeper of the seals), (7) Mahākṣapaṭalika (record-keeper), (8) Pādamūlika (private secretary), (9) Mahāpratīhāra (minister on attendance), (10) Mahātantrādhikṛta (officer in charge of administration), (11) Mahāsarvādhikṛta (Chief Minister), (12) Mahābalādhikaraṇika (officer of the military department), (13) Mahāvyūhapati (officer of the military department), (14) Maṇḍalapati (governor of a division), (15) Koṭṭapāla (keeper of a fort), (16) Daṇḍhāśasādhanīka (officer in charge of emergency), (17)

3. For the official designations, see Sircar, Indian Epigraphical Glossary, s. v.; also Indian Epigraphy, pp. 351 ff.
Caurodharaṣṭika (officer in charge of the recovery of stolen goods), (18) Naubala-hasty-aśva-go-mahīś-āj-āvik-ādi-vyāptaka (officer in charge of navy, elephants, horses, cattle, buffalo, goat, sheep, etc.), (19) Gaulika (officer in charge of an outpost), (20) Śaulkika (toll collector), (21) Dāṅgika (police officer), (22) Dāṅgaraśika (policeman), (23) Dāṅganīyaka (judicial or military officer), (24) Viśayapati (governor of a district), and others mentioned in the adhyakṣa-prācāra (notification regarding the heads of departments), but not indicated in the grant such as officials of the categories of Cāṭa (head-constable) and Bhaṭa (constable), the rural folk and agriculturists headed by the Brāhmaṇas. These were duly honoured, exhorted and ordered in respect of the grant made.

It is then stated that the said three viṣayas were bounded in the east by the embankment at Bhaktoṭṭa, in the south by the Maṇi-nadī, in the west by the canals called Juju and Kāśīharpurī and the river called Vetraghāṅghī, and in the north by the Kosiyāra-nadī. Of these, the Kosiyāra is the well-known Kusiyara river running through the Sylhet District, and the big area, comprising more than three viṣayas or districts and forming the gift land, was situated to the south of the said river. According to Gupta Chaudhury,1 this river is mentioned as Kauśikā in the Nidhanpur plates and the Candrapuri-viṣaya known from that record is the same as the Candrapura-viṣaya of the present epigraph. It should be noted, however, that the Nidhanpur plates mention the agrahara-bhṛtra of Mayūraśālmala in the Candrapuri-viṣaya as bounded by the dried up Kauśikā in the east, south-east and north-west. Of the other names, Gupta Chaudhury identifies the Maṇi-nadī with the present Manu river, the Juju (read by him as Juju) canal with the modern Jujnachhara and the Vetraghāṅghī with the present Ghunghi river, all in the Sylhet District. The Manu river rises in the Tippera hills and runs through the Maulavi Bazar Sub-Division. The Jujnachhara is a small stream rising from the hills on the western border of Maulavi Bazar and flowing through the Habiganj Sub-Division. Gupta Chaudhury says that, in the same region, there are two rivers called Batari and Ghunghi,2 and the name of the former may be reflected in the first part of the old name Vetraghāṅghī.

2. See his paper in the Yogavādī (Sylhet), dated 14. 8. 1964.
Next it is stated that the area within the said boundaries was transformed into a brahmapūra (Brāhmaṇa settlement) which was given the name Śrīcandrāpurā no doubt after the king’s name. In the said Śrīcandrāpurā, the following grants were then announced.

The first block of land measuring 120 pāṭakas was granted to the god Brahman for his maṭha or temple, the existence of which in Sylhet during the 10th century is of considerable importance, because independent worship of the said god was not popular in ancient and medieval India. Moreover, the details of the grant of 120 pāṭakas of land, given in the charter, show that the maṭha was a big religious establishment, the like of which is hardly noticed in North Indian records. Out of the said land, distribution was made as follows: I.—10 pāṭakas (each measuring 10 dronas) were allotted to a teacher for exposition of the Čūndra (i.e. the Čūndra-vyākaraṇa or the grammar of Candragomin); II.—10 pāṭakas for the pāl (maintenance) and ghuṭikā (’chalk’, expenses) for 10 students; III.—5 pāṭakas for the daily offering of food to 5 guest (apūrva, i.e. atithi) Brāhmaṇas; IV.—1 pāṭaka to the Brāhmaṇa who built the temple; V.—1 pāṭaka to the accountant or astrologer (gaṇaka); VI.—2½ pāṭakas to the scribe (kāyastha); VII.—½ pāṭaka to each one of the 4 florists, 2 oilmen (taṅkitkas), 2 potters (kumbhakāra), 5 players on the drum called kahala (kāhalika), 2 conchshell-blowers (kānkhāvādaka), 2 players on the big drum called āhakkā, 8 players on the drāgāda (kettle-drum), 22 servants (karmakara) and coblers (carma-kāra) (i.e. in all 23½ pāṭakas); VIII.—2 pāṭakas to the dancer (naṭa); IX.—2 pāṭakas to each of the 2 carpenters (sūbradhāra), 2 masons (sthapati), and 2 blacksmiths (karmakāra)—(i.e. in all 12 pāṭakas); X.—3½ pāṭaka to each of the 8 maid-servants (cetiṅkā, probably devadāsi)—(i.e. 6 pāṭakas in all); and XI.—47 pāṭakas for repairs (navakarman) to be carried in the temple establishment. This accounts for 120 pāṭakas.

It is interesting to note that a Brāhmaṇa; whose name is not mentioned, was the founder of the maṭha and apparently arranged for the creation of the free holding in favour of the temple by depositing the usual fee to the king’s treasury. The allotment of a plot of land to him reminds us of a similar provision made in the

Kailan plate. The mention of a pāṭaka as made of 10 droṇas is interesting since the Gunaiighar (Tippera District) plate of 507 A.D. mentions a pāṭaka as equal to 40 droṇavāpas (droṇas). The pāṭaka of the present inscription was therefore ½ of the pāṭaka of the Gunaiighar plate, if of course the droṇavāpa indicated the same area in both the cases. The droṇavāpa seems to have been originally equal to about 5 bighās or roughly 1½ acres of land. If such was the case, the pāṭaka of the present epigraph was not less than 15 acres and 120 pāṭakas at least about 1800 acres. Another interesting fact in this section is the reference to the popularity of the Candra-vyākarana. This reminds us of the tradition according to which its author, the celebrated Buddhist savant Candragomin (5th-6th century A.D.), lived in Candradvīpa, the original territory of the Candra dynasty, for many years.

The second block of land measuring 280 pāṭakas was granted in favour of the god Vaiśvānarā (Agni), Yogēvara (aspect of Śiva), Jaimani (often called Jaimini in other works) and Mahākāla (aspect of Śiva), worshipped in the four devāntarīya (foreign) maṭhas and the four Vaiṅgala maṭhas. The installation of the same group of four deities in two adjacent establishments is curious and may be due to rivalry between the Vaiṅgalas and outsiders. The reference to the temple of the fire-god Agni-Vaiśvānarā is interesting, since there is little evidence of the independent worship of this deity. The mention of Jaimani’s temple is, however, still more interesting, because it was hardly known that the celebrated founder of the Pūrva-mimāṁsā school of philosophy was deified and worshipped. Of course, the deification is not unnatural since we hear of the existence of a temple at Gaṅgāsāgara at the mouth of the Bhāgirathī, in which Kapila, the founder of the Sāṅkhya system of philosophy,
was under worship. But Kapila's worship at the junction of the Ganges and the sea may be explained by the fact that, according to tradition, he was indirectly responsible for the excavation of the sea. Whether there was any local tradition associating Jaimani with Sylhet cannot, however, be determined. Another interesting point in this section is the reference to four Vanga-mathas which were distinguished from another category of mathas called dekantarya or foreign. We know that Candradvīpa, over which Śrīcandra's father became king, was also known as Vanga-deśa and that the name Vanga extended over wide areas of Eastern Bengal with the expansion of the Candra dominions. It is thus possible that the Vanga-mathas of Sylhet were built by the local people or by certain persons of Śrīcandra's home territory of Vanga or Candradvīpa. It is interesting to remember in this connection that Śrīcandra issued his Madanpur charter in favour of a Brāhmaṇa who was an inhabitant of the king's own country (eka-deśa-bhava).

The details of the distribution of the 280 pūṭakas of land speak of the following persons attached to the two groups of four mathas each, as referred to above. I.—10 pūṭakas to each of the 8 teachers of the 4 Vedas, viz. Ṛk, Yajus, Śāman and Aḥarvan (i.e. 80 pūṭakas in all); II.—5 pūṭakas for each group of 5 students in each of the 8 mathas (i.e. 40 pūṭakas); III.—½ pūṭaka to each of the following in each one of the eight mathas—the florist, the barber, the oilman and the washerman and the 8 servants and cobblers (i.e. 16 + 32 = 48 pūṭakas); IV.—½ pūṭaka to each of the 2 maid-servants in each of the 8 mathas (12 pūṭakas in all); V.—10 pūṭakas for repairs to each one of the eight mathas (i.e. 80 pūṭakas in all); VI.—2 pūṭakas to the Mahattara-Brāhmaṇa in each of the 2 groups of mathas (i.e. 4 pūṭakas in all); VII.—1½ pūṭakas to the superintendent of each of the 2 groups of mathas (i.e. 3 pūṭakas in all); VIII.—2½ pūṭakas to the scribe of each of the 2 groups of mathas (i.e. 5 pūṭakas); IX.—1 pūṭaka to the astrologer or accountant of each of the 2 groups of mathas (i.e. 2 pūṭakas); and

1. Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, pp. 181-82.
3. Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind., p. 132. Vanga seems to have been the original territory also of the Pālas.
X.—3 pūtakas to the physician attached to each of the 2 groups of maṭhas (i.e. 6 pūtakas). This accounts for 280 pūtakas.

The two groups of 4 maṭhas each were big religious and educational establishments, each group receiving 140 pūtakas of land whereas the similar maṭha of the god Brahman alone received 120 pūtakas. The existence of such institutions is sometimes referred to in South Indian epigraphs, and we have there even now similar establishments like that of the god Veṅkaṭeśvara at Tirupati in the Chittur District, Andhra Pradesh. Although there must have been similar institutions in Northern India, they are rarely mentioned in literary and epigraphic records.

The third block of land, left over after the distribution of the first and second blocks (measuring 120+280=400 pūtakas), was granted in favour of 6000 Brāhmaṇas headed by the following 38 names—(1) Vāvasadatta, (2) Haraṇa, (3) Šekhara, (4) Viśvarūpa, (5) Bhānudatta, (6) Ḫiśā, (7) Dhanyanāga, (8) Nanda, (9) Yaśas, (10) Caṅga, (11) Govardhana, (12) Siṭabhadatta, (13) Kamalanandin, (14) Savitāra, (15) Māṇikya, (16) Kāmuka, (17) Bhīmapāla, (18) Ananta, (19) Vatsadhara, (20) Nandaghoṣa, (21) Ṣrīdhara, (22) Rāma, (23) Śivabandhu, (24) Maṅgala, (25) Veda, (26) Divavala, (27) Vindhadatta, (28) Śāntidāman, (29) Gargaśarman, (30) Mahīndrasoma, (31) Ravikara, (32) Bhānu, (33) Nārāyaṇa, (34) Gargagupta, (35) Śāsidatta, (36) Hari, (37) Jayadatta and (38) Garga. The Brāhmaṇa donees belonged to various gotrās and pravaras and were the students of different sākhas of the four caranaṣ. The 6000 Brāhmaṇas received 6000 equal shares. An interesting feature of the list of 38 Brāhmaṇas quoted above is that the family names of many of them were stereotyped name-endings and were such as are prevalent now among the non-Brāhmaṇa communities of Bengal, e.g., Datta, Nāga, Nandin, Pāla, Dhara, Ghoṣa, Dāman, Soma, Kara and Gupta, the only typical Brāhmaṇa surname being Śarman. It has been suggested that most of the families having the present non-Brāhmaṇa cognomens were later merged in the non-Brāhmaṇa communities like the Vaidya and Kāyastha.¹ Vāvasadatta may be a mistake for Vāsavadatta.

It is stated that the grant of the three viṣayaṣ together with Veṅkī and with the boundaries demarcated as above was made by the king by means of the copper-plate charter in accordance with the

bhūmi-ochidra-nyāya (principle of free enjoyment of land by one who brings it under cultivation for the first time) with libations of water as a permanent gift, lasting as long as the moon, sun and earth would endure. It was made in favour of the gods Brahman, Agni (Vaiśvānara), Yogeḍvara, Jaimani and Mahākāla as well as of 6000 Brāhmaṇas with the following privileges and conditions—(1) sa-tala (with surface of the land), (2) s-oddea (with space above the land), (3) s-ūmra-panasa (with mango and jack trees), (4) sa-guva-kā-nālikara (with arecanut and coconut palms), (5) sa-jala-sthala (with land and water), (6) sa-gart-vāra (with pits and saline spots), (7) sa-dāś-oparādhā (with fines realisable from culprits committing the ten major crimes), (8) sa-cor-oddharaṇa (with stolen articles recovered from thieves), (9) parikṛta-sarva-pīḍa (free from troubles including free labour), (10) a-cāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśa (free from the entry of head-constables and constables), (11) a-kīṃcit-pragrāhyā (free from the collection of taxes), (12) samasta-rājabhoga-kara-hiraṇya-pratyāya-saḥita (together with all the income enjoyed by the king in the shape of taxes in kind and in cash), (13) ratna-traya-bhūmi-varjita (excluding land in the possession of Buddhist establishments), and (14) Indrēśvara-naubandha-pratibaddha-daśadraupikā-dvāparaśīkat-pūjaka-bahīḥ (excluding the land measuring 52 pūjaka of 10 dronas each, which was attached to Indrēśvara's boat-station). It is further said that the grant was made for the increase of the merit and fame of the donor and his parents in the name of the Lord Buddha and that the declaration in this respect was made by the king through the Dūtaka (executor of the grant) who was the Mahāmudrādhikṛta Subhāṅga.

The cultivators and Brāhmaṇas of the countryside are then advised to be submissive to the donees and to pay them the proper dues. The bhogapatis (persons entitled to enjoy land, such as the governors, jāgīrdārs, etc.) of the future are also requested to approve of the grant and protect it considering the greatness of the merit accruing to gifts of land and the fear of going to hell as a result of their abrogation. The date is then quoted as year 5, Vaiśākha-dina 5.

There are five of the usual imprecatory stanzas which are followed by verse 21 saying that the Candrapura (correctly, Śrīcandrapura) śūsana of king Śrīcandradeva was created through

1. For the official designations and other technical expressions, see Sircear, Indian Epigraphical Glossary, s.v.; also Indian Epigraphy, pp. 351ff., 388ff.
the Dūtaka Šubhāga whose family bailed from a locality called Sālavarendrī. It is difficult to say whether this name has anything to do with Varendra or Varendrī, the medieval name of North Bengal. Verse 22 is important because it says that it was the Vaiṣṇava Brāhmaṇa named Vināyaka who was responsible for settling the 6000 Brāhmaṇas in the Śrīcandra-pura-śāsana. This means that Vināyaka paid the requisite fees to the State for making the land, allotted to the Brāhmaṇas, a rent-free holding. The last stanza, states that the artisan Haradāsa was the engraver of the charter and that even the god of creation (Brahman)\(^1\) has made such beautiful things on rare occasions. The record ends with the letters sāndhi-ni anu which remind us of similar abbreviated endorsements at the end of other East Indian records, e.g. ni (i.e. śrī-ni) anu mahākṣa-ni (i.e. nirūkṣita or examined and approved by the king and thereafter by the Mahākṣapaṭalika) in the Belabo plate.\(^2\) Sāndhi-ni means Sāndhivigrahi-nirūkṣita, 'examined and approved by the minister of war and peace'; but anu suggests that some other officer also examined the document at a later date, even though no other letters are visible after anu. The endorsement at the end of the present charter thus appears to be incomplete.

The great importance of the inscription lies in the fact that, besides adding to our knowledge of the history of the Candra dynasty of Bengal, it offers very valuable information regarding a great religious foundation of the Sylhet region, the like of which, as we have already said, is so far known only from a few South Indian inscriptions and which can be compared with such religious institutions as the Śrī-Venkaṭesvara Devasthānam at Tirupati in the Chittur District of Andhra Pradesh. For the sake of comparison, we may refer to the Malkapuram stone pillar inscription\(^3\) (Śaka 1183-1261-62 A. D.) which records the foundation of a matha or monastery called Śrī-Viśvesvara-golakī by the great Bengali Śaiva-cārya Viśvesvaraśambhu who was the dikṣa-guru or spiritual guide of the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati (1199-1261 A. D.) of the Andhra country and of several other monarchs. Viśvesvara-

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1. Gupta Chaudhury reads vārttā in place of Dāivā, and translates the latter part of the verse as "Similar acts, the accounts of which are made (recorded), are scarcely found."
2. See Sircar, Indian Epigraphy, p. 328. Ni may also be ni-baddha or registered.
śambhu, also called Viśveśvaraśiva and Viśveśvara-deśika, who was famous for his mastery of the Śaiva Siddhānta, Āgama and Rahasya and of all the sciences, was a native of Pürvagrāma in the Rāgha or Dakṣiṇa-Rāgha division of Gauḍa. He received from his disciple, king Gaṇapati, the village of Mandara situated in Kandravāṭī in the viśaya or district of Velivāga, lying to the south of the great river Kṛṣṇapeneṣṭī, i.e. the Kṛṣṇā. Gaṇapati’s successor, his daughter Rudrāmbā (1261–96 A.D.), also granted in Viśveśvara’s favour the village of Veṇāṅgāpuḍi together with a few laṅkās or islets formed in the bed of the Kṛṣṇā, in addition to the village of Mandara and apparently adjacent to it. Viśveśvara established his monastery together with a perpetual rest-house evidently within the area of the said two villages.

The Malkapuram inscription gives an interesting account of the donations made by Viśveśvara who was the Ācārya of the vidyā-mahāpaṇa (college) attached to the Śrī-Viśveśvara-golakī-mahā and enjoyed one hundred gold coins (niśka) as Ācārya-bhoga probably per year. There were sixty Draviḍa Brāhmaṇas who were probably merchants. Each of these sixty Brāhmaṇas received, from Viśveśvara, residence and titles and also two puṭṭikās of land measured by the rod of Penumbāka, thus making 120 puṭṭikās in all. The villages of Mandara and Veṇāṅgāpuḍi were divided into three shares. The first of them was dedicated to the god Piṅāka (Śiva), while the second and third were allotted respectively to the students of the college and the monastery of the Śuddhāśāivas and to the prasūti-śālā (maternity or lying-in hospital), ārogya-śālā (general hospital) and vipra-sattra wherein there was arrangement for feeding, at all times and without any obstruction, all people from Brāhmaṇa to Caṇḍāla who came and asked for food.

We are told that, in the college, there were three teachers of the Rk, Yajus and Sāma Vedas. There were also five teachers of pada (words), vākya (sentence), pramāṇa (mode of proof), sāhitya (literature) and āgama (scripture). A Vaidya (physician) and a Kāyastha (accountant and scribe) also appear to have belonged to the college. Each of these ten persons received from Viśveśvara two puṭṭikās of land. Ten nautch girls pertaining to Viśveśvara-deva (probably the Śiva-liṅga worshipped at Viśveśvara-golakī and named after the Pontiff Viśveśvaraśambhu) and eight maddala-players, including two bridleers, received one and half puṭṭikās each.
Seventy-three other persons were given each one putṭikā and also one-sixteenth nivartana of land in addition to the above. They were the following—(1) an inhabitant of Kaśmira; (2-15) fourteen songstressses, (16-21) six karaṇa-players; (22-23) two Brāhmaṇa cooks; (24-27) four servants; (28-33) six Brāhmaṇas belonging to the maṭha and sattrā; (34-43), ten matted-haired ascetics from the Coṇa country, who were guards of the villages and were known as Virabhadra because their duties included bīda-cocheda, kuksi-cocheda and śiraśoheda; (44-63) twenty Bhātas and Vīramūtis; (64-73) ten Kūrūs (mechanics), Nāpitas (barbers) and Śilpīns (artisans) and Sīhapatis (engineers) who worked in gold, copper, stone, bamboo and iron.

Viśvesvara is said to have given three hundred putṭikās of land to a number of Sāmadevin Brāhmaṇas of the Śivatsa-gotra, who were natives of his own original home-village, i.e. Purvagrāma in Dakṣiṇa-Rāțha within Gauḍa. These Bengali Brāhmaṇas, settled in Andhra Pradesh, appear to have kept written accounts of the income and expenditure of the foundation and possibly received one hundred and fifty putṭikās as their vṛtti for doing the work. We are also told that, in case they would die without issue, their wives, if they would take up the work, would enjoy the lands.

Viśvesvara also founded a number of towns, monasteries and agrahāra villages (rent-free holdings of Brāhmaṇas) and also installed several of Śiva-liṅgas. Some of these establishments and gods were named after himself. One of the Śiva-liṅgas was installed at Mandrakūṭa (Mantrakūṭa in the Karimnagar District, Andhra Pradesh) and another at Kommīr where he donated sixty kharis of high and low land in favour of the god. King Gaṇapati made a gift of the village of Kandrakōṭa in the Pallināḍa viṣaya (district) in favour of his guru as acārya-dakṣiṇā for the maintenance of a rest-house at the locality.

An earlier inscription⁴ (c. 1025 A.D.) of the time of Rājendra-ulu a I of Tamilnadu refers to similar provisions made in the temple of Rājarājavinnagār at Rājarājacakaturvedimūnagālam, by the village assembly, for the maintenance of a hostel and a college as well as some other institutions. The hostel accommodated (1) 75 students of the Rgveda, (2) 75 of the Yajurveda, (3) 20 of the Chāndoga-sūman,

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(4) 20 of the Talavakāra-sāman, (5) 20 of the Vājasaneyya, (6) 10 of the Atharvan, (7) 10 of the Baudhāyanīya-gṛhya-kalpa, etc., and (8) 40 of the Rūpāvatāra, apparently Kṛṣṇa-dīksita’s grammatical work of that name quoted by Maitreyarākṣita about 1100 A.D.¹ Each of these students received 6 nāḷis of paddy per day. There were also (1) 25 students of Vyākaraṇa, (2) 35 of Prabhākara (Pūrva-mīmāṃsā) and (3) 10 of Vedānta, each of whom received one kuruṇi and two nāḷis of paddy per day. There were 3 teachers each for the Rgveda and Yajurveda and one each for the other Vedic texts enumerated above. The temple was provided with 45 velis of land for the maintenance of the teachers. The 2 teachers of Vyākaraṇa and Prabhākara received one kalam of paddy each per day and the teacher of Vedānta one kalam and one tuṇi of paddy.²

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2. Nāli (also called paṇḍi) is a measure of capacity regarded as $\frac{1}{2}$ of a kuruṇi (also called marakkāl) and was sometimes regarded as about three pounds and six ounces, while kalam is a bigger measure equal to twelve kuruṇis, one kuruṇi or marakkāl being grains measured in a vessel having about 750 cubic inches capacity (Wilson’s Glossary, s. v.). Tuṇi (Sanskrit droṇi) is equal to 4 marakkāls or kuruṇis (Tamil Lexicon, s. v.). Roughly speaking therefore a nāli was about $\frac{3}{2}$ pounds a kuruṇi about 28 pounds, a tuṇi about 112 pounds, and a kalam about 336 pounds. A veli was equal to $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land.
LECTURE III

The Mainamati Plates of Ladahacandra, Govindacandra and Viradhara Deva

I

Introduction

As we have seen in our first lecture, six copper-plate grants were discovered in the course of excavations carried on the Mainamati hills near Comilla in the Tippera District of East Pakistan, by the Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan, in 1954 and the following years. It has also been noticed that, out of the six inscriptions one belonging to a king of the Deva dynasty of Samaratja and another probably also issued by the same dynasty were found in the Buddhist monastery unearthed near Salbanpur. We have mentioned how king Bhavadeva of Samaratja, who had his capital at Devaparvata on the Chandimura peak at the southern end of the Mainamati hills, was previously known from a copper-plate grant published by us in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, Letters, Vol. XVII, 1951, pp. 83ff. Mention has also been made of the hillock now called Char Patra Mura or 'the Peak of Four Plates'. Of these four epigraphs, two are grants issued by king Laqahacandra (c. 1000-20 A.D.) of the Candra dynasty and one charter was issued by his son Govindacandra (c. 1020-55 A.D.). The fourth charter belongs to a later dynasty of the Devas. All these records were briefly noticed in the report on 'Excavations on Mainamati Hills near Comilla (1956)' prepared by F. A. Khan with the assistance of Dr. A. H. Dani, which appeared in Further Excavations in East Pakistan—Mainamati (1956), pp. 20ff. The notices are of course not quite free from errors. Thus, as we have already pointed out, the seal of king Bhavadeva's grant is stated to bear the legend—Sri Bhangala Mriganka, though the seal of the same king's previously published charter has it as Sri-Abhinavanamganka,\(^1\) and there is little doubt that the same title of the king is expected in the present case as well. It has been noticed above that the same legend is read on a

gold coin, discovered in the course of excavations, as Bangala Mriganka supposed to mean ‘the deer-stamp of Bangala’. The king is again known to have been the founder of a Buddhist monastery which is mentioned in a red-stone seal bearing the legend Śrī-Bhavadeva-mahā-vihār-ārya-bhikṣu-saṅghasya.

We had occasion to refer to the contents of the said copper-plate grants of the Candra kings of South-Eastern Bengal, on the basis of a paper read by Dr. Dani, now Professor of Archaeology at the University of Peshawar, at the Aligarh Session of the Indian History Congress held in December, 1960, and published in the Proceedings of the Session. We are very glad that all the three Candra charters, found in the course of excavations on the Mainamati hills, have been recently published by Prof. Dani in the Pakistan Archaeology, Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan, Karachi, No. 3, 1966, pp. 22-55. This publication was not easily available in Calcutta. We are extremely thankful to Mr. D. J. McCutchion of the Jadavpur University, who purchased a copy while paying a visit to Dacca and was kind enough to lend it to us for two weeks.

Two of the said three charters, as already indicated above, were issued by Lājahacandra and one by Govindacandra. There are some mistakes and inaccuracies in the text and translation of the three records as published by Prof. Dani, and attention may be drawn here to only two of such mistakes, one relating to the reading and the other concerning the interpretation of the text.

The error of decipherment relates to the reading of the geographical name Vaṅga in three stanzas occurring in both the grants of Lājahacandra and in one of the sanzas in Govinda-chandra’s grant. The four verses in which the name Vaṅga has been read by Prof. Dani are quoted below together with their translation as published by him.

I. Verse 1 of Lājahacandra’s grants—

\[ \text{jyotis} = \text{tusāra-siśiram} \quad \text{cyutam} = \text{Atri-netrāc} = \]

\[ \text{Candraḥ sa tat-kṣaṇam} = \text{abhūd} = \text{bhwan-aika-dipāḥ} \; / \]

\[ \text{Vaṅgas} = \text{tataḥ pravartye prthivipatīnām} \]

\[ \text{sār-ottarās = ca sārālas = ca samunnavatās = ca} \; // \]

“The light, cool as snow, emanating not from the three-eyed god (i.e. Mahādeva) is the Candra which became the unique lamp of the earth that very moment. From him, the lord of the world, Vaṅga, became fruitful, plain, i.e. peaceful and
 prosperous." There is a note on Mahādeva in the translation, which reads, "Here the reference is to the moon that emanates from the head of Mahādeva."

II. Verse 2 of the same.

Viśv-opakārasya paro vidhāta
dharmyāt = pathaś = c = ācūyata eva jātyā /
Mahēśvarāḥ = c = ūjananūd = ato = 'bhūd =
deva-traya-trītmi = eva sa Candra-Vaṅgaḥ //

"That Candra of Vaṅga was, as it were, three lords [combined] in himself: the Creator (Brahmā) being the great benefactor of the world, Acyuta (Viṣṇu) not having by nature deviated from the path of virtue, and Mahādeva, god unborn, being the lord from the very birth,"

III. Verse 3 of the same.

Tasya = abhyunnati-kālinaḥ pracayino Vaṅgasya muktā-maṇiḥ
khyātaḥ kṣṇā-valay-aika-nāyakatayā Trayolokyacandro nṝṇah /
akṣudraḥ pariśuddhimaṇi = apagata-trāsah suṣṭito guṇa-
grāhyah punyatamo babhūva jagataṁ prītyai ca bhūtyai ca yah //

"The king, owing to his sole leadership over the world, was known as Trayolokyacandra (literally, Candra, moon, of the three worlds). [He was] the crest-jewel of Vaṅga, which was full of prosperity and rising into prominence. He who was the most sacred of all, dispeller of hundred and one fears, of noble conduct, endowed with qualities and full of purities, became an object of love and welfare to the world."

IV. Verse 3 of Govindacandra's plate—

Tasya prajā-pritiṣṭar-odayasya
dīṣān = tamah-khaṇḍana-paṇḍitasya /
kramāḥ = pravṛddhah saralāḥ suparvā
samunnataḥ = ca prasastāra Vaṅgaḥ

"During his [reign], who adopted measures leading to prosperity that were pleasing to the subjects, and who was adept in dispelling the darkness of the directions, Vaṅga was gradually rising to prosperity, pre-eminence and peace."

The most obvious defect in the reading of all the four stanzas is that what is in reality vaṁśa (paṁśa) has been read as Vaṅga. In this connection, it has to be noticed that the representation of mś by nś and nś by nṣ is quite common in East Indian epigraphs of the early medieval period, including the
inscriptions of the Candrá dynasty of South-East Bengal. It was
no doubt based on regional pronunciation of the anusvāra. Students
of Orissan history know how the word vañka (vaṁśa) was read
as Vaṅga in a Somavarhāi charter and how a theory was
propounded on that basis regarding the relations of the Somavaṁśa with Bengal.¹

Among the mistakes of interpretation, the most unfortunate
seems to be that, in the first of the stanzas, Candra or the moon is
supposed to be described as emanated from Mahādeva’s head. There
is, however, nothing like this in the stanza itself which actually
represents Candra as the jyotih cyutam = Atri-netrāt, i.e., the light
that emanated from the eye of the sage Atri. It seems that
Atri-netrāt has been taken by Prof. Dani to be a-Trinetrāt, and that
is why we have ‘emanating not from the three-eyed god’ in his
translation, though this ‘not’ is forgotten in the foot-note quoted
above, so that the moon is stated by Prof. Dani, at the same time,
to have emanated from Trinetra and also not to have emanated from
the said god. Really, however, there is no story regarding Candra’s
emanation from Śiva’s head, the well-known legend being that of Śiva
wearing the half-moon on his head as an ornament.

The same conception occurring in verse 2 of Govindacandra’s
plate has likewise been totally misunderstood. The stanza and its
translation as published by Prof. Dani are quoted below.

Yad = abhutan = nirgatam = Atri-netrāj =
jyotih prakṛtyā šīkram śitaṁ = ca /
so = ’bhūt = kṣatāt sundara-kāntir = indur =
ānandano loka-viloconānām //

“The light that emanated not from the three-eyed god (i.e. Śiva)
and which by nature was cold and white, being more charming that
the moon, became in an instant the source of joy to the people.”
Here also Atri-netrāt has been wrongly understood as a-Trinetrāt

174-75; Bhandarkar’s List of Inscriptions, No. 1556. It may be noted in this
connection that the name of D. C. Sen’s well-known work, entitled
Bṛhat Vaṅga (published in two volumes by the University of Calcutta), is
based on a similar wrong reading of the expression bṛhad-vanād (i.e. bṛhad-
vanād) in verses 21 of the Gwallor inscription of Bhōja I. See An. Rep. ASI,
without noticing that ‘emanated not from the three-eyed god’ does not really lead us anywhere.¹

2. Two Grants of Ladahacandra, Regnal Year 6

The introductory part of both the inscriptions contains nineteen verses which are followed by the symbol for Siddham and the maṅgala —‘Om. Adoration to Lord Vāsudeva (Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa)’. Next comes verse 1 which introduces the Moon-god who sprang from Atri’s eye, there being a comparison between the dynasty and the bamboo, which is based on a pun on the word vaṁśa which means both. The same pun occurs in other inscriptions including the grant (verse 3) of Govindacandra discussed below.² Likewise in the next stanza, the Hindu Trinity is introduced in the description of the dynasty as devatray-ātman by using the words Vidhātṛ (Brahman), Acyuta (Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu) and Maheśvara (Śiva), each in two different senses. Verse 3 introduces king Trailokyacandra as the jewel of the said family (vaṁśasya mukta-manī). The next stanza continues the same king’s description. It is interesting to note that only three generations of the donor’s ancestors are mentioned, so that Trailokyacandra’s ancestors, known from the grants of his son Śrīcandra, are omitted. Similar is the case with the charter of Govindacandra which, as we shall see, omits Trailokyacandra and describes the donor’s ancestry from Śrīcandra.

Verse 5 introduces Śrīcandra as the son of king Trailokyacandra and queen Kaṁcanā (kaṁcana-Kaṁcaneva), while verse 6 states how his military exploits brought tears to the eyes of the queens of the king of Prāgyotīsa (Assam) and did away with the smiles on the lips of the queens of Gauḍa (i. e. the Gauḍa king). This indirectly refers to Śrīcandra’s claim to have defeated the kings of Bengal and Assam, no doubt of the Pāla and Mleccha (Śālastambha) dynasties respectively.³

¹. It is probably not necessary to discuss the minor errors in the interpretation of the stanzas. Cf., e. g., the passage wrongly read as Candra-Vaṁga (for Candra-vaṁśa) and inaccurately translated as ‘Candra of Vaṁga’ in verse 2 of Laḍahacandra’s grants: ‘more charming than the moon’ as understood from the word inđuḥ in the Nominative case in the stanza quoted from Govindacandra’s charter, and the like.
². See also Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIX, p. 182 (verses 34-35); Sircar Prob. K. R. Hist., pp. 77-78.
³. For the Mlecchas regarded as Mech, see above, p. 25, note 1.
The next king Kalyāņacandra, son and successor of Śrīcandra, is introduced in verse 7 as pure or purifying like the waters of the Ganges. Verse 8 describes Kalyāņacandra, as Śrīcandra is described in verse 6, as causing sorrow to the Mleccha and Gauḍa women, thus referring to the king’s success against the Mleccha king of Prāgjyotisha and the Pāla king of Gauḍa. The nature of the claim may suggest that Kalyāņacandra obtained these successes against the rulers of Bengal and Assam during the reign of his father as the leader of the latter’s forces.

The next stanza introduces Kalyāņacandra’s queen Kalyāņadevi who, according to the following verse, gave birth to Laṣahacandra just as Kunti produced Yudhiṣṭhira and Rudrāṇī the god Skanda-Kārttikeya. Verse 9 represents Kalyāņacandra as the god Viṣṇu and Kalyāņadevi both as Lakṣmī and as worshipping the same goddess.

Verse 11 states how, at the birth of Laṣahacandra, there were rejoicings both in heaven and on earth. Laṣahacandra is further described in verse 12 as a passed master of all the sciences, principal and ancillary, and as having the goddess Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī and the Earth under his control. Verse 13 speaks of Laṣahacandra’s conventional lordship over the entire earth bounded by the ocean, while verse 14 indirectly represents him, through a series of puns, as the gods Viṣṇu and Śiva. The king is also described as a master of all the vidyās or sciences (cf. verse 12 above) and, conventionally, as one who became the lord of the entire earth in a few days’ time.

According to verse 16, Laṣahacandra visited Vārāṇasī, the abode of Śiva and Pārvatī, took baths in the Ganges, and offered tarpāṇa to his ancestors and gifts of gold to numerous Brahmaṇas. Verse 17 again speaks of the king’s pilgrimage to Vārāṇasī, where the god Brahman performed ten Aśvamedha sacrifices and Śiva and Durgā resided happily. Verse 18 describes the king’s activities at the holy confluence at Prayāga, which were like those at Vārāṇasī described in verse 16. Verse 19, the last stanza of the introductory part, refers to gifts made by the king at the said tīrtha which is sanctified by the Ganges and the Jamuna and where the eternal banyan tree stands.

The grant portion in lines 34 ff., introduces the donor of the charter, Paramesvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahāraṣṭhādhivirāja the illustrious Laṣahacandradeva, as a devout worshipper of the Sugata (Buddha), as the successor of Mahāraṣṭhādhivirāja the illustrious Kalyāņacan-
dradeva and as issuing the record from his victorious camp at Vikramapura. Of the gift land, the first plot called Campāvāṇī and measuring $5\frac{3}{4}$ dronas was attached to Phullahaṣa in Paṭṭikarkeraka within the Samataṭa-manḍala of the Paunṭra-bhukti. The second plot called Bappasīthinhorakagrāma and measuring 8 pāṭakas, 4$\frac{3}{4}$ dronas, 5 yaṭīs, 3 kākas and 2 bindus was attached to Ḍollavāyaṅkā in the same area. The boundaries of this plot are quoted as follows—(1) in the east, the posts (kīlaka) planted in the western extremity of the land belonging to Sūpakāravakara and Buddhavanandigrāma, in the western half of a tank; (2) in the south, the northern demarcating border (ṭīl) of a plot of land belonging to Baḷeavara-
vardhakivakara, and also the southern bank (pāḍa; cf. Bengali pāḍ) of Govindoṇcama; (3) in the west, the eastern demarcating border of a plot of land belonging to Oṣaḥgodhānikā; the post planted on the demarcating border which is the southern boundary of a plot of land pertaining to the godhānī (godhānikā); and the demarcating borders which are the southern and eastern boundaries of a plot of land belonging to Ghaṭṭārava; and (4) in the north, the southern demarcating border of Jayalambhagṛāma. The third plot of land was attached to Guptināṭana and its boundaries were—(1) in the east, the Buḍḍhrāṅgī (i.e. Buḍḍhrāṅgā); (2) in the south, the northern demarcating border of Karavattīvakara; (3) in the west, the western border-road (daṇḍā-li) of the land called Vāggurabhoga; and (4) in the north, half of the southern vaddīkā of the land under the enjoyment of the deity Śaṅkara-bhaṭṭāraka (Śiva). This plot, called Mahādevagrāma, including Vāggurabhoga and the hattikā (market place) of Dhṛtipura, measured 3 pāṭakas, 9 dronas and 1 kāka.

The people addressed by the king in respect of the grant of the above plots of land are enumerated as follows: all of the Rājapurua, Rāṭī, Rāṇaṇa, Rājaputra, Rājāṇiya, Mahāvyūhapatī, Maṇḍalapati, Mahāsāṁdhivirahika, Mahāsenapati, Mahākapaṭalika, Mahāsārvarōḍikā, Mahāpratiḥkā, Koṭṭapāla, Daussādhaniṃka, Naubala-
hastī-ayya-go-mahiṭ-ṣūkā-viṭ-vāṭātyā, Gaulmiṃka, Śaṅkika, Daṇḍapā-
sika, Viṭṭapati and other royal officials who are not mentioned in this record, but are known from the adhyakṣapracaṭā, such as the categories like Cāṭa and Bhaṭa as well as the people of the countryside and the cultivators headed by the Brahmaṇas.1

1. For the various expressions, see above, pp. 30-31; also Sircar, Indian Epigraphical Glossary, s.v.
The following passage states that the plot of land and the two villages indicated above were granted in the name of the god Vāsudeva-bhaṭṭāraka and in accordance with the bhūmicchidra-nyāya in favour of the deity Laṅghaṃādhava-bhaṭṭāraka installed (at Paṭṭi-keraka according to Laṅghaṃacandra’s second grant) by the king himself, for the increase of the religious merit and fame of his own self and his parents, by means of the tāmra-tāsana to which the dharma-cakra-mudrā was affixed. The privileges of the donee are enumerated as follows—sva-sīm-āvacchinnā, trṇa-pūti-gocara-paryanta, sa-tala, s-oddēsa, s-āmra-panasa, sa-guvaṅka-nālikera, sa-lavāna, sa-jalā-stala, sa-gart-oṣara, sa-dāś-āparādha, sa-caur-oddharāṇa, paṁhita-sarva-piḍa, a-cūṭa-bhaṭṭa-praveṣa, a-kūṇcit-pragraha and samasta-rājabhoga-kara-hiraṇya-pratīṭa-sahita.  

The donor then requests the addressees for their approval of the grant as well as the future rulers of the region for their approval and protection of it. The cultivators residing in the gift land were advised to be obedient to the donee and to offer him his due. This is followed by five of the usual imprecatory verses. At the end, we have the date, viz. the 30th of Jyaiśṭha in the 6th regnal year of king Laṅghaṃacandra. The date is followed on the first grant by some contractions which show that the document was first registered or examined and approved by the Mahāśāntihivigrahika and next by the Mahākṣapalikā.

The second grant, which is couched in the same language as the first, was issued from the camp at Vikramapura by Paramēvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājadhīrāja Laṅghaṃacandra, who was a Parama-sauśgata and meditated on (or was favoured by) the feet of Mahārājādhīrāja Kalyaṇacandra. The gift village was Suravorakāragrāma measuring 8 pāṭakas, 1½ dronas and 29 yāṭis and was attached to the viṣaya (district) of Perāṅśana in the maṇḍala (province) of Saṃataṭa within the bhukti (territory) of Paṅgāra. The boundaries of the above gift village are mentioned as follows—(1) in the east, the western demarcating border of the bāsana (rent-free holding) in the possession of Lokanātha-bhaṭṭāraka (probably the Buddhist god Lokēśvara or Avalokiteśvara) situated in Māyupāṭa ; (2) in the south, the northern demarcating border of the said bāsana ; (3) in the west, the eastern border of the village of Brāhmaṇadevavoraka ;

1. For these expressions also, see above (p. 36) as well as Sircar, op. cit., s.v.
and (4) in the north, the canal to the south of the village of Kāṁśarakaddapolaka. Paunḍra-bhukti was the same as Paunḍravardhana-bhukti or Paunḍravardhana-bhukti.

The grant was made permanently, in the name of Lord Vāsudeva-bhaṭṭāraka, in favour of the god Laḍahamādhava-bhaṭṭāraka installed by the king at Paṭṭikeraka, by means of the copper-plate charter endowed with a dharmacakra emblem.

3. Govindacandra’s Grant

The charter begins with the symbol for Siddham and the auspicious word svasti. This is followed by 16 verses forming the introductory part of the record.

Verse 1 constitutes the Buddhist maṅgala containing a prayer to the Jina (Buddha), Dharma and Saṅgha. Verse 2 introduces the Moon-god who sprang from Atri’s eye and was the progenitor of the royal family to which the donor belonged. The next stanza introduces the family (i.e. the Candra dynasty) which descended from the Moon-god. Verse 4 introduces king Śrīcandra, the great-grandfather of the donor of the charter, born in the said family. He is described as more intelligent than the god Brahman and as a master of the sciences (cf. the description of Laḍahacandra in his own grants and also below). Verse 5 describes him as a destroyer of his enemies, as causing the prosperity of his friends, and as the lord of the entire earth including the mountains and oceans. This last claim is of course of a conventional nature.

Verse 6 introduces Śrīcandra’s son and successor Kalyāṇacandra as equal to Bali in liberality, one of the three Rāmas in prowess, causing fear to the enemies, Yudhīḍhira in truthfulness and Arjuna in great strength. In verse 7, Kalyāṇacandra is described as doubling the waters of the Laubhita-nadā (Brahmputra) by means of the tears from the eyes of the Meleccna women, which had been caused by him by killing their husbands, and as humbling the power of the Gaula king in battle. The word mleccha here undoubtedly refers to the Mleccha (Mech) dynasty of Assam, founded by king Sālastambha about the middle of the seventh century A.D. It will be noticed that the same achievements have also been ascribed to Kalyāṇacandra in verse 8 of the records of his son Laḍahacandra.

Verse 8 introduces Laḍahacandra as the son and successor of Kalyāṇacandra. It is said that, just as the Sumeru is accessible to
the celestial beings known as Vidyādhara, Laññahacandra could be easily approached by the learned men. Verse 9 refers to the king's pilgrimage to Vārānasī, his baths in the Ganges, and his fame for poetical skill and scholarship and for his slaughter of the enemies. Verse 10 introduces Laññahacandra's beloved queen Saubhāgyadevi who was like Śiva's wife Śivā and Hari's wife Śrī.

Verse 11 mentions Govindacandra as born of queen Saubhāgyadevi. The following stanza speaks of the happy mood in Kalyāna-candra's palace and harem at the birth of his son Govindacandra. Verse 13 mentions young Govindacandra as equal to Mahāśena, holder of the śakti (i.e. Skanda-Karttikeya), and his parents to Śiva and Śivā who were the latter's parents. It is further stated that Govindacandra learnt very well, in his childhood within a few days, all the sciences (vidyā) and arts (kala) including the sciences of dealing with elephants, horses and chariots (cf. the descriptions of Śrīcandra and Laññahacandra referred to above). Verse 14 contains conventional praises of Govindacandra, while the next stanza states that he was equal to Akañḍalā (Indra) in splendour, the Sun in terrible vigour, and the sage Mārkaṇḍa or Mākaṇḍeya in the matter of long life. He was probably very old when the charter was issued. The concluding stanza contains a prayer to the Hindu Trinity, viz. the gods Svayambhū, Hari and Hara.

The grant portion in lines 32ff. states how the grant was issued from the royal camp at Vikramapura by Paramēśvara Paramabhatṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Govindacandra who was a Paramasaṃgata and meditated on (or was favoured by) the feet of Mahārājādhirāja Laññahacandra. The gift land is next introduced as a plot measuring two pāṭakas situated in Sāharatalāka which was attached to the vīṣaya or district of Peranāḷana within the Samataṣa-mañḍala of the Paumār-bhakti. The boundaries of the gift land are not quoted. The subordinates and officers, etc., addressed by the king in respect of the grant, the privileges of the donee and the conditions of the grant are all similar to those in the grants of Laññahacandra discussed above.

The present grant was made permanently in favour of the god Naṭṭēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka in the name of the god Śiva-bhaṭṭākara for the religious merit and fame of the donor and his parents. The king's advice to the cultivators of the gift land and his request to the future rulers of the area are couched in language similar to that in the charters of Laññahacandra,
The document closes with five imprecatory stanzas, there being no date and contractions as in Laññahacandra’s grants.

4. Importance of the Grants of Laññahacandra and Govindacandra

As will be seen from our discussion above, the grants of Laññahacandra and Govindacandra offer valuable information regarding the genealogy and political history of the kings. The succession of the kings, viz. Śrīcandra, his son Kalyāṇacandra, his son Laññahacandra and his son Govindacandra, which remained unknown for many years, is clarified by these records. The success of some of the Candra kings against the Pālas of Gauḍa and the Melchias of Prāgvyotīṣa is interesting information not known from the formerly published records of the family excluding the Paschimbhag plate discussed above. The fact that Laññahacandra visited Vārāṇasī and Prayāga on pilgrimage in the first quarter of the eleventh century when Mahīpāla I of Gauḍa was in the possession of wide areas of Bengal as well as Bihar and the eastern part of U. P. seems to suggest that, at the time, the Candra king was a subordinate ally of the Pāla monarch. In this connection, it may be pointed out that we have Mahīpāla’s epigraphs of his third and fourth regnal years and Laññahacandra’s inscription of the eighteenth year of his reign in the ancient Samataṭa country. The evidence of the Mandhuk inscription (c. 940 A. D.) indicating Pāla rule in Samataṭa during Śrīcandra’s time has been referred to above (p. 7).

There are, however, a few other points to which the attention of scholars may be drawn. The royal family of the Candras of South-East Bengal adopted Buddhism as well as the Buddhist symbol of the dharma cakra as the emblem on their seal. The kings of the dynasty were called Paramasaugata, i.e. devout follower of the Sugata or Buddha. Of the published copper-plate records of the family, the grants of Śrīcandra (c. 925-75 A. D.) were all issued in the name of the Buddha-bhaṭṭāraka. The Mainamati plates of Laññahacandra (c. 1000-20 A. D.) and Govindacandra (c. 1020-45 A. D.), however, show that the latest members of the Candra family repudiated the Buddhist faith of their predecessors and that they made grants

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of land in favour of a Vaiṣṇavite or Śaivite deity in the name of Vāsadēva-bhaṭṭāraka or Śiva-bhaṭṭāraka. Although these two kings are also conventionally called Paramasaukata, their documents make it clear that they adopted Paurāṇic Hinduism, Lajahacandara being specially devoted to the god Viṣṇu and Govindaacandra to Śiva.¹

Lajahacandra’s gifts were made in favour of the Vaiṣṇavite god Lajahamādhava-bhaṭṭāraka, installed by and named after himself. ‘Lajahamādhava’ really means ‘Mādhava installed by or named after Lajah’, and Mādhava is a well-known name of the god Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa. Govindaacandra made his grant in favour of the dancing form of Śiva called Naṭṭēśvara whose worship, as we shall see below, may have been popularised in Bengal by South Indian settlers. The records of both the kings abound in references to Hindu mythology; but there is not a single reference to any Buddhist legend in them. Lajahacandra visited Vāraṇasī and Prayāga on pilgrimage, though, significantly enough, Vāraṇasī is associated in the Mainmati inscriptions with Śiva and Pārvatī, and the god Brahman, and not with the Buddha’s turning of the Wheel of Law at the Mrgadāva (Sarnath).

An analysis of the Mainmati records in order to show the Hindu leanings of the two monarchs is made below, even though the facts have already been indicated above.

The two grants of Lajahacandra begin with the Vaiṣṇavite maṅgala—Oṁ nāmo bhagavate Vāsudavāya and introduce, in verse 1, the Moon-god as springing from the eye of the sage Atri. Candra’s rise from Atri’s eye is not only noticed in the Purāṇas² and numerous epigraphical and literary works, but is even supported by such names of the Moon-god as Atriṣṭa, Atrīdṛgja, Atrinentra, Atrinetrabhū, etc., recognised in the lexicons. In verse 2, the Hindu Trinity is introduced as Vidhātṛ (Brahman), Acyuta (Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu) and Maheśvara (Śiva). Verse 7 describes king Kalyāṇacandra as pure or purifying (pāvana) like the waters of the Trisrotas (Ganges). Verse 9 says how Kalyāṇacandra’s queen Kalyāṇadevi gave birth to Lajahacandra just as Kuntī gave birth to Satyavāc.

¹ It is probable that Lajahacandra received initiation in the Viṣṇu-mantra and Govindaacandra in the Śiva-mantra.
² Bhāgavata Purāṇa, IX. 14. 3.
(Yudhiṣṭhira) and Rudraṇī to the god Mahāsena (Skanda-Kārttikeya). The same stanza represents king Kalyāṇacandra as Puruṣottama (Viṣṇu) and Kalyāṇadevi not only as Lakṣmī, but also as worshipping the said goddess. Verse 11 states how, at Laṇḍahacandra’s birth, the divine drum sounded, the Vidyādharas danced, flowers dropped from heaven, pleasant winds blew and the goddess of earth, together with the ocean, became highly gladdened. Laṇḍahacandra is described in verse 12 as having the goddesses Gīr (Sarasvatī), Śrī (Lakṣmī) and Vasundharā (Earth) under his control. This verse also mentions the king’s mastery of all the sciences, while verse 9 of Govindacandra’s grant speaks of his kavītva and pādaśītya, so that the king may be identified, as we have suggested elsewhere, with the poet named Laṇḍahacandra known from Sanskritic anthologies. Verse 14 indirectly represents the king as the gods Puruṣottama (Viṣṇu) and ‘the Subduer of Kāma’ (Śiva).

According to verse 16, Laṇḍahacandra visited Vāraṇasī, the abode of Śambhu and Girisutā (Pārvatī), and took bath in the waters of the Ganges. He offered tarpagā to his ancestors and granted gold to numerous Brāhmaṇas. Verse 17 also speaks of the king’s pilgrimage to Vāraṇasī, purified by the waters of the Ganges, where the god Svabhā (Brahman) performed ten Aśvamedhas [at the Daśāśvamedha Ghat] and the god Śrīkaṇṭha (Śiva) and the goddess Durgā resided. Verse 18 describes similar pious activities of the king at the junction of the Gāṅgā and the Yumunā (i.e. at Prayāga near Allahabad). The next stanza refers to the gifts made by the king at the said tīrtha which is sanctified by the Yamunā and is the place where the eternal banyan tree (Aksaya-vatā) stands. It is well known that there is one Aksaya-vatā at Prayāga and another at Gayā.

The two charters of king Laṇḍahacandra record the grant of several villages and plots of land in the name of Lord Vāsudeva in favour of the deity Laṇḍahamādhava-bhaṭṭāraka installed at

1. My attention has been drawn to the mention of Yudhiṣṭhira as Satyavāc in the Venīsadhāra.
3. The story is known from the Purāṇas. See Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. IV, p. 635.
4. See Kane, op. cit., pp. 605, 653; also Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 4; Vol. XXXVI, p. 92; etc. Prayāga was possibly under Mahipāla I at the time.
Paṭṭikeraṇa by the king himself for the increase of the religious merit and fame of his own self and of his parents.

Verse two in Govindacandra's plate introduces the Moon-god who sprang from Atri's eye, and verse 4 describes Śricandra, the donor's great-grandfather, as more intelligent than Vāgīśa (the god Brahman) and as the master of the sciences (vidyā). Verse 6 introduces Śricandra's son and successor Kalyāṇacandra as equal to Bali, Rāma, Yudhiṣṭhira and Arjuna in liberality, prowess, truthfulness and strength respectively. Verse 8 says that, just as the Golden Mountain (Sumeru) is accessible to the celestial beings known as Vidyādhara, Laṭāhacandra could be easily approached by the learned men (vidyādhāras). Verse 9 refers to Laṭāhacandra's pilgrimage to Vāraṇaśī and his ablutions in the waters of the Ganges as well as to his kavītva and pāṇḍitva. Verse 10 introduces his queen Saubhāgyadevi who is stated to have been like Śiva and Śrī, the wives respectively of the gods Śiva and Hari. Verse 13 represents young Govindacandra as equal to Śaktimat Mahāsena (i.e. Skanda-Kārttikeya) and his parents to the god Śiva and the goddess Śivā. Verse 15 states that he was equal to Akhaṇḍala (Indra) in splendour, the Sun in vigour and Mrkaṇḍa's son (Mrkaṇḍa or Mākaṇḍeya) in the matter of long life.1 Verse 16 of the inscription contains a prayer to the gods Svayambhū (Brahman), Hari (Vigu) and Hara (Śiva), i.e. the Hindu Trinity. The grant recorded in the document was made permanently in favour of the god Naṭṭesvāra-bhaṭṭāraka in the name of Lord Śiva for the religious merit and fame of the donor and his parents.

As against the above points, the epithet Paramasaugata applied to the names of the kings and the dharmacakra-mudrā affixed to their grants appear to be a mere legacy of the past. The Buddhist maṅgala in verse 1 in Govindacandra's grant which is a prayer to the Buddhist Triad, the Jina (Buddha), Dharma and Saṅgha, may also be explained in the same way. It is, however, interesting to note that the author, who composed this Buddhistic stanza, was also the author of the various other verses of the record, discussed above, which allude to Hindu mythology. He appears to have been

1. The story of the long-lived sage is told in the Purāṇas. See Padma, Srṣṭi-khaṇḍa, Ch. XXXIII, and Skanda, Nāgara-khaṇḍa, Ch. XXI, and Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa, Ch. XLI.
a Hinduised Buddhist like the author of the tortoise-shell inscriptions in the Dacca Museum, in which the first foot of the Buddhist maṅgala stanza (ṁreyasāy = āstu Jino janānām), referred to above, occurs together with an adoration to the god Vāsudeva. There is no other trace of Buddhism in the Mainamati records of Laṅgha-candra and Govindacandra. It may be noted that the Vaishava king Laṅghacandra named his son as Govindacandra after the god Govinda, i.e. Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu.

In the early medieval period, the Buddhists of Eastern India appear to have been attracted more and more by some of the Hindu gods and goddesses, the epico-Purānic literature, the religious festivals and the mythological shows and dramatical performances of the Hindus especially because they had themselves then not enough that was as attractive. On the other hand, some of the popular deities and festivals of the Buddhists were gradually appropriated by the Hindus or were popular among the Hinduised Buddhists. These points appear to be emphasised by the evidence of the Mainamati plates of Laṅghacandra and Govindacandra discussed above. Of course in this age, the Buddha was already accepted by the Brāhmaṇical Hindus as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, and there is indirect allusion to this aspect of the problem in the tortoise-shell inscriptions referred to above, but not in the Mainamati records.

As regards the god Naṭṭeśvara-bhaṭṭāraka, his name reminds us of Nartṛśvara-bhaṭṭāraka mentioned in an inscription as caused to be made and installed by Bhavudēva, son of the Kārmāntapāla Kusumadeva on Thursday, the 14th of Aśāha, which was the 14th of the dark half of the month, in the eighteenth year of Laṅghacandra's reign. The late Dr. N. K. Bhattachari referred to the discovery of a number of images of Naṭṭeśa-Śiva (Dancing Śiva) in South-East Bengal and wondered how the worship of the said god, which was a peculiarity of South India, came to be popular in these parts. Probably it has to be associated with the settlement of South Indians in Bengal, to which we have elsewhere referred.

3. Ibid., p. 349.
The date of the above inscription is interesting since it speaks of the Pūrṇimānta calculation of the months and not to the solar month as is now prevalent in Bengal nor to the Amānta month as popular in South India at present.

The land measures mentioned in the records are (1) bindu, (2) kāka, (3) yaṭṭi, (4) droma and (5) pūṭaka, of which, excepting bindu, the other words are known from many records in the sense of land measures. According to an earlier inscription of the Tippera District, 40 drowavāpas or drowas made one pūṭaka. The measure kāka may not be the same as modern kāni which is probably the old kākini. The measure called yaṭṭi, which is bigger than kāka, really means 'the measuring rod', so that it may indicate a small area measuring only one rod on all the four sides. In such a case, kāka was very considerably smaller than the kāni which is equal to 80 kaṭās and is 1/45th of a droma or drowavāpa. According to old Bengali arithmetical tables, 4 kākas make one kaṭā (cowrie-shell), 1,290 of which were equal to a full silver coin (kāhāna-kārśāpāna).

The following geographical names are mentioned in the grant portion of the three epigraphs: (1) Vikramapura, Paunāṭa-bhukti, Samataṭa-maṇḍala, Paṭṭikera, Phullahāqā, Dollavāyikā, Sūpakāra-voraka, Buddhaanandigrāma, Balesvaravardhakvoraka, Govinādcama, Odagodhanika, Ghaṇṭāra, Jayalambhaigrāma, Bappasīthavorakagrāma, Gupṭīnāṭana, Buṇḍhīgaṅgini, Karattivoraka, Vaggurabhoga and Dhṛtipurahatikā in Laṭahacandra’s first grant; (2) Vikramapura, Paunāṭa-bhukti, Samataṭa-maṇḍala, Peranāṭa-viṣaya, Mayu-pūṭaka and Brāhmaṇadavavorakagrāma in Laṭahacandra’s second grant, and (3) Paunāṭa-bhukti, Samataṭa-maṇḍala, Peranāṭa-viṣaya and Sāharatālaka in Govindacandra’s grant.

Vikramapura was the capital of the Candras kings in the present Dacca District of East Pakistan. The bhukti or province of Puṇḍra-vardhana in the Gupta empire covered North Bengal; but the later inclusion of the maṇḍalas of Samataṭa (Tippera-Noakhali region), Śrīhaṭṭa (Sylhet) and Khāḍī (parts of 24 Parganas and its neighbourhood) into the same bhukti, often called Paunāṭa, is well known.

3. For measuring rods of 48 steps or 34 feet, see ibid., p. 408,
4. Ibid., pp. 416, 418,
Possibly this was due to the fact that the metropolitan province of the Pāla empire, having its headquarters at the city of Gauḍa in North Bengal, included South-Eastern and Southern Bengal. Since the Candras did not rule over Northern Bengal (with which fact the change of the name 'Punḍravardhana' to 'Pauṇḍra' may be associated), the words bhukti, maṇḍala and viṣaya may be understood in the senses of territory, province and district respectively. Paṭṭi-keraka is the Pargana Pattikera or Paikara extending up to the Mainamati hills. The viṣaya or district of Guptāṭhana in Samatāṭa is already known from the Kailān plate\(^1\) of Śrīdhāranarāta, while the Peranāṭana–viṣaya is mentioned in the Ashrafpur plates\(^2\) and the Tippera plate\(^3\) of king Bhavadeva of Devapavarta.

The word voraka occurring in the names of some of the villages seems to be the same as Bengali boro which essentially means a sort of rice sown in low swampy grounds or near the banks of a river, but has probably been used in the present records in the sense of land fit for boro cultivation.\(^4\) Thus Baleśvaravardhikoraka seems to mean a plot of boro-sowing land owned by and named after the carpenter Baleśvara. A similar name is Kāṁsārkaddapolakgrāma which was a village named after the brazier Kaddapolaka. Bhoga in Vaggura-bhoga means a small territorial unit and haṭṭikā in Dhrātipura-haṭṭikā means a market place. The words uṇcama and godhāṅkā in the names Govindoṇcamā and Oḍagodhāṅkā may be similar words of uncertain implication. The same is the case with the word vaddikā. The Buḍḍhi-gaṅgini reminds us of the name of the Buḍḍigaṅgā, an offshoot of the Dhalesvari in the Dacca District, though its indentification in the present case is uncertain.

5: Grant of Vīrādhara-deva

On one of the copper-plate charters discovered at Char Patra Mura, we have the following note in Khan's report: “The fourth plate discovered at Char Patra Mura is of a later period. It mentions the name of a Hindu ruler. This plate measuring 11" × 9½" bears on

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3. Loc. cit.
4. Prof. Dani speaks of Sūpakāravoraka-Buddhanandigrāma as “a village inhabited by Sūpakāra (cooks), Voraka (scribes), Buddhists and Nandis—a social grouping not without significance.” There is, however, no doubt that Buddhanandigrāma is a village named after a person called Buddhannandin.
both sides of its seal the wheel of Vishnu, and at the end of its
text is engraved the figure of a running dog. The plate, issued by Sri
Virandhara Deva on the day of Kartika in the 15th year (regnal),
contains the grant of 17 padas of land. On palaeographical con-
sideration, the copper plate could be assigned to the 11th-12th
centuries A. D."¹

It will be seen that the number of the day in the month of
Kārttika in the date of the record has been inadvertently left out.
Apart from this, there are two serious errors in the above description,
the first in the name of the royal donor of the grant and the second
in the date to which the charter has been assigned on palaeographical
grounds. Elsewhere in the report, the record has been correctly
described as "Copper Plate of Sri Viradhara Deva, C. 12th-13th
century A. D."² Thus the donor of the charter was Śrī-
Viradhara Deva and not Śrī-Virandhara Deva, while the date of the
writing cannot be both the twelfth or thirteenth century and the
eleventh or twelfth century. The eleventh-twelfth century A. D.
may be correct.

The above epigraph of Viradhara Deva has not yet been
published; but Khan's report contains a photograph of the writing
on the upper part of the reverse side of the plate, which illustrates
eleven lines of the inscription and furnishes some additional
information.

King Viradhara Deva who issued the charter was apparently a
worshipper of the god Viṣṇu. He made the grant with his thought
on Lord Vāsudeva (Viṣṇu), and his seal represented the Viṣṇu-cakra
or the sudarṣana-cakra held by the god Viṣṇu. The grant under
study was also made in favour of the lord Vāsudeva under the name
Laṅgahamādhava. From the two Mainamati copper-plate inscriptions
of the Candra king Laṅgahacandra referred to above, we have seen
that it was the said Candra king who installed, at Paṭṭikera, the
god Laṅgahamādhava named after himself. Madhava being a popular
name of the god Viṣṇu, ‘Laṅgahamādhava’ was a form of the said god.
The predecessors of Laṅgahacandra were Buddhists in faith; but
as we have seen, this king repudiated the religion of his fore-
fathers and adopted Vaishnavism as his religion.

². This is mentioned in the label at the bottom of the illustration of the reverse
of the plate in Khan’s report.
The gift land was situated in the viṣaya or district of Vātagaṅgā within the maṇḍala or division of Samatā in the bhukti or province of Pūṇḍravardhana probably in a village called Svāṅcā lying in an area called Saṁma. That the province of Pūṇḍravardhana or Pauṇḍra-vardhana originally covered only North Bengal, but later also other areas of South-Eastern and Southern Bengal has been mentioned above. The inclusion of the Samatā- maṇḍala in the said province is already known from the Mehar plate of Dāmodara-deva.

It is difficult to locate king Vīradharadeva of Samatā in the history of the area. It is tempting to associate him with the dynasties of Harikāladeva Raṇavahakamalla (Śaka 1141) of Paṭṭikera and Dāmodara-deva (Śaka 1158, 1165) and Daśarathadeva who succeeded in ousting the Senas from Vikramapura. An interesting point to be remembered in this connection is that, while the other rulers of the thirteenth century used the Śaka era in dating their charters, Vīradhara seems to have used his regnal reckoning only. We may probably regard him as an ancestor of Harikāladeva of the kingdom of Paṭṭikera identified with the Pāṭikāra Pargana extending, as we have seen, up to the Mainamati hills, five miles to the west of Comilla. The suggestion is influenced by the fact that the charters of Harikāladeva and Vīradharadeva have both been found in the area of the Mainamati hills, while both the rulers are associated with Paṭṭikera near the same hills. Whereas the kingdom of Paṭṭikera formed the dominions of Harikāladeva, Vīradharadeva made a grant in favour of the god Laṅghahamādhava installed for worship in a temple at the capital of the said kingdom.

The representation of a dog at the end of the charter reminds us of the well-known ‘donkey curse’ engraved in records of donation. In such a case, the representation means to say that the transgressor of the grant will be born as a dog in his next birth.

APPENDIX 1

I. Jagadishpur Plate, Gupta Year 128

OVERSE

1. स्त्रील (**) श्रुति-वेद्वाच-पुरूषकौशिकाया: भट्टेक-पादवाचकारत: आयुक्त-काजन|तो|-

2. भिक्षुण्य गुलामगित्यके श(स)गोहारिके (च*) मा(आ)प्राणाकपाल-क्षु[भ]ितः " "
कशक.

3. मालायाः बोधिमतिः (**) भगवतानुष्ठः यथा ऋषीतवः ग(से) मूढ़क्षुबतका-
बात्तथा (ड*)

4. भिक्षु-कौश(魅力)* गुलामगित्यका-बात्तथा-भोजिकः क्षण व बात्तथा-महीदासाविचारं
चीरीकहत|त*|-

5. र-कुमारोऽद-मण्ड-प्रजापति-जेव(ये)छदामा(म)-क्षु|भ|िम्-वज्रोविचारा-द- उमच(यो)-
हरित[भ*|-

6. श|भ|िपालित-दिशरागु-कुमारविषय. (**) कुमारमुर्ति-दिशरागु-दिशापर-दिश-वोकरित[प*|-

7. सतीविवु-वह दि-नन्दसिर- वीरणा- नारणणादम|स*| ख-भव- ग्रहित अनुत-कुमार-
शार्मिनाग-वरण|-

8. नाग-उद्यो-भवत्व-वनिविवा- गुनरथ-नन्दसिर-युयोगः वयव विकारिता: (**) हववाजः मः
विविक*|-

9. पालक(के) भी[(व*| लेखिकास्त्र-प्रियामति भगवताः श(स)हः[ता] नक्का(ह)रीक-विव[ह]रे
गुलामगित्यके बाहुता(म*|)[म*|-

10. राैं कारक-आस्त्र-विहारिक(साया) तथा गुलामगित्यके भगवतासहस्त्रास्तेऽ कारतिक-
वेदकः च व(व*|ि-वद-स[ष*|-

11. परंतमाः(ि)मय बाह्य-बुद्ध-प्रतिसंस्कर-करणाय गन्ध-रु(ष)तैस्योनोग(ि)म वासुका-
स्रोतोत्त्वयाविधायम|नी|-

12. भा म(अ)प्रतिक-विहारिक् बस्तवामकेः कीला दालु(स*|) युमाकाच
बीव्यामहत्ता: (**) दि-वीरीकारिका[(सः)प्रतिक[र_*|-

1. Errors in the published transcripts have not been noticed in these appendices.
2. Read viditaha vo = 'stu.
3. Read Mahādāsas = tāir = iha,
4. The rules of sandhi have not been observed here.
5. Read Nārāyaṇa, The akṣara ra is written below the line.
13 खिल्लेश्वर कुण्याप-विकम् (१५) तशह्यासामात्रिख्लाख्याति-द्वयं धहीला श्वेषयं
कुण्यापमेण[क्]
14 भा(द)मिति (१*) वतो(ऽ) एविन्द्राख्यायु[स्]*ल[ऽ]* गुलसापल-हिंसानिह-।
यथोसामयोऽखच्या(ऽ)श्रणया.

REVERSE

15 गय[म्]मटीदेवनुः(१५) हितीनारिक्श(क्षो)ऽ[त्र]तिक्र-खिल्लेश्वर कुण्याप-विकम्-।
काह्याति
16 विरोधः काहिदिकस्यकाहमामात्र-मोहिल-महद्वारयोऽहाकालिक-भमेनोपसंयोऽ(वः)*-
क-द्विनाट
17 हिंसानिहकथा ९ शेवाक-भोमिल-महीदायलयोऽ द्वयं श्रणयाः अष्ट(ऽ)गकायचं-।
मलकाञ्चयं भषम-
18 भि(दे)श्रिता: (१५) भोमिलनारिक्शाम्पुरस्यायतृऽ(ईऽ) द्विनाट-यहं तत्व [ऽ] [दे] *[१५]*
बतुकुऽ-ऽमापी गुप्तावतिका-तत्वा.
19 छन्द-गिरिशः(द) श्रीणारमकोऽ कारिगृहयेत(ऽ)* केश्य गुलर्मणिन्धिकाया(ऽ)।
पुब्धोऽतुलायः* दिवर सत श्रणया.
20 [पर] देह[दे] ब[ऽ] हां-ऽमापी य श्रीणारममकोऽ(कमः) द्वियम(ऽ) श्रीमा पुर्वे घुक्षः-(१५)
कन्दरः श्रीमा व दिलिणे.
21 न घनविणुपकः(ऽ) रिवा देव-कन्दरः (१५) श्रीमा व पश्चिमनारं नात्रक-लतागः श्रीमा
उल्लेखाय तत्व....
22 छन्दः(१५) श्रीमा हितेत(ऽ) चुदुस्तीमा-निविचित-खेनः सहुसिद्धं कालः १० नेपाल-विषय-
पत्तयः ११ विषयः

1. Read "अमाकांश हस्ताद = दिनारा".
2. Read सिद्धान्ती-याकोदानमोरः.
3. Read "महादृशानिह हस्ताद"
4. Read "दवयोना कऽत्ररम = दतः".
5. Read "दाशानिह"
6. Read देवाकुः.
7. Read क्रिताम.
8. Read सवत्वाका-क्रितरः
9. Read ओतरायायः.
10. Read समुपाश्चिता-कलियाः. This is the same as bhaviṣyaḥ-yathāḥlaḥ-hāvin,
yathākāl-ādhyās, yathāsamadhyamānakā, etc. Cf. Sirca, Indian Epigraphy,
p.167.
11. Read "पत्तयः. The akṣara vi is written below the line."
APPENDIX

23 फका: कम्बन्नोपिकरणिका श सम्यवहारिणोऽभिव्यक्ति ([ते]रपि भूमिदान-कलम[वे]).

24 शाश्वनीष्ठा(व्य)दुपालनीया (ि*) उतः भगवता श्वासेन (ि*)
ख(ि*)तात(ि*) परदता(ि*) वा यो हरेत वसुन्ध-
रा(्राम् 1)

25 श विष्णुया(शा) इङ्गिरूप्त्वा विदृषिविस्तो पच्यते (िि*).
भवः-यथः-तहसापि खर्मेऽवस्ति भूमि:-

26 रखं क्रोदात्मकं ता तानः[श] न(ि*)के परसेत् (िि*)
इर्य राजसशास्त्रार्थम(सा) हि(ि)य(ि)व(ि) व [ि]सः पुम् (ि*)
[ि](ि)

27 यदिः यद(ि) भूमिंतं खेत्य प्रस्खलितम् (िि)
विद्वान्धवाचार्येन्सहस्त्यं शुध्दकोटर-वासिनः (ि*)
कृपणाहः.

28 शास्त्रवाचार्येन्सह (ि) भूमित् ज्ञानेऽस्थो हरेता [ि] वि(ि)यत (िि*)
सं १०० २० ८ चैत-दि १० विशिष्ट खर्मेऽवण् तापि.-

29 [ि] [ि]शिष्यन्मिती (िि*)

II. Paschimbhag Plate of Śrīcanṭra, Regnal Year 5

[ Metres : verse 1—Vasantatilaka ; verses 2, 9, 16-17, 19 and 23—
Anuṣṭubha ; verses 3-4, 6, 10-11—Upajāti ; verses 5, 7-8, 12 15—
Śārddhavakrīḍita ; verse 18—Śālinī ; verse 20—Puspitāgrā ; verses 21-
22—Ārṣā. ]

OBVERSE

1 सिद्धम् ५ शर्ित।

वशो ज्ञानसं भगवान् कलोकप्राशः
न्यामोपमाकेवि—

1. Read sanhuya.
2. Read Susithena iti.
3. Expressed by symbol.
2  जयते त्रात्वेकादीपः।
यत्रभवत् सकं द्रव्य प्राणवत्वाम्।
शनासः।
पारसुरमणचिती भिष्जु स्कुरः॥ 1
पूर्ण्यचन्द्र इति श्रीमानाश्रीरावीरज एवः।
यस्यापुरस्योपवेष्मा।

4  तपस्मत्वा॥ 2
नामी विष्णुवः न तुल्याभिहारः।
किंतु प्रहलादे वर्ती मर्यणा।
तथायी कल्याणं-३-॥

5  भृगकपः।
सर्वंचन्द्रसूक्तिः ततोभुतः॥ 3
दसेष्या माता गित दीपदेन।
विद्वामणोदितमिन्नु॥

6  विव्रमः।
सर्वंचन्द्रम रूप तोषेति।
सर्वंचन्द्र यथुर्वाहन्ति॥ 4
तस्मिन्द्रे-चित्तोचनेनुद-दित्वावधि॥

7  स्वन्द्व-ज्ञातावः।
कौशिकनाथ समयस्माक्ष्मालिनी-सुप्रभात-शन्यतापः।
तुष्ण्य-वा-तक-मण्डली नवजन[०]-॥

8  [मृ]-स[इ] यामकः॥ 5
ैैैैैैतंतोह-कौशिकनाथि त्रेतौक-चन्द्रो ज्ञपः।
चंद्र-पवोराशि समास ॥

9  श्वी।
ज्ञातिसली विष्णुस्ववः।(व्यः)।
दुधेषु बिख्व्हकः॥ ५-लता-पातेन।
शी लर्त्री-हनेः शम्यावकार॥ 6।

शीरोद्रासि।

1. Read स्वस्ती = saṁsāra.
2. Read bimbam.
3. The daya is superfluous.
4. Read nissthrīmśa.
APPENDIX

10  दृष्टि श्रीमद्वर्धन इति श्रीमतोत्तम पुरं
     यदागम्यजनस्य विसर्य-रतं: क्रमवा(स्वी)ज वाणाःस्वत्:।
     चाळकः(स्वी)ज-वनमात्र-चालयः।

11  क-शतरूर्तिविघ्नेश्वरदीपः
     स्थानारा इति ह शुद्धसंस्कृतविशेष्य यस्तीनिन्ते:॥ 7
     शुल्का वन्धु दधी निर्मिति झण्णशिवः।

12  रिमासेतु कौथुलातुलालु
     विन्ध्यवायुविसर्जित:वनस्यनीता मुक्ता नन्दी:।
     भेषज्यश्य व(अ)हैवध्रुः।

13  हि मूलयः: \text{शकाप-पश्चायत-}
     कावे(वे)री-जल.वेणी-जर्जर-रह-व्यामिष्ठ-कोलाहले:॥ 8
     इलासीनी महे:।

14  महन्य भवानीव भवस्य या।
     तत्स्य श्रीकाष्ठिका नाम व(व)मूल मही विक्षा:॥ 9
     स राजपोषोत्साहे श्रुते यथा:।

15  भौतिकोसस्वत:राजविचार(सम):।
     विवाह तस्य तन्मय्यः
     श्रीश्रवणिन्द्रमिन्द्रमिन्द्र-सेवा:॥ 10
     एकादशः

16  पत्राभरणंस्य दी
     विषाय श्रेष्ठ-जनाभिषेकः।
     बकार कालायु निवेदितातिरि-
     वाञ्छितमात्रिन हंवशाम्भु:।

17  खानि।॥ 11
     तत्सःस्य: विवाह: कालाहुप्पः-विसये श्रीहत-कपोती-प्रत्या
     निविधा: स(स)व्रताक-पिराक-कलकी-कुजः।

18  अभ्रान्तः।।
     रोमतालासा-व(व)द्विती-चंद्री-सदिविक्त-प्रांतला
     तेष्तिरसस्य वनस्पती-परिसर: कालायु:॥

19  ए-स्त्रामलाः॥ 12
     संस्कृतिशिस्ता मनोरम-शिला-पुष्प-प्रतानाधिता
     ताली-सच्चाह-ममरः परिसरे:।

9
20 सा पुप्पम्म्मा नरी।।
इते कुकुकुतंच्छमुः सरापध-जये यथार्थ-सैनिक शोभिये।
रथयाये पालितरितं हिमिषगी

21 द्या(डी ए) स्वाली-देवता।।
सस्तीर्थ रणवेदाश्रमया। बीयोशवानतिष्ठति।
रुप्रक्ष्ये च्यम(च)-नीपवोध-तंते पनि।।

22 कुलिन-मण्डन(सम)।।
शोक-प्रचंडन-जोमैर विरुचित हुयो।-करोलीवरू
वेनोभुजितमुकटही-नयनगीशाली श्रुता।।

23 दूर्विषत।।
सुध्रुवा। पाचियं-पाचुं-भोड रस ाज्ञा धन-दिसाणे।
च्यूतामालिनेषु: परिहतो दुरेषण हु।।

24 महाराजा।।
कैसे बलमणुस्वरू-पलित भान्तनारायणकी।
सतादृश राणां रूपा व्रजनी गयस हु-मारमी।।

25 सतत।।

26 महाराजा-समायत-श्रीमझिपन्धानाराय। विसमैतिष-परमेशर-परमबहुकार।

27 महाराजा-प्राच्यी श्रीमण। श्रीचन्दने: कुपाकी।
श्रीपौरुषां वरं नसुन्दुःरत्र: पानिर-श्रीहमण्डल-सातदलवरण।

28 समन्ध-अ वेदकासमेट-गार्घाविषय-पोगारविषय-चन्द्रपुरविषयेषु।
समुभाताश्रेष्ठ। राजस्तां।

REVERSE

29 एक।।

30 महाराजाप्रक्ष्य पावल्लिक महापरती। महातत्त्व। श्रीमझिपन्धार।

1. Read ity = ukṣaṇīhitam।.
2. Read pūṣihu।.
3. Read ghanair = diggajai।.
4. Read bhṛntiḥ samā।.
5. Read sambaddha-Aśeṣvā।.
6. Here and below, the dasya is used as a hyphen is done in English. In lines 33 ff., it is often used like a comma.
31 विकरणिक / महानाविवरणिक / मण्डलविवरणिक / कोटपाल्विवरणिक / चौदीरासरणिक / नौव(र)क-हृष्यकंगो-महतिः
32 बाजराबिकारक-स्थायुसरक गौरविक, लौकिकविक, दार्शनिकविक, वाणिज्यविक / डांडनायक / प्रवेश-पत्यादीनविवाह राजपादे
33 पलीविवरणिकप्रावाहसहितीकितितान / चांद-तत्त-बालीयतान / जननवदन, क्षेत्रकर्षेन मान(म)।
34 व्यापारात / व्यापारात / सामाजिकतात / च मतस्तु महतात / विश्वासनतात / पूर्वधे बुध(ब)हरक-कोटविधः
35 न उद्धृत्नालक(क) कारणांतरस्मान (क) वेष्टनेरविनतिय सीमा / उत्तरेण कोसियारानविनती
36 व्यापकविवरणिकनक्षे भवरसर िपुस / इत्यतविन्ध्य / भोजनपुरुष / म(म)प्रण / ऐतिहासिक-मार्ग(क) / नका करणोपयोगिका दस
37 बालबालिक-स्थान पाठका / भवाधाशालाणां पालिकाप्रकारं दा-पाठका / अठार्थ-पद-पा(मा)
38 नामानां प्रायोजनकाल्यमायम-प-प
39 टोक(टो) / एतदविद्यमान(न) / कार्यमित्रवर्कार(स्वरूप) / ब्राह्मण पाठका / सणकास्त पाठका / कार्यशेष
30 शास्त्र-पाठक-'तृषया'।
40 बालबालिक-चारकर-चारकारणांवार प्रस्तुत(क)। अठार्थ-पाठका / नवनीत-पाठक-प्रय / द्वाराधर-प्रय / स्वप्न-प्रय / कर्मकार-
41 र-प्रयस्त च प्रवेशक पाठक-प्रय(यम) / अठार्थ-चिन्ताम(विद्यमन / प्रकाश-पाठका / नवकर्मी-
42 निमित्त यशवंतरिव-शत-चुंचुषयस्व / रुज्जल-शत-चुंचुषय / वेळेताकर चोपितमार-
43 जैसिक महाकालेकंज्ञान एकाधितमयमा साध-प्रतिव(व)हृष्यअवसामवोपापियपायाय-नामानां प्रवेशक दा-पाठका / अर्थ-
44 तत-पद-स्त्रियार्ग्यः पव-पाठका / मालाकार-नापित-नौविक-रक्षकानि(नामा) / अठार्थ-कर्मकार-चारकारणांवार / प्रस्तुत(क) / अर्थ-
45 पाटक: / बेंड़ी(ि)त्रा-दलो / याने दो पाटक: / प्रति-भग-च(ि)िबर्धन-निमित्तश
 दसपाटकः / प्रति-सत्र-चठुःिचर च / नहः-

46 तरा(ि)ते / प्राता-दुःि / बारिक्षण नादेपाटकः / कार्त्तिक्षण नादे-पाटकः / गणकत्व पाटकः / वृत्त(ि)चल पाट-

47 बुःदुःि(यम) / एवमेव / निमेव / नाभिकायुता-पाटक-शत-दुःि(यम) / दारावतेिहरुः केलरा / विनिश्चितर्भुवः / भावत्रित्वः / इशान/।

48 धनमान्य/नन्दं यथा का/यो(ि)िदना/विशेि(ि)दत्ता / कमलनिधि / सतितारा / मानिक्षण / कामकुक्षी / भीमापा / अंतता / वसतितरा / नन्दद्वी-।

49 व/वीरि / राम / शिवि(ि) गः / मानि / वेदि / पहसुस / विषुआ / दत्त / अनितिश्राम / मर्गाशाम्भ / महीनस्तोिम / रक्षकः / भावः / तत्रायः/।

50 श्रमिस्फुि / शिकि(ि)दत्ता / इसरि / यवदस / गुरुपिदि / गः / शा(ि)शा / श्रान्ति-सहिेस्वि / नाना / नोिन-प्रवेशः / नहः / श्रुियन्यः / नाना-शालाशालायाधिक्यः।

51 सम-विसायण शेष-भूमि:।। इतिि / इि / अधि / योगीमार्ग / जैमिनि-सहाकालेभ्यः / धर्मा(ि) / दश-सहिेस्वि / उपवित-विक्षिि-।

52 शीता-सतितिर्भुवादि-शिकितस-विशिष्टया एवो / स-तत्वा: / तोिेश्वा: / साधर पनसा: / स-मुिवाका-नालिकेिरा: / स-िज-िस्तकः / स-गातििहः / स-।


54 र-सहिताता / र-नय-भूमि-िजिता: / इतिि / चर-नीिि / नय-सतिति (ि)िि-िस / श्रान्तिक-िांिा-िांिा-पाटक-ि / इि / महा-मुिविकित-वीिनाः।

55 श-दुःि-र्विेसंगम भगवतमुिस्वि(िुस) श्रान्ति-भाराकमुििस्वि / माता-मित्रोििसमस्त शुभ-िवोहिि-िििि / आश्रिा-रिि-संक कालीि विनिश्चितुकु-।

56 पुिेिक्षा / आ बनाहारिः / भिंिि-सिमकाल जावतु / मुिविचित्र-नयेश्व / तादाराशानीहः / प्रतिा अस्मामि: / यति महाभिः नपििः।

57 श्रीश्राकरसिि(ि)ि बनिवेिीमुि गथा-िीमांि प्रतियोिपनयः: कार्यः / यथाकाल-मानि-भोिपतिपिरििि महेिहाणि फळः।

58 श्रीसायत/अपिििी महानि / नपात भयाचि / दानसिि सम्पििियोिांतािििििि / समत्वः।।

59 गुहसानिि षोििकः।।

व(ि)िहिंिग्यथा दत्ता राजमिस्सरसादिमि:।।

नब्य यव यव मुिेसिििसीि तत्ता फळः(िुस)।।

1. The rules of sandhi have not been observed here.
2. Read sanrhvat.
3. Mainamati Plate (No. 1) of Ladahacandra, Regnal year 6

Metres: verses 1, 4-6 Vasantatilaka; verses 2, 9, 13 Upajāti; verses 3, 7-8, 11-12, 14, 17, 19 Śārdalavikṛṣṭīta; verse 10 Āryā; verses 15-16 Sragdhara; verse 18 Śikhariṇī; verses 20-23 Anuśūbhi; verse 24 Puspitāgrā.

1. Śrīcandrapura has been made Candrapura for the sake of metre.
2. The daṇḍa is superfluous.
3. A few akṣaras are rubbed off after this.
OBVERSE

1. सिद्धम् ॐ नमो भगवते नारायणाय।
2. भगवान् सा तलाणमूलः ब्रज-सपा।
3. वणासु ब्रजसुति: सत्तात सरक्षते देविभि-पर।
4. द्रिष्टीयकारखु परी
5. विवाहाता
6. भक्तिदयवाचस्वते एवं जात्या।
7. मेघराज्यामनावातोभू-द्रव्या राज्याम्याने।
8. व स चन्द्र-वृहद-वंशा)॥
9. तस्माः पुण्यति-चालिनः वर्णिनी वणिः (वाणिः) ॥
10. सुके सुधा: श्रम: कुमेकः ना-॥

बुधम् परिपुराणमानपत-नामः सुभूती सुद्धा।
सपत्तिविँचि-विभ-रीत्यि धर्मः सुणिः।
अन्नदा वाणिः भुतं जागत: प्रीति च भूतवे च या: ॥
सम्पाते प्रति-मन्त्र-स्तुति-पावनीभि-रीत्यि धर्मः सुणिः।
शुण-सहस्रामि: ॥
आनंद वाणिः भक्तिः-विभ-वच्चु: ॥
पुरुषरूपरूपः कसु कमस्रामू: ॥
तस्माः (सम्) ॥
हथाय। सारार्यादनः
भोगपालरावस महाराजुष्मिनिः ॥
श्रीचन्द्र इवाणिकाश-कान्तिः।

1. Expressed by symbol.
प्रागः योजितेश्वर-भूजन-कोशनानां वाक्य व्यय-प्रम- ।
11 बञ्जितातातात ।
गौड़ावरोध-वनिताधर-पञ्चवाणि
चक्रे च यो विमलित-रितम-कुद्रसाहि । । 6
राज्यत- ।
12 स्य परिमितितेतम इति सहस्याणचन्द्रः स्यः
प्रख्याति विमलोजवाहिष्टेष्वुभूमानवालहर-भूहर्षः ।
जाया ।
13 धर्ममयो भएवाति आत्मतः द्वाति विरोमेष्ठितः तः
सदृः वेदावतमः प्रवाहः इत्यत्स्वः । निन्यमः । । 7
14 हृदेष्टरीत्रातिष्ठनैव वेन भजितः स्वरूपः
(क) धृत-कोश-व्यः
गौड़ीनां रंगत चिन्त्रका विरिणः सहाय वचन्तनढः ।
15 आत्तात्तर निजावधोभिवृत्तस्वमथनवृद्धादेवः
षु भवध । शायसुधर्मवः रिव चन्यागम-वकालोऽदिशः । । 8
सक्षमः ।
16 रविनायन्त समोह-रूपस
tथायातुक्ता सुदुक्तसमः
प्रवा तद्दरावन-कैलि कह्या
कल्याणेवविति शुमा बेन(ब) ।
17 भूमः । 9
कुम्भीव सर्वकामि वद्यावतास्मि महाहेनम्
सदृः धम गुद्दुचन्द्रः सा खाक देवि महाहेयुष्म[भ] । । 10
किवो हुः
18 हुभिन्नशङ्काद सत्तुः(ः)विद्यार-श्रेणः
पुष्कर्ण विद्विसातुपात मंत्रानुक्तवाचारार्थवि वाचारार्थम्
जाते यत्व न- ।
19 हुः युवाभाष महतात्वाथ मदेहदिशः
देवी दुःसुस्थकर्ति किवपर साधः सुमझः च भूमः । । 11
काणां प्राप्ताभिषिकः ।
20 एव परमां विविदंविधायम् च
सुरानाथ प्रसादसारानि वाति वा(च) बाणाव्यौऽदिशः
भूमः (सै)य च रक्षितारिः
21 शुक्रवर्षीय गणी नै।
वीति श्रीम बुद्धपर च वस (ि) गालोशोऽपभुक्षिमाः।। 12
शुकु तालाकान् गुणवान् गुणा- ।

22 नैो
भिवां दु: श्रीमवाय चैतियाऽ।
श्रीचा भो गौपा च नमक-चहुँ- ।
सभूतुः सागर-मे:खिलायाः।। 13
वक्षीमृजि- ।

23 त-विकृति (ि) जय-प्रहायत-श्रीमौद्
वर्धे वा: पुरोड़िमे विजः-गुरुवस्तैःसतैःसतायाम्।।
आहे बपोपिताः। ।

24 नू च भूतिमन्तरान्, काममिना (ि) जेता न यो
हुर्गायाः करमहीतिः गिरिभुक्तो भूतेवतामासिन्।। 14
भो'न्तर्रमेव पारं पर- ।

25 मसुमागतबाद्र दिया-नदीर्मा
दोषाः या: ह्यातिीयः जगदम्भ-महानायास्तका-नायकेन ।
क्षोभीभूमिश्च माला-प- ।

26 रिवल-सुरभिभूत-पादोभज् (ि) रणुः
वेधान्यादाय-मर्म्मवे महय्यतिमयासयासाहोभि:। । 15
वाराणस्यामावसीतेस तथा चि-

27 रित्यथा शम्भुनायासिताः
मारायाष्व गावे पवसि गत-ब्रह्म: खानत्वाश्च, पितृव च ।
पाणी पाणी द्रिष्णानामथ ।

28 कलि(ि)कमदात्यस्म को वैति सच्चा चहाः
सच्चायावान्तेन एव विभुवन-रत्नकः वस्मातिष्ठितः तदस्यान्।। 16
साधारानातिचरी- ।

29 यद दशाभिति:स्थानोऽ: शमुः
श्रीकः तद्व दुर्गाया: प्रसुबिंति: गामग्यवासिः रूपम् ।
गाढः शालित-पाप-पक्ष-चि। ।

30 यदां तं मेदल बाराणसी
कुस्की च प्रदीसी च कोशार्सिः भमातुरां च द्रुः।। 17
भुवं भाला कुला तद्वः पितृ-सत्त्वः-
31 य-विधि
विषयः सम्भेदे छाँ-पथलि गङ्गा-सुमुनयोः।
द्विजान्तस्तैत्तिकं श्रवं(ल)-कमक-धारा-वितरणा-
न्महामूलः सी- ।

REVERSE
32 भूमिकाधिकारलं भोक्ता-चतुः। 18
स्वामेिन्त्र व नरापति व गुणव चान व विस्मये-
ते।
शोभनोऽर्थं गुण-समाविक्षितं-गयमुद्रवेः(ढे वंते)का-साथी बढः।
तस्यार्थं व च कीर्ति-विकृत्-गुप्तः-

34 स्वाभक्त-दान जना।
स्वाधिकारविसम-चुड़ैमानविचित्रः के चा न रोमाधितः।
खळित(1*) स खळि श्रीविहारमुगुरु-समा।

35 वाभित-श्रीमद्भक्तवणारांतूः, नरसीवती श्रीराजाधिराज-श्रीकामराण चन्द्रदेवक-पाणिवाया। परमेश्वर-प-

36 रमाभद्रक-महाराजाधिराजः श्रीकृष्ण, लक्षमेंत्रावें: इवाली। पौर्णमिकरतः-पालि/समवलच-माण्डलेञ /

37 श्रीवास्तिकेशवे/कुलकालिङ्ग-सम्(म्ब)द-ख-शीमाविचित-पाडोन पथ- श्रीराम-प्रमाण-चम्पा-
वणी भूती। तथा ढोलखा।

38 दिका।-श्च। पूर्वेण दीपांक।-पगत्वा: सूपराका बोरक-खु दनविधमाम-भूमि-
पाकित्त-रोपित-कोखाः: शी- ।

39 मा/दशविनी व(व)धेवसार्वक्ष्येश्वर-भूमि-हादिक्षमितः। नशिष्टसाधन-दशिक-पादब: शीमा /
पाषाणनेन बोधेनः -
40 भाषिकासूची: पूर्वी(1) श्रीधारावे-श्रीयस्मिक-सीमायारोपित-कोखाः: ष्टारक-भूमि-
 दशिक-सीमाहुति-पूर्वः।

41 सीमायुजः: शीमा/उत्कृष्ट जयम्मम्भस्त्रीक-दशिकाः: शीमा। एवं खु शीमा-तिथ्यक-नीरीक्षण-विचि(व)रुप-रुपायाचित्र-काक-न-

42 योगित - श्च।-निकस्तु - पाडोन-पथ-श्रीणविहारितान्-पाठक-प्रमाण-व(व) पसिकखु-
(लिङ)बोरक-नामे च/तथा गुरुमुना।

43 टन-संध।(व)ुद्रेण बुद्धिगाढ़ी।/ दशविनी कल्पितोनिकतालाभिः: शीमा/पाषाणनेन
वमुरभोग-सूते। पदि- ।

1. The abbreviation sañh here stands for sambaddha.
EPIGRAPHIC DISCOVERIES IN EAST PAKISTAN

44 म-दुष्याक ग्रंथ: सीमा, उत्तराव शाहर-महाराज-मुग़लमान - मुसीरीक विहिक[14]दु/एव वात -
स्थानांकविश्व-स्थान.
45 भोम TIME[14] दुरुतिपुरहतिका-समेत - कामाक्षिक-नव - शौकोपेत पाटकच-नव-भूमि-अवय-महादेव-वाहेम व शुभकामण-
46 तात्तेव - राजसुधा - राज-राजक राजसुधा राजामाता-महामस्यपुरस्मति-भुजयमलपति-महासानिव-भिमहिक, वहासे-
47 नायति/महासानिविक/महासानिविक महामस्यपुरस्मति/कोट्याळा / द्वीरसाधारणक/कारोबार-\nराजक-नै-\n48 ब(ब)क-हस्तःप-गो-संहिस्ताजाहिकारी-स्थापतम-नारिस्क-नैविकिस्क-नैविकिस्क/स्थापतम/निवासपला-
दीनत्साक-
49 का सकल-राजावारप्रजानिविन्यासप्राप्तवासिनी(नी)हाकीलिसान / शाट - भट-जातीयान / जनपदान / केतटरकाला-
50 आ(आ)काशीनाथान, यथाती मानवति बो(बो)ध्वनिति समादरभिति च/मतसत्त्व भवताम / यथोपपति-रिखियत-मूर्धनियत भाषाम-\n51 यथानुसार, सीमाविभिन्न स्वरूप-शृंगार-ध्वनिता-संत तात्तेव / साम्प्रदायक / स-स्वाभाविक नाथकेयरें /
52 सख्त / स-मातीर्थ / स-दक्षारपरेस/स-वृहदरायण/परितित-सवं-पीर/व्याख्या(वर्ग) / अच-चाट-भट प्रेम-\n(स्वरम) / अच-किन्तु-आपाशा/सम्बन्ध-रा-
53 व-भोग-कर-हिरण-प्रायाम-सहित(थम) / अस्तम, कारित-त्रिकारहमौशाकंभुटरकान्य/ विविधवधूक-पौरंक हत्ता/पुष्प-\n54 त्रिवित/भवगत-विषय(तर्क वा)वृद्ध-महारक-सुखदेहिट माता-विवीरणमधुक पुष्प-सधारन-\nहदेहाः/भ-चन्दराक-हिति समकाना-
55 ङ काव्यवर्तुभूमिविभक्त-न्यायवेद/स्रीमागुर्मत्तान च: सुधृढ़ा ताम्भावावींतिवत्ती तीक्षित-समासमान/ अतो माध्यम: सवस्त:-
56 मतलब भाविनिर्भर भूमितिभुमिश्वरी-मदल-मौनवादपरण महानरक-पात-भवाच दानव-\n57 दस्तुकामा:
58 तुरालिनीवर्तुभिभति: केतटकारामा-सर्व-विविध-श्वेतोन्निककरण अववाहित: फाय-\nहित।
59. भवन्ति चात्र भ्रात्राशिहित(समिति): खलिकाः।
भूमिव च विति प्रश्नावत वात भूमि प्रकटति।
उन्नी सौ पुष्प-समौगा निकाल स्वयं-गामतग। 20
60 विहिक(तिक वर्ग-सहस्त्रहित स्वयं मोहहित भूमिब्रत।
अक्षराय चातुरकाला च तामिल-मर्मना(सूप) शेष। 21
APPENDIX

बृहत्तमद्रवलाभार्यां (ता वा) ने हरेत विश्वाभ-

60 रघु(राम)।
स विश्वामिकम्बूध्रिला विश्वाभिसंजीवे ॥ २२
व(व)हिरंसिवुध्या दत्ता राजसभिषामाराजिभि।
यथा यथा यदा गौरिक्षस्वमय तस्य

61 तदा वल्ल(दम)॥ २३
इति कमल-दलास्म्म(प्रत्)-सिद्ध(विद्र)नु-कीलां
भिममुचितस्य मनुष्य-वीर्यसि।
सहलमुक्षिकात् हु दुःखद्भा
न हि पुनः पर-क्रि-।

62 तस्यो विलोक्या॥ २४
श्रीमलकड़हचन्द्रेश्वरपद्यमे-सर्व(ले) ॥ ६ (वेद हर्ष सृष्टि सं.)
महासांप्रायिति राधु महासांप्रि।॥

4. Mainamati Plate (No. 2) of Ladahacandra, Regnal year 6
[ The introductory stanzas are the same as in No. 3 above. ]

REVERSE

5 ... ... ... ... ... घातिः। स बलन
6 श्रीविकम्पुर-समवासित-श्रीमहाराजिवराराय, परमार्गोतो महाराज-विद्वान-चन्द्रेश्वर-।
7 विप्रादुन्म्यात्: परेशर-परमभूत-महाराजविशर: शीमान्, गंडः चन्द्रेश्: कुलान्॥
8 श्रीपौराण्य-नुसयत: पावित्र-समता-मण्डलेऽपरनामेन-विचय-सं० पूर्ण माधु- पालकप्रेयरक लोकाथ-।
9 महाराजकायका-शालन भूमि: परिवर्तिलि: सीमा/दक्षिणेन लोकाधि महाराजकीय-शासन-भूमिरेवतरिकै।
10 सीमा/विवेकम्ब्रा(द)श्राण्वेवोरकामाचीय-पूर्वात्: सीमा/उत्तराधि कसारकाद्वीप-।
ङ्कमासीय-दिलि-।

1. The contraction ni stands for nibaddha or nivṛkṣita. The charter was first approved by the Mahānāṃdhikūvgrahīka (minister for war and peace) and then by the Mahākṣapataśālika (record keeper and accounts officer).
2. Here sath stand for sambaddha.
11 ज्रेवतां: सीमा/ एवं चतुः-सीमावच्छिन्नकोश्तरित् क्रिष्णाकासे गार्ड सार्व द्रोपदीक्षुम्- पाठ्य-प्रभाग-सूक्ष्मरीत्कामें ।

12 समुपतताषयेत् - राजपुत्र - राजी - राजक - राजस्व - राजामात्र-महाभूतपत्र मण्डलपत्र- महासरिंह.

13 विब्रहिम / महासेनापतिः / महाकालसिंह / महाकारंडसिन / महामातीहार / कोड्साल / शौर्य -

14 धसायमिक / वैरोदरावण / नौक, च, दृश्य मो - महिमाजाविकारित्व प्राप्तक / वैमिक / शौर्य -

15 क/वम्भरासिंह/नमस्ताय / नवरायणिन्द्राय / (न्म) प्रस्त - राजापादोपजीविनोऽध्य- प्रयरम्भाराजिनी/विहारीक्षी-

16 तान/वाज - भटाराजीन / धर - महाकार - क्षेत्रारथि ता / (म) धर - राजा / शासक राजक / शासक.

17 शर्यत्र समामुखः भवति (तामु) / कथोपरि विब्रहित-आभों / स-सीमावच्छिन्न / चुरु-पृथिवी-

गोवर-शर्यत्र: स-सात:

18 सोंहदा: सात-पनस: स दुधाक - माहिरे: स बलवः स-गंगों - स-दसाश्र: स-भी- ।

19 शोदरणा: परिषुख-सर्व-पीठः / भव-विविधता / प्रतिमा / समज-राजमेय-कर-हिरण-स- ।

20 र्वायु-सहिन्त: श्रीपार्वेश्वरे / सर्व-वस्त्र-कारित्व - श्रीहलावाक्ष - भटाराव / विभवहुज्जक पूर्बके 

झाऊः

21 पुर्वेहदि / भगवनलस्या (न्तः ता) / सुदेववाह्यावस्थाय गंगाम भारस - शारीरकांमेव श्रेय- 

धरे / 

22 अत्र चतुर्कक्षित-समकालं वाचन / भौमिकर्मवर्गन / श्रीमहेश्वरकु म्भुद्रा / ताहत- 

शासनीक्षे श्री

23 मित्रोत्तमामिनी / अतोत्तमामि: / सर्वरुपजनव / भाविधिनी / भूपनिद्राम्पिपुष्टीमुख- 

पृण: महानक-पात-भायंक दानिस्तानमुदापालनसिंह / निवानिर्मिन / क्षेत्रवादा - 

अन्य-वि-

24 धर्ममेल विनोजकित-प्रयायोपनयन: कार्य इति / भविति चात्रत्व परमाज्ञानिनिः,अति(नसे)न: 

व्योः।.........

[ Here in lines 25-30 follow the five imprecatory stanzas also found in Laqshacandra's other grant. ]

30 .............. श्रीलक्ष्णदेवादेवपात्री-सम्भवं संवत् ५ ६ आपाद-दिने ३ (२) महापातिनि अथ महाद नि० (२२)

1. For these abbreviations, see the other grant of Laqshacandra.
5. Mainamati Plate of Govindaacandra

[ Metres: verses 1-3, 10-11, 15-16 Upajāti; verses 4-7, 12-14 Śārdulavikrīḍita; verse 8 Vasantatilakā; verse 9 Śikhariṇī; verses 17-21 Anuṣṭubh; verse 21 Puspitāgrā. ]

OBVERSE

1. सिद्धम् खलिल (1)

2. तु परमः ।

3. खुदः || ।

4. भवेऽ गातु, श्रुन्द-कान्तिरिस्तु,

5. यस्य प्रभा-श्रीतिकरोदः ।

6. वशम् खान्नम पवित्रतस्य (1)

7. र वश्च(वशः) || ।

8. व्यासासिद्धिकं भीरवणिः-महो-रक्षाधिकार-जतः ।

1. Expressed by symbol,
2. The danḍa is unnecessary.
9. बधू-मांलाकृत्यांचेचित्रीतः
पारामित्रमुख: सूर्यवर्षक्रम-सितारां मिर्यां (सामु) |
लोकानां

10. परिपालने च मरणे चायनांत-बद्र (यो) दोषाम:
हस्तात विवेक-चेत-सामर-चही-पर्वम सत्याश्च इति |
5. तसमातुर्जीरी-मिथिलेश्वरवल्लभेश्वरलक्ष्मी-प्रसु: |
दूरोप्यस्त-कला-कलाप-निः

11. लयः कहयाणचद्यो वृः |
सत्यांवने व(य)लिङ्गायताः रामः प्रतापेन नयो ||
6. सतः |
लयः दुधिँतिरो व(य)लक्ता शौकस्य यथाकृतः इति |
अनादी दिशिणीताः परि-वपातु |

14. होजितां वैः |
पृथ्वीचन्द्रमाधमः भुविन्धिताः दास(तैलो) हित् नामान ||
अनादी ताता देवामाः |

15. ज-शाप-पति-व(व)हुलां सेवां गुरुवां व(व)लका: |
दुगौडनामास्थिपः खुलवर (छे) चिंति ब्रजमनाम: |

16. तसमाचायत सुतः श्रुत वील-शाळी |
कौलीन-भीष-इवध: सदयः प्रजा: |

17. छु ||(1) |
विपाप्ति: कनक-शी(प्र)व इवागितम् |
स्वैरंति गुहडविचन्द्र इति विशेषतः ||(10) 8 |

18. यमी बाराणस्यां सुरसरिति सही च ब(व)हुला: |
शांत बाराणसिघन्थ कनक-ब्रह्मचिव वि- ||

19. दृश्ये |
कनिष्ठानं पाणिवर्तसिद्धि दिदश: न या करि-सिमपां |
वितेमे शत्रु-श्री-निक्षुचन कालो: |

20. रचिद्र-निरुभि || 9 |
श्रीवश्य तस्मेन‍रु समात-कान्ते:

1. The danda is superfluous.
2. Omit yo.
APPENDIX

सौभाग्यदेववीति महातुमाजा (1*)

विवाच दिकः

21

षडषुक्तिः हरेन धरोः

वित्यक्षर्स माणसाम मित्रामुः

10

सा हुताशस्यहः दुःसृः हुताः

परीतमण्डूः त-राजः-चिहः

22

मुख-शिवा वित्यित-पूर्ण-चन्द्र

गोकुलसन्तुष्टः सुखवे सुखनः

11

सुसे जनमानि तत्सा

23

पुष्पमपतहिण्यः मही-मण्डः

सामीतः विसिरः श्रीनमहेंड्राद(श्री)सत्यं प्रस्तज्ञा दिशा (1*)

द्वीणा

24

वेशु-व्रद्ध-विकस्य मयं च-शाराक-चेदः-मयं

तत्तत्तानिय-कलन-मयं पितृ-पुर्ण सांतः-पुरावाम-

25

वत्तु (1) 12

इतिश्चक्ष्य पिता विवा च जनमी सोभुतः धर्मः शाक्तिमानः

लोकोपनंतिमानत्नायत म-

26

हासेनसम तत्त्वादेव (1*)

विवा शैक्षः एव तेन दिखसरसः दुःखः विशिष्टः

27

स्वाभाविको प्रज्ञ-वान-वाक-विविधिहितां वर्षः

कलनः (13)

मूलोः धर्मः इति क्षमा-निबिन्दृत्य नात्मा प्रज्ञा-

28

नान्धिमति

शेष्र-पाणिमतिः धियाय वसातित्वमुहान्त-भामेति च (1*)

क्षोणिनः विरागचित्ति प्र-

29

तित-दिशः प्रत्यालयं प्रस्तेयं

सागरः स-कुलहल्ल जोते स एकः पर्रं (रम्) (14)

आङ्गान्धिलसे

REVERSE

30

व विकल्पारा भी:

प्रकाशरमेव चाज्ञमोः

10

तस्याच्छ भमण्ड-म-


31 तनस्य
सुख्रण्ड-सूतीर्थिव दीर्घभाष्‌ (११२) 15
शिबस्वयम्भूः स्लामुः प्रकारे
हसिः शां

32 रीर-श्लिष्टिमादचाहु (१२)
विपरेत-विक्रमसुरवां-कीर्तिः-
गोविन्दनुङ्गचन्द्रस्य हरै प्रकोः 16

स एव श्रीवि-

33 कम्पुर- समाचारित- श्रीविवस्यकन्याराजसपम्पीतोढाकन्याराजस्वितं-श्रीविवस्यूः
प्रश्नाता-महाराजस्वितं-प्राप्तात्

34 उपायः- प्राप्तात्

35 क्षणी श्रीनौण्डसुरवां-पातिः- समस्त- श्रीमले परनात्ता-विधायि-सं-1-

साहारत्तकापि पातकः

36 हस्य-भूमि समुपमातोऽर-राजपुत्रकाली-राजुक-राजपुत्र-राजाधार्मिक-राजपुत्रास्य-समाध्युष्न-12
37 लिन-माध्युष्नस्य-महाराजाधार्मिक-स्मारकोपालितं-महाशक्तियोग-सहा-रवि-
38 विहित महाराजाधार्मिक-कोपालितै श्रीसांस्कृतिका-चौरोदर्शिक नौक(१३) हाँ
39 न्यस्म-पौर-महिष्याधिकारिक-न्यायुक्त-मौर्यायिक सी(१४)निक(१५) नाम-ताय-16.।
40 के-निघययःैवनार्त्यं सकल-राज-पदार्थाः प्राप्तात्
41 श्रीवि-कृतिः चाव-भरत जातीयाः जनपदाथिक श्रीचक्राणम् जाः (आ) जाप्नाकाराः स्वा-
42 एस्ति मानवगति बो(५८) ध्यानमस्य समाचारित ब(१२) मतस्मुच्छ्यं भवतात यथोपस्थित भूमि-
43 श्रीचक्राणम् राजाधार्मिक-स्मारकोपालितै श्रीसांस्कृतिका-लुन्त-पुरस्ती-मर्मार्पणः सतता संतुला श्री-10
44 वाक-चक्राक्षरका स-वेषाः स जीत साध्य श्री गोविन्दनुङ्ग श्रीधारा-नामचक्रा श्री-10
45 वंशाय परिहुस्त-परव-पीढा अंत भावनात्ता-अरु-चिन्तित-प्राप्तात् साधू राजाः
46 भोग-कर-दिर्युष्ण स्मारक शस्त्र कर तत्र शारीरिक शास्त्र श्रीमले ३२-३४ विधिवतुः
47 के-निघययः श्रीमले २२-३२ शास्त्र श्रीधाराकृत-मुद्रित-पातिः-साधू राजाः
48 मिल्दि तैसः (२२ के-निघययः) श्रीविवस्य-सिद्ध यवत् भूमिश्चित्त-न्यायम् श्रीमले श्रीधाराकृत-मुद्रित-पातिः
49 तत्र तमस्मात्स्मित हस्यस्य प्रक्ष्याप्तातमित(१२) अलो करित्री: सबर्तमृत्त्वं यहाचिकार-49
50 भूमिश्चित्त-मूलभासास्य-पलख-२३-३४ श्रीधाराकृत-पातिः-साधू राजाः दानबिः
51 के-निघययः (२२ के-निघययः) श्रीविवस्य-सिद्ध यवत् भूमिश्चित्त-न्यायम् श्रीमले श्रीधाराकृत-मुद्रित-पातिः
52 स-वेषाः सतता संतुला श्री गोविन्दनुङ्ग श्री-तत्र तमस्मात्स्मित हस्यस्य प्रक्ष्याप्तातमित(१२)

भूमि या: प्रतिमाः

1. Here sanh stands for sambaddha.
2. The dança is superfluous.
3. The double dança is superfluous.
53 श्रांति यथा भूमि प्रयच्छिद्धार्थी (१*).

54 श्रांति शरण गौद्मत्ति भूमिस्मार: (२*)

55 धलाम्भा (तः ते) यो हरें (तः ते) युद्धः रामः (३)

56 दल राजभि: समभिरभिषि: (४*)

57 धलम्भु (तः) वि (चि) न्दु-कोला

6. Fragment of the Mainamati Plate of Viradharadeva.

1 श्रीहड्डहोपायामधवाधिधाराः श्रीयासु-

2 द्रव-भद्राकाय भीमता श्रीव-.

3 रथरथावन उच्चे वाल (व) विविषा-

4 दुकु-पूर्वक हस्ता भगवत्स्मे (नतः ता) षुकृते-

5 वेंडाकरमुहिष्ठारा माताविषा-

6 त्मनः गुप्तविषा-विविषा- आ-च.

7 न्द्राकः-श्रीति सम कालं याबुद्धमिल्लिष्ठ-

8 द्रव-पाते श्रीमहिष्ठापक-मुद्रा

9 ताम्रशास्त्रीय प्राथुद्वृत्तं न-

10 शुचयन्त्रपाति-समसत्ता-मुद्रा

11 वातगशाः-विषय-सहे भाषा

1. The danqa is unnecessary.
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