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THE EARLY HISTORY OF BENGAL

(From the Earliest Times to the Muslim Conquest)

Vol. 1

74443



By

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WITH A FOREWORD BY
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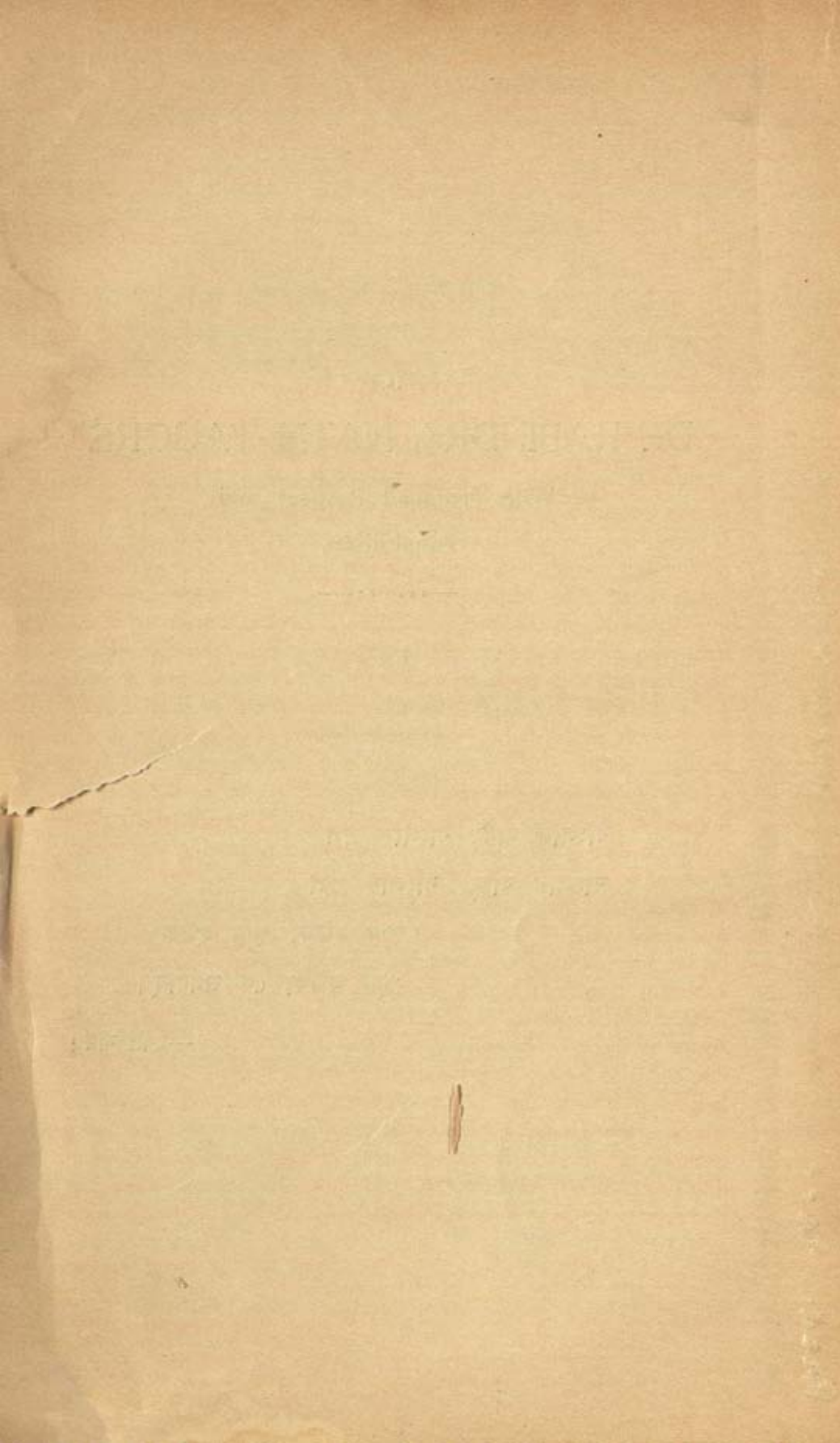
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পুণ্য হউক, হে ভগবান্ ।

—রবীন্দ্রনাথ ।



Foreword

The Early History of Bengal by Mr. Pramode Lal Paul is a noteworthy attempt by a young Bengali scholar to bring together the known facts regarding the political history of Bengal during the Hindu period. It undoubtedly marks a distinct advance over the existing books on the subject. The author has studied the subject critically, and presented the facts in a detached spirit, free from prejudices and predilections for any particular point of view. It may not be possible to accept all his opinions and conclusions but there can be no question of his thoroughness of study and an honest endeavour to judge every question from all possible points of view. A critical study of the history of Bengal is of recent origin, and scanty as our materials are, many years must elapse before we can sketch a fairly complete outline of its main stages of evolution. But it will be impossible to achieve this end if we do not occasionally take stock of our knowledge in the shape of preliminary sketches such as the present book professes to be. Mr. Paul has no ambition to write the history of Bengal. But he has facilitated the task of the future historian by a painstaking study of the relevant materials and the results achieved by him are certainly both creditable and encouraging. There are many important problems regarding the political history of Bengal which at present defy solution. Mr. Paul has presented them in all their aspects. As the Sanskrit proverb says, 'Vāde Vāde jāyate tatvabodha.' So further discussions on the problems so clearly presented before us are likely to help us in arriving at a correct solution. Mr. Paul would regard his labour amply justified if this book paves the way for a fuller and better treatment of history of Bengal. He puts no higher claim, and I have no doubt that his humble attempt fully deserves the encouragement and and appreciation from students of Indian History.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

Author's Preface

Thanks to the recent progress of archæological studies and to the untiring researches of a band of enthusiastic scholars, it is now possible to write a history of ancient Bengal. In this volume, an attempt has been made to sketch the outline of political history from the earliest times to the Muslim conquest. The next volume dealing with cultural and social history will be shortly out.

In preparation of this volume I am thankful to many friends. I must express my thankfulness to Dr. R. C. Majumdar under whose guidance this work was undertaken and from whom more than anyone else I have learnt how to handle the sources of ancient history. To Dr. N. K. Bhattasali I am indebted to a degree for which no amount of thanks would suffice. He has taken a keen interest in the progress of the work, has readily helped me in every possible way with his expert knowledge in the subject and has kept the Dacca Museum Library open for me, day and night, sometimes to his great inconvenience. I have to tender my heartfelt thanks to Prof. V. Bhattacharyya, Dr. D. C. Ganguly and Dr. R. G. Basak for some helpful suggestions and to my friends Mr. A. K. Shom and Mr. A. J. Bhattacharyya for encouragement. I record hereby my grateful appreciation of the assistance I have received in going through the manuscript and the proofs to Babu Mati Lal Paul B. A., Headmaster, Tarkibandar Victory H. E. School, and to Messrs M. N. Roychowdhury M. A., Nani Lal Sengupta M. A., Chittaranjan Das B. A. and Jyotish Chandra Paul B. A., In fine, I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Satis Chandra Seal M. A., B. L., the young and energetic Secretary of the Indian Research Institute, but for whose help it would have been impossible to bring out the book.

I crave the indulgence of the readers for a few serious misprints that have crept in. An index and a map, so invaluable to a work of this kind, will be added in the next volume.

15TH APRIL, 1939.

P. L. PAUL.

A Note

With the publication of the Early History of Bengal by Mr. P. L. Paul M. A., the Indian Research Institute presents before the scholarly world the second number of the Indian History Series. The object of taking up this series is to bring out a comprehensive religious, cultural, political and social History of India by publication in separate volumes of the history of its places and provinces. The first number of the series was a Monograph on Gaya and Buddha Gaya by Dr. B. M. Barua M. A. D. Lit. (Lond.) which is a Holy Shrine to the Hindus and the Buddhists alike from ancient times.

As has been pointed out by Dr. R. C. Majumdar M. A., Ph. D., the Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University in his Foreword to this volume, it serves as an outline of a comprehensive history of early Bengal. It will be complete in two volumes and the political history is dealt with in the first volume. The second volume will give the religious, cultural, and social history and we expect to bring it out at an early date.

Lastly I appeal once again to all lovers of history and Indology, public libraries and directors of public instructions of different provinces to extend to us their valuable co-operation by liberally subscribing to this and other publications of this Institute, each of which deals with a particular aspect of Indian Civilisation and Culture.

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SATIS CHANDRA SEAL

Errata

Page	II	fn 5	read	Division	for	Divition
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ERRATA

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"	151	"	20	insert	. after correct
"	158	"	20	read	religious for religion
"	"	"	22	"	Vithyādhikaraṇa for Vitrādhikaraṇa

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THE EARLY HISTORY OF BENGAL

INTRODUCTION

ANCIENT GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS—It is indeed a very difficult task to describe the boundaries of geographical divisions and localities of ancient Bengal, as there is no clue to determining the location of some of them. It may be surmised that in ancient Bengal, as in the present time, the natural boundaries were generally the rivers whose beds had been constantly shifting. Our difficulty is further enhanced by the fact that some localities seem to have been included within, or continuous with, the bigger and well-known geographical units, and the boundaries changed with political circumstances also. In the fourth Jaina Upāṅga, the Pannavaṇā,¹ Tāmralipti (Tamluk in modern Midnapore) is included in Vaṅga, and Koṭdivarṣa (Koṭivarṣa in modern Dinajpur) is mentioned as the chief city of Lāḍha (Rāḍha). This seems to refer to a very early period, when the political expansion of Vaṅga and Rāḍha was at its zenith. In the Pāla and Sena periods two broad and commonly known geographical divisions were Gauḍa and Vaṅga.

Gauḍa included both Rāḍha and Varendra. In the Haraha inscription of Išānavarman,² dated in 554 A. D., Gauḍas have been described as 'Samudrāśrayān.' It is stated in the drama 'Prabodhacandraodaya'³ that Rāḍha was included in Gauḍa. It is known from an inscription of the Madras Presidency that Dakṣiṇa (southern) Rāḍha was within Gauḍadeśa.⁴ All these

1. IHQ, 1932 pp. 521ff.

2. EI, XIV, pp. 117ff.

3. For the correct reading of the passage in question, see IHQ, 1932, pp. 521ff.

4. Rangachariar, 'Ins. of the Madras Presidency' I, p. 353; see IHQ, 1937, pp. 162.

go to show that Gauḍa comprised Rāḍha. Rāḍha is roughly represented by the modern Burdwan Presidency, and it is quite probable that some portion of the Manbhum and Hazaribagh districts were also included within it. Rāḍha was divided into Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha and Uttara Rāḍha by the river Ajaya,¹ and these two divisions were also known as Suhma and Brahma respectively². From the Tirumalai inscription of Rājendra Cola and from the Irda grant of the Kamboja king Nayapāladeva³ it seems that Daṇḍabhukti comprised the south-western part of the Midnapore district and some portion of the Balasore district and it was a separate geographical unit from Rāḍha. Tāmraliptikas are mentioned as a tribe or people in ancient literature, and in Yuan Chwang's time Tāmralipti was one of the principalities of Bengal visited by him.

The ancient name of northern Bengal was Puṇḍravardhana and the identification of its capital Puṇḍranagara with Mahasthan in the Bogra district is certain after the publication of the Mahasthan inscription in Old Brahmi script.⁴ It was one of the famous cities of ancient India. In the inscriptions of the Gupta period Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti seems to have comprised northern Bengal, whereas it is definite that this 'bhukti' in the Pāla and Sena periods included some portion of eastern Bengal also.⁵ Later northern Bengal was known as Varendra. From the Silimpur inscription⁶ Varendra seems to be mentioned as a tract within the Puṇḍra country. The earliest mention of Varendra is found in a

1. JRAS, 1935, pp. 73ff.

2. IHQ, 1932, pp. 521ff.

3. EI, XXII, pp. 153ff.

4. IHQ, 1934, pp. 57ff.

5. JRAS, 1935, pp. 73ff. It is quite possible that the country of the Puṇḍras comprised some portion of Burdwan Division also. See 'Deśa-vali-vivṛti' written by Jagamohana Pandit. 'Descriptive Cat. of Sans. Mss. in the Govt. Collection, History and Geography,' p. 63. It is said in this book that there were seven deśas in Puṇḍradeśa, viz. Gauḍa, Varendra, Nivṛti, Suhma, Vardhamāna, Varāhabhuma, Jaṅgala Jhārikhaṇḍa. Also see JASB, 1897, pt. I, pp. 85-112.

6. EI, XIII, pp. 283ff.

south Indian inscription¹ of 967 A. D., in which a Brahman immigrant has been described as 'Gauḍa-cūḍāmaṇi' and 'Vārendra-dyoti-kāriṇa.' It is therefore likely that the name Varendra was well-known by the tenth century. Varendra is roughly represented by the Rajshahi Division excluding perhaps Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling districts. Some portions of the Purnea district might have been included within it.

It is not possible to define the boundary of Vaṅga with any degree of accuracy and preciseness. At the present state of our knowledge the rivers Hoogly and Brahmaputra seem to be the western and eastern boundaries, and on the north was Varendra and to the south, the Bay of Bengal. It is difficult to say whether Harikela and Samatāṣa were included within Vaṅga. In the "Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa"² these three countries are mentioned side by side in the description of the countries where 'asura' speech was prevalent. In view of this evidence we think that the identification of Vaṅga with Harikela by the lexicographer Hemacandra³ should be accepted with some reservation and it is also to be noted that Hemacandra wrote in the 12th century from Guzrat. Mention may be made of the fact that in the two Mss⁴ of the

1. EI, XXI, p. 260ff, Prof. Bhandarkar in his 'Aśoka' (second edition, pp. 36-37) conjectures that Pārimdas of the Gīrnar inscription of Aśoka may be identical with Vārendras. But it is far from being certain.

2. Edited by Ganapati Shastri, 22nd 'Paṭala' pp. 232-233.

3. Hemacandra writes, 'Campāstu Aṅgā Vaṅgāstu Harikelīyā.' In order to explain the obvious difficulty Dr. H. C. Roy Chowdhury suggested that the term Vaṅga was used in a broader and narrower geographical sense and it is in its narrower sense identical with Harikela. But there is no evidence to show that there was a broader Vaṅga and a narrower one. We agree with Dr. Roy Chowdhury in regarding Harikela as a small principality, compared with Vaṅga ('Mānasi-O-Marmavāṇi', 1935-36, B. S. pp. 566ff). In the Chittagong plate of Kāntideva Harikela is called a 'maṇḍala.'

4. I am thankful to Mr. S. C. Banerjee, keeper of the Dacca University Mss., for drawing my attention to these two Mss. They are (1) No. 2141B, named 'Rudrākṣa-māhātmya,' folio I, and (2) No. 1451, named 'Rupa-cintāmoḥi-koṣa' by Yādavānanda Dāsa, composed in 1515 S. E., folio 15A.

Dacca University collection Harikola (= Harikela?) is synonymous with Srihaṭṭa (Sylhet), adjacent to Kēmarūpa. According to I-tsing and Tan-Kang, Harikela was the eastern limit of eastern India,¹ and Yu-he writes that it was 30 days' journey from Ceylon and 100 yojanas from Nālandā. From the Rampal plate of Śrīcandra it appears that it was contiguous to Candradvīpa and Harikela might have included some portion of Bakerganj and Noakhali districts. It was a coastal country and there was direct communication between Harikela and Ceylon.

The word Samataṭa implies that it was a coastal country. Cunningham² is of opinion that Samataṭa is to be identified with the delta of the Ganges including the Sunderbans between the Huranghata river and Bakerganj. In the Barrackpore plate of Vijayasena it is stated that in the Khāḍi-maṇḍala of Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti land was measured according to the 'Nala' standard prevalent in Samataṭa. Khāḍi is at present the name of a 'pargana' in the Diamond Harbour Sub-division and it can be suggested that this part of the 24-Parganas was included in Samataṭa³. The Baghaura image inscription of the 3rd year of Mahīpāla I shows that some portion of modern Tippera was included in Samataṭa⁴.

Candradvīpa was another locality in south-eastern Bengal and is still a 'pargana' in the Bakerganj district. It might have included some portion of Khulna⁵ and Noakhali⁶ districts.

Dr. H. C. Roychowdhury expressed the opinion that Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla are two separate countries and suggested that Vaṅgāla was probably identical with Candradvīpa.⁷ We differed from Dr. Roychowdhury because the only evidence which goes to

1. Takakasu, 'I-tsing,' p xlvī; Chavanes, 'Memore de Religione Eminentis,' p. 106, pp. 144-5.

2. 'Ancient Geography of India,' pp. 501-03.

3. IB, p. 61.

4. EI, XVII, pp. 353ff.

5. S. Mitra, 'History of Jessore and Khulna' (in Bengali), p. 140

6. P. C. Bagchi, Intro., 'Kaulajñāna-Nirṇaya,' pp. 25ff.

7. 'Mānasi-O-Marmavāṇi,' 1335-6 B. S., pp. 566ff.

support his view is the Ablur inscription of Vijjala¹ and because the particular invasion of Bengal by this Kalacurya king has no historical basis at all.² The poet might have meant to repeat the same incident by referring to the conquest of Vaṅga and by alluding to the killing of the king of Vaṅgāla. Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla cannot be regarded as two separate countries on the strength of this evidence alone. We therefore observed that Vaṅgāla seems to be an etymological variation of Vaṅga, probably made by the southerners and foreigners. In a short note³ Dr. N. N. Chaudhury says that Vaṅga is derived from the Tibetan word 'bans' and means marshy and moist. The second part of Vaṅgāla, the Dravidian 'ālam,' is a verbal derivative from the root āl, meaning to possess. Therefore Vaṅgālam means marshy and moist region.

In course of further study of the subject we find Bangala (= Vaṅgāla) has been mentioned in many south Indian inscriptions.⁴ In two records, as in the Ablur inscription, Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla have been mentioned, thereby showing that they were probably two separate countries.⁵ Again, in the *Hāmmītra Mahākāvya* of Nayacandra Sūri (composed before 1496 A. D.) Banga and Bangala have been mentioned side by side.⁶ It must be noted that exploits in Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla in these four records seem to be vague generalisations and poetic exaggerations. But the fact that in four separate records Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla are to be found side by side goes to strengthen Dr. Roychowdhury's opinion. It is also to be noted that we do not find any mention of Vaṅgāla in any record before the 10th century.

Mr. R. C. Banerjee locates the Vaṅgāla country to the east of the Brahmaputra river⁷. Attention may be drawn to Marco Polo's account of the Bangala country. The king of Mien

1. IHQ, XII, p. 77, fn 61.

2. Ibid., XI, p. 769.

3. 'Modern Review,' September, 1936.

4. 'Epigraphia Carnatica,' V Intro, 14n, 19; Cn, 179; VI, Cm 137; VII, Intro, 30 sk, 119; IX Bn, 96; IA, IX, pp. 333ff.

5. 'Epigraphia Carnatica,' V, Cn, 179, Eng. p. 202. IA, IX! pp. 333ff.

6. IA, 1879, p. 58.

7. IC, II, pp. 756 ff.

(Burma) is also called the king of Bangala (= Vaṅgāla)¹. As regards its geographical position, Yule remarks²: "Marco conceives of Bangala, not in India, but as being like Mien, a province on the confines of India, as lying to the south of that kingdom, and as being at the (south) western extremity of a great traverse line which runs (north-east) into Kweichan and Sze-ch'wan. All these conditions point consistently to one locality; that, however, is not Bengal but Pegu.....And possibly the name of Pegu may have contributed to this error, as well as the possible fact that the kings of Burma did at this time claim to be kings of Bengal, whilst they actually were kings of Pegu." This does not preclude the possibility of locating Vaṅgāla as a separate country to the east of the Brahmaputra. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the kings of Burma had important political and social relations with this part of Bengal. Anoratha (1044-77 A. D.), one of the most powerful kings in Burmese history, extended his conquests as far as Bengal³. A prince of Paṭṭikerā (still a 'pargana' in Tippera) married the daughter of the Burmese king, Kyanzittha (1084-1112 A.D.). The next king Alaungstthu (1112-87 A.D.) married a princess of Paṭṭikerā. The Mainamati plate of Rajavaṅkamalla⁴ bears testimony to the Burmese influence in that region. This perhaps explains in a way why the kings of Burma and Pagan were also called kings of Bangala by Marco.

ADMIXTURE OF DIFFERENT RACIAL BLOOD—Opinions of scholars are divided on the question of different racial elements in Bengal, but the fact that the present Bengali population is the admixture of different racial bloods seems to be conceded by many. Sylvian Levi⁵ believes that Aṅga-Vaṅga, Kaliṅga-Triliṅga, Oḍra-Puṇḍra, Pulinda-Kulinda, Kośala-Tosala belong to 'Munda, Kol' and 'Mon-khemar' group of languages whose traces are found in the

1 The account of Marco Polo translated by Yule. Yule takes Bangala to refer to the entire province of Bengal Vol. II, p. 98., note 99, 100; for the account of the Bangala country, see pp. 114 ff.

2 Ibid., p. 128.

3 Phare, 'History of Burma,' p.37. 4. IHQ 1903, p.285. 5 P. C. Bagchi, 'Pre-Dravidian and Pre-Aryan in India', Part III 'Vicitra', 1340 B. S., pp. 413 ff.

Khasia hills of Assam, upper and lower Burma, Nicobar islands and Malaya Archipelago. These languages are denoted by the general term *Austrić*. The common ethnic origin of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Puṇḍra, Kaliṅga and Suhma has perhaps found expression in the legendary story of their origin in the Mahābhārata, Purāṇas and the Harivaṁśa as the sons of 'R̥ṣi' Dirghmanta through his union with Sudoṣṇā, wife of the demon king Bali. Risley described the Bengali type "as a blend of Dravidian and Mongolian elements with a strain of Indo-Aryan blood in the higher groups." This theory has been challenged by some scholars but has not been replaced by a better one. Thus Dr. B. S. Guha considers the Malas of Santal-Parganas, Bankura and Midnapore as Austroloid and finds traces of Alpine race in the Brahmanas and Kāyasthas, and Mongolian element in the Brahmaputra delta.¹

As regards Aryan immigrations, Oldenberg, Hoernle and Grierson hold that there was a previous migration of a band of Aryans before the coming of the Vedic Aryans, and the earlier ones were pushed into the outlying provinces of northern India like Bengal, Behar, Assam, Maharashtra and Gujrat. According to R. P. Chanda, the Outer Aryans came later across the tableland of Central India, when the Inner Aryans lived in the Kuru-Pāñchala country. The theory of Outer and Inner Aryans has been questioned recently by Dr. N. K. Datta² who is of opinion that there were two types of culture—the older of the Panjab and the later of the Midland. "It is the former type that spread in Eastern India and later the Midland culture began to conquer its way in the east." Scholars who have gone deep into the question are thus at variance. But it seems clear from the stray references to Aṅga, Vaṅga, Puṇḍra and Kaliṅga in the 'Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,' 'Aitareya Āraṇyak' and 'Baudhāyana-sūtra' that the peoples or tribes of eastern India were different from those who composed these books³. The predominant non-Aryan character of the population perhaps accounts for the popularity of the non-Brahmanical

1 'Prabāsl,' 1940 B. S., pp. 257

2. 'Aryanisation of India,' Ch. II. Previous opinions summarised and criticised.

3. Vide infra.

religions like Buddhism and Jainism in eastern India. These two factors seem to have combined to prevent the rapid Brahmanisation of Bengal and from that standpoint perhaps the migrations of Brahmanas from the midlands were welcome to the followers of their faith even in the later periods.

MANY UNEXPLORED SITES—Many ancient sites and localities have not been explored yet. Even the few sites declared as protected area by the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act have not been excavated. The rich finds at Paharpur, Mahasthan and Rangamati should remove the old notion that ancient sites of Bengal are not worth excavating. Paharpur finds alone can in many ways interpret the artistic and religious evolution of ancient Bengal and they have enriched our knowledge about those phases to an unexpected degree. The undertaking of the excavation of Banagarh by the Calcutta University is expected to throw light on many disputed events. It is the city of the demon king Bāṇa of the Purāṇas, the headquarter of the Koṭivarṣaviṣaya of the Gupta period, the site of the mysterious pillar of a Kamboja king and the mounds of this place have been described as "second only to those at Paharpur." The tours¹ undertaken by a student of archaeology in Dinajpur, Malda and Bogra districts have revealed the fact that most of the important villages abound in images of iconographic interest. The 'Bīrbhūma-Vivaraṇa'² contains imperfect reproductions of some images which are of great iconographic importance and exhibit high artistic excellence. Its author for the first time drew attention to the Paikore pillar inscription of Ka'acuri Karṇa which proves beyond doubt that he penetrated in the very heart of Bengal in course of his invasion which was so long doubted, as the information was from the Tibetan source and as the 'Rāmacarita' gives a different story. There cannot be any denying the fact that some of the disputed events and gaps of the early history of Bengal cannot be explained unless fresh materials throw some light on them. Explorations and excavations of important sites are, therefore, of paramount importance and imperative necessity.

1. JASB, 1932, pp. 151, 178, 185.

2. Published by Hare Krishna Mukherjee.

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THE EARLY HISTORY OF BENGAL

CHAPTER I

From earliest times to the Gupta period

There is no mention of any part of Bengal in the Rg-Veda. In the 'Aitareya Brāhmaṇa' it is said that the Puṇḍras, Andhras and Śabaras live on the border of the Ārya country and the bulk of them are Dasyus. In the 'Aitareya Āraṇyaka'¹ Vaūgas, Vagadhas (= Magadhas) and Ceras have been compared with birds. Baudhāyana² quotes older authorities (Bhallavins) to show that any one visiting Puṇḍra, Vaūga and Kaliṅga had to perform some purificatory sacrifices. It seems that in the later Vedic period Bengal was inhabited by tribes or peoples who belonged to a different stock of population from these Brahmanical writers and contact with these tribes was avoided by them as far as possible.

Manu³ refers to the Pauṇḍrakas as one of the Kṣatriya tribes or peoples who had degraded themselves to the status of the Sūdras for their neglect of the sacred rites and for not consulting the Brahmanas. The 'Anugītā'⁴ mentions the Pauṇḍras as one of the Kṣatriya tribes who fled into the mountains and other inaccessible places in fear of Jāmadagni and neglected their prescribed duties. The legendary story of the five sons of Bali, Aṅga, Vaūga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra and Suhma, may be construed to mean that the ruling princes and high dignitaries were coming into contact with the Aryans. All these references perhaps point to the fact that in a subsequent period when the Aryan settlements were

1. VIII, 18.

2. II, 1, 1.

3. 1, 2, 14.

4. SBE, XXV, p. 412.

5. SBE, VIII, p. 295.

growing, they tried to connect these tribes with them by some stories and legends. They were not yet strictly conforming themselves to Aryan rites and customs and hence they were called degraded Kṣatriyas and Sūdras. Anyway, the Aryans were coming into contact with Bengal in post-Vedic period and could not neglect the power of the original tribes of the country.

We learn from the 'Mahābhārata' that Vaṅga and Puṇḍra were subject to Jarāśanda of Magadha. In course of Bhīma's expedition¹ he is said to have defeated Vāsudeva of Puṇḍra, Samudrasena of Vaṅga and an unnamed king of Suhma. In addition to the above mentioned tribes or peoples we know the existence of many others from the description of his victories. Prastuhmas are mentioned along with Suhmas and seem to have occupied adjacent territories. Tāmraliptakas and Karvaṇas² also seem to have been peoples of western Bengal. The seacoast and islands of the Bay were inhabited by the Kirātas and Mlecchas.

The description of the kingdom of Aṅga in the 'Mahābhārata' and Buddhist literature goes to indicate that some portions of Bengal were sometimes included within it. Karṇa, king of Aṅga, brought troops from Aṅga, Vaṅga, Puṇḍra and Kaliṅga in support of the Kauravas. The Buddhist literature bears ample testimony to the greatness of the Aṅga kingdom.³ It tops the list of the sixteen great kingdoms in the 'Aṅguttara-Nikāya.' The 'Kathāsarita-sāgara' alludes to the fact that the kingdom of Aṅga at one time extended to the sea and one of its cities, Viṭaṅkapura, was situated on the seaside. It continued a long struggle with Magadha until it was finally annexed to the Magadhan empire by Bimbisāra.

The incursion of Aṅga within the Magadhan empire perhaps did not mean the annexation of Bengal also. The existence of a powerful kingdom in south-western Bengal, called Gangaridai,

1. Sānti Parva, Ch. 30, (Calcutta edition)

2. For their location see IHQ., VIII, pp. 521 ff; SPP. 1340 B, S. 55 ff.

3. For full references, see Dr. H. C. Roychowdhury, PHAI, pp. 75ff; Dr. Majumdar, The Early History of Bengal, pp. 6ff.

at the time of Alexander's invasion is attested by the classical writers.¹ Diodorus (49 B. C.-A. D. 14) says that it was reported to Alexander, "Beyond these (the Indus, the desert and the Ganges) were situated the dominions of the nation of the Braisioi (Prasii) and the Gangaridai, whose king, Xandrames, had an army of 20,000 horse, 200,000 infantry, 2000, chariots and 4,000 elephants trained and equipped for war. Poros confirmed the report and further informed Alexander that the king of Gangaridai was thought to be the son of a barber and was not much respected. His father won the affection of the queen who murdered the old king treacherously. In this way the ruling king's father became king. Speaking of Indian nations as a whole in a very general way, Diodorus says that "India is inhabited by very many nations, among which the greatest of all is that of the Gangaridai against whom Alexander did not undertake an expedition, being deterred by the multitude of their elephants. This region is separated from farther India by the Ganges, the greatest river in those parts." Cuntius Curtius says that the lower Gangetic country is occupied by two nations, the Gangaridai and Prasii, whose king, Agrammes, commanded an army of almost above strength. The only difference is that Curtius refers to the number of the elephants as 3,000, whereas Diodorus gives the number as 4,000.

Plutarch says that the opposition of Alexander's army against further advance was due to the report that "The kings of Gangaridai and Prasioi were waiting for him with an army of 80,000 horse, 200,000 foot, 8,000 war chariots, and 6,000 fighting elephants." Plutarch assures that there is no exaggeration in the description of the army of the two nations. Pliny writes, "The tribes called Kalingæ are nearest the sea, and higher up are the Mandæi and the Malli, in whose country is mount Mallus, the boundary of all that district being the Ganges.....the final part of its course is through the country of the Gangarides. The royal city of Kaliṅga is called Parthalis. Over their king 60,000 foot

1. We follow McCrindle's translations in quotations.

soldiers, 1,000 horsemen and 7,000 elephants keep watch and ward." Another alternative reading makes Gangarides-Kaliṅga a people, having a king, a capital city and a military force of their own.¹ Pliny adds that Prasii surpasses in power and glory every other power of India. Ptolemy says that all the country about the mouths of the Ganges was occupied by the Gangaridai whose capital was Gange. This city is said to have been at the junction of the Ganges leading to Mega (great) and Kamberikhon mouths respectively. The author of the 'Periplus' mentions the port Gange at the mouth of the Ganges.²

It is clear from the accounts of these writers that the country of the Gangaridai was to the east of the Prasii with their capital Palibothra or Pāṭaliputra. The Ganges most probably flew into the sea, as it does at present, into many channels, the two important branches being the Hooghly and the Padma. The suggestion³ that the Indian name of the country of the Gangarides is Gaṅgārāṣṭra (i. e. the country of the Ganges) seems to be near the mark. Their country seems to have comprised Burdwan, Presidency and Dacca Divisions. The power and prestige of this kingdom reached the ears of Alexander and its rise may be placed sometime earlier. It is a significant fact that no writer definitely calls Gangaridai subordinate to Prasii. Such a conclusion held by many scholars has been therefore questioned.⁴ Late Mr. Monahan rightly observed, "It is not certain whether the two peoples at that time (of Alexander's invasion) formed one state or a confederation, but the evidence seems on the whole to point to two states with separate kings and forces, but united in a close confederation—so close that the population of both was sometimes included under one name, as Parsii or as Gangarides." It is noteworthy that Diodorus definitely calls Xandrames king of Gangaridai. This king has

1. Monahan, *The Early History of Bengal*, p. 5.

2. Schoff, 'Periplus', p. 47.

3. *IHQ*, III, p. 728; *Ibid*, IV, pp. 44, 234.

4. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, *The Early History of Bengal*, p. 10.

generally been identified with Mahāpadma Nanda of the Nanda dynasty, who seems to be the ruler of both the nations. It is not again certain that Candragupta Maurya, who supplanted the the Nanda dynasty from Magadha, brought Gangaridai under his authority. He is sometimes called king of Prasii but nowhere that of Gangaridai. It is clear from Pliny's account that the countries of the Gangarides and Kaliṅgas were adjacent territories. His description of Kaliṅgas deserves more than a passing notice. He mentions one tribe called Maccokalingæ and another called Modokalinga inhabiting an island in the Ganges. We have already referred to the fact that one interpretation of a text of Pliny makes out Gangarides-Kaliṅga, and from this Vivien de Saint-Martin concluded that they were three branches of the Kaliṅgas. Their country was nearest to the sea and their capital was called Parthalis which has been identified with Purvasthali, a large village about 20 miles from the present Burdwan town.¹ The common ethnic character of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra and Suhma has already been emphasised. It is therefore likely that a branch of the Kaliṅgas also inhabited some part of western Bengal and were allied with the Gangarides. The great Kaliṅga expedition of Aśoka was perhaps meant against the powerful combination of the Kaliṅgas and Gangarides. The huge loss of human lives and havocs of the Kaliṅga war, so vividly described in the Thirteenth Rock Edict, may be better explained in this way, for the subjugation of a province like modern Orissa did not possibly require so much effort of the powerful Maurya emperor.

Whatever may be the case, it seems that Bengal was brought under the Aśokan empire. Yuan Chwang saw many Aśokan topes at Puṇḍravardhana, Samatāṭa, Tāmralipti and Kārṇasuvarṇa (in the Murshidabad district). This positive evidence is corroborated by the fact that while the kingdoms of the extreme south like Cola, Cera, Keralaputra and Sātiyaputra have been mentioned in the inscriptions as frontier kingdoms, no part of Bengal so near

1. IHQ, IV, p. 55,

to Pāṭaliputra has been mentioned as such. The geographer Ptolemy writing in the 2nd century A. D. refers to the country of the Gangarides, and their capital Gange¹ was a port of considerable importance in the first century A. D., as the evidence of the 'Periplus' shows. It is quite probable that the Gangarides cast off the Magadha yoke during the rule of the weak successors of Aśoka or after the break-up of the Maurya empire and their country continued an independent political existence at least up to the time of Ptolemy.

The history of Bengal from the fall of the Mauryas to the rise of the Guptas is almost dark. Ptolemy places a people called Maroundai "on the left bank of the Ganges, south of the Gogra, down to the top of the delta." But it would not be very safe to trace their extension of power so far east and south as the delta of the Ganges on the authority of Ptolemy whose geographical knowledge was often defective.² The 'Purāṇas' state that the Muruṇḍas will rule over large tracts of the Ganges valley.³ Jaina books call Maruṇḍarāja ruler of Kāṇyakubja and residing in Pāṭaliputra.⁴ The Chinese records also confirm the existence of a tribe called Meouloun (= ? Muruṇḍas) in the Gangetic valley.⁵ It is not easy to determine who these Muruṇḍas were. Sten Konow says that the word Muruṇḍa has been used in Kushana inscriptions in the sense of overlord.⁶ If the words Śaka-Muruṇḍas of the Al'ahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta should be taken to mean as two separate peoples and not as Śaka chiefs, the Muruṇḍas seem to be a foreign horde like the Sakas who invaded India in the early centuries of the Christian era.

1. It has been sought to be located in the Jessore and Dacca districts (IA, 1884, p. 365) and identified with Saptagrāma in the Hooghly district (IHQ, IV, pp. 234ff). Its identification is not certain.

2. Monahan, *The Early History of Bengal*, pp. 8-13.

3. DUS, I, No. 2, p. 47.

4. Allan, *Catalogue of Indian Coins*, p. XXIX.

5. Prof. Sylvian Levy first drew attention to this, *Ibid.*

6. IA, XXXVII, p. 33; JASB, XIX, pp. 343ff.

According to the 'Purāṇas, Devarakṣitas ruled over Kośālas, Andhras, Pauṇḍras and Tāmraliptas and countries on the sea-shore before the rise of the Guptas. Nothing is known about Devarakṣitas from any other source.¹

Gupta Rule in Bengal—The establishment of Gupta authority over north-western Bengal can be traced from the time of Samudragupta. In the famous Allahabad pillar inscription we find that his 'pratyanta' (frontier) kingdoms in the east were Samatāṭa, Davāka and Kāmarūpā. The location of Davāka is uncertain,² but the positions of the other two are more or less certain. These three kingdoms also obeyed his suzerainty and paid taxes to him and they seem to have been within the spheres of his influence. The evidence of the Allahabad praśasti read along with the Damodarpur plates suggests that north-western Bengal was included within the empire of Samudragupta. The suggestion³ that Candravarman of the Susunia Rock inscription is to be identified with Candravarman mentioned in that praśasti as one of the kings of Āryāvarta whose power was exterminated by Samudragupta rests on strong grounds and is perhaps to be accepted.

It is known from the Meharauli Iron pillar inscription that a king named Candra subjugated his enemies who gave a united front in Vaṅga and he also inflicted a defeat on the Bāhlikas by crossing the seven mouths of the Indus. The identification of king Candra has led to much discussion among scholars and the subject needs fresh treatment in the light of recent discoveries about the imperial Gupta history. Fleet⁴ emphasised the early characters of this inscription but it must be observed that being a record on

1. Dr. R. C. Majumdar is of opinion that they belonged to the kingdom of Devarākṣitra (mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta) which was situated in the Vizagapatam district. *Op. cit.* p. 13; also see DUS, I, No. 2, pp. 62-63.

2. IHQ, I, pp. 250ff.

3. PHAI, p. 364 *fn. vide in fra.*

4. CIL. III, pp. 139-142.

an iron pillar, it is 'sui generis' and does not bear comparison with other contemporary records. Three sets of opinions have come out of previous discussions.

(a). Mm. H. P. Shastri¹ expressed the opinion that Candra of the Meharauli pillar did not belong to the Gupta dynasty but was a king of Puṣkaraṇa in Rajaputana, who tried to found an all-India empire before Samudragupta. The Mandasor inscription of 404 A.D. describes Naravarman as a powerful king of Puṣkaraṇa and son of Siṃhavarman and grandson of Jayavarman. The Susunia Rock inscription in the Bankura district of Bengal records that a wheel of Viṣṇu was set up by Candravarman, son of Siṃhavarman and king of Puṣkaraṇa. Mm. H. P. Sastri on the strength of the identity of the name Siṃhavarman of the Mandasor and Susunia inscriptions took Candravarman and Naravarman to be brothers and identified Candravarman with Candra of the Meharauli pillar. But Pokharana is the name of a place not far off from the findspot of the Susunia inscription. It may be regarded almost certain after what Mr. K. N. Dikshit has written about the ancient ruins of this place that Candravarman was the king of Pokharana (whose sanskritised form is Puṣkaraṇa) and as such he has been regarded as a local king.² It is not known whether Siṃhavarman, father of Naravarman of the Mandasor inscription, had any son of the name of Candravarman. The identification of Candravarman of the Susunia inscription with a man of unknown existence is hardly tenable and there is no definite clue whatsoever to the identification of Candravarman with Candra of the Meharauli pillar.³

1. EI. XIII. p. 189; XII. pp. 815ff. He is supported by R. D. Banerjee (EI. XIV. pp. 368-71.)

2. ASIR, 1927-28, pp. 188-9.

3. PHAI, p. 364 fn.

4. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali supports this identification by pointing out a solitary reference to one Candravarman whose Koṭa or fort formed the boundary of the land granted to a Brahmana by Samācāradeva in the 6th century A. D. (EI, XVIII p. 84). But it is very difficult to say who was this Candravarman whose fort is referred to in the inscription of Samācāradeva. He might be Candravarman of the Susunia inscription.

(b). Fleet expressed the opinion that Candra of the Meharauli pillar might be Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty, and this has been supported by Dr. R. G. Basak and Prof. S. K. Aiyangar. Dr. Basak¹ accepts the identity of Simhavarman of the Susunia inscription and of the Mandasor inscription but would not concede that Candravarman came to Vaṅga on a campaign of conquests and would presume that Candravarman might have gone to the Susunia hill on a pilgrimage.² But this presumption is contradicted by Dr. Basak himself when he brings Candravarman in Bengal owing to the political vicissitudes of the Varman family of Malwa. He writes, "Simhavarman and Jayavarman might have ruled independently and when Samudragupta reduced the Malwa power, it is not unlikely that the elder brother was driven away from Malwa towards the east. This may in a way explain why he came to the Susunia hill"³ Prof. S. K. Aiyangar argues the case of this identification with greater ardour⁴ and lays down three conditions which should be satisfied in solving the controversy regarding Candra of the Meharauli pillar.

(i) The person Candra must have been a man of achievement by his own efforts, acquired a vast kingdom, and held rule over it for a length of time.

(ii) He must have fought two actions against enemies across the wide stretch of India, such as western front of Bengal and western frontier of Sindh on the western side.

(iii) The enemies thus overthrown along the western frontier of Sindh [more properly on the other side of the Indus] are stated to be Bāhlikas.⁵

1. History of North-Eastern India, p. 14.

2. Ibid, pp. 17-18.

3. Ibid, pp. 27-28.

4. JIH, VI, Studies in Gupta History, pp. 14-22 ; the Vākatakas and their place in Indian History, Ibid pp. 1-12.

5. Bāhlikas are known as ruling in the Panjab with Sakāla (present Sialkot) as their capital (Mahābhārata, Karna-parva, Ch. 87-38). Varāha-Mihira mentions Bāhlikas as a northern people.

But Prof. Aiyangar has failed to cite any definite evidence and known event of Candragupta I's reign to satisfy any one of these three conditions. The Purāṇas make him rule over Magadha, Śāketa and Prāyāga.¹ His name is omitted from the list of imperial Gupta kings in the 'Mañjuśrī-Mū'akalpa'.² The above-mentioned three conditions are rather in complete agreement with certain events of Candragupta II's reign. To emphasise the identification of Candra of the Meharauli pillar with Candragupta I is to ignore some definitely known events of the reign of Candragupta II.

(c) The identification with Candragupta II was proposed by Hærnle³ and V. A. Smith,⁴ but the latter gave up his own proposition and accepted Mm. H. P. Shastri's identification.⁵ The existence of a hitherto unknown king, named Rāmāgupta,⁶ elder brother of Candragupta II, seems now to be accepted, and the drama 'Devī Candragupta' acquaints us with a hard and keen struggle between Candragupta II and the Śakas. Allan's remark⁷ that "the enemies who had united against him (i. e. Candra of the Meharauli pillar) in the Vaṅga country were probably peoples who had taken the opportunity of his absence in the west to cast off the yoke under which his father had laid them" is applicable to Candragupta II. It seems that the paramountcy established by the arms of Samudragupta was going to be lost during the rule of Rāmāgupta but was re-established by the prowess of Candragupta II. It is quite clear from the epigraphic, literary and numismatic evidence of his reign that Candragupta II came into conflict with the Śaka Satraps.

If the identification of Candra of Meharauli pillar with Candragupta II is to be accepted, it seems certain that the Vaṅgas

1. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Intro. p. xii.

2. K. P. Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, sl. 645.

3. IA, XXI, p. 43.

4. JASB, 1897, pp. 1-18.

5. EHI, (4th ed.) p. 290, fn. I.

6. JBORS, XIV, pp. 223-258; Malaviya Commemoration Volume, 1932, pp. 189 ff; IC, IV, p. 216.

7. Catalogue of Indian Coins, (Gupta Dynasties) p. xxxvi. It is to be noted that Allan rejected the identification with Candragupta II.

tried to cast off the Gupta yoke but the attempt was frustrated by the valour of Candragupta II. Whoever this Candra might be, it is certain that the people of Vaṅga fought with a king who was in a position to overrun the territory between eastern Bengal and the Indus.

The Dhanaidaha, Baigram, Paharpur and five Damodarpur plates record land sales by different district (*viṣaya*) governments of the Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti within the period between 432 and 544 A. D. and clearly indicate that northern Bengal was under the Gupta emperors almost upto the middle of the sixth century A. D. The Dhanaidaha, Baigram and Damodarpur plates Nos. 1 and 2 of 113, 128, 124, 128 G. E. respectively fall within the reign of Kumāragupta I. In the Damodarpur plates Nos. 1 and 2 'uparika' Cīrātadatta and 'kumārāmātya' Vetravarman are mentioned as the governors of the Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti and of the Koṭi-varṣaviṣaya respectively during the sovereignty of Kumāragupta I. The name of the emperor has not been mentioned in the Baigram plate but the date shows that it is a record of the reign of the same monarch when 'kumārāmātya' Kulavṛddhi was in charge of the Pañcanagarī-*viṣaya*.

We need not enter into the controversial question regarding the successor or successors of Kumāragupta I. Something may be said for or against the three theories viz. [i] after the death of Kumāragupta I his sons set up independent kingdoms in different parts of the empire,¹ [ii] he was succeeded by his son Skandagupta who was followed by his brother Puragupta and his descendants² and [iii] there were two rival lines—one represented by Skandagupta, Kumāragupta II [?] of the Saranath inscription of 154 G. E. and Budhagupta, and the other³ represented by Puragupta, Narasimhagupta and Kumāragupta III [?] of the Bhitari seal inscription. Each of these theories should be regarded as

1. IA. 1918, pp. 161-67; JASB. 1921, pp. 249-55.

2. Dr. H. C. Roychowdhury, PHAI, pp. 386 ff.

3. Dr. R. G. Basak, History of North-Eastern India, pp. 72 ff.

tentative, and no conclusion is possible unless further light is thrown on the controversy by fresh data. No epigraphic record of the reigns of Skandagupta, Puragupta, Narasimhagupta and his son Kumāragupta II [?] has been discovered in Bengal but it is to be noted that coins of Skandagupta have been found in different districts¹ and coins of Narasimhagupta and Kumāragupta [II?] have been found in the large Kalighat hoard.² The Damodarpur plates Nos. 3 and 4 mention two governors of the Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti, Brahmadatta and Jayadatta by name, during the sovereignty of Budhagupta. The Paharpur plate of 159 G. E. does not mention the name of the emperor but it falls within his reign-period. These three plates read along with the Eran pillar inscription³ and the Saranath image inscription of 157 G. E.⁴ go to indicate that his authority was acknowledged in Central Provinces, United Provinces and Northern Bengal. Even if it is to be conceded that the Gupta empire was parcelled out among the sons of Kumāragupta I, it seems that Budhagupta ruled over a wide extent of territory and he cannot be regarded as the local ruler of Malwa and that he perhaps re-united the Gupta empire under his authority.

The Gunaighar grant of Vainyagupta,⁵ dated in 508 A. D., raises some important problems. It was issued from the camp of victory situated at Kṛpura at the request of the dependent Mahārāja Rudradatta. It records grant of land in the Gunaik-āgrahāra which is to be identified with Gunaighar, the find-spot of the plate, in the Tippera district. The dātaka of the grant was Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Vijayasena whose high-sounding titles

1. One gold coin from each of the following districts, viz., from Mahanad in Hoogly, Faridpur and Midnapore and a few silver coins from Muhamadpur in Jessore. *BI*, p. 71; *JASB*, *xxi*, p. 401.

2. Allan, *Catalogue of Indian Coins*, Intro. p. cxxvi.

3. Fleet, *CII*, *III*, p. 88.

4. *IA*, 1918, p. 162.

5. *IHQ*, 1930, pp. 40 ff.

'pañcādhikaraṇoparikapratyuparika'¹ and 'puraloparika'² imply that he was a man of considerable importance in the kingdom. In this record Vainyagupta himself is styled only 'Mahārāja' and 'Paramaśaiva' and this has led Mr. D. C. Bhattacharyya to infer that he was a Gupta prince who declared independence during the troubled times of Huṇa invasions. Dr. R. C. Majumdar,³ who contends that after the death of Kumāragupta I Gupta princes set up independent kingdoms in different parts of the empire, finds additional support from this record in favour of his view. Dr. D. C. Ganguli⁴ has correctly attributed the coins with the legend 'Dvādaśāditya' on the reverse to Vainyagupta (hitherto attributed to Candragupta III), and his heavy gold coins, similar in type to those of the imperial Guptas, lead him to infer that he belonged to the same dynasty and was not a local ruler of Samatāṣa. Mention may be made of the fact that a seal of Vainyagupta with the title 'Mahārājādhirāja' has been found at Nālandā along with the seals of Budhagupta, Kumārgupta (II?) and Bhāskara-varman.⁵ The inclusion of Vainyagupta in the imperial Gupta line means that in the first decade of the sixth century Gupta empire included Samatāṣa or a part of it, which was an outlying kingdom at the time of Samudragupta. The late Mr. R. D. Banerjee⁶ was of opinion that even in the Gupta period Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti comprised some part of eastern Bengal as in the Pāla and Sena periods.

Unfortunately the name of the Gupta emperor in the Damodarpur plate No. 5 is lost. Dr. R. G. Basak suggested the name to be (Bhānu?) gupta.⁷ We are rather inclined to

1. Mr. D. C. Bhattacharyya renders it as "President of five (district) court judges." Ibid.

2. Rendered by the same scholar as "President of city Governors." Ibid.

3. IHQ, IX, pp. 989ff.

4. Ibid, pp. 784ff; x, pp. 154ff.

5. ASIR, 1930-34, p. 230.

6. BI, p. 63.

7. EI, XV, p. 144; Jayaswal thinks him to be Kumāragupta III, Imperial History of India, p. 67.

to identify him with Viṣṇugupta, a large number of whose coins have been found in the Kalighat hoard with the legend on the reverse reading 'Candrāditya'.¹ If this is to be accepted, Viṣṇugupta seems to be the last known Gupta king of Bengal. The title of the governor of the Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti in this plate is 'Mahārājaputra-rājaputradeva-bhaṭṭāraka' and his name seems to be lost, though it is not unlikely that his name was Rājaputradeva. The epithets 'Mahārājaputra' and 'Bhaṭṭāraka' perhaps imply that he was a prince of the royal blood. Yuan Chwang and the 'Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa'² state that the Huṇa chief Toramāna was captured in the marshy land in the east and Gauḍa. It seems that when western provinces were passing into the hands of the Huṇas and Yaśodharman was rising in Malwa, the last stronghold of the Guptas was Bengal. The proud boast of the court-poet that Yaśodharman's songs of victories resound on the bank of the Lauhitya³ perhaps refers to his fight with a Gupta king in Bengal.

1. Allan Op. Cit., pp. 141-46.

2. Jayaswal, Op. Cit. p. 64.

3. Fleet, CII, III, Nos. 88-85.

CHAPTER II

From the Fall of the Guptas to the Rise of the Palas

The Gupta empire finally broke up about the middle of the sixth century and there arose independent dynasties like the Maitrakas of Vallabhī, the Maukharis and the Later Guptas in different parts of the empire. The four Faridpur plates acquaint us with the names of three Mahārājādhirājas, viz., Gopacandra, Dharmāditya and Samīcārādeva, who seem to have been, as Dr. N. K. Bhattasali¹ points out, "related to one another and formed a dynasty." After the publication of the Mallasarula plate of Mahārāja Vijayasena² it cannot perhaps be maintained that the kings of the Faridpur plates (at least Gopacandra) were rulers of eastern Bengal only. Palæographically these five plates belong to the same period, i. e., the sixth century A. D. Though two letters just after the name 'Gopa' are lost in the new plate, Mahārājādhirāja Gopa is perhaps to be identified with Gopacandra of the Faridpur plate C of Pargiter. The existence of two Mahārājādhirājas with the same name in the same period is hardly a tenable proposition in the absence of some positive proof. By this plate land transaction was made in the Vardhamāna-bhukti which, roughly speaking, comprised modern Burdwan Division. Further, if the identification of Mahārāja Vijayasena of this record with the Mahārāja of the same name of the Gunaighar grant is to be accepted, the chronological order of the kings of the Faridpur plates, as worked out by Pargiter³ after careful palæographical examinations, needs be changed. In that case Gopacandra seems to have preceded Dharmāditya, unless the vassal king Vijayasena lived an unusually long life to serve three kings, Vainyagupta

1. EI, VIII, p. 84

2. SPP, 1344 B, S., pp. 17 ff.

3. IA, 1910, pp. 193 ff.

Dharmāditya and Gopacandra, if not more others. If the identification is to be accepted, it seems that Gupta authority in Bengal was supplanted by Gopacandra.

The invasions of Bengal by the Maukhari king *Īśānavarman* and the *Cālukya* king *Kirtivarman I* most probably took place during the reigns of the three kings of the Faridpur plates. The *Haraha* inscription¹ of 554 A. D. records that the *Gauḍas* were compelled by *Īśānavarman* to take shelter on the sea shore. The *Mahakuta* inscription,² dated in 602 A. D., states that *Kirtivarman I*, son of *Pulakeśin I*, defeated the kings of *Aṅga*, *Vaṅga* and *Kaliṅga*. No other event of the reigns of *Gopacandra*, *Dharmāditya* and *Samācāradeva* is known. Their rise as well as fall remains shrouded in mystery. Two coins in the Indian Museum with the legend '*Narendrāditya*' on the reverse may be attributed to *Samācāradeva*, as the reading of the legend '*Samāca*' on the obverse appears to be almost certain.³

The chronological position of *Mahārājādhirāja Jayanāga* of the *Vappagoṣavaṭa* grant is not very easy to determine. The alphabets seem to be earlier than those used in the *Ganjam* plate of *Madhavarāja* of 619 A. D. and in the *Nidhanpur* plates of *Bhāskarvarman*. It is for the upright character of the letters used in *Vappagoṣavaṭa* grant that *Dr. R. G. Basak*⁴ is inclined to place *Jayanāga* before *Śaśāṅka*. But it must be noted that the '*Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa*' places *Jayanāga* immediately after *Śaśāṅka*. It is difficult to say anything definitely on the chronological position of these two kings from palaeographical consideration, as the interval between them appears to be very short. The *Vappagoṣavaṭa* grant was issued from *Karṇasuvārṇa* and records grant of land to *Bhaṭṭa Brahmaprasvāmin* by *Sāmanta Nārāyaṇabhadra* who was in charge of the *Audumbarika-viṣaya* which has been identified with

1. EI, XIV, pp. 110 ff.

2. IA, XIX, p. 16.

3. EI, XVIII, pp. 79-80; Allan, Op. Cit. pp. 149-50.

4. History of North-Eastern India, p. 189.

Audumbar pargana in the Murshidabad district.¹ The coins with the legend 'Jaya' on the obverse and 'Prakāṇḍayaśaḥ' on the reverse may be attributed to Jayanāga.²

ŚAŚĀṆKA—Śaśāṅka played an important rôle in the history of north-eastern India in the first half of the seventh century. His activities are known in some details from contemporary sources. Bāṇabhatta calls him king of Gauḍa and Yuan Chwang refers to him as ruler of Karṇasuvarṇa which has been identified with Rangamati in the Murshidabad district.

Some scholars attempt to show Śaśāṅka's connection with the Guptas. Bühler noticed in one of the Mss. of the 'Harṣacarita' the name of the king of Gauḍa as Narendragupta.³ Dr. R. G. Basak⁴ is of opinion that the word 'Narendra' has been used by Bāṇa under the garb of a pun to refer to Śaśāṅka. The same provenance and the similar style of the coins of Śaśāṅka with those of the Guptas led R. D. Banerjee⁵ to go so far as to assert that he was a son or nephew of Mahāśenagupta. All that can be said is that he seems to have 'Narendra' as his 'virāḍa' but there is no positive evidence to prove his Gupta lineage. But if Gupta heredity cannot be claimed for him, his heritage was the Gupta imperial tradition which he tried to emulate.

The Rotasgarh seal matrix⁶ found in the Shahabad district of Bihar bears an inscription reading "Śrī-mahāsāmanta-śaśāṅka-devasya" [of the illustrious Mahāsāmanta Śaśāṅkadeva]. For palaeographical reasons this Mahāsāmanta is to be identified with Śaśāṅka, the rival of Harṣavardhana. The testimony of the Rotasgarh seal-matrix is so great a commentary on his early life that its significance cannot be ignored. To all intents and purposes, it appears that Śaśāṅka began his career as a subordinate chief. The question of finding out the overlord whom he served in his early life is not very easy. The Haraha inscription of Išāna-

1. EI, XIX, p. 286,

2. Allan, Op. Cit. pp. 150-51,

3. EI, I, p. 70,

4. Op. cit. p. 138,

5. BI, p. 105,

6. CII, III, p. 284,

varman of 554 A. D. and the Deobaranark inscription¹ of Jivitagupta II indicate the suzerainty of the Maukhari kings Išānavarman, Sarvavarman and Avantivarman over Bihar. The latter record clearly shows that the authority of Sarvavarman and Avantivarman was acknowledged in the Shahabad district. This would indicate that Śaśāṅka was a feudatory of the Maukharis. But it is known from the Apshad inscription of Ādityasena² that his grandfather Mahāsenagupta described by Bāṇa as king of Mālava defeated Susthitavarman on the bank of the Lauhitya, who is to be identified with the king of Kāmarūpa of that name. Mahāsenagupta's son Mādhavagupta, Susthitavarman's son Bhāskaravarman and Harṣavardhana were contemporaries. Therefore Mahāsenagupta fought with the Kāmarūpa king during the close of the sixth or during the opening years of the seventh century A. D. Śaśāṅka might have been a feudatory of Mahāsenagupta in the train of whose invasion he came. This may in a way also explain the Rotsgrah seal-matrix of Śaśāṅka.

But the chief sphere of his activities was Gauḍa, as it is clear from Bāṇabhaṭṭa and Yuan Chwang. It is not known how he made himself master of Gauḍa. If Jayanāga preceded him, most probably Śaśāṅka established himself at Karpasuvarṇa by ousting him or his descendants. At the time of his siege of Kanouj after the death of the Maukhari king Grahavarman and before the accession of Harṣavardhana, Śaśāṅka must have made himself independent and held Gauḍa and Magadha under him. His supremacy over Orissa, which is proved by the Ganjam plates³ of Mādhavarāja II, dated in 619 A.D., might have been established before his rupture with the Puṣyabhutis of Thāneśvara, by defeating Śambhūya of Patiakella grant, dated in 602 A.D. The prophetic statement in the Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa⁴ that king Soma (Śaśāṅka) will rule

1. Ibid, p. 218

2. Ibid, No. 42 ; IHQ, XII, p. 457.

3. EI, VI, p. 143 ; IHQ, XII, pp. 459 ff. also EI, XXIII, pp. 197ff.

4. Imperial History of India, p. 49-50, §1. 715-16,

over the Gangetic valley up to Benares may be taken as implying the north-western boundary of his kingdom in the normal circumstances. According to Yuan Chwang¹, his influence was felt in Kuśinagara. Śaśaṅka seems to have brought under him the whole of eastern India excepting perhaps Kāmarūpa and Vaṅga. Śaśaṅka's rising importance in the political arena of northern India is also clear from Bāṇa² who refers to Śaśaṅkamaṇḍala in describing the meeting of Rājya and Harṣa after former's return from the battle with the Huṇas during the life-time of Prabhākaravardhana.

The use of the word 'Maṇḍala' in this connection is very significant, and if it is to be interpreted in the light of the 'Artha-Śāstra',³ it would mean the circle of states headed by Śaśaṅka. In any case, it means the rising importance of this king in the political horizon even before the death of Prabhākaravardhana. This would strengthen the view that there was an alliance between Śaśaṅka and the Mālava king⁴ against the Maukharis and the Puṣyabhutis. If there was any connection between the Mālava king Mahāsenagupta and him in his early career, the almost simultaneous marches of a Mālava king and of Śaśaṅka indicate something like a joint operation, which was not perhaps accidental. But the important point against this view is that in the 'Harṣacarita' Rājyavardhana received the news of the death of the Kanauj king Grahavarman, his brother-in-law, caused by the Mālava king who was advancing towards Thāneśvara, and he at once started with 10,000 horsemen to meet the enemy. The only enemy that he knew of at that time

1. Watters, II, p. 43.

2. Harṣacarita, Ch. VI.

3. Kauṭilya, Bk. VII, Ch. II.

4. As regards the identity of this Mālava king, scholars so long took him to be Devagupta who has been mentioned as one of the kings defeated by Rājyavardhana (Madhuvan inscription, EI, VI, 210). Recently Dr. D. C. Ganguli has expressed the opinion that the Mālava king was Kalacuri Budharāja, son of Saṅkaragaṇa. There is no doubt that these two kings were in possession of Ujjayinī and western Mālava. But it may be that Devagupta was a king of eastern Mālava (EI, IX, p. 285; JBORS, XIX, pp. 405 ff; IHQ, XII, p. 461).

was the Mālava king and Bāṇabhaṭṭa does not at all allude to the activities of Śaśāṅka. The next news from Kanouj was that though the Mālava army had been easily routed, Rājyavardhana "was allured to confidence by false civilities on the part of the king of Gauḍa, and then weaponless, confiding, and alone, despatched in his own quarters". It is also clear from the 'Harṣacarita' that Rājyavardhana found Kanouj besieged by Śaśāṅka, as the Gauḍa trouble has been definitely mentioned by Bāṇa. The march of Śaśāṅka on Kanouj from Karpasuvārṇa must have taken a long time, and if there was a concerted action, it seems that the Mālava king was earlier to arrive at the scene of action and did not wait for his ally. But it must also be said that the court of Thāneśvara was unaware of any such joint action, and Rājyavardhana after defeating the Mālava army sent the trusted general Bhaṇḍī with the booty and a part of his army and himself proceeded towards Kanouj without any knowledge of the impending danger from the Gauḍa king. This would indicate that the actions of Śaśāṅka and Mālava king were not connected in any way.

The Śaśāṅka-Rājyavardhana episode has been discussed by many scholars and two sets of opinions have come out of previous discussions. Mr. C. V. Vaidya¹, Dr. R. G. Basak² and Dr. D. C. Ganguli³ accept the statement of Bāṇa (mentioned above), who further says⁴ that the death of Rājyavardhana was due to carelessness on his part. In this connection he cites the examples of some careless kings of ancient times and their dealings with women. These scholars find corroboration of Bāṇa, when Saṅkara, one of the commentators of the 'Harṣacarita' in the fourteenth century, explains those passages by introducing Śaśāṅka's marriage proposal of his daughter to Rājyavardhana and says that he was murdered, while enjoying a feast in the former's camp. Further corroboration is to be found, in their opinion, in Yuan Chwang's account

1. Medieval India, I, p. 4.

2. History of North-Eastern India, pp. 144-50.

3. IHQ, XII, pp. 462-64.

4. Cowell, Eng. Trans. of Harṣacarita, p. 192.

and Harṣavardhana's inscription. The Chinese pilgrim records, "Śaśaṅka addressed his ministers in these words,¹ 'If a frontier country has a virtuous ruler, this is the unhappiness of the mother kingdom.' On this they asked the king to a conference and murdered him." Harṣavardhana's inscription² records that "he gave up his life in his enemy's house, owing to his adherence to his promise (*satyānurodhena*)".

Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda, R. D. Banerjee and Dr. R. C. Majumdar³ are of opinion that both Bāṇa and Yuan Chwang were biased against Śaśaṅka who was the adversary of their patron Harṣavardhana, and therefore much reliance cannot be placed on their accounts in this particular matter. Rājyavardhana had a small army with him after his fight with the Mā'ava king and was defeated in a fair fight and there was nothing unfair in his death. It may be said in support of their view that there is some force in their argument. Bāṇa does not refer to Śaśaṅka in very honourable terms when he calls him 'vile Gauḍa' ('Gauḍādharma') or the serpent of Gauḍa' (Gauḍa-bhujaṅga). It is not known what was the source of information of the commentator Saṅkara's reference to the marriage proposal. If the remarks of Bāṇa on Śaśaṅka are to be doubted, the veracity of the commentator to explain them by referring to a marriage proposal in an abnormal circumstance can be further questioned.

A mystery hangs over this episode and it is rather difficult to be definite. It is clear that Śaśaṅka must have marched on Kanauj at the head of a large army and there is nothing to show that he went with the intention of staging a marriage ceremony of his daughter (at least there is no scent of it in the 'Harṣacarita' and Yuan Chwang's accounts). We would rather suggest that the death of Rājyavardhana is to be sought in the rash and hasty policy pursued or in his 'carelessness', as Bāṇa puts it. He was not

1, Beal, Records, pp. 210-211; Watters, I, p. 343; Life, p. 83.

2, EI, VI p. 210.

3, Gauḍarājamañjā, pp. 8-10; Early Hist. of Beng. pp. 17-18; BI, p. 107.

aware of Śaśāṅka's plan and most probably unprepared to fight with him, which would have meant defeat, and therefore agreed or was forced to meet the Gauḍa king in a 'conference', as Yuan Chwang reports. What happened in that conference is not known but he was perhaps asked to give up the Maukhari alliance, which he could not do, confirmed as it was by the marriage of his sister Rājyaśrī with the Maukhari king Grahavarman. After the death of the Maukhari king he also could not put back the claim of his sister to the throne of Kanouj. This perhaps brought about his death, which has been described in Harṣavardhana's inscription as "due to adherence to his promise." The political union of Thāneśvar and Kanouj was certainly a dread to a king who aspired after the overlordship of northern India and the campaign of Śaśāṅka was undertaken with that object in view. This may also in a way explain why Bāṇabhaṭṭa and Yuan Chwang could not specifically mention the cause of Rājyavardhana's death, for it would not reflect any credit on his political sagacity and wisdom, and they have referred to it as due to carelessness and murder in a conference.

What happened after the death of Rājyavardhana is not known¹ and why Śaśāṅka retired from Kanouj cannot be explained. The news of the death of his brother enraged Harṣavardhana and the Thāneśvara court. He prepared himself with a large army to

1. Dr. D. C. Ganguli is inclined to identify the noble man of the name Gupta with Devagupta who, according to him, occupied Kauouj. Śaśāṅka was between the two enemies and got out of the critical situation by murdering Rājyavardhana in an unfair way. But Dr. Ganguli does not explain who this Devagupta was and how he occupied Kanouj. It is also to be noted that then Śaśāṅka had to fight with Devagupta after Rājyavardhana's death. There is nothing to indicate that Śaśāṅka fought with Davagupta. The Mālava army was routed by Rājyavardhana after whose death Devagupta, (whom we have suggested to be a ruler of eastern Mālava) and Śaśāṅka were perhaps in possession of Kanouj, if there was an alliance between them. It should also be said there is no strong reason to identify the noble man of the Gupta family with Devagupta. He might have been an officer under the Gauḍa king under whose orders Rājyaśrī was released from prison.

fight with Śaśaṅka with the vow "unless in a limited number of days I clear this earth of the Gauḍas, and make it resound with fetters on the feet of all kings who are excited to insolence by the elasticity of their vows, then will I hurl my sinful self, like a moth, into an oil-fed flame." He ordered Bhaṇḍī to advance as he himself had to search for his sister. After the rescue of his sister from the Vindhya forest we find him receiving an envoy of the Kāmarūpa king. A close study of the 'Harṣacarita' reveals the fact that Harṣa like Rājya did not hastily proceed against Śaśaṅka. In spite of the grandiloquent description of the vows of revenge, calumniations and fulminations of the court of Thāneśvara it is clear that Harṣa first consulted the trusted counsellors and veterans of war. Though it is difficult to say at whose initiative the alliance with Kāmarūpa took place, it is clear from the manner in which Hamsavega, the Kāmarūpa envoy, was presented before Harṣa and from the discussions between the two parties that the latter was no less eager than the other side to form this 'entente', as both were in dread of the aggressive policy of the Gauḍa monarch.

The late Mr. R. D. Banerjee¹ was of opinion that Harṣa and Bhāskaravarman occupied Kārṇasuvarṇa by defeating Śaśaṅka immediately after which he retired to Ganjam. But the Ganjam plate of 619 A. D. rather shows that Śaśaṅka was in full enjoyment of his imperial power upto that date. We are rather inclined to accept the opinion of Dr. D. C. Ganguli² that Harṣa had to undertake two campaigns against Gauḍa. In his first campaign during the life-time of Śaśaṅka he could not achieve anything tangible. Bāṇa is silent on the result of this campaign against the Gauḍa king, though he refers to his conquest of Sindh and the Himalayan countries.³ Yuan Chwang says that after the anti-Budhistic activities of Śaśaṅka in Magadha Purṇavarman, the last descendant of Aśoka, was on the throne of Magadha. The pilgrim

1. History of Orissa, I, p. 129.

2. IBQ. XII, pp. 465-67.

3. Cowell, Op. Cit. p. 76.

visited Magadha for the first time in 637 A. D. and refers to Śaśaṅka as a recent king.¹ All these go to show that the Gauḍa king could successfully hold himself against Harṣa. But in another connection he reports² that "Śīladitya held his court here (Kajangala), cut grass to make huts and burned these when leaving." If the author of the "Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa" is to be believed, Harṣa even advanced upto Puṇḍra, to the great distress of the people. This seems to have happened on the occasion of another campaign in the east, otherwise this cannot be satisfactorily reconciled with the evidence of the Ganjam plate and the account of Yuan Chwang. It must also be noted that nothing is known of Śaśaṅka after 619 A. D. excepting that Yuan Chwang refers to him as a recent king in 638 A. D. It is also clear from the pilgrim's account that he died a natural death.

The bull symbol of his coins shows that Śaśaṅka was a Śaiva. Both Yuan Chwang and the author of the "Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa"³ are vehement in their accusation of persecution of the Buddhists by this king. The Chinese pilgrim says that Harṣa got an oracle from the image of a Bodhisattva to the effect that he should accept the throne to save Buddhism from the ruin brought about by Śaśaṅka. But Bāṇa would make us believe that Harṣa consented to ascend the throne only to avenge the foul murder of Rājya by the Gauḍa king. Speaking of Kuśīnagara, the pilgrim reports that the groups of the brethren were broken up. Further, he is said to have cut the Bodhi Tree, destroyed its roots down to the water and burnt what remained. He also destroyed the foot-prints of Buddha at Pāṭaliputra. These are the specific charges mentioned by Yuan Chwang, and for his anti-Buddhistic activities he had to die a very miserable death and was even taken to task in hell. But when speaking of Puṇḍravardhana, Karpāsuvārṇa and Tāmralipti and other places of Magadha which were also included in his dominion, Yuan Chwang does not refer to any oppression and

1. Ibid. p. 183.

2. Watters. II, p. 115.

3. Op. Cit.

finds Buddhism in flourishing condition. If there would have been a wholesale persecution, there is no reason why the Buddhists of Bodh-Gaya and Kuśinagara were singled out. Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda and R. D. Banerjee¹ expressed the opinion that most probably the Buddhists of those places conspired against Śaśaṅka and had sympathy with Harṣavardhana who was after all a pro-Buddhist king. These two scholars therefore hold that the motive behind the persecution was rather political necessity than religious conviction. Similar cases are not wanting in Indian history. When describing Hiranapurvata² (near Mongyr), Yuan Chwang says that in recent times the king of a neighbouring country had deposed the ruler and given the capital to the Buddhist brethren. It is not known why the ruling king was deposed and who was the deposer. But the very fact that the capital was given to the Buddhist brethren rouses a suspicion of conspiracy by the Buddhists with the neighbouring king against the ruler of the locality. In 1581 A. D. during the reign of Akbar³ mosques of Bengal and Guzrat became centres of political meetings and Akbar was even declared deposed. There was no other way but to close the mosques and even in some cases they were demolished. These extreme measures were regarded by the orthodox Mussalmans of his time as anti-Islamic and nothing more than that. In reality, political necessity compelled Akbar to take these measures. The real motive behind the anti-Buddhist activities of Śaśaṅka cannot be judged, until we know of them from other sources. To Yuan Chwang all these were sacrilegious and the 'Mañjusri-Mūlakalpa' is an out-and-out Buddhist book in which everything has been put in the mouth of Lord Buddha in the form of prophecy.

Such in outline is the career and reign of Śaśaṅka. The details are still lacking. But in spite of the charge of treacherous murder of Rājyavardhana and accusation of the persecution of the

1. Gauḍarājamālā, pp. 11-13; BI, p. 110

2. Watters, II, p. 178

3. V. A. Smith, Oxford History of India, p. 358

Buddhists, he was no less a dazzling and important figure than his great rival Harṣa. It is clear that his account comes from the manifestly hostile camp. The key-note to his character was the ambition of founding an empire and he succeeded considerably in realising it at first, but his plan was upset by a combination of Harṣa and Bhāskaravarman.

The Period of Anarchy—Yuan Chwang visited five principalities of Bengal viz., Kajangala (north-eastern part of Santal parganas and Rajmahal), Puṇḍravardhana, Samatāṭa, Kārṇasuvarṇa and Tāmralipti. He does not refer to any ruling kings and to their political status. From this it has been concluded by some writers that Bengal formed a part of Harṣa's empire. But the view that Bengal was under the Kāmarūpa king Bhāskaravarman seems to rest on a stronger basis. The land granted by the Nidhanpur plates has been definitely located in Pañcakhaṇḍa in the Sylhet district.¹ These plates were issued from the camp of victory situated at Kārṇasuvarṇa. Bhāskaravarman has been called the king of 'eastern India' and he promised safe conduct to the pilgrim up to Tāmralipti.² All these point to the establishment of his authority over Bengal. This seems to be more reasonable than the other view which rests on the general statement of Yuan Chwang that Harṣa conquered five Indies.³ Whoever might have exercised suzerainty, it seems clear that after the death of Śaśāṅka his kingdom was divided into many petty principalities.

1. JASB, 1935, pp. 419 ff.

2. IC, II, p. 38; IA, 1880, p. 20; IHQ, XII, p. 73; Beal, Life, p. 188.

3. Scholars differ as to the time of the occupation of Kārṇasuvarṇa by Bhāskaravarman. Dr. Basak holds that Harṣa conquered Kārṇasuvarṇa with his help and handed it over to him. R. D. Banerjee expressed the opinion that Harṣa and Bhāskaravarman occupied the capital of Śaśāṅka by joint operation. Dr. Majumdar is of opinion that Bhāskaravarman occupied Kārṇasuvarṇa after the death of Harṣa in 647 A. D. who would not have allowed his ally to be dangerously powerful (see History of North-Eastern India, pp. 153, 227; History of Orissa, I, p. 122; Early History of Bengal, p. 20)

The Tippera grant of Lokanātha is to be palæographically assigned to the seventh century.¹ This record introduces us to a Nātha family who ruled as feudatories² for three generations before Lokanātha. The first member of the family is called 'Ādi-Mahārāja but his name is lost. His son was Śrīnātha whose son Bhavanātha was of religious temperament and took to ascetic life. Lokanātha was placed in charge of administration but it is not clear whether he was the son or brother's son of Bhavanātha. Verses 7-9 describe the exploits and achievements of Lokanātha. The army of the 'Parameśvara' (his suzerain) met with discomfiture repeatedly at his hands. He fought a successful fight against one Jayatuṅgavarṣa who seems to be a local chief like Lokanātha himself but cannot be identified. Another chief named Jīva-dharaṇa is said to have given up hostilities against Lokanātha in consideration of his success against Jayatuṅgavarṣa, his confirmation by a royal charter (most probably by the suzerain) and the love and affection of his subjects towards him. Jīva-dharaṇa followed the principle that prudence is the better part of valour, as there was perhaps very little chance of success against Lokanātha, but the composer of the praśasti in a clever way eulogised his patron by putting everything through the mouth of the adversary of Lokanātha. The land granted by the Tippera plate was situated in the Suvvaṅga-viṣaya which cannot be located and it may be provisionally held that this family ruled in Tippera or in a neighbouring locality.

1. The plate bears a date. Dr. Basak read it as 44 at first. But just before the letters signifying 44 the word 'adhika' occurs. Prof. Bhandarkar suggested that the date is 144 and Dr. Basak now reads 344 and refers it to the Gupta era. We are inclined to accept this and this would place it in 663-4 A.D.

2. The seal attached to the plate bears an inscription reading 'kumārāmātya' but it is written in early Gupta script. Dr. Thomas concluded that it "was issued from the office of the 'kumārāmātya' of Lokanātha's overlord and only countersigned by Lokanātha." (RI, xv, p. 803 fn). But Dr. Basak maintains that the opening words 'kumārāmātya' in prose portions refers to the feudatory chief Lokanātha himself. The fact remains that Lokanātha and his ancestors were feudatories. (History of North-Eastern India, p. 95).

The Asrafpur plates of the Khaḍgas and the Deulbadi Sarvāṇī image inscription of Queen Prabhāvatī supply the information about another dynasty ruling over at least some portion of Dacca and Tippera districts. These records have been palæographically examined by the present writer¹ in details, and it has been shown that the alphabets represent an earlier variety than those used in the Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla. The Khaḍgas ruled for four generations and therefore can be assigned to the period between 625-725 A. D.² The Asrafpur plates were issued from Karmāntavāsaka which has been identified with Baḍkamta in the Tippera district.³ The first known member of the family is Khaḍgodyama who has been described in the Deulbadi inscription as 'uṣpādhirāja' and as a great conqueror. It may be that the family rose into political importance under him. His son Jātakhaḍga is said to have defeated his enemies whose son Devakhaḍga donated land to the Buddhist monastery of Saṅghamitra for the longevity of his son Rājarājabhaṭa. The prince after his accession confirmed the grant and is to be identified with Rājabhaṭa, the devout Buddhist king of Samataṭa, who was highly spoken of by the Chinese traveller Sen-chi during his visit towards the close of the seventh century. The fact that the name Khaḍga sounds un-Indian and that a caste of that name can be traced in Nepal in the 14th century led Dr. R. C. Majumdar⁴ to presume "that the Khaḍga dynasty came to eastern Bengal in the trains of the Tibetans and the Nepalese during the troublesome days that followed the death of Harṣavardhana."

1. DUS, I, No. p 54.

2. Dr. Basak rightly says that the first symbol of the two letters signifying the year of the second Asrafpur plate remains a puzzle and cannot be satisfactorily explained unless we agree with Dr. Majumdar to read it as 73 or 79 by following Bendall's chart of numerical symbols. 'History of North-Eastern India,' p. 203; JASB 1923, pp. 375ff.

3. EI, XVII, pp. 357ff.

4. Early History of Bengal, p. 124

But it must be said that there is no proof to connect the Khadga dynasty with Nepal.

In the Tippera plate there is a reference to Lokanātha's defiance of the authority of the suzerain whose army was many times defeated by this feudatory chief. In the second Asrafpur plate there is a reference to the 'Bṛhatparamēśvara' and the highest officials whom the Khadgas could command were the 'viṣa-yapatis'. From these it appears that Samatāṭa in the latter half of the seventh century was divided into many principalities under a suzerain power. The dynasty which exercised overlordship over Samatāṭa is not known. It has been asserted that Bengal was under Kāmarūpa kings from Bhāskara-varman's occupation of Karṇasuvarṇa to the time of Harṣa of the Bhagadatta dynasty, who has been described as the lord of Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kaliṅga and Kośala in the Pasupati temple inscription of 759 A. D.¹ It may be argued that the Later Guptas from the reign of Ādityasena exercised overlordship over some portion of Bengal, as it is clear from the Apsadh (Gaya district) Shahpur (Patna district) and Mandar (Bhagalpur district) inscriptions that there was a great revival of his power in north-eastern India.²

While eastern Bengal was parcelled into many small principalities fighting among themselves and setting at naught the shadowy authority of the overlord, the condition of Gauḍa was perhaps not better in any way. The 'Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa'³ correctly records that after the reign of Śaśāṅka the 'Gauḍatantra' (system) was paralysed. It refers to many kings of Gauḍa most of whom are mentioned by initials only and therefore they cannot be identified, as they are otherwise unknown. What deserves particular notice is that the reigns of most of them lasted for months and days and not even a year. During the reign of one king named Śiṣṭu it

1. IC, II, pp37-45.

2. IHQ, XII, p. 74 ; History of North-Eastern India, pp. 125-26.

3. Imperial History of India, sl. 735-58.

is said that the influence of women would be felt and he would rule for a fortnight and then would be killed. To crown the misery of the people, it is predicted that a severe famine would visit the eastern country. This certainly points to the absence of any stable government in Gauḍa. Might was right and there was disorder and anarchy, and this is just the state of things which has been very appropriately described in the Khalimpur plate of Dhamapāla as 'matsyanyāya'. By this significant term the ancient writers used to express the extreme state of anarchy and chaos. Tārānātha describes the condition of Bengal just before the election of Gopāla in the following way, "There was no longer any member of it (the royal family of the Candras) a king; in Oḍiṣa, in Bengal and the other provinces to the east, each Kṣatriya, Brahman, and merchant constituted himself king of his surroundings, but there was no king ruling the country."¹

The weakness of the political power of Gauḍa naturally invited many foreign invasions by neighbouring powerful potentates. Three or four invasions of this period are definitely known. It is stated in the Ragholi plates that a king of Śailavamśa killed the king of Puṇḍra. The first known member of the family is Śrīvardhana I and his son Pṛthuvardhana attacked Guzrat. In that family was born Sauvardhana (his exact relationship with Pṛthuvardhana is not known). Three sons of Sauvardhana played havoc on three kingdoms. One killed the king of Puṇḍra. Another conquered the king of Kāśī and Jayavardhana I defeated the king of Vindhya. His son was Śrīvardhana II, and his grandson, Jayavardhana II, who was the donor of the grant and is to be assigned in the last part of the eighth century A. D. Therefore Jayavardhana I and his brothers may be placed in the first part of the eighth or in the last part of the seventh century. It was in this period that the king of Puṇḍra was killed. It is not known whether the unnamed Śaila prince established himself on the throne of northern Bengal.

Vākpati in his 'Gauḍa-vaho' narrates the defeat and slaughter of the king of Gauḍa by his patron Yaśovarman of Kanouj. The important point to notice in that book is that the king of Gauḍa has been called 'Magadhanātha'¹ also. This shows that in the second quarter of the eighth century Gauḍa and Magadha were politically united. Vākpati further informs that Yaśovarman defeated the king of Vaṅga. Most probably Magadha was annexed to the dominion of the Kanouj king. The Nalanda inscription² of Mālaḍa, a son of the minister of Yaśovarman, records some gifts to the temple of Bāladitya at that famous monastery there. Even during the time of Devapāla there was a town called Yaśovarmapur in Bihar.

But the Kanouj king could not long enjoy the fruits of his victory as he was defeated by the Kāśmīra king Lalitāditya,³ and Kalhaṇa says that in course of his 'digvijaya' the Kāśmīra king reached the sea-shore. But it is doubtful whether Lalitāditya conquered Bengal. We are told that after the defeat of Yaśovarman Lalitāditya's army proceeded with ease to the eastern ocean and reached Kāliṅga. Numerous elephants joined him from the Gauḍa country, as if attracted by friendship for their comrades.⁴ This rather implies friendly assistance by the Gauḍa king to Lalitāditya in his Kāliṅga expedition. The poet narrates a heroic episode connecting the Kāśmīra king and an unnamed Gauḍa king and a band of thirty loyal followers and it may be that there is some historical truth in this episode, though it does not prove definitely the authority of Lalitāditya over

1. Dr. R. C. Majumdar points out that Yaśovarman first met his eastern enemy near the Vindhyās and this he explains by suggesting that a branch of the Śāila family which ruled over northern Bengal had settled itself in the Vindhyā region and the Gauḍa king who added Magadha to his dominions sided with his kinsmen. (*Early History of Bengal*, p. 25.). The defeated king of Gauḍa may be also identified with Jīvitagupta II of the Later Gupta dynasty.

2. EI, XX, p. 87.

3. Rājataranginī, IV, 144.

4. Ibid, IV, vs. 146-48.

Gauḍa. The Gauḍa king visited Kāśmīra on his request and on the promise of safety of his own person in Kāśmīra, the image of Viṣṇu Parihāsakeśava being made surety of Lalitāditya's faith. But the Gauḍa king was treacherously murdered by Lalitāditya. Thirty loyal and brave followers of the Gauḍa king went to Kāśmīra on the pretext of pilgrimage and had their revenge fulfilled by breaking the idol of Viṣṇu Rāmasvāmin which they mistook for that of Parihāsakeśava. They fought bravely when the army came from the capital and died a glorious and heroic death. Kalhaṇa exclaims, "Even the creator cannot achieve what the Gauḍas did on that occasion. Even to this day the temple of Rāmasvāmin is empty, whereas the whole world is filled with the fame of Gauḍa heroes." The fact that Kalhaṇa pays so eloquent a tribute to the Gauḍa heroes because of the great impression it produced in the eighth century indicates that there was some truth in this episode. The story of Jayapīḍa's stay in disguise at the house of a courtesan in the city of Puṇḍravardhana, the revelation of his identity on his killing a fierce lion, his marriage with Kalyāṇadevī, daughter of the Gauḍa king Jayanta, and his conquest of Pāñca-Gauḍas for his father-in-law, reads like a romance, and it is to be doubted if there is any historical truth in this romantic tale.

Another invasion of Gauḍa was by Harṣadeva. The Pasupati temple inscription of Jayadeva,² dated in 759 A. D., describes his father-in-law Harṣadeva of the Bhagadatta dynasty as lord of Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kaṭiṅga and Kośala. As the kings of Kāmarūpa claim descent from the epic hero Bhagadatta, Harṣadeva may be regarded as a king of Kāmarūpa.

The extent of the depredations and devastations of these invasions can be better understood with reference to the results of the excavations at Paharpur and Mahasthanagar. The excavated sites have revealed the existence of magnificent buildings of the Gupta and post Gupta periods at both these places. The remains are enough to show that the old structures were desolated in the subsequent period and on their ruins new ones were erected in the Pāla period. This was perhaps due to a calamity like the depredations of a foreign army.³

1. Ibid, IV. Vs. 332, 335.

2. IA, IX, p. 178; IHO, 1931, p. 664.

3. IC, II, pp. 518 ff.; Mr. A. C. Banerjee is of opinion that the invasion of the Śaila king was more serious and disastrous in consequences.

CHAPTER III

The Pāla Dynasty

In their inscriptions the Pālas do not claim descent from any mythical figure or epic hero like contemporary dynasties. The Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla informs us that Gopāla I, the founder of the dynasty, was the son of 'khaṇḍitārāti (killer of enemies) Vapyāta and grandson of 'sarva-avadāta' Dayitaviṣṇu. From this it seems that before Gopāla I this family was not of much importance. Mm. H. P. Shastri found in the end of the 32nd chapter of the commentary¹ on 'Aṣṭasāhasaikā-Prajñāpāramitā' by Haribhadra that Dharmapāla has been described as 'Rājabhaṭādi-vaṁśa-patita'. The Ms. is in a Katmandu library and is written in the 11th or 12th century script in the Traikūṭa-vihāra. Scholars have generally taken this Dharmapāla to be the second Pāla king and tried to establish some connection of the dynasty with Rājarājabhaṭa of the Khaḍga family of Samatāṭa. But there is difference of opinion about the meaning of the expression, 'Rājabhaṭādi-vaṁśa-patita'. Mm. H. P. Shastri was of opinion that it denotes remote connection with Rājabhaṭa and rendered the passage to mean that Dharmapāla belonged to the family of a military officer of some king. Mr. N. N. Vasu² is of opinion that Dharmapāla came of the family of Rājabhaṭa, while another writer³ thinks that the Pālas were connected with him through the female line. It appears strange that

1. The śloka runs thus:--

Rājye Rājabhaṭādi-vaṁśa-patita Śrī Dharmapālasya vai
Tattva-loka-vidhāyīṇ viractia sat-panjīkeyam mayā

See MASB, III, p. 6

2. VJI, Rājanya Kāṇḍa, p. 147

3. IHQ, VII, p. 533; see for some interesting suggestions on this point by the present writer, IC, II, pp. 795 ff.

if there had been any such connection of the Pālas with a previous ruling dynasty, the court-poets failed to mention that in their panegyrics. It is therefore reasonable to hold that Gopāla I came of a 'plebian' family.

Recently there have been some discussions about the caste of the Pālas. Their inscriptions are silent on this point. The Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa¹ calls Gopāla I a 'śūdra'. According to Abul Fazl, the Pālas were Kāyasthas.² Mr N. N. Vasu accepts the statement of Akbar's court historian, but, for the history of the Hindu period his statements are not much valued. The 'Rāmacarita' of Sandhyākaranandī describes Dharmapāla as 'Samudra-kula-dīpa',³ and in the commentary of the same verse he is compared with Ikṣvāku. It is stated in the Kamauli plate of Vaidyadeva that the Pālas belonged to the solar dynasty (Mihirasya-vaṁśa).⁴ Sandhyākaranandī and Vaidyadeva flourished in the 12th century and were intimately connected with the Pāla court. In a passage of the Udayasundarī-kathā of the Guzrat poet Sodhdhala of the 11th century it seems that Dharmapāla has been described as belonging to the Māndhātṛ-vaṁśa.⁵ Mr J. C. Ghose⁶ says that mythologically the sea-god and Māndhātā belonged to the family of the sun and therefore concludes that the Pālas belonged to the solar dynasty, as there is agreement in the above accounts. Ghanarāma in his 'Dharmamaṅgala', written in 1713 A. D., narrates that Devapāla was the illegitimate son of Dharmapāla through the union of his wife with the sea-god. R. D. Banerjee⁷ was of opinion that most probably the Pālas came from the sea and in the absence of any plausible account of their ancestry, they became known in popular tradition as the children of the sea-god. It must be said that the Pālas were

1. Vs. 683-90.

2. Jarret, 'Ain-i-Akbari,' II, pp. 145; N. N. Vasu, 'Rājanya-Kāṇḍa, p' 151

3. 1/4.

4. Kamauli plate, verse 2.

5. Kathāncana valiyasa saptāṅga-samagren-Ottarapathasvāmīna Māndhātṛ-vaṁśa-prabhavēna bhūbhṛta Dharmapālena saha vighraho dīrghatām-āvāpa, published in G. O. S., p. 4.

6. IHQ, IX, pp. 479 ff.

7. BI, I, p. 163.

Buddhists and it is not to be expected that they should mention their caste like the Brahmanical ruling dynasties. But though their inscriptions are silent, Sandhyākaranandī and Vaidyadeva tried to prove the Kṣatriyahood of their masters. For about four centuries the Pālas performed the functions of the Kṣatriyas and contracted matrimonial relationship with the Rāṣṭrkūṭas and Kalacuris. If they were not 'de jure' Kṣatriyas, 'de facto' Kṣatriyahood can be claimed for them, although it is to be noted that their religious system did not recognise the caste divisions of the Brahmanical religion.

Tārānātha says that Gopāla was elected to the vacant throne of Vaṅga some years after the rule of the Candra dynasty. His evidence is not reliable unless it is corroborated by some other source. Sandhyākaranandī's 'Rāmacarita' and the Kamauli grant² refer to Verendra as the 'Janakabhū' (fatherland) of the Pālas, and from this it would seem that northern Bengal was their original home. The Tibetan historian further records that Gopāla extended his power over Magadha. The extension of power from Varendra to Magadha was natural rather than from Vaṅga to Magadha.

It is pretty sure that Gopāla must have given ample proof of his military ability and political wisdom before his election to the throne by the 'prakṛtis' (which we are inclined to take in the light of Śukra's interpretation of the term as denoting chief officers of the state—at most the sane and sober section or the leaders of the people³) at the most critical juncture when the very existence of the kingdom was at stake. This unmistakably shows that he was the only man who was thought competent to cope with the situation. It is quite probable that Gopāla might have come into prominence by warding off one of the foreign invasions that preceded his rise. It has been suggested⁴ that in the first verse of

1. 1/88 ; 1/50.

2. 4th verse.

3. See Ch. on Administration.

4. IHQ, VII, pp. 583 ff.

Jitvā yah kāmākāri-prabhavēṁ abhibhavaṁ śāśvatīm prāpa śāntim
Sa Śrīmān Lokanātha jayati Daśavalonyāśca Gopāldevaḥ.

the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla a pun has been used on the word 'kāmakāri', and in case of Buddha it refers to Māra, while it may refer to king Harṣa of Kāmrūpa in case of Gopāla. Tārānātha most probably confused Harṣa of Kāmrūpa with Harṣa of Kāśmīra who, according to him, was a contemporary of Gopāla.¹ He must have been a man of unusual abilities which commanded respects from his contemporaries.

The spirit of the inscriptions points out that he proved himself equal to the occasion and the confidence that was reposed in him was amply justified. We do not know who were the enemies against whom he had to fight, but his military preparations and campaigns are alluded to in the Mongyr plate of Devapāla, which further records that he extended the boundary of his kingdom upto the sea-coast. If Tārānātha is to be believed, Magadha was also annexed. If he cannot be credited with any great political achievement, it seems that peace and order was restored after a period of misrule and anarchy, and a strong consolidated kingdom was left, thus making the task of his successor Dharmapāla easier in order to take an active part in north-Indian politics. According to Tārānātha, Gopāla ruled for 45 years. It seems that he was sufficiently advanced in age before his election. The 'Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa'² records that he died at the age of eighty after a reign of 27 years. He was succeeded by his son Dharmapāla.

The outstanding political fact of the period from 750 to 950 A. D. was the tripartite struggle among the three great powers, the Pratihāras, the Pālas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, for imperial suzerainty of northern India and for the possession of Kanauj, the imperial city of the time. Dharmapāla inherited a consolidated kingdom, and it seems that his ambition was to make Bengal the suzerain power in northern India. Naturally he turned his attention to the west. It is not known which were the powers with whom he had to fight at first for the westward expansion of his kingdom. The

1. Schiefner, Tārānātha, pp. 195 ff.

2. Vs. 683-90.

Gawalior praśasti¹ informs that Pratihāra Vatsarāja wrested the sovereignty of Kanauj from Bhaṇḍiku'a. Dharmapāla must have regarded him as a rival, but in the encounter the Pāla king was defeated. We know from the Wani and Radhanpur plates² that Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhruva defeated Vatsarāja who had inflicted a defeat on the Gauḍa king. But though defeated in his first attempt, Dharmapāla did not give up his imperial ambition and made further attempts to occupy Kanauj, because not long after this we find him in the possession of the Ganges-Yamuna Doab. The Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa record that the Gauḍa king was defeated by Dhruva in the Ganges-Yamuna valley³ and this is confirmed by the Baroda and Surat plates of Karkarāja.⁴ Chronologically it stands thus that in the westward expansion of his kingdom Dharmapāla received two checks—first from Vatsarāja and next from Dhruva. Dhruva attacked Vatsarāja in C. 789 A. D., and therefore Dharmapāla was defeated by Vatsarāja before that. Dhruva died before May, 794 A. D.,⁵ and he must have defeated the Pāla king before that date.

But nothing could arrest the political expansion of Bengal, reinvigorated and regenerated as it was from the political turmoil after the election of Gopāla. The Pālas were determined to assert themselves in north Indian politics and make Bengal a first class political power. The Pratihāra king was driven into the desert by Dhruva and the next Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda III was engaged in a fratricidal war for succession with his brother Stambha,⁶ and thus the time was opportune for Dharmapāla. The 7th verse of the Mongyr plate of Devapāla states that his (Dharmapāla's) army in course of 'digvijaya' visited Kedāra (in the Himalayas) and Gokarṇa which has been sought to be identified with Gokarṇa-tīrtha

1. EI, XVIII, p. 101

2. Ibid, VI, p. 244 ; IA., XI, p. 157.

3. EI., XVIII, p. 250

4. IA., XII, p. 160 ; EI., XX, p. 145

5. Dr. Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times* p. 56.

6. Ibid., p. 61.

in Nepal, Gokarna in the Bombay Presidency and in Orissa.¹ The 12th verse of the Khalimpur plate enumerates the countries that actually acknowledged his overlordship. It is told that "with a sign of his gracefully moved eyebrows he installed the illustrious king of Kānya-kubja, who readily was accepted by the kings of Bhoja (Vidarbha), Matsya (Jaipur), Madra (E. Panjab), Kuru (Delhi region), Yadu (Mathurā), Yavana (W. Panjab), Avanti (Malwa) Gāndhāra (Taxila) and Kira (Kangra valley),² bowing down respectfully with their diadems trembling and for whom his own golden coronation jar was lifted by the delighted elders of Pāṇcāla".³ Further light on the whole situation is thrown by the 3rd verse of the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla. It is known therefrom that Dharmapāla took possession of Kanauj from Indrarāja⁴ and installed his own 'protege' Cakrāyudha on its throne by calling an imperial assembly. His overlordship was acknowledged, and the war of 'digvijaya' he had to undertake for this purpose speaks of the stupendousness of the task. The supreme political achievement was sanctified by holding the imperial assembly at Kanauj.

The undisputed sovereignty of Dharmapāla over northern

1. 'IC,' IV, pp. 264-67.

2. The Kira country has been identified with Kiragrāma or Bajinath in the Kangra district by Dr. R. C. Majumdar (IHO, IX, p. 11.)

3. Two interpretations of this verse are possible. According to the other, it seems that Dharmapāla himself was installed on the throne of Kanauj.

4. Dr. R. C. Majumdar identified Indrarāja with the prince of that name, younger brother of Govinda III, who was in charge of Lāṭeṣvaramaṇḍala which denotes, according to him, the whole northern possession of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (Journal of the Department of Letters, X, 1923, p. 37 fn.) But some scholars identify Indrarāja with Indrāyudha of Jaina 'Harivamśa,' the ruler of the north, who was ruling contemporaneously with Vatsarāja. (BI, p. 180; Dr H. C. Ray, DH, I, p. 285) If this identification is to be accepted, it may be conjectured that Indrāyudha and Chakrāyudha were of the same family and the cause of the latter was probably championed by Dharmapāla. Chakrāyudha has been described as one 'whose lowly demeanour is manifest because of his dependence on others' in the Gwalior praśasti and as 'begging of Dharmapāla' the crown of Kanauj in the Bhagalpur plate. Is it because of his seeking the throne of Kanauj from Indrāyudha with the help and support of Dharmapāla?

India and his handling of the situation according to his pleasure did not go unchallenged. The invasion of Dhruva did not crush the Pratihāra power but only gave a temporary blow to its vigorous rise. Nāgabhaṭa II, son and successor of Vatsarāja, once more tried to consolidate the Fratihāra power in order to make another trial of strength with the Pālas. Before actually taking the field, he came to a close understanding with the kings of Sindhu, Andhra, Vidarbha and Kalinga¹ thus making a strong confederacy of states which, as Dr. Majumdar points out, "formed a central belt right across the country bounded in the east by the empire of the Pālas and on the south by that of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas." Thus strengthening his position, Nāgabhaṭa II most probably first directed his attention to his eastern rival and defeated Cakrāyudha, Dharmapāla's nominee on the throne of Kanauj. This was nothing but a challenge to the suzerainty of Dharmapāla and necessarily brought him on the field. This fight between Nāgabhaṭa II and Dharmapāla for the overlordship of northern India was one of the most fiercely contested battles of the period and in all probability both the parties were equally matched. The epigraphic records of the vassals of the Fratihāras claim victories over the Gauḍa emperor, implying that they followed Nāgabhaṭa in his campaign. In an inscription of Avantivarman II, great grandson of Vāhukadhavaḷa and a feudatory of Mahendrapāla, it has been claimed that Vāhukadhavaḷa defeated in battle² king Dharma who may be identified with Dharmapāla. Again, from the Catsu inscription of Bālāditya it is known that Saṅkaragaṇa, the Guhilot prince, conquered Bhaṭa, king of the Gauḍa country, and made a present of his kingdom to his overlord.³ It is known from the Jodhpur inscription of Bauka

1. EI, XVIII, pp. 101 ff; JDL, X, p. 38

2. EI, IX, pp. 2 ff.

3. Dr. Majumdar has adduced good reasons to prove that Bhaṭa refers Dharmapāla and the overlord to Nāgabhaṭa II. Op. Cit. Also see IHQ. IX, pp. 479 ff.

that his father Kakka won distinction by fighting with the Gauḍas at Mudgagiri.¹

Though no details regarding the preparations of Dharmapāla are known, yet from the nature of the vast and elaborate preparations of his rival from every possible quarter and from the description of the array of the mighty hosts of the lord of Vaṅga in the Gawalior praśasti, it can be presumed that the Pāla emperor must have equipped himself fully well to meet the formidable enemy. If Kakka's fight with the Gauḍas refers to Nāgabhaṭa II's fight with Dharmapāla, the Pratihāras advanced as far as Mongyr and the victory of this severe battle was also on their side. But the victory, so strenuously and gallantly won, could not offer to the Pratihāra king the desired overlordship. Once more the Rāṣṭrakūṭas under Govinda III appeared on the scene and the Radhanpur plates record that the Pratihāra king "in fear vanished no body knew wither". Govinda III overran the Pratihāra territory and advanced as far as the Himalayas. The Sanjan plates inform us that Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha submitted to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch of their own accord. In the Nīlgund inscription it is mentioned that Govinda III fettered the people of Gauḍa.² Mr. R. D. Banerji suggested from this that Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha

1. It appears that the Jodhpur inscription of Bauka is dated in Samvat 4, and it is dated in his regnal year and not in V. E. 894, as Drs. Bhandarkar and Majumdar read it (EI, XVIII, p. 99). Kakka, father of Bauka, had another son named Kakkuka whose Ghatiyala inscription is dated in V. S. 918-861 A. D. There is no reason to take, as Mr. R. D. Banerji does, the Jodhpur inscription later than the Ghatiyala inscription, nor can we accept his opinion that Kakka, father of Bauka and Kakkuka, cannot be regarded as a contemporary of Nāgabhaṭa II and Dharmapāla. If it is not accepted that Kakka fought for Nāgabhaṭa II, he must have fought for Bhoja, as there is no evidence to show that Rāmabhadra, the immediate successor of Nāgabhaṭa II, could advance to Mudgagiri to fight with the Pālas. It is also not likely, as we shall presently see, that in the first part of the 9th century Bhoja could fight with Devāpāla at Mudgagiri. Thus it is quite reasonable to hold that Kakka fought for Nāgabhaṭa II against Dharmapāla. (JBORS, 1928, pp. 489 ff.)

2. EI, VI, p. 105.

invoked the assistance of Govinda III against Nāgabhaṭa II. Though it cannot be definitely ascertained, it seems quite probable that Dharmapāla after his defeat by Nāgabhaṭa II did not risk another encounter with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and thought it wise to submit to Govinda III.¹ From a comparison of the Wani and Radhanpur grants the northern invasion of Govinda III can be assigned to the period between 807 and 808 A. D. It is therefore clear that the reverses of Dharmapāla must have taken place before that date.

Dharmapāla is one of the greatest kings of the Pāla dynasty and takes an honourable place among the great kings known to Indian history. He assumed the highest imperial titles of those days, viz. Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Parameśvara and Mahārājādhirāja, while his father was styled only Mahārājādhipāya.² His name and fame was not confined within his kingdom. The Guzrat poet Sodhdhala of the eleventh century calls him Ottarapathasvāmin. He assumed the title Vikramaśīla either to signalise his might or

1. Mr. N. N. Das Gupta tried to prove with considerable force of arguments that (1) there was an encounter between Dharmapāla and Govinda III and (2) this was anterior to the defeat inflicted by Nāgabhaṭa II (JBORS., XII, p. 361). As regards the first point, in the Sanjan plates it is said that Dharmapāla and Cakrāyudha voluntarily submitted to Govinda III's prowess. The possession of the Ganges and the Yamuna valley alluded to in the Baroda plates of Karkarāja II does not seem to mean permanent occupation. In course of his northern campaign up to the Himālayas he must have for the time being occupied some portion of the Ganges valley. The relation between Dharmapāla and Govinda III may not have been one of amicability, but it is likely that the former did not risk a battle with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (if we interpret in the light of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas records). If there have been any alliance between them against Nāgabhaṭa II, as has been suggested by R. D. Banerjee, it seems from the evidence of the Nilgund inscription that the position of Dharmapāla was an inferior one. As regards the second point, Mr. Das Gupta's assertion is based on the 10th verse of the Gwalior praśasti. We prefer Dr. Majumdar's translation. It must be pointed out that in the Sanjan plates the submission of Dharmapāla and Cakrāyudha has been mentioned after the defeat of Nāgabhaṭa II.

2. Khalimpur plate.

to commemorate the foundation of the Vikramaśīlā monastery. The Somapurī-mahāvihāra¹ also owed its origin to the great Pāla king. The second verse of the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla records certain facts which throw light on his administration and the liberality of the man himself, and these seem to be corroborated by other sources too. Though himself a devout Buddhist, he was very particular in following the policy that his subjects should be governed in accordance with their respective śāstric rules. This is alluded to in the 5th verse of the Mongyr plate of his son. That this tolerance was not a thing to be boasted of in the praśastis is attested by the Mahābodhi inscription or Keśava praśasti of the 26th year of Dharmapāla's reign, which records the setting up of a Caturmukha-līṅga of Mahādeva in the great Buddhist holy place. It is further recorded in the Bhagalpur plate that incidence of his taxation was equitable and just. Many kings sought his protecting shelter which he gladly accorded to them.² The defeated kings were not uprooted but reinstated on their thrones and a friendly policy was adopted towards them. It is no wonder that a monarch with such brilliant achievements to his credit, whose government was based on so just and benign principles, should win the love and respect of all classes of his subjects. His court-poet³ records that his praises were sung by the cowherd boys, hermits, village folk, traders and the rich alike. He ruled at least for 32 years.

It is known from the Khalimpur plate that the crown prince Tribhuvanapāla was the dūtaka of that grant. Most probably he died during the life-time of his father. Dharmapāla was succeeded by Devapāla, his son by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess Raṇṇadevī. During the reign of Devapāla the Pāla arms were crowned with success everywhere. It is stated in the Mongyr plate that in course of his 'dīgvijaya' he advanced as far as the Vindhyās and the Kamboja country. This is confirmed by the 13th

1. Vide Ante

2. Mongyr plate, Vs. 8.

3. Khalimpur plate, Vs. 18.

verse of the Badal Pillar inscription where Devapāla's victories in the Vindhyās and Kamboja country have been alluded to. It seems that he fought with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas during the interregnum and the period of minority of Amoghavarṣa I. It is not precisely known where the Kambojas lived at this time.¹ Thus the statement in the Badal Pillar inscription that by the wise counsel and policy of his minister the whole tract bounded by the Vindhyās and the Himālayas and by the eastern and western seas paid tribute to Devapāla was not a mere political exaggeration but an actual fact.

These achievements in the said praśasti have been attributed to Darbhapaṇi, but it is also stated therein that by the policy and counsel of Kedāramiśra (who also served Devapāla) the Gauḍa king "eradicated the race of the Utkalas, humbled the pride of the Huṇas and shattered the conceit of Drāviḍa and Gurjara kings." It seems that the victories and supremacy won during the first part of his reign were challenged, and Devapāla had to undertake another expedition to curb their power and maintain Pāla supremacy. That the two rival powers, the Pratihāras and Rāṣṭrakūṭas, tried to assert their power is also hinted at in their own records, though they are scrupulously silent of their own defeats. The Gwalior inscription of Vailabhata indicates that Gwalior was the boundary of the Pratihāra kingdom at the time of Rāmabhadra and in the early part of the reign of Bhoja. The 12th verse of the Gwalior praśasti of Bhoja seems to imply that Rāmabhadra freed his country from the yoke of foreign soldiers, and, as Dr. Majumdar points out, it seems likely that the "band of foreign soldiers by driving whom Rāmabhadra got back the lost fame belonged to the Pālas, for the other rival power, viz., the Rāṣṭrakūṭas are not known to have advanced as far as the Gurjara kingdom at

1. At the time of Aśoka the Kambojas were a Himālayan tribe in N. W. India. It is known from the Irda plate of king Nayapāladeva that there was a Kamboja ruling family in south western Bengal in the 10th century. Did Devapāla fight with this family or a Himālayan tribe? (EI., XXII, pp. 150 ff.)

this period.¹ The evidence of Daulatpura plates and Ghatiyala inscription goes to show that some time before 843 A. D. the Pratihāras under Bhoja made an attempt to reassert their power, and though it met with some initial success, his power was again checked some time before 861 A. D. This is in complete agreement with what we know from the Pā'a records.

Amoghavarṣa I was the Rāṣtrakūṭa contemporary of Devapāla. During the period of his minority and anarchy Devapāla victoriously advanced as far as the Vindhya's in course of his first expedition. It is stated in the Sirur² and Nīlgund grants that the kings of Aṅga, Vaṅga and Magadha paid homage to Amoghavarṣa, but there are reasons to hold that the Rāṣtrakūṭas advanced through Orissa after the conquest of Veṅgi.³ Amoghavarṣa finally crushed the power of the Veṅgi ruler Vijayāditya II sometime before 866 A. D., the date of the issuing of the Sirur grants. It seems, therefore, that the Rāṣtrakūṭa invasion of Bengal should be placed after 860 A. D., and that Devapāla defeated the Rāṣtrakūṭas sometime before that date in course of his second expedition, when Amoghavarṣa was perhaps engaged in wars with his Guzrat cousins and in putting down risings of the rebellious chiefs.

It is not known who was the contemporary Utkala king defeated by Devapāla.⁴ The conquest of the Utkalas is corroborated by the Bhagalpur plate in which it is recorded that Jayapāla, cousin and general of Devapāla, drove away the Utkala king from the throne. Huṇamaṇḍala in northern Malwa has been mentioned in an inscription of the Paramāra king Vākpati-Muṇja.⁵ The Bhagalpur plate also records that Jayapāla defeated the king of

1. Dr. Majumdar, *Op. Cit.*

2. *EI.*, VII, pp. 104-5

3. The Rāṣtrakūṭas and their times, pp. 76, 84. A march through Bagelkhand and Bihar without coming into serious conflicts with the rising power of the Pratihāras under Bhoja does not seem likely. The Rāṣtrakūṭa grants do not indicate that Amoghavarṣa I marched against Bhoja.

4. The king of Utkala may be a member of the Kara family.

5. *EI.*, XIII, p. 102

Prāgyotiṣa (Kāmarūpa). The Kāmarūpa king defeated by Jayapāla was most probably Harjaravarman whose Tezpur rock inscription is dated in 829 A. D., or his successor Vanamāla.¹

The Nālandā inscription of the 39th year of Devapāla reveals the fact that there was constant intercourse between the Pāla kingdom and the Indian colonies in the Pacific Ocean, specially Java and Sumatra. The object of the inscription was to grant five villages for the upkeep of the Buddhist monastery built by the Śailendra king Bālaputradeva of Suvarṇadvīpa and Yavadvīpa at the instance of his mother Tārādevī. He requested Devapāla to grant the income of five villages for its maintenance. This request was gladly and readily complied with, thus showing that his wide charities compared with those of Bali, Karṇa and Vikramāditya were not vague flattery of the court-poet.² This religious contact must have been accompanied by brisk commercial activity, as the testimonies of Fā-hien, I-tsing and other Chinese travellers point to such a state of things even before the rise of the Pālas.

The history of the Pālas at the height of their power remains incomplete without some reference to the part played by Vākṣpāla and Jayapāla, and Garga and Darbhapāṇi. We learn from the Bhagalpur plate that Vākṣpāla was to Dhamtpāla what Lakṣmaṇa was to Rāmacandra, and this able and trusted brother was mainly responsible for his conquests. Again, Devapāla owed many of his victories to the consummate generalship of Jayapāla. The Badal or Garuḍa pillar inscription informs that the Brahmana minister Garga was to Dharmapāla what Bṛhaspati was to Indra, and it was through his counsel that Dharmapāla, lord of the east, became the master of the west also. No less helpful were the services of Darbhapāṇi and Kadāramiśra. Darbhapāṇi's policy brought the tract between the Himālayas and the Vindyās under Devapāla, and Kadāramiśra's advice was responsible for his victories over the Utkalas, Huṇas, Drāviḍas and Gurjaras. The successes of Dharma-

1. DH. pp. 244-45

2. Mongyr plate Vs, 14

pāla and Devapāla were no doubt to a certain extent due to their own abilities and personality. But the way in which bold claims have been made in the Bhagalpur grant and in the Badal praśasti reflects no mean credit on the successful generalship of Vākṣapāla and Jayapāla, veterans of many battle-fields, and the competent ministers like Garga, Darbhapāṇi and Kedārasamiśra,¹ shrewd in diplomacy and wise in counsel.

The dātaka of the Mongyr plate was the crown prince Rājyapāla, but Devapāla was succeeded by Vighrahapāla. The Badal inscription places Śūrapāla between Devapāla and Nārāyaṇapāla, and therefore it can be accepted that Śūrapāla was a virūda of Vighrahapāla I. The relation of Vighrahapāla with Devapāla cannot be ascertained, and the opinions of the scholars are divided on this point. The Bhagalpur plate after describing the achievements of Dharmapāla introduces his brother Vākṣapāla and states that from him ('tasmāt') was born Jayapāla (Vs. 4 & 5). In the next verse Devapāla has been described as 'pūrvaja' referring to Jayapāla. Mr. A. K. Maitra interpreted the word to mean elder brother and took Devapāla and Jayapāla as brothers. It may be said that the word 'pūrvaja' does not necessarily mean elder brother and may also mean 'elder in age'. If strict Sanskrit grammar is to be followed, 'from him' refers to the immediate preceding noun i.e., to Vākṣapāla and in that case Jayapāla is to be regarded as the son of Vākṣapāla. Again, in the sixth verse the achievements of Jayapāla on behalf of Devapāla have been recorded, and in the next verse it

1. The question as to whether Kedārasmiśra was the minister of Devapāla or Śūrapāla is not so difficult to answer as it appears to be. The 15th verse makes him a minister of Śūrapāla. But in the 18th verse the conquest of a Gauḍeśvara over Orissa, Kāmarūpa, the Huṇas, Drāviḍas and Gurjaras has been attributed to his counsel. It does not seem that Śūrapāla had such millitary success. Devapāla enjoyed a long reign (at least of 39 years). Nothing specifically has been said of Darbhapāṇi's son Someśvara who most probably died at a comparatively young age. It is therefore quite possible that both Darbhapāṇi and his grandson Kedārasmiśra served Devapāla.

is said that from him was born Vighrahapāla. If strict grammar is to be followed in this case, 'from him' refers to Devapāla, but it must be said that in the sixth verse Devapāla has been incidentally mentioned and the main theme of the verse was the exploits of Jayapāla. Dr. Horenle wrote in the Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society of Bengal¹, "It seems clear from this (Amgachi) grant that Vighrahapāla was not a nephew but a son of Devapāla, for the pronoun 'his son' (tat-sūnuḥ) must refer to the nearest preceding noun which is Devapāla. In the Bhagalpur grant this reference is obscured through the interpolation of an immediate verse in praise of Jayapāla, which makes it appear as if Vighrahapāla were a son of Jayapāla". Mr. A. K. Maitra² accepted this view and went so far as to identify Rājyapāla, the 'dūtaka' of the Mongyr grant, with Vighrahapāla or Śūrapāla. Kielhorn³ was of opinion that Vighrahapāla was the son of Jayapāla and grandson of Vākpāla, and R. D. Banerjee⁴ accepted this view. In all fairness, the question should be kept open and two genealogies are possible.⁵ The

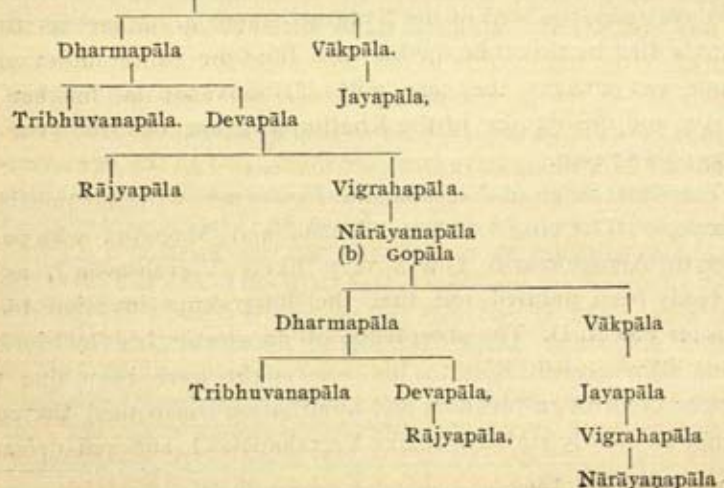
1. Appendix II, p. 306

2. Gauḍalekhamālā, p. 87, fn.

3. E I., VIII, Appendix, p. 17.

4. BI, p. 218

5. (a) Gopāla



most important point in the controversy is that there is no mention of Vākṣapāla and Jayapāla in the grants of Dharmapāla and Devapāla, whereas in the grants of subsequent Pāla kings the victories of those two reigns have been ascribed to Vākṣapāla and Jayapāla. Although it may be argued that the praises of Vākṣapāla and Jayapāla in the public records might have made them popular heroes and that after their death the subsequent Pāla kings did not feel jealous to give due credit to the two distinguished generals of their own family, yet the way in which the names of Vākṣapāla and Jayapāla have been introduced cannot be overlooked, and it suggests that Vīgrahapāla and Nārāyaṇapāla were probably directly connected with them and not with Dharmapāla and Devapāla.

Dr. H. C. Ray¹ suspects the likelihood of a palace revolution in the case of the accessions of Devapāla and Vīgrahapāla I. It may be pointed out that there is not the slightest hint in the Pāla records of a palace revolution or fratricidal war. The same scholar admits that Devapāla succeeded peacefully, as the evidence of the Mongyr plate is definite and clear (v. 12). His son Rajyapāla was alive at the time of the issue of the Mongyr plate of his 33rd regnal year, but the 'dūtaka' of the Nālandā grant of the 39th year was Bālavarmān, the lord of the Vyāgrāṣī-maṇḍala. It seems that Rajyapāla died by this time during the life-time of his father and the same was perhaps the case with Tribhuvanapāla, brother of Devapāla, and the 'dūtaka' of the Khalimpur grant of 32nd year of Dharmapāla's reign.

The short reign of Vīgrahapāla I was not without political significance. The king of Aṅga, Vaṅga and Magadha who paid homage to Amoghavarṣa I was very likely Vīgrahapāla I, as it has already been pointed out that the Rāṣṭrakuṭa invasion took place after 850 A. D. The acceptance of an ascetic life by him by shirking all responsibilities to his son might have been due to defeats by the foreign invaders and humiliation consequent thereon. It cannot be clearly stated whether Vīgrahapāla I suffered defeats

1. DH., I. pp. 290, 296

at the hands of Bhoja, though the probability is strongly so. The Pāla records are significantly silent over the Pratihāra invasions of the time. But the gradual extension of the Pratihāra empire at the cost of the Palas can no longer be doubted. Bhoja, like his grandfather, made extensive preparations in his Bengal campaign. It is known from the Kalha plates of Soḍhadeva that the Kalcuri chief Guṇāmbodhideva who ruled in Kālāñjara got some territories from Bhoja and took away the fortune of Gauḍa by a warlike expedition.¹ The evidence of the Benares and Bilhari inscriptions² has been generally construed to imply that Bhoja was most probably assisted by the Kalacuri king Kokkaladeva against the Palas. After the publication of the Amoda plates³ that view is perhaps to be changed, and it seems that Kokkaladeva I raided Vaṅga on his own account most probably during the reign of Vighrahapāla I or that of his successor.

Though no record has yet come to light to show the subjugation of Magadha and adjacent countries by Bhoja, the discovery of the inscriptions of the early part of the reign of his son Mahendrapāla and the absence of Pāla records in that region indicate that the expansion of the Pratihāra power over Magadha might have taken place in the reign of Bhoja. In the 7th and 9th

1. EI VII p. 86. 2. Ibid. II pp. 297-302.

3. Ibid. XIX, pp 7ff. The Bilahari inscription states that Kokkala conquered the whole earth by planting Bhojadeva and Kṛṣṇarāja as his columns of fame in the north and south respectively, who were to be identified with the Pratihāra king Bhoja I (c.836-90 A.D.) and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II (c.78-915 A.D.). Kokkala was the father-in-law of the latter and may be assigned to the first part of the latter half of the ninth century. The Benares plates inform that Kokkala granted freedom from fear to Bhoja, Ballabharāja Śrī-Harṣa, king of Citrakūṭa and the king Saṅkaragaṇa. It is known from the Amoda plates that he raided the treasuries of Karpāṭa, Vaṅga, Gurjara, Koṅkaṇa and Sakāmbhari king and also those born of the Turaṣka and Raghu families. The king of Karpāṭa and the king, born of the Raghu family, have been identified with Kṛṣṇa II and Bhoja I respectively (See IHQ, XII, p. 132 ff.) This goes against the view that Kokkaladeva helped Bhoja.

years of the reign of Nārāyaṇapāla the Pāla sway was acknowledged in Gaya, and his Bhagalpur grant was issued in his 17th regnal year from Mongyr, and it seems that Magadha was included in the Pāla empire in c. 880 A.D. Bhoja died in c.890 A.D.. The evidence of the Ram-Gaya, Guneria and Itkhauri inscriptions¹ goes unmistakably to show that some portion of Magadha was included in the Pratihāra empire in the last decade of the 9th century. The discovery of the Paharpur pillar inscription of the 5th year of the reign of Mahendrapāla² shows further expansion of the Pratihāra power. It is quite likely that the Pratihāras advanced along the northern bank of the Ganges and occupied the very citadel of the Pālas. Thus in the long struggle with the Pratihāras the Pālas were ousted for the time being from their 'janakabhū' Varendrī. There is nothing to be wondered at how the name of Mahendrapāla has been included by the Tibetan historian Tārānātha in the list of the kings of Magadha and Gauḍa. It is known from the Catsu inscription³ that the Guhilot king Guhila II, son of Harṣarāja, defeated the Gauḍa king and levied tributes from princes in the east. Harṣarāja was a contemporary of Bhoja, and his son therefore may be regarded as a contemporary of Mahendrapāla. This Guhilot family was a loyal feudatory one and rendered valuable services to the Pratihāras. Another invasion that took place about this time was by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II who, after defeating a Gurjara king, raided Gauḍa, Aṅga, Kaliṅga and Magadha⁴. Kṛṣṇa II ascended the throne in c.880 A.D., and as he was engaged in the first part of his reign with the Veṅgi ruler and with the Pratihāra emperor Bhoja, his expedition in the east was probably undertaken towards the close of the 9th or beginning of 10th century.

It is not known how long the Pratihāra occupation of Magadha and northern Bengal lasted. In the 54th year of Nārā-

1. The plates have been published in 'The Pālas of Bengal.'

2. ASIR, 1927-8, pp. 101 ff.

3. EI, XII, p. 11.

4. EI., v, p. 191. Ibid., iv, p. 287.

yaṇapāla (i.e., about the second decade of the 10th century) an image was set up at Nālandā which goes to show that south-eastern Magadha was under the Pālas. Inscriptions of Rājyapāla¹ and Gopāla II have been found at Nālandā, Bodh-Gaya, and in northern Bengal.² After the death of Mahendrapāla the Pratihāra empire began to break up. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas under Indra III dealt a crushing blow to the Pratihāras in c.916 A.D., and it is not unlikely that the Pālas might have attempted during this troubled time of the Pratihāras to recover some of their lost possessions. It must be noted that no record of the Pālas from the time of Nārāyaṇapāla to Mahīpāla I (both exclusive) has yet been found in northern Behar. The Pāla kingdom was considerably reduced during the weak rules of Vighrahapāla I, Nārāyaṇapāla, Rājyapāla, Gopāla II and Vighrahapāla II, and during their reigns many foreign invaders took the opportunity of carrying on their depredations in Bengal. It is known from two Kalacuri³ inscriptions that the Cedi king Yuvarāja I and his son Lakṣmaṇarāja invaded Gauḍa and Vaṅgāla respectively. Yuvarāja I was the father-in-law of Amoghavarṣa III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, whose reign commenced in c. 935 A.D. Therefore Yuvarāja I and his son seem to have reigned in the first half of the 10th century, whose Pāla contemporaries were probably Rājyapāla and Gopāla II. Yuvarāja I carried on raids on many countries far and near, viz., Gauḍa, Karṇāṭa, Lāṭa, Kāśmīra and Kālīṅga. Lakṣmaṇarāja defeated the Vaṅgālas, Pāṇḍyās, Gurjaras and Kāśmīra. Nor was the other central Indian power sitting inactive. The Khajuraho inscription⁴ of Candella Yaśovarman, dated in 954 A.D., informs us that he defeated the king of Gauḍa. Another Khajuraho inscription,⁵ dated in 1001 A.D., records that the wives of the kings of Kāñchī, Andhra, Rāḍha and Aṅga lingered in the prison of his son Dhaṅgadeva.

1. IA., 1918, p. 111.

2. Recently a plate of Gopāla II has been found in the Malda district. (Bhāratavarsa), 1344, B.S., Sravana isane, p. 274.

3. EI., II, p. 297, Bilhārī and Goharwa plates; 'Ibid., XI, XI, p. 142.

4. EI., I, p. 123.

5. Ibid.

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CHAPTER IV

The Pāla Dynasty (Continued)

The Pālas must have been passing their most critical days in in the 10th century. It seems now certain that in south-eastern and south-western Bengal two independent kingdoms were established by the Candras and Kambojas¹ respectively. The evidence of the Dinajpur pillar inscription goes to show that the Pālas were dispossessed of Varendra by a Kamboja chief who styled himself Gaudādhīpa.² Palaeographically this record is to be assigned to the period between 950-1050 A D. Most probably this king belonged to the Kamboja family of the Irda plate of Nayapāladeva. The Bangar grant of Mahīpāla I records that he recovered his paternal throne which was occupied by a usurper (*pitryam rāijyam anadnikṛta*) who is to be identified with the Kamboja king of Gauḍa. How Mahīpāla I recovered the paternal throne from him still remains unknown.

With the accession of Mahīpāla I there seems to have been a revival of the Pāla power. The Baghaura image inscription shows that Samataṣa was included within his kingdom in his third regnal year.³ The Imadpur image inscription goes to show that northern Bihar was under his possession.⁴ If the date Samvat 1076 of the colophon of the Rāmāyaṇa is to be referred to the Vikrama era, it seems that Mahīpāla I came into conflict with Kalacuri Gaṅgeyadeva, though it has been doubted by

1. See *Infra.*, Chapter V.

2. We agree with Dr. R. C. Majumdar that the expression "Kūṇja-raghaṭāvarṣeṇa" of the inscription is to be taken as an epithet of Gauḍāpati and not as a chronogram to mean 888, which is to be referred to the Śaka era. See "Vaṅgavāṇi," 1380 B. S., p. 250 ; *BL.*, p. 243.

3. *EL.* XVII, p. 859.

4. *IA.*, XIIIV, p. 165.

some scholars.¹ It is stated in the Goharwa plates that Gāṅgeyadeva conquered as far as the sea of Utkala and vanquished the king of Aṅga which was included within Mahīpāla's kingdom. The most formidable invasión during his reign was from the south. It is known from the Tirumalai rock inscription of Rājendracola that in c. 1325 A. D. his general defeated Mahīpāla.²

Mahīpāla's foreign policy has been severely criticised by Messrs R. P. Chanda³ and R. D. Banerjee,⁴ because he did not join the rulers of northern India against the Muslims. The learned author of 'Gauḍarājāmālā' observes that Mahīpāla, like the emperor Aśoka after the Kalīṅga war, sheathed his sword and devoted all his energies to pious and religious works after the recovery of northern Bengal from the Kamboja chief. Like all historical comparisons it is far from being exact and it is also a mis-statement of facts. With any stretch of historical imagination Mahīpāla I cannot be compared with the great Maurya emperor either in power and prestige or in religious and moral fervour. R. D. Banerji remarks that Mahīpāla could not make common cause with other kings because of his envy and religious bigotry. Mahīpāla, a devout Buddhist though he was, granted a village in the Puṇḍra-vardhana-bhukti to the excellent Brahmana Bhaṭṭaputra Kṛṣṇāditya-śarman in the 9th year of his reign, and many Brahmanical gods

1. The colophon was copied in Samvat 1076 when Tirabhukti was ruled over by "Mahārājādhirāja Puṇāvaloka Somavamsodbhava Gauḍadhvaja Śrīmad Gāṅgeyadeva." Bendall referred the date to the Vikrama era and identified the king with Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva. Objections have been raised by Sylvain Lévi and Mr. R. P. Chanda (summarised in *IHQ.*, 1931, pp. 679 ff). But they do not seem to be very strong in view of the evidence of the Goharwa plates. Dr. R. C. Majumdar suggests that the date 1076 is to be referred to the Saka era and the king is to be identified with Gāṅgeyadeva, successor of Nānyadeva on the throne of Mithilā. This solves all difficulties, no doubt, but it must be said that the facsimile has not been published and therefore cannot be palaeographically examined. The date of the colophon rests on a statement of Bendall who examined it in Nepal. See *IHQ.*, XII, pp. 469 ff.

2. *RI*, IX, pp. 232-33; also see Chapter V.

3. *Gauḍarājāmālā*, p. 41.

4. *BI*, p. 256.

and goddesses were installed in his reign. The charge of bigotry has no basis at all, as it is disproved both by official and private records. His reign cannot in any sense be called a period of military inactivity and religious asceticism. He was beset with difficulties from the very beginning of his reign. He had to recover the paternal throne from a usurper. The Candras were carving out a kingdom in eastern Bengal and his suzerainty was acknowledged in that region. The Cedis under Gaṅgeyadeva were making great strides in the east and most probably Mahpāla had to fight with him. If the exploits of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti, the Somavamśi king of Kośa'a, as described in his Maranja-Mura charter, are to be believed in its entirety, he seems to have invaded Gauḍa, Raḍha and Vaṅga during Mahipāla's reign. He had not only to re-establish the Pāla power but also to consolidate it which was tottering during the reign of his father. It will be an anachronism to judge the foreign policy of Mahipāla in the light of later history or of modern times. If he did not entangle himself in the turmoil of northern Indian politics because of the unlimited liability involved in that course of action and adopted the policy of 'safety first', it shows his foresight and political sagacity. His position was weak in own territory and his kingdom was vulnerable from every quarter. When dangers came from unexpected quarters, his energy and resources were spent in repelling them. If his resources were spent in checking the Muslim invasions, the Pāla kingdom might have ended with the shock of the Cola invasion, and anarchy and disorder, previous to the rise of the Pālas, might have been the result.

The restoration of the Pāla power by Mahipāla I and the stability of political power over northern Bengal and Magadha made their influence felt in other spheres also. In the 11th year of his reign one Balāditya, an emigrant from Kauśāmbī and an inhabitant of Tiladhaka (modern Telāra), rebuilt a temple at

1. JBORS, II pp. 45 ff.; for his date see DH, I, pp. 401 ff. Dr. Ray assigns to the first quarter of the 11th century.

Nālandā, which was burnt down by a conflagration.¹ Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla, two brothers of Mahipāla, restored Dharmarājika and Sāṅgadharmacakra and built the temple of Gandhakuṭi at Sarnath² in 1026 A.D. Many important tanks in northern Bengal are associated with his name.³ All these must have made him very popular and his name is perhaps still remembered in the popular saying that Mahipāla's praise is to be sung when husking the paddy. He was succeeded by his son Nayapāla.

After the fall of the Pratihāras, the Kalacuris were the most active enemies of the Pālas. The invasions Kokkala, Yuvarāja, Lakṣmaṇarāja and Gāṅgeyadeva have already been referred to. The Kalacuri power rose to its height under Karṇa, son of Gāṅgeyadeva, and most of the contemporary northern Indian kings felt the brunt of his power. The Tibetan biographer⁴ of Atiśa Srijñāna Dipankara records the meditation of hostilities that ensued between Nayapāla and Karṇa. If the Tibetan account is to be believed in its entirety, the Kalacuri army was successful at first and besieged the holy city of Gaya but was ultimately defeated by the Pāla army. There is nothing improbable in the account that after hostilities a treaty was brought about through the good offices of the great Buddhist patriarch. With the exception of the articles of food that were destroyed at the time of war, all other things were either restored to or compensated for. The treaty concluded by Atiśa seems to have proved to be a truce. The evidence of the Paikore image inscription⁵ and of the 'Rāmacarita'⁶ goes to show that a second campaign against the Pālas was undertaken by Karṇa. In this expedition Karṇa advanced as far as Paikore (in the Birbhum district) and set up a

1. JASB, 1908, pp. 106-7; Gaudalekhamālā, p. 101.

2. ASIR, 1903-4, p. 212; AL, XIV, p. 139; Gaudolekhamālā, p. 104.

3. Gaudarājamālā, p. 104; Mahīsantoṣa in Dinājpur, Mahipālera Dighi (tank) in Bogra and in Murshidabad.

4. JBTS, I, p. 9.

5. ASIR., 1921-22, p. 78.

6. Rāmacarita 1/9.

column there perhaps as a mark of his victorious march, where an image was carved by a certain sculptor by the order of the Cedi king. Karṇa's invasion of Bengal has also been alluded to in the Bheraghat inscription of Ahlaṇḍadevi¹ and in the Karanabel inscription of Jayashmīa². It is stated in the 'Rāmacarita' that Vīgrahapāla III, son and successor of Nayapāla, though he defeated Karṇa, did not uproot him and that Karṇa's daughter Yauvanaśrī was married to him. It is difficult to believe that the Cedi king who carried extensive conquests far and wide was compelled to give his daughter in marriage with Vīgrahapāla. In the height of his power he overran the whole of northern India, but in the latter part of his reign he suffered many defeats. From various sources comes the story of his defeats by Candella Kīrtivarman,³ Paramāra Udayāditya⁴ and Cālukya Someśvara.⁵ It is known from the 'Prabodha-candrodaya' that Karṇāṭa first almost annexed the Candella kingdom during the weak rule of Devendravarman, but the same drama records how his brother Kīrtivarman with the help of his Brahmana minister Gopāla restored the Candella kingdom after vanquishing Karṇa's power. Faced in the south and west by the Cālukyas and the Paramāras, the rising power of the Candellas was still a greater danger to the power of Karṇa. It is therefore quite possible that the motive behind this matrimonial alliance with Vīgrahapāla III was a lasting peace with the Pālas.

The 'Vikramāṅkacarita' which narrates the exploits and military expeditions of Vikramāditya VI, son of Cālukya king Someśvara I, records that when a Yuvarāja, Vikramāditya made a raid on Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa.⁶ It is stated in the inscriptions of the reigns of Someśvara I,⁷ Someśvara II⁸ and Vikramāditya VI⁹ that the

1. E.I. II, p. 11.

2. IA., XVII, p. 217.

3. EI., p. 223; Prabodha-candrodaya, pp. 11, 12, 14.

4. EI., II, p. 185.

5. 'Über das Lebender Jaina monchs Hemacandra' by George Buhler, p. 69; IA., V, p. 317, Vikramāṅkadevacarita.

6. Ibid.

7. EI., XV, p. 86.

8. Ibid., p. 97.

9. Ibid., p. 104.

Cālukyas shattered the pride of many countries among whom the names of Gauḍa and Vaṅga occur. The invasion of Someśvara I must have taken place before 1053 A. D., because his Mahāsāmanta Bhogadevaraśa of the Kelwadi inscription¹ raided Vaṅga and seems to have followed him. As the invasion of Bengal is mentioned in the records of three successive Cālukya kings and in the 'Vikramāṅkacarita,' it is quite possible that there might have been more than one Cālukya invasion in the eleventh century.

It is a rare thing in ancient Indian history to have an account of a period from a contemporary writer. The 'Rāmacarita' by Sandhyākaranandī, the "Vālmiki of the Kali Yuga", as he styles himself at the end of his work, describes the achievements and glories of the reign of Rāmapāla who was, in the eye of the author, the Rāma of his age. A great portion of the work is devoted to the account of the struggle for the recovery of Varendra by Rāmapāla from the Kaivarta king Bhīma. The author's father Prajāpatinandī, was the 'Sāndhivigrāhika' of Rāmapāla. Sandhyākaranandī therefore must have had a first-hand knowledge of the Pāla court and the political vicissitudes of the Pālas, and in his early age he might have witnessed them. His account and specially the commentary on his work are, therefore, of unique importance for the history of Bengal in the last half of the eleventh century.

The real cause of the Kaivarta revolution is not known. Vighrahapāla III had three sons, Mahīpāla II, Śūrapāla II and Rāmapāla. Mahīpāla II succeeded his father to the throne. After his accession he began to follow an unrighteous course of action against the advice of the ministers.² Śūrapāla and Rāmapāla were put into prisons, because it was reported by evil mongers and designing men that Rāmapāla was respected by all and would

1. 'EI.,' IV, p. 259.

2. Com. 1/31 Prathamam pūrvam pitari Vighrahapāla uparate sati Mahīpāle bhrātari kṣamabhāram bhūbhāram vibhrati sati anitikārambharate anitike nītivirudhe ārambhe udyame rate sati Mahīpālaḥ śāḍguṇaśalyasya mantrino guṇitamaguṇayan upaṣṭambhāra bhaṭimātrādisatgrahaṇena.

occupy the throne by killing him.¹ This apprehension led Mahipāla to devise ways and means for the death of Rāmapāla who was kept in a solitary underground prison.² Most probably taking advantage of this internal dissension in the royal family and the general discontent thereon, the Kaivarta chief Divvoka raised the standard of revolt. Mahipāla suddenly marched with a hastily collected force to meet the insurgents whose number was increased by the combined army of the Sāmantas of the kingdom. This was done against the express wishes of the ministers and the result was, as the ministers foresaw, defeat. Mahipāla himself was defeated and killed, and Varendra was occupied by the Kaivarta chief.

At the time of the outbreak of the revolt Śūrapāla and Rāmapāla were in prison. It is not known how they managed to get free. The Rāmacarita does not mention Śūrapāla as a king but, according to the 13th verse of the Manahali plate, Śūrapāla ruled for however short a period it might have been. The suspicion of R. D. Banerjee³ that Śūrapāla was murdered at the instigation of Rāmapāla is unwarranted, as there is not the slightest hint of it anywhere. The purpose of the author was not to write a dynastic history of the later Pālas but to glorify the achievemants of Rāmapāla, and his silence over Śūrapāla's reign was probably due to the fact that it was a very short reign in which there was nothing worth recording. It is not known where he ruled and what was the boundary of the territory under him. The Kaivartas were in possession of Varendra, and Divvoka was succeeded by his brother Rudoka who was followed by his son Bhīma. It was most probably at the time of the unsteady political state that Gauḍa was invaded by the Paramāra king Lakṣmadeva,⁴ and the invasion of

1. Com. 1/87 Māyīnām khalānām dvanīnā ayañ Rāmapālaḥ kṣamodhikāri sarvasammata tataśca devasya rājyamgrahisyaiti sucanayā saṅkitavipada māmāsau hanīsyatīti saṅkitavipadyena tasya bhuvobhartur-Mahipālasya prabhutāya vahutarāya nirākṛti prayūktita śāṭhya prayogāt upāyavadha-cestayā tathā tvanākāḥkārenapaune durgate kaniṣṭhe brātari Rāmapāle rakṣitāri.

2. 1/33.

3. BI., p. 280.

4. EI., II, p. 193, Vs. 128.

northern Bengal by the army of a Vaṅgāla king also took place, in course of which the Buddhist teacher Karuṇāśrīmitra's house at Somapura-vihāra was set on fire and he was burnt to death.¹

Rāmapāla succeeded Śūarpāla. Mr. A. K. Maitra² suggested that he passed these days in Aṅga with his maternal uncle Mathanadeva. It may be pointed out that an image inscription of the second year of Rāmapāla³ has been found in Bihar. During these critical days he was always closeted in discussion with his ministers and his son Rājyapāla in order to arrive at a decision as to the course of action to be taken. It was perhaps settled that by any hasty action they might fare like Mahipāla, and before any action to be taken, it would be wiser to win the confidence and active support of the Sāmantas. To this effect Rāmapāla now turned his whole attention and he met the important chiefs, implored their help and promised them reward of money and further extension of territory in case of victory. This produced the desired effect. The Sāmantas were satisfied with his behaviour and assurance. The right-hand man of Rāmapāla in the suppression of the Kaivarta revolt was Rāṣṭrakūṭa Mathanadvea who with his two sons, Kāṅṇuradeva and Suvarṇadeva, and his nephew Śivarāja played an effective part in the battle. The commentary⁴ informs us that Mathanadeva defeated the king of Piṭhi and Magadha. In the Sarnatha inscription of Kumāradevī, queen of Gāhaḍavāla Govindacandra, it is said, "In the Gauḍa country there was a priceless warrior with quiver (kaṇḍapatika), this incomparable diadem of the Kṣatriyas, the Aṅga king Mahana,⁵ the vener-

1. *EL.*, XXI, pp.97-131. The Nālandā inscription of Vipulaśrīmitra has been assigned to the middle of the 12th century. Karuṇāśrīmitra was removed by two generations of teachers from Vipulaśrīmitra.

2. A course of lecture delivered by Mr. A. K. Maitra in the Calcutta University on the fall of the Pāla empire published in a summary form by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, *Marmavāṇi*, 1923 B.S.

3. *JASB*, 1908, pp. 108-9

4. *Rāmacarita* 2/8

5. The Prākṛta form of Mathana is Mahana.

able maternal uncle of kings. He conquered Devaraksita in war, maintained the glory of Rāmapāla, which rose in splendour because the obstruction by his foes was removed."¹ R. D. Banerjee² suggested that Devaraksita rose against the Pālas during the Kaivarta imbroglio but was subdued and then won over to the Pāla side by the marriage of his daughter Saṅkaradevī, mother or Kumāradevī.

In the commentary fourteen sāmantas are named, who took active part in the war against the Kaivarta chief Bhīma on the side of Rāmapāla. They are :—

(1). Bhīmayaśa, ruler Piṭhī and Magadha, and described as 'Kānyakuvja-vājinīganṭhana-bhujaṅga'. Piṭhī was the name of Bodhi-Gaya and the neighbouring region.³ If the above expression means any hostility to a Kānyakuvja king, he is to be identified with a Gāhaḍavāla king and not with Kalacuri Yaśaḥkarṇa as suggested by R. D. Banerjee.⁴ Devarakṣita preceded Bhīmayaśa on the throne of Piṭhī and his daughter was married to Govindacandra. Gāhaḍavāla Madanapāla's inscriptions are dated from 1104 to 1109 A. D., and in his Rahan grant⁵ the victories over the Gauḍa elephants are said to have been achieved by his son Govindacandra. It may be that Rāmapāla after the Kaivarta war made an attempt to extend his sway in the west but was checked by the rising power of the Gāhaḍavālas. The eastward advance of the Gāhaḍavāla power during the period 1124-1146 A. D. is indicated by the Maner and Lar plates. Govindacandra's fight with the kings of Vaṅga and Gauḍa is alluded to in the Prākṛt-paiṅgalam, a work on Prākṛta metrical science.⁶ Govindacandra's contemporaries were Rāmapāla, Kumārapāla, Gopāla III. Madanapāla and Vijayasena.

(2). Viraguṇa of Koṭaṭavi, described as 'dakṣiṇa-simhasana-cakravartī'. Mr. N. N. Vasu identifies Koṭaṭavi with Koṭa-deśa in

1. EI., IX. p. 320.

2. BI., d. 226.

3. JBORS., IV. p. 278.

4. BI., p. 284.

5. IA., XV 111, p. 46.

6. IHQ., XI, p. 564 ff.

Sarkar Kaṭaka of the *Ain-Ai-kbari*.¹ Viraguṇa may be identified with Vira of the Deopara praśasti, who was defeated by Vijayasena.

(3). Jayasimha, ruler of Daṇḍabhukti, who is said to have defeated the Utkala king Karnaśeṣari, who most probably belonged to the Keśari dynasty but whose name has not been found anywhere else.²

(4). Vikramarāja, ruler of Bala-Vallabhi, adjacent to Devagrāma. The location of Bala-Vallabhi is uncertain. Mr. N. N. Vasu identifies Devagrāma with a village of that name, 5 miles east of Ranaghat in Nadia.³ There are many villages of the name of Devagrāma. It may be noted that Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, a minister of Harivarman, is styled Bala-Vallabhūjaṅga,⁴ and the original home of his family was Siddhala in the Birbhum district.

(5). Laksmīśūra described as 'apāramandāra-madhusūdana and samasta-āṭavika-sāmantacakra-cuḍāmaṇi'. Apāra-mandāra has been identified with the Mandāra hill in the Bhagalpur district.⁵ It is to be noted that he is called a Sāmanta of the forest region.

(6). Śūrapāla of Kujavaṭi. Its identification is uncertain.

(7). Rudraśikhara of Tailakampa, which is perhaps represented by its non-sanskritized form Telakupi⁶ in the Manbhum district.

(8). Mayagalasiṃha of Uchala which cannot be located.

(9). Pratāpasimha of Dhekkariya, which is to be identified with modern Dhekur in the Burdwan district.

(10). Narasiṃhārjjuṇa of Kayaṅgal-maṇḍala which may be identified with Kankjol in the Rajmahal.

(11). Caṇḍārjjuna of Saṃkaṭagrāma. Its location is uncertain.

(12). Vijayarāja of Nidrāvala. Dr. H. C. Roychowdhury is

1. Rājanyakāṇḍa, v. 191.

2. DH., I, p. 412

3. Rājanyakāṇḍa, p. 198.

4. JASB., 1912, p. 841

5. IA, 1930, p. 244.

6. Cunningham, ASR., VII, p. 169,

inclined to identify this chief with Vijayasena of the Sena dynasty¹. If this is to be accepted, Nidrāvala is to be located in Rāḍha where the Senas were originally settled.

(13). Dvorapavardhana of Kauśambi. R. D. Bannerjee² surmised that Dvorapavardhana had been written in place of Govardhana through the mistake of the copist and was inclined to identify him with the chief of that name defeated by Jātavarman of the Varman dynasty. Kauśambi in the Puṇḍravardhanabhukti has been mentioned in the Belava plate and has been located in the Diamond Harbour sub-division.³

(14). Soma of Paduvana. Its location is uncertain.

The list of the sāmantas whose services were utilised by Rāmapāla and some of whose achievements have been described in the commentary gives an idea of the magnitude of the task that confronted him. Their support being won over, Ramapāla collected the threefold army, the cavalry, the infantry and the elephants. With arrangements thus complete, Rāmapāla began the campaign and asked the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Śivarāja to cross the Ganges with the vanguard and to assure the people that the property of the Brahmanas and religious endowments would not be interfered with in any way. True to the direction of Rāmapāla, Śivarāja kept himself informed of the property of the Brahmanas and the gods and expelled the front guards of Bhīma.⁴ This was successful and thus the landing of the main army was made safe.

Rāmapāla at the head of the main army crossed the Ganges by a bridge of boats. Rājyapāla made all preparations for war and arranged the soldiers in customary arrays. The battle that ensued was one of the hottest that were fought in northern Bengal. Bhīma was captured on his elephant's back and kept under

1. IHQ., XIII, p. 358

2. BL., p. 277

3. SPP, 1899, B.S. pp. 80-81

4. We cannot accept the statement in the 'Rāmacarita' that Śivarāja delivered Varendra from the enemies. Then what was the necessity of the campaign of Rāmapāla at the head of the main army? It seems that Śivarāja made a cavalry raid and expelled the guards.

the charge of his son Vittapāla. His army broke up but his friend and general Hari collected the scattered army and made a desperate attack. Once more the battle was fierce. But the the Kaivarta army was finally routed.

Thus ended the Kaivarta revolt. Of late there has been much discussion as to its origin and nature. The occupation of Varendra by ousting the deep-seated Pāla power naturally rouses the suspicion that this revolution was organised on a large scale. Mr. A. K. Maitra¹ expressed the opinion that Divvoka, like Gopāla I, the founder of the Pāla power, was the chosen of the people. He went so far as to assert that he was elected king by the people and that the common people had a great share in determining the succession to the Pāla throne. The 'Rāmacarita' describes Rāmapāla as 'sarvasammata'² which he takes to mean "accepted by all", and from this Mr. Maitra concluded that Rāmapāla was the king-elect and Mahipāla II claimed the throne by the law of primogeniture. This was the underlying cause of the Kaivarta revolution. On this assumption he further concluded that Varendra as a whole was against that Pālas and Rāmapāla forced the Pāla rule against the declared voice of the people. The mainstay of the Pāla power was the popular support, and this was lost for ever. His opinion that Divvoka was elected by the people has been supported by R. P. Chanda³ and Sir J. N. Sarkar.⁴ But the crucial point is that if this would have really been the case, why the people did not elect Rāmapāla. If Rāmapāla was the chosen of the people, why after the death of Mahi-

1. Lecture on the 'Fall of the Pāla empire' delivered by A. K. Maitra in the Calcutta University, a summary of which was published by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in the defunct Bengali journal 'Marmavāṇī, 1422 B. S.

2. Com. 'Rāmacaritra' 1/37. The word 'sarvasammata' actually occurs in connection with the reports of the evil-mongers and designing persons who reported Rāmpāla to be so to Mahipāla. Whether it was really so cannot be ascertained.

3. Modern Review, 1935, p. 347

4. Ibid., 1936, April issue.

pāla II the Kaivarta chief occupied the throne? This is the most important point which Mr. Maitra did not try to answer. Mahipāla II was of suspicious nature and he deviated from the right course of action. His imprisonment of Śūrapāla and Rāmapāla can hardly be defended as a course of right judgment and was extremely impolitic because these two brothers would have stood by him in the impending danger. Divvoka has been described with the modest appellation 'bhṛtya'¹ which is perhaps to be taken in the sense of an officer of the Pālas. He was certainly not a Bachai Sako, as it is clear from the commentary that he enjoyed considerable power and was a man of much importance in the kingdom. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali² has drawn attention to certain passages in the commentary³ which go to show that he began the action against Mahipāla as a matter of duty with ulterior motives in his mind. When Mahipāla II fought with Divvoka, the combined army of the 'sāmantas' was with the latter. It is therefore very very likely that the revolution at first broke out in favour of Rāmapāla because of Mahipāla's unrighteous rule, or it was professed to be so, and subsequently Divvoka fished in the troubled waters. As it often happens that a revolution breaks out with certain end in view but is exploited by ambitious and designing men for their personal ends, the Kaivarta chief made himself master of the situation and usurped the throne. Discussing the whole episode, Dr. R. C. Majumdar⁴ rightly observes that to rise against the ruling dynasty must always be regarded as an act of rebellion. The occupation of northern Bengal by the Kaivartas should be properly described as a political and military 'coup d'etat'.

1. Com. I/38. Kāntā kamaṇīyā divyāhvayena Divyanāmnā Divvokena māṇisabhujā lakṣmya aṁśatī bhūñjānena bhṛtyena uccaiḥ-darśakena uccaiḥ-mahatī daśā avasthā yasya atyucchrītenetyartha dasyūṇā śatrunā tad-bhāvā-pannātīvāt avāśya-kartavyatayā āravdham karma vratam chadmani vrati.

2. Bhāratvarṣa, 1343 B.S., pp. 32-41

3. Com. I/38. quoted above. 4. Bhāratvarṣa, 1942 B. S., Āṣāḍha issue.

After the recovery of his fatherland, Rāmapāla bent himself to lay the foundation of the Pāla kingdom more deeply by winning the love and affection of all people. He built a new capital which has since been associated with his name,—Rāmāvati¹ or Ramauti of the Muslim writers. He adorned this city with numerous Buddhist and Hindu images, the chief of which were Saura, Śaiva and Skānda. This must have produced profound impression on the people at large. True to the Pāla tradition, he established the famous Buddhist monastery of Jagaddala whose fame travelled far beyond the borders of Bengal. Besides, he built many temples and excavated canals and tanks.

Thus making the foundation of the Pāla power once more secure, Rāmapāla engaged his attention for glory abroad. Eastern Bengal seceded from the Pāla empire and a new independent power was established by the Varman. The verse 44 (ch. III) states that a Varman king propitiated Rāmapāla by presenting him with his chariot and elephants. The Varman king referred to was probably Harivarman or Sāmalavarman, and thus eastern Bengal was once more brought within the Pāla sphere of influence. In course of his digvijaya Rāmapāla advanced as far as the sea-coast of Orissa² and reinstated the vanquished king of Utkala. Kama-

1. Rāmāvati was most probably included within the precincts of Gauḍa. ASIR., 1923-24, p. 79

2. Mr. A. K. Maitra takes 'bhavabhuṣana santati' used in this connection to refer to the Somavamśi kings of Orissa. Messrs. H. P. Shastri and R. D. Banerjee take it to refer to the Nāgavamśa. We are inclined to take the latter view because in verse 43 the word nāga actually occurs. It is not known who was the vanquished king reinstated by Rāmapāla. It may be mentioned that the Nāgavamśi kings ruled during the 11th century in the present Bastar state (EI., IX, pp. 161-64). Mr. N. G. Majumder conjectures from the word nāgāntaka applied to his minister Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva that the Nāgavamśi king was defeated by Harivarman but was favoured by Rāmapāla (IB., p. 80).

rūpa was also conquered by one of his generals.¹ These are clear indications of the revival of the lost supremacy of the Pālas over eastern India. In his old age Rāmapāla entrusted the task of the government to his son Rājyapāla and retired from active political life. When at Mongyr, he received the sad news of the death of his maternal uncle Mathanadeva to whom he owed so much of his political achievement and he died by immersing himself in the holy waters of the Ganges,² and this is confirmed by the 'Sekh-śubhodayā'.³

Rāmapāla was the last great Pāla king and was undoubtedly one of the greatest diplomats and statesmen of his age. He realised from the very beginning that the task that confronted him was by no means an easy one. He came to the wise and sane decision that without the help and support of the *sāmantas* it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to recover Varendra. A rash and hasty policy would have met with the fatal result of Mahīpāla's march against the Kaivarta chief. What by persuasion and what by promise of rewards the support of the vassals was secured. This is the clearest proof of his sobriety of judgment and diplomacy. In the actual war also he showed the qualities of a great general and statesman. His conduct and policy in the critical days of his life, as it can be gleaned from the incidental references in the commentary, reveal the statesmanlike traits of his character. He had the genius to organise and to execute marvellously. Far from being revengeful of the enemies, the officers of the Kaivarta king were appointed to high posts, thus making them loyal and grateful servants of the kingdom. He was wide in his sympathy

1. Kāmarūpa king overthrown by Rāmapāla was, according to Pandit P. Bhattacharyya, Dharmapāla of Brahmapāla's dynasty. According to K. L. Barua, he might have been Jayapāla of the Silimpur inscription (See Intro. Kāmarūpaśāsanāvali; also Early History of Kāmarūpa, Ch. on the dynasty of Brahmapāla). It is not improbable that Rāmapāla sent a general to subjugate the rebellious chief, Išvaraghoṣa who seems to have assumed an independent attitude during the Kaivarta revolt (see Ch. on Administration.)

2. Rāmacarita 4/8-18

3. S. K. Sen. Sekhśubhodayā, p. 46.

and tolerant in religious outlook. With him the sun of the Pāla power began to set down, never to rise again in splendour.

The Kaivarta rebellion had been quelled but the spirit of defiance was not extinguished. When the strong arm of Rāmapāla was not more, ambitious chiefs and rulers tried to raise their heads. During the reign of Kumārapāla, successor of Rāmapāla, two rebellions broke out. The Kamauli plate of Vaidyadeva describes vividly his naval battle in southern (anuttara-vaṅga) and the suppression of the revolt of Tiṃgyadeva of Kāmapūra. Vaidyadeva was at first a minister and general of Kumārapāla. The naval battle in southern Bengal most probably refers to a fight with a Varman king who tried to shake off the Pāla yoke established by Rāmapāla. No sooner had Vaidyadeva won this battle than the news of the revolt of Kāmarūpa reached him, and after a few days' rapid march he took Tiṃgyadeva by surprise. It was put down with a strong hand and a large number of people were slain and wounded. In the Kamauli plate Vaidyadeva assumed the imperial titles generally associated with an independent king. It seems that he asserted his independence at a later period. As his relation with Kumārapāla was very cordial (he is called a 'suhṛd and amātya'), he could not but mention his previous relation with the Pāla king whom he had served loyally. Nothing more is known of the reign of Kumārapāla except the exploits of Vaidyadeva whose personality overshadowed that of the king himself, and the 'Rāmacarita' dismisses his reign in one verse¹ only. Most probably he had a very short reign. It is likely that the invasion of Aṅga, Kalinga and Vaṅga by the Calukya king Tribhuvanamalla Paramādideva, which is recorded in an inscription² of 1128 A. D., took place in his reign.

Kumārapāla was succeeded by his son Gopāla III. Very recently an image of Sadāśiva has been discovered in the Dinajpur district and there is a votive inscription on the pedestal, recording that it was installed by Purṣottamadeva in the 14th year

1. 4/11

2. Ep. Carn., XI. p. 68

of Gopāladeva.¹ Its characters are almost similar to those of the Deopara praśasti of Vijayasena, and the king Gopāladeva is to be identified with Gopāla III. This identification goes to disprove the old view² that he had a very short reign and died in his childhood. He seems to have ruled at least for 14 years. The 'Rāmacarita' dismisses his reign in one verse³ from which it appears that his enemies had a hand in his death which was not perhaps natural. The Manda inscription, which is to be assigned for palæographical reasons to Gopāla III, is full of so many scribal mistakes that no meaning can be made out of it confidently.⁴ It seems that this record also refers to his enemies and one person named Mijum (?) fought for or stood by him. It is to be noted that it is a posthumous record.

Gopāla III was succeeded by Madanpāla, the last known king of the Pāla dynasty. He was the son of Rāmapāla by his queen Madanadevī. In his accession he was assisted by Mahāmāṇḍalika Candra of Aṅga, son of Suvarṇacandra.⁴ Sandhyākaranandī describes Madanapāla as king with a religious bent of mind and as a liberal-minded man. He is said to have uprooted one Govardhana. The leader of the Nāga army was his ally and with his help he seems to have crippled the fortune of Hari.⁵ A victory is also claimed in his favour over Kaliṅga. But whatever success he had, it seems that northern Bengal passed in the hands of Vijayasena

1. I am thankful to Mr. N. G. Majumder, Superintendent of Archaeological Survey (Eastern Circle), for kindly allowing me to examine the inscription. For an account of the inscription, see the Anurita Bazar Patrika, dated May 14, 1937.

2. *BL.*, p. 811

3. 4/12. 'Api śatruḥṇa-upāyad Gopālaḥ svaḥ jagāma tatsunūḥ Hantu kumbhīnasya-astanavaisya tasya sāmāyikam-etat.

4. An attempt has been made to interpret this inscription by V. Vidravinode. See SPP, 1319 B. S., pp. 153 ff. The reading and translation are highly conjectural. He reads 'sechyam' in the 3rd line and is of opinion that he gave up his life voluntarily. The word looks like 'saeya' and gives no meaning.

4. We agree with Dr. R. G. Basak in identifying Candra with the grandson of Mathanadeva. *IHQ.*, V, p. 85.

5. No commentary of the last part of the Rāmacarita has been discovered. We follow Mm. H. P. Shastri's interpretation.

during his reign. The Deopara praśasti states that the Sena king impetuously assailed the king of Gauḍa and also shows that at least southern Varendra was under him. The Manahali plate records grant of land by Madanapāla in the Puṇḍravardhanabhukti in his 8th regnal year. The Jayanagar image inscription goes to indicate that he ruled at least for 19 years in Bihar. Two other kings, Govindapāla and Palapāla, have been styled Gauḍeśvara,¹ but their relation with the Pāla dynasty is uncertain, and there is nothing to show that their authority extended over any part of Bengal, as all records alluding to their reign come from Magadha. Therefore it seems that Madanapāla was the last Pāla king of Bengal.

The Pālas were entangled in severe struggle with the Pratihāras and Rāṣṭrakūṭas from the very foundation of the empire. It seems that the struggle was keener and more long-drawn with the Pratihāras than with the latter. A close study of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Pāla records tends to show that the Pālas were politically or matrimonially allied with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. It was held by some scholars that Dhruva Dhārāvarga undertook his campaign against Vatsarāja as an ally of Dharmapāla, but this is to be given up in view of the direct mention of his encounter with the Gauḍa king in the 14th verse of the Sanjan plates. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa help was perhaps sought by Dharmapāla when he was defeated by Nāgabhaṭa II. The 23rd verse of the same record, which describes the northern campaign of Govinda III and his victory over Nāgabhaṭa II, informs us that Dharmapāla and Cakrāyudha submitted to him of their own accord. The conclusion becomes more probable because Dharmapāla married Raṇṇādevī, daughter of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince named Parabala.²

1. Pālas of Bengal, pl. XXVII; JBORS, 1923, pp. 588 ff; IC., II, pp. 579 ff, IHQ, XIII, pp. 359-60.

2. This Parabala has not been yet definitely identified. One Parabala is known from the Pathari Pillar inscription (EI., IX, p. 249). Kielhorn read the date as 917 V. S.—861 A. D. which in his opinion is clear. It is impossible to verify it from the facsimile. It is to be noted that Parabala's date is dependent on that of Dharmapāla and not vice versa. Fleet expressed the opinion that Parabala is to be identified with Govinda III, but no virūda of Govinda III as such is known. Mr. R. D. Banerji was of opinion that Parabala of the Pathari inscription had a very long life and there is no difficulty in identifying him with Dharmapāla's father-in-law. (BI., p. 196.)

The sixth Pāla king Rājyapāla married Bhāgyadevī, daughter of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince named Tuṅga. The identification of this Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince is also far from being certain. Rājyapāla ruled during C. 810-985 A.D., and the Pāla power was passing through the most critical days at this period, as the Pratihāras under Mahendrapāla occupied northern Bihar and Bengal. The strengthening of the Pāla power by a matrimonial alliance can be presumed. What is more important to notice is that in every official record of the Pālas after Rājyapāla this matrimonial alliance has been very prominently referred to, while Dharmapāla's marriage with Raṇṇadevī is known from the Mongyr and Nālandā grants of Devapāla. Vighrahapāla I's marriage with the Kalacuri princess Lajjādevī is known only from the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla. But Rājyapāla's marriage with Bhāgyadevī has been repeated in the genealogical account of the Pālas in every grant. It is quite probable that this marriage was of great political importance to the Pālas. Kielhorn suggested that Rājyapāla's father-in-law was Jagattuṅga, son of Kṛṣṇa II.¹ Jagattuṅga predeceased his son III and did not reign.² It cannot be ascertained whether the northern campaign of Indra III and his signal victory over the Pratihāra emperor Mahīpāla had something to do in connection with this matrimonial alliance. But it seems certain that this death-blow to the Pratihāras offered a good opportunity to the Pālas for the recovery of the lost possessions. Every Rāṣṭrakūṭa campaign against the Pratihāras, whether undertaken for their own sake or otherwise, was indirectly of great political advantage to the Pālas.

If the northern campaigns of Govinda III and Indra III are somewhat doubtful as of direct help to the Pālas, the evidence of the Rāmācarita of Sandhyākaranandī is conclusive of the fact that the

1. IA., XLVIII, p. III. Mr. N. N. Vasu identified him with Kṛṣṇa II himself who had also the title Tuṅga (VJI, Rājanya Kāṇḍa, p. 128). Mr. R. D. Banerj remarks that he is perhaps to be identified with Tuṅgadharmāvaloka whose inscription has been found at Bodh-Gaya (R. L. Mitra, Buddha Gaya, p. 195, pl. XL.)

2. Dr. Altekar, Op. Cit., p. 99.

Rāṣṭrakūṭa branch of Magadha rendered incalculable service to the cause of the Pālas at one of the most critical junctures of their fortunes. Vīgrahapāla III married a sister of Mathanadeva who was the right-hand man of Rāmapāla in his suppression of the Kaivarta revolt. The vanguard of Rāmapāla's army was led by Mathanadeva's nephew Mahāpratihāra Śivarāja and his own sons Mahāmāṇḍalika Kāṇhuradeva and Suvarṇadeva also took an important part in that war. Madanapāla, the last known Pāla king of northern Bengal, was assisted in his succession by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Candradeva.¹

It seems therefore that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa alliance was the corner-stone of the Pāla foreign policy and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas directly or indirectly rendered great service to the Pāla empire from almost its foundation to the last day of its existence. But this intimate matrimonial and political relations did not prevent them from undertaking campaigns against Bengal or claiming suzerainty over the Pālas. The statement of the Muslim traveller Sulaiman² that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas compelled "every prince, though master in his own house, to pay homage to themselves" seem to be quite appropriate. Nor did the Pālas, if they found a favourable opportunity, felt any scruples to invade the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom. The defeat of a Drāviḍa king by Devapāla, who from his mother's side had Rāṣṭrakūṭa blood in him, most probably refers to a Rāṣṭrakūṭa king.

After the end of the triangular struggle among the Pālas, Pratihāras and Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the new powers like the Kalacuris, Candellas, Calukyas and Paramāras carried on raids almost on every opportune occasion. Certainly some of these raids were accompanied with loots and plunders. Political and military glory might have been one of the leading motives but the more material and economic motive was not also perhaps absent. Whoever might have been the victor, these incessant raids were a great strain on the treasury of the Pālas.

1. IHQ., V. p. 35

2. Elliot, History of India, Vol. I, p. 7

The constant and repeated foreign invasions were not the only scourge of the Pāla kingdom. It appears that the feudatories also took utmost advantage of the weakness of the central power to assume a defiant, if not almost independent, attitude. We know of two such cases in Magadha. Two records from Gaya¹ of the 15th year of Nayapāla introduce us to one Viśvāditya or Viśvarūpa,² son of Śūdraka and grandson of Paritoṣa. The family seems to have been devoted to religion and constructed temples and installed gods at Gaya. Nothing is known of its political status. Another Gaya inscription³ of the 5th regnal year of Vīgrahapāla III describes Śūdraka in vague terms and records that Viśvarūpa destroyed his enemies. It is clear that he was a contemporary of Nayapāla and Vīgrahapāla III. In another Gaya record of Yakṣapāla (Viśvarūpa's son) Śūdraka is described as, "Śrī Śūdrakaḥ svayam-apūjad-indra-kalpa Gauḍeśvara nṛpati-lakṣaṇa-pūjayāyam." Dr. H. C. Ray⁴ takes it to mean that the lord of Gauḍa paid homage to Śūdraka, while Dr. R. C. Majumder⁵ is inclined to take the expression to mean that the lord of Gauḍa formally honoured Śūdraka by investing him as king with proper ceremony. Whatever may be the meaning, it is clear that during the time of Nayapāla and Vīgrahapāla III, these pretensions were becoming higher and higher. To crown all, it is said at the end of the Gaya record of Yakṣapāla,⁶ "Sūrya-candra māsau yāvat kṣauṇī sasāgara tāvat śrī Yakṣapālasya rājantam bhuvi kīrttayaḥ" and there is no reference to any suzerain. It seems therefore that this family was assuming an attitude of independence in the Gaya region during or after the reign of Vīgrahapāla III.

The Govindapur prasasti of the poet Gaṅgādhara of 1137-28 A. D. introduces us to two princes of the Māna family, namely

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1. Gauḍalekhamālā, pp. 111 ff; Pālas of Bengal, p. 78
 2. They seem to be identical and it may be also possible that they were two brothers. Two records give two different names.
 3. Pālas of Bengal, pp. 81-82
 4. DH., I. p. 348
 5. DUS., No I, Pt II, p. 135
 6. Pālas of Bengal, p. 97

Magadharāja Varṇamāna and Rudramāna, who ruled towards the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century A. D.. It is not known what was the attitude of these two princes towards the Pālas. We have already noted that Devarakṣita of the Cikkore family and ruler of Piṭhī, who was subdued by Mathanadeva, might have tried to secede from the Pāla kingdom. It seems that at the time of the Kaivarta revolt the Pāla feudatories of Magadha were assuming a semi-independent attitude. The history of eastern and western Bengal which will be narrated in the next chapter also shows the same state of things. The verses 1/37 and 1/38 of the Rāmacarita indicate that Divvoka was an officer of the Pālas, and the Sāmanta-cakra at first sided with him.

Taking a broader view of the Pāla history, it appears that from the tenth century onwards the Pāla power was collapsing. The disruptive tendencies and disintegrating forces were kept in check for the time being by the vigour and energy of Mahipāla I and Rāmapāla, who tried to revive the Pāla suzerainty in eastern India and gave it a longer lease of life. It began to crumble after the death of Rāmapāla and the task devolved on the Karṇāṭa chief Vijayasena to found a united kingdom all over Bengal by suppressing all the disintegrating forces, and the death-knell of the tottering Pāla kingdom was rung by him.

APPENDIX A

Pāla Chronology

There have been much heated discussions¹ on Pāla and Sena chronologies. We need not repeat all the arguments and

1. For Pāla and Sena chronologies, see. JBORS., 1928, pp.489-538; 1929, pp.642-50; IA., 1930, XLIX, pp. 942-50; JASB, 1921, pp. 112; IHQ, 1927, pp. 571-91; 1929, pp. 133-87.

counter-arguments. We have based our study of the Pāla history on the following chronology :—

Kings.	Probable dates	Known reign-period
1. Gopāla	5. 750 A.D.	.....
2. Dharmapāla	„ 776-810 A. D.	32 years.
3. Devapāla	„ 810-850 „	39 „
4. Vīgrahapāla I or Śūrapāla I	„ 850-855 „	3 „
5. Nārāyaṇapāla	„ 855-910 „	54 „
6. Rājyapāla	„ 910-935 „	24 „
7. Gopāla II	„ 935-970 „	35 (?) ¹ „
8. Vīgrahapāla II	„ 970	.....
9. Mahīpāla I	„ 980-1030 „	48 „

The definitely known date is 1026 A.D. of the Sarnath inscription of the reign of Mahīpāla I who is to be identified with Mahīpāla mentioned in the Tirumalai inscription because the Cola invasion took place in c.1025 A.D. The synchronisms of Dharmapāla, Cakrāyudha, Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III (793-814 A.D.) and Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II (c. 807-33 A.D.) are established by the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa, the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja and the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla. There are reasons to believe from a comparison of the Radhanpur and Wani plates that Dharmapāla and Cakrāyudha submitted to Govinda III between 807 and 808 A.D. If we subtract the sum total 230 of all the known reign periods from 1026, we get 796.

But 796 cannot be taken as the date of accession of Dharmapāla because of the following uncertain factors. The date 1026 A. D. might not have been the last date of Mahīpāla I, and the unknown reign-periods of all monarchs (of Vīgrahapāla II's

1. As regards Gopāla II's reign-period, he is said to have reigned 'cirataram', most probably in comparison with his father Rājyapāla's reign-period, which is 24 years. I agree with R. D. Banerjee in reading the date in the Maitreya Vyākaraṇa as 17 and not 37 or 11 as suggested by Mm. H. P. Shastri and Prof. Bhandarkar; see photograph and discussion, JBORS, 1928, pp. 489ff.

reign-period nothing is known) have not been taken into account. Taking 808 A. D. as the 32nd year of Dharmapāla's reign, we cannot push his accession before 776 A. D. This uncertain period cannot be very long (796-776 = 20 years). Taking all factors into consideration, it seems that Mahīpāla I's last date is not very far from 1026 A. D.

The probable reign-periods of other Pāla kings may be fixed in this way :—

10. Nayapāla	c. 1030-1045 A.D.	15 years
11. Vīgrahapāla III	„ 1045-1072 „	26 „
12. Mahīpāla II	.....	.....
13. Śūrapāla II	.....	.....
14. Rāmapāla	c. 1080-1123 „	42 years.
15. Kumārapāla	.....	.....
16. Gopāla III	„ 1125-1139 „	14 years.
17. Madanapāla	„ 1139-1158 „	19 years.
? Govindapāla	„ 1162 „	.....
? Palapāla	.....	35 years.

Atiśa Dipaṅkara went to Tibet during the reign of Nayapāla in c. 1038 A.D. Nayapāla and Vīgrahapāla III were contemporaries of Kalacuri Karṇa (c.1040-70 A.D.). A Gaya inscription is dated in 1232 V.E., which is referred to as “ Śrī Govindapāladeva-gata-rājya-caturdaśa-samvatsare”, i.e., the 14th year having passed since the end of his reign. This places the end of his reign in 1162 A.D.. It is possible that Govindapāla and Madanapāla ruled contemporaneously in two parts of Magadha. It appears from the ‘Rāmacarita’ that Mahīpāla II, Śūrapāla II and Kumārapāla had very short reigns. It is quite possible that Śūrapāla II and Rāmapāla ruled contemporaneously with Kaivarta Divvoka and Bhīma in different parts of Bengal and Magadha. Of course it is true that after a certain period of his reign Rāmapāla ousted Bhīma from Varendra. Again, it is also possible that Vijayasena ruled contemporaneously with Rāmapāla, Gopāla III and Madanapāla.

CHAPTER V

Independent Dynasties in Vāṅga and Rādha

The history of south-eastern Bengal in the eighth century is almost dark. The unfinished Chittagong plate of Kāntideva does not throw much light on the political condition. From palaeographical considerations Kāntideva may be placed in the period 750-851¹ A. D. Like the Kedarpur plate of Śricandra, it is a peculiar record in which the object of its issue has not been mentioned and goes to strengthen the view that the common (metrical) portion of copper plate grants made by the same king used to be inscribed previously, the formal grant being inscribed on the actual occasion. It was issued from Vardhamānapura which cannot be satisfactorily identified.² Kāntideva's father Dhanadatta and grandfather Bhadradata became powerful by victories in battles. His title is Parameśvara and Mahārājadhirāja and the inscription comes to an abrupt close by an address to the future kings of Harikela-maṇḍala.³ It seems therefore that his power was confined to a small principality.

In one of his latest papers⁴ R. D. Banerjee expressed the opinion that eastern Bengal did not possibly form a part of the Pala kingdom before the reign of Mahipāla I. This remark seems to be correct inasmuch as there is no definite evidence of Pala

1. Modern Review, 1922, p. 612.

2. Dr. R. G. Basak locates Vardhamānapura in Burdwan. This would make Kāntideva a king of western Bengal. But as he addresses the king's of Harikela-maṇḍala, it seems that he had some authority over Harikela which, in our present state of knowledge, should be located in eastern Bengal. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali conjectures that Vardhamānapura is identical with Vikramapura, but there is no evidence to support it. IHQ. 11, pp. 822-25.

3. For location, see Ante.

4. Ashutosh Silver Jubilee Volume, *Orientalia*. At. 111., p. 221.

authority over eastern Bengal in the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries. But some indirect references tend to show that Vaṅga was probably included within the kingdom of Dharmapāla and Devapāla. In the Gwalior praśasti¹ of Bhoja it is stated that Nāgabhaṭa defeated Cakrāyudha and the lord of Vaṅga who is to be identified with Dharmapāla. Alluding to the same incident in the Baroda plates² of Kakka it is said that the Pratihāra king (Nāgabhaṭa II) humbled Gauḍendra and Vaṅgapati by which perhaps the same person (Dharmapāla) was meant. But it must be admitted that the terms Gauḍa and Vaṅga have been somewhat loosely used in the contemporary Pratihāra and Rāṣṭrakūṭa records. The land granted by the Khalimpur grant was in Vyāgrataṭi-maṇḍala within the Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti, and Bālavarman, the governor of that maṇḍala, was the dātaka of the Nālandā grant of Devapāla. Vyāgrataṭi has been identified with Vāgḍī (the delta of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra) on phonetic grounds.³ There is nothing definite to show the extension of the Pāla power over Vaṅgāla.

If the establishment of the Pāla suzerainty over Vaṅga is somewhat problematical, it is certain that during the earlier part of the tenth century Bengal was under an independent dynasty. The Bharella Naṭṭeśvara⁴ image inscription acquaints us with a king named Layahacandra who is to be palaeographically assigned to the beginning of the 10th century. His capital was at Karma-manta which has been identified with Bad-Kamta in the Tippera district. It is known from the Rampal, Kedarpur, Dhulla and Edilpur plates of Śricandra that a line of kings with their names ending in Candra ruled in eastern Bengal. The names of Purṇacandra, Suvarṇacandra and Trailokyacandra are known. Śricandra has been assigned to the 10th century and seems to have preceded Mahīpāla I.⁵ The title Mahārājādhirāja has been applied to

1. *Ep.*, XV111, pp. 101 ff.

2. *IV*, X111, p. 160.

3. Sir Ashutosh Silver Jubilee Volume, *Orientalia*, pt. 1, pp. 423-24.

4. *Ep.* XVII, p. 850.

5. Sir Ashutosh Silver Jubilee Volume, *Orientalia*, Pt. 111, pp.221ff.

Trailokyacandra who had been at first a ruler of Harikela and extended his authority over Candradvīpa.¹ It is stated in the Rampal plate that the Candras were originally rulers of Rohitagi-ri. Messrs. R. D. Banerjee² and N. G. Majumdar³ are inclined to to identify it with Rhotasgarh in the Shahabad district of Bihar. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali suggests its identification with the Lalmai Hills in Tippera,⁴ and Mr H. D. Mitra, with Rangamati in the Hill Tippera.⁵ The existence of a line of Candra kings for 19 generations in Arakan⁶ and the extension of Arakan power over Chittagong⁷ in the 9th century go to support the eastern origin of the family of Śrīcandra. The gradual extension of the Candra power from Harikela to Candradvīpa and then to Vaṅga also strengthens the view of their eastern origin. Though no lineal connection can yet be established between Layahacandra, the family of Śrīcandra and the Arakan Candra dynasty, the probability of such a connection is strong.

The Baghaura image inscription goes to show that Samataṭa acknowledged the suzerainty of Mahipāla I in his third regnal year. It is learnt from the Tirumulai inscription that sometime about 1025 A. D. the Cola army under a general of Rājendra Cola defeated Govindacandra of Vaṅgāladeśa. It is quite likely that Govindacandra belonged to the Candra family and it seems that the Candras were pushed eastward by Mahipāla I in Vaṅgāla (their original land?).

Another independent power was established in eastern Bengal

1. Mr. N. G. Majumdar takes Trailokyacandra as the king of Harikela which included Candradvīpa (IB, p. 8). This conclusion is based on the following passage.—“Adhāro Harikela-rājakakuda-smitanām-śriyaṁ yaścān-dropāde babhuva nṛpatir dvīpe dilipopamaḥ.” But to take Trailokyacandra originally to be king of Harikela from which position he became king of Candradvīpa seems to us a better conclusion.

2. BI, p. 283

3. IB, p. 3

4. IHQ, III, p. 418

5. IHQ, II, pp. 818, 665

6. ASIR, 1929-27, pp. 146-48; IHQ, 1981, p. 87

7. Chittagong Gazetteer, p. 20

about the middle of the eleventh century. It is stated in the Belava plate of Bhojavrman that the Varmans originally belonged to Siṃhapura which has been identified by some scholars with Siṃhapura in Kalinga, and by R. D. Banerjee, with Siṃhapura of the Lakhamandala inscription in the Panjab, and by Dr. R. G. Basak, with Sihapura in Rāḍha mentioned in the Mahāvamśa.¹ The real founder of the political fortunes of the Varman family was Jātavarman, a contemporary of Vigrahapāla III. He is said to have spread his paramount sovereignty by marrying Viraśrī, daughter of (Kalacuri) Karṇa, by extending his dominion over Aṅga, by crippling the Kāmarūpa king, Divya and Govardhana. It is to be particularly noted that in the 8th verse² of the Belava plate where the military and political activities of Jātavarman are described, great stress has been first laid on his marriage with Viraśrī, daughter of Karṇa, and it seems that this marriage has got something to do with his military conquests. Again, although no connected meaning can be made out of the broken Vajrayogini plate of Sāmalavarman, from the way in which the words Kalacuri and Mātṛvamśya occur it can be surmised that this marriage of Jātavarman was perhaps a great factor in determining the political fortunes of the Varman family. It may be therefore held that the Varmans came in the wake of Kalacuri Karṇa's invasions during the troubled period of the Kaivarta revolt or shortly before it.

The position of Harivarman in the chronology and genealogy of the Varmans was so long controversial, but the evidence of the broken Vajrayogini plate shows that he is to be placed between Jātavarman and Sāmalavarman. The recovery of the lost Samantasara plate of Harivarman enables us to verify the name of his father, which was read by Mr. N. N. Vasu as Jyotivarman. Its defaced condition prevents us from being definitely certain, as the

1. *IB.*, p. 16. Dr. D. C. Ganguli is also inclined to identify Siṃhapura with Sihapura in Rāḍha, see *IHQ*, XI-1, pp. 605ff. also X111, pp. 158ff.

2. This begins the description of Jātavarman's political conquests:—*"pariṇayan-Karṇasya-Viraśrīyam-yoṅgāsu-prathayani-paribhanani-stāni-Kāmarūpa-śrīyam..."*

letters in question are very indistinct, but it seems that the name is to be read as Jātavarman¹. In the Nagpur praśasti² of the Paramāra kings it is stated that Lakṣmadeva (1086-1094 A. D.) first proceeded to Hari's quarters and entered the town of the lord of Gauḍa. Hari's quarters have been generally taken to mean east, but it may refer to the kingdom of Harivarman. The 'Aṣṭasahasrikā-Prājñapāramitā' was copied in his 19th year, and a commentary on 'Kāla-cakra-yāna' was written in the 23rd year of Harivarmadeva³. He had a long reign and probably ruled contemporaneously with Rāmapāla. From the Bhuvanesvara praśasti of his minister Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva and from the Vajrayoginī plate it appears that he had a son who distinguished himself in battles, but it is not clear whether this son actually ruled. It is important to notice that there is no mention of Harivarman and his son in the Belava plate in which Jātavarman seems to have been succeeded by his son Sāmalavarman. The foundation of the Varman power did not go unchallenged by the Pālas. The presentation of an elephant and the chariot by a Varman king of the east and the victorious naval battle of Vaidyadeva in southern Bengal indicate that the Varmans were occasionally compelled to acknowledge the Pāla suzerainty⁴, though they assumed imperial titles in their own records and were ready to cast off the yoke at every opportune moment. The last known Varman king is Sāmalavarman's son Bhojavarman by Trailokyasundarī, the daughter of the Paramāra king Jagaddeva. The Varmans were most probably ousted from Vikramapura by Vijayasena.

The recently published Irda plate of the Kamboja king Naya-pāladeva raises many important and interesting problems. It

1. I am thankful to Dr. N. K. Bhattasali, Curator of the Dacca Museum, for kindly allowing me to examine the plate. Dr. Bhattasali also agrees with me in reading the name. See Bhāratvarsa, 1344 B. S., Phalgun issue.

2. EI, 11, p. 198, v. 88.

3. SPP., 1327 B. S. Pl. 2, No. 3. Mm. H. P. Shastri read the date as 89 but it seems to be 32.

4. See Ante.

introduces us to Kamboja-vaṃśa-tilaka Rājyapāla and to his two sons Nārāyaṇapāla and Nāyapāla by queen Bhāgyadevī. The grant was issued from the capital (rājadhani) Priyaṅgu, and the land donated was situated in Daṇḍabhukti-maṇḍala within the Vardhamāna-bhukti. The Tirumalai inscription mentions Daṇḍabhukti after Oḍḍa-viṣaya and Kośala-nāḍu and before Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha. As it was within Vardhamāna-bhukti, late Mr. R. D. Banerjee's¹ opinion that Daṇḍabhukti is roughly represented by Midnapore and Balasore districts seems to be to the mark.

Palaeographically Nayapāladeva is to be assigned to the tenth century. The names of the princes of the Irda plate end in Pāla, and moreover, Rājyapāla (of the Pāla dynasty), father of Gopāla II, married Bhāgyadevī which is the name of the mother of Kamboja Nayapāladeva. It is therefore tempting to hold that this family was a branch family of the Pālas. Mr. N. G. Majumdar,² who first held this proposition 'quite unlikely', writes in a recent note³ that it is 'very likely'. Again, it may be pointed out that Devapāla, the 3rd Pāla king, had a son of the name of Rājyapāla who was the crown prince and dūtaka at the time of his issuing of the Mongyr plate, and we have already referred to the theory of a palace revolution after the death of Devapāla⁴. The acceptance of the view that the princes of the Irda plate belong to a branch family of the Pāla dynasty would support the theory of late Dr. Hoernle,⁵ who long ago held that after Nārāyaṇapāla (of the Pāla dynasty) two rival lines of Pāla kings were ruling in two parts of Bengal owing to internal dissensions.

But there are serious objections against this view which should not be overlooked. The princes of the Irda plate belonged to the Kamboja-vaṃśa (v. 6). The Pālas are nowhere described as

1. Pālas of Bengal, pp. 71, 89; B1, p. 248.

2. EI, XXII, p. 152.

3. Modern Review, 1937, September issue, pp. 323-24.

4. See Ante. Devapāla's reign.

5. IA, XIV, pp. 165 ff.

Kambojas. The coincidences of the names of Rājyapāla and Bhāgyadevī may be accidental. If two Rājyapālas are to be identified, it is to be accepted that Gopāla II had two brothers, namely Nārāyaṇapāla and Nayapāla, who subscribed to the Brahmanical faith. At the present state of our knowledge it seems better to take the prince of the Kamboja family of the Irda plate as belonging to a separate line and the assumption of imperial titles by Rājyapāla and Nayapāla indicates that they were independent kings. The Kamboja king who has been styled Gauḍapati in the Dinajpur pillar inscription and whose occupation of northern Bengal has been perhaps described in Banagar grant of Mahīpāla I as "pitryaṁ rājayaṁ-anadhikṛta" most probably belonged to this family. The king Dharmapāla of Daṇḍabhukti mentioned in the Tirumalai inscription was possibly another ruler of this family.

The question how this family came into power in extreme south-western Bengal cannot be satisfactorily solved. During the reign of Aśoka the Kambojas along with the Yonas were in the north-western frontier of India.¹ The same position is given to the Kambojas and Yavanas in the Mahābhārata, and the Kamboja country was famous for its good breed of horses.² The same thing has been mentioned in the Mongyr grant of Devapāla where it is said that his horses met their old mates in Kamboja in course of his military campaigns. There was also a Kambojadeśa in eastern India³ which has been identified with Lushai tracts between Bengal and Burma. There is yet no clue to connect this ruling Kamboja family with Kamboja countries in western or eastern India.

The Tirumalai inscription records that the Cola army after killing Dharmapāla of Daṇḍabhukti, defeated Raṇaśūra of Dakṣiṇa-

1. Bhandarkar, Aśoka, p. 32.

2. JRAS, 1912, p. 256; Arthaśāstra, II, 80. For detailed description of the Kambojas see Dr B. C. Law, 'Some Kṣatriya tribes of Ancient India', pp. 230-51.

3. DH, I, pp. 308-9; EI XXII, p. 158.

Rāḍha, Govindacandra of Vaṅgāladesa and Mahīpāla of Uttara-Rāḍha. The controversy¹ that has been raised whether this Tāmil record or the Trivalangadu plates give the correct route of the Cola army is to be closed after the definite location of Daṇḍabhukti from the evidence of the Irda plate. The Trivalangadu plates state that the defeat of Raṇaśūra took place before the discomfiture of Dharmapāla, and this cannot be accepted in view of the geographical position of Daṇḍabhukti and Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha. Prof. Nilkanta Shastri² correctly observes that the Tāmil 'praśasti' (Tirumalai) which was recorded almost immediately after the campaign must be accepted as more authentic, and he continues, "The language of the Tāmil inscriptions appears to suggest, *what seems otherwise*, that Mahīpāla had a sort of supremacy over the other chiefs named in this context and that the overthrow of Dharmapāla, Raṇaśūra and Govindacandra led to the final struggle in which Mahīpāla was captured." We have got no knowledge of Tāmil and what he says from the point of the language of this record we are not in a position to judge; but by 'what seems otherwise' he refers to R. D. Banerjee's opinion that Bengal was divided into many independent principalities at the time of the Cola invasion. We think that this view still holds good and should not be changed until some other stronger proof can be adduced to replace it. The other view would mean that Mahīpāla I was the king of almost the whole of Bengal and Bihar in their present geographical denomination, as the Baghaura and Imadpur image inscriptions go to show.

Raṇaśūra of Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha raises the question of the existence of the Śūra dynasty of which so much is heard in genealogical books and traditions, but very little is known of them from reliable documents. The first member is said to have been Ādiśūra who is one of the central figures of the social history of Bengal. We have tried to show elsewhere³ that Ādiśūra of the Kulaśāstras

1. JRAS, 1935, pp. 655-66, pp. 59-79.

2. The Colas, pp. 251-52.

3. See Chapter IX, Brahmana Immigrations in Bengal.

may be identified with Magadhādhirāja Ādisiṃha of the Dudhpani rock inscription of the 8th century A. D. The genealogical books preserve a tradition that the Brahmanical Śūras were forced to take shelter in Rāḍha after the establishment of the Buddhist Pāla power.¹ The names of Bhūśūra, Mādhavaśūra, Ādityaśūra, Yāminīśūra, Varendraśūra, Pradyumṇaśūra, Anuśūra and Bhānuśūra are known from the Kulagranthas. The genealogy of the Varmans and Senas as given in them have proved to be false and unreliable. It is not therefore safe to construct the dynastic history of the Śūras and not even their genealogy, relying on their accounts. Occasionally the names of Śūra princes are found in inscriptions and contemporary literature. A pillar from Rajaona bears an inscription² in the 7th-8th century characters with the word 'Raṇa-śūrasya'. Lakṣmīśūra of the Rāmacarita was the ruler of Apāramandāra. Vijayasena married Vilāsadevī who has been described as Śūrakulāmbodhī. All these would point to the existence of a Śūra family, though nothing is known definitely of the extent of their territory or political status. The evidence of the Tirumulai inscription and the Rāmacarita would indicate that they raised their heads during the rule of weak Pāla kings but were forced to accept the position of sāmantas when there was a strong Pāla king.

We have seen that the kingdoms of some of the sāmantas who fought for Rāmapāla may be located in Rāḍha and there cannot be any doubt about the location of Jayasiṃha of Daṇḍabhukti. The sāmantacakra (the whole body of feudatories) who fought on his side may be regarded as hereditary feudatories of the Pālas in normal circumstances. At the time of the out-break of the Kaivarta revolt, the sāmanta-cakra was against Mahīpāla II,³ and it was due to the resourcefulness of Rāmapāla that they were persuaded to make common cause with him.

1. VJI, Rājanya Kāṇḍa, p. 121.

2. Cunningham, ASR III, pl. XLV.

3. Rāmacartia, 1/31 ; 1/29.

Taking all facts into consideration, it must be said that it is too hazardous to conclude that either Vaṅga and Rāḍha were included within the Pāla kingdom or they were separate political entities. In the 10th century when the Pāla power was at its lowest ebb, both in eastern and western Bengal we find the existence of two independent kingdoms. There is no definite evidence to prove the establishment of Pāla power in Vaṅga before Mahīpāla I and also in Rāḍha. With the accession of Mahīpāla I there was an attempt to extend the Pāla power over eastern Bengal, if not over western Bengal also, as the evidence of the Bāghaura image inscription and the Tirumalai inscription tends to show. During the Kaivarta imbroglio the Varmans founded a kingdom in eastern Bengal. But again Rāmapāla tried to establish Pāla suzerainty over the Varmans. If there was no permanent and direct authority of the Pālas over Vaṅga and Rāḍha, there were occasional attempts to bring them under their sphere of influence. But it is also clear that the Pāla power was more firmly rooted in northern Bengal and Bihar than in Vaṅga and Rāḍha. All records pointing to their authority excepting the Baghaura inscription have been found in Magadha and Varendra. The rise of the Candras, Varmans, Kambojas and Senas (who were at first settled in Rāḍha) makes it emphatically clear. There was an invasion of Varendra by a Vaṅgāla king, and it seems that a Kamboja king ousted Vighrahapāla II from his throne. Vaṅga and Rāḍha were ready to set at naught the Pāla yoke at every opportune moment and to utilise the weakness of the Pāla kings.

CHAPTER VI

The Sena Dynasty

The Senas originally belonged to the Karṇāṭa country. It is stated in the Deopara praśasti and Madhainagar grant that the remote ancestor of the Senas was the Deccan king Vīrasena. Mr. R. Chakravarti¹ is inclined to identify him with Vīrasena of the south, mentioned in the Sahyādri Khaṇḍa of the Skandapurāṇa. Mr. A.K. Maitra was of opinion that he is to be identified with Vīrasena, father of king Nala of the Mahābhārata.² Dr. R C. Majumdar³ draws attention to a line of Jaina teachers (whose names end with Sena) of the Dharwar district which was the heart of the Karṇāṭa country—

Kumārasena	.....
Vīrasena	C.850-903 A. D.
Kanakasena	.....
Ajitasena	C. 950-975 A. D.
Brahmasena	.....
Aryasena	C. 1000-1045 A. D.
Mahāsena	.....

There is no definite evidence to connect the Senas of Bengal with the line of these Jaina teachers, and it is difficult to believe that all the Senas of Karṇāṭa were Jainas.

R. D. Banerjee⁴ held that the ancestors of the Senas came to

1. Gauḍera Itihāsa, p. 156.

2. In various parts of India kings of the name of Vīrasena are to be found. In the Harṣacrita there are references to two Vīrasenas—one is the king of Kaliṅga and another of the Sauvīras. In the Vallālacarita it is said that Vīrasena descended from the epic hero Karṇa and came to Gauḍa from Aṅga.

3. Transactions and Proceedings of the Oriental Conference, 1922, p. 348.

4. BL, p. 251 ; Prabāsi, 1913 B. S., pp. 396 ff.

Bengal in the train of the Cola invasion. In the Deopara praśasti it is said that Sāmantasena, grandfather of Vijayasena, "singly slaughtered the wicked robbers of the wealth of Karṇāṭa, overrun by hostile tribes" (v. 8). The relation between the Karṇāṭas and the Colas was far from being friendly. In order to solve the difficulties involved in this suggestion he presumed that after the defeat of the Cālukya king Jayasimha II by Rājendra Cola some Karṇāṭa soldiers took service in the Cola army and accompanied it in the Cola expedition in Bengal. The enemy against whom Sāmantasena fought was Mahīpāla I of the Pāla dynasty whom R. D., Banerjee identified with Mahīpāla of the drama 'Caṇḍakauśikam' by Kṣemīśvara. Mr. J. M. Roy¹ supported this view by pointing out that in the 5th verses of the Sunderban, Anulia and Tarpandighi grants of Lakṣmaṇasena the city of Kāncī has been referred to as the ornament of southern India. Dhoyī in his 'Pavana-dūtam' gives a glowing picture of Kāñchi. Recent discussions² on 'Mahīpāla of Caṇḍakauśikam' have shown that his identification with the Pāla king cannot be maintained, and in all reasonableness he is to be identified with the Pratihāra king Mahīpāla. The Cola army was not defeated by Mahīpāla I, as the evidence of the Tirumalai inscription is definite on that point. There is nothing to show that Mahīpāla I of the Pāla dynasty came into conflict with the Karṇāṭas.

R. P. Chanda³ drew attention to the 3rd verse of the Naihati plate where it is said that of the lunar family (the Senas belonged to the lunar race) many kings ruled in Rāḍha and in that family was born Sāmantasena. Owing to the apparent contradiction in the statements in the Deopara and Naihati inscriptions he presumed that Rāḍha was under the suzerainty of the Cālukyas and the predecessors of the Senas governed this remote possession. Mr Chanda was of opinion that the origin of the Senas is to be

1. Dhākāra Itihāsa, p. 309.

2. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, VI, pp. 191 ff; IC, II p. 354, 797; IHQ, XIII, p. 149.

3. Gauḍarājamaḷā, p. 46-7.

connected with the exploits of the Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI. Sāmantasena was engaged in fighting the enemies of Karṇāṭa in Rāḍha. We think that too much importance should not be attached to the 3rd verse of the Naihati plate of Vallālasena in all its details. It is admitted by all that before Vallālasena the Senas were settled in Bengal at least for three generations. The court panegyrist could then easily compose a verse by proclaiming that many princes of the family of his patron adorned Rāḍha. It appears from the description of the heroic activities of Sāmantasena that they took place in Karṇāṭa. He is said to have carried his victorious arms as far as the Adam's bridge and punished the spoilers of the fortunes of the Karṇāṭa country and in his old age retired on the banks of the Ganges.¹ While we are thus inclined to differ with Mr. Chanda in regarding Sāmantasena as the first settler of the Sena family in Rāḍha, the probability of his coming in the train of a Cālukya invasion seems to be strong. We have already referred to the Cālukya invasions of Bengal by Someśvara I, Someśvara II and Vikramāditya VI. Towards the close of the 11th century we find Nānyadeva,² admittedly another Karṇāṭa chief, ruling in Mithilā and Nepālā. The proud way of styling themselves Karṇāṭa-Kṣatriyas by the Senas in their own records and the marriage of Vallālasena with a Cālukya princess point to connect the establishment of the Sena power in Bengal with the exploits of a Karṇāṭa king, be he Someśvara I or Vikramāditya VI.

The Senas claim descent from the lunar race, and it is said that Sāmantasena belonged to the head-garland of the clans of Brahma-Kṣatriyas (Brahma-Kṣatriyanām Kulaśirodāma). Kielhorn translated the phrase "Brahma-Kṣatriyas" as "the class of the Brahmana and the Kṣatriyas."³ Prof. Bhandarkar⁴ takes this

1. Deopara praśasti, vs., 1-9

2. IHQ, 1931. pp. 681ff.

3. The term Brahmakṣatra has been used in this sense in the Rāmāyaṇa (Bālakāṇḍa, 13, 7; Kiśkindhyākāṇḍa, 39, 17). But this has been used in the genealogical accounts of the Bhāgavata (9 skandha, 22 adhyāya, 44 st.) and in the Viṣṇupurāṇa (4th Aṁśa) to mean a person born of a Brahmana and Kṣatriya parentage.

4. JASB, 1909, p. 186

expression to refer to a family having priestly and martial energy and says that the Brahma-Kṣatriyas were originally Brahmana classes of new tribes who afterwards turned Kṣatriyas, before their final merging into the Hindu society. In western India a caste called Brahmakṣatri still exists, and as the Senas came from Karṇāṭa, it is quite likely that they became known as Brahmakṣatriyas when they began to wield political and military power.

Hemantasena was the son of Sāmantasena, and in the Deopara praśasti the title Mahārājñī has been applied to his wife Yaśodevī. In the Barrackpore plate the title of Hemantasena is Mahārājādhirāja. It is very likely that Hemantasena had some pretension to royal dignity.

The real founder of the political fortunes of the Senas in Bengal was his son Vijayasena. His Barrackpore plate is dated in the 62nd regnal year. The recent attempt to fix the Sena chronology¹ on astronomical grounds also shows that Vijayasena like his contemporary, Coḍagaṅga of Kaliṅga, had an unusually long reign. Therefore the suggestion to identify the sāmantarāja Vijayarāja of Nidrāvala of the Rāmacarita cannot be set aside for chronological difficulties. A pillar with the figure of the goddess Manasā with an inscription, "Rājena Śrī-Vijayase," has been found at Paikore in the Birbhum district. This 'Vijayase' is generally identified with Vijayasena. The Senas were at first settled in Rāḍha and this inscription indicates to locate their original territory in the Birbhum district. Paikore is almost near to the bank of the Ganges, where it meets the Padmā—a place of great strategic value perhaps to Rāmapāla in his war against the Kai-vartas and also to Vijayasena in his war against the Gauḍa king. It seems that the 17th, 18th and 19th verses of the Deopara praśasti in a veiled but clever manner refer to the part played by Vijayasena in helping Rāmapāla to recover Varendra and this established his future claim to the throne of Gauḍa, when there arose a dispute regarding it. The poet Umāpatidhara was an adept in

1. IC, IV, p 227

playing with words and it is difficult to comprehend clearly what he actually drove at. In the 17th verse Vijayasena is compared with Rāma and Arjuna and his arms to theirs. In the 18th verse 'divya-ah bhuva' has been used, recalling 'divya-viṣaya' of the Rāmacarita. The 19th verse has been translated thus¹: "By him who gave away land in heaven to his rival princes and accepted (from them) the earth in return, the sword-blade marked the writing in the blood of heroes was made to serve the purpose of document, as it were, in anticipation, otherwise how could earth come to be enjoyed by him when there arose disputes regarding her and presenting his drawn sword the host of his opponents would admit defeat." If it be true that Vijayasena helped Rāmapāla against the Kaivartas, there was no question of rivalry with the Pālas at that time, but at a later period when Vijayasena was aspiring after the Gauḍa kingdom, the Pāla king was certainly his rival. This is perhaps what is meant by giving land to a 'pratipakṣa' (rival) king which most probably refers to a Pāla king. There is no doubt that there arose a dispute for the throne of Gauḍa in which the sword and might of Vijayasena decided the issue.

In the next verse is given a list of the chiefs and kings with whom the Sena king came into conflict and all of whom were probably aspirants after the Pāla throne. The first king referred to is Nānya who is to be identified with Nānyadeva of Mithilā, who ascended the throne in 1097 A.D.. A commentary on Bharata's Nāṭya-śāstra written by king Nānyadeva has come to light,² and in addition to the high-sounding titles he is said to have broken the powers of Gauḍa and Vaṅga kings. Both Vijayasena and Nānyadeva were Karnatic in origin. It may be that they at first followed a concerted action. But the Deopara inscription shows that they came into conflict in which the Sena

1. We follow Mr. N. G. Majumdar's translation of the verse. Attention was first drawn to this by Mr N. N. Vasu, *VJL Rājanya Kāṇḍa*, pp. 302-3.

2. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, 1926, Oct. pp. 55-63; *IHQ*, 1931, pp. 681 ff.

king claimed victory. The other chiefs defeated by Vijayasena were Vira, Vardhana and Rāghava. It has been suggested that Vira and Vardhana are to be identified with Viraguna and Govardhana of the Rāmacarita.¹ Rāghava is to be identified with the Kaliṅga king of that name, son of Coḍagaṅga. Coḍagaṅga's rule lasted from c. 1076 to 1147 A. D., and his son Rāghava's from c. 1156-60 A. D. In the Kendulapata² plates of Narasiṃha it is said that Coḍagaṅga levied tributes from the lands bordering on the Ganges and forced the ruler of the Mandāra to flee. It may be that Vijayasena warded off the Kaliṅga invasion under Rāghava's leadership. In the Deopara 'praśasti' it is further said that the Sena king attacked the lord of Gauḍa and drove away the Kāmarūpa king. The king of Gauḍa has been generally identified with Madanapāla. Some scholars are inclined to think that the Kāmarūpa king refers to Rāyārideva, and this has perhaps been alluded to in the Assam plates of Vallabhadeva. The 22nd verse records that Vijayasena sent a navy against the combination of the western powers (pāścātya-cakra) against him. This might have been meant against the Pālas who seem to have sought refuge in Magadha after the occupation of Varendra by the Sena king and rallied once more their strength to fight. Most probably when all the chiefs were fighting among themselves, the Kalacuri king Prthivīdeva II of Ratanpur made a raid on Lādaha (Rādha?) and Gauḍa, as it is stated in the Akatara stone inscription that his feudatory Vallabhārāja overran these two countries. Both of them were living in 1141 A. D.³ The eastward advance of the Gāhaḍavāla power during the period 1124-1146 A. D., which is proved by the Maner and Lar plates, probably took place, when all the rival chiefs were fighting among themselves.

It seems that there was a general scramble for power during the rule of the weak successors of Rāmapāla among some of the

1. IA, 1920, pp. 176 ff.

2. JASB, 1896, pt. I, p. 289.

3. Dr. Hiralal, Inscriptions of C. P. and Berrar, p. 109.

feudatories of the Pāla kingdom and the neighbouring kings. The political condition of Bengal was extremely favourable for the foundation of a new power, and in the struggle that followed Vijayasena came out successful. His matrimonial alliance with the Śūra family might have raised his political and social status in the estimation of the contemporary people. The Barrackpore plate was issued from Vikrampura in his 62nd year, in which the chief queen Vilāsadevī performed the 'tulā-puruṣa' ceremony. It is therefore clear that he must have ousted the Varmans from Vikrampura by that time. The Deopara inscription shows that southern Varendra was under him.¹

Vijayasena was the real founder of the Sena power in Bengal. It seems that since his early life he was a successful soldier and general, and that was a great asset in his adventurous career. Hero of many battle-fields, he succeeded in foiling the attempts of all other aspirants and took the utmost advantage of the declining and tottering Pāla power. He was lavish in his gifts to the Brahmanas and performed many sacrifices. He excavated many tanks and built a magnificent temple of Pradyumneśvara which was the wonder and admiration of his time.

Vijayasena was succeeded by his son Vallālasena in 1159. A.D.. In his Naihati plate no military achievement excepting some vague statements has been ascribed to him. In the Madhainagar grant of his son it is said that Lakṣmanasena, when a crown prince, seized suddenly the fortune of the Gauḍa king, made war on Kaliṅga and Kāśī. It seems that these campaigns took place during the reign of Vallālasena. It is important to notice that Vijayasena and Vallālasena did not assume the title of Gauḍeśvara in their own records, though it has been attributed to them in the grants of their successors. If Gauḍeśvara Govindapāla and Palapāla, whose rule

1. The view that Vijayasena became the king of the whole of Varendra rests on a passage of *Dānasāgara* but the reading is not free from doubts. Some scholars read it as "Tadā Vijayasena prādūrāsīdvarendra", while others read "ṇarendra" in place of "varendra". See *Dhākā Itihāsa*, p. 813.

in all probability was confined to some part of Magadha, are to be regarded as kings of the Pāla dynasty, they did not give up their claim to the throne of Gauḍa and might have held some portion of northern Bengal under them. Most probably the war of Vijayasena was not decisive and Vallālasena had to fight with the successor of Madanapāla. The *Vallālacarita*¹ also records that the war with the Pālas was going on at the time of Vallālasena. Owing to the financial stringency caused by this long-drawn war Vallālasena wanted to borrow money from the great banker Vallabhānanda of the Suvarṇavaṇik community. It is further said that the banker was the father-in-law of the Magadha king and was siding with the Pālas. In our opinion, this is to be credited with some historicity.

Of all the kings of ancient period Vallālasena is the best known in every rank and grade of the Hindu society of Bengal as the founder of the institution of Kulinism. We have discussed the whole topic elsewhere in details and have come to the conclusion that the volumes of evidence are now overwhelming in favour of the view that some re-organisation of the Hindu society was made in the Sena period and the start in that direction was given by Vallālasena in Rāḍha among the Brahmanās, although he cannot be called the founder of modern Kulinism with all its paraphernalia in the strict sense of the term. If he is the idol of those who were favoured with Kaulinya rank, it appears that at a later period those who were adversely affected by it tried to blacken the character of the monarch in order to lower him in the estimation of the contemporary people and posterity. The *Vallālacarita* by the Suvarṇavaniks and another book of the same name by the Yogis² were composed with that avowed object, and the true purport of other flimsy stories associated with the name of Vallālasena seems to be that. His connection with a low caste girl, a consequent domestic quarrel with Lakṣmaṇasena and the division of the Vaidya society

1. Eng. Trans. by Mm. H. P. Shastri, pp. 15, 90.

2. *Vallālacarita* published by Haris Candra Kaviratna.

into Vallāli (the followers of Vallālasena) and Lakṣmaṇī (the followers of Lakṣmaṇasana) and stories like these seem to be proagandist in nature,¹ and it is difficult to say how much truth there is underlying them.

Lakṣmaṇasena ascended the throne in 1178 A. D. His military exploits, when a crown prince, as described in the Madhainagara grant, have been discussed. It is said in the same record that he crippled Kaliṅga and Kāmarūpa. It is known from the Madanapara grant of his son Viśvarūpasena that he erected pillars of victory in Puri, Benares and Prāyāga. It appears therefore that Lakṣmaṇasena made another expedition against Kaliṅga and Gāhaḍavāla power. His contemporaries on the Kaliṅga throne were Rājārāja II and Anaṅgabhīma II, both sons of Coḍagaṅga. The name of the contemporary Kāmarūpa king is not known. The Gāhaḍavāla king was Jayacandra whose inscriptions² have been found at Benares and Kanouj ranging from 1170 to 1188 A. D., and who was defeated and killed by Sahabuddin in 1194 A. D. Pavanadūtam narrates his march of universal conquest as far south as the Malaya hills, "roughly the southern part of the Western Ghats." It has been pertinently pointed out that it may refer to his invasion of Kaliṅga.³ From the evidence of the Madanapara grant and Dhovī's book it may be inferred that Lakṣmaṇasena undertook a war of digvijaya, though it must be admitted that the poet's love of exaggeration "served the double purpose of eulogising his patron and finding a most suitable abode for the heroine of his poem." It seems that the Sena power reached its high water-mark during his reign and the kingdom was expanding in the west, which probably necessitated the formation of a new bhukti, namely, Kaṅkagrāma-bhukti, comprising the Santal-paraganas.⁴

Lakṣmaṇasena was the last great Hindu king of Bengal. His name and fame spread far and wide. The Muslim historian Minhaj-

1. B. Sengupta, *Vaidya Jātira*, Itihāsa, pt. 1, pp. 166-180.

2. DH. I, p. 541

3. C. Chakravarti, *Pavanadūtam*, Introduction.

4. EI, XX1, pp. 211ff.

uddin' says that he was a 'great Rai' and 'most respected in Hindusthan.' He further records that trustworthy persons have related to this effect, "from his hand never did any tyranny proceed ; and whosoever preferred a request to him for anything, other than one lak he did not bestow, after the manner of Kutub-ud-din.....the least gift he used to bestow was a lak of Kauris. The Almighty mitigate his punishment (in hell)!" But the king, to whose power, charity and just government Minhaj pays such glowing tributes, suffered a severe reverse during the closing years of his reign. There are differences of opinion² as to the actual date of the raid of Nadia by Mahammad ibn Bakht-yar, and we shall not be very wrong if we place it in c. 1200 A. D.. As regards the story of the raid, the very nature of Minhaj's sources of information makes us very cautious, and every statement in that connection requires critical scrutiny. It is also clear that when Minhaj wrote his account of the expedition in 641 A. D., there were many rumours and gossips about Lakṣmaṇasena which the historian heard from his informants in Lakṣmaṇāvati. His reporters seem to have been two brothers, Nizam-ud-din and Samsam-ud-din by name, who served under Bakht-yar. It is natural that they should exaggerate the part played by them and their master. How far reliable are their reports can be better judged by narrating some of their stories. It is said that Lakṣmaṇasena was born after the death of Vallālasena. As the time of his birth approached, the sooth-sayers said that the was an ominous time and if the child would see the light of the sun two hours later, he would be a famous king. So the queen's feet were tied up and the child was born

1. Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, Eng. Trans. by Raverty. The following account is based on Minhaj's account, pp. 552-559

2. Blochman placed it in 1197-8 A. D. ; E. Thomas in 1202-3 A. D. ; and Stewart in 1203-4 A. D. The definite information is that Bakht-yar entered Kutub-ud-din's service in 590 A. H., and after his sack of Nadia and establishment of headquarters at Lakṣmaṇāvati started for his Tibetan expedition in 601 A. H., and also saw Kutub-ud-din at Mahoba in 599 A. H. with presents from Bengal spoils.

after two hours. That Lakṣmaṇasena was born after the death of Vallālasena is opposed to the plain testimony of the Madhainagar plate. Again, the sooth-sayers told Lakṣmaṇasena that the invasion of the Yavanas would soon happen and it would be better to abandon Nadia. Most of the officers and men fled and sent their property and families to other places. It is quite likely that the fall of one kingdom of northern India after another might have caused some panic among the general people. But the whole thing has been ascribed to the sooth-sayers. If there be any truth in this report, it must be said that Lakṣmaṇasena himself did not abandon Nadia but was determined to stay there. The statement that at the time of the raid he had been on the throne for a period of eighty years is opposed to all other contemporary evidence like *Adbhutaśāgara*, *Dānaśāgara* and *Saduktikaṇṭhāmṛta*. This perhaps indicates his actual age rather than his reign-period. It is also likely that the reporters confused the beginning of his reign with the starting-point of the Lakṣmaṇasena Era in 1119-20 A. D., and this is in complete agreement with the view that the raid took place in 1199-1200 A.D.²

Minhaj gives the following account of the raid : "Bakt-yar caused a force to be prepared, pressed on from Behar, and suddenly appeared before the city of Nudiah." The march was so swift and rapid that only seventeen of his horsemen could keep pace with him, who entered the gate unsuspectingly and were taken to be dealers in horse by the gate-keepers. Entering the inner palace, he surprised the inmates and began slaughter. The king was at his dining table and took a boat by the back door of his palace. "When the whole army arrived and the city round about had been taken possession of, he there took up his quarters ; and Rai got away towards Sankwat and Bang and there the period of his reign shortly afterwards came to a termination.....After Bakt-yar possessed himself of that territory he left the city of Nudiah in desolation and the place which is now Lakhnwati he made the seat of government."

1. *IHQ*, V, pp. 133-5

2. See Appendix C.

A controversy has been raised whether Nadia was the capital of the Senas. Whether the capital or not, it is clear from Minhaj that it was a 'seat of government' of Lakṣmaṇasena, and there is nothing improbable in the fact that like Vikramapura and Lakṣmaṇāvati, Nadia was another headquarter of the Senas. The evidence to identify Vijayapura, a city founded by Vijayasena, with Nudiah of Minhaj is stronger than that to identify it with the place of that name, near the findspot of the Deopara praśasti in the Rajshahi district, because 'Pavanadūtam' places it in Suhma-deśa on the other side of the Ganges.¹

The above account of the sack and raid of Nadia seems to be true in broad outline, though there might be some exaggeration in matters of details, and it does not reflect much credit on the administration of Lakṣmaṇasena, as the Muslim army could come from Bihar to Bengal unnoticed and unopposed. It appears that it was a surprise attack and every one was unprepared for it and bewildered and puzzled by its suddenness. Judged by its results, the raid of the daring Muslim general was eminently successful. The Sena power collapsed in western and northern Bengal and Minhaj does not mention of any effective opposition in his march to Lakṣmaṇāvati and Devikot.

According to the *Āin-i-Ākbari*,² Lakhan Sen was succeeded by his son Madhu Sen who ruled for 10 years. *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* refers to a verse of Mādhavasena. Madhu Sen's rule is known only from Abul Fazal whose account of the Hindu kings cannot be always relied upon, if it is not corroborated from other evidence.³ Two sons of Lakṣmaṇasena, Viṣṇurūpasena and Keśavasena, who ruled after him, are known from their own records⁴ and the known periods of their reigns are 17 years.

1. C. Chakravarti, *Pavanadūtam*, Intro. p. 8

2. Vol. II. p. 146

3. According to Mr. N. N. Vasu one copper-plate of Mādhava Sena has been found in the Almora district and the reference given is 'Kumaon' by Atkinson, p. 519. But as I cannot verify this, nothing can be said definitely on this point.

4. IB, No. XIII, XIV, XV.

It is therefore almost certain that for the first quarter of the 13th century these two Sena kings could hold themselves against Muslim aggression. Both of them assumed the proud title of Gaṇeśvara and the epithet "Garga.Yavanānvaya-pralaya-kālarudra" has been applied to them. This does not seem to be an empty boast and both the brothers boast that they were dread to the Yavanas and it seems that they successfully repulsed some Muslim invasions.

The author of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* did not directly record any invasion of east Bengal by the Muslim governors and rulers of Laknauti, but that there were several such attempts is clear from some incidental references by Minhaj. It is therefore quite possible that there had been some other attempts to conquer Bang, which were not recorded at all. Gīyasuddīn was the independent ruler of Lakṣmīpāvatī (1211-1226 A. D.). The rulers of Jainagar, Tirhut, Kāmarūpa and Bang¹ paid tribute to him. Just before the end of his reign, he is said to have invaded Kāmarūpa and Vaṅga. Natural conclusion seems to be that there was previously an invasion against these two countries, and because they refused to pay tribute to the Muslim ruler, another expedition was undertaken against them. It is clear from the account of Minhaj that before Gīyasuddīn could achieve anything substantial, he had to return on account of the usurpation of Lakṣmīpāvatī by Nasiruddīn. Next reference to the invasion of east Bengal is made in connection with the rule of Malik Safuddīn who sent some elephants to the court of Delhi which were captured in Bang² (1231-33 A. D.). It is not known who was the ruling Sena king at this time. Abul Fazal mentions a king of the name of Sūrasena or Sadāsena. Two princes of the Sena dynasty, Sūryasena and Puruṣottamasena, are known from the Sahitya Parisat plate of Viśvarūpasena, and it is quite probable that Sūrasena of Abul Fazal is Sūryasena of this plate. Another invasion of east Bengal

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 587-588

2. *Ibid.*, p. 782

took place in the reign of Ijjuddin Balban¹ in or about 1258 A. D. Minhaj finished his account in 1259 A. D. and makes the statement that at that time the descendants of Lakṣmaṇasena were ruling in eastern Bengal.²

Another Hindu king is known from the Adavadi plate³ of Daśarathadeva and Danujamādhava was his virūda. He may be identified with Rājā Danujah of Zia-ud-din Barni,⁴ who describes him as king of Sonargaon. According to the genealogical book of Harimiśra, he flourished after the Sena rule.⁵ When Delhi Sultan Giyasuddin Balban came to suppress the rebellion of the Bengal governor Tughril Khan, an agreement was reached between the Delhi Sultan and this Hindu king of Sonargaon to the effect that the latter would prevent the escape of Tughril Khan by water. The Muslim occupation of eastern Bengal must have been completed by the close of the 13th century.⁶

It cannot be properly ascertained whether the extreme eastern districts like Noakhali and Chittagong were included in the Pāla and Sena kingdoms. No evidence has yet been discovered to prove the extension of the Sena power in the Chittagong division. The Mainamati plate⁷ speaks of the existence of an independent kingdom in Paṭṭikerā which is a pargana in modern Tippera. The name of the king is Harikāladeva whose virūda is Raṇavaṇkamalla and he came to the throne in 1203-4 A. D. If he was the first king of this family and this principality was included in the Sena kingdom, it seems that with the fall of the Senas in Gauḍa an independent kingdom arose in eastern Bengal. Even within the lifetime of Lakṣmaṇasena a Pāla family from Ayodhyā settled in Khāḍi (in the Sunderbans), and it seems from the Sunderban

1. Ibid., pp. 769-70

2. Ibid., pp. 558, 715

3. IB., p. 181

4. Elliot, History of India vol. III. p. 116

5. Bhāratvarṣa, 1832, B. S. pp. 78-81

6. BI. vol. II. pp. 93-14

7. IHQ. IX. p. 282

plate¹ of Dommonapāla that this king set at naught the Sena authority in that locality and assumed an attitude of independence by 1196 A. D. Another Hindu kingdom was founded about this time. It is known from the Chittagong plate of Dāmodara² who was ruling in 1243 A. D.. His earliest known ancestor is Puruṣottoma whose son was Madhusūdana. The title *nṛpa* occurs before his name and it may be that the rise of the family to political power began from him. His son was Vastudeva whose son Dāmodara assumed the proud title "sakala-bhūpati-cakravartī." Nothing more is known of these kingdoms.

The conquest of north-western Bengal by the Muslims and the maintenance of independence by eastern Bengal in spite of the repeated attempts of the Muslims to conquer it suggest one important conclusion. A sudden cavalry raid was sufficient to break the power of the Sena kings in north-western Bengal and the whole of it passed into Muslim hands within a short time. But the physical features of eastern Bengal prevented such an eventuality. It is the country of big rivers and hence cavalry was practically useless. Here for a permanent conquest the naval power was the most important factor. A raid might have been carried on in a certain part but it could not produce a lasting effect. The seeking of the help of Danujamādhava by Sultan Gīyasuddin Balban to prevent the escape of the rebellious governor Tughril Khan by boat clearly illustrates the weakness of the power in eastern Bengal—a power strong in every other respect excepting the navy. This also accounts for the reason why the descendants of Lakṣmaṇasena fought the Muslims from east Bengal and why this part of the country could resist Muslim attacks for about a century, while the great kingdoms of northern India succumbed to Muslim attacks quickly. Before the final conquest of eastern Bengal, the Muslims must have realised the difficulty and perhaps built a navy equal to the occasion.

1. IHQ., X, p. 321 ; IC, I, p. 679.

2. IB., No. XVII.

Appendix B

Our study of the Sena history is based on the following chronology :—

	Probable	Known reign-period
Sāmantasena.....		.....
Hemantasena.....		.....
Vijayasena	c. 1097-1159 A. D.	62 years.
Vallālasena	1159-1178 A. D.	19 years.
Lakṣmaṇasena	c. 1178-1205 A. D.	27 years.
Keśavasena	.....	3 years.
Viśvarūpasena	.....	14 years.

This chronology satisfies (1) the statement in *Dānasāgara* that it was finished by Vallālasena in 1091 S. E., (2) the date 1082 S. E. referred to in some Mss. of *Adbhūtasāgara* as the initial date of Vallālasena's reign, and (3) the date 1127 S. E. as the 27th year (*Ras-aikaviṃśābde*)¹ of Lakṣmaṇasena's reign mentioned in *Saduktikarṇāmṭa*. This also satisfies the contemporaneity of Vijayasena and Nānyadeva of Mithilā (c. 1097-1150 A. D.) and Rāghava of Kālīṅga (c. 1156 A. D.) and also the astronomical data.² This is also in accord with the evidence of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* that Lakṣmaṇasena was defeated by Bakht-yar between 1193 and 1205 A. D..

Appendix C

The Lakṣmaṇasena Era.

The origin of the Lakṣmaṇasena Era abbreviated as La Sam is a matter of controversy among scholars. That it was counted at first from 1119-20 (October to October) is perhaps to be accepted after what Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has written on the subject.³ Kielhorn verified six dates of La Sam and came to the

1. IHQ. III, p. 188.

2. EI., Vol. XXI, pp. 211 ff.

3. JBORS., XX, p. 20.

conclusion that they work out satisfactorily, if the initial year was the Kārtikādi Sudi I of the expired Śaka year 1041, with the Āmanta scheme of lunar fortnight = the 7th October, A. D. 1119, and it is supported by a statement of Abul Fazl in the Ākbarnāmā.¹ But the initial year of La Sam, as it is still used in the almanacs of Mithilā, falls on the 30th January, A. D. 1108. Mr. P. N. Misra verified 12 dates and came to the conclusion that 4 dates work out satisfactorily with Kielhorn's or Mithilā almanac epochs, while the remaining dates work out satisfactorily with the latter.² Mr. Jayaswal says that up to a certain period the dating was on the basis of the era commencing in 1119-20 A. D., but after the Muslim conquest of Tirhut the Fasli Era, a lunar reckoning, was promulgated at the time of Akbar. La Sam received from that time a lunar (instead of the earlier luni-solar) calculation and hence the difference in the initial year of the earlier dates and of the later dates. Mr. Jayaswal quotes a passage from a MS. in the possession of Pandit Ganga Nath Misra, according to which a fixed figure is deducted from the current year to obtain La Sam, as well as fixed figures are deducted to obtain Śaka and Vikrama years.

If the initial date of La Sam is thus settled, its origin is far from being so. Discussing the subject, Dr. H. C. Roy Chowdhury writes that its origin is to be sought in the Sena dynasty of Piṭhi and not in the Sena dynasty of Bengal, because it was never used by the Senas of Bengal and its earliest use was confined to Bihar where there is epigraphic evidence of the existence of a line of Sena kings who actually used the era.³ There are two epigraphs of Aśokavalla known as Bodh-Gaya inscriptions⁴ and another of Jayasena found at Janibigha,⁵ a place close to Bodh-Gaya, and the dates of these three epigraphs are expressed as follows :—

I. Śrīmal-Lakhvana (Kṣmaṇa) Senasya-atīta-rājye, S. 51.

1. IA., 1890, p. 1.

2. JASB., 1926, p. 378.

3. Sir Asutosh Jubilee Volume, *Orientalia*, pt. 2, p. 1.

4. Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, p. 78. pl. XXVII A ; and JASB., V, p. 951, pl. XXX.

5. JBORS., IV, p. 273.

II. Śrīmal-Lakṣmaṇasenadevapādānām-atīta-rājye, S. 74.

III. Lakṣmaṇasenasya-atīta-rājya, S. 83.

The uniform manner of the expression of these three dates in the records of two kings of Piṭhī shows that they refer clearly to the post-regnal year of a king or an era. Calculating these dates according to La Sam, Dr. Roṃ Chowdhury says that the king whose reign was a thing of the past in the year 51 (1170 A. D.) cannot be identified with Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal who ruled in the last quarter of the twelfth century. Therefore he concludes, 'If the founder of Lakṣmaṇasena Era was not identical with Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal, he must have been the founder of the Sena dynasty of Piṭhī.' But Dr. Roy Chowdhury does not mention any king of Piṭhī of the name of Lakṣmaṇasena.

So far as we know, Tārānātha speaks of two Lavasenas.¹ Granting that Tārānātha's chronology and genealogy of the kings of Magadha and Bengal are faulty, it is to be noticed that Lavasena, the predecessor of Budhasena, Hāritasena, and Pratītasena, is contemporaneous with the Muslim invasion of Bihar and Bengal, and Tārānātha places him after the Senas of Bengal. If it is to be accepted that this Lavasena was king of Piṭhī and was the founder of La Sam in 1119 A. D., the recording of the epigraphs of the time of Jayasena (one of the Sena kings of Piṭhī) in the year 83 of this era and also of Aśokavalla in the years 51 and 73 shows that Piṭhī was in the possession of these kings from 1119 A. D. to the close of the twelfth century. As regards the correct location of Piṭhī, Mr. H. Panday who edited the Janibigha inscription writes that 'our record proves that the sites of the village Janibigha and also Bodh-Gaya were included in the country called Piṭhī. As such it appears to have been the name given to the southern portion of Magadha at least about this time, probably on account of its association with Vajrāsana.'²

The history of Piṭhī in the 11th and 12th centuries is known from contemporary records. It is known from the Saranath inscrip-

1. IA., 1875, p. 366.

2. JBQRS., 1918, p. 273.

tion of Kumāradevī¹ that Piṭhi was ruled by Vallabharāja and his son Devarakṣita of the Chikkore family about the middle of the 11th century. Devarakṣita was defeated by Mathanadeva, maternal uncle of Rāmapāla. The chief of Piṭhi who helped Rāmapāla in his Kaivarta war was Bhīmayaśa. The Gaya stone inscription of Govindapāla² is dated in the 12th V. E. = 1175 A.D., that year being the "gatarājya caturddāśa samvatsara" of Govindapāla. The affix Pāla, the Buddhist title Paramasaugata and the title Gauḍeśvara raise a strong presumption that he belonged to the Pāla dynasty. Whether Govindapāla was a king of the Pāla dynasty or not, the Gaya stone inscription clearly proves that he ruled in Gaya and in its vicinities about the middle of the twelfth century. R. D. Banerjee assumes³ with a tolerable degree of certainty that Govindapāla ruled a portion, probably the eastern one, of Magadha. The Jayanagar Image inscription of Palapāla⁴ also goes to show that some portion of Magadha was under the rule of this king. The known period of his reign is 35 years and he should be placed before Govindapāla or more probably after him. The evidence of the Rāmacarita, Gaya stone inscription and the Jayanagar inscription tends to show that Magadha was in the 11th and 12th centuries under the possession of the Pālas or under the kings whose names end in Pālas. The Senas of Piṭhi could not possibly rule contemporaneously in the same locality with the Pālas. In all reasonableness, therefore, the Senas of Piṭhi should be placed towards the very close of the 12th century or after that. This is in complete agreement with what we know from Tārānātha, according to whom Lavasena, the predecessor of Budhasena, Hāritasena, and Pratitasena, is contemporaneous with the Muslim invasion of Bihar and the Tibetan historian placed him after the Senas of Bengal. Or, even if it be granted that the Senas of Piṭhi ruled in the 12th century from 1119 A. D., it must be admitted that

1. EI., IX, pp. 324-27.

2. The Pālas of Bengal, pl. XXVIII.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

4. JBORS., XIV. pp. 489 ff.

they were local rulers, as the Gaya inscription of 1175 A. D. shows the control of Govindapāla over Piṭhī.

Four inscriptions of Aśokavalla have come to light, and R. D. Banerjee has shown that Aśokavallas of the four epigraphs are identical.¹ The inscription in the walls of the Sūrya temple near Viṣṇupāda at Gaya is dated in the year 1813 of the Nirvāṇa Era. Fleet has shown that this date agrees well with Wednesday, first October, A.D. 1270.² It has been pointed out by Dr. R. C. Majumdar that there are reasons to believe that Aśokavalla flourished about 1270 A. D., and naturally the dates in the Bodh-Gaya inscriptions (and also in Janibigha inscription) would be taken as counted from the cessation of the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena, that event itself being placed towards the end of the twelfth century, and 'atīta rājya' 51 may easily be taken to mean that 50 or 51 years had elapsed since 'atītarājya' or the cessation of the reign.³ It is quite natural that the Hindus or Buddhists were unwilling to refer to the 'pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya' of the Muslims who were alien in culture and newcomers and who of late destroyed their temples or monasteries. Therefore the records of this time were dated by referring to the expired years of an Indian king.

Now the question is who is Lakṣmaṇasena from the cessation of whose reign or fall these records were dated? Is he the famous Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal or Lavasena of Tārānātha, predecessor of Budhasena?

The existence of Lavasna rests on the sole authority of Tārānātha. It is not known where he actually ruled and what was his relation with Budhasena. An era is generally associated with the name of a great king. Traditions from different sources associate this era with the Sena dynasty of Bengal. According to Tārānātha,⁴ it was counted from the time of Hemantasena, and Abul Fazl⁵ associates it with Lakṣmaṇasena. That he was a great king and

1. JASB., 1913, pp. 271 ff.

2. JRAS., 1909, pp. 323 ff.

4. JASB., 1935, p. 48.

3. JASB, 1221, p. 13.

5. IA., 1890, p. 1.

that his fame spread far and wide are evident from his own records and from the testimony of Minhaj who says that Rai Lakshmanīa was a great Rai. An MS. of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa written by Pakṣadhara Miśra is dated in the past year 345 of the king Lakṣmaṇsena of Gauḍa¹. So far as we know, the Senas of Piṭhī were never called kings of Gauḍa and perhaps they cannot be called so.

If this era is to be associated with a Sena king of Bengal, it is better to do so with the king whose name and whose stamp of personality it perhaps bears. It cannot be maintained that Lakṣmaṇsena of Bengal started a new era in 1119 A.D.,² commemorating his accession, because the evidence of Dānasāgara, Adbhūta-sāgara, Saduktikarṇamṛta, and Tabaqatī-Nasirī is conclusive on this point. No record dated distinctly in La Sam (as opposed to atitārājye, vīnaṣṭa-rājye, etc.) can be placed in the twelfth century. The earliest known document dated in this era is the colophon of an MS. belonging to the Darbar Library of Nepal and the date is La Sam 91 Caitra Vādi Gurau A.D., i.e., 1310. Is it then improbable that this era became current after the death of Lakṣmaṇsena? We have got at least one instance of an era of this period which was associated with the name of a king after his death. The Vallāli San or Parganāti San was current in Bengal even less than two hundred years ago. After a careful examination of all available data Dr. N. K. Bhattasali³ has come to the conclusion that it began on the 28th September, A.D. 1202. It is significant that in two records this era is clearly called Vallāli San. In any case, Vallālasena's rule cannot be pushed so late as 1202 A.D., Vallālasena has

1. JASB., 1926, p. 373. Referred to by Mr. P. N. Misra.

2. R. D. Banerjee (JASB., 1913, pp. 271 ff.) contended that the Dacca Candi Image inscription was dated in La Sam. Mr. N. G. Majumdar who also maintained that Lakṣmaṇsena started this era (IA., 1919, p. 171) admitted that "it is by no means the only conclusion deducible from the expression Śrīmal-Lakṣmaṇasenadevasya Samvat 3. It can also mean simply in the 3rd regnal year of the king without necessarily having any reference to the era started by him."

3. IA., 1923, pp. 314ff.

a unique place in the social history of Bengal and the popular imagination has perhaps associated this era with his name which in all probability marks the fall or termination of Lakṣmaṇasena's rule. Lakṣmaṇasena was undoubtedly one of the last great Hindu kings of northern India and the Senas of Bengal had important political relations with Bihar. It is not unfair to infer that the people of Bihar dated their records by associating them with a great Hindu king with whom they had some connection. The erection of pillars of victory at Kāśī and Allahabad suggests that Lakṣmaṇasena had some hold over Bihar too. They did not find it difficult to make the year 1119 A.D. the initial year of this era. This may be the date when the Senas under Vijayasena for the first time came into conflict with Nānyadeva of Mithilā or more probably the date of the birth of Lakṣmaṇasena. Minhaj says that Lakṣmaṇasena was in his eightieth year at the time of Baktyar's invasion of Bengal. Lakṣmaṇasena did not possibly rule for 80 years but might have been 80 years old at that time.

Appendix D

Some Doubtful Invasions of Bengal

It is a well-known fact that the composers of royal *praśastis* described the conquests and achievements of their royal patrons in glowing and very exaggerated terms. Some inscriptions record invasions of Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga by some petty kings who, it seems, could not have undertaken any expedition to these distant countries on their own accounts, nor does it seem that they accompanied any powerful king in his victorious expedition. Therefore it is natural that doubts should be expressed about these exaggerated descriptions of the court-poets. Our doubts are further con-

firmed by the fact that the statement of the conquest of Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga was sometimes used as a poetic ornamentation. Thus it is claimed in the inscriptions of the Vijayanagara king Kṛṣṇarāya that the rulers of Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga waited upon Vijayanagara kings.¹ It needs hardly be said that it was practically impossible for a Vijayanagara king to hold any sway over Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Again, it is stated in the Chitrogadh² Stone inscription dated in V.S. 1485 that the king Mokala of Mewar subdued the Aṅgas, Kāmārūpas and Vaṅgas. These should be regarded as vague and general statements.

The Pithapuram Pillar inscription³ of Pṛthivīśvara dated in S. E. 1082 records that Malla I of Dhandapura, son of Kīrtivarman II, subdued the Gaṅgas, Kaliṅgas, Vaṅgas and Magadhas. The rulers of this family were chiefs of Velanāḍu. The fifth descendant of Malla I, Kulyavarman II, was a contemporary of the Eastern Cālukya king Vikramāditya (1015-22 A. D.), and Malla may be roughly assigned to the first half of the 10th century A.D.. He might have accompanied a Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch. Otherwise the subjection of these countries by this chief seems to be a hollow statement.

The Eastern Cālukya king Kulottuṅga (c. 1070-86 A. D.) is said to have invaded about 45 countries⁴ among which the names of Vaṅga and Vaṅgālas also appear. The Kalacuri king Vijjana of Kalyāṇa pretended to conquer Pāṇḍya, Cola and Vaṅga.⁵ Again, his son Saṅkāmādeva's exploits are said to have extended over Gauḍa, Turuṣkas, Siṃhala, Cola, Magadha and Malaya. One of his known date is 1186 A. D., that year being the fifth year of his reign.⁶ It is said that Udayarāja, son of Soccharāja, conquered

1. EI., XII, p. 132; XIV, p. 170

2. Ibid., II, p. 439

3. Ibid. IV, p. 32

4. IA., IX, pp. 88ff.

5. Ibid., V, p. 45

6. IA., IV, p. 275

Cola, Gauḍa and Karṇāṭa.¹ He belonged to the Bhinmal Paramāra branch and is to be placed before 1161² A.D.. Kalacurya Bhīllama (one of whose inscriptions is dated in 1189 A. D.) is said to have been "a severe pain in the head of the Mālavas, a thunderbolt to that mountain Varālas, a lion to the tall elephants of Kaliṅgas, the roar of a cloud to the flocks of those swans of Gurjaras, Colas, Gauḍas and Pāñcalas, Kāla to the brilliant kings of Aṅgas, Vaṅgas and Nepālas."³ It is not known from any other source that in the last half of the 12th century any king of Kuntala was so powerful as to defeat all these kings. Curiously enough, in the inscription of his son Jaitugi no victory is ascribed to the father, but Jaitugi himself is said to have conquered the Gurjaras, Pāñdyas, Colas, Lāṭas, Gauḍas, and some of his officers are said to have invaded Mālavas, Kaliṅgas, Turuṣkas and Nepālas.⁴ All these exaggerated statements of both the father and the son cannot be taken as historical facts. Two more kings of Kuntala, Bijjala and his son Soma (the former is described as the founder of the Kalacurya kingdom), are said to have raided the Colas, Nepālas, Kaliṅgas, Pāñcālas and Gurjaras and to have received the homage of the Gauḍas, Pāñdyās, Malayalas and Varālas.⁵ It is asserted in the Godag inscription⁶ of Vira-Vallava II, dated in 1114 S. E., that this Hoy-sala king frightened the Aṅgas, Kaliṅgas, Vaṅgas, Magadhas, Colas, Malayas, Pāñdyas, Keralas and Gurjaras. In the Ekamantha inscription,⁷ dated in 1172 S. E., Gaṇapatideva claims to have defeated Simhana (a Yādava king), kings of Kaliṅga, Lāṭa and Gauḍa. It is stated in the Mamadpur inscription⁸ of Kanhara,

1. Bhandarkar's List No. 312

2. Dr. D. C. Ganguly, *History of Paramāra Dynasty*. p. 347

3. *RI.*, xv, p. 83

4. *Ibid.* v, p. 31

5. *RI.*, v, p. 257 ; xv, p. 317

6. *Ibid.* vi, p. 92

7. *IA.*, xxi, p. 197

8. *RI.*, xix, p. 21

dated in 1177 S. E., that his grandfather Simhana overcame the Gurjaras, Magadha and Gauḍas.

In the absence of any corroborative evidence these bold and wide claims should be dismissed as baseless. It is quite possible that some of these chiefs might have accompanied their overlords and gained some victories which in their records are claimed as their own achievements. But it is also true that some of them are purely hollow statements.

CHAPTER VII

Administrative System

Central Government

The form of government was monarchical. The king was the apex of the whole system and had the usual imperial titles, 'Parameśvara,' 'Paramabhaṭṭāraka' and 'Mahārājādhirāja'. In the Edilpur grant of Keśavasena Aśvapati, Gajapati, Narapati¹ are also the titles of the king in addition to the usual ones. "Royalty is limited to the descendants of one family", observes merchant Sulaiman, "and never goes to another." This remark appears to be quite correct in view of the almost continuous rule of the Pālas for about four centuries and of the Senas for about one century. Force was the only factor by which a dynasty was ousted, as the Pālas were. Election was not unknown but very uncommon. A king was elected only in extraordinary circumstances. Gopala I, the founder of the Pāla dynasty, was elected king to escape from anarchy (mātsyanyāyam-apahitum). The Rājatarāṅgiṇī refers to the election of Vaśakara by the Brāhmaṇas after 939 A. D.. Kalhaṇa's remark on this election that to take such a course (to elect a king) is tantamount to lunacy is instructive.² The inscription of Ratanpāla records the election of Brahmapāla in the neighbouring kingdom of Kāmarūpa.³ Gopāla's election by the 'prakṛtis'

1. In the Gāhaḍavāla records the kings are given the appellations of Aśvapati, Narapati, Gajapati, Giripati and Triśaṅkapati. These terms, according to Dr. R. S. Tripathi, signify lords of various classes of feudatories, but the first three may denote three branches of army (IHQ 1933, p. 121). According to Si-yu-ki, however, when there is no paramount monarch, the southern, northern and eastern parts of Jambudvīpa (India) are respectively supposed to be ruled over by four sovereigns called Gajapati, Chatrapati, Aśvapati and Narapati (Beal's Translation Vol. I, p. 18, note)

2. BK. V, 456 ff

3. JASB, 1698, p. 99

has generally been taken as an election by the people.¹ But 'prakṛti' is a technical political term meaning principal officers. The Śukranīti gives a list of ten 'prakṛtis' consisting of the chaplain, the minister, the judge and so on.² In the Rājatarāṅginī a group of seven officials who elected Jalauka, son and successor of Aśoka, is called 'prakṛtis'.³ The election of Yaśakara was made by the Brāhmaṇas. It is improbable that there was a general election in the 8th century. We are, therefore, inclined to take the view that Gopāla was placed on the throne by the officers of state.

It cannot be definitely stated what happened in the case of the succession of a minor to the throne. Either a regent or a council of regency was perhaps set up. It is also quite possible that the great officers carried on the government in the name of the minor king.

The Queen-Consort's position was very high. She figures third in the list of the officers and feudatories. Kauṭilya also placed her in the first grade of officers with Mantrin and Purohita, drawing 48,000 paṇas from the state treasury. The actual political influence exercised by the Queen-Consort is not known, but it seems that as the chief queen her influence was considerable. In the Arthaśāstra the Queen Mother also gets 48,000 paṇas. What her position was is not known. Vilāsadevī, the Śūra princess and mother of Vallālasena, performed a religious ceremony and lands were granted to the sacrificial priest as dakṣiṇā.⁴

Yuvarāja—The heir-apparent was perhaps selected during the lifetime of the ruling king. Tribhuvanapāla and Rājyapāla were heir-apparents of Dharmapāla and Devapāla. Most probably these

1. Gaṇḍakhamālā p. 19 fn. 2; Bāṅglāra Itihāsa, p. 151

2. Śukra. Book II, 196-70

Samāstaṁ purodhā lakṣaṇaṁ yam taducyate purodāśca pratinidhiḥ
pradhānaḥ sacīvastathā mantri prāḍvivākaśca paṇḍita sumantrakaḥ amātya
dūta ityetaḥ rājya prakṛtayo daśaḥ

3. Rājatarāṅginī, Bk. I, 118.20.

5. Naihati plate.

two princes predeceased their fathers. It is certain that the crown-princes had important functions in the government. The above-mentioned princes are referred to as the *dūtakas* of the *Khālimpur* and *Monghyr* grants. It is known from the *Rāmacarita* that *Rāmapāla* was closeted in discussions with his son *Rājyapāla*¹ who was entrusted with the task of government in the old age of the king.² *Lakṣmaṇasena*, when a crown prince, invaded *Gauḍa* and *Kaliṅga*, and defeated the king of *Kāśī*.³ It has been suggested that *Rājaputras* of the land grants were most probably not the princes of the blood royal but the ordinary Rajput soldiers, holding fiefs from the kings in return for their military service.⁴ *Rājaputra* figures after *Rājñi* and *Rāṇaka* and before *Rājāmātya*, *Mahāpurohita* and *Mahāsenāpati*. It is, therefore, reasonable to take *Rājaputra* to be princes, if not the crown princes. Princes sometimes enjoyed land. *Kumāra Sūryasena* and *Puruṣottamasena* enjoyed land which was granted by them on ceremonial occasions (on birth-day and on the occasion of *Uttarāyanaśamkramaṇa*) but these grants were confirmed by a royal charter.⁵

The status of another officer may be discussed here. *Kumārāmātya* and *Māhākumārāmātya* figure in the list of officers but their position is not very high. Literally the word means the minister of princes. In the Gupta period *Kumārāmātyas* were the governors of *Koṭivarṣaviṣaya*. The *Basarh* seals refer to various classes of *Kumārāmātyas*. Mr. R. D. Banerjee divides them into four classes according to their ranks⁶: (1) ordinary, (2) equal in rank to princes of the royal blood (*Yuvarājapādiya*), (3) equal in rank to the crown prince (*Śrī-Yuvarājabhaṭṭāraka-pādiya*), (4) equal in rank to his Majesty (*Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādiya*). The position and

1. BK. I, 421

2. BK. 4, 1

3. Madhainagar plate.

4. JDL. XVI, p. 30. Our records do not favour the interpretation offered by Dr. Vogel as 'noble man.' See, Chamba, p. 122

5. Sahitya Parisat plate of *Viśvarūpasena*.

6. The Age of Imperial Guptas, Ch. on Administration.

status of Kumārāmātya and Mahākumārāmātya cannot be determined in the Pāla period, as nothing particular is known of them from the records. The term Mahākumārāmātya suggests that there might have been different classes of Kumārāmātyas.

Rājāmātya—Most probably he was 'Mantrin' (the prime minister) of the Arthaśāstra or Sarvadarśin of the Śukranīti. Among the officials proper he figures first, and it goes to signify that next to the king he was the most important personage in the government. The ancient writers on political science recognised the supreme importance of ministers and enjoin that they should be very carefully selected. Two great ministerial families who served the Pālas are known from their own records. They were learned men as well as men of great ability and capacity. It is claimed in the Badal Pillar inscription that Garga made Dharmapāla, lord of the east, master of all quarters. His son Darbhapāṇi by his wisdom and diplomacy made Devapāla lord of the earth from the Vindhya to the Himālayas. This talented minister was held in high respect by the king. Darbhapāṇi's son, Someśvara, was dear to the king. By the wise counsel of Kedārmiśra, Someśvara's son, Devapāla uprooted the Utkalas, shattered the pride of the Huṇas and crushed the power of the Drāviḍas and the Gurjjaras. Guravamiśra, builder of the Badal Pillar, was the minister of Nārāyaṇapāla and 'dūtaka' of the Bhāgalpur grant. He was eloquent in speech, proficient in Āgamas, Tantras, astrology and in the Vedas and a fighter in the assembly as well as in the field. The Kamauli plates of Vaidyadeva introduce us to another line of hereditary ministers whose services to the Pālas were of great value. Yogadeva was the minister of Vighrapāla III and his son Bodhideva was the counsellor of Rāmapāla. But the most successful and ablest minister of the family was Bodhideva's son Vaidyadeva. He was dear to Kumārāpāla as his own life. He put down a rebellion in southern Bengal by winning a naval victory and by rapid marches surprised Tiṅgyadeva who raised the standard of revolt in Kāmarūpa. This record clearly shows that ministers were sometimes capable generals too. Perhaps as a

reward for his service he was appointed ruler of Kāmarūpa. Or, it may be that Vaidyadeva asserted his independence after the death of Kumārapāla. In any case his titles, Parameśvara Paramabhāṭṭāraka and Mahārājādhirāja in his own record indicate his pretension to royal dignity.

In the Kamauli plate it is said that Yogadeva came to office through heredity. The Badal praśasti and the Kamauli plates would go to indicate that during the time of the Pālas hereditary ministers were preferred. While speaking of the hereditary monarchy prevalent in India, the merchant Sulaiman writes, "The same is the case with families of wazirs, kazis and other high officers. They are all hereditary and never changed or altered." It seems that the principle of heredity was followed in the selection of the high officers of state.

The Edilpur grant of Keśavasena and the Madanpara grant of Viśvarūpasena are at first passed by the clerk of the Mahāsāndhivigrahika who was the minister of peace and war. They are then endorsed by the clerk of the Mahāmahattaka and finally approved by the clerk of his Majesty. Mr. N. G. Majumdar translates 'Mahāmattaka' as Prime Minister.¹ It seems that grants passed from the office of the Sāndhivigrahika were to be endorsed by the office of the Mahāmahattaka. This goes to show that the Prime Minister had some pre-eminence over the Sāndhivigrahika who was also a minister and high officer.

Mahāpurohita—He is not mentioned in the Pāla grants, and it may be suggested that this office did not exist under the Buddhist Pālas. In the Rgvedic time the Purohita used to advise the king in all religious matters. In the Maurya and Gupta periods Dharmamahāmātyas and Vinayasthitisthāpakas were ministers of morals. The Kalacuris had Dharmapradhāna in addition to Mahāpurohita.² It cannot be exactly determined what was the function of the Mahāpurohita under the Senas. Undoubtedly his position

1. IB. p. 131

2. JASB, XXXI. p. 116; Kumbhī plates of Vijayasītiha I.

was very high as his rank in the list of officers is next to Rājāmātya. In the Arthaśāstra the sacrificial priest, the spiritual preceptor and the Purohita were to get 48,000 paṇas. Rājapaṇḍita,¹ Rājaguru² and Śāntivārika³ were granted lands on many occasions in the Sena period. The Mahāpurohita might have superintended royal religious establishments. Whether he had some pre-eminence over other religious officers of the king cannot be ascertained.

Mahādharmādhyakṣa—He was the chief justice. This post was held by very learned men. The famous scholar Halāyudha was Dharmādhyakṣa of Lakṣmaṇasena. Paṇḍita Gonandana was the Dharmādhikāra of Vaidyadeva at whose request the Kamauli grant was made.

Mahāsāndhivigrahika—Minister in charge of war and peace, corresponding to the Foreign Secretary of modern times. The dūtaka of the Sena grants was generally this officer. A verse in the Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya states that Sāndhivigrahika should be the drafter of the copper plate charters, and this rule was followed by the Senas, as the grants were first issued from his office. This responsible office was sometimes held by learned and capable men. Famous Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva of the Bhuvanesvara praśasti was the Sāndhivigrahika of Harivarmadeva of Eastern Bengal and his grandfather Adideva held this post of another un-named king of Vaṅga. Nārāyaṇadatta held this post under Lakṣmaṇasena and was dūtaka of four grants of his reign.

Mahāsenāpati—Commander-in-chief. In the Arthaśāstra he is a first-grade officer. As the head of the army his influence was

1. In the Sahitya Parisat Plate of Viśvarūpasena there is a reference to a Rājapaṇḍita named Maheśvara. Most probably he was a court Paṇḍita. In the Sukranīti Paṇḍita is the minister of morality and religion.

2. Murāri was the Rājaguru of Vaidyadeva and his son Manoratha composed the Kamauli grant.

3. Śāntivārika is known from the Rampal and Dhulla plate of Śrīcaandra and the Sunderban plate of Lakṣmaṇasena. Mr. N. G. Majumdar suggests that he may be the priest in charge of propitiatory rites. Śāntyaḡārika was perhaps the priest in charge of the room where propitiatory rites are performed.

4. B.K.I. 319-20

very great. According to Kāmandaka¹, the following should be the qualifications for this office. He is to be healthy, enduring, self-confident, amiable, generous, respected, energetic, heroic, valorous, of noble family, native of the land and of commanding personality. He is to be an expert in the use of four-fold forces. "He should be familiar with the movement of informants and reconnoiterers, skilful and competent to manage the whole force, read the minds of others including those of animals, know the routes to march through, not be dismayed by the lack of food, or drink, or by inclement weather, who can sow dissensions among the enemy's army, who is capable of protecting his camp and is equal to the occasion and who takes to work regardless of consequences but with full hopes of fruition of his labours."

Mahāmudrādhikṛta, Antaraṅga-Vṛhaduparika and Mahākṣapaṭalika. These three officers are mentioned always jointly, and it seems that they are connected with finances and revenue administration. Kauṭilya's Mudrādhyaṁśa is the superintendent of passports and a minor officer. Dr. R. G. Basak takes him to be the keeper of Royal Seal². But the reasonable view seems to be to take Mahāmudrādhikṛta as the officer in charge of Treasury and Currency. His functions might have been like those of the Sannidhātā of the Arthaśāstra³.

There is much misconception about the term Antaraṅga-Vṛhaduparika. Dr. R. G. Basak⁴ translates it as "Chief-Privy councillor", and Dr. N. K. Bhattasali as "of the intimate class of servants."⁵ It has been suggested by some⁶ that he should be taken as the royal physician because in Śivadāsa's commentary on

1. Ch. XVIII. 26-42.

2. EI. XII, p. 37.

3. Arthaśāstra Book II.

4. EI. XII, p. 37.

5. Ibid. Vol. XVIII, p. 76ff

6. JDL. XVI. p. 33; IC. Vol. 1. p. 684; Again, some have suggested that antaraṅgavṛhaduparika is the head of spies, see chapter on administration, Dhākāra Itihāsa.

Cakrapānidatta the word *antaraṅga* has been used in a technical sense to signify the royal physician. But this explanation does not seem to be appropriate in view of the fact that this officer figures between *Mahāmudrādhikṛta* and *Mahākṣapaṭalika*, who are undoubtedly two officers of the finance department. In the *Gugrahati* plate of *Samācāradeva*¹ *Antaraṅga-uparika* and *Suvarṇavithyādhikṛta* *Jivadatta* was the governor of *Varākamaṇḍala*. It is highly improbable that a physician should hold the office of a governor. Dr. Bhattasali translates '*suvarṇavithyādhikṛta*' as the master of the bullion market but suggests that the real title may have been master of the Mint or Treasury. This unmistakably shows his connection with the revenue administration. Equally unacceptable is the suggestion of Mr. G. P. Sarkar that by the term *antaraṅga-vṛhaduparika* two officers are meant because it is the epithet of *Jivadatta* in the *Gugrahati* plate. But it is most likely, as it has been suggested by the same writer, that *Vṛhaduparika* must be some higher official who perhaps used to superintend the subordinate *uparikas* who are, according to Bühler's explanation on *uparikara*, fiscal officers.² Now what does the word '*antaraṅga*' signify? *Antaraṅga* literally means 'intimate,' 'dear,' 'of one's own.' It may be suggested that this officer was also in charge of crown land and property. Thus this officer seems to have double functions, viz., to superintend the work of the subordinate *uparikas* and to look after crown property. His work may be equated to that of *Samāhartā* of the *Arthaśāstra*.

Mahākṣapaṭalika was the head of the Record office. Mr. Monahan³ interprets the word *akṣapaṭala* both as an accountant's office and a general record room and this seems to be correct in view of the fact that in the description of his duties in the

1. E1. XV111, p. 76

2. IA. 1878. p. 66. Additional Vallabhi grants, "Upari. usually spelt upri, is a Maratha revenue term which denotes a temporary holder who cultivates land in a village, where he does not reside".

3. BK. II. Sec. 6. Early History of Bengal—Monahan.

Arthaśāstra he was also an accountant general of the state.¹ The Belava plate of Bhojavarman was finally approved by Mahākṣapaṭalika.

Mahāpratihāra – He was the great chamberlain. In the Mahābhārata he is one of the 18 tīrthas and in the Arthaśāstra his name occurs in the second grade of officers along with Samāhartā and Sannidhātā. He is sometimes mentioned in our records along with military officers and it may indicate that he was also regarded as a military officer. The feudatories and high administrative officers were sometimes honoured with this title. In the Gunaighar grant of 508 A.D. of Vainyagupta the dūtaka of the grant had the title Mahāpratihāra in addition to three other titles.² The Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Śivarāja who led the vanguard of Rāmapāla's army in the Kaivarta war had this title.³ It may be that there were honorary *aid de camps* of the king (like Mahārāja of Kashmir and some other native rulers of India).

Two other high officers seem to have been associated with the central administration – Mahāsarvādhikṛta and Mahākartāḥkṛtika, though their functions are not known. That Mahāsarvādhikṛta was an important officer is evident from the fact that he is mentioned⁴ in the Rampal plate of Śricandra between Mahākṣapaṭalika and Mahāpratihāra and in the Ramganj plate of Iśvaraghoṣa between Mahākṣapaṭalika and Mahāsenāpati. According to Dr. Monier-Williams, this word has been used in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī in the sense of general superintendent. He may be the superintendent of public works or superintendent of the state mines and other state industries. Mahākartāḥkṛtika figures in the Mongyr plate of Devapāla after Amātya and in the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla after Mahāpratihāra. The meaning of the term cannot be made out, but

1. Bk. II, 7.

2. IHQ. 1930. p. 40.

3. Rāmacarita, Bk. I. 47.

4. Gupta Ins. Vakataka plates, p. 237. EI., XIV, p. 36 2.1.30. This officer is mentioned in these two grants also.

it may be that he was an officer of Mahāsarvādhikṛta's type. Another high officer, Piṭhikāvitta, figures after Mahāpurohita and before Mahādharmādhyakṣa in the Belava plate. The meaning of the term is not known. The author of the Dhākāra Itihāsa says that Piṭhikā means the main part of an image and takes him to be a sculptor.¹ But it can hardly be accepted that a sculptor should occupy such a high position. Piṭha means a religious student's seat, office, a royal seal. As he is mentioned after Mahāpurohita, he may be taken to be a religious officer.

The most important question as to who constituted the council of ministers is not easy to answer. The fact that in the Sunderban plate of Dommaṇapāla the expression 'saptasacīva' has been used perhaps indicates that the ministers were seven in number in the Sena period in normal circumstances. The Sena inscriptions are uniform in describing the list of officers and therefore it may be inferred that seven high officers proper who figure first in the list formed the ministry. In normal circumstances the ministry then seems to have consisted of Rājāmātya, Mahāpurohita, Mahādharmādhyakṣa, Mahāsāndhivigrahaika, Mahāsenāpati, Mahāmudrādhikṛta and Antaraṅgavṛhaduparika. The evidence of the Rāmacarita is conclusive of the fact that on important and urgent matters the ministers were consulted. It is said that Rāmapāla was always closeted with the ministers in deciding the course of action to be taken against the revolting Kaivarta chief.²

Another important point may be discussed here. All the officers mentioned above have the affix 'mahā' attached to their designation, and therefore the question may be raised whether they had under-secretaries under them like modern Under-Secretary for Foreign affairs and Under-Secretary of State for India, etc. It is certain that these high officers had separate departments and offices of their own, as we have most of the Sena grants passed

1. Dhākāra Itihāsa by J. M. Roy. p. 489.

2. Rāmacarita 1/42.

and endorsed by the clerks of Mahāsāndhivigrahika, of Mahāmahattaka and of the Majesty. The Belava plate was issued from the office of Mahākṣapaṭalika. Nārāyaṇadatta, who was the dūtaka of the four grants of Lakṣmaṇasena, had the designation of Sāndhivigrahika, while those grants were issued from the office of Mahāsāndhivigrahika. It may be then reasonably inferred that Mahāsāndhivigrahika had at least one Sāndhivigrahika under him. The same may hold good of other high officers who have 'mahā' affixed to their official designation.

Ambassadors and Messengers

The mention of four classes of ambassadors and messengers in the Pāla records indicates that there were perhaps different ranks and gradations. Kauṭilya gives different names to the envoys according to their rank and the work entrusted to them was in accordance with their status. In the Arthaśāstra the first in rank enjoyed the status of a minister and is called Nīṣṭhārthaḥ. Then next comes Parimitartha who has the same qualifications less by one quarter and is an agent entrusted with a definite mission. The last one is Śāsanaharaḥ who has the same qualification less by one-half and is a conveyer of royal writs. It must be observed that the envoys of the Arthaśāstra have to do much of the spying work in the country where he was sent. The envoys of the different ranks of the Arthaśāstra can very well be compared with the regular order of rank and precedence of envoys established by the congress of Vienna in 1815 :—

(a) Ambassadors—represented the person and dignity of their sovereigns as well as their affairs.

(b) Envoys, Ministers Plenipotentiary and others accredited to sovereigns.

(c) *Charge's d' Affairs*, accredited not to sovereigns, but to Ministers of Foreign Affairs.

It cannot be definitely said whether there was a regular gradation of envoys in the Pāla period but the mention of four classes suggests so.

(1) Dūta---He was perhaps highest in rank and represented the sovereign in foreign courts.

(2) Kholā---The term cannot be properly explained. In the dictionaries we have one meaning. (Kholā -Gamyarthe vikalpe). As he is mentioned always along with Dūta, it is very likely that his function was also that of an envoy.

(3) Gamāgamika---He was perhaps the messenger from the central court to the provinces or districts and *vice versa*.

(4) Abhīttaramāna - As the name denotes, he was the carrier of urgent messages.

Besides these, Dūtapraiṣaṇika figures as an officer. He was probably the officer in charge of the messengers, under whose direction they were sent in different parts.

The Pālas and Senas had important political relations with the neighbouring kings. The Nālandā grant of Devapāla proves that there was regular intercourse between the Pāla empire and Indonesia. It is known that Bālaputradeva of Suvarṇadvīpa, a famous king of the Śailendra dynasty, asked through an ambassador (dūtakamukhena) for a grant of four villages for the maintenance of a Buddhist monastery from the Pāla king and the dūtaka of the royal grant of this land was Bālavarmaṇ, governor of Vyāghrataṭṭimaṇḍala, who has been described as the right hand man of Devavapāla (dakṣiṇahasta iva). This probably tends to show that when the transaction was between two independent monarchs a distinguished officer, conversant with court formalities and etiquette, was the messenger.

Territorial divisions and their administration

The largest territorial division of the Pāla and Sena kingdoms was Bhukti. In the glorious days of the Pālas, their empire extended as far as Kanauj in the west and it seems that Tīrabhukti (Bhagalpur grant) and Śrīnagarabhukti (Mongyr and Nālandā grants) were under the direct administration of the Pālas. Other known Bhuktis of the Pāla and Sena kingdoms are Pauṇḍravardhanabhukti, Vardhamānabhukti and Kaṅkagrāmahukti. The

last one seems to have been formed in the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena probably in view of his conquests in the direction of Bihar. All Bhuktis were not equal in area. Pauṇḍrwardhanabhukti was perhaps the largest and compared with it Vardhamānabhukti and Kaṅkagrāmahbhukti were much smaller.

Bhuktis were divided into Maṇḍalas and Viṣayas. The relation between Maṇḍala and Viṣaya is not known. In majority of the grants Maṇḍala is a sub-division of a Viṣaya. But in the Khalimpur inscription Mahāntaparakāśaviṣaya is a subdivision of the Vyāghrataṭimaṇḍala. This discrepancy may be explained by the assumption that the term Maṇḍala was given to well-known divisions of the country. Uttara-Rāḍha is a well-known division of Rāḍhā and in the Naihati plate of Vallālasena it is called a Maṇḍala. Our assumption is further strengthened by the fact that we have a class of feudatories with the title Mahāmāṇḍalika. In the land grant of Mahāmāṇḍalika Iśvaraghoṣa there is no mention of any Bhukti in the description of the land granted and Piṇḍakamaṇḍala is the highest division of which Gallitipyakviṣaya is a subdivision. In the Sena grants Varendra, Uttara-Rāḍha, Vyāgrataṭi, Vaṅga have been mentioned as a part of the Bhukti; Viṣaya is conspicuous by its absence but in the list of officers Viṣayapati is invariably present. It would seem therefore that bigger Maṇḍalas like Vyāgrataṭi, Uttara-Rāḍha denote well-known parts of the kingdom and these bigger Maṇḍalas were perhaps the highest administrative section, next to Bhukti. But ordinarily (as is the case in most of the Pāla grants) Maṇḍalas were subdivisions of the Viṣayas.

Smaller Maṇḍalas were divided into Khaṇḍalas and Vithis whose relation is not known. Vithi was divided into Khaṭikā which was again subdivided into Vṛtta. Caturaka formed the next subdivision which was composed of Grāmas. In the Nālandā grant of Devapāla Grāmas were included into Naya. The lowest subdivision was Pāṭaka. It is not to be supposed that all these territorial divisions were uniform in every locality. The minute divisions like Khaṭikā, Vṛtta, Caturaka are found in some of the Sena grants and Naya as a subdivision is mentioned only in the Nālandā grant of Devapāla.

The Bhuktipatis were governors of Bhuktis or provinces. In the Pāla records Bhuktipati does not figure in the list of officers but there is a high officer designated Rājasthānīya-uparika. Uparika-Mahārāja was the title of the governor of Pauṇḍravardhanabhukti during the Gupta period.¹ The Rājasthānīya-uparikas were perhaps provincial governors representing the crown. As it has already been suggested that the term Uparika is connected with revenue administration, it is quite probable that one of the main duties of the governor was the collection of revenues. But they must have other administrative duties also. The relation of the Bhuktipati with the governor of bigger Maṇḍalas is not known. Bālavarman, officer in charge of Vyāghrataṭimaṇḍala, and described as the right hand a man of Devapāla and a man of great military renown, was perhaps appointed by the emperor himself. In the sixth century the governors of Varākamaṇḍala in East Bengal meditated on the feet of his Majesty and no mention of Bhukti or Bhuktipati is found in them.² It is also to be noted that in the Faridpur plates the officers in charge of Varākamaṇḍala had also sometimes the designation of Uparika which indicates their connection with revenue administration. In the Guḡrahati plate (Faridpur grant D) it is specially mentioned that the Viṣayapati Pavitraka was approved of by Jivadatta, governor of Varākamaṇḍala.

Nothing particular is known of the district officers or Viṣayapatis. They figure as minor officers in the Pāla and Sena records. The Damodarpur plates and the Faridpur grants supply sufficient information about the district government and administration that were prevalent in Bengal in the Gupta and post-Gupta period. Viṣayapatis were probably appointed by the Bhuktipati and the sanction of the central government was perhaps required. In the Damodarpur plates Nos. 1, 2, 5, the Viṣayapatis meditate on the feet of the Bhuktipatis but in the Baigram plate³ Kulavṛddhi,

1. EI. XV, pp. 130 ff.

2. Faridpur grants, IA. 1910, pp. 193. ff.

3. EI., XXI, p. 78

the district officer, meditates on the feet of his Majesty and the same is the case in the Vappaghoṣavaṭa grant of the time of Jayanāga. In the Damodarpur plates the Viṣayapatis had the title of Kumārāmātya or Tat-niyuktaks. The title Sāmanta in the Vappaghoṣavaṭa grant probably indicates that the Viṣayapatis were sometimes men of military renown or, that feudatories were also appointed as district officers. They might have been responsible for the revenues and good government of the districts under them.

The headquarters of the districts were in towns. In important cities or districts like Koṭivarṣa or Puṇḍravardhana the district officer was helped by a board consisting of Nagaraśreṣṭhi, Svārthavāha, Prathama-kulika and Prathama-kāyastha, i.e. the guild-president, the leading merchant, the leading banker¹ and the leading scribe. There is considerable disagreement among scholars about the functions of this board which constituted the Adhiṣṭhānādhikaraṇa. Dr. Ghoshal has rightly pointed out the Act IX of the Mṛchchakatikā, describing the famous trial scene, referring to the king's judges (called Adhikaraṇikas and Adhikaraṇabhojaks) who were assisted by the guild-president and the scribe.² It is to be conceded then that in important district headquarters justice was administered with the help of a board in which the important interests of those days were represented. Though this board has been mentioned in the land records, its relation with other branches of administration (excepting judicial) cannot be definitely established from the data at our hand. It is important to notice here that the existence of this board has not been referred to in the Dhanaidaha, Baigram plates and Damodarpur No. 4 and not also in the Faridpur plates. It is, therefore, permissible to hold that such a board existed only in important cities or districts. However, its existence in Koṭivarṣa and Puṇḍravardhana points to organised life among the commercial and industrial classes of those days. How could there be a Prathama-kulika

2. Dr. R. G. Basak translates Kulika as artisan (following Bhānuji Dīkṣita)

2. *Hindu Revenue system*, pp. 202-3. Various other views held by different scholars are discussed there.

and Prathama-kāyastha without an organized following or how could the community be represented without an organization? The answer to these questions affirms this. That their position and influence was felt in the society is proved by their relation with the government. The four representatives came to hold their position either by their leading position or by election.

In the Dhanaidaha plate and the Damodarpur plate No. 3 the application from the intending purchaser is received by Grāmika, Aṣṭakulādhikaraṇa¹, Kuṭumbin² and named and unnamed Brahmanas. In other grants of the Gupta period in northern Bengal the district officer and the office of the district headquarters receive the application. In the Damodarpur plates Nos. 3 and 5 the Prakṛtis (subjects) and Kuṭumbins are informed of the transaction. In the Vaigram plate the Kuṭumbins along with the Brahmanas and Samavyavahārins are informed. In the Faridpur grants the application for purchase was received and land was disposed of by the district office and the Prakṛtis headed by eighteen leading men of the district (in Grant A) and in other three grants by the district office headed by the named chief scribe³ and leading men of the district, as well as Vyāpārins or Vyavahārins.⁴

It is difficult to say what were the functions of the Mahattaras

1. Some scholars like to explain the term Aṣṭakulādhikaraṇa as meaning one in charge of supervision of eight families. In Manu (VII. 118-19) and the Mahābhārata (xii. 6816-8) the lord of one village would enjoy one Kula of land and the lord of ten villages 5 Kulas and so on. In the Gupta period Aṣṭakulādhikaraṇa might have been a village officer higher in rank than Grāmika and enjoyed 8 Kulas of land.

2. Dr. R. G. Basak translated Kuṭumbins as householders, and Dr. Ghoshal as heads of families.

3. Dr. Ghoshal equates the office of Jyēsthakāyastha with that of Sheristadar of a modern district. *Hindu Revenue system*, p. 204, fn 2; cf. Mahākāyastha of the Ramganj plate.

4. Vyāpārins and Vyavahārins are officers carrying on affairs of the state in connection with land grants. *Ibid.* p. 205, fn. 2.

or leading men¹ referred to in the Dāmodarpur plates and in the Faridpur plates. Dr. Ghosal's suggestion² to identify the Viṣaya-mahattaras of the Faridpur plates with the Vyāpārins and Vyāvahārins of the same plates B.C.D. cannot be accepted, as in these plates the Mahattaras have been mentioned in addition to Vyapārins and Vyavahārins. Most probably the Mahattaras were men of position in the locality. Their representative capacity is perhaps to be understood from the Grant A, in which Prakṛtis (people) headed by eighteen leading men of the district have been alluded to. It cannot be ascertained whether they were elected representatives of the people or chosen by the government because of their eminent position in the locality. It is further known from the copper plates of the Gupta period and the Faridpur plates that before the actual sale was made, the record-keepers (pustapālas) would make all necessary enquiries to the titles to the lands concerned and would sever the land according to the standard measure of 8×9 reeds then prevalent. The Paharpur plate³ specifically refers to a board of record-keepers headed by Divākaranandī. In some cases the Brāhmaṇas, leading men and heads of families were informed of the transaction possibly to raise objections, if there would have been any.

The above facts unmistakably point to high administrative efficiency of the local governments in the Gupta and post-Gupta period. Nothing is known of the existence of Adhiṣṭhānādhikaraṇa and the procedures of the sale of waste land in the Pāla and Sena periods. Both progress and retrogression are possible in the political system. But it must be observed that the Gupta plates hitherto discovered in Bengal (excepting the Gunaighar plate⁴) and the

1. We accept Mr. Pargiter's interpretation of Mahattara as men of position; leading men; III A. 1900, p. 123, ff. Dr. Bhattasali suggests that Viṣaya-mahattara is to be taken in the sense of Mahattaras in charge of affairs. But "leading men of the district" seems to be a better interpretation. See EI. XVIII, p. 76.

2. *Hindu Revenue system*, p. 205.

3. EI. XX, p. 59.

4. IHQ. 1930, p. 40.

Faridpur plates record transaction between the state and the private persons who purchased lands for donating them for some meritorious purpose. The surviving seal-legends of the Viṣayādhikaraṇa go to show that the highest authority concerned were the district officers. The Pala and Sena grants are royal bequests and to them are attached the seals of their Majesties themselves. The Viṣayapatis figure only as minor officials and it is hardly to be expected that the details of the district government are to be found in them. The Gunaighar plate of Vainyagupta, dated in 508 A.D., which records the grant of land to a Buddhist vihāra by the Emperor himself at the request of a dependent chief like that of the Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla, does not refer to the local officials connected with the execution of the land grants. The same is the case with the Vappaghoṣavaṭa grant of Jayanāga, Tippera grant of Lokanātha and the Asrafpur plates.

While emphasising the silence of the grants of our period on the detailed local administration, it must be noted that in the Pala records Grāmika, Grāmapati, Dāśagrāmika, Mahattaras and others appear as local officials.

Grāmika or Grāmapati—He is the village headman. His office must have been of considerable responsibility. Most probably he was responsible for the collection of royal dues of the village under his care. In the Arthaśāstra and Yājñavalkya he had got police functions, to keep the village free from thieves. He might have tried minor cases too.

Dāśagrāmika—Officer in charge of ten villages, perhaps corresponding to Aṣṭakulādhikaraṇa. He was perhaps to supervise the work of the Grāmikas under him.

Mahattara—In the Khalimpur plate we find both Mahāmahattaras and Mahattaras which go to show that there was some gradation of these officials or semi-officials. In addition to what has already been said of them, it is noted here that in the contemporary Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom in Mahārāṣṭra and southern Guzrat the

Mahattaras constituted village assemblies¹ which looked after and managed the public works of the villages. We have no evidence to show the existence of any village council in Bengal. But it may be presumed that they must have held very important position in the localities.

Lekhaka—He is mentioned only in the Ramganj plate. According to Śukra,² his duty was to keep accounts of income and expenditure, to receive and dispose of goods after making entries in the registers and to carry on correspondence. In the Cola records it was he who wrote the orders of the village assembly.³

Tadā-yuktas and Viniyuktas—Dr. Altekar takes Yuktas or Niyuktas and Upa-niyuktas as officers in charge of the clerical work connected with the village administration.⁴ If this interpretation be correct, Tadā-yuktas and Vini-yuktas of the Pāla grants and Ramganj plate should be taken to be clerical officers attached to various offices. They have been generally mentioned after Viṣayapatis and Uparikas.

Besides these, we have Kṣetrapa, Kṣetrapāla, Prāntapāla, Tarika, Tarapati and various other unspecified officers who were more or less connected with the local government. Their duties and functions will be discussed in connection with the departments with which they were directly concerned.

Town administration and guild organisation

Our records give absolutely no information as to how the administration of towns was carried on. Towns there must have been many. Rāmāvati, Mudgagiri were the headquarters of the Pālas, and Vikrampura of the Candras, Varmans and Senas. The headquarters of the feudatory kings, Bhuktipatis and Viṣayapatis must have had some special arrangements. Nor do we know

1. Dr. Altekar : Rāṣtrakūṭas and their times. p. 205.

2. Śukra. II, 348.

3. SII. II. Ukkal. No. 10

4. Dr. Altekar, Op. cit. p. 197.

anything definitely about the communal organisations like guilds of merchants, of artisans, etc., though they had important corporate functions in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire¹ and the Gurjra-Pratihāra and Gāhaḍavāla kingdoms of Kanauj.² In the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena the scribe Śūlapāṇi has been described as 'Varendra-śilpi-goṣṭhī-cuḍāmaṇi' and it has been suggested that 'śilpi-goṣṭhī' may be taken to refer to the guild of Varendra artists. But it is hazardous to draw any inference from this expression of whose interpretation we cannot be sure.³

Revenue and Expenditure

Great importance was laid on finances by the writers on ancient Indian polity and it is also clear from the fact that three high officers, Mahāmudrādhikṛta, Antraṅga-Vṛhaduparika and Mahākṣapaṭalika who were connected with the finance department, served the central government. In the Pāla records Mahāmudrādhikṛta and Antarṅga-Vṛhaduparika are conspicuous by their absence but we have got another high officer Mahākartāḍikṛta who might have been connected with the revenue administration.

The sources of revenue may be classified under the following heads:—

- (1) Regular Taxes.
- (2) Occasional Taxes and Exactions.
- (3) Fines.
- (4) Income from government properties.
- (5) Tribute from feudatories.

REGULAR TAXES

In the Pāla grants the regular taxes mentioned by name are—
(a) Bhāga, (b) Bhoga, (c) Kara, (d) Hiranya.

(a) Bhāga means the usual grain-share of the king. In the

1. Dr. Altekar, *Op. Cit.* pp. 210, 202.

2. *IHQ.* 1933, p. 121.

3. Mr. N. G. Majumdar, *IB.* p. 45; he takes goṣṭhī in the sense of 'host', 'multitude'.

Kalimpur plate of Dharmapāla an officer named *Ṣaṣṭhadhikṛta* is mentioned, who was most probably in charge of the sixth part of royal grain-share and it seems that the grain-share was levied at the old rate of the sixth part of the produce as recommended in the *Arthaśāstra* and *Smṛtis*.

(b) *Bhoga* means "the periodical supplies of fruits, firewood, flowers and the like, which the villagers had to furnish to the king." It is interesting to note that in the land grants it is specially said that the donee is to have the privilege of the enjoyment of *madhuka*, mango, jackfruit, betelnut and coconut trees. This goes to show that the king had some share from their income. This is further confirmed by the fact that in the *Sahitya Parisat* grant of *Viśvarūpasena* the income derived from the betel-leaf plantations is to be enjoyed by the donee.

(c) *Kara* means tax in general. In the *Arthaśāstra* it has been used to mean three kinds of taxes : (i) periodical tax over and above the king's customary grain-share, (2) emergency tax, (3) tax upon merchant's profits. *Kara* in our period may include taxes not specified in the grants which the people had to pay to the government.

(d) *Hiraṇya* has been explained generally to mean gold. It is always mentioned with *Bhāgabhogakara*. We are inclined to accept the meaning proposed by Dr. Ghoshal that it refers to king's share of certain crops paid in cash¹.

Land revenue was assessed in cash in the Sena period and every grant specifically mentions the income derived from the lands donated in terms of current coins. The incidence of actual taxation cannot be precisely determined at the present state of our knowledge, although the Sena grants describe in minute details the lands granted. The relation between *Bhu-pāṭaka*, *Droṇa*, *Ādhakā*, *Unmāna*,² and *Kāka*, is not known and also between *Purāṇa* and

1. Dr. Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System*. p. 61.

2. In the *Sunderban* plate of *Lakṣmaṇasena* it is said that according to the standard of 32 cubits—1 *unmāna*, and 1 cubit—12 *aṅgulas*.

Kapardaka-purāṇa, nor have we any idea about the approximate value of Kapardaka-purāṇa.¹ But the reference in the Govindapura plate of Lakṣmaṇasena that each Droṇa yielded 15 Purāṇas proves that "standard rates of land assessment were known in this period." It is also clear from the Sahitya Parisat grant that lands having the same area in the same locality were not of equal value as income from them varied and it is quite probable that tax on agricultural land also varied according to its quality and also income from it.

The Gupta plates and the Faridpur plates refer to standard measurement of land, aṣṭaka-navaka-nalāblyam i.e. 8×9 reeds. In the Pāla grants no reference is made to any standard of measurement. It must be noted that the seven Pāla plates that have hitherto come to light record the grant of at least a full village with well-defined boundaries. It cannot, therefore, be concluded that there was no fixed standard of measurement as the occasion perhaps did not arise. The grants of the Candras and the Varmans who flourished in the 10th and 11th centuries respectively in East Bengal "specify the areas of lands granted in terms of the current land measure." The Sena grants clearly show that the standard units of length were not uniform in every locality but different systems of measurement in different parts. Four kinds of measurement are known from the Sena grants—(1) Samataṭṭiyanala² (2) Vṛṣabhaṣan-karanala³ (3) the Nala current in Varendri⁴ and (4) the Nala of 56 cubits.⁵

(e) Uparikara – Dr. Altekar suggests that Uparikara is identical

1. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar suggests that Kapardakapurana is "Purāṇa which is shaped like a Kapardaka or cowrie.....It is a Rūpa class of coinage", "A Purāṇa must contain 52 ratis of silver". Carmichael Lectures, p.89-4 10.

2. The Barrackpore grant of Vijayasena.

3. The Naihati plate of Vallālasena and the Anulia plate of Lakṣmaṇasena. The standard was perhaps named after the name of Vijayasena who had got Vṛṣabhaṣanaka as his virūda.

4. The Tarpandighi plate of Lakṣmaṇasena.

5. The Govindapur plate of the same king.

with Bhogakara.¹ We are inclined to accept the meaning proposed by Dr. Ghoshal that it means the tax paid by temporary tenants², as in the Bhagalpur grant Soparikara is one of the privileges of the donee in addition to the enjoyment of Bhāgabhogakara.

(f) Cauroddharaṇa - In all land grants one of the privileges of the donee is Cauroddharaṇa. Mr. N. G. Majumdar takes it to mean "with police protection", while Dr. Ghoshal takes it to mean "with the exemption from the police tax". It is quite likely that there might have been a general police-tax like modern Caudidari. Other regular taxes are not mentioned in the grants but some of them can be somewhat ascertained from the list of officers and their functions. The mention of Śaulkika and Gaulmika indicates that tolls and customs duties were important sources of revenues. Śulka in the Arthaśāstra stands for duties levied upon articles imported into the city, port dues, duty upon the sale of liquors, customs collected by the ferryman, and boundary officers, duty upon mining products, duty upon imported salt, duty upon animals intended for slaughter. The Tezpur Rock inscription of 829-30 A. D. refers to a legal dispute in Kāmarūpa involving a toll-collector.³ Tarapati and Tarika are ferry-men and this perhaps indicates the prevalence of ferry-duties in the Pāla period. Probably the government regulated ferries either by state or private boats but it is clear that Tarapati and Tarika are royal officers.⁴ In the Manahali grant Śaunika⁵ or the superintendent of slaughter house is a royal officer and the Prāntapāla of the Mongyr plate of Devapāla may be compared with the Antapāla of the Arthaśāstra who is to levy transit duties.⁶ Haṭṭapati or the superintendent of markets is a royal officer mentioned in the Ramganj plate of Išvarghoṣa and it is stated in

1. Dr. Altekar, Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times, p. 216.

2. Dr. Ghoshal, Op. Cit. p. 210.

3. JBORS. 1917. p. 508ff.

4. In Manu a scale of ferry dues from different classes of goods and persons is given. Bk. VIII, 404-6.

5. Śuna means slaughter-house. 'Māṃsa vikreṭari,' Hemacandra.

6. Arthaśāstra, Bk. II, 1,

the Khalimpur plate that income from the markets in the donated land would be enjoyed by the donee.

Gaulmika most probably means overseer or superintendent of forests.¹

Besides these, mention must be made of the superintendents of cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep, etc. and other unspecified Adhyakṣas of the land grants who may be compared with the various superintendents of the Arthaśāstra.²

(2) Occasional taxes and exactions.

(a) Acaṭṭabhaṭṭapraveśa—This expression occurs in all grants and means that the lands granted should not be entered by Caṭṭas and Bhaṭṭas. Caṭṭas and Bhaṭṭas were regular and irregular military and police forces. When they were on march or encamped, the people of the locality had probably to supply their demands and other necessary things.

(b) Apahṛtasarbapīḍā—The lands were granted "with immunity from all burdens." It has generally been taken to refer to forced labour. But it seems Sarbapīḍā has been used in very wide sense and may include many interference by the state, forced labour being one of them. It may also mean dues leviable at the time of the halt or departure of royal officers,³ customary presents to the king or high officers on some ceremonial occasions and emergency taxes of the state mentioned in the Mahābhārata⁴ and the Arthaśāstra⁵ and Śukranīti.⁶ Attention may be invited to the list of oppressors mentioned in four grants of the neighbouring province of Kāmarūpa. In the grant of Bālavarmān (c. 990 A. D.)

1. EI. IV, 259. fn⁹ and Fleet CII, p. 52. n⁴. In the Arthaśāstra Gulmaḍeya means dues paid to the army or police stations. Dr. R. G. Easak takes Gaulmika to be an officer in charge of a Gulma squadron.

2. Artha, Śk. II describes the functions of various superintendents.

3. A. Yādava grant; I.A. XIX, p. 819. Tandontottam plates SII, Vol II, p. 531.

4. Mahā, XII. 87.

5. Artha. V. 2.

6. Śukra, IV. 2, 10.

the list of oppressors consist of the queen, the royal favourites, the eunuchs, the persons pasturing elephants and mooring boats, the officers tracking thieves as well as officers charged with the Uparikara tax and with the Utkheta import. They are repeated in the two grants of Ratnapāla (c. 1010 A. D.) and one grant of Indrapāla (c. 1060 A. D.).

(c) *Pinḍaka*—It is mentioned only in the Khalimpur plate. Kielhorn identified it with *Bhāgabhogakara* and Dr. Ghoshal is of opinion that it probably stands for *Hirāṇya*. In our opinion it is the same as the *Pinḍakara* of the *Arthaśāstra* which, according to the commentator *Bhaṭṭa*, means taxes lived upon whole villages.

(d) *Ratnatrayasambhoga*—It is mentioned only in the Manahali plate of Madanapāla. It is quite likely, as Dr. Ghoshal suggests, that it was probably a contribution from the villages for the support of the Buddhist faith. The Palas were devout Buddhists and great builders. It may be that a tax was lived for the maintenance and upkeep of big Buddhist establishments. But the meaning of the term is far from benign certain and it cannot be maintained that it was a general and regular tax, as it occurs only in one grant.

(3) Fines.

Sahyadaśāparādha—This expression shows that fines were levied for offences. The traditional ten offences are—(a) three offences of the body, theft, murder and adultery, (b) four offences of speech, harsh, untruthful, libellous and pointless words, and (c) three offences of mind, coveting other's property, thinking of wrong and devotion to what is not true. Most probably in our period it stands for judicial fines in general. Donees of the grants enjoyed the income from the fines.¹ It seems, therefore, that justice was also a source of revenue.

1. We cannot accept the opinion of Dr. Ghoshal that the expression *Sahyadaśāparādha* confers upon the donee the right to be exempted from the ordinary penalties for the commission of some of the traditional offences, *Hindu Revenue System*, p. 220.

(4) Income from Government properties, crown lands and other rights of the state on land and water.

It cannot be stated with certainty whether the state had its own lands at this period because no instance of crown land is known. But the possibility is strongly there that the state might have owned some land which had lapsed as heirless property, confiscated properties, lands purchased for state purpose or waste lands brought under cultivation by the government. As regards the general question whether the state claimed to be the proprietor of cultivable land, Dr. Altekar's remarks on this point are applicable in the case of Pala and Sena grants. "The numerous copper plate grants, giving villages to temples and Brahmanas, assign to the donees the government right to the taxes derived from the land and other sources; there is not a single case where the proprietary right in the entire land under cultivation in any village has been transferred to the donee. The plate uses a long series of expressions specifying the right accruing to the donees, but not a single expression is used in any of our grants, suggesting that the donees acquired the proprietary rights in the cultivable lands in the village. Even the right of ejection is nowhere mentioned. It is therefore clear that in our period the state did not claim the ownership of the entire soil of the realm."¹ The fact that Viśvarūpasena should find it necessary to give only detached pieces of cultivable land situated in the different corners of different villages shows that the state was not, and did not claim to be, proprietor of the entire realm. In this grant (the Sahitya Parisat plate of Viśvarūpasena) there are actual cases of previous purchase when land, and not the revenue rights, was assigned to the donees.

Although the proprietorship of cultivable land was not claimed, the state in addition to the taxes and privileges mentioned above probably conceded the following additional rights to the donee. We quote them from the Rampal grant of Śrīcandraśa who ruled in the 10th century in East Bengal. They are Satala, Soddeśa, Sāmrap-

1. Dr. Altekar, *Op. Cit.*

anasa, Saguvākanārikela, Salavaṇa, Sajalasthala, Sagarttoṣara. They are more or less same in all grants. Salavaṇa is only met with in this grant. The Mongyr grant has in addition to them Satriṇa, and Samatsya, the Barrackpur grant of Vijayasena has Sabana and the Naihati grant has Sabhāṭaviṭapa. Messers R. D. Banerjee,¹ R. G. Basak² and N. G. Majumdar have taken Satala and Soddeśa to mean land with bottom and surface, i.e., the with the underground right and the surface right. Messrs G. P. Sarkar³ and K. M. Gupta⁴ take them to mean low and high land. Sāmrapanasa-saguvāka-nārikela means with mango, jackfruit, betelnut and coconut trees. Sajalasthala means with land and water. According to Mr. G. P. Sarkar,⁵ Jala included tanks, wells, lakes, etc., while Sthala probably included various gardens. Sagarttoṣara means with pits and barren land. Salavaṇa means with salt. Satṛṇa and Samatsya mean with grass and fishes, Sabana with forests and Sabhāṭaviṭapa with forests and branches.

Now the question is whether the state claimed some rights over the land and things mentioned above. No definite answer is possible because the above expressions can be taken to be the descriptions of the land granted. But against this view it may be pointed out that in the Arthaśāstra mines, fisheries, salt were state monopolies. In the Gupta period the state was the owner of the waste land.⁶ The most interesting evidence in this connection comes from the Gāhaḍavāla inscription in which Gokara, Jalakara, Lavaṇakara in addition to the reference of state monopoly of mines are taxes that are to be paid to the donees.⁷ With this

1. EI. XV, p. 259.

2. Ibid, XII, p. 35.

3. JDL. XVI, p. 48.

4. IA. XLI, p. 74.

5. See above.

6. EI. XV, p. 189; Dr. Ghoshal. Op. cit, p. 206.

7. IA. XV; EI. IX, No 11; Ibid, VIII, No. 14 D; Ibid, X No. 23; Ibid. XIII. No. 20; Ibid, XI, p. 24; also Tandonotolam plate of Vinayandivikramavarman, SII. 11., p. 531-2.

specific mention of these taxes in the Gahaḍavāla records we are rather inclined to accept the view that the state claimed certain rights over the land and things referred to above and these rights were alienated to the donees. Of course, it is not easy to understand what right the state claimed over the pits, but it must be said that these land grants are title-deeds and therefore legal documents in a sense and as such the description in them should be very wide and general, covering every possible right the state could claim and was prepared to concede to the person in whose favour they were drawn up. Still more difficult it is to explain the significance of another expression 'tṛṇaputi gocaraparyants.' It occurs generally after the description of the boundaries but in the Naihati plate of Vallālasena it occurs among the privileges conferred on the donee. In the Mongyr plate we have Saṭṭṇa. Two interpretations are possible—(1) the lands with boundaries thus defined up to the pasturage, grass, puti plants and grazing ground for cattle, or (2) with the right conceded to the donee over these things. In the Arthaśāstra one of the duties of the superintendent of pastures was to set up pasture lands in troublesome tracts intervening between the village.¹ In the Pāla records Kṣetrapāla and Kṣetrapa whose functions may be compared with those of the superintendent of pasture of the Arthaśāstra are two royal officers. In the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records the right to utilise grass, fuel, etc. growing on the waste land was transferred to the donee.² It is quite likely that the state derived some income from the pasture lands.

(5) TRIBUTES FROM FEUDATORIES

Our information about this source of revenue is wanting. But it is almost certain that the vassal kings paid some tributes to the imperial government in the normal circumstances. It is stated in the Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla that kings of northern India

1. Artha, II 34.

2. Dr. Altekar, *Op. Cit.* p. 241.

who were most probably dependent kings made many presents to the emperor.

Expenditure

No information is available from the land grants regarding the expenditure of the state. The author of the *Arthaśāstra* supplies a list of 18 specified items of expenditure. Besides, gifts to Brahmanas, relief to the poor, the sick and the destitute and pensions to the dependents of dead public servants are also recommended. Śukra's list of expenditure on specified items is interesting for our purpose, as he was a medieval writer.¹ The state expenditure should be in the following scale :— $\frac{1}{8}$ th of the revenue for the army, $\frac{1}{2}$ th for gifts, $\frac{1}{2}$ th for principal officers, $\frac{1}{2}$ th for heads of departments, $\frac{1}{2}$ th for king's personal expenditure and $\frac{1}{8}$ th to be deposited in the treasury. The Pālas and Senas had to maintain huge armies and the constant wars must have been a great strain on their finances. Educational and religious establishments and other public works associated with the names of the Pāla and Sena kings also cost the treasury. Both the Pālas and Senas granted many plots of lands to the Brahmanas and for other meritorious purposes.

The Military

Very few things regarding the army department are known from the inscriptions. The following officers and their functions, as can be suggested from their names, will give some idea about the organisation of the army.

The highest officer of the army department was Mahāsenāpati or commander-in-chief who was, as we have already stated, one of the members of the ministry,

Mahāpādamulika—He is mentioned in the Ramganj plate of Śivaraghoṣa after Mahāsenāpati. The technical meaning is not known. In the *Arthaśāstra* Pādika is a military officer and Mūla

1. Śukra. I. p. 315-6,

means hereditary troops.¹ It can be therefore suggested that he was in charge of infantry or hereditary troops.

Mahābhogapati or Mahābhogika—Dr. R. G. Basak takes him to be the chief groom but does not cite any authority. He is always mentioned along with the army officers. Bhoga is the technical name of a particular kind of array of soldiers in the Arthaśāstra.² Therefore he can be taken to be a military officer.

Mahātāntrādhikṛta—He is also mentioned with the army officers in the Ramganj plate. In Monier Williams's dictionary one meaning of the word Tantra is an army. He may also be taken to be an army officer.

Mahavyūhapati—Officer in charge of arrays.

Mahādaṇḍanāyaka—In the Arthaśāstra Nāyaka is a military officer. "Caturāṅga valādhyaḥṣa senānī daṇḍanāyaka"—Hemacandra. Some scholars have taken him to be a judicial officer. According to Mr. R. D. Banerjee, he is the chief criminal judge.

Nāvādhyaḥṣa—Mentioned in the Pāla grants. He was probably the head of the navy.

Mahāsāmanta—He was perhaps the head of the Samantas (feudatories) but is a regular officer in some of the Pāla grants. He probably enjoyed high military rank.

Mahāpīlupati—Officer in charge of the elephants.

Mahāgaṇastha—According to Amara, 27 elephants, 27 chariots 81 horses, and 135 foot-soldiers constitute one Gaṇa. The officer in charge of a Gaṇa was called Gaṇastha. 1 chariot, 1 elephant, 3 horses, and 5 foot soldiers was called a Paṭṭi. 3 Paṭṭis formed one Senāmukha and 3 Senāmukhas one Gulma and 3 Gulmas one Gaṇa.

Koṭṭapati—Officer in charge of forts.

Prāntapāla—Mentioned in the Pāla grants. He is the officer

1. For every ten members of each of the constituents of the army, there must be one commander called Pādika; ten Pādikas under a Senāpati; ten Senāpatis under a Nāyaka. Artha. X. 6.

2. Wings and front, capable to turn against an enemy, is a snake-like army (Bhoga), Artha XI. 6.

in charge of frontier fortresses. Vṛhadhanuṣka—the chief archer (Rānganj plate).

Besides these, we have Nauvala—hastyāśva—vyāpṛtaka—officers in charge of the navy, elephants and horses. The Pālas and Senas were constantly at war with their neighbours and the Pālas were the rival of the Pratihāras of Kanauj and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mālkhed for the overlordship of Northern India. The army must have received the utmost attention of the monarchs because it was the mainstay of their power and prestige. It is also clear from the account of the Muslim writers¹ that the Pālas maintained huge armies. The merchant Sulaiman observes that “the king of Rahma (Bengal) had great strength in troops, elephants and horses. His troops are more numerous than those of the Balhara (the Rāṣṭrakūṭas) and the king of Jurz (Gurjjaras). It is told that the Barua king of Kanauj (the Gurjjara-Pratiharas) keeps four armies in the four quarters. Each of these numbers 7 to 9 lakhs of men. Coming to the details of the army of Rahma the same writer says, “When he goes out to battle, he is followed by about 50,000 elephants. There are from ten to fifteen thousand men in his army who are employed in fuelling and washing clothes. Sulaiman’s account seems to be based on exaggerated report. In Ibn Khurda’s account the number of the elephants is 5,000. In the Arthaśāstra the army consisted of four classes of soldiers—(1) Maula, (hereditary), (2) Bṛtaka (mercenary), (3) Śrenī (corporation) and (4) Aṭavi (wild tribes). In

1. The following observations of the Muslim writers go to show the identification of the Pāla king (or kingdom) with Rahmi. The kingdom of Rahmi “extends both along the sea and the continent. It is frequently at war with Balhara (the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king and the Gurz (Gurjjaras) on whose kingdoms it borders. It is bounded by an inland kingdom called Kamrun (Kāmarūpa.)” “There is a stuff made in this country which is not found elsewhere so fine and delicate that a dress made of it may pass through a signet ring. It is made of cotton”. This of course refers to famous muslin. As all these descriptions agree well with the Pāla kingdom, we have got no hesitation in identifying Rahma with the Pāla kingdom. For the account of Muslim writers, see Elliot, *History of India*, I, p. 5, 25, 86.

the period under review it seems that the army also consisted of four classes of soldiers. The office of Mahāpādamulika suggests the existence of Maulabala. It is interesting to note that in the list of soldiers from many countries Gauḍas also figure in the Pāla grants and it is quite possible that Gauḍa forces were Maulabala. It is clear from the Pāla inscriptions that the Pālas recruited soldiers from many countries. In all grants soldiers of Malava, Khasa, Hūṇa, Kulika, Karṇāta, Lāṭa are referred to. The Nālandā grant of Devapāla adds the name of Oḍra and the Manahali plate Coḍa. It seems, therefore, that the Pālas had to depend mainly on mercenary soldiers who were recruited from every possible quarter. In this period the feudatories supplied soldiers to the suzerain. Rāmapāla was assisted a great deal by the forces and resources of the Sāmantas in his suppression of the Kaivarta revolt. The same monarch in order to secure the help of the feudatories allied himself with the Sāmantas of the forest regions.¹

The Muslim writers and the epigraphic records all refer to the elephants, horses and infantry and this is also corroborated by the evidence of the Rāmacarita. Rāmapāla prepared for his expedition with these threefold forces.² Thus it seems that of the traditional caturaṅga forces the chariots were abandoned.³ According to the testimony of the Muslim writers, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas possessed the best infantry because their seat of the government was in the mountains and the Gurjjara-Pratihāras had the finest cavalry. But the elephant forces of the Pālas were the largest. The Pālas counted a great deal in their wars on the elephants. So much so they depended on this force that Al-Masudi remarks that Rahma (the Pāla king) takes field only in winter, because elephants

1. Rāmacarita 1/43.

2. Ibid 1/45.

3. The formidable array of the mighty elephants, horses and chariots of Dharmapāla have been mentioned in the Gwalior Prāsaṣti of Bhoja, (EI, XVIII p, 101). But much stress cannot be laid on it, as the composers of prāsaṣtis described army from traditional military phraseology.

cannot endure thirst and can only go in cold season. The mighty elephants of Bengal were a dread to foreign powers. It is stated in the Bargaon grant of the Kāmarūpa king Ratnapāla that the walls of the impregnable fort built by him are so strong that they would give fever to the heads of the untameable elephants of the Gauḍa king.¹ This is an eloquent testimony to the strength of the elephant forces of Bengal.

Cavalry was not neglected. The Pālas and Senas had to undertake military campaigns in foreign countries and the former was at constant struggle with the Pratihāras who were strong in cavalry. Bengal had no good breed of horses. Horses were imported from foreign countries. It is said in the Mongyr plate of Devapāla that the horses met their old mates in the Kamboja country. Kamboja was reputed for the finest breed in ancient times.²

The actual methods of warfare are not known but the existence of the offices of Mahāvīhapati and Mahābhogika would go to indicate that soldiers were arranged in different arrays as would suit the circumstances. It is also clear from the statement of Al-Masudi that the army had a large number of camp-followers, though the approximate number 15,000 given by him seems to be considerably exaggerated. Innocent lives and property of the gods and Brahmanas were honoured. It is important to notice that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Śivarāja who led the vanguard of Rāmapāla's army enquired about particular villages and Viṣayas in order to ensure the safety of the properties of the temples and Brahmanas.

Navy

Bengal is the country of big rivers and has an extensive seaboard. A mercantile navy was indispensable for commerce and trade in different parts of the country and with coastal countries. It is evident from the evidence recorded by Fa-hien, Yuan Chwang

1. JASB, LXVII, p. 115-18.

2. Artha, II. 30.

and the Nālandā plate of Devapāla that there was regular intercourse with the Far Eastern countries. Writing about 912 A.D., Ibn Khuridan remarks that between Rahmi and other kingdoms communication is kept by ships. Ship's mast and harbours are referred to in the Faridpur grants of Dharmāditya.

The navy was not only necessary for commerce and trade but it was also extremely useful both for defence and offence in Bengal. The Bengal kings always maintained a fleet. The camp of victory at Kripura in the Gunaighar inscription of Vainyagupta, dated in 508 A. D., is described as full of ships, elephants and horses. The Haraha inscription of the Maukhari king Išānavarman¹ refers to the Gauḍa people as 'Samudrāśrāyān'. Attention may be invited to the story of colonisation of Ceylon by prince Vijaya of Vaṅga which must have taken place² before the time of Aśoka and to Kālidāsa's remarks³ on the nautical resources of Bengal. The importance of Nāvādhyakṣa and nau-vala-vyāpṛtaka needs hardly to be emphasised. In every Pāla grant the royal fleet is first mentioned in the description of the camp of victory. The royal camp at Pāṭaliputra is thus described in the Khalimpur plate: "Sa-khalu Bhāgirathi-patha-pravattamāna nānāvidha-nauvāṭaka-sampādita-setubandha-nihita-śaila-śikhara-śreṇī-vibhramata". The Kamauli plate records a naval victory won by Kumārapāla's minister and general Vaidyadeva. It is known from the Deopara plate of Vijayasena that he sent a fleet to meet the pāścātyacakra. A sudden cavalry raid proved disastrous for the Senas who were ousted from western and northern Bengal within a very short time but perhaps for their navy the descendants of Lakṣmaṇasena could maintain themselves in east Bengal for a long time. Nothing illustrates more forcibly the supreme necessity of a fleet in Eastern

1. EL vol. XIV. 117.

2. Early Seamen of India, Asutosh Jubilee Volume, *Orientalia*, Pt. 2. p. 105

3. Raghuvamśa IV. 36

Bengal than the fact that the Delhi Sultan Balban in his expedition in 1183 A. D. against the rebellious governor, Tughril Khan, had to seek the assistance of Danuja Rāja of Sonargaon in order to prevent his escape by boat.¹

Defences

The Jayaskandhāvāra or the camp of victory from which the royal grants were issued seems to have been well-protected and strongly fortified. Mudgagiri (modern Mongyr) was perhaps the strategic point, where the Palas concentrated their forces to check the Pratihāra advance, because it is the Jayaskandhāvāra in three Pāla grants.² Pāṭaliputra is the camp of victory in the Khalimpur plate and Vilāsapura was at the time of Mahipāla. Madanapāla issued his grant from Rāmavati, the city built by his father Rāmapāla. The Sena grants upto the time of Lakṣmaṇasena were issued from Vīkramapura and during the the time of Keśavasena the camp of victory was at Phalgugrāma, probably somewhere in Eastern Bengal.

It seems that the Senas had their administrative headquarters at three strategic points. The Pāla power was set at naught twice in East Bengal—first by the Candras and then by the Varmans and Vikramapura was the capital of both these powers. The Senas by establishing their headquarters at Vikramapura removed that danger. A strong and well-fortified Gauḍa or Laknauti was extremely useful to check any foreign invader from the west, advancing along the banks of the Ganges through the Rajmahal hills as the advance and occupation of northern Bengal by the Pratihāras would show it. Again, it would have been advantageous with headquarters at Nudiah (Navadwip?) to oppose any foreign power advancing through southern Bihar and Birbhum as the Paikore inscription of the Cedi Karna would indicate it. This would also serve the purpose of checking any invasion through Orissa and Midnapore.

1. Elliot, vol. III p. 196.

2. This is also corroborated by the evidence of the Jodhpur inscription of Pratihāra Bauka which records a Pratihāra victory at Mudgagiri over the Gauḍa king.

Besides, forts were constructed at strategic points both for external and internal defence. The provincial governors and district officers must have some garrisons under them for maintaining peace and tranquility of the realm.

Military Secretariat

In the Ramganj plate of *Iśvaraghoṣa Mahāvalādhikaraṇika* is an important officer. The name itself would go to suggest that he was in charge of the military secretariat. This indicates in a way that every important department had a different secretariat of its own. *Mahāvalakoṣṭhika* is also an officer of the military department in the same inscription. He may be taken to be the officer-in-charge of the armoury. One of the clay seals of the Gupta period discovered by Bloch at Basrah in 'Tirabhukti refers to *Raṇabhāṇḍāgārādhikaraṇa*.' Dr. Ghosal takes it to mean the office of Treasure of the War Department and remarks that this slight hint is sufficient to show that in the provinces (and almost certainly in the central government as well) the department of the military finance was separated from that of civil finance. This conclusion can hardly be accepted as the interpretation of the word '*Raṇabhāṇḍāgārādhikaraṇa*' as the office of armoury keeper or the commissariat seems to be more probable.

Police Department

It has already been stated that there was probably a police-tax for maintaining the police force. *Caurodharaṇika* and *Daṇḍapāśika* figure in almost all grants and seem to be high police officers. Though the function of *Caurodharaṇika* cannot be precisely ascertained, he was in all probability in charge of all criminal matters under his jurisdiction. *Daṇḍika*, *Daṇḍapāṇi* or *Daṇḍapāśika* also seem to be police officers.

The functions of *Grāmika*, *Dāśagrāmika*, *Kṣetrapa* have been discussed elsewhere. In addition to their duties already observed, it may be noted here that they might have policing duties also. In the *Arthaśāstra* the *Vivitabhārtā*, guardian of pasture land, is to

examine *inter alia* the passports of those lurking on out of the way tracts, to make the lower forest region safe from thieves, to ensure security against thieves, to escort caravans and to protect cattle.¹ The village headman is to compensate the caravan for theft or removal of their goods at night within the village limits, the superintendent of pastures is to be liable for their loss within the village boundary, while the officer charged with the arrest of thieves in other cases. If the loss of merchandise occurs in such parts of the country as are not provided even with such security, the people in the boundaries of the place shall contribute to make up the loss. If there are no people in the boundaries, the people of 5 or 10 villages in the neighbourhood shall make up the loss.² Dr. Altekar draws attention to a 12th century inscription of Rajputana which embodies an agreement on the part of the townsmen of a city that they would be responsible for any thefts that might occur in their town. The king of the place had made arrangements about the watch and ward of the place.³

It will not be out of place here to discuss the position and function of another officer variously designated, *Dauṣādhhanika*, *Duḥsādhyasādhhanika*, *Dauṣādhhyasādhhanika*. He always figures before *Caurāddharāṇika*. That he was an important officer is clear from the fact that the epithet 'mahā' is affixed to him. Dr. R. G. Basak takes him either to be a porter or superintendent of villages. It is not known what is the technical meaning of the term. The literal meaning is that one who is entrusted with difficult undertakings. We would rather suggest that he was the superintendent of spies whose functions and importance in the work of the government have been so much emphasised by the author of the *Arthaśāstra*. He might have been connected with many departments but certainly very intimately with the police department.

1. *Artha*. II. 84.

2. *Ibid.* IV. 13. The liability of the three officers, the guardian of the pasture land, village headman and *Caurarajjuka* is repeated in *Yājñavalkya*. II. 271.

3. *EI*. XI. p. 40.

It is quite probable that the police officers mentioned above were under provincial governors, district officers and officers in-charge of cities.

Besides these, mention may be made here of some of the officers who are body-guards and the like of the kings, chiefs and officials.

Antaḥpratīhāra—probably guard of the inner palace.

Ābhyantarika—probably a class of royal servants of the harem.

Vāsagārika—probably in charge of the royal palaces.

Śīrorakṣika—probably a class of body-guards.

Khaṇḍagrāha—It is probably the same as *Khaṇḍaraka* of the Chamba inscriptions. which, according to Dr. Vogel, means a class of body-guards carrying swords.

Aṅgarakṣas—body-guards.

Ārohakas—royal guards on horse.

Judicial Department

Very few facts regarding this important branch of administration are known. Some judicial officers no doubt figure in the inscriptions but their duties and functions are not precisely known. *Mahādharmādhyakṣa* or the chief judge was at the central government. The king with some selected officials might have tried important cases. The provincial governors and district officers might have some judicial functions.

Mahādaṇḍanāyaka—He may be taken either to be an army officer or a judicial officer.

Dāśaparādhika—The officer who tried cases connected with traditional offences. He is mentioned only in the Khalimpur plate.

*Pramātrī*¹—The dictionary meaning is proving, evidence,

1. Dr. Beni Prasad takes *Pramātrīs* to be surveyors and measurers but does not cite any authority. *State in Ancient India*, p. 299. In the Madhuban plate of Harṣavardhana the *Pramātrīs* are mentioned after *Dausādhanikas* and the *dūtaka mahāsāmanta*, mahārāja Skandagupta has also the title *pramātrī* EI, Vol. I, No. II.

who or what is proof or authority. He may be taken to be a judicial officer.

Aṅgikaraṇika—The officer in charge of oath. He was, therefore a judicial officer and has been mentioned only in the Ramganj plate.

Daṇḍika, Daṇḍaśakti, Daṇḍapāṇika, Daṇḍapāśika—we have suggested that they were probably police officers. **Daṇḍa** means punishment and therefore can equally be taken to be judicial officers.

Miscellaneous officers

The functions of the following officers cannot be explained either etymologically or technically: **Ekasaraka, Autthitāsānika, Thakura, Mahākaṭuka, Śāntakika**. All of them figure in the Ramganj plate. In the same record **Karmakāra** is mentioned as a royal officer. Most probably he is a state artisan. **Ekapātra** occurs in the Sunderban plate of **Dommaṇapāla**.

Feudatories

Most of the ancient Indian empires had feudatory rulers under the central government. The Pāla and Sena kingdoms were no exception to this general feature. Some parts were under the direct administration of the imperial government and some parts under subordinate chiefs. In almost all grants the following personages enjoying royal or semi-royal status are mentioned.

Rājan—Vassal kings.

Rājanyaka—One having the status of a Rājā.

Rāṇaka—He figures after the royal consort. According to Dr. Basak, Rāṇakas were a class of subordinate chiefs.

The most curious fact is that these three royal personages are also mentioned in the Rāmganj plate of **Mahāsāmāntādhipati Dommana pāla**, who were, as it appears from their titles, mere feudatory rulers. This can of course be explained by the assumption that feudatory rulers had got subordinate chiefs under them and that they had pretension to semi-independent position or royal status in the extra-

ordinary political circumstance.¹ The list of officers in these two grants goes to show that the government of the feudatories was replica of the imperial system.

The Gunaighar grant of Vainyagupta shows that the vassal princes sometimes accepted office under the central authority. The frontier king Mahārāja Vijayasena, dātaka of the grant, was officer in charge of the elephants and had three high-sounding titles. In the commentary of the Rāmacarita the vassal rulers are called Sāmantas. In the Vappaghoṣavaṭa grant of Jayanāga a Sāmanta was in charge of a Viṣaya. It cannot be definitely stated whether Raṇasūra of Dakṣiṇa-Rūdhā, Dharmapāla of Daṇḍabhukti, Govindacandra of Vaṅgāladeśa were feudatories under Mahīpāla I. They might have fought against the Cola² emperor either on their own account or for Mahīpāla I. It is clear from the Baghaura image inscription of

1. Mr. R. D. Banerjee suggested that palaeographically Iśvaraghoṣa should be placed before Vijayasena and Vallālasena (Banglārā Itihāsa, p. 330,). Mr. N. G. Majumdar remarks that the characters of the Ramganj plate represent a variety of northern alphabets which is evidently earlier than those used in the Sena grants and akin to those found in the copper-plates of the later Pālas, e. g. the Bangar grant of Mahīpāla I and the Amgachi grant of Vīrahaṇḍya (p. 149), Mr. N. N. Vasu has rightly pointed out that Dhekkari, from where the grant was issued, is to be located in the Goalpara district of Assam and the river Jotoda, according to the Kālikāpurāṇa, flowed through Kāmarūpa. The characters of the Ramganj plate have close resemblance with those of the Puspabhadra plate of Dharmapāla who flourished towards the close of the eleventh century A. D. Iśvaraghoṣa was most probably a feudatory ruler on the north-eastern frontier of the Pāla empire and issued his grant during the troublesome days of the Kaivarta revolt. This is in a way strengthened by the fact that after the suppression of the Kaivarta rebellion Rāmapāla sent a general to conquer Kāmarūpa (Rāmacarita, 3/47). Dommanapāla granted his charter in 1196 A. D. i. e., just on the eve of the Muslim conquest when the central government perhaps became weak. The fact that these two chiefs were bold enough to issue their grants without any reference to the paramount power perhaps indicates that their attitude was defiant to the imperial power.

2. Trimulai Rock inscription of Rājendracola E1, IX, p. 229.

the 3rd year of Mahīpāla I¹ that his sovereignty was acknowledged in East Bengal. Daṇḍabhūki and Dakṣiṇa-Rādha appear to be small principalities. All these suggest that the chiefs of these places must have had an overlord, though there is no evidence to prove Mahīpāla's authority over them. The existence of the subordinate chiefs is definitely proved by the evidence of the Rāmacarita and the commentator gives a list of 14 such rulers who helped Rāmapāla in the recovery of Varendra from the Kaivartas.

The Pāla kings like Dharmapāla and Devapāla conquered many kingdoms of north-western India. The policy adopted towards a conquered country seems to be what was advocated by Manu. The conqueror should not annex the enemy's state but should appoint a near relative of the former ruler as his own nominee on the throne. The contemporary Muslim writer Sulaiman writes, "When a king subdues a neighbouring state in India, he places over it a man belonging to the family of the fallen prince, who carries on the government in the name of the conqueror. The inhabitants would not suffer it to be otherwise." If the identification of Indrayudha of the Jaina Harivaṃśa with Indrarāja of the Bhāgalpur grant be correct, the placing of Cakrāyadha on the throne of Kanauj by Dharmapāla perhaps points to that fact.

The control exercised by the paramount power varied according to circumstances. If the central government was strong, the subordinate rulers paid customary obedience to the imperial court. Most probably fiscal dues were regularly sent to the imperial exchequer. Nothing particular is known of the relation between the imperial power and the feudatories. The Agnipurāṇa enjoins the following duties on the part of the feudatories which may be taken to be the relation in normal circumstances. "In times of war the feudatories must be at the beck and call of the sovereign. They should mark out the sovereign's friends from his foes. They should rally supporters to king's banners and

1. E1. XVII, p. 353.

collect troops for him. They should appease the public feeling for him. They must help him with their resources."¹

The Chatsu inscription of Bālāditya records the services of a line of feudatory rulers to the Pratihāra empire.² Sulaiman observes that the ambassador from the imperial court was received with great respect in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire and the ambassadors like modern Political Agents in Native States exercised general powers of superintendence. The same practice might have been in vogue in Bengal.

But when the imperial power was weak, the feudatories tried to assume semi-independent attitude. Nothing illustrates more clearly the changed attitude of the Sāmantas of the Pāla empire than that Rāmapāla had to secure their service after a great deal of persuasion. In ordinary circumstances it is to be expected that they would stand by the dispossessed prince in the critical period of the Kaivarta rebellion. Rāmapāla had to meet personally the principal Sāmantas³ and implore their assistance which he secured with the promise of further increase of territory and reward of money.⁴ If the arms and resources of the vassals were a strength to the imperial power, they were also a source of weakness. Rebellions and risings due to general discontent or weakness of the central government would be generally under the banner of a feudatory chief. Most probably the ambitious Kaivarta chief Divvoka was a subordinate chief of the Pālas, who, taking advantage of the misgovernment of Mahipāla II and consequent general discontent, raised the standard of revolt and ousted the Pālas from Varendra for a considerable time. The powers and prestige of powerful chiefs were sometimes a challenge to the imperial power.

1. Agni Purāṇa, Ed. Manmatha Dutt CCXLI, 16-26.

2. EI, XII, p. 11.

3. Rāmacarita, 1/43.

4. Ibid, 1/45.

It will be interesting to note the following grades of rulers in which they are classified by the author of Śukranīti :—

Designation	Annual Revenues of Karṣas.
1. Sāmanta	1 to 3 lacs.
2. Māṇḍalika	3 to 10 lacs.
3. Rājā	10 to 20 lacs.
4. Māhārājā	20 to 50 lacs.
5. Svarāṭ	50 to 100 lacs.
6. Samrāṭ	1 crore to 10 crores.
7. Virāṭ	10 to 50 crores.
8. Śārvabhauma	Universal monarchy.

Some general observations

Summing up the principles of Hindu government (which are equally applicable in the case of the Pāla and Sena governments), Dr. Beni Prasad observes, "The principles which underlay the Hindu system of governance bear a partial resemblance to the principle of medieval European polity. It was saturated through and through with the principles of what for convenience may be called federal-feudalism.....When applied to ancient India they must be shorn of their European association.....They are only meant to imply that, as a rule, a Hindu kingdom comprised a number of feudatories who enjoyed varying degrees of autonomy, that they themselves might have sub-feudatories of a similar status under them and so on to the third, fourth or fifth degree. A big empire was partly a series of alliances, partly a series of relationships of suzerainty and vassalage and partly an area of directly administered territory.....Under every regime, suzerain or feudal, the village was the ultimate unit of the society. It enjoyed a sort of social or legal autonomy, and was administered, at least from the Gupta period onwards, in consultation with village elders. Here was another type of localism. Finally, there were a number of associations and corporations, religious, economic and social, which enjoyed a fair degree of autonomy."

"The Hindu state recognised no restrictions on its activities...

From time to time it elected to propagate Dharma, to inculcate and enforce morality, to maintain or improve the social order, to encourage learning, education and art, to subsidise various academies, to regulate industry and commerce, to foster agriculture, to relieve the distress from famine and calamities, to establish hospitals, rest-houses, charity halls, etc. All this it essayed to do in addition to its primary functions of defence, order and justice." These are not mere generalizations without having any foundation on real state of things. The various religious missions to Tibet in the Pāla period, the donations to *nitipāṭhakas*¹ and to learned and pious men, the assurances² in the Pāla grants that the kings followed the spirit of the *Śāstras*, controlled those that swerved from the path of righteousness and kept the castes confined to their respective spheres of activity, the control exercised on the great universities like Nālandā, Vikramaśīlā and Jagaddala by appointing their heads and conferring degrees on great scholars, construction and maintenance of these monasteries as the recent excavations at Nālandā and Paharpur have revealed and the various public works still associated with the name of the Pāla and Sena monarchs—all these clearly prove that the government exerted their utmost for the welfare of the people in almost every sphere of activity.

This wide scope of activity of the state raises the question of checks on the powers of the king. Theoretically the king's power was unlimited. No doubt he had the ultimate authority in shaping the policy of the state. But the ministers and high officers of the state had some voice. It was they who advised and who executed the decisions of the king. Great ministers like Garga, Darbhapāṇi and Vaidyadeva were highly respected by the monarchs and certainly they influenced the state affairs of their time. We have one king, namely, Mahīpāla II, who did not pay heed to the counsels of the ministers and the result was misgovernment

1. Edilpur and Madanpara grants.

2. Mongyr and Nālandā grants of Devapāla, the Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇpāla and the Amgāchi plate of Vigrahapāla III.

and and Kaivarta revolt which cost him his life and throne.¹ A king, however autocratic he might have been, did not try to change the political system itself. He could by his temperament and predilections influence the administration of his reign, but the polity itself remained unchanged. The king was the protector, preserver and promoter of the society, religion and the body politic but not the maker of it. So far as the society and religion were concerned, the Śāstras and the religious books were the final authority. The repeated assurances by the Buddhist Pāla kings that they followed the spirit of the Śāstras, controlled those that swerved from the path of righteousness and kept the castes confined to their respective duties are not without significance. Customs of the country were always honoured. The presence of powerful feudatory kings served as no inconsiderable check on the king.

It may be argued that the land grants which are the main sources of our information for the administrative system described above are more or less formal in character in the description of the list of the officers. The largest number of officials are mentioned in the Ramganj plate of Mahāmāṇḍalika Išvaraghoṣa. Most probably he was a feudatory chief and assumed semi-independent attitude in abnormal political circumstances when the imperial power was extremely weak. This grant corresponds in this respect to the Panchobh plate of Mahārājādhirāja Mahāmāṇḍalika Saṁgrāmaguptadeva² of about the 12th century A. D. which also supplies a number of officials otherwise unknown. Whatever might have been their political power in actual reality, their political pretension perhaps led them to enumerate as many officers as they could. If their command over so many officers is to be doubted, it would be the natural presumption that their suzerain must have at least these officers under them. It must be observed here that in all grants it has been explicitly said that there were other unspecified officers in addition to the specified ones. Perhaps only the high officials and those that were connected with the execution of land grants and more or less with revenue administration have been mentioned by name.

1. Rāmācarita, 1/31.

2. JBORS, V, p 588.

Some direct and circumstantial evidence goes to show that there was an elaborate and highly organized system working in the Pāla and Sena periods. The following incident from the life of Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna Atiśa recorded by his Tibetan biographer throws interesting light on the duties of a 'tarika' (ferryman) who is a royal officer in the Pāla grants. The Tibetan envoy Nag-tcho, also known as Vinayadhara, who was deputed to invite and escort the great Buddhist patriarch to Tibet, reached the bank of the Ganges, not far from the site of the Virkamaśīlā monastery, in the company of a Nepalese chief about 1035-1040 A.D. during the reign of Nayapala. "It was at sunset that they arrived at the crossing of the river, when a boat with a party of passengers was leaving for the opposite bank. They requested the boatman to take them across the river but he said that he could not do so just then but he would come later on. After dusk the boat returned and first took the prince, who was a great man." It was night and the Tibetan party thought that the boat would not return again and made arrangement for passing the whole night there. At a later hour the boat returned and Vinayadhara said to the boatman,—"I thought you would not come back at this time." The boatman replied, "In our country there is law. Having assured you that I would come, I could not neglect to do so without being liable to punishment." The boatman advised them to pass the night under the turret of the gateway of the monastery as there would not be thieves to disturb them.¹

The descriptions of land in the Sena grants in minutest details according to different standards of measurement in different localities have led one scholar to surmise that there was a general system of land survey and measurement in vogue in Bengal under the Senas.² These land charters were drawn generally in the administrative headquarters and the description of the land donated in minutest possible details suggests that, like the 'pustapālas' of the Damodarapur plates, there must have been record-keepers in the 'viṣayas' at least. The care with which the boundaries have been

1. S. C. Das, *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, p. 57.

2. Dr. Ghoshal, *Op. cit.*, p. 265.

accurately described also supplies a good commentary on the work of those who were entrusted with the execution of these duties.

The efficiency of the army and police is clear from the broad political history of the period under review. The Pālas and Senas were beset with tremendous odds and difficulties from the very inception of their power. No less than twenty-five foreign invasions are alluded to in the records of the contemporary dynasties during the Pāla period.¹ These invaders were great powers like the Pratihāras, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Kalacuris and Candellas. Three times the Pālas were dislodged from their 'janakabhū' Varendra, as the Paharpur inscription of the 5th year of Mahendrapāla, Bangar Pillar inscription of the Kamboja chief and the Rāmacarita show. Yet the plain fact that the Pālas could hold themselves as a great power in north-eastern India for about four centuries demonstrates their military strength. The Senas were also at war with the neighbouring powers, the Gāhaḍavālas, Kaliṅga and Kāmarūpa kings. Like other powers of northern India the Sena power succumbed to the Muslim invasion. But incidental evidences from the Tabaqati-Nasiri go to show that the Hindu kingdom in East Bengal continued to exist for another century after the conquest of north-western Bengal about 1200 A.D. and not less than four expeditions were at least undertaken by the Muslim governors of Gauḍa against East Bengal.² Not only foreign invasions were warded off and internal rebellions suppressed, but the architectural and sculptural remains and literary productions of the period are conclusive proof of the fact that Bengal enjoyed the fruits of peace under the Pālas and Senas—only possible under good government. Good government always implies the efficiency and perfect organisation of the machinery responsible for it.

The recently discovered Irda plate of the Kamboja king Nayapāladeva³ is important for our purpose, as it supplies the

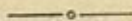
1. IHQ, XII, p. 613.

2. Tabaqati Nasiri, Trans. by Rāverty, p. 587, 132, 714 15, 558. IHQ, XII, pp. 81 ff.

3. I am thankful to Mr. N. G. Majumdar of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, for sending me an advanced copy of his paper on the Irda Copper plate (EI, XXII, p. 150).

names of many new officials. We have suggested that most of the important officers at the centre had separate departments of their own and this is perhaps confirmed by the mention of *adhyakṣa-varggam-akhilam karaṇais-sametam*¹ of this plate. *Senāpātiñ-ca saha sainik-saṁghamukhyaiḥ* shows that there were army guilds which supplied recruits to the army.² *Rtviks* were perhaps learned in, and reciters of, *Rgvedas*. *Dharmajñas* perhaps advised the king in religious matters and morals. *Pradeśṭṛs* are referred to in the *Arthaśāstra* and may correspond to the *prādeśikas* of *Aśoka's* inscriptions.³ *Guḍha-puruṣas* were officers of the secret service and *Mantrapālas* perhaps advised the king in political matters.

The *Mallasarula* plate is also interesting and important in other respects also. As in the plates of the Gupta period and in the *Faridpur* plates, land was not sold by the district government but by the *Mahattaras*. The importance of the *Mahattaras* as a class of officials or semi-officials has been discussed, and from this plate it appears that very *Āgrahāra* had at least one *Mahattara* in this locality. In case of one *Āgrahāra* only two *Mahattaras* have been mentioned. It seems that they sold land in their personal capacities, for this would bring religious merit to themselves as well as to the emperor also. The announcement of this transaction was simultaneously made by the *Mahattaras* and the *Vihādihikaraṇa Vithi* was a small territorial unit and had an *adhikaraṇa* (office). In the list of officers in addition to *Karttākṛtika*, *Kumārāmātya*, *Bhogapatika* and *Viṣayapati* we find also *Audraṅgika*, *Aurṇas-thānika*, *Hiraṇyasamudāyika*, *Pattalaka* and *Avasathika* who are otherwise unknown and therefore their functions cannot be precisely determined. The fact that there existed so many officers of various descriptions in the sixth century clearly points to a highly organised system of government in the *Vardhamanabhukti*.



1. 1. 84. 2. This may correspond to the *Sreṇivāla* of the *Arthaśāstra*.
 3. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, 1936, p. 59. "It is, however, safer, to take *Prādeśika* in the sense of an officer in charge of a Division."

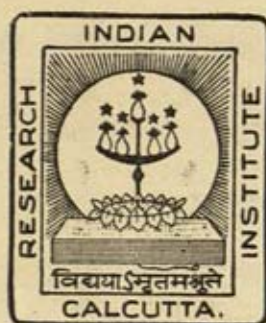
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THE EARLY HISTORY OF BENGAL

(From the Earliest Times to the Muslim Conquest)

Vol. II.



By

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To

Hon'ble Moulvi A. K. Fazlul Huq

Chief Minister of Bengal.

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

A NOTE

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

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

Janmāṣṭamī Day.	}	SATIS CHANDRA SEAL.
Dated the 26th August, 1940.		
THE INDIAN REASEARCH INSTITUTE, Calcutta.		

Errata list

Page	I	Heading	Learning	for Learning
„	4	line 15	omit	In before Dandin
„	8	fn, 5	read	JBORS for JBOSB
„	16	fn, 3	„	Dr. B. Bhattacharyya for Dr. V. Bhattacharyya
„	22	line 25	insert	a, before contemporary
„	28	„ 16	read	priests for priest
„	30	„ 8	„	Yakṣas for Yokṣas
„	48	„ 30	„	Like for lkie
„	88	„ 17	„	Mahāsahasrapramardāne for Mahāsaharapramardāin
„	96	fr. I	„	JASB for SASB
„	99	line 20	„	at for as
„	104	„ 22	„	Viśvakarmāśāstra for Viśvakārma-satra
„	105	„ 2	Insert	a after was
„	106	„ 8	read	Kārtikeya for Kārikeya
„	107	„ 10	Omit	As after vehicle
„	„	fr. 3	read	ASIR for ARIR

Author's Preface

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

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

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

5th June, 1940

P. L. Paul

List of Abbreviations

ASI	Archæological Survey of India (Cunningham)
ASIR	Archæological Survey of India, Reports
BI	Banglara Itihasa
BD. Icon.	Buddhist Iconography
BS.	Bengali San.
CHI	Cambridge History of India
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Indica
DH	Dynastic History of Northern India
DM	Dacca Museum
DMC	Catalogue of the Dacca Museum
DMS	Dacca University Studies
EHI	Early History of India
EI	Epigraphia Indica
ESMS	Eastern School of Mediaeval Sculptures
GOS	Gaekwad Oriental Series
IA	Indian Antiquary
IB	Inscriptions of Bengal
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
IM	Indian Museum.
JASB	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
JBORS	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
JBTS	Journal of the Buddhistic Society
JDL	Journal of the Department of Letters

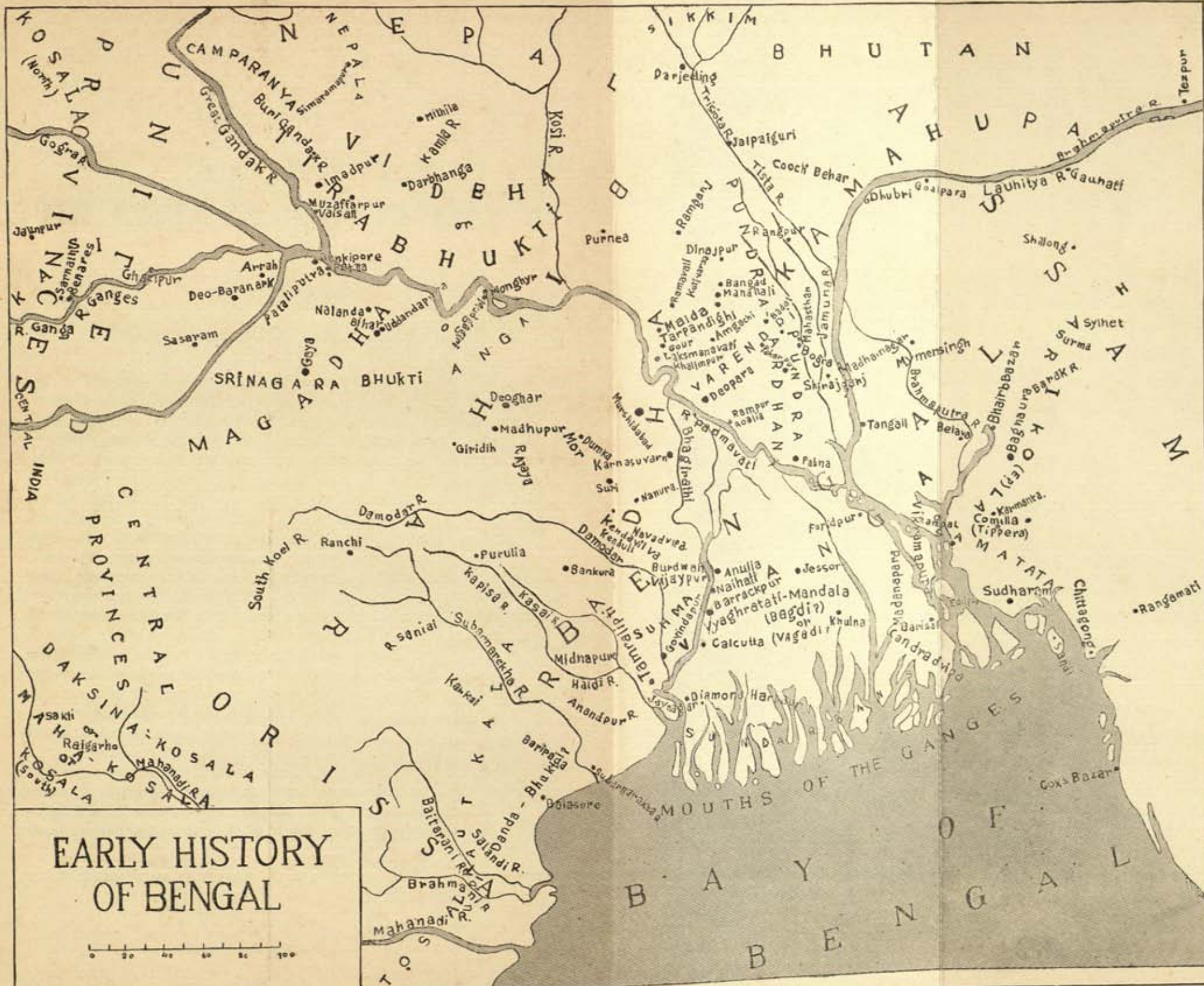
JIH	Journal of Indian History
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
MASB	Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
PHAI	Political History of Ancient India
SBE	Sacred Books of the East
SII	Southern Indian Inscriptions
SPP	Sahitya Parisat Patrika
VJI	Vangera Jatiya Itihasa
VRS	Varendra Research Society
VRSC	Varendra Research Society Catalogue
VRSM	Varendra Research Society Museum
VRSR	Varendra Research Society Reports
VSPC	Vangiya Sahitya Parisat Catalogue
VSPM	Vangiya Sahitya Parisat Museum.

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THE EARLY HISTORY OF BENGAL

CHAPTER VIII

Literature, Learned Men and Centres of Learning

The task of writing the literary history of a particular province is in one way more difficult than that of ancient India as a whole. The question of settling the chronology is common to both. But as many authors are silent on their place of origin, it is sometimes hardly possible to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion on that point. It is not unoften that in order to determine the nativity of an author, we have to rely on his cognomen, the popularity of his work in a certain locality and the provenance of the manuscripts. It is to be admitted by all that in the absence of some other stronger proof the claim of a particular locality or country on the above grounds rests on a very weak foundation. The fact being so, 'provincialism' is sometimes at work now-a-days in claiming the honour of adding many great writers of the ancient period to the native province of some modern writers. Kālidāsa has been claimed by many provinces¹ and the so-called 'internal evidence' has not helped much and on the very same ground a claim has been put forward for the Bengali origin of Viśākhadatta.² The *Vaidika* Brahmanas of Bengal regard Murāri, the author of *Anargha-Rāghava*, as one of their kinsmen, but this cannot be substantiated in any way.

Grammar—The science of grammar was cultivated assiduously. Candragomin, founder of the Cāndra school of grammar, seems to have belonged to Bengal. There were two other Candragomins. One was a logician and another appears to have been a Tāntrika scholar. These three Candragomins have been confused by Tārānātha³ and by the

1. ABI, XI11, pp. 235 ff.

2. JABS, 1930, pp. 240 ff.

3. Tārānātha, pp. 148 ff, 159 ff.

author of *Pag-Sam-jon-zang*.¹ The grammarian Candragomin has been assigned to the period between 450-660 A.D.² and was a contemporary of Candrakīrti. There can be no doubt about the fact that he was the earliest, for the other two flourished in the 10th. century A.D.³ It is definite that the grammarian Candragomin hailed from eastern India and he has been connected by a story with Varendra and Candradvīpa in Tibetan books. Later, the other two were also confused with him. He followed Pāṇini in many respects but he omitted Pāṇinian rules about Vedic grammar in order to make his work free from the "traditional Brahmanical element". The really original contributions of Candragomin amount to about 35 *sūtras*⁴ and these have been borrowed by *Kāśikā* without acknowledgement. Most probably his work was popular with the Buddhists and it is still used in Tibet and in a modified form in Ceylon⁵. It was very popular in Java also⁶.

It has been said that the Buddhist grammarian Jinendrabodhi, the author of *Kāśikā-vivaraṇa-pañjikā* or *Nyāsa*, may be looked upon as a native of Bengal or one who had lived and worked long in that province⁷. The utmost that can be said in the present state of our knowledge is that his work was extensively used and some commentaries were written on it in Bengal. Govardhana, Dāmodarasena and Indumitra are three grammarians who seem to have flourished in Bengal in the eleventh century⁸. Govardhana's *Uṇādivṛtti* is known only from quotations, and Dāmodarasena is the author of *Upādhyāya-sarvasva*. Indumitra is known by his *Anu-nyāsa*, a commentary on *Nyāsa*. It has been suggested that Maitreya Rakṣita, the author of *Tantrapradīpa* and *Dhātupradīpa*, was a northern Bengali Brahmana but nothing can be said in support of this

1. S. C. Das, *Pag-Sam-jon-zang*, pp. 95, 139

2. Belvalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 35.

3. S. C. Vidyabhusana, *History of Indian Logic*, pp. 333-336

4. Belvalkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Journal of Greater India Society*, Vol. III pp. 108 ff.

7. *Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee Volume*, III, p. t. I pp. 194-197,

8. *Ibid.*

conjecture¹. Puruṣottamadeva flourished in the 12th century and in his *Bhāṣāvṛtti* he depended on *Kāśikā* and *Nyāsa*. He was a Buddhist and excluded the texts appertaining to the Vedas. He simplified difficult grammatical rules in such a way as would make them easy to be understood by preliminary students of the subject, and his quotations and illustrations are to the point. Besides this great work, he is credited with the authorship of *Lalita-paribhāṣā*, *Jñānapāka-samuccaya*, *Uṇādivṛtti* and a commentary on *Mahābhāṣya*². Sarṇadeva, another Buddhist grammarian, was the author of *Durghaṭavṛtti*. He was a younger contemporary of Puruṣottamadeva from whom he quoted extensively and was patronised by Lakṣmaṇasena³.

Lexicography—Side by side with grammar, the science of lexicography was cultivated with equal zeal. The earliest writer seems to have been *Vandyaghāṭīya* Rādhīya Brahmana, Sarvānanda. He finished his *Ṭikāsarvasva*, a commentary on *Amarakoṣa* in 1159 A.D.⁴. Puruṣottamadeva's fame does not rest only on his grammatical works; as a lexicographer he is equally famous. His *Trikaṇḍaśeṣa* is not a commentary but a supplement to *Amarakoṣa*. It adds the words that had come into use since Amara's time. Many new names of Buddha, Avalokiteśvara, Tāntrika gods and goddesses are to be found in it, which were not perhaps known to Amara⁵. He was not satisfied with writing a supplementary book but also wrote a separate book called *Hāralilā*. It consists of 278 *Śloka*s and in it are to be found words that were obsolete or were not in common use in his time. In the opinion of Mm. H. P. Sastri⁶ his chief title to greatness lies in the fact that he is said to have composed a separate lexicon on spelling. Spelling in Bengal was greatly influenced by *Prākṛta* and many words were capable of two spellings and double meanings. He laid stress on this aspect and his work was an example

1. Mr. D. C. Bhattacharyya wants us to believe that the name was Rakṣita Maitreya, and as Maitreya was the surname of a gāin of northern Bengali Brahmanas he was a Vārendra. But it is in the least convincing. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Published by Ganapati Shastri, Madras 1911, 1917

5. SPP, 1339, B. S. P. I.

6. Ibid.

of accuracy and preciseness in spelling. Another Buddhist, Maheśvara¹ wrote a book on spelling in 1111 A.D.

Gauḍī-rīti—*Gauḍī-rīti* was one of the principal styles of poetic composition, the other important one being *Vaidarbhī*². *Gauḍī* derived its name from the place of its origin and Daṇḍin calls it *paurastya*, i.e. eastern, and therefore there can be no doubt about the fact that it had its origin in Bengal. Bāṇabhaṭṭa informs us that the people of different places followed different poetic devices and the Gauḍas are fond of the display of bombastic words³. Bhāmaha (7th-8th cent.) distinguishes between Vaidharbha and Gauḍa *Kāvya*s, though he does not use the term *rīti*⁴. He refers to the opinions of previous writers according to which there are differences of manner and treatment but he does not attach much importance to the difference⁵. In Daṇḍin's time (8th-9th) the difference was very wide and marked⁶. In Daṇḍin seems to be very severe in his condemnation of *Gauḍī* which is "loose, more often cumbrous and bombastic, is vitiated by an inordinate craze for verbal juggles and alliteration and casts to the winds clarity of expression and all sense of proportion and welcomes verbosity, pedantry and hyperbole⁷". But it is also clear from Daṇḍin that the Gauḍas laid great stress on *ojas*⁸ and attempted at *arthavyakti*⁹ i.e., explicitness of meaning. Vāmana (9th A.D.), who follows Daṇḍin, admits that *Gauḍī* has two *guṇas*, *ojas* and *kānti*, but is wanting in *mādhurya* and *saukumārya* (tenderness) and is full of harsh-sounding words. Rudraṭa (9th) says that in *Gauḍī* compounds are formed by as many words

1. Ibid.

2. The minor two are Pāncālī and Lāṭī

3. Harṣacarita SI, 7

4. S. K. De, History of Sanskrit Poetics II pp. 100 ff; we follow the dates of the writers on *ritis* as determined by Dr. De. 5. 1, 31-35.

6. Jacobi holds that the Vaidarbhī style which came into existence in the third century A. D. was a reaction against the older and more ornate *Gauḍī* (Mahārāṣṭrī pp XVI): Dr. Nobel also holds that the *Gauḍī* was earlier (Foundations of Indian Poetics, Ch. VI). But Dr. S. K. De maintains that *Gauḍī* is a sign of further development or decadence (History of Sanskrit Poetics, II, p. 116 n).

7. IHQ. III, pp. 377-78.

8. 1, 80.

9. 1, 75

as possible. Rājasekhara (10th) takes the *rītis* as forms of speech without further explaining them, and Mammaṭa considers them repetition of the same consonants. Thus the *rītis* lost their importance as given by Daṇḍin¹.

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

Medical literature—In ancient India importance of the medical science was realised, as *Āyurveda* or the Science of Longevity was called an *Upa-Veda*. Yuan Chwang tells us that great stress was laid on it in the Nālandā monastery². The *Tāntrikas* were expected to have minute knowledge of human anatomy and physiognomy, as they tried to control the senses by regulating breathing and by some process of physical exercises. Mādhavakara, author of *Rug-viniścaya*, or *Nidāna*, which enjoyed all India popularity and was translated into Arabic for the Caliphs of Bagdad in the latter half of the 8th century, has been claimed to be a Bengalee on the grounds that (a) his cognomen was "Kara", (b) his book was extensively used in Bengal and (c) many Bengali words occur in another of his works, *Paryāya-ratnamālā*³. But it has been questioned in the absence of stronger proofs⁴. We are, however, on surer grounds in case of Cakrapāṇidatta. He came of a celebrated family of physicians. His father Nārāyaṇa was the superintendent of the culinary department of the Pāla king, Nayapāla, and seems to be identical with the author of *Ratnamālā*, a medical vocabulary, and with Nārāyaṇa

1. Dr. Nobel, *Foundations of Indian Poetry* pp. 124-5

2. Beal, *Records*, pp. 77-79; *Life*, p. 112

3. IC, III, pp. 153-156 4. Ibid, I, pp. 273-4

Kavirāja who has been quoted in the *Saduktikarṇāmrta*¹. Cakrapāṇi's brother Bhānu has been called an *antaraṅga* which means a physician of a high family². Cakrapāṇi was a prolific medical writer. His famous work, *Cakradatta*, was written on the model of a previous work, *Siddha-Yoga* of Vṛnda, and was meant for medical practitioners. It was very ably commented on by Sivadāśasena of the Pabna district in the 16th century. His *Dravya-guṇa-Saṁgraha* is a glossary of medical drugs and *Śabda-candrikā* is a vocabulary of vegetables and mineral substances. Besides, Cakrapāṇi is credited with the authorship of the *Bhānumatī* and *Āyurveda-dīpikā* which were meant to elucidate the *samhitās* of Suśruta and Caraka³.

We know of another family of celebrated physicians who served in many courts. Bhadrēśvara was the physician of Rāmapāla. His grandfather, Devagaṇa, served in that capacity to Govindacandra who may be identified with the king of that name known from the Tirumalai inscription. Sureśvara, son of Bhadrēśvara, was the important man of this family and was the physician of Bhīmapāla, described as *Pādīśvara*⁴ (lord of Pādī) who cannot be satisfactorily identified. He composed a dictionary on medical botany, called *Śabdapradīpa*, and another work on medical use of iron, called *Lohapaddhati*. Another medical writer called Gadādhara-vaidyā in the *Saduktikarṇāmrta* may be identified with Gadādhara, a commentator of Suśruta⁵. Vaṅgasena, the reputed author of *Cikitsā-sāra-saṁgraha*, was born in the house of Gadādhara and was an inhabitant of *Kāñjikā*⁶. According to Hoernle⁷, his work was a compilation from different medical writers, although he himself declares at the end that his work is a new recension of a previous one, named *Agastya-Samhitā*. Hemādri in his commentary on *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II quotes extensively from Vaṅgasena who can therefore be

1. For the first time suggested by Mr. N. N. Dasgupta, IC, III, p. 156

2. IC, I, p. 684

3. IC, III, pp. 156-58

4. Eggeling, Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss in the India office Library, 1896, Pt. V, pp. 994-5. 5. IC, III, pp. 157 ff.

6. Ibid.; also, IV, p. 109.

7. JASB, 1891, p. 183.

placed in the 12th-13th century¹. The commentaries of Aruṇadatta, Vijayarakṣita, Niścalakara and Śrīkaṇṭha gained great popularity in Bengal but it is not certain whether they were Bengalees².

An interesting work on the taming and treatment of elephants has been ascribed to one Pālakāpya, son of the sage Lomaśa. It is written in *Sūtra* style and Mm. H. P. Shastri assigned it to a period before the Christian Era³, and it was composed where "the Brahmaputra flows and the Himalaya is in the north". Strictly speaking, it was written in Assam. The Pāla kings were strong in elephants and they were a great dread to the other contemporary dynasties. It is therefore quite likely that the science of taming and treating elephants was cultivated in Bengal.

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

Philosophy—Various branches of philosophy were cultivated. According to Sureśvarācārya⁴, the Vedantic work *Gauḍapāda-kārikā* embodied the view of the Gauḍas. It is admitted by all that it is a very old work⁵. Udayanācārya refers to a Gauḍa *Mīmāṃsaka* and his commentator Varadarāja says that it refers to *Pañjikā-kāra*. Therefore Śalikanātha, author of *Pañjikā*, seems to have been a Bengalee⁶. Śrīdharadāsa, author of *Nyāya-kandalī*, hailed from Bhūriśreṣṭhī (in the Hoogly district) in Rāḍha and composed his work in 913 S.E. under the patronage of a local *Kāyastha* chief, Pāṇḍudāsa by name. In his *Nyāyakandalī* there is reference to Śalikanātha and also there are re-

1. IC, III, pp. 535 ff.

2. Ibid, III, pp. 159-160; also IV, p. 275. 3. JBORS, 1919, pp. 307 ff.

4. Naiṣkarnya-siddhi, IV. 41-44

5. IA, 1929, pp. 203-4; Belvalkar and Ranade, Hist. of Ind. Philosophy, II, p. 963.

6. IA, 1929, p. 202.

ferences to two of his own works, *Advayasiddhi* and *Tattva-bodha-saṁgraha-ṭīkā*, none of which is known from any other source. The *Nyāyakandalī* was much used outside Bengal and commented on by non-Bengalee authors¹. The *Tautātita-matatilaka* of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, minister of Harivarmadeva, was a gloss on Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's *Tantravārtika*. Halāyuddha, a judge of Lakṣmaṇasena's court, wrote a work on *Mīmāṃsā*, called *Mīmāṃsā-sarvasva*, which is a running commentary on the *sūtras* of Jaiminī². It has been argued by some writers³ that Śrīharṣa enjoyed the patronage of Vijayasena in the early part of his career, but in his philosophical work *Khaṇḍana-Khaṇḍa-Khāḍya* (in which he criticises the main schools of Indian philosophy) he says that he was honoured by a Kānyakubja king. Therefore this work does not seem to be a production of Bengal.

Smṛti and ritualistic literature—The first Smṛti-writer of note is Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva. His *Karmānuṣṭhāna-paddhati*, also known as *Daśakarma-paddhati*, gives detailed description of the purifying ceremonies of marriage and domestic ceremonies to be performed by the Brahmanas in accordance with the *Chāndogya* schools of the *Sāmaveda*. This work is very important for the *Rāḍhiya* and *Vārendra* Brahmanas, most of whom belong to the *Kaṭhuma-śākhā* of the *Sāmaveda*. His *Prāyaścitta-nirūpaṇa* deals with sins and modes of their expiation. Murder of men, women and animals is called great crimes. Other crimes are the taking of forbidden food and drink, thefts, sexual intercourse with forbidden persons, forbidden marriages, sale of forbidden goods and contact with untouchables⁴. Govindarāja, son of Mādhava Bhaṭṭa, wrote a commentary on *Manusmṛitā* and the manuscript was copied in 1145 A.D. It seems to be a "comprehensive compilation of domestic and social regulations for the Brahmanas of Bengal."⁵

Traditionally Jīmūtavāhana is known as *amātya* and *prāḍviveka* of Vijayasena⁶. He is styled in the colophons *Paribhādrīya Mahāmahopādhyāya* or *Paribhādra-kulāvadhūta*. Paribhadra is the *Pari gāñ* of the *Rāḍhiya* Brahmanas. Mr. M. Chakravarti⁷ draws

1. IC, IV, p. 276.

2. JASB, 1915, p. 328.

3. IC, II, pp. 576 ff. See *infra*.

4. JASB, 1912, pp. 335 ff.

5. JBORE, V, p. 173.

6. Dhākāra Itihāsa, II, p. 334.

7. JASB, 1915, p. 321.

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

Aniruddha-bhaṭṭa was the preceptor of Vallālasena and composed two works on rituals, namely, *Suddhi-viveka* and *Hāralatā*¹. It was at his instance that *Dānasāgara* was compiled by his royal disciple, which deals with various kinds of gifts and ceremonies connected therewith. The composition of the *Adbhutasāgara* is also ascribed to Vallālasena and it deals with omens and portents.

Halāyudha, a judge of Lakṣmaṇasena, was a prolific writer on *Smṛti*. His father Dhanañjaya was also a judge and he himself was at first a *rāja-pañḍita*, *mahāmātra* and finally a *dharmādhikāra*. In some of the introductory verses and final colophons he styles himself 'āvasathika'. If *āvasathika* is a mistake for *āvallika*, he may be identified with *āvallika pañḍita* Halāyudha of the Vātsya gotra, one of the donees of the Sāhitya Pariṣat plate of Viśvarūpasena². His mother belonged to the *Gochasaṇḍi Kula* (identifiable with *Gocaṇḍi*

1. JASE, 1906, p. 158.

2. The suggestion that *āvasathika* is a mistake for *āvantika* is unwarranted, IC, I, pp. 502-6.

gāin of the *Vārendra* Brahmanas of the *Bharadvāja* gotra). It may be that his father was also a *Vārendra*¹. Of all his works, *Brāhmaṇa Sarvasva* is the best known. It deals with the daily rites and periodical *ācāras* of the Brahmanas. He has explained the rites and ceremonies of the Brahmanas in the light of the *Mantra-bhāṣya* of Uvaṭa and the *Gṛhya-mantra-bhāṣya* of Guṇaviṣṇu. This work was meant for the Brahmanas of the *Vājasaneyī Kāṇvaśākhā*. Besides, he is credited with the authorship of the *Vaiṣṇava-sarvasva*, *Śaiva-sarvasva* and *Paṇḍita-sarvasva*. His two elder brothers, Paśupati and Iśāna, also composed several books. In the *Daśakarma-paddhati*, Paśupati is called *Rājapaṇḍita* and it deals with the ten domestic ceremonies according to the *Śukla-Yajurveda*. Paśupati also wrote *Śrāddha-kṛtya-paddhati* and *Pāka-yajña-paddhati*. Iśāna is said to have written a book on rites relating to the *āhnika* of the Brahmanas, called *Dvij-āhnika-paddhati*².

Kāvya—Tradition connects Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa, the author of *Veṇīsaṁhāra*, with Ādiśūra, but this is not corroborated from any other source. Mention may be made here of one Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa of Uttara-Rāḍha, belonging to the *Vātsya* gotra. His son emigrated to Orissa where he figures as a donee of a grant of the eighth century³. But it is to be noted that Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa connected with Ādiśūra was of the *Śaṇḍilya* gotra.

A strong case has been made for regarding Abhinanda, the author of *Rāmacarita*, as a writer who enjoyed the patronage of a Pāla prince named Hāravaṛsa belonging to the family of Vikramaśīla⁴. As Vikramaśīla was another name of Dharmapāla, the suggestion of identifying Hāravaṛsa with Devapāla is reasonable, though this is not corroborated from any other source. Abhinanda who enjoyed an all India fame and has been compared with Kālidāsa⁵ must have produced a work of high poetic merit like *Rāmacarita*. But it must be noted that most of the verses attributed to Abhinanda in the anthologies cannot be traced in *Rāmacarita* and only a few are traceable⁶. Either Abhinanda composed other works or some other verses which

1. Ibid. 2. JASB, 1906, pp: 158A. 3. EI, XXIII, p. 74,

4. Introduction, *Rāmacarita* published in GOS.

5. Ibid. 6. Ibid.

are not yet known, or there was another Abhinanda. It is also to be noted that in the anthologies Abhinanda is occasionally called *Gaudābhinanda*. The father of the author of *Rāmacarita* was Śatānanda, and it is a significant fact that some verses have been attributed to one Śatānanda in *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*, and they either precede or follow those attributed to Abhinanda. It is his father's name that enables us to distinguish him from another Abhinanda, son of Jayantabhaṭṭa, and the author of *Kādambarī-kathā-sāra* and *Yagavāsiṣṭha-sāra*. The family of the latter originally belonged to Gauḍa but migrated to, and settled, in Kāśmīra six generations earlier¹. His grandfather Śaktivarman was the minister of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa and his father Jayantabhaṭṭa was the author of *Nyāyamañjarī*. The author of *Rāmacarita* and the author of *Kādambarī-kathā-sāra* belonged to the same time. *Rāmacarita* fulfils all the tests of a *Mahākāvya* and is written in the *Vaidarbhī-rīti*. It seems that Abhinanda ended his work with the 36th canto, and three other cantos have been added later.

Sandhyākaranandin's *Rāmacarita*² is a unique historical work. It is written in double *en tendre*. In one way it gives the story of the recovery of Sītā by Rāma and in another way it narrates the story of the recovery of Varendra by Rāmapāla from the Kaivarta chief Bhīma. Most of the words used are capable of two meanings and the author has been called "not only a poet but also a linguist." It is very difficult to understand the verses without the commentary which only comes upto the first canto and 36 verses of the second.

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

1. Ibid.

2. Published in MAB, III, pt. I

3. JASB, 1906, p. 157.

sion in it to the Sena dynasty¹. It deals with the story of Nala and Damayanti, and Nala is described as the son of Virasena. It is known from the Sena inscriptions that Virasena of Puranic celebrity was the remote ancestor of the Senas. It may be noted in this connection that the Sarnath inscription of Kumāradevī, queen of Jayacandra, was composed by Śrī-Kunda, a friend of the king of Vaṅga. In *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍ-khāḍya* it is said that he was honoured by the Kānya-kubja king Jayacandra. In the above inscription Śrī-kunda has been described as a "lion to attack the crowds of the elephant like heretics, and as a Rohaṇa mountain of the flashing jewels of poetical composition"². If this has any reference to the above philosophical work and to *Naiṣadhiya*, Śrī-Kunda may be identified with Śrī-Harṣa, though this does not prove his Bengali origin.

Umāpatidhara, the composer of the Deopara *praśasti* of Vijaya-sena, is quoted extensively in *Saduktikarṇāmr̥ta* and hundred verses have been attributed to him³. Referring to himself, the poet says that "his understanding has been purified by the study of words and their meanings" and this is amply proved even from this *praśasti*. Jayadeva is said to have criticised his fellow-poets of Lakṣmaṇasena's court thus⁴—"Umāpati is verbose in style, but devoid of sweet words. Śaraṇa has the merit of composing poems within a short time but his verses are very difficult to be understood. Govardhana is expert in erotic compositions. Dhoyī could remember what he heard but is vain." In *Saduktikarṇāmr̥ta* many verses have been quoted under Śaraṇadeva and Cirantana-śaraṇa all of whom according to Mr. M. Chakravarti,⁵ refer to the same man. The poet Śaraṇa has been identified with the grammarian of the same name⁶. Ācārya Govardhana is known by his *Āryā-saptaśatī* which is full of erotic sentiment.

1. IC, II, 578-9. 2. RI. IX, pp. 323 ff.

3. JASB, 1906, p. 159 ff.

4. Then he praises himself with the remark that Jayadeva alone possesses all the merits of a good poet. I think this verse about his fellow poets and himself is a later interpolation, though it brings into prominence the characteristics of the five poets.

5. JASB, 1906, pp. 173 ff.

6. S. C. Chakravarty, Intro. *Durghaṭavṛtti*, p. 7.

Pavanadūtam of Dhoyī is a *dūta kāvya* and has been written in imitation of *Meghadūta* from which expressions have been sometimes borrowed. In spite of this, he exhibits a good deal of poetic skill. He wrote in an elegant and easy-going language and his descriptions are sometimes "vivid, lifelike and full of pathos."¹ Of all the authors of Bengal Jayadeva is the best known. He was born at Kendubilva in the modern Birbhum district. His *Gīta-govinda* is one of the most popular books ever written in Sanskrit language. It is very sacred to the Vaiṣṇavas. There are very few hearts from which its sweet melody does not get response, and Jayadeva is known as the nightingale of Sanskrit poets.

Besides these, there are many authors like Udayana, Yogeśvara, Bālabhadra, Madhu (*dharmādhikāra*), Vetāla, Vyāsa (Kavirāja) whose verses in praise of the king of Gauḍa or Vaṭudāsa, (the father of the anthologist) have been quoted in *Saduktikarṇāmrta*² They were either poets of Bengal or connected with the Gauḍa court. This anthology deserves more than a passing notice. The work was finished in 1205 A.D.. Vaṭudāsa is called a *mahāsāmanta-cūdāmaṇi* and a friend of Lakṣmaṇasena, and Śrī-dharadāsa was a *mahāmāṇḍalika*. The work contains the names of more than 450 authors and "bears ample testimony to his taste and industry.... the authors have been fairly selected and sorted under different subjects; and they bespeak a fairly wide culture with formation of libraries³".

The above account, incomplete as it is, is sufficient to indicate the extent and nature of the Brahmanical culture in various branches. Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*⁴ twice refers to the extreme popularity of Sanskrit in Gauḍa. From the foreign accounts and epigraphic records we can trace the following centres of learning in different parts of Bengal.

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

1. C. Chakravarti, *Pavanadūtam*, Intro., p. 12.

2. Published by H. D. Sharma; see also JASB, 1906, pp. 157 ff.

3. Ibid., p. 175.

4. Pp. 31, 51.

five capital towns of Bengal that he visited. It-sing learnt the *Brahma* language and science of grammar at Tāmralipti and describes in detail the organisation and working of Bhā-rā-hā monastery there. It is thus clear that Tāmralipti was an important centre of learning in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods.

Bhuriśreṣṭha where *Nyāyakandalī* of Śrīdharācārya was composed was in Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha and it is identified with the Bhursut *parganā* in the Hoogly district. It seems to have been a famous seat of learning. Kṛṣṇa Miśra in his *Prabodha-candrodaya* (it was dramatised in the court of the Candella king Kīrtivarman c. 1065 A.D.) caricatured the pride of Gauḍa philosophers thus, "Gauḍa kingdom is the best; in that the town of Rāḍha is above all comparison; the residence of Bhuriśreṣṭhaka is excellent; there my father is best¹." It is known from an inscription² in the temple at Mandhata in the Central Provinces that Halāyudha, an emigrant from Navagrāma in Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha, composed 64 verses of that record, dated in 1130 V.E. There exists a village named Navagrāma in the *parganā* of Bhursut³.

Siddhala, home of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadēva, is in the Birbhum district, and in the Bhuvanesvar *prastiti* an account of his seven ancestors has been given. The village itself has been described as an ornament of Uttara-Rāḍha and a pride of Āryāvarta. All his ancestors were learned men. His seventh ascendant was the recipient of a *śāsana* of the village Hastinibhaṭṭa from a Gauḍa king, and his grandfather Ādideva was a minister of a Vaṅga king and he himself a *Sāndhivigrahika* of Harivarma-deva. His extant works have already been noted. In the panegyric he is described as 'omniscient'. "Having seen the other shore of the sea of Siddhānta, Tantra and

1. *Prabodha-candrodaya*, Canto II.

2. Hiralal, *Inscriptions of C. P. and Berar.*, p. 84.

3. IC, I, p. 503. Mr. J. C. Ghose refers the date to the Śaka era but without any reason. He is also inclined to regard the three donees of the Mandhata plates of Devapāla and Jayavarman, dated in 1260-61 A. D. as emigrants from Bengal. One of them was an emigrant from Navagrāma, another from Tarkāri and the other from Ghataushari. It is not unlikely that a batch of Bengal Brahmanas emigrated to C. P. after the fall of Nādiā.

Gaṇita, producing world-wide wonder in *Phala-Samhitās*, the maker and proclaimer of a new *Horāśāstra*, he became manifest as another *Varāha* (v.21). In the paths of *Dharma-śāstra*, by composing good treatises he blended old productions. By good glosses elucidating the *Dharmagāthās* of sages, he wiped away doubt on points of legal acts (v.22). In *Mīmāṃsā* he composed, following the sayings of Bhaṭṭa, a guide in which thousands of maxims etc., etc...." (v.23).

In Varendra—The Garuḍa pillar inscription introduces us to a *Sāṇḍilya* family of hereditary ministers of the Pālas. Their political activity has already been noted but their learning also finds a conspicuous mention in this record. Darbhapāṇi was a master of four *vidyās* (most probably the four Vedas) and so also his son Kedārmīśra. Gurava Miśra, minister of Nārāyaṇapāla, was proficient in many subjects, viz., in *Āgamas* (sacred lore), *Jyotiṣa* (astronomy) and in Vedas. He seems to have composed a book on *Śrutis* (v.24). The Silimpur *praśasti*¹ of Prahāsa supplies us with the information of the existence of a learned *Bharadvāja* family and of some villages and localities where Brahmanical learning and rites were in a flourishing condition. The family originally lived in Tarkāri within the limits of Śrāvastī² and migrated to Bālagraṃa in Varendra in the Puṇḍra country and again to an adjacent village named Śiyāmbaka. All these places were abodes of learned Brahmanas and Vedic rites and homas were zealously performed. Palaeographically Prahāsa may be assigned to the eleventh century and his grandfather Tapo-nidhi attained perfection in the doctrines of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. His father Kārtikeya was proficient in *Mīmāṃsā*, *Śrutis* and *Smṛtis*. Prahāsa himself was learned in logic, *Tantras*, and *Dharmaśāstras*. The king Jayapāla of Kāmarūpa tried to induce him to emigrate to that country with the promise of a gift of 900 gold coins and a grant of land yielding an annual income of 1000 coins. This offer was refused. He set up an image of *Varāha* and absorbed himself in pious and charitable activities. In his old age he retired on the bank of the Ganges.

1. EI, X111, p. 283.

For location see *supra*.

BUDDHIST LITERATURE

Mm. H. P. Shastri¹ classified the literature of the Pāla period under four headings—(1) Sanskrit Brahmanic, (2) Sanskrit Buddhist (3) Vernacular Brahmanic² and (4) Vernacular Buddhist Literature. Though we cannot strictly follow this classification, it has got the merit of bringing into prominence the huge mass of Buddhist literature that was produced in the Pāla period. The later Buddhist literature has not yet been adequately studied, and we are not in possession of all the materials. Sometimes discoveries of some important books are announced from Nepal libraries. Many of the books are preserved in the *Bstan-hgyur* some of whose originals seem to have been lost. In studying this vast literature scientifically, there are various difficulties, some of which cannot be at present solved.

The later Buddhist literature is generally *Tantric* in character. Five important centres of Tantrikism were Kāmakhyā, Śrīhaṭṭa, Pūrṇagiri, Uḍḍiyāna and Zāhore. The first two are well-known places, and it is to be mentioned that Śrīhaṭṭa or Sylhet, though at present included in Assam, is linguistically and culturally a part of Bengal. Pūrṇagiri cannot be located. The last two localities are frequently mentioned as important centres of Buddhist Tantrikism and there is considerable disagreement among scholars about the location of Uḍḍiyāna and Zāhore. Uḍḍiyāna³ has been sought to be located in Swat valley, Kasgarh, Orissa, on the north-east fringe of Bengal and in the Chittagong region; and Zāhore⁴ has been identified with Mandi in the Panjab, Lahore, Jessore, Sabhar in Dacca and Sahore in Rāḍha. It is difficult to accept any one of these suggestions in the absence of definite evidence. Apart from the consideration that the stronghold of Tantrik Buddhism was in eastern India, the sug-

1. JBORS, V, p. 171.

2. Mm. H. P. Shastri could not mention any book of this class, though he asserted that there was such a class of literature. Ibid.

3. IHQ, VI, pp. 576ff; Dr. M. Bhattacharyya, *Sādhadāmāitā* (GOS) intro. pp. xxxii-xxxix; IHO, XI, p. 142.

4. Le Nepa, II, p. 177; Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, p. 87 *sādhana-mālā*, Intro., pp. XXVII-XXXVIII; IHQ, XI p. 144.

gestion to locate Uḍḍiyāna in Bengal gains additional support from the simple fact that while Lui-pāda, Sarahā, Advaya-vajra and Tailaka-pāda have been described as of Uḍḍiyāna, they have been again called natives of Bangala¹ (Vaṅgāla?). Again, Śāntarakṣita has been described as a scion of the royal family of Zahore. But according to the *Pag-sam-jon-zang*, he was born in Bangala.² This can be satisfied by locating Uḍḍiyāna and Zāhore in Bengal or by the supposition that there were two sets of Tantric scholars bearing the above names—a contention not easily to be conceded without strong proof. Another difficulty that confronts us is the settling of the chronology of the authors. Information on this point comes from Tārānātha, Bu-ston and the *Pag-sam-jon-zang* whose chronologies and genealogies are admittedly faulty and inaccurate, and therefore these Tibetan authorities cannot be much relied on. In order to fix the time of the Tantric authors attempt should rather be made from some definite known dates, say from Śāntarakṣita and disciples (*guru-paramparās*) as preserved by the Bstan-hgyur and the *Pag-sam-jon-zang* are to be utilised with the caution³ that, "the mystics still believe that the *Siddhas* do not die.....such alleged relation only speaks of a spiritual connection and not of any historical one." The confusion of their chronology is worse confounded by the fact that many scholars of different periods bear the same name. There were at least three Candragomins,⁴ three Nāgārjunas,⁵ two Lui-pās⁶ and two Śāntidevas.⁷ I have got no doubt about the fact that there are many such cases of confusion in the Tibetan accounts. The apparent inconsistency and confusion in the Tibetan books cannot be solved until and unless the separate identity of different

1. IHQ. XI pp. 141-3

2. Ibid. pp. 142-43.

3. Sādhana-mālā Intro. p. xl xli Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Kaulajñāna-nirṇaya. Intro. pp. 25-26

4. History of Indian Logic pp. 333-336

5. Sādhana-mālā, Intro., p. XLV; JASB, 1930, pp. 142 ff

6. Lui-pā who has been identified with Matsyendranātha cannot be the same person to whom Śāntarakṣita refers; former seems to have flourished in the 10th century, while the latter in the 8th.

7. Śāntideva, the author of the Śikṣā-Samuccaya, (whose latest possible date is the 8th century) cannot be identified with Śāntideva, disciple of Dipaṅkara Śrījñāna of the 11th century

scholars of different periods can be definitely established. This perhaps explains also why a great many books have been attributed to a single author in the *Bstan-hgyur*. The numbers come sometimes to thirty or even to forty, and it may be that they are not the productions of one author. But it must also be said that we need not be surprised by these numbers, for twenty works of Advayavajra, when published,¹ contain only about sixty pages.

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

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

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

1. GOS, No. XL. Edited by Mm. H. P. Shastri.

2. Nariman, Lit. Hist. of Sans. Buddhism, p. 100.

3. Watters, II, pp. 105, 109.

4. Cordier, II, p. 375.

5. Index, p. cxxi.

Buddhist scholars. He was equally learned in Brahmanical and Buddhist lore and has been assigned to the seventh century.¹ In the *Bstan-hgyur* twenty-one books are attributed to him.

Šabarīpa or Šabariśvara came of a Šabara (huntsmen) tribe in Bangala and was a disciple of the Tantrika Nāgārjuna. He has been assigned to the seventh century and a *Sādhana* of Kurukullā in *Sādhanamālā* is attributed to him.² Some of his vernacular songs are known.³

Lui-pāda, according to the *Pag-sam-jon-zang*,⁴ hailed from Uḍḍiyāna but in the *Bstan-hgyur* it is mentioned that he belonged to Bangala.⁵ He came of the fisherman caste. He is said to have been the first *Siddhacārya* and has been assigned to the seventh century.⁶ In the *Bstan-hgyur* five works on Tantrika Buddhism are attributed to him. Some of his vernacular songs have been published.⁷

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

The *Pag-sam-jon-zang*⁸ states that Śāntarakṣita was a contemporary of Gopāla I and Dharmapāla and was a scion of the royal family of Zahore and a native of Bangala. He was a *paṇḍita* of the Nālandā University and was invited by the Tibetan king Khri-sron-den-tsan to visit Tibet. He established the first Buddhist monastery Sam-ye in 749 A.D. and stayed there for 13 years and died in 762 A.D.. Śāntarakṣita is one of the greatest Buddhist scholars. His literary fame mainly rests on his monumental work

1. *Sādhanamālā*, Intro., p. xlv. 2. *Idid*, p. xlv.

3. Published by Mm, H. P. Shastri in the *Bauddha-Gāna-o-Dohā*.

4. *Index*, p. cxv. 5. *Cordier*, II, p. 33.

6. *Sādhanamālā*, Intro., p. xlvii.

7. *Bauddha-Gāna-o-Dohā*.

8. *Sādhanamālā*, Intro., p. xiv.

9. *Index*, p. xcix, p. 112; Mr. S. C. Das, the famous Tibetan scholar, wrote that he was a native of Gauda. See *JBTS*, I. pt, II, p. 10.

called *Tattva-saṃgraha*.¹ It is an exposition of the *Mahāyāna* and refutation of other systems of Indian philosophy. He quotes from no less than sixty previous authors, the hollowness of whose arguments is exposed in this book. A learned commentary on *Tattva-saṃgraha* was written by his own disciple, Kamalaśīla. Besides, Śāntarakṣita is said to have written eight books.²

Haribhadra flourished during the reign of Dharmapāla at whose request he is said to have written a commentary on *Aṣṭa-sahasra-Prajñā-pāramitā* in order to work out a compromise between *Śūnyavāda* and *Vijñānavāda* of Nāgārjuna and Maitreyanātha.³ Kāyastha Ṭaṅkadāsa was the chief *lekhaka* of Dharmapāla.⁴ He wrote a commentary called *Suviśada-samputa*⁵ on *Hevajra-tantra*.

Various legends have grown around the name of Matsyendra-nātha, also known as Mīnanātha and Mīnapāda. It is really difficult to know the truth about this man who occupies a foremost place among both the Buddhist and Hindu *Tāntrikas*. He was the *guru* of Gorakṣanātha and is much revered by the Nātha sect all over northern India. Most probably he was a fisherman by caste and was born in Candradvīpa. He preached his doctrine in Kāmarūpa. Dr. P. C. Bagchi after a careful examination of all the available legendary accounts is inclined to place him in the beginning of the 10th century A.D. and accepts the identification of Matseyndranātha with Lui-pā.⁶ His *Kaulajñāna-nirṇaya* deals with the *Kaula* doctrine of the Śaiva *Tāntrikas* but shows his acquaintance with Buddhist *Tāntrika* doctrines.

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

1. Published in GOS, No. XXX.

2. Ibid., Intro., p., Hist. of Ind. Logic, pp. 823 ff.

3. JBORS, V, p. 177. 4. Spp. 1318, p. 254.

5. Cordier, II, p. 67.

6. See the learned Introduction by Dr. P. C. Bagchi to *Kaulajñāna-nirṇaya*, published in the Calcutta Sanskrit Series, No. III.

logic called *Hetu-tattvopadeśa*, *Dharmādharmā-viniścaya* and *Bālāva-tāra-tarka* are attributed to him in the *Bstan-hgyur*.¹

Tailika-pāda or Tilopā was a contemporary of Mahīpāla. In the *Bstan-hgyur* he is described as of Uḍḍiyāna,² while the *Pag-sam-jon-zang*³ records that he was originally a Brahmana of Chittagong and lived in the Paṇḍita Vihāra there. Several books on Tāntrika Buddhism are attributed to him.

According to Tārānātha, Avadūtapāda Advayavajra was a contemporary of Mahīpāla I, and Dīpaṅkara. Fifty-three works have been attributed to him. Twenty of them have been published under the heading *Advayavajra-saṃgraha*.⁴

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

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

1. For short notices of these books, see Hist. of Ind. Logic, p. 837.

2. Cordier, II, p. 79.

3. Index, p. xli.

4. GOS, No. XL. 5. Hist. Ind. Logic, p. 337.

6. JBTS, I, p. 9 ff.

convocation at Vikramaśilā, the Tibetan envoy who was deputed to escort him says, "When all the rows of seats were filled up, there came lord Atīṣa, the *Venerable of Venerables*, in all his glory at whose sight the eyes felt no satiety. His graceful appearance and smiling face struck every one of the assembly. From his waist hung down a bundle of keys. The Indians, Nepalese and Tibetans all looked at him and looked upon him for a countryman of their own. There was brightness mixed with simplicity of expression on his face, which acted as a magic-spell upon those who beheld him."¹ After repeated invitations he went to Tibet to reform the Buddhist church there. He died in 1053 A.D. at the age of seventy-three. Twenty of his works are known in the *Bstan-hgyur*. Besides, with the help of some *lotsavas* (Paṇḍitas) he translated many Sanskrit books, more than hundred of which are mentioned in the *Bstan-hgyur*.

Ratnākara Śāntideva, also known as Bubhukṣu, was a gate keeper of the Vikramaśilā monastery. Tārānātha says that he was a disciple of Dīpaṅkara and was a native of Zāhore in Bangala. He composed a *sādhana*.² He went to Ceylon to preach Buddhist doctrine. A work on prosody, called *Chando-Ratnākara*, is attributed to him. Two works on logic *Vijñapti-mātrā-siddhi* and *Antar-vyāpti*, are also known³ and some of his vernacular songs have been published.

Prajñāvarman hailed from Kāva in Bhoṅgala (Vaṅgāla)⁴ and was contemporary of Dānaśīla who flourished during the reign of Nayapāla. Prajñāvarman is known as a translator of Sanskrit books in Tibetan. He composed two works on Tāntrika Buddhism and a commentary on *Udāna-varga*.

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

1. JASB, 1891, pt. I, pp. 46-53.

2. No. 73. of *Sādhnamālā*, Intro., y. cxi.

3. *Htst. of Ind. Logic*, pp. 342-3.

4. Rockhill, *Udānavarga*, Intro., p. XII.

scholars whom we know only as teachers of the monasteries of Nālandā, Vikramaśilā, Jagaddala, Paṇḍita Vihāra and Vikramapurī Vihāra must have hailed from Bengal but the fact is that nothing is known of their nativity.

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

The distinguished linguist Dr. S. K. Chatterjee² notices distinctive Bengali traits of speech in the *dohās* of 20 writers Lui-pā (2 poems), Kukkurī (2), Virūpa or Birūwā (1), Gu(n)ḍari (1), Cāṭila (1), Bhusuka (8), Kāmali or Kambalāmbara (1), Dombī (1), Śānti (2), Mahittā or Mahīdhara (1), Bijjila or Viṇā-pāda (1), Śabara (2), Aja or Āryadeva (1), Dheṇḍhana (1), Dārika (1), Bhāde or Bhādra-pāda (1), Tāḍaka (1), Kaṅkaṇa (1), Jaya-nandī (1), Guṇjarī (1). The only exceptions are the *dohās* of Saraha (4) and Kānha (12) which are written in *Apabhraṃśa* dialect. Judging from the language, he expresses the opinion that these authors should be assigned to the period between 950-1200 A.D. and finds great influence of Western Sauraseni *Apabhraṃśa*, "the most cultivated literary language" of that period on these songs, and he further says that their language seems to be

1. *Bauddha-Gāna-o-Dohā*, Intro.

2. *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, I, pp. 119-23, 117.

based on a West Bengali dialect. The same scholar¹ admits that in the 8th-11th centuries Bengali, Maithili and Oriyā characteristics were probably in "formative fluid" and only in the 14th century they were fully developed. Though there is difference of opinion about the date of these *dohās*, it is generally admitted that they cannot be posterior to 1200 A.D.. It is therefore reasonable to hold that in the period of these *Āścarya-caryā-caya*² the distinctive features of Oriyā, Bengali and Maithili were not fully developed from their common parent Magadhan *Apabhramśa*. There is nothing to show that all the authors were Bengalees. These songs were meant for the people at large and were very popular in eastern India. Most probably they belonged to different parts of eastern India, if not to other parts of northern India.

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

Nālandā—The first and foremost one was the famous Nālandā University. It came into prominence as a seat of learning from the time of Kumāragupta I, and since then many other kings bestowed their favours on it. The royal patrons mentioned by Yuan Chwang were Śakrāditya, Budhaguptarāja, Tathāgatagupta, Bālādityarāja, Vajra and Harṣavardhana or Śilāditya. The Nālandā inscription of the time of Yaśovarman of Kanouj records that his minister's son, Mālaḍa by name, made various offerings to the monks of this Vihāra.

With the establishment of the Pāla power over Magadha the Buddhist Pāla kings played an important part in the growth of the University of Nālandā. A copper plate of Dharmapāla has been found in course of excavations but the object of this grant cannot be ascertained because of its defaced condition.¹ The two inscriptions of the time of Devapāla throw a flood of light on the importance of this international seat of learning. The Nālandā grant of his 39th regnal year records that king Bālaputradeva of Suvarṇa-

1. Ibid, p. 97.

2. IHQ, 1990, p. 169.

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

1. ASIR, 1926-27, pp. 138-39.

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

1. The remains of the monastery of Bālapuṭradeva form one of the levels of Monastery No. 1, Kurashī, Guide to Nālandā, p. 4.
2. It is not clear whether he was appointed by Devapāla or elected by the assembly of the monks.
3. ASIR, 1925-6, p. 86; EI, VIII, App., p. 118, Note 2.
4. JASB, NS, IV, p. 105.
5. Bendall, Cat. of Bd. San. Ms. in the Camb. U. Library, p. 101.
6. JASB, IV, p. 106.
7. Cat. Sans. Mss. in the Bodelian Library, p. 250.
8. JRAS, NS, VIII, p. 3.

Vikramaśīlā—The other important monastery of which some interesting details are known from the Tibetan accounts is that of Vikramaśīlā.¹ As regards its origin various legends have been narrated in Tibetan books, but it seems that it was founded by Dharmapāla who bore the title Vikramaśīlā, and as such it is sometimes called "*Śrīmad-Vikramaśīlā-deva-vihāra*."² Opinions of scholars are divided as to the site of this famous monastery. It has been sought to be identified with Silas near Baragaon,³ with Patharghata⁴ and Keur.⁵ All that is definitely known from the Tibetan account is that it was situated on a precipitous hill in Bihar on the right bank of the Ganges. "Patharghata" says Mr. N. L. De; "is about six miles to the north of Colgong, 24 miles to the east of Bhagalpur and 28 to the east of Campanagar; while "Keur is in direct line with Nālandā and Odantapurī and within 15 miles of Nālandā, and its close similarity with Nālandā remains, amply satisfies every known detail of Vikramaśīlā." Dharmapāla provided it with four establishments and 27 monks were accommodated in each of them. Provisions were also made for the maintenance of resident monks and pilgrims. In his time the head of the vihāra was Buddha-jñāna-pāda. In Nayapāla's time the central hall had six gates which opened six colleges. Each college had one hundred students and eight professors. There was an encircling wall around the whole establishment. The portraits of Nāgārjuna and Aśīśa Dīpaṅkara adorned the main entrance and the subjects on which great stress was laid were grammar, theology and philosophy. But the most important subject that was taught here and which gained high recognition was Tāntrikism. Vikramaśīlā's fame rests mainly on producing great Tāntrika scholars and it seems that because of this it outshone Nālandā in importance. Distinguished scholars like Jetāri of Varendra and Ratnavajra of Kāśmīra received the diploma of "paṇḍita" from the kings themselves.⁶ It may be men-

1. S. C. Das, *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, pp. 10-11.

2. R. L. Mitra, *Nepalese Bd. Literature*, p. 229; *Bhārati. B. S.*, 1315, p. 2, *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 150-51; *GOS*, *Rāmacarita*, Intro., p. xxii.

3. Cunningham, *ASR*, VIII, p. 75.

4. *JASB*, V, p. 7; Samaddar, *Glories of Magadha*, p. 157.

5. *JBORS*, XV, p. 276.

6. *Hist. Ind. Logic*, p. 520.

tioned in this connection that the titles of the Buddhist scholars were generally *Ācārya*, *Mahācārya*, *Upādhyāya*, *Mahopādhyāya*, *Paṇḍita*, *Mahāpaṇḍita* and *Bhikṣu*.

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

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

1. Watters, II, pp. 184-191; Beal, Records, II, pp. 195-202.

2. ASR, XV, pp. 104-7.

reference in the second Asrafpur plate to four others (*vihāra-vihārikā-catuṣṭaya*).

We are rather fortunate in having a vivid account of the Bhā-rā-hā monastery at Tāmralipti from I-tsing.¹ The residents did not themselves cultivate lands of the monasteries but the tenants did it for them. The priests received only $\frac{1}{3}$ of the vegetables. "Thus they live their just life, avoiding worldly affairs, and free from the faults of destroying lives by ploughing and watering fields." Every morning the managing priest examined the water of the well in order to see if there was any insect or animate being in it. Every business was done with the assent of the assembly of the monks. There was no head. If any priest did anything according to his own will in disregard of the decision of the assembly, he was expelled from the monastery as he behaved like a householder. The nuns wishing to visit the priests were to inform the assembly of their purpose of visit. The priest were to go to nuns' apartments after making an inquiry. When the nuns walked outside the monastery, they walked in a company of two and when they went to any layman's house, they were to go in a company of four. When women visited the monastery, they did not go to the apartments of priests but talked in the corridor. Monastic rules and rites were explained on the four *Upasatha* days of every month to the assembly of the monks. A junior monk had to leave the monastery because of playing trick on a tenant's wife, although it was not considered an offence. The pilgrim observes that Rāhulamitra of excellent character, who had never spoken with any woman face to face except his mother and sister, was the model of all monks and was the most honoured priest in the eastern districts of India. Learned monks who had mastered the *piṭakas* were provided with the best rooms and servants. If they delivered daily lectures, they were relieved of the usual duties of an ordinary priest. On account of the priests' mutual confession, their faults were prevented before their growth and as a rule they submitted to laws. The rites of Nālandā,² we are told, were still stricter and hence its great fame and greater number of students.

1. Takakasu, Ch. X, pp. 62-65.

2. Ably discussed by Sankalia, University of Nālandā, Ch. II, pt. II; Ch. VIII.

Somapurī Mahāvihāra—Although nothing definite is known from literary source regarding the site of this great monastery, the evidence is now overwhelming for its identification with the Paharpur temple.¹ A clay seal found in course of excavations at Paharpur supplies the information that the Vihāra was founded by Dharmapāla.² Tārānātha³ and the author of the *Pag-sam-jon-zang*⁴ attribute its foundation to Devapāla, and this perhaps indicates that he added some structures⁵ which were begun by his father. About the middle of the 12th century a Buddhist monk, Vipulaśrimitra by name, built a shrine of Tārā, and this temple has been identified with that of the same goddess, exposed at Satyapira Bhita⁶ at Paharpur. The Nālandā inscription of Vipulaśrimitra further informs that Karuṇāśrimitra died at Somapura when his house was set on fire by an army of a Vaṅgāla king. Karuṇāśrimitra was removed from him by two generations of teachers, namely Maitrīśrimitra and Asokaśrimitra. Besides the building of the shrine of Tārā, all other pious activities of Vipulaśrimitra have been enumerated in this record. On a festival day he offered a casket to the temple of Khasarpaṇa for the *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript, installed four images at its alms-houses at Choyandaka, installed an image of Dīpaṅkara Buddha at Harṣapura and offered a gold ornament for the decoration of an image of Buddha at Somapura. It is known from a Bodh-Gaya inscription⁷ that a *Mahāyāna* monk named Viryendrabodhi who hailed from Samataṭa and was a resident of the Somapura-vihāra installed a Buddha image near the Mahābodhi temple (in c. the tenth century). Other celebrated scholars connected with this monastery were *Mahāpaṇḍita* Bodhibhadra⁸ and Advaya-

1. VRS, Monograph No. 5, p. 27.

2. ASIR, 1626-7, p. 149; 1227-21, pp. 105-6.

3. IA, IV, p. 866.

4. Index, p. cxxx.

5. A colophon of Atīśa Dīpaṅkara's *Ratna-Karaṇodghaṭa* ascribes the foundation of the Vikramaśīlā-vihāra to Devapāla who most probably, as Mr. N. N. Dasgupta suggests, added some structures to both the monasteries started by his father, see IC. 1, p. 229.

6. EI, XXI, p. 101.

7. SPP, 1823, B. S., p. 70.

8. Cordier, II, pp. 98, 250.

yajra.¹ Atiśa passed some time in it in translating the *Madhyamaka-Ratna-Pradīpa*.²

Jagaddala-vihāra—This last great Buddhist monastery was built by Rāmapāla at the confluence of the Ganges and the Karatoyā. Its renowned alumni were Bibhūticandra, Dānaśīla, Mokṣakaragupta, Śubhakaragupta and Dharmākara.³ The works composed by its *paṇḍitas* are grossly Tāntrik in character and generally deal with Piśācas, owls Nāgas, Yokṣas etc., and their *sādhana*s.⁴ One special feature of Jagaddala-vihāra was that many *lotsavas* (Tibetan scholars) thronged here and translated many Sanskrit books in Tibetan.

Other minor Vihāras—The existence of Vikramapurī-vihāra is known from the *Bstan-hgyur* but nothing definitely is known about its origin.⁵ Kumāracandra belonged to this monastery. The existence of the Traikūṭaka-vihāra in Baṅgāla is known from *Pagsam-jon-zang*,⁶ and it was here that Haribhadra wrote his commentary on *Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*. The same book refers to the Paṇḍita-vihāra in Chittagong where flourished Tailikapāda.⁷ The Suvarṇa-vihāra was in Nadia.⁸ The Kanaka-stūpa-vihāra⁹ was situated in Paṭṭikarā, easily identifiable with the Paṭikera *paraṅānā* of the Tippera district. From the Mainamati plate of Raṇavaṅkamalla Harikāladeva, dated in 1141 S.E., it is further known that there was a *viḥāra* in that locality and it was dedicated to the goddess *Durgottarā*, a form of Tārā. Chittagong is the only place where a Buddhist community still thrives and traces of Buddhism can be found in many localities.¹⁰

1. Ibid, pp. 116, 120 ; III, p. 5.

2. Ibid, III, p. 299.

3. IC, I, p. 232.

4. Sankalia, University of Nālandā, p. 189

5. Mr. N. N. Dasgupta suggests that it owed its origin to Dharmapāla, *Bhāratavarṣa*, 1341 B. S., pp. 962-970 ; IC, I, p. 280.

6. Index pp. xciv, xli ; MASB, III, No. I, p. 5.

7. Index, p. lxii ; JASB, 1898, p. 24.

8. SPP, 1321, B. S, p. 205.

9. IHQ, IX, pp. 282 ff.

10. IHQ, 1932, pp. 382 ff.

CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL CONDITION

Brahmana Immigrations—The genealogical books of the Bengali *ghaṭakas* (match-makers) form a class of literature by themselves and it is a separate *śāstra* by its special importance like the *Śrutis* and *Smṛtis*. There is an extensive literature on the subject, variously called *Kulaśāstras*, *Kulagranthas* or *Kulapañjikās*. The main object of the genealogical books is to keep a correct record of the lineal descendants of important families, their branches and sub-branches with their social impurities and indignities in order to enable to gauge their social rank and status. The list of the ascendants of a family is necessary on some ceremonial occasions and they are supremely useful in forming matrimonial relationship, as connection of a pure family with a lower one will degrade the former also. Generally the lists coming from different sources agree with one another. But it is very difficult to handle these books for historical purposes. None of them has proved to be old and most of them are based on current traditions, sometimes orally transmitted from generation to generation. But what diminishes their historical value is that they are 'propagandist' in the extreme sense of the term. The *Rāḍhiya* and *Vārendra* Brahmanas assert that they are the pure descendants of the five immigrants alleged to have been imported by king Ādiśūra. The contention of their books is that the original Brahmanas of Bengal lost their purity and competence in performing religious rites and rituals correctly and hence the importation of five pure Brahmanas at the instance of Ādiśūra. The *Pāś-cātya Vaidikas* declare that the *Rāḍhiyas* and *Vārendras* were incapable of understanding the proper meaning of the Vedic *mantras*, and so king Sāmalavarman had to invite some *Vaidika* Brahmanas from the western provinces because of their profound knowledge in Vedic lore and rites. Not to speak of the important sections like the *Rāḍhiyas*, *Vārendras* and *Vaidikas*, every genealogist or protagonist tries to prove the purity and superiority of those whose cause he

espouses. In course of the development of Kulinism with all its intricacies and complexities there arose a class of professional *ghaṭakas* who may properly be regarded as heralds. There are instances of their tampering with the *Kulapañjikās* with not very disinterested or good motives. What is most instructive and interesting in this connection is that even most of the modern writers on the subject (though they profess to be critical and scientific) suffer from this defect. Few would give out the social stigma, if there were any, on their own families and by distorting truths by every possible means they would prove their purity and superiority. Above all, it must be borne in mind that the desire to associate oneself with a celebrated man or family or to claim a high pedigree is more or less inherent in human nature. In spite of these defects, it may be said that the traditions may contain some historical truths underlying them. In the *Kulaśāstras* are to be found the social organisations and reorganisations in various ranks and grades that were made by great social reformers to meet the needs of the changing circumstances from time to time, and some of them still hold good in case of the majority of the Hindu society of Bengal. They offer us a glimpse into the Hindu society during the Muslim rule which it is impossible to have from any other source.

Scholars with a scientific bent of mind have generally expressed grave doubts on the *Kulaśāstras* as reliable sources of evidence. Thus Messrs. R. D. Banerjee¹ and R. P. Chanda² who have discussed the historicity of Ādiśūra at great length have ultimately come to the conclusion that so long as his name is not to be found in some other more reliable records, it is futile to determine his place in history. But both of them conceded the historical existence of a king of that name because of the unanimity of all traditions from different *Kulapañjikās*. The introduction of *Kulinism* by Vallālasena has also been doubted by this school of writers because of the absence of its mention in the Sena grants.

1. BI, 2nd and 3rd Appendices

2. Sāhitya, 1321 B S, p 751

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

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

The *Kulatattvārṇava*³ (about the genuineness of which we have grave doubts)⁴ states that a king named Śūdraka imported *Sārasvata* Brahmanas in Vaṅga in order to perform a *putreṣṭi* sacrifice, but this lacks corroboration from any other book. All books agree in stating that king Ādiśūra brought five Brahmanas

1. His ten volumes on Castes and Sects of Bengal (in Bengali) called

Vaṅger Jātiya Itihāsa.

2. For names of authors, see Appendix E.

3. Vs. 10-20.

4. See my remarks on this book in Winternitz commemoration volume.

from Kanouj or Kolāñca. In most of the books¹ the names of the five Brahmanas are Kṣitīśa of the *Śaṇḍilya gotra*, Vitarāga of the *Kāśyapa gotra*, Sudhānidhi of *Vātsya gotra*, Medhātithi of the *Bharadvāja gotra*, and Sambhari of the *Sābarṇa gotra*. The story of their migration is as follows:—Ādiśūra was the lord of Pañca-Gauḍas and vanquished many kings of different parts of India. He had a rival in Virasimha who is described in some books² as king of Kanouj and in others, of Kāśī. This king was not subdued by ordinary warfare. Therefore seven hundred armed Brahmanas of Bengal were sent on cows' back by Ādiśūra to fight with him. There could not be any fighting without killing the cows and Brahmanas, which, as a pious and religious-minded man, Virasimha could not do. Thus he was compelled to send five pure *Sāgnika* Brahmanas to Ādiśūra in whom Bengal was lacking. The *Kulatattvārṇava* supports this story but adds that Ādiśūra needed these Brahmanas for the performance of a *putreṣṭi* sacrifice. The *Vārendra Kulapañjikā*³ supplies the information that Ādiśūra brought the Brahmanas from Kanouj for fulfilling the wishes of his wife Candramukhī, the daughter of the Kanauj king Candraketu, who wanted to perform a *vrata* by pure Brahmanas.

The dates of the migration of the five Brahmanas in different books fall within the period between the eighth and the eleventh centuries. The earliest is 654 S.E.=732 A.D., and it is mentioned in many books.⁴ The dates S.E., 954, S.E., 994 S.E. and 999 S.E. are

1. There is some discrepancy in the names of the five immigrants. According to the *Vārendra Kulapañjikā*, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, Dakṣa, Chāndaḍa, Haṛṣa and Vedagarbha are the original settlers. Mr. N. N. Vasu cites a book in which Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, Suśeṇa, Dharādharma, Gautama and Parāśara are the original settlers but are called the sons of Kṣitīśa, Vitarāga, Sudhānidhi, Medhātithi and Sambhari. We therefore take this list (which is found in Rājhiya books) as more trustworthy and reliable. (VJI, I, p. 102).

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

3. Ibid.

4. IHQ, XI, pp. 73-74, Appendix F.

also met with.¹ It is definite that Ādiśūra was not responsible for the migrations of the Brahmanas on all these dates which fall within three centuries. Either these dates are wrong or they record the time of migrations of different batches of Brahmanas. It is also interesting to note that at the time of Vallālasena there was the 13th generation of the *Bharadvājas* and *Sābarṇas*, the 12th of the *Śaṇḍilyas* and *Vātsyas* and the 8th of the *Kāśyapas* in Rāḍha; and in Varendra there was the 14th of the *Śaṇḍilyas*, the 15th of the *Kāśyapas*, the 13th of the *Bharadvājas* and *Sābarṇas* and the 4th of the *Vātsyas* of the descendants of the five immigrants.² All the difficulties can be solved by the natural presumption that the Brahmanas came to settle from time to time, and every migration has been associated with the name of Ādiśūra (whose zeal and effort were perhaps the cause of one) in the *Kulaśāstras* which were composed long after that event. It may be that all dates have not been remembered. It is not to be believed on the authority of the *Kulaśāstras* that there had been no Brahmanas of the above five *gotras* before the alleged migration through the efforts of Ādiśūra. The evidence of the Faridpur plate (No. 3), the Vappagoshavata plate of the time of Jayanāga and the Nidhanpur plates is conclusive on the point, as they mention many Brahmanas of the five *gotras*. This may explain in a way why the ancestors of *Sābarṇa* Bhatta Bhavadeva and *Bharadvāja* Prahāsa of the Silimpur inscription and *Śaṇḍliya* Guravamiśra have not been described as immigrants from outside, as their families had been settled in Bengal from very remote times.

There has been much discussion on the vexed question of Ādiśūra, and previous writers could not offer any satisfactory solution of the problem. The present writer drew attention to a hitherto unnoticed king, *Magadhādhirāja* Ādisimha of the Dudhpani Rock inscription, who may be identified with Ādiśūra³ of the *Kulaśāstras* with some degree of plausibility. There is no difference in the meaning of the names, the words 'śūra' and 'simha' being used in the sense

1. See Appendix F.

2. VJL. I.

3. IHQ. XI, p. 70.

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

Most of the books record that the five immigrants came from Kanauj or Kolāñca. Only one Vārendra *Kulapañjikā*⁴ states that they migrated from different places—the *Sāṇḍilya* family from Jambucātvara, the *Vātsya* from Tāḍita, the *Bharadvāja* from Audumbara, the *Sābarṇa* from Madra and the *Kāśyapa* from Kolañca. The fact that in this account there are the names of three important places like Audumbara, Madra and Kolāñca gives it some degree of credibility, though Jambucātvara and Tāḍita cannot be located. There are many epigraphic evidences of the fact that many Brahmana emi-

1. VJI., I, pp. 109-111.

2. EI., XXI, p. 214.

3. SPP, 1840 B.S., pp. 78.

4. VJI, I, p. 102.

grants from Tarkāri¹ (variantly called Tarkkāri, Tarkkārikā), Kroḍāñja² or Kroḍāñca or Kulāñca (easily identifiable with Kolāñca of the *Kulaśāstras*) and from Madhyadeśa figure as donees of royal grants of different provinces. Let us first take the case of Tarkāri. It is recorded in the Silimpur *praśasti* of Prahāsa that his ancestors (a Bharadvāja family) originally lived in Tarkāri within Śrāvastī-janapada from where they migrated to Bālagrāma and Śiyāmvaka which have been described as ornaments of Varendra. In two inscriptions³ it has been definitely stated that Tarkāri was in Madhyadeśa, and it deserves particular notice that in one of the Baudh plates of Raṇabhañjadeva of the year 50 Tarkāri has been specifically mentioned to have been in Śrāvastīdeśa.⁴ In the Ajayagar inscription⁵ Tarkārikā has been called the chief abode of the Śrīvāstava Kāyasthas who are still now an important section of the Kāyasthas of the United Provinces. All these point to the fact that there was a Tarkāri within far-famed Śrāvastī in the Gonda district of U.P. Brahmana emigrants⁶ from Śrāvastī-maṇḍala, *bhukti* and *viṣaya* figure as donees in the Mahāśivagupta Yayāti's Patna plates, the Katak plates of Mahāśivagupta II, the Sonpur plate of Someśvara-deva, the Madhuvaṇ plate of Harṣavardhana, the Dighwa-Dubhali plate of Mahendrapāla and the Lucknow Museum plate of Kīrtipāla. The donee of the Bangarh grant of Mahīpāla I has been described as an emigrant from Hastipāda. The donees of two grants from Orissa⁷ also hailed from a village of that name, and in one of them it is mentioned that Hastipāda was in Madhyadeśa. The donees of the Irda plate of the Kamboja king Nayapāla and the Jajilpara grant of Gopāla II have been described as emigrants from Kunṭīra and Muktāvastu which cannot be located at present. The ascendants of the donees of the Belāva plate of Bhojavarman and the Barrackpore plate of Vijayasena have been described as *Madhya-*

1. SPP., 1341 B. S., pp. 25 ff; see also IA., 1931, pp. 14 ff; XLVIII, p. 208.

2. IC., II, pp. 386 ff.

3. IA., XLVIII p. 280.

4. IHQ, x, pp. 477.

5. N. N. Vasu, Kāyastha Varṇa-Nirṇaya, p. 72

6. SPP., 1341 B. S., pp. 25 ff.

7. Ibid.

deśa-vinirgata. There are at least seven charters¹ which record land grants to Brahmana emigrants from Kroḍāṅja, the location of which is not yet certain; but it is to be observed that the tradition as preserved in the *Kulaśāstras* unanimously associates it with Kanauj i.e., in Madhyadeśa.

It is almost certain that there was a Śrāvastī in northern Bengal, the existence of which is perhaps indicated by a *śloka*² in the *Matsya* and *Kurma Purāṇas* and is proved by the evidence of the two inscriptions of the Kāmarūpa kings Dharmapāla and Indrapāla and the Vaigrāma plate. Its location in Bogra and Dinajpur Districts is also certain.³ It is also quite possible, as has been suggested by some scholars, that there was a Kolāñca⁴ within the locality of Śrāvastī in Bengal (which has been identified with Kulāñca in the Bogra district⁵). It is to be noticed that this Śrāvastī and Kulāñca were not far removed from the city of Gaṭṭa in northern Bengal. Long ago Cunningham⁶ pointed out that there was a Gauḍa in the Gonda district, and the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Vāyupurāṇa* also mention a Gauḍa in Uttarakośala.⁷ It seems that northern Bengal had very important relations with Śrāvastideśa, so far as the migrations of the Brahmanas were concerned. The far-famed Śrāvastī was not only a centre of Buddhism, Jainism and Ājivikism but also a strong-hold of the Brahmanical religions, as it has been shown by Dr. B. C. Law⁸ even from the stray references in the early

1. IC, II, pp. 386 ff.

2. EI, XIII, p. 290.

3. Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvalī p. 187; EI, xxIII, p. 108; IC, II, p. 386 ff. The Assam inscriptions refer to Sāvathi and one of them mentions a place called Vagirāma in it, the identity of which is established by the Vaigrāma plate.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. ASI, I, p. 327; ix, pp. 151-152.

7. EI, XIII, p. 290; IHO, XIII, p. 162.

8. Mr. B. C. Law, Śrāvastī in Ancient Indian Literature, p. 26.

Buddhist literatures. According to Baudhāyana¹ and Vasiṣṭha² it was in Madhyadeśa that the practice and tradition of the Āryas or *śiṣṭas* (cultured men) prevailed and the customs of this place were regarded with special veneration. According to Manu,³ Madhyadeśa is the country which lies between Himavat and the Vindhya, to the west of Prayāga and to the east of Vinaśana, where the Sarasvatī disappears. It was here that the Brahmanical rituals and social institutions like the caste were developed and elaborated and hence it became "the model country for all ages" and for all *Āryāvarta*.⁴ Viewed in this light, the tradition of the *Kulaśāstras* seems to reflect some truth and the migration of the Brahmanas from Madhyadeśa and the honour shown to them are historically intelligible, if not a necessity of the Hindu society of ancient Bengal.

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

As regards the incident of the migration, there is nothing improbable in the tradition that a king brought some Brahmanas from upper India in course of an expedition. An instance exactly of this nature may be cited. It is known from a southern India inscription,⁶ that Bittiga of the *Hārita gotra*, a minister of the Hoysala king Narasiṃha I, descended from one of the fifty chief Brahmanas whom Gaṅga kings brought from the *agrahāra* of Ahichatra in the north when he had gone there in course of a

1. SBE., xiv, 143-4, 147.

2. Ibid, 1-3.

3. Ibid, xxv, 83 ; IHQ., IV, pp. 84 ff.

4. Mr. N. K. Dutta, *Aryanisation of India*, pp. 89-91.

5. SPP., 1341 B. S., pp. 25 ff.

6. Ep. Carn. IV Intro., p. 21.

victorious expedition. The allegation that there were no pure Brahmanas in Bengal is perhaps to be understood with references to the manner and way¹ in which tribes or parts of eastern India have been mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* and by Baudhāyana. In the later Vedic period Bengal was inhabited by non-Aryan and nomadic tribes and peoples, and orthodox writers like Baudhāyana did not deem it a proper place for Aryan habitation. There is no denying the fact that Bengal received her stock of Aryan population later than the Upper Gangetic countries. In discussing the Brahmana immigrations, the early spread of two manifestly non-Brahmanical religions—Jainism and Buddhism—and their gaining strong foot-holds should also be taken into consideration. There seems to be much truth in the broad generalisation of Prof. Bhandarkar² that Bengal was first *Śramanised* and then *Brahmanised*.

But definite evidence regarding the active propagation of the Brahmanical religion and a vigorous movement for *Brahmanisation* of the country we have in the Gupta period, and in this connection the testimony of the five Damodarpur plates³ is very significant. The objects of the purchase of land as stated in these plates were as follows:—for the purpose of conducting *agnihotra* rites by a Brahmana (N.1), for conducting the daily sacrifices of a Brahmana (N.2), for settling some prominent Brahmanas (No.3), for erection of temples of two Brahmanical gods (N. 4), and to make some repairs in a temple by an inhabitant of Ayodhyā (No. 5). The Dhanaidaha and Vaigram plates also had almost similar objects in view. All these transactions were made within the confines of the Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* and in most cases in the Koṭivarṣa-*viṣaya* in the Dinajpur district. These plates bear ample testimony to the fact that during the rule of the staunch Brahmanical Gupta emperors Brahmanical influence was being spread in northern Bengal by the Brahmanas themselves, by local officers and chiefs (No. 3)

1. See *Ante*

2. *AB*, XII, pp. 111 ff.

3. *EL*, xv, p. 113. The same fact is to be noticed in the Faridpur plates (IA 1910, pp 193 ff)

and even by outsiders who were deeply interested in this faith (No.5). The Nidhanpur plates¹ also go to show how almost in the same period Bhutivarman, great-great-grandfather of Bhāskaravarman, was inviting Brahmanas from western provinces by conferring rent-free land in Sylhet. It has been shown by Dr. N. K. Bhattasali that the land granted by these plates is to be located in Panchakhandā in the Sylhet district.² The plates are also very important in so far as they preserve the names of more than 200 Brahmanas with their *gotras* and the Vedas they studied. The Tippera grant³ of Lokanātha is extremely interesting as it reveals the process and way in which a jungly (and presumably non-Brahmanical) tract was brought under the influence of the Brahmanical religion. It is stated therein that in the *viśaya* of Suvaṅga (not yet located but most probably in the Tippera district) "in the forest region, having no distinction of natural or artificial boundary, having a thick network of bush and creeper, where deer, buffaloes, boars, tigers, serpents etc., enjoy according to their will all pleasures of home life" a Brahmana *Sāmanta* Pradoṣaśarman built a temple of Anantanārāyaṇa and prayed to his chief Lokanātha for some land for the maintenance of the daily worship of the god. This plate also records the names of more than 100 Brahmanas but not their *gotras* and Vedas.

The Brahmanas mentioned in the Nidhanpur and Tippera plates deserve more than a passing notice. It has been pointed out by Mr. J. C. Ghose⁴ and Prof. Bhandarkar⁵ that they were *Nāgara Brahmanas* who emigrated from western provinces. The issues involved in the latter's illuminating paper on the *Nāgara Brahmanas and the Kāyasthas of Bengal* are various and many, but it is perhaps to be conceded that Vādanagar or Ānandapura, Ahichatra and Sapādalakṣma were important centres of the *Nāgara Brahmanas*, from where they migrated in course of time to different parts of India. What is more important for our purpose is that, similar to the tradi-

1. Ibid., xix, p. 115, 245.

2. JASB., 1935, p. 419.

3. EI., xv, p. 301.

4. IHQ., 1930, p. 60.

5. IA., 1932, pp. 41, 91.

tion of the importation of five Brahmanas from Madhyadeśa by Ādiśura, there is a strong tradition among the Sāṃpradāyika Brahmanas in Sylhet¹ that five of their ancestors were imported from Mithilā by a king named Ādi Dharmaphā in 641 A.D.. The influence of the former tradition on the latter is perhaps easily traceable, but the date agrees fairly well with the time of Bhāskaravarman and Lokanātha. If there be any truth underlying the tradition current among the Sāṃpradāyikas in Sylhet, the most interesting point is that those who claim to be their descendants have entirely forgotten the real identity of their forefathers.² Mention may also be made of the existence of the Lāṭa Brahmanas in Bengal who were placed in charge of the temple of Nanna-Nārāyaṇa built by Mahāsāmantādhipati Nārāyaṇavarman during the reign of Dharmapāla.³

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

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

1. IHQ., 1931, p. 716.

2. Dr. K. M. Gupta suspects that Sāṃpradāyika is a modern literary infiltration of the long forgotten significant term *Sapādalaṣa*.

3. Prof. Bhandarkar is of opinion that these Lāṭa Brahmanas were also Nāgara Brahmanas.

five illustrious predecessors. It is said that there were seven hundred Brahmanas in Bengal before that event and hence they were called *Sapta-śatī*. Again, it has been suggested that the word 'Sātsatī' is the vernacular form of *Sārasvata* but has been again Sanskritised into *Sapta-śatī*. Acceptance of this view means that the original Brahmanas were all *Sārasvatas*, but it has no basis to support it excepting the *Kulutattvārṇava*. The *Goṣṭhikathā* sarcastically remarks that their knowledge of the Vedas was very poor and were engaged by the Śūdras as priests. The *Sapta-satis* in Rāḍha had at least seven *gotras*,¹ while those in Varendra had five.² The *Sapta-satis* had *gāiṇs* like the *Rāḍhiyas* and *Vārendras* and the number amounted to about forty.³

In the Pāla and Sena grants there are many Brahmanas who, judged by their *gotras*,⁴ are to be regarded in all reasonableness as *Sapta-śatīs*. Their learning in the *śāstras* is evident from their description in the grants. They sometimes performed sacrifices and were readers of moral texts and religious books. Mention may be made of a *Kauśika gotra* Brahmana who migrated from Puṇḍravardhana to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom in the ninth century.⁵ The charge of impurity and ignorance of the *śāstras* laid against the *Sapta-śatīs* is, therefore, altogether unjustified and must be regarded as merely a propaganda. But the most important fact is that this persistent propaganda has met with complete success. Few Brahmanas will give out the fact that they are really *Sapta-śatīs* and in the Census of 1931 only nineteen persons were returned as *Sapta-śatīs*.

1. VJI, I, p. 88. They are Śaunaka, Gautama, Kaundanya, Parāśara, Vasiṣṭha, Hārta and Kautsa. Śaṇḍilya and Ālambāna are also mentioned by N. N. Vasu for which he cites no authority.

2. Ibid., p. 89.

3. See Appendix F.

4. The donee of the Banagrā grant of Mahīpāla I was of the Parāśara gotra and followed the Vājasenya-śākhā of the Yajur Veda; of the Manahali plate is of Kautsa-gotra of the Kauthuma-śākhā of the Śimaveda; of the Amgachi plate is of the Kauśikā of Yajurveda; of the Madhainagara grant of the Kauśika-gotra and Paippaladī-śākhā of the Atharvaveda; of the Sunderban plate is of Gārgya-gotra and of Aśvalāyana-śākhā of the Rgveda.

5. IA, xxxi, p. 220.

A careful investigation into the *gotras* and *gāiṇs* will undoubtedly reveal the existence of a greater number of them who are concealing their identity in order to escape the social stigma and odium due to this propaganda. Some have managed to merge themselves in the *Rādhiya*, *Vārendra* and *Vaidika* societies and it is impossible to discern them. This explains why the number of the descendants of the *Sapta-śatī* or seven hundred men has been returned as nineteen only, while those of the five Brahmana immigrants of the time of Ādiśūra have reached such a big figure as 351,136 in course of 1000 to 1200 years. The *Kulaśāstras* bear testimony to the fact that the *Sapta-śatī* entered the *Vārendra* and *Rādhiya* societies not in inconsiderable numbers. What is more interesting is that at a subsequent period three other *gotras*, viz. *Parāśara*, *Vaśiṣṭha* and *Gautama*, were added to the original five of the *Rādhiyas*. A modern Brahmana author confesses that besides these eight *gotras*, three others, *Ghṛtakauśika*, *Kaundanya* and *Ālamyāna*, are also met with in the *Rādhiya* society.¹

Rādhiyas and *Vārendra*—There is a veritable wordy warfare between the *Rādhiyas* and *Vārendras* for the claim of regarding the five immigrants as their own countrymen. *Śaṇḍilya* Nārāyaṇa, *Vātsyā* Dharādharma, *Kāśyapa* Suśeṇa, *Bharadvāja* Gautama and *Śābarṇa* Parāśara whom most of the *Kulapañjikās* claim to be the earliest ancestors of the *Vārendras* appear to be the sons of the five predecessors of the *Rādhiyas*. It is quite possible that some of the sons of the Brahmana immigrants migrated to northern Bengal. This is quite in agreement with our location of the five villages granted by Ādiśūra in Rādha. But the *Rādhiya* and *Vārendra* quarrel does not end there. The *Vārendras* accuse the *Rādhiyas* of *Sapta-śatī* contamination and declare that they are the sons of the five immigrants by their *Sapta-śatī* wives. The *Rādhiyas* counter-charge their *Vārendra* brethren with the same blemish.² But the

1. K. P. Bhattacharyya, *Rādhiya-kulattatva*, pp. 124–126.

2. For the charges and counter-charges see *Sambandha-Nirṇaya* by L. Vidyanigāhi (pp. 617–634). After refuting the charges of the *Vārendras*, the author himself counter-charges them. The author, it needs be mentioned, was a *Rādhiya*.

plain truth is that both the groups got *Sapta-śatī* contact from very early times. But as the *Vārendras* seem to be a sectionally conscious community and as the *Rāḍhīyas* excel them in number, the *Sapta-śatī* contact was perhaps more in case of the *Rāḍhīyas*.

The descendants of the five immigrants in *Rāḍha* came to be known as *Rāḍhīyas* and those in *Varendra* as *Vārendras*. Their emergence as two separate endogamous groups was not perhaps sudden and various causes might have contributed to this. There are few instances of *Rāḍhīya* and *Vārendra* inter-marriages in the *Kulaśāstras* even at a late period,¹ but the geographical situation, political condition and difficult communications of that period did not promote such marriages. In course of time different social customs and usages grew up in two parts of Bengal and from that point of view such marriages were not perhaps liked also. Kulinism, the foundation of which is ascribed to Vallālasena by both the sections, has different history and developments in the two localities. It is difficult to say when these two sections had got separate denominations in spite of their common ancestry. *Rāḍha* as the name of western Bengal is mentioned in ancient books like Jaina *Ācāraṅga Sūtra*, while the name *Varendra* is not known before the tenth century.² The existence of the *Rāḍhīyas* and *Vārendras* as two separate sections is definitely known for the first time from the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*³ of Halayudha, who was the chief judge of Lakṣmaṇasena. He takes both these groups severely to task for their ignorance of the proper meaning of the Vedic *mantras*, and from his description it seems clear that the *Rāḍhīyas* and *Vārendras* as two separate sections were quite well-known in his time.

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

1. Ibid, p. 720 ; Appendix C, p. 204.

2. See Introduction.

3. T.C. Vidyānanda's edition, pp. 9-10.

of the Gaṅga king Devendravarman, son of Bhupendravarman, record grants of land to *Vaṅga* Brahmanas who have been described as "eager in performing sacrifices and studying Vedas, well-versed in Vedas and Vedāṅgas, and practising Dharmas as described in *Śrūti*s and *Smṛti*s"¹ It seems that the early Brahmana inhabitants managed to get into the *Rāḍhiya*, *Vārendra* and *Vaidika* societies of eastern Bengal and their real identity cannot be traced at all. But it is also true that many Brahmanas from western and northern Bengal migrated to eastern Bengal. The Kewar image inscription² records the migration of a *Vārendra Sāṇḍilya* family and from palæographical considerations this is to be assigned to the 12-13th century A.D. The Adavadi plate of Daśarathadeva refers to the settlement of a batch of *Rāḍhiya* Brahmanas in Vikramapura. After the occupation of western and northern Bengal by the Muslims eastern Bengal remained under the Hindu kings for about a century more³ and it can be easily understood that with the fall of the Hindu political power in Gauḍa many Brahmanas migrated to the neighbouring Hindu kingdoms. What is important for our purpose is that in eastern Bengal, which was not their early home, the *Rāḍhiyas* and *Vārendras* could establish their superiority and the earlier Brahmanical population was absorbed in their societies.

It is stated in some *Kulapañjikās* that Bhūśūra, son of Ādiśūra, was compelled to take shelter in Rāḍha owing to the rise of the Pāla power. His son Khītiśūra is said to have granted 56 villages to the 56 descendants of the five immigrants in Rāḍha.⁴ It deserves special mention that it is by the names of these villages or *gāiṇs* that the Brahmanas at a later period became known. The surnames *Chatterjee*, *Mukherjee*, *Maitra*, *Bhaduri*, etc. are derived from the names of these villages. It is to be noted that even in the Pāla grants some of these 56 *gāiṇs* have been mentioned in course of

1. Jour. Andhra. Hist. Res. Soc. II, p. 149.

2. EI. XVII, p. 355.

3. IHQ., XII, pp. 81-83.

4. VGL., I, pp. 115-127. The location of Mr. N. N. Vasu is not always correct and in some cases has proved to be wrong.

the introduction of the Brahmana donees. The donee Khodulaśarman of the Amgachi plate is described as *Matsavāsa-Vinirgata*, and Matsyāsī is a well-known *gāiṇ* of the *Kaṣṭa śrotriya Vārendra Śāṇḍilyas*.¹ The donee Vaṭeśvarasvāmī of the Manahali plate is described as *Campahīṭṭiya Campahīṭṭi vāstavya*.² Campatī is a well-known *gāiṇ* of the *Vārendra Śāṇḍilyas*. It is known from the Bhuvanesvara *praśasti* of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva that his mother belonged to a *Bandyaghātī* family which is an important *gāiṇ* of *Rāḍhiyas*. Important is in this connection the evidence of the Adavadi plate of the 13th century in which all the Brahmana donees have been particularly introduced by their respective *gāiṇs*, and all of them correspond to those named in the *Kulāgranthas*.³ Dharāśūra, another Śūra king, is said to have classified these 56 *gāiṇs* into two divisions. Twenty-two were raised to the status of *Kulācala* and the remaining thirty-four became *sat-śrotriya*. It is not known on what basis this classification was made. If there be any truth underlying this, Vallālasena seems to have at least one precedent. Those who had got matrimonial connection with the *Kulācalas* commanded greater respect and honour, and inter-marriages between the two classes were not restricted.

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

1. Y.C. Chakravarty, *Kulaśāstra-dīpikā*, p. 84, 85, 260.

2. He was of the Kautsa gotra but Champatī is a *gāiṇ* of the *Śāṇḍilyas*. His pravaras were *Śāṇḍilya*, *Asita* and *Devala*. The last two are also the pravaras of the *Śāṇḍilya* gotra. It is not unlikely that this Kautsa family, having the pravaras of the *Śāṇḍilyas* and living in Champatī, became *Śāṇḍilya*.

3. *Bhāratvarṣa* 1832 B, S., pp. 78-81. Appendix F.

The assurances in the Mongyr and Amgachi plates that Dharmapāla and Vigrahapāla III preserved the four *varṇas* in their proper order are indications of their official policy towards the Brahmanical society. As protectors of the body politic, it was their duty to see that no one should deviate from the rules of the *śāstras* and social orders. The building of new monasteries, reconstructions of old ones and huge expenditure on Buddhist establishments clearly indicate where their active sympathies lay. The *Kulaśāstras* on one or two occasions¹ refer to the gift of lands by the Pāla kings but otherwise they do not make the slightest reference to them. Strictly speaking from the point of view of the *Kulaśāstras* which were mainly concerned with the Brahmanical society, the Pāla period was a social and religious *interregnum* of which it is better not to take any cognisance at all.

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

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

1. Adigāni Ojhā, son of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, is said to have received a village from Dharmapāla. It is said in some books that the Śūras fought with the Pālas.

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

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

1. VJL., I, pp. 146-52

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

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

1. H. P. Shastri, *Vallālacarita* and Eng. Trans. by him; and also *Vallālacarita* by Sasibhusan Bhattacharyya.

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

Circumstantial evidence also goes to indicate that some social reorganisation was necessary in the Sena period. The Buddhist Pālas were ousted by the Senas, who came from the *Kaṇṇāṭa* country and were *Brahmakṣatriyas*, i.e., originally Brahmanas who became Kṣatriyas afterwards by wielding the sceptre instead of teaching the scripture. It is natural that the royal power under them should be used for the welfare and promotion of the Brahmanical religion and society. The fact that during the long period of the Pāla rule, only seven charters recording land grants to the Brahmanas have come to light, while during the single reign of Lakṣmaṇasena no less than seven grants for the same purpose were at least issued, is perhaps a clear indication of the rising tide of the Brahmanical religion. The accession of the Brahma-Kṣatriya Senas certainly gave a fresh impetus to the Brahmanical religion whose star was perhaps already in the ascendant. It has been emphasised by late Mm. H. P. Shastri¹ that it was during the Sena period that many Buddhists were converted to the Hindu religion, and that for these new converts and adherents some castes and subcastes of Bengal were organised or reorganised and even new ones were formed.

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

1. H. P. Shastri's Introduction to Modern Buddhism in Orissa by N. N. Vasu, pp. 14-28.

their migration with Sāmalavarman, and Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, the Brahmana minister of Harivarman, seems to have typified the spirit of assertive Hinduism over decadent Buddhism and other 'heretical' religions.¹ His *Tautātimata-ṭikā*, a gloss on Kumāril's *Tantra-vārtikā*, and well-known *smṛti* works, *Karmānuṣṭhāna-paddhati*, and *Prāyaścitya-prakarṇa* are perhaps indicative of the forces employed to fight Buddhism and of the steps taken to make new converts, to regain the faltering ones and to purify the impure. Doubtless, ministers like Garga, Darbhapāṇi, Kedāramisra, Guravamisra, Jogadeva, Bodhideva and scholars like Prahāsa and Śrīdhara-dāsa, the author of *Nyāya-kandalī*, kindled Brahmanical learning and religion in all their lustre and glory during the Pāla period. But when the king of a dynasty which boasts of their zeal in the propagation of the Vedic religion to counteract the preaching of the naked ascetics² is styled *Dharmavijayi*³ (applied to Harivarman) and chooses a man like Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva as his minister, it must be taken to have a special significance. It is now an admitted fact that in the Sena period there had been a renaissance of Sanskrit learning and literature. In that renaissance, it is to be specially noticed, there were a great number of *Smṛti* books, dealing with *āhṇika* (daily rites), *Saṁskāra* (periodical rites), *śuddhi* or *aśuca* (purification), *prāyaścitta* (expiations) *śraddhā* (funerals), *kṛtya* (festivals), *pūjā* (worship), *pratiṣṭhā* (consecration), *dāna* (gifts) and *kāla* (appropriate time). To refer to the *Kāla-viveka*, *Dāyabhāga*, *Vyavahāra-mātrkā* of Jīmūtavāhana and the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*, *Dviija-nayana*, *Śraddhā-paddhati-ṭikā* is to name only a few of them. The works of Anirudha Bhaṭṭa, Iśāna and Paśupati also should be taken into consideration in this connection. From the middle of the eleventh to the close of the twelfth century all these writers wrote on Brahmanical rites and observances, having the *Śrūti*s and *Smṛti*s as their authority. It seems that these pseudo-*smṛti* books were composed with a view to suit the changed social and religious condition of Bengal and the

1. Bhuvanesvar praśasti, v. 20.

2. Belava plate, v. 5.

3. Bhuvanesvar praśasti, v. 16.

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

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

1. BI, See two Appendices on the Śūras.

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

1. Risley, Tribes and Castes of Bengal. Vol. I, p. 145.

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

1. We are not prepared to accept the remarks in the *Kulamanjari* that *Lakṣmaṇasena* made a further sub-divisions of *ārti* and *madhyāṁśa* into 15 sub-divisions (see *VJI*, I, pp 182-4). No other book refers to this. He is said to have introduced five kinds of *paribarta*, viz., *ādāna*, *pradāna*, *kuśa-tyāga*, *yoga* and *vara*. Most of the *Kulaśāstras* are silent over it and there is no doubt that *Kuśa-tyāga* was introduced at a later period.

It has been recently suggested by some scholars¹ that the real cause behind this movement was political rather than social and religious. Those who were recipients of *Kaulinya* rank were royal favourites who helped the establishment of the Sena rule and on whom the Senas could rely for support in future. Mention must be made here of Vijayasena's marriage with a princess of the Śūra dynasty. If the *Kulaśāstras* are to be believed, the Śūras were the champions of the Brahmanical religion. The matrimonial alliance of the Śūras and Senas might have some political importance. There are instances in the history of many countries that after a period of political religious and social upheavals the new kings and rulers try to create a new social order plain to them. *Legione de Honours* of Napoleon, the champion of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, is an instance in point. But it is difficult to say how much Vallālasena was actuated by political consideration in offering the *Kaulinya* rank to some Brahmanas. Incidental reference from *Vallālacarita* go to indicate that the political considerations might have weighed with him in degrading the status of the *Suvarṇavaṇikas* and the *Kaivartas*. The banker Vallabhānanda, the leader of the *Suvarṇavaṇika* community, refused to offer a loan to the Sena king except on certain conditions and was suspected of helping the Pāla king of Magadha with whom the Senas were at war. His community also incurred the jealousy of the Brahmanas by wearing the sacred thread and by their enviable personal beauty. Vallālasena in alliance with the Brahmanas found an opportunity to degrade the mercantile community to the status of the Śūdras by a royal proclamation. The *Vaṇikas* retaliated by the prohibition of slave trading in Gauda, which seems to have been their monopoly. The *Kaivartas* were employed in domestic service and were made a clean caste by a royal order and their headman Maheśa was raised to the rank of a *mahāmāṇḍalika*. There is no doubt about the fact

1. K. P. Bhattacharyya, *Rāḍhīya-Kula-tatva*, p. 93; Dr. N. K. Bhattachali has gone so far as to assert that Vallālasena adopted the policy of divide and rule in order to secure his own position against possible dangers, *Bhārat-varṣa*, 1343 B. S., *Asadha* issue, under the heading *Kaivartarāja Divya*; also *Census of India*, V, Pt. I, pp. 527-28.

that the Senas were at war with the Pālas for a considerable period and that the *Vanikas* might have sided with the Buddhist Pālas. In the latter part of the eleventh century the Pālas were ousted from Varendra by the Kaivarta chiefs Divvoka and Bhīma, and the raising of the social status of the *Kaivartas*, when the Pāla-Sena war was not over, might have some political significance. The story of the degradation of the *Yogīs* is also interesting. The royal Brahmana priest is said to have been insulted by a *Yogī* Buddhist priest in charge of the Mahasthana religious establishment and this provoked Vallālasena's wrath on the community and hence their degradation. Judging the question from every possible sources, it seems that causes behind the social reorganisation by Vallālasena were various and it is not unlikely that contemporary political events influenced this to a certain extent.

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

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

1. VJI. II, Varendra Brāhmana-Vivaraṇa, p. 21.

2. *Idid.*, pp. 21-25.

vity of Vallālasena with regard to the handling of the rank of the *Vārendra* Brahmanas is reported in the *Kulagranthas*. The hero of *Vārendra Kulinism* is the famous *ghaṭaka* Udayanācārya who seems to have belonged to the 14th-15th century, and his rules and regulations do not fall within the scope of this book.

The *Pāścātya Vaidikas* — The special trait of a *Vaidika* Brahmana is that he is said to be very learned in the Vedas. The *Bhavabhūmi-vārtā* by Rāghavendra Kaviśekhara¹ which is said to have been written in 1581 S.E. is the only book which states that Gaṅgāgati Miśra was the earliest *Pāścātya Vaidika* to come to Bengal from Kaṇṇāvatī on the bank of the Sarasvatī during the reign of king Harivarman. But it is to be noted that this book became known only after the discovery of the Samantasara plate of Harivarmadeva. It is also said in that book that Gaṅgāgati Miśra induced Yaśodhara Miśra to migrate to Kotalipara (in the Faridpur district) through the offer of his daughter. All other *Pāścātya Vaidika* books are unanimous in declaring that their ancestors came on the invitation of Śyāmalavarman in 1079 A.D.. The story² that has been made much of is the fall of a vulture on the royal palace which was taken to be nothing but a foreboding of a coming evil. There was no competent Brahmana to perform the requisite ceremony for the prevention of this evil. At the suggestion of the queen (whose name is given in some books as Sudakṣiṇā³ and in others as Suśilā⁴) the king requested his father-in-law Nilakanṭha, king of Kāśī (in one book⁵ the name is Jayacandra), to send a competent priest for that purpose. This priestly hero is *Saunaka* Yaśodhara Miśra who along with four other Brahmanas came to Bengal in 1001 S.E.. Again, it is also said that Yaśodhara was presented to Śyāmalavarman by his father-in-law on the occasion of his marriage.⁶ The four other Brahmanas⁷ of the *Saṅḍilya*,

1. VJI, II, *Vaidika Brāhmaṇa-Vivarāṇa*. Intro.

2. For different versions of the story, *Ibid.*, pp. 25-38.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 13 16.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

7. There is no agreement regarding their names and gotras, *Ibid.*, p. 41.

Vaśiṣṭha, *Sābarṇa* and *Bharadvāja* gotras were induced by Yaśodhara Miśra to settle in Bengal in 1067 S.E.¹

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

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

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

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

1. Ibid., 39

2. Halāyudha observes, "the Utkalas, Pāścātyas and others only read the Vedas, while the Rāḍhiyas and the Vārendras without reading by means of Karma-mīmāṃsā discuss only the nature of sacrificial rites in connection with the Vedas. But there can be no (proper) knowledge of the Mantras froming the soul of the Vedas.....In this way the Rāḍhiyas and Vāendras merely create improper conduct." T. C. Vidyānanda's edition, pp. 9-10; see also JASB, 1915, p. 211.

3. Bhāratvarṣa, 1337 B. S., Pt. II, pp. 673 ff.

4. Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa, Vangabāsi edition.

(braziers), (7) *Saṅkha-Vaṇikas* (shell-dressers), (8) *Kumbhakāras* (potters), (9) *Tantuvāyas* (weavers), (10) *Karmakāras* (blacksmiths), (11) *Gopas* (milkmen), (12) *Dāsas* (Cāsi-Kaivartas), (13) *Rājputas* (fighters), (14) *Nāpitas* (barbers), (15) *Modakas* (sweet-meat-makers), (16) *Varajīvis* (growers of betel-leaves), (17) *Sūtas* (bards and reciters), (18) *Mālākāras* (gardeners), (19) *Tāmbulī* (seller of betel-leaves), (20) *Tailikas* (traders in oil).

(II). *Madhyama Saṅkaras*—mixed castes of intermediate status, (21) *Takṣa* (wood-cutters), (22) *Rajakas* (washerman), (23) *Svarṇakāras* (goldsmiths), (24) *Suvarṇa-vaṇikas* (traders in gold), (25) *Ābhīras* (milk-men), (26) *Tailakāras* (oil-pressers), (27) *Dhī-varas* (fisherman), (28) *Saundhika* (wine-sellers), (29) *Naṭas* (dancers and musicians), (30) *Savakas*, (31) *Jālikas* fishermen).

(III). *Antyajas* or outcastes—(32) *Gṛhis*, (33) *Kudavas*, (34) *Caṇḍālas*, (35) *Badura*, (36) *Carmakāra*, (37) *Ghaṭṭajīvis*, (38) *Dolā-vāhīs*, (39) *Malla*.

Besides, the author speaks of the *Sakadvīpī* or *Devala Brahmanas* from whom the *Gaṇakas* originated, and of the *Mleccha* tribes (non-Aryans) like *Pulindas*, *Kakkasas*, *Khaśas*, *Yavanas*, *Sauhmas*, *Kambojas*, *Sabaras* and *Kharas*.

The account of the origin of these castes is as it should be expected from an *upā-Purāṇa*. The wicked demon king *Veṇa* compelled men and women of different castes to procreate children. When the *Uttama-Saṅkaras* were born, he compelled them to procreate the rest. Sins and crimes were very common because of the confusion of castes and the *Rṣis* effected *Veṇa*'s death through super-natural power, and the pious and good *Prithu* was created to restore order. With his help the *Brahmanas* fixed the proper duties and occupations of each caste. The criticism that it is an artificial systematisation composed long after the origin of castes, which is generally laid against *Manu's* theory, equally holds good in case of this account. The above-mentioned castes or peoples can be divided into three classes—professional, functional and ethnic or tribal. There cannot be any doubt about the fact that in a professional and functional caste there were peoples of many castes and the author of a *Smṛti* or *Purāṇa* could not otherwise explain this

state of things excepting referring to fictitious mixed breeding. These castes are doubtless of mixed origin, as peoples of many castes followed one profession or were engaged in a single occupation and then formed a caste. The words *Varṇa-saṅkara* and *Jāti-saṅkara* are important, as in case of the professional and functional castes there has been really confusion of *Varṇas* and *Jātis* in a single caste.

Appendix E.

Authorities.

The genealogical list of the *Mukherjees*, *Banerjees*,¹ and *Boses*² have been published. Two important *Kārikās* dealing with *Kulinism* are attributed to Harimiśra and Eḍumiśra who are said to have flourished during the reign of Danujamādhavadeva. Their works have not yet come to light, but later writers have occasionally quoted many passages from their works. The most important work on the subject discovered so far is that of the *Mahāvamśa* of Dhruvānanda Miśra who composed his work in 1407 S.E.=1485 A.D.. It deals with the *Samikaraṇas* of the *Rāḍhīya Kulīnas* from the time of Lakṣmaṇasena. The *Rāḍhīyas* have *Rāḍhīya-Kula-Mañjarī*, while the *Vārendras* have *Vārendra-Kulapañjikā*. Mr. N. N. Vasu quotes extensively from the *Kulārṇava* of Vācaṣpati Miśra but I do not know whether this work has yet been published. Maheśa Miśra's *Rāḍhīya Nirodosa-Kula-Pañjikā* is also an important work. Nula Pañcānan's *Goṣṭhi-Kathā* offers a scathing criticism on the whole system. Many witty couplets on the subject transmitted in oral tradition are attributed to him. It must be noted that none

1. Mukha-Vamśa and Baudhya-Vamśa published by Mr. L. M. Mukherjee.

2. Basu-Vamśa by B. Roy Chowdhury; Mr. J. N. Kumar has published in his *Vamśa-Paricaya* the genealogies of many important families.

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

Appendix F.

1. Forty-two *gāiṇs* of the *Saptaśatī*.

Śagāi, Surāi, Nālsī, Yagāi, Hāsai, Kalāi, Dhāi, Bānsi, Bānturī, Dhānsī, Kātānī, Kuśala, Ujjvala, Kāśyapa-Kāñjārī, Bātari, Pitārī, Nātārī, Beru Bāgrāi, Ulluka, Jhajjhara, Mulluk, Pharphara, Kunduka, Kerala, Cercaru, Bālthubi, Paṇsika, Dighala Bhādaḍī, Bhaṭṭaśālī, Karañja, Tāi, Āditva, Kāmadeva, Koyāḍī, Nagaḍī, Digāḍī, Hāmasecāi, Kaunḍinya, Bāpārī, Bāgrāi and Belāḍī.

1. JASB, N. S., XVIII, p. 489.

These forty-two are mentioned by Mr. N. N. Vasu. Mr. L. Vidyanidhi speaks of forty *gāiṇs* excepting very few most of them agree. According to Vācaspati Miśra, there were only twenty-eight *gāiṇs* of the *Saptaśatis*.

2. Fifty-six *gāiṇs* of the *Rādhīyas*. Some add Purba, Caut-khaṇḍī and Dīghal, thus making fifty-nine *gāiṇs*.

Sāṇḍilyas (16) — Bandya, Gaḍgaḍ, Keśarakoṇā, Kusumakali, Parihāi, Kulabhī, Ghoṣāla, Sejagā, Māsacaṭaka, Bāḍala, Basuyāḍī, Kadala, Kuśārī, Kulīsa or Kulkuli, Ākāśa, Dīrghaṭī.

Kāśyapas (16) — Guḍa, Ambula, Bhuri, Tailabhāṭī, Pītamunḍī, Caṭṭa, Palsai, Haḍa, Poḍari, Pāladhi, Koyari, Pākṛāsī, Simlai, Pushali of Pushilal, Bhaṭṭa, Mula.

Bharadvājas (4)—Mukhaṭī, Diṇḍisāñi, Sāhuḍiyān, Rāyī.

Sābarṇas (12)—Gāṅguli, Kundalala, Siddhala, Dāyī, Nandī, Bāli, Śihari, Puṅḡśika, Saṇḍeśvarī, Pāli, Ghaṇṭeśvarī, Nāñadī.

Vātsyas (8)—Mahintā, Ghoṣāla, Simbalāla, Bāpuli, Pippalāi, Putitunḍa, Kāñjilāla, Kāñjiāḍī.

3. The following *gāiṇs* were made *Kulīnas* —

Mukhya Kulīnas (8)—Bandya, Caṭṭa, Mukhaṭī, Ghoṣāla, Putitunḍa, Gāṅguli, Kāñjilāla, Kundalala.

Gauṇa Kulīnas (14)—Rāyī, Guḍa, Mahintā, Kulabhī, Caut-khaṇḍī, Pippalai, Gaḍagaḍī, Ghaṇṭeśvarī, Keśarakoṇā, Dimsāi, Parihala, Haḍa, Pītamunḍī, Dīrghaṭī.

The rest are *Śrotṛīyas*.

4. The following *gāiṇs* are mentioned in the Advadi plate of Daunjamādhavadeva :— Diṇḍī Gāñi, Pāli gāñi, Seu gāñi, Māsacaṭaka, Mula, Sehandāi, Puti, Mahantiyāḍa, Karañja gāñi.

5. Hundred *gāiṇs* of the *Vārendras* —

Vātsayas (24)—Sānnyāla, Bhīmkalī, Bhaṭṭaśālī, Kāmkalī, Kuḍamuḍī, Bhāriyāla, Lakṣa, Jāmrukhī, Simli, Dhosāli, Tanuri, Vatsagrāmī, Deuli, Nidrālī, Kukkuṭī, Bodhagrāmī, Śrutobaṭī, Akṣagrāmī, Sāhari, Kaligrāmī, Kalihal, Pauṇḍrakalī, Kālindī, Chaturbandī.

Bharadvājas (24)—Bhādaḍa, Lāḍulī, Jhāmal, Jhampatī, Ātur-

ihī, Rāi, Ratnāvalī, Uccharakhī, Gocchasi, Bāla, Śakāṭi, Simbi, Bahal, Sariyāla, Kṣetragrāmī, Dadhiyāla, Puti, Kācchṭi, Nandīgrāmī, Gogrāmī, Nikhaṭi, Pippalī, Śrīṅga, Khorjar, Goswalambi.

Sābarṇas (20)—Śingdiyaḍa, Pākaḍi, Dadhi, Śrīṅgi, Medadi, Undhuḍi, Dhundhuri, Tatoyar, Setu, Naigrāmī, Nedhuḍi, Kapāli, Tutturi, Pañcabaṭi, Nikaḍi, Samudra, Ketugrāmī, Jaśogrāmī Sitalī.

Kāśyapas (18)—Maitra, Bhāduḍi, Karañja, Bālayaṣṭhī, Modhāgrāmī, Bālahāri, Moyāli, Kiral, Bijikuñja, Saragrāmī, Katigrāmī, Saragrāmī, Madhyagrāmī, Maṭhagrāmī, Gaṅgagrāmī, Belagrāmī, Chama-grāmī, Aśukoṭi.

Sāṅḍilyas (14)—Rudrabāgchi, Lāhiḍi, Sadhubāgchi, Campaṭi, Nandanabāsi, Kāmendra, Sihari, Taḍoyālabisi, Matsyāsi, Champa, Suvarṇa, Toṭaka, Puṣaṇa, Beluri.

6. The following *gāiṇs* were made *Kulinas* by Vallālasena.

Lāhiḍi, Bāgchi, Bhāduḍi, Maitra, Sānnyāla.

Bhādaḍa became *Kulina* for the sake of metre. The *gāiṇ* of another man cannot be stated precisely.

Siddhya Śrotriyas—Karañja, Nandanabāsi, Bhaṭṭaśāli, Lāḍuli, Campaṭi, Jhampaṭi, Āturthi, Kalihal.

Sādhya Śrotriyas—Uccharakali, Jāmrukhi, Ratnāvalī Sihari, Rāi, Goswalambi, Biṣi, Khorjarḍ.

The rest are *Kaṣṭa Śrotriyas*.

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

The *Vārendra Kulapañjikā* places it in *vedakalanḥkaṣaṭavimite* i.e., in 654 S.E.; Vācaspati Miśra *vedabāṇāṅgaśake* i.e., in 654 S.E.; and the *Kulārṇava* in *vedabāṇahīmesāke*. The *Kulatattvārṇava* place it in 675 S.E.; the *Vallālacarita* in 954 S.E. .

CHAPTER X

RELIGIOUS CONDITION

Jainism—The districts of Manbhum, Singhbhum, Birbhum and Burdwan derive their names from Mahāvira or Vardhamāna.¹ Of the 24 Jaina *tirthaṅkaras* no less than 20 attained *Nirvāṇa* on the Sametśikhara (*Samādhi-śikhara*) in the Paresnath Hill in the Hazaribagh district. It is narrated in the *Āyāraṅga Sutta*² that Mahāvira had to undergo much suffering and hardship in Vajjabhūmi and Subbhabhūmi in Rāḍha. It was difficult to travel in the country and the natives treated the ascetics very cruelly. They incited dogs to bite them and the ascetics had to carry bamboo staves to keep off the dogs. It seems, therefore, that western Bengal felt the tide of the rise of Jainism at the time of Mahāvira.

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

1. IHQ., IV, p. 44 ; SPP, 1322, p. 5 ; JBORS., 1927, p. 90.

2. SBE., XXII, pp. 85-5. That Puṇḍravardhana was a Jaina centre at the time of Buddha is corroborated by the story of Sumagadhā, daughter of Anāthapiṇḍaka (*Sumāgadhāvadāna* in the *Bodhi Sattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā*, Bengali translation by S. C. Das. pp. 768-779).

Aṅga and Magadha are the eastern countries that occur in the list of *Solaśa-mahājanapadas* of the *Āṅguttara-nikāya*. The 15th chapter of the Jaina *Bhagavatī Sutta* also gives a list of sixteen countries, and the occurrence of the names of Aṅga, Vaṅga and Lāḍha (Rāḍha) in it shows that the Jainas had more acquaintance with Bengal than the Buddhists in an early period. The *Kalpasūtra* mentions four *śākhās* of the *Godāsagana* of the Jaina monks as Tāmalittiyā, Koṭivarṣiyā, Poṁdavaradhaniyā and (Dāsī) Khabbaḍiyā.¹ Tāmralipti, Koṭivarṣa and Puṇḍravardhana are in Midnapore, Dinajpur and Bogra districts respectively, and Khabbaḍiya has been identified with the principality of Kharvāṭa in western Bengal. The Jaina *Upāṅgas*, redacted in c. 454 A.C. but preserving earlier traditions, include Tāmalitta and Vaṅga among Aryan lands, as opposed to Milikka (=Mleccha or barbarian) peoples like Śaka, Yavana² etc. All these literary references go to show unmistakably that there had been considerable proselytising activity by the Jainas since the days of Mahāvīra, and Jainism had got strongholds almost in every part of Bengal. If the maltreatment of the ascetics narrated in the *Āyāraṅga Sutta* is to be believed, the Jainas seem to have met with much opposition from the natives. But the spread of the religion over the whole country shows that they were ultimately successful in their mission.

Though we do not know of any royal patron like Candragupta Maurya of Khāravela after the Christian era, Jainism did not lose much ground in Eastern India, as it is generally believed. A Mathurā inscription³ records the erection of a Jaina image in the year 62 of an unspecified era (=140 A.D.?) at the request of a Jaina monk of Rārā (Rāḍha?). The Paharpur plate of 159 G.E.⁴ records the gift of some land by a Brahmana couple for the maintenance of worship with sandal, incense, flowers for the *arhats* at the *vihāra* of Vaṭ-Gohālī. This *vihāra* was presided over by the disciples of the disciples of the *Nirgrantha* preceptor Guhanandin, belonging to the *Pañcastūpa* section of Benares. The evidence of the Paharpur

1. SBE., XXII, p. 288, also *Kalpasūtra* by Jacobi, p. 79; for the location of Khabbaḍiyā or Kharvāṭa see IHQ., VIII, pp. 529-80.

2. IA., 1891, pp. 374 ff.

3. JASB., V, p. 239.

4. EI., XX, 639.

plate, read along with the account of Yuan Chwang, testifies to the fact that Puṇḍravardhana, as a great Jaina centre, maintained its position at least up to the first half of the seventh century A.D.

Yuan Chwang's observations on the religious condition of India are, no doubt, of great importance for the proper understanding of the relative position of the important religions of the time. But it must be noted that in his account the details about all other religions excepting Buddhism are lacking and that he speaks of the *Nirgranthas* rather incidentally and summarily. The fact being so, the Buddhist pilgrim was constrained to remark that in Vaiśālī, Puṇḍravardhana, Samatāṭa and Kalinga—all in Eastern India—the *Nirgranthas* were numerous. It is, therefore, clear that in these regions the Jainas had the largest number of adherents in the seventh century. The Chinese traveller does not refer to the *Nirgranthas* of the other localities specifically, but when he says that other religions live in pell-mell, it is to be understood that Jainas were included in them. His silence cannot be taken to mean that there were no Jainas in other parts of Eastern India. Thus in his description of Rājagṛha no mention is made of the Jainas, but he found many *Nirgranthas* near a tope (*stūpa*) on the Vipula mountain on the spot where Budha once preached. 'Many *Digambaras* now lodge here and practise austerities incessantly; they turn round the sun, watching it from its rising to its setting.'¹ Rājagṛha, famous both in Buddhist and Jaina literature, is still a place of pilgrimage to the Jainas. A considerable number of Jaina images lie scattered in or about this place.²

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

1, Watters on Yuan Chwang, Vol. II, p. 154.

2, ASIR., 1925.26, pp. 146 ff.

that as founders and champions¹ of two rival religions, their relation at a later period was far from being friendly, if not one of bitter rivalry and heinous propaganda against each other. The Jainas refer to Gosāla and his followers not in very honourable terms. If the *Bhagavatī* account of Gosāla and Mahāvīra is to be believed, they lived together for six years in Paṇitabhūmi, which was, according to some Jaina commentators, in Vajjabhūmi, one of the divisions of Rāḍha.² Mahāvīra in course of his wanderings in Rāḍha found ascetics carrying bamboo staves in their hands, who, in accordance with Pāṇini's description of *maskarin*, are to be identified with the Ājīvika ascetics and were also active in propagating their religion in western Bengal in the 6th century B.C. Maurya kings like Aśoka, Daśaratha and prince Viśāśoka sometimes patronised the Ājīvikas. The Nāgārjuni and Barabar caves³ go to show that the Ājīvikas had got a fair number of followers in Eastern India in the 3rd century B.C.³

The *Bhagavatī* refers to a king of Mahāpauma of Puṇḍa, a patron of the Ājīvikas. Puṇḍa is said to be at the foot of the Viñjhā mountains and Mahāpauma's capital is described as having hundred gates.⁴ The very name Puṇḍa suggests that it was most probably Puṇḍra. Whatever may be the truth underlying the episode that Aśoka put to death 18,000 Ājīvikas in Puṇḍravardhana for the crime of a *Nirgrantha*, it unmistakably shows that it was also a centre of the Ājīvikas. But the most important point in this episode is that the Ājīvikas were mistaken for the *Nirgranthas*, and there are other

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

2. Ibid., p. 57, SBE., XXII, p. 264, Note. 4. It is to be noted that other Jaina books have Paiśācabhūmi instead of Paṇitabhūmi. (See Mr. U. D. Barodia's History and Literature of Jainism.)

3. JBORS., XII, p. 58.

4. Dr. Barua identifies Puṇḍa with Pāṭaliputra because Mahāpauma's capital is described with hundred gates p. 67; cf. Megasthenes, description of Pāṭaliputra.

passages in the *Divyāvadāna*¹ in which the Ājīvikas have been confounded with the Jainas. We are, therefore, inclined to accept Dr. B. M. Barua's opinion that at the time of the composition of the *Divyāvadāna* 'the meaning of the confounding of the Ājīvikas with the Jainas is that the two sects living side by side at Puṇḍravardhana differed so slightly from each other, whether in their views or in their outward appearances, that it was difficult for a Buddhist observer to draw any sharp distinction between them.' In Southern India the Ājīvikas were regarded by the Jaina authors as a sect of the Buddhist *bhikṣus*.² It is quite natural to think that there were many Ājīvikas whom Yuan Chwang also confounded with the Jainas or at his time they became identical with the Jainas to all intents purposes and lived completely absorbed in Jainism, as the followers of Devadatta were living absorbed in Buddhism at Kāṇasuvāṇa, only retaining their individuality in the matter of taking food. Broadly speaking, the differences between the Ājīvikas and the Jainas were not very fundamental. Amalgamation was perhaps possible when the initial bitterness was over and it was also possibly necessary in view of the vigorous activity of other rival religions in the field. Devadatta, the veritable Satan of the Buddhist *Jātakas*, was the founder of a sect, differing only in very minor points from Buddha³ but it was, according to the testimony of Yuan Chwang, living within the bosom of Buddhism in the seventh century, and to a non-Buddhist it was then nothing but Buddhism, pure and simple. Although proofs are still lacking, it may be surmised that Jainism was at a later period absorbed by Buddhism and by the different sects of the Brahmanical religion. The Paharpur monastery which seems originally to have been a Jaina establishment was at a later period converted into a Brahmanical one and finally into a Buddhist *Vihāra*, the famous Somapura-vihāra of northern Bengal. Mallikārjuna Sūri, the celebrated writer on astrology, who flourished in Vaṅga in the 12th cen-

3. Dr. Barua, Op. Cit. P. 65.

4. IA., 1912, pp. 88ff.

1. Isan Ghose's Bengali translation of the *Jātakas*, Vol 1, Appendix, pp. 214-6; IA., 1923, p. 267; 1924, p. 125.

tury A.D., seems to have been a Jaina,¹ but in his books he pays homage to the Hindu gods Gaṇapati, Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa.

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

1. The very name ending in-Sūri suggests that he was a Jaina. The Jains and the Ajīvikas were famous for their proficiency in Astrology, Beal, II. p. 168; also see Dr. Barua's paper and Mr. P. C. Sen's paper, *Vicitrā*, 1840 B. S., pp. 659 ff. Dr. B. Dutta takes Mallikārjuna Sūri to be a Hindu because of his paying homage to Hindu god. SPP, 1340 B. S., p. 83.

2. ESMS., p. 144.

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

4. IHQ., XII, p. 67.

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

6. R. D. Banerjee, Op. Cit.

7. VRSR., Op. Cit., 1928-29.

Surhor in Dinajpur¹ is interesting from the iconographical point of view and deserves more than a passing notice. The central figure with the perfect meditative pose, the oval nimbus over the head, the attendants with fly-whisks, the flying couples of Vidyādhara with garlands, the umbrella between 4 pairs of hands, indication of celestial offerings, resembles in many respects a seated Buddha image of the Pāla period. The perfect nudity of the figure, the bull, the emblem of R̥ṣabhanātha, and the presence of 23 *tīrthaṅkaras* who have come as if to pay their homage on the occasion of the installation of this remarkable image are clear indications of the fact that it was a Jaina image. In the representation of 24 *tīrthaṅkaras* in the Hanumān cave at Khandagiri the *vāhanas* of Sumatinātha, Supārśvanātha and Anathanātha are *krauñca*, *svasti* and *śyena* respectively and this is also the direction in Hemacandra's *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi*. In this image the *lāñchanas* are the dog, wheel and bear.² Most probably the Bengal school followed a different manual in the representation of the *tīrthaṅkaras*.

From stylistic considerations all the Jaina images may be assigned to the Pāla period. The small number of Jaina images in comparison with the large number of the Buddhist and Brahmanical images is perhaps indicative of the fact that Jainism was losing ground in the Pāla period. It is known from the *Vasantavilāsa*³ that Vastupāla (1219-1233 A.D.), minister of Cālukya Vīradhavalā, who went on a pilgrimage, was attended by the *Sanṅhapatis* from Lāṭa, Gauḍa, Maru, Dharā, Avantī and Vaṅga. It is important to notice from this incidental evidence that even in the 13th century there were heads of organised associations of the Jains in Gauḍa and Vaṅga, however small their influence might have been in this period.

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

1. Ibid., 1933-84.

2. This iconographical point of difference was first noticed by Mr. N. B. Sanyal.

3. *Vasantavilāsa*, Sarga X

in early Buddhist literature. It has been mentioned in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*¹ that Buddha once lived at Śetaka, a town of the Sumbhas; and it has been suggested that they may be the Suhmas of western Bengal.² A Buddhist teacher Upasena has been described as Vaṅ-gānaputto in the *Āṅguttara Nikāya*,³ and it has been suggested on the analogy of such epithets as Videhaputto and Mallaputto that Upasena was originally perhaps an inhabitant of Vaṅga. No locality or city seems to have gained high recognition or to have been of much importance to the early Buddhists, and it is also doubtful whether in these two cases there has been really any reference to Bengal.

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

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

1. W. 89, 168-170.

2. Dr Majumdar, *Early History of Bengal* p. 8.

3. I. XIV, 8.

4. *Bodhi-Sattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā* Bengali Translation by S. C. Das, pp. 768-779.

5. *IHQ.*, 1934, p. 54. We follow Dr. B. M. Barua's interpretation of this inscription.

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

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

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

1. EI., II, p. 108, 880.

2. EI., xx, p. 23.

3. IHQ., 1930, pp. 40 ff.

vehicles were followed. In Samatāṭa there were more than 30 monasteries and above 2000 Brethren, all of the *Sthavira* school. In Tāmralipti there were above 10 monasteries and more than 1000 Brethren. In Kārṇasuvarṇa there were more than 10 monasteries and above 2000 Brethren who were all adherents of the *Samatiya* school. There were also three monasteries in which in accordance with the teaching of Devadatta milk products were not taken as food. Besides, there were two Universities—one in Puṇḍravardhana and another in Kārṇasuvarṇa.

It seems from the accounts of the Chinese travellers that Buddhism was declining in Tāmralipti. In Fa-hien's time there were 22 monasteries in all of which monks resided.¹ In Yuan Chwang's time the number of monasteries were ten and I-Tsing saw only five or six.² He has left a graphic account of the University of Bhā-rā-hā in Tāmralipti. But Buddhism increased its influence in Samatāṭa. In I-Tsing's time the number of monks rose from 2000 of Yuan Chwang's to 4000. The increasing influence of Buddhism within fifty years was perhaps due to the ardent and vigorous support of the Khadga dynasty which ruled in Samatāṭa within the period between 625 and 725 A.D. All the known independent kings of Bengal before the middle of the seventh century were followers of the Brahmanical religion. The Khadgas were devoted Buddhists, and we are fortunate to have a picture of the flourishing condition of Buddhism and of the part played by Rājabhāṭa³ in its propagation at the time of Seng-chi. "He was an ardent worshipper of three jewels and played the part of a grand *upāsaka*. His sincerity was profound and faith very great. His glory exceeded that of his predecessors. Every day he made 100,000 statues in moulded clay and read 100,000 stanzas of *Mahāprajñā-pāramitā-sūtras* and made use of 100,000 fresh flowers. . . ." When the royal party went, an image of Avalokiteśvara was placed in the front. His banners and standards concealed the sun, and instrumental

1. Legge, p. 100.

2. Takakasu, Intro. xxxiv.

3. Chavannes at first restores the text as Harṣabhāṭa but in a footnote says that it may be constructed as Rājabhāṭa.

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

Tantrikism—The *Tantras* claim great antiquity. The Hindu *Tantras* claim origin from the *Vedas*,³ while the Buddhists trace the Tantrik doctrines to the *Mudrās*, *Mantras Maṇḍalas*, *Dhāraṇīs* and *Yoga*, as preached and practised by Buddha.⁴ But no avowedly early Tantrik books like the *Guhya-samāja*, *Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa*⁵ and the *Kaulajñāna-nirṇaya* can be placed before the 7th century A.D. It seems that from the 7th or 8th century onward both the Brahmanical and Buddhist religions were greatly influenced by Tantrikism. It is said in an early Jaina book⁶ that Śabarās, Drāviḍas, Kaliṅgas, Gauḍas and Gāndhāras succeed by occult sciences.

1. I am thankful to Dr. R. C. Majumdar for translating the relevant portion from Chavannes' 'Memorie les Religien eminents' pp. 123-29.

2. Beal, *Life* pp. 158-60.

3. *IHQ.*, ix, pp. 1 ff.

4. *Sādhana-mālā*, Intro. pp. xvi ff.

5. *IHQ.*, ix, pp. 1 ff.

6. *SBE.*, Vol. xlv, *Sutrākṛtaṅgas*, p. 366.

In the description of the centres of Tantrikism in the *Sammola Tantra*¹ Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga are mentioned first.

It is very difficult to define Tantrikism. MM. H. P. Shastri² expressed the opinion that "The word *Tantra* is very loosely used. Ordinarily people understand by it any system other than the *Vedas*.... the union of male and female energy is the essence of *Tantra*." Winternitz³ holds that the term "*Tantra* ought to be restricted to the texts connected with śakti worship." This is, no doubt, one of the main aspects of the Tantrika literature. *Śaivas* look upon this union of male and female energy as that of Śiva and Śakti, the *Sāṃkhyas*, of Puruṣa and Prakṛti, and the Vajrayānists, of Boddhicitta and Nirātmā (śūnya) or Upāya and Prajñā. Besides this abstruse philosophy, we find various other topics discussed in the *Tantras*, viz. the story of the creation, royal duties, social customs, male and female characteristics, curing of diseases, *mantras* for the extraction of snake-poison and even the introduction of the smoking of tobacco in human society. Above all, the *Tantras* are the repository of the esoteric beliefs and practices. In course of time the *Tantras* have become the encyclopædias of knowledge of varied kinds. Tantrika goddesses like Ekjaṭā and Mahācīnatārā seem to be of foreign origin, and it is quite likely that every Tantrika doctrine or practice was not of indigenous growth.⁴

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

1. IHQ., VII, p. 8.

2. Intro. to N. N. Vasu's *Modern Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 10.

3. IHQ., IX, p. 4.

4. Ibid., VII, pp. 1 ff.

tual success but also could prove helpful in mundane affairs, as *māraṇa* (destruction of enemies) and *ākaraṇa* (attracting). The *Tantras* advocate the worship of gods and goddesses in *Yantras* (instruments, more properly magic diagrams). Some of the Tantrika *Yantras* in stone with figures of gods and goddesses have come to light. The devotee is to concentrate on the *Yantra* his mind which is fastened to the object of worship. The full correspondence between the mind and the body was aimed at. The intellectual process was supplemented by physical discipline to be attained by *Yogas* of various kinds like the controlling of senses and breathings.

It is quite natural that in such a mystic system the role played by the *guru* (preceptor) was a very important one, and the *Tantras* realise it. For the proper understanding of the *mantras* and for correct application of esoteric practices, initiation by, and the guidance of, a *guru* were enjoined as absolutely essential. People irrespective of caste, creed and sex were initiated. The use of *Pañca-Makāras*¹ were sometimes advocated for attainment of *siddhi*. There were three distinct stages of *sādhana*, viz., *śuddhi* (purification), *sthiti* (illumination) and *arpaṇa* (unification), and there were three classes of *sādhakas* (devotees), viz. *Paśu*, *Vira* and *Divya*.² It was the duty of the *guru* to prescribe to his initiates their mode of *sādhana* according to their mental and spiritual capacities. If any disciple misused the mode of worship for his physical enjoyment, he was severely taken to task and the *guru* was also held responsible to a certain extent for his degeneration. The disciple was regarded as a spiritual son of his preceptor and was sometimes named after the *guru* after his initiation. In Tantrika *sādhana* the devotee was identified with the deity and the preceptor enjoyed a higher status than the deity itself.

Divergent views have been expressed as to the valuation of Tantrikism. It has been claimed that it is the greatest contribution of India to the world³ and that the Tantrika method of *sādhana*

1. They are *madya*, *māmsa*, *matsya*, *mūdrā* and *maithuna*.

2. Dr. N. K. Brahma, *Philosophy of Hindu Sādhana*, p. 291.

3. Dr. B. Bhattacharyya, *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism*, see concluding remarks.

combines in it "yoga, bhakti, mantra, homa (oblation), jñāna and karma and can be best studied as the "synthesis of all that was good in the various forms of sādhanā in vogue and as such its claim to be the shortest route to the *summum bonum*, and its promise to its adherents of the easy and speedy attainment of the end are perhaps justified."¹ On the other hand it has been condemned² as the most revolting and horrible practice that human depravity could think of, and compared with which the worst specimens of Holiwell Street Literature of the last (18th) century would appear absolutely pure. But the plain truth is that the vast Tantrika literature has not been adequately studied with the care and attention that it deserves and it remains yet an enigma to us. We may hope with Avalon that the true spirit of scholarship will endeavour to be just.³ There remains enough to show that Tantrikism necessitated multiplicity of gods and goddesses and "satisfied everybody, the cultured and the uncultured, the pious and habitual sinners, the lower and the higher ranks of people and devotees."⁴

The Buddhist Pantheon—The study of the later Buddhist religion has been simplified by the publication of the *Sādhnamālā*,⁵ a special class of literature dealing with the Buddhist pantheon. This literature was mostly written in the monasteries of Bengal and Bihar, and the Buddhist images so far discovered answer in most cases to their descriptions in the *Sādhnamās*. The task is made easier by the fact that the Buddhists were scientific in the classification of their gods and goddesses, most of whom were affiliated to a particular family of the five Dhyānī Buddhas.

Dhyānī Buddhas and Bodhisattvas—The conception of five Dhyānī Buddhas and their association with their female counterparts (śaktis) are for the first time met with in the *Guhyasamāja Tantras*⁶ and *Jñānasiddhi*⁷ of Indrabhūti, none of which can be at

1. Dr. N. K. Brahma, *Op. Cit.* p. 275.

2. R. Mitra, *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, p. 261.

3. *Tantrik Texts*, VII, Foreward, pp. IV-V.

4. *Sādhnamālā*, intro., p. xxxvi.

5. Our thanks are due to Dr. B. Bhattacharyya for his painstaking work in this direction and we follow him in the main.

6. GOS, No. LIII, Intro., p. xi,

7. BD. Icon., Intro. p. xxv,

present assigned before the 8th century. They are Vairocana, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi and Akṣobhya. Later on Vajrasattva was added, thus raising the number to six, and in Nepal Vajrasattva is the priest of five Dhyānī Buddhas. Dhyānī Buddhas generally appear as the sires of other gods and goddesses and their separate representation is rare. Only two images of Ratnasambhava are known so far.¹ The VRSM. specimen² is from Vikrampur and the VSPM. one³ from Bhagalpur. Only one image of Vajrasattva with an inscription in the tenth century script has been discovered from Sukhavaspur,⁴ Dacca. The six Divine Bodhisattvas are Sāmantabhadra, Vajrapāṇi, Ratnapāṇi, Padmapāṇi, Viśvapāṇi and Ghaṇṭāpāṇi and they are affiliated to the six Dhyānī Buddhas. Three images of Vajrapāṇi come from Bihar⁵ but none from Bengal. It is quite possible that the images described in the VRSC as Bodhisattva, Lokanātha, Padmapāṇi⁶ are those of this Divine Bodhisattva. Images of Maitreya, the Buddhist Messiah, are not very rare in Bihar and Bengal. He is represented separately either standing⁷ or seated⁸ and also appears in the company of seven mortal Buddhas.⁹

Ādi-Buddha—The conception of Ādi Buddha or Primordial Buddha cannot be traced in literature¹⁰ earlier than the 10th century. In the later Buddhist pantheon he occupies the highest place, for it is said that the five Dhyānī Buddhas originated from him.¹¹ In Nepal he is called Sayambhū and the *Vṛhat-svayambhū-purāṇa* deals with his cult. Again, some identified Akṣobhya with Ādi-Buddha.¹² According to Getty,¹³ Prajñāpāramitā is his Śakti and he is to be

1. JASB., 1926, 169 ff.

2. No. A (a) 6/138.

3. No. C (a) 6/271.

4. DMC., No. 1A (1) a/1.

5. Bd. Icon., Pl. XIIb; IM. Nos. 3784, 3785,

6. VRSC. A (b) 6/165.

7. ASIR. 1929-30, Pl. XLIII f. from Jhewari, Chittagong; VRSC. No. A (b) 13/351.

8. An excellent image from Biswanpur Tandwa, Bihar, ESMS, Pl. XXXIIb.

9. IM, B.G., Nos. 83, 133.

10. Bd. Icon. Intro. pp. XVII-XVIII

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. Gods of Northern Buddhism, p. 3.

represented as a 'crowned Buddha' with ornaments and princely garments. Many crowned images of Buddha have been found in Bengal and Bihar, and their identification with the saintly Śākyasiṃha in monkish robe has been questioned.¹ According to Mr. N. G. Majumdar, the representation of the principal incidents of the life of Buddha around the crowned figure is explained by the fact that "*Śākyasiṃha* was given a place in the unreal mythological domain and has been thoroughly identified with the Primordial Buddha" and that eight (or four) important incidents of his life were regarded as signs of his Buddhahood.

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

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

1. VRSR, 1929-27, pp. 7-10 ; for crowned images, see, IM, B. G. No. 80, Br. No. 68 ; Nos. 3713, 3703, 3755, 2071 ; VSPC, No. C(c) 2/185.

2. See the huge image of Buddha from Jagadishpur near Nālandā and the Sib-bati Buddha image from Khulna, ESMS, Pls., XIXC, XXA ; also IM, No. Br. 5, pl. XIXb.

(3) the boy Buddha at school,¹ (4) his concern at the sight of an old man,² (5) the *mahābhiniṣkramaṇa* or the great renunciation on the back of Kaṇṭhaka followed by the groom Chandaka, (7) the changing of the dress with that of Chandaka, (8) the cutting of hair, (9) the meditation of Buddha, (10) the attack of the Māra's army, (11) allurements by his two daughters and (12) failure of that attempt. After a comparison of the representations of these scenes from the master's life with those of other schools, R. D. Banerjee³ observes that the Pāla school of sculptures introduced the representations of many incidents which had not been portrayed by the intermediate schools like Mathura and Sarnath after that of Gandhara. The same scholar very appropriately described these scenes on the back slabs as "images bas-reliefs" and the evolution of this style is peculiar to the Pāla school.

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

1. Only in IM. No. Br. 5, the identification is questionable, as it is not very distinct.

2. Ibid.

3. ESMS., p. 44.

4. Bd. Icon, Pl. XIVd.

are prescribed in the *Sādhnamālā*. An image¹ of the simpler form in Dharmacakra-mudrā of the late Pāla period has been discovered at Bara in the Birbhum district. The VRSC. No. A (b) 12/264 describes a six-handed image of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī surmounted by five Dhyānī Buddhas (one of them missing). The independent forms of Mañjuśrī are Aparcana, Sthiracakra, Vādirāt and Mañjunātha. The DMC. No. 9A (ii) b/1 most probably represents Aparcana. He is holding the book against the breast in the left hand, brandishing a sword in the right, and it agrees with the *Sādhana* excepting that it bears the effigies of four Dhyānī Buddhas. The DM. also possesses a wooden image of standing Sthiracakra of high artistic excellence.² The VSPC. No. C (d) 8/16 also agrees with the *Sādhana* excepting that the right hand shows Varada-mudrā and the left holds the stem of a lotus on which appears the sword.³ An image of Mañjuśrī in bronze of the Gupta period has been discovered at Mahasthan.⁴ It bears an effigy of Akṣobhya.

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

1. Ibid., Pl. XVp.

2. Modern Review, 1938, March issue.

3. Bd. Icon., p. 30.

4. VRSR, 1926-27, Pl. I, fig. 2.

vidyā, broken) has been found in the Birbhum district.¹ The VRSM., DM. and IM. each possesses a fair number of Simhanāda images. Images of Lokanātha are very common. The DMC. No. IA(ii)a/2 is a fine specimen of Khasarpaṇa and agrees faithfully with the description in the *Sādhana*. It is one of the best products of the Pāla school of art. He is in Ardhaparyāṅka-āsana in Varada-mudrā with his companions Tārā, Sudhanakumāra, Bhṛkūtī and Hayagrīva with a lotus stalk in hand. The IM. No. 3808² represents another image of Khasarpaṇa. The VRSM.³ possesses an image of Avalokiteśvara in bronze from Mahasthan and has been assigned on stylistic considerations to the Gupta period.

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

- (1). Avalokiteśvara with two hands—the lotus stalk in the left hand and the right in the Varada-mudrā.
- (2). With four hands—the two additional ones holding a rosary (*aṅṣamālā*) and a *kamaṇḍalu* or a book.
- (3). With six hands⁵—the other two hands holding a snare (*pāśa*) and a jewel-like substance.
- (4). With multiplicity of hands.⁶ The VRSC. No. A(b)1/47 is a 12-handed image of Avalokiteśvara, but the attributes are not distinct. The VSPC. No. C(d)7/9 is also a 12-handed one with the figure of Amitābha over the serpent canopy. The VRSC. Nos. A(b)2/37 from Bogra and A(b)3/122 from Vikrampur, Dacca, represent a twelve-handed god and are surmounted by five Dhyānī Buddhas. The VRSC. No. A(b)4/93 from Vikrampur describes a Bodhisattva Lokanātha surmounted by five Dhyānī Buddhas.⁷ No such description is to be found in the *Sādhanamālā*. The presence of five Dhyānī Buddhas on so many images cannot perhaps be explained as "ornamental rather than parental," and it may be that we have not yet

1. ASIR, Eastern circle, 1920-21, p. 27.

2. ESMS, pl. XXXIII.

3. Report, 1927-28, pl. V.

4. ESMS, p. 87 ff.

5. IM. No. 5860.

6. See ESMS, pl. XXXIVa.

7. For another image see ASIR, 1930-34, pl. CXXXIb.

known the *Sādhana* which prescribes Avalokiteśvara as an emanation of five Dhyānī Buddhas.

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

Family of Amitābha—He claims complete allegiance of the gods, Mahāvala, Saptāśatika and Hayagrīva and the goddesses, Kurukullā, Bhṛkuṭī and Mahāsitavatī. Kurukullā has four sub-varieties. It is reported that there are three images of Kurukullā among the large Kurkihara finds.² No other image of this group is known.

Family of Akṣobhya—He commands the allegiance of a large number of gods and goddesses. His male emanations are Caṇḍaroṣaṇa, Heruka, Buddhākapāla, Vajradāka, Hayagrīva, Yamāri and Jambhala. Heruka has three varieties—Dvibhuja Heruka, Heruka in *Yab-Yum* (in close embrace) with his Śakti and Caturbhuja Heruka. The DMC. No. IA(iv)b/1 is a Dvibhuja Heruka in Ardha-paryāṅka or dancing pose with a horrible look, hurling a Vajra and wearing a garland of skull. Vajradāka has three varieties—Samvara, Saptākṣara and Mahāmāyā. The IM. has recently acquired an image of Samvara from northern Bengal.³ The *Sādhana* prescribes four heads but this image has three. Otherwise it agrees in details with the description in the *Sādhanamālā*. Yamāri has two varieties—Rakta (red) and Kṛṣṇa (black). Kṛṣṇayamāri has again three sub-varieties and one image of the sub-variety, namely, Yamāntaka, has been discovered at Nālandā.⁴ Jambhala has another variety called Uccuṣma-Jambhala.

The female emanations of Akṣobhya are Mahācīnatārā, Jān-

1. Bd. Icon. pp. 40, 46, 50.

2. Proceedings and Transactions of the seventh Oriental Conference, pp. 795-796.

3. ASIR, 1934-35, p. 80, pl. XXIVc.

4. Bb. Icon., pl. XxVb.

guli, Ekajaṭā, Parṇaśavarī, Prajñāpāramitā, Vajracaracikā, Dhvajā-grakeyūrā, Vasuhdarā and Nairātmā. Jāngulī has three forms, Ekajaṭā has two and Prajñāpāramitā has four. The IM.¹ possesses a representation of Ekajaṭā who offers a horrible and grim look and flames are gushing out from her person. A broken image of Parṇaśavarī with six hands, three faces and trampling on Gaṇeśa is in the Indian Museum.² Prajñāpāramitā is the deification of the spirit of the popular *Mahāyāna* book of that name. The DMC³ describes an image of this goddess. Vasuhdarā is the Śakti of Jambhala and is the goddess of plenty and prosperity. One image of Vasudharā has been found in the Murshidabad district.⁴ The goddess Nairātmā is the deification of the idea underlying Śūnyavāda or Nirātmā (soullessness). The IM. No. 3941 represents an image of Nairātmā. She is dancing in Ardhaparyāṅka attitude on a corpse with a garland of skulls. With angry eyes, canine teeth and burning flames from her person she presents a terrible appearance. A bronze in VSPM.⁵ seems to represent this goddess. The only thing that goes against the identification is that her sire Akṣobhya is not to be found on the top.

Family of Vairocana—In the *Sādhana*mālā no male emanation of Vairocana is known. His female emanations are Mārīcī, Uṣṇīṣavijayā, Sitātapatrā, Aparājitā, Mahāsahasrapramardanī and Vajravārāhī. Of these goddesses Mārīcī was very popular. She has six varieties, of which only the images of Aṣṭabhuja Mārīcī are common. She is the Buddhist goddess of dawn and her chariot is drawn by seven pigs. She is four-faced and a *Caitya* appears on her head. In her four faces four sentiments, *bhaya*, *bībhatsa*, *raudra* and *śānta* were directed to be expressed. One of the faces is that of a boar. The IM.⁶ possesses an image of Uṣṇīṣavijayā which agrees in all details with the *Sādhana* excepting that it bears the effigy of Akṣobhya in

1. Ibid., pl. XXVId.

2. No. 3957.

3. No. IB (1)/1.

4. ASIR, 1927-28, pl. XLIXe.

5. Bd. Icon., p. 91, pl. XXXb.

6. Ibid., pl. XXXIc.

stead of Vairocana. Vajravārāhī is the śakti of Hevajra and has three varieties.

Though no male emanation of Vairocana is known in the *Sādhana-mālā*, a bronze image of Hevajra with this parental Dhyānī Buddha has been discovered in the Tippera district.¹ He is in fighting attitude and in his sixteen hands there are different attributes, mostly weapons. Eight goddesses dance a war dance around him. Another image of Hevajra in *Yab-Yum* has been found at Paharpur.²

Family of Amoghasiddhi—Like Vairocana only female emanations of Amoghasiddhi are known and they are Khadirvanī-Tārā, Vāṣyatārā, Śaḍbhujā Sitatārā, Dhanada-Tārā, Parṇaśavarī, Mahāmāyūrī and Vajraśṛṅkhālā. The images of Khadirvanī-Tārā are very common. Both standing and seated forms are to be found. She is accompanied by Aśokakāntā Mārīcī and Ekajaṭā. Two fine images of Parṇaśavarī come from the Dacca district.³ She appears in fighting attitude and presents an angry look. The diseases and pestilences which are represented in human shape flee at her approach.

Family of Ratnasambhava—His male emanations are Jambhla and Uccuṣma Jambhala. Jambhala is the Buddhist god of wealth and is represented with a pot belly and decked with ornaments. In his right hand he carries a mongoose which vomits jewel. He is a popular god and his allegiance is claimed by Ratnasambhava, Akṣobhya and five Dhyānī Buddhas. The *DMC*.⁴ describes two fine images of the present type from Vikrampur.

His female emanations are Mahāpratisarā and Vasudharā. Two eight-handed images⁵ from Dacca are generally identified with Mahāpratisarā but they do not belong to this form. Dr. B. Bhattacharyya refers to an independent form of this goddess in the

1. *DMC*. Addenda, pl. Ia.

2. *ASIR*, 1927-28, p. 107, pl. XLIx.

3. *DMC*. Nos. Pl. XXIII.

4. Nos. pls. XIb, e.

5. *Bd. Icon*. Pls. XXXVbc.

Sādhnamālā.¹ They agree well with the independent form excepting that they have three faces, while the *Sādhana* prescribes four. One image of Vasudharā from Jhewari, Chittagong,² is known but the parental Buddha is lost and it is difficult to say under whose authority (Akṣobhya or Ratnasambhava) she is.

Emanations from five or four Dhyānī Buddhas—The gods included in this group are Jambhala and Mahākāla and the female emanations are Vajratārā, Prajñāpāramitā, Sītatārā and Māyājāla-karma Kurukullā. The two images discovered at Majbari (Faridpur) and Patharghata (Bhagalpur) within a full-blown lotus with eight movable petals are generally taken to be representations of Vajratārā. But Dr. N.K. Bhattasali³ draws attention to the description of an image of Cakra-Mahāsukha in the *Cakra-sambhara Tantra* and is perhaps right in his disagreement in so far as there are no parental Buddhas in the above two instances. The IM. No. 100⁴ represents the goddess Prajñāpāramitā of this form. The VRSC. No. A(d)2/137 describes an image of Mārīcī and the rim of its chariot roof contains five Dhyānī Buddhas. The only known emanation from four Dhyānī Buddhas is the goddess Vajratārā.

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

Independent forms—Under this heading may be included the gods and goddesses who do not claim their origin from any of the five Dhyānī Buddhas or any combination of them. Independent gods are Gaṇapati, Bighnanāṭaka, Vajrahūṅkāra, Bhūtaḍāmara, Vajrajvālā-mālākāra, Trailokyavijaya, Paramaśva and Nāmasaṅgīti. One image of Trailokyavijaya⁵ from Bodh-Gaya is only known. He is four-faced, eight-armed and tramples on Gaurī and Śiva. The VSPM.⁶ possesses an image of Bighnanāṭaka. Its provenance is not known but it seems to be a product of Nepalese workmanship.

1. Ibid., p. 117.

2. ASIR, 1927-28, Pl. XLIXb.

3. DMC., p. 51. The reproduction of Vajratārā from Nepal by Dr. Bhattacharyya is of entirely different type. Bd. Icon., Pl. XXXVa.

4. Ibid., Pl. XXXVIc.

5. Ibid., XXXIXc.

6. Ibid., Pl. XXXIXb.

Independent goddesses are Sarasvatī, Aparājītā, Vajragāndhārī, Vajrayoginī, Grahamātrkā, Gaṇapatihrdayā and Vajravidāraṇī. The Buddhists seem to have borrowed Sarasvatī, the Brahmanical goddess of learning. That she was highly venerated and very popular is attested by the fact that five of her forms are found in the *Sādhana-mālā*, viz., Mahāsarasvatī, Vajravīṇā Sarasvatī, Vajrasāradā,¹ Ārya-sarasvatī and Vajrasarasvatī. The IM. has an image of Aparājītā.² The goddess is in fighting attitude and tramples on Gaṇeśa. Another broken image from Nālandā probably represents her.³

Miscellaneous gods and goddesses—Hārītī, protectress and giver of children, is not described in the *Sādhanamālā* but is known from Buddhist mythology. The DM.⁴ has an image of this goddess with a fish and bowl in two hands and in the other two she holds a baby. The VRSM.⁵ has four specimens. Two images of Hārītī have been found in the ruins of Khāḍī.⁶

The goddesses consisting of the *Tāntrika* Pañcarakṣā Maṇḍala are Mahāpratisarā, Mahāsaharapramardanī, Mahāmantrānusāriṇī, Mahāmāyūrī, and Mahāsitavatī.⁷

All the Tārā images have not been properly classified. There are many varieties. Dr. B. Bhattacharyya classifies them under two general headings—(1) ordinary and (2) extraordinary. Ordinary Tārās exhibit the Varada pose in the right hand and hold a lotus in the left.⁸ Ordinary Tārās are again sub-divided into Green and

1. One image from Nālandā has been identified as Koṭīśrī (?) and is, in the opinion of Dr. B. Bhattacharyya, probably that of Vajrasāradā. Both these identifications are questionable. There is no similarity of this image with the Nepalese painting of this goddess reproduced by him, Bd. Icon., Pls. XI, de, p. 152.

2. Ibid., Pl. XLIIa.

3. Ibid., Pl. XLId.

4. No. IB (VII)/c

5. A (e) 1/327. A (e) 3/106, A (e) 2/329, A (e) 4/115.

6. VRSM, 1928-29. p. 8.

7. These five goddesses are illustrated in Bd. Icon by miniatures from a manuscript of Pañcarakṣā.

8. Ibid, p. 135 fn.

White Tārās. Green Tārā has four varieties—Khadirvanī, Vaśyātārā, Āryatārā and Mahattarī Tārā. Most of the Tārā images belong to this category. White Tārā has two varieties—Mṛtyuvañcana and Aṣṭamahābhaya. Extraordinary Tārās include a large number of goddesses we have described already.

The above account does not exhaust the number of known images¹ and it is also to be noted that all the *Sādhanas* have not been discovered. In spite of some cases of doubtful and questionable identifications it is to be admitted that the Buddhist images as a rule faithfully agree with their descriptions in the *Sādhnamālā*. The extant literature and the number of images hitherto discovered from different quarters make it abundantly clear that Buddhism in its later phase commanded a large following in the Pāla period.

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

CHAPTER XI

RELIGIOUS CONDITION (CONTINUED)

Brahmanical Pantheon

Vaiṣṇavism—The *Harivaṃśa*¹ narrates the story of a quarrel between Yādava Kṛṣṇa and Vāsudeva of Puṇḍra. The latter was a friend and ally of the Magadha king Jarāsandha and an enemy of Kṛṣṇa. It is said in this story that Pauṇḍraka Vāsudeva considered himself to be the real Vāsudeva, the holder of *śaṅkha*, *cakra padma* and *gadā*, and regarded Devakīputra Vāsudeva as an impostor. In the battle that ensued on this account the Puṇḍra king lost his life. The story tends to show that at the time of the composition of the *last* part of the *Harivaṃśa* Vāsudeva with his usual attributes was regarded as a fullfledged god, but it may reflect the spirit of a previous age (as we know from the story of Śiśupālavadha in the *Mahābhārata*) when there was a considerable opposition from a section of the people of eastern India to looking upon Kṛṣṇa as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. It may be noted that Pauṇḍraka Vāsudeva was one of the kings defeated by Bhīma in his eastern expedition.

The earliest epigraph referring to Vaiṣṇava worship in Bengal is the Susunia inscription which records the setting up of a wheel of Viṣṇu by king Candravarman. The Vaigram plate of 129 G.E. refers to a temple of Govindasvāmin (a form of Viṣṇu) and the Damodarpur plate No. 4 refers to a temple of Śvetavarāhasvāmin.² The Tippera grant of Lokanātha records grant of land to a temple of Nārāyaṇa. The Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla mentions grant of land to a temple of Nanṇa-Nārāyaṇa in the Vyāghrataṭi-maṇḍala.

The Brahmanical images and terracotas unearthed in course of

1. Vaṅgavāsī edition. Udvṛtta-bhaviṣyat-parva, pp. 439-446.

2. Most probably it means Viṣṇu in Varāhavatāra. This record also mentions Kokāmukhasvāmin. Dr. R. G. Basak says that Kokāmukha may mean a she-wolf. It cannot be ascertained what god was meant in this case.

excavations at Paharpur are assignable to the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. Stories and exploits connected with the life of Kṛṣṇa are illustrated profusely in panels and they go to show that the Kṛṣṇa cult was popular in Northern Bengal even in the Gupta period. Before the Paharpur excavations our knowledge of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult of ancient Bengal was very poor, the stone representations being the doubtfully identified 'Mother and Child' images as the birth of Kṛṣṇa. His sports with the milk-maids and the part played by him in the *Mahābhārata* have been mentioned in the 4th verse of the Belava plate of Bhojavarman, the last known king of the Vaiṣṇava Varman dynasty. Jayadeva, the court-poet of Lakṣmaṇasena, immortalised the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in his *Gīta-Govinda*. The Kṛṣṇa panels¹ at Paharpur which are possible of definite identification are lifting of the mountain Govardhana, the death of the demons Cānura and Muṣṭika in wrestling combat with Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, the uprooting of two Arjuna trees and the killing of the demon Keśī.² An amorous pair³ with halos round their heads have been identified with Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. There are separate representations of Balarāma and the river-goddess Yamunā. There are various other panels which may be representations of some scenes of Kṛṣṇa's life. Two scenes⁴—a monkey carrying stone on his head for making the bridge in order to cross over to Laṅkā and the fight between Bālī and Sugrīva—show the wide popularity of the *Rāmāyaṇa* stories in that period. Besides the Paharpur finds, a bronze image of Viṣṇu from Rangpur may be assigned to the Gupta period.⁵ An ordinary Viṣṇu and Viṣṇu Śeṣa-Śāyin in the Tapa collection at Rangpur,⁶ Viṣṇu from Laksmankathi, Backerganje,⁷ and another from Jogirsoan, Rajshahi,⁸ and a baked clay seal of the god from Sabhar, Dacca,⁹ may be assigned to the post-Gupta period.

1. ASIR, 1926-27, pp. 142 ff.

2. IC, III, p. 195.

3. ASIR, 1926-27, Pl. XXXc.

4. Ibid., Pl. XXXIVa.

5. Ibid., 1929-30, Pl. XXXVb.

6. VRS. Monograph, No. 4.

, DMC, p. 87.

8. VRSR, 1930-31, fig. 1.

9, DMC, p. 83.

Viṣṇu images of the Pāla period lie scattered and uncared for all over Bengal, and all the museums and private collections possess a fairly large number. This is a clear proof of the wide popularity of the worship of this god. Viṣṇu is generally represented as standing with his four well-known attributes in four hands. He is accompanied by his two wives Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī, *Vāhana* being the devotee Garuḍa. Sometimes the door-keepers of Vaikunṭha, viz., Jaya and Vijaya, also appear. Most of the Bengal images belong to the Trivikrama and Vāsudeva varieties with the order of attributes PGCS and GSCP. in four hands.¹ A specimen of a four-headed bust of Viṣṇu is in the Tepa collection at Rangpur. The central face is normal, the left and right are those of Varāha and lion. The back one is described like that of a Bhairava.² The pedestal of a seated image of Viṣṇu (*Yogāsana*) from Itahar, Dinajpur, has been noticed by Mr. S. K. Saraswati.³ A standing Viṣṇu with a seven-hooded snake canopy has been found in the north-western Sunderbans.⁴ A *Seṣa-Śāyin* image is at Vainyesvara, Murshidabad.⁵

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

1. For different varieties of Viṣṇu, see *Viṣṇumūrti-Paricaya* by V. Vidyavinode. So far as we know, varieties of Nārāyaṇa, Hṛṣīkeśa and Śrīdhara have been discovered. See VSPC No. F (a) 1/352; JASB, 1982, p. 179; VRSR, 1928-29, p. 18.

2. VRS, Monograph, No. 4, pp. 80-3/.

3. JASB, 1936, p. II, Pl. II, fig. 1.

4. VRS, Monograph, No. 4, Pl. III, No. 12

5. *Bīrabhūma-Vivaraṇa*, fig. 83.

6. DMC., No. 3A (1) a/5; ESMS, p. 103.

7. ASIR, 1924-25, p. 154.

8. DMC., No. 3A (1) d/1.

9. *Pravāsi*, 1838 B. S., pp. 516 ff.

Bogra. On ordinary images of Viṣṇu this form is indicated by a fish. In these two specimens the god is represented as half-fish (lower half) and half-man with usual attributes in four hands and with Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī on his two sides. Images of the Varāha-avatāra are rather common, the VRSM. possessing the largest number. The images of Narasimha-avatāra are also fairly common. Three Narasimha images¹ in the Abdullapur Vaiṣṇava monastery have six hands instead of four, the two additional ones being in the Abhaya and Tarjanī mudrās. In the images of the Vāmana-avatāra the attempt to chastise the demon king Bali by raising the left foot in order to cover three worlds is cleverly depicted.² The image of Paraśurāma is extremely rare in Bengal. The DMC.³ describes one from Ranihati Deul, Purapara in Vikrampur. The only difference from an ordinary Viṣṇu image is that the god holds a *paraśu* instead of the *gadā*.

Many square slabs of stone or metal with the image of Viṣṇu on one side and his ten incarnations on the other in a circular order have been discovered and very appropriately called Viṣṇupaṭṭas.⁴ Most probably they are the *Yantras* used by the Tantrika Vaiṣṇavas. The finest specimen is from Khāḍi, Sunderbans.⁵

The images of Balarāma are not very common. The VRSM.⁶ possesses one from Dinajpur. The god is standing under a five-hooded snake canopy. The first right hand holds a cup (of wine?), the second a club and the first left a plough and the other rests on the knee. It may be noted that one image among the Kurkihar

1. DMC., Pl. XXXVII bed.

2. A pot-bellied and comparatively short sized Viṣṇu in IM, in the usual standing posture is described by R. D. Banerjee as Vāmana. We think there is nothing to regard it as an image of Vamana-avatāra except its short size. ESMS, Pl. XLVIJa.

3. Pl. XXXIXb

4. DMC, p. 89.

5. Antiquities of Khāḍi, (Sunderbans) by Mr. K. D. Mitra in VRSR, 1928-29.

6. E (d) 1/386,

(Bihar) finds has been identified with Balarāma,¹ and another of the reign of Devapāla has been found at Nālandā.²

Garuḍa appears in Viṣṇu images as kneeling on the right knee with folded hands in adoration. He is sometimes represented as a human being³ and occasionally as a bird proper.⁴ The separate images of two-winged Garuḍa with folded palms are common. They might have adorned the pillars in front of Vaiṣṇava temples. The crowning figure of the Dinajpur Vaiṣṇava pillar is a double-sided Garuḍa. The DMC.⁵ describes a fine specimen of a double-sided Garuḍa image. The VRSM. specimen⁶ from Nagail, Rajshahi, is also a good piece of sculpture. The wooden image of Garuḍa from Raghurampur is of fine workmanship.⁷

The images of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa are not very common and only four of them are known.⁸ Representation of Lakṣmī in separate images is not also very common. The VRSC. reports the acquisition of three metal images from Bogra and the VSPM.⁹ has one from Bhagalpur. Separate images of Sarasvatī are also rare. The DM. specimen comes from Tolbari Bhita near the *Nāstika Paṇḍitera Bhitā* (generally supposed to be Atiśa Dipaṅkara's home) at Vajrayogini, Vikrampur. In the three specimens in VRSM. from Bogra and Rajshahi the ram appears as her *vāhana*, while the known *Dhyānas* direct it to be the swan. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali¹⁰ draws attention to the 7th *Adhyāya*, 12th *Kāṇḍa* of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, which connects a ram with Sarasvatī worship. The practice of sacrificing the ram is still observed in some parts of the Dacca district.

1. Transaction and Proceedings of the Seventh Oriental Conference, p. 799.

2. ASIR. 1920-21, p. 35.

3. ESMS, p. 106; VRSC, No. E (a) 17/2

4. Ibid, E (a) 1/9.

5. 3A (1) c/2.

6. ESMS, Pl. XC1a.

7. DMC, No. 3A (i) e/1.

8. DMC., No. 3A (i) b/1; Mr. S. K. Saraswati notices three images in his reports of his tours in Malda and Dinajpur. See JASB, 1936, pp. 9 ff. Another image reproduced in *Bīrabhūma-Vivaraṇa*.

9. K (a) 1/265.

10. DMC, p. 187.

Śaivism—The spread of Śaivism in Bengal is obscure. In the Gunaighar grant of 508 A.D. Vainyagupta is styled as *paramaśaiva*, and in course of the description of the boundary of the donated land to the Buddhist monastery a temple of Pradyumneśvara has been referred to. The existence of a Śaiva temple in the Tippera district in this period indicates that Śaivism had considerable influence by that time. The bull symbol of the coins of Samācāradeva and Śaśāṅka shows that they most probably belonged to this sect. The seal of the Asrafpur plates of the Khadgas bears a bull couchant, and the queen Prabhāvatī, wife of Devakhaḍga, consecrated a Sarvāṇī image. In spite of their ardent devotion to Buddhism it seems that the Khadgas had Śivaite sympathies also.

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

In the Pāla and Sena periods Śiva was worshipped in various forms, of which two-armed Śiva, Sadāśiva, Bhairava, Kalyāṇasundara or Vaivāhikamūrti, Umā-Maheśvara or Umāliṅgamamūrti and Natarāja types seem to have been popular. Four images of two-armed Śiva are known. They look like Viṣṇu images excepting their characteristic Śaiva symbols, the bull, tridents and *Urdhvaliṅga*.² The seal attached to the Sena grants bears the figure of ten-armed Sadāśiva. The VRSM. has three Sadāśiva images and the VSPM.,

1. 1926-27, pp. 146-47

2. Two in the VRSM, described in VRSC as Harihara, p. 11; and two in the IM., ASIR, 1930-34, p. 262, Pl. CXXXII. d.

two.¹ Bhairava was originally an attendant of, or emanation from Śiva and instead of the bull, the dog is the *vāhana* of Bhairava. The VRSM. has four,² the DM. possesses one and the Nahar collections, Calcutta, contains a fine specimen. Kalyāṇasundara images can be divided into two classes. In one class Gaurī stands in front of Śiva³ and in another to his left.⁴ Umā-Maheśvara images predominate over all other Śiva images, and both metal and stone specimens are common. It is noteworthy that all the known images of Naṭarāja Śiva excepting one from Govindapur in N.W. Sunderbans⁵ come from eastern Bengal (Dacca and Tippera districts). The Naṭarāja images can be divided into two classes—ten-handed and twelve-handed varieties.⁶

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

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

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

3. DMC., Pl. XLVIIa.

4. Ibid., Pl. XLVIIb.

5. VRS, Monograph, No. 5, fig. 7.

6. DMC., P. III, Nos. 3A (ii) a/b are broken.

7. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali calls it Nilakaṇṭha but admits that the Dhyāna prescribes five heads, while the present image has only four but the attributes in the hands agree. DMC., p. 117.

8. DMC., Pl. XLVII; VRS, Monograph, No. 5, fig. 9, another at Bhardraśila, Dinajpur, JASB, 1936, p. 12.

are of extreme rarity¹ in Bengal. The images from Purapara, Vikrampur, are said to have been worshipped by Vallālasena and one of his queens.² It may be mentioned that the Naihati plate of Vallālasena opens with an invocation to the Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva. The VSPM.³ has one broken image which appears to represent a seated Śiva (*Dhyāni Śiva*?)

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

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

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

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

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

The images of Gaṇeśa are common. Generally we meet with seated or dancing Gaṇeśa with four or eight hands.⁸ The VRSM.

1. The VRSC. No. C (e) 2/288 is a fragmentary image from Akṣayaṇa, Gaya.

2. DMC., p. 131.

3. G (c) 1/341.

4. DMC., pl. LXX.

5. VRSC., No. C (a) 1/82; one from Mangolkot, Burdawn. see ESMS, pl. Ela, one at Unakoti, Tippera.

6. JASB, 1932, p. 187; for two others see *infra*.

7. Ibid, pp. 188-89.

8. Mr. B. Bhattacharyya describes eight varieties of Gaṇeśas. But as the attributes do not agree with his lists, it is difficult to classify them accordingly, see Indian Images, p. 18

has the largest number of dancing Gaṇeśas. The *DMC*.¹ and *VRSC*.² each describes a six-handed Gaṇeśa. The *DMC*. describes a unique five-faced and ten-armed dancing Gaṇeśa from Vikrampur, and the learned compiler of the *Catalogue* has quoted a *Dhyāna* from the *Sāradātīlaka Tantra*, which enables him to identify it as an image of the Heramba variety of Gaṇeśa. Images of Kārtikeya are not very common. The *DMC*. describes only one and the *VRSM*. has three, of which No. C(g)1/181 is described as very old. The *IM*.⁴ has acquired a splendid image of Kārtikeya from northern Bengal.

Śaiva and Śākta goddesses—Durgā is the śakti of Śiva and was worshipped in various forms. Her images of different varieties have been discovered but not properly classified. It can well be understood how many different forms she had from the simple fact that the *Devīpurāṇa*⁵ alone mentions 62 types. A remarkable image of a goddess is worshipped at Kāgajipāḍā (paper-makers' village), Vikrampur. The lower half is a finely carved *Liṅga* from which she emerges. She holds a rosary and a book in the upper two hands and the lower two are placed one on another in *Dhyānamudrā*. The goddess has been tentatively identified as Mahāmāyā.⁶ Images of Gaurī are common. The *DMC*. describes three and most of the ten images described in the *VRSC*. under the heading Caṇḍī with *Godhikā* (mongoose) as the vehicle are representations of Gaurī.⁷ The *VRSC*. N. D(a)7/184 appears to be an image of Umā, as the goddess holds a mirror which differentiates her from Gaurī and Pārvatī.⁸

1. *DMC*, p. 146

2. G (b) 1/224. For another six-handed dancing Gaṇeśa, see *Mediaeval Indian Sculptures in the British Museum* by R. P. Chanda pl. XXI

3. *DMC*, pp. 146-47

4. *ASIR*, 1984 85, pl. XXIVd

5. *Vaṅgavāsī* edition, Ch. LX, pp. 180 ff

6. *DMC*, pp. 192-3, pl. XIV.

7. Also see the goddess at Mahesvarapasa, Khulna, *ESMS*, pl. LVIIc and the image illustrated in *Birbhūma-Vivaraṇa* against page 192 (Vol. II) fig. 67

8. Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 113, 120

Images of Pārvatī are fairly common. The *Liṅga* along with the rosary in the right hands is her distinctive feature. Three images¹ have been described in the *VRSC.* as *Simhavāhinī*. One has eight hands and the other two have four each. The attributes in them have not been mentioned. But it seems clear that they represent Durgā in one or another form, as the *Vāhana* lion shows. The standing goddess² with the lion as *Vāhana* from Mangalbari, Dinajpur, holds in her upper two hands a *triśūla* and an *aṅkuśa* and the other two are lost. She also represents a form of Durgā. An uncommon type of *Caṇḍī*³ of the 3rd year of Lakṣmaṇasena's reign is worshipped in the Dacca town. There is a lion couchant on the pedestal and the goddess has a battle axe in her upper right hand. Two elephants sprinkle water on her and two females with fly-whisks attend her. But for the short inscription which labels her as *Caṇḍī*, it would have been very difficult to identify her, as it differs from known examples. The metal image of eight-armed *Śarvāṇī* installed by queen Prabhāvatī was discovered at Deulbadi, Tippera. Two rare and unique images of *Devī* have been discovered in Jessore and Birbhum, and their identification is far from certain. A six-handed goddess seated on a lotus, which is supported by a lion, is worshipped at Sankhahati, Jessore, as *Bhuvaneśvarī*.⁴ R. D. Banerjee labels it as *Pārvatī*.⁵ She is seated in *ardhaparyāṅka-āsana* with her right foot pendant on the lion and the pedestal contains two other small lions. The two lower left hands hold the *Kamaṇḍalu* and *Triśūla* and the other shows *Abhaya* pose. The two upper right hands hold a lotus and a rosary and the other exhibits the *Varada* pose. The form of *Bhuvaneśvarī* as described by Mr. Gopinath Rao⁶ is four-handed. Otherwise, it agrees with the details. The

1. Nos. D(c)1/130, D(c)2/32, D(c)3/29

2. ESMS, pl. LVia

3. DMC; pl. LXIX.

4. S. C. Mitra, *History of Jessore and Khulna* (in Bengali) p. 240.

5. ESMS, pl. LVIIIa.

6. Op. Cit., Vol. I Pt. II, p. 37; see also Rao's description of *Tulasī-devī*; see also the descriptions of *Vijayā* and *Umā* in the *Devīpurāṇa*, pp. 185 ff. But all of them are four-handed. Mr. S. C. Mitra proposes to identify her with *Tripureśvarī* of the *Tantrasāra*.

other image¹ at Deuli, Birbhum is a ten-armed goddess, standing in *Atibhaṅga* pose. Three images discovered from that village are said to have been installed by the Sena kings. The *Vāhana* seems to be a lion. The attributes in four left hands are *Trishūla*, *Darpaṇa*, *Dhanuḥ*, and *Kamaṇḍalu*, and the attribute or the posture in the lowest left hand is indistinct. The two upper right hands hold *Khaḍga* and *Pāśa* and the attributes in other three are indistinct. The image seems to be a representation of Maṅgalā as described by Gopinath Rao² or Mahādevī of the *Devipurāṇa*.³ An eighteen-handed goddess seated on a lotus supported by a lion has been discovered at Simla, Rajshahi, and has been identified with Mahālakṣmī.⁴

The above forms of Devī show, on the whole, beatific countenances in spite of many weapons in her hands and she does not actually fight. Let us now describe her images in fighting mood. Three Vāgīśvarī images are known.⁵ The VRSC. No. A(g)1/110 and the specimen in Dinajpur Raj palace have eight hands. Six additional hands hold different weapons and one of the normal two shows *Abhaya* pose and the other is engaged in drawing out the tongue of the demon. The specimen from Kachra is a four-handed image.⁶ The known images of Mahiṣamardinī can be classified according to the number of hands. Eight and ten⁷-armed varieties are common. A splendid and remarkable six-armed image with an inscription written in seventh century script has been acquired by the VRSM. from Gangarampur, Malda.⁸ A specimen of twelve-armed variety in metal was discovered at Kesavpur, Dinajpur.⁹ Two specimens of eighteen-handed Mahiṣamardinī are known and the distinctive feature of the image at Vakreśvara,

1. Birbhūma-Vivaraṇa, Vol. II, illustrated against p. 23

2. Rao Hindu Iconography, Vol. I. Pt. II, p. 359.

3. p. 185.

4. VRS. Monograph, No. 6, fig. 4, pp. 21 ff.

5. JASB, 7932 p. 183

6. VRSR, 1932-34, pl. IV fig. 6

7. It is difficult to understand why both R. D. Banerjee and Dr. N. K. Bhattacharya think ten-armed variety as rare. The DMC. describes two such images and the VFSM. has three.

8. VRSR, 1931-32, pl. I.

9. ESMS, pl. LIIIc.

Birbhum, is that the goddess is surrounded by other fighting goddesses.¹ Mr. S. K. Saraswati has discovered a remarkable and unique image with thirty-two hands (called by him a form of Caṇḍikā) at Betna, Dinajpur.²

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

1. *Bīrabhūma-Vivaraṇa*, illustrated in Vol. II, against p. 158. The other is at Panighat, Khulna, illustrated in S. C. Mitra's *History of Jessore and Khulna* against p. 170

2. *JASB*, 1932, pl. IX, fig. 2

3. Illustrated in the *History of Jessore and Khulna*, against p. 166

4. *JASB*, 1932, pl. V. III, fig. 2

5. It is described in the above book as *Fulleśvarī Devī*

6. The image illustrated in *Bīrabhūma-Vivaraṇa* against p. 144 appears to be of this class and also *VRSC*. Nos. 3, 5, 6 and also Cāmuṇḍā at Betna, *JASB*, 1932, pl. IX, fig. 3

2/252 and DMC. No. 3B (ii) h/1 may belong to these two varieties.¹

A few representations of *Mātṛkās* have been found, but their worship is not prevalent at present. The VRSM. has two slabs. No. D (c) 1/7 represents nine *Mātṛkās*—(1) *Brahmāṇī*, (2) *Raudrī*, (3) *Kumārī*, (4) *Vāgīśvarī*, (5) *Mahiṣamardinī*, (6) *Varāhī*, (7) *Indrāṇī*, (8) *Cāmuṇḍā* and (9) *Sinhavāhinī*. The other specimen contains seven of them. Besides, the VRSM. has three *Varāhīs* and one *Vaiṣṇavī*. The VSPM. has one slab from Devagram, Nadia, representing *Brahmāṇī*.

Generally, images of *Gaṅgā* and *Yamunā* adorn the doors of temples. All the images of *Gaṅgā* discovered so far are good pieces of sculpture and the *Vāhana* Makara is tastefully represented. The VRSM. has two, and the *Birabhūma-Vivaraṇa*² illustrates two. One *Gaṅgā* image is worshipped in the *Jaśoreśvarī* temple, Khulna,³ and another at *Bhadrasila*, Dinajpur.⁴ Separate images of *Yamunā* are rare.

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

1. In the description of *Cāmuṇḍā* images we have followed the *Agnipurāṇa*

2. Vol. II, against pp. 74, 76

3. ESMS, pl. LX1D.

4. JASB, 1936, pl. I, fig. 2

hara, Narasimha, Hanumāna, *Ekamukha* and *Caturmukha Liṅgas*. The site seems to have been sacred to the Śaivas since the 9th century A.D.¹

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

Two inscriptions from southern India enable us to form an idea of the esteem and veneration in which the Śaivas of Gauḍa were held there. A Tanjore inscription² records that Rājendra Cola built the Rājārājeśvara temple and appointed Sarvaśiva Paṇḍita-Śivācārya as the priest of that temple and further directed that thenceforth the *śiṣyas* and their *śiṣyas* alone, belonging to Āryadeśa and Gauḍadeśa should be eligible for the office of the chief priest. It is stated in a commentary on the *Siddhānta-Sāraṇī* of Trilocana Śivācārya that Rājendra Cola imported Śaivas from the banks of the Ganges.³ A record⁴ of the fifth year of the Cola king Parakeśarīvarman (Rājādhirājadeva) states that the worship of Śiva by Umāpatideva, *alias* Jñāna Śivadeva, a native of Dakṣiṇa-Lāla in Gauḍadeśa, was responsible for the defeat of an invading Ceylonese army which was desolating the Pāṇḍya country. For this act by which the grace of Śiva was attained, Śivācārya was granted a village, the income from which he distributed among his relations. According to Venkyya, this invasion took place in the 3rd quarter of the 12th century.

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

1. ASIR, 1921-22, p. 87

2. SII., Pt. I, p. 105

3. Nilakṣṇtha Sastrī, *The Colas*, p. 254; an image of Gaṇeśa of the Pāla school has been found in a Tanjore temple, and it has been suggested that it was carried by the army of Rājendra Cola, JIH, 1924, 306-11

4. Rangachariar, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, I, p. 388

half is clad in a short skirt tied by an ornamental belt with two daggers on two sides. His legs are covered with boots in accordance with the canonical injunction that they should not be shown bare in any case. This feature is characteristic also of his attendants. His two wives Uṣā and Pratyusā stand by his two sides and the third Mahāśvetā in front.¹ His male attendants are Daṇḍa and Piṅgala and his charioteer is half-bird Aruṇa. In some images the Ādityas, the seven Ṛṣis, seven Mātṛkās, the planets and the zodiac signs are represented.² The VRSM. has some unique varieties of Sūrya images. The VRSM, No. 693 is a two-handed Sūrya with a circular halo round his head and has been assigned to the late Gupta period.³ The lower parts of his legs are not shown at all and are covered by the figure of Aruṇa. The only other image⁴ of this type has been discovered at Khadi (Sunderbans). In this image the driving of the chariot by holding the reins of the horses is clearly exhibited and has made it more realistic. In these two specimens his three wives are conspicuous by their absence. The VRSM. has acquired a six-handed Sūrya from Mahendra, Dinajpur.⁵ The two uppermost hands hold lotus stalks, the intermediate hands have *Akṣamālā* and *Varada-mudrā* and the remaining two have a *Kamaṇḍalu* and *Varada-mudrā*. It has been suggested that it represents the first of the twelve Ādityas, as described in the *Viśvakarmā-śāstra*.⁶ The only discrepancy is that it prescribes four hands and the two hands showing *Varada* and *Abhaya* mudrās were not perhaps considered essential in the canon. A ten-armed and three-faced (or four faced with the uncarved one at the back) Sūrya has been acquired from Manda, Rajshai. Its existing six hands hold Śakti, Trīśūla and Khaṭvāṅga (right) and lotus,

1. According to some description his wives Sureṇu and Nikṣubhā are on two sides, and the other Uṣā in front.

2. DMC, Nos. 3A (iii) a/2, 3 (iii) a/4, and pl. LX, illustrating Sūrya from Sonarang

3. VRSM, 1926-27, fig. I, p. 8.

4. Ibid., 1928-29, fig 17.

5. Ibid., 1982-34, fig I.

6. JASB, 1923, pp. 191-92

Ḍamaru and Sarpa (left). The attributes show, as has been rightly observed, that it was composite image of Sūrya¹ and Bhairava, and it most probably represents Sūrya in his Mārtaṇḍa-Bhairava form, as described in the *Sāradātīlaka Tantra*. But it is to be noted that this *Tantra* prescribes four heads and eight hands. Seated Sūrya images are rare. A metal specimen, dateable in the 7th or 8th century A.D., was found at Deulbadi.² A stone image of a seated Sūrya³ has been discovered at Ekdala, Dinajpur, and the god looks like a *Dhyānī-mūrti*. The pose is unrealistic for one who is mounted on a moving chariot.

A few images of the hunting god Revanta, son of the Sun-god, are known. The VRSM. has two and the DM. has one only and another is at Sonapur, Dinajpur.⁴ Navagrahas or nine planets were worshipped. They are the Ravi, Soma, Maṅgala, Budha, Br̥haspati, Śukra, Śani, Rāhu and Ketu. A fine specimen of a Navagraha slab has been discovered at Kankandighi in the Sunderbans.⁵ The VRSM. has four slabs. It is to be noted that Gaṇeśa also appears in the company of nine planets.

Other gods and goddesses—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva constitute the Hindu Trinity. While Viṣṇu and Śiva each has such a large following, the god of creation does not claim the allegiance of many. Even his wife Sarasvatī has been afterwards appropriated by Viṣṇu. A fairly large number of images of Brahmā have been found in Bengal but it is to be noted that not a single specimen from eastern Bengal is known. The VRSM. has about ten images⁶ but the best specimen⁷ is in the VSPM. from Rajganj, Dinajpur.

1. IHQ., 1980, p. 465 ff.

2. DMC, LIX; For another seated Sūrya, see Birabhūma-Vivarāṇa, Vol. II, against 140.

3. JASB, 1932, pp. 147 ff.

4. Ibid, 1936, Pl. 2, fig. 4. The IM. possesses four from Bihar.

5. VRSR, 1928-29, fig 5.

6. Ibid., 1930-31, fig 5; 1928-29, fig. 5.

7. VSPC, Pl. VI.

A fair number of a species of bas-reliefs showing mainly the mother and the child have been found in northern Bengal. A controversy is raging about its identification. A lady is represented lying down on a couch in reclining position with her left elbow pressed against a pillow and supporting her head. A child is shown lying down close to the left side. A female shampoos her feet and other females attend her, ministering to her comforts. Gaṇeśa Kārikeya, Liṅga and Navagrahas are placed above the couch. According to Dr. N. K. Bhattasali,¹ their presence points to the Śaiva nature of the Mother and Child images and he proposes to identify the child with the Sadyajāta form of Śiva but admits that no appropriate Dhyāna can be cited. Mr. N. B. Sanyal² refers to the description of the birth of Kṛṣṇa in the *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa* in order to support the view that the Mother and Child images represent that scene. According to him, "the Navagrahas indicate the benign influence of the planets on the newly born baby. Liṅga (signifying Śiva) is connected with the birth of Kṛṣṇa, as he (Śiva) is said to have addressed a hymn to Kṛṣṇa when in his mother's womb. The presence of Gaṇeśa means allaying of all troubles".

The worship of the snake goddess Manasā is very popular in Bengal and her images are common. She seems to have overshadowed Sarasvatī and the Buddhist Jāṅgulī who are also destroyers of the snake-poison, so far as that aspect of these two goddesses is concerned.³ The IM. No. 3950 shows a goddess under a hood of seven serpents with the book and pitcher in her left hands and with the rosary and boon in the right. The goddess Manasā seems to be an importation from southern India and has not been included definitely in any pantheon, Vaiṣṇava or Śaiva. Generally Manasā is represented with two hands, seated on a lotus under a seven-hooded snake canopy with a snake in her hand. A pitcher is seen underneath her seat on the pedestal. In a *stotra*⁴ she is conceived as the spiritual daughter of

1. DMC, pp. 134 ff.

2. VRSR, 1928-29, pp. 19 ff; Transactions and Proceedings of the seventh Oriental Conference, p. 774.

3. The section on Manasā by Dr. N. K. Bhattasali in DMC, is very informative on this point. I think his conclusions are worth accepting.

4. Ibid,

Śiva and in a VRSM. specimen the *Liṅga* appears on the top of the halo¹. The Rangpur Sahitya Parisat collection has a four-handed Manasā with a child on her lap and another specimen of a miniature Manasā has been discovered at Paharpur.² Another metal specimen of a Manasā image with a child on her lap has been recently added to the IM. from northern Bengal.³

Images of Indra, Agni and Yama have been found in the old Paharpur temples as guardians of quarters. The VRSM. has two images of Yama with the buffalo as his *Vāhana* and has also an image of Agni with the goat as his vehicle. As in the Paharpur specimen⁴ of Agni flames are shooting out from his person. An image of Kuvera has been found at Chatrabhog, Sunderbans.⁵ Separate images of Nāga and Nāginīs are rare in Bengal, although some specimens⁶ of their representations in the IM. come from Bihar. An image of Kāma has been recently added to the IM. from northern Bengal.⁷ In the Varāha image⁸ in VRSM. from Silimpur the lower parts of the Nāgas and Nāginīs are gracefully intertwined. In the Manasā image⁹ from Silghat we find Nāgas and Nāginīs hanging on two sides of the goddess, thus making a suitable back-ground for the snake goddess, the daughter of the Nāgas.

The above account does not exhaust the images of the Brahmanical gods and goddesses and many of them (specially in the VRSM.)¹⁰ remain unidentified. The current dictum that the Hindus

1. ASIR, 1921-22, p. 112.

2. VRS, Monograph, No. p. 30. For a Dhyāna of four-handed Manasa as Madonna, see DMC, p. 227.

3. ARIR, 1934-35, Pl. XXVb.

4. Ibid., 1926-27, Pl. XXXIId.

5. VRSR, No. 4, fig. 11.

6. The IM has four of them.

7. ASIR, 1934-35, p. 79.

8. VRSR, 1930-31, fig. 3.

9. DMC., Pl. LXXIII.

10. VRSC, pp. 31-33; JASB, 1936, Pl. III, fig. 6; See the broken image illustrated in Birabhūma-Vivarāṇa, Vol. I, against p. 140.

have thirty-three crores of gods and goddesses may not be actually true but it goes to indicate the richness of their pantheon.

The majority of the sculptures discovered in Bengal belong to the period between the 10th and 12th centuries A.D. Only four Buddhist images¹ can be somewhat confidently assigned to the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. Besides the Paharpur finds, we have noticed a comparatively large number of the Brahmanical images of this period. Very few images of Bengal can be definitely assigned to the 8th and 9th centuries.² From the 10th century onward the Brahmanical images far excel in number those of the Buddhists, and of them the images of Viṣṇu and Sūrya predominate. Śaivas and Śāktas worshipped a large number of gods and goddesses, and if none of them singly did command so great and wide popularity like Viṣṇu and Sūrya, their combined strength indicates that they had a great following and were as important in influence as the Vaiṣṇavas and Sauras. It was in this period that we meet gross Tantrik images, and both Buddhist and Brahmanical gods were represented with their respective śaktis in different poses. The Hindus did not go to excess like the later Buddhists by representing their gods and goddesses in *Yab-Yum*.

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

1. Buddha from Biharail, Manjuśrī and Bodhisattva from Mahasthan and Tārā from Sukhavasapur (in DM.). For references see *supra*.

2. R. D. Banerjee, "observed in this period there is a great paucity of Brahmanical or Hindu images in south Bihar as well as northern and western Bengal, but such is not the case in eastern Bengal. The collection in DM. is specially rich in Brahmanical images of the 9th and 10th centuries and at the same time, it must be admitted that as none of them is inscribed, their attribution is open to doubt." His view was based on the date of the Khaḍgas who, according to him, flourished in the 9th and 10th centuries. This can no longer be maintained and consequently the Śarvāṇī and Sūrya images from Deulbadi of the time of Prabhāvatī cannot be assigned to the 9th century. we do not find any image in the DM. which can be assigned definitely to that period. But it is to be admitted that many Buddhist images of Bihar belonged to this period. (ESMS, pp. 123-24)

The Chittagong plate of Kāntideva offers an instance of the fact that different members of a family followed different religions according to their personal predilections. Bhadradata, grandfather of Kāntideva, was a Buddhist. His father Dhanadatta was proficient in the Purāṇic literature and his mother was a devotee of Śiva, but he himself was a Buddhist. The Pālas were Buddhists and their seals show *Dharmacakra* (Buddhist wheel of law). It is stated in the Badal pillar inscription that the king Śūrapāla I attended the religious ceremonies of his Brahmanical minister Kēdāramiśra and accepted holy sacrificial water with great respect. Mention may be made of the grant of land by Nārāyaṇapāla for providing couches and seats, medicines for the sick to the congregation of Pāśupata teachers at Kalosapota within the *viśaya* of Kakṣa in *Tīva-bhukti* (*Tirhut*). He is said to have built hundreds of temples for the Śaiva ascetics. That he had great devotion for Śiva is also proved by the fact that the land donated by the Bhagalpur plate was done in the name of Śiva (Śiva-bhaṭṭāraka), while all other Pāla kings made their grants in the name of Lord Buddha. Madanapāla granted land to a Brahmana in reward for his teaching the *Mahābhārata* to his chief queen Citramatikādevī like the Hindu custom of paying *dakṣiṇā*. It appears that the Buddhist king Śricandra, like the Pālas, took part in the Brahmanical ceremony. The Rampal plate of this king was granted in favour of a Śāntivārika (i.e., the priest in charge of propitiatory ceremonies) and his Dhulla grant was issued on the occasion of the performance of a certain propitiatory rite, called *Adhuta-śānti*, during the *Homacatuṣṭaya*. The seal of the Irda plate of the Kamboja king Nayapāladeva shows *Dharmacakra* device like that of the Pālas, but the record opens with an invocation to Śiva. Rājyapāla, the first known member of the family, was a *Saugata* (Buddhist). His son Nārāyaṇapāla was a devotee of Vāsudeva and his other son Nayapāla was a Śaiva. From these instances of the different royal families it seems that the line of demarcation between a Buddhist and a Hindu was not very wide. Different members of a family could pay their homage to different gods according to their personal likings without affecting their normal relationship.

There are instances of borrowing and incorporating some gods and goddesses from one pantheon to another. It is admitted that the Buddhists borrowed Sarasvatī and Vighnanāṭaka from the Hindus,

Cāracikā and Mahākāla are common to both. The representations of Yogāsana Viṣṇu and Dhyānī Śiva seem to have been modelled after Dhyānī Buddha. Appearance of small figures of gods on the top of Brahmanical images¹ reminds us of the presence of parental Dhyānī Buddhas. Buddha was regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu² perhaps at a time when Hinduism had begun to absorb Buddhism, because the importance and popularity of so great a figure could not be neglected. It was positively advantageous to do so in order to gain the support and following of the faltering ones or of those who had no definite and clear-cut religious convictions. It is now admitted that the Hindus have borrowed Tārā from the Buddhists. In the *Rudrayamāla* and *Brahmayamāla* Vasiṣṭha has been asked to go to learn the secrets of Tārā worship from Buddha in Cīnabhūmi where he has been residing.³

Sometimes peculiar images are discovered, and it is difficult to ascertain whether they are Buddhist or Brahmanical. An image⁴ with a four-handed standing figure (looking like Viṣṇu) has been discovered in northern Bengal. Two main male attendants stand on two sides, and two small figures stand close to them. On the top of the main figure is a small figure (looking like a parental Dhyānī Buddha) and on the pedestal there is a small six-handed dancing figure. The attributes in the four hands of the principal figure appear to be Gadā, Padma, Śaṅkha and Cakra but it is to be admitted that these attributes differ from the representation in an ordinary Viṣṇu image. Mr. N. G. Majumdar⁵ suggests that these images may represent the conception

1. See Viṣṇu from Lakṣmanakati, Ugratārā from Sīkarpur and Gaurī at Mahesvarapasa, Khulna (ESMS, Pl. LVIIc).

2. R. D. Banerjee refers to a slab of ten Avatāras at Bodh-Gaya where the figure of Buddha is defaced. According to him, this was intentional and was due to sectarian jealousy. But this may be accidental too (ESMS, p. 109).

3. For full discussion, see *Sādhnamālā*, Intro. pp. CXXXVII ff; *Memoirs*, ASI, No. 11; DMC, p. 206.

4. VRSR, 1928-29, p. 28 ff; *Modern Review*, 1929, February Issue. This image is from Kalandarpur, Bogra.

5. *Ibid.*,

of Hindu Trinity, the seated figure at the top being Brahmā and the dancing figure representing Natarāja Śiva. Again, it has been contended that the god without his Vāhana Garuḍa and without Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī and with the figure of Amitābha on the top should be regarded as a form of Mañjuśrī.¹ Two almost similar images have been found in northern Bengal² with the only difference that the god stands under a seven-hooded snake canopy, which, it has been observed, "probably shows that Viṣṇu is conceived here as Ananta, or the Eternal, the hoods of snake Ananta being utilised to give an idea of eternity". Four images illustrated from different parts of Bengal by R. D. Banerjee³ are regarded as the blending of Avalokiteśvara and Viṣṇu. Three of them have a hooded canopy on the head of the god and on two of them we find a seated figure on the top. The upper parts of the other two are broken and most probably they had also the small seated figure on the top. It is difficult to say what particular deity these images represent, as we have no *Dhyāna* to prove their identity. Two other images⁴ from Sagardighi, Murshidabad, look like Viṣṇu or Avalokiteśvara and in them the attendants of Viṣṇu are absent. The attributes in hands are not also clear. One represents a standing figure and the other a seated one and both of them have four hands. Whatever god or gods all these images may represent, the predominant Vaiṣṇava element is evident.

In Java there was a Śiva-Buddha cult in which Buddha was completely identified with Śiva.⁵ No definite evidence of the existence of such a cult is known. But it may be noted that at present images of Buddha and Tārā are worshipped as Śiva and Durgā by ignorant village-folk.⁶ It is now accepted by many that in many of the later Tantras there has been an admixture of Hindu and Buddhist doc-

1. VRS, Monograph, No. 4, 11 ff.

2. VRSR, 1932-34, fig. 4; JASB, 1982, Pl. IX, fig. 1.

3. ESMS, Pl. XXVIII, pp. 184, 124. Three of them are twelve-handed and the specimen in metal has six hands. See also Ibid, pp. 95-96.

4. BI, Pls, XXVI, XXVII.

5. IC, I, p. 284.

6. ESMS, p. 45; Birbhūma-Vivaraṇa, p. 238.

trines, and it may be noted that the Hindu Tantras are in dialogue forms between Śiva and Pārvatī. The Śaivite Matsyendranātha and Gorakṣanātha were respected by the Buddhist Sahajayānists.

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

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

1. See the accounts of the lives of Yuan Chwang, Śilabhadra, and Karmasuvarṇa specially. The History of Indian Logic shows how the Hindus, Buddhists and Jains tried to disprove the arguments and reasonings of one another.

2. IB, Bhuvanesvara *prāsasti*, Vs. 20.

3. Intro. Baudha-Gāna-O-Dohā, pp. 6-8.

4. Our thanks are again due to Dr. B. Bhattacharyya who for the first time emphasised this point. Bd. Icon., p. 162, Intro. *Sāddanamālā*, pp. CXXX ff.

vāhanodbhava (a variety of benign Avalokiteśvara) is to be represented as riding on Nārāyaṇa on Garuḍa. Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Indra are called the Māras¹ (wicked beings and hence enemies). Siddhidātā Gaṇeśa is often the target of attack and is trampled upon by many gods and goddesses like Aparājitā, Pārṇasavarī and Mahāpratisarā. Śiva is trampled by Daśabhujā Mārīcī, and Śiva and Gaurī by Trailokyavijaya. Indra who holds the parasol of Aparājitā is trampled on by Aṣṭabhujā Mārīcī, Paramaśva and Prasanna Tārā and pays homage to Ubhaya-varāhnanā Mārīcī. Indrāṇī is also mishandled by Paramaśva. The severed head of Brahmā is carried by Prasanna Tārā and Ubhayavarāhnanā Mārīcī. Such humiliating position of the Hindu deities served well the purpose of showing the powerfulness of the Buddhist gods and goddesses to the people at large. The Śūnya-purāṇa, admittedly of Buddhist origin but of uncertain date,² gives vent to its wrath against the Hindus when Gaṇeśa is identified with Kazi, Brahmā with Muḥammad, Viṣṇu with Payagambar, Śiva with Adam, Nārada with a Sheik and Indra with a Maulanā.

The question has been raised: Does the presence of the Hindu deities Śiva, Viṣṇu, Pārvatī, Gaṇeśa and Manaśā in Nālandā (we may add Bodh-Gaya and the Somapurī-Vihāra at Paharpur) testify to the catholicism and eclecticism of the Buddhists and the assertion of Hinduism over Buddhism? Mr. Sankalia³ suggests that the desire of the Buddhist to manifest the deity in various modes and forms as found in Vaisnavism and Śaivism and then to show the superiority of their own gods by humbling them was not perhaps absent. If the Hindu gods could have been regarded as manifestations of Buddhist deities, it is to be admitted that the line of demarcation was also becoming thinner. With the destruction by the Muslims of the monasteries the chief centres of Buddhist influence and activities

1. See the sūthanās of Prasanna-Tārā, Vajrajñvālākalpa, Vidyaññvālākarāli.

2. It seems to have been composed after the advent of the Muslims, as the subject matter and developed Bengali forms of the book show. Edited by C. Bandyopadhyaya, pp. 232 ff.

3. University of Nālandā, p. 139.

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

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

1. ASIR, 1934-35, pp. 79-80.

2. Ibid, 1929-30, Pl. XXVIc.

3. It is rather surprising that R. D. Banerjee finds in them difference of opinions between different sects, ESMS, p. 105.

4. We enquired of a Pāṇḍa in charge of a temple how long since this has been the custom. He told me from the beginning of the creation when these two temples were built by Viśvakarmā. The Liṅga-rāja and Ananta-Vāsudeva temples are not far removed in dates.

criptions open with an invocation to Nārāyaṇa. But the seal attached to them bears the figure of Śaḍāśiva. Vaiṣṇava influence was felt on the *Tantras* also, which are sometimes referred to as *Āgamas* and *Nigamas*. "An *Āgama* is so called because it proceeds from the mouth of Śambhu (Śiva) and goes to Girijā (Pārvatī), being approved by Viṣṇu, and a *Nigama* is so called because it is emanated from the mouth of Girijā to enter the ear of Giriśa (Śiva), being approved by Vāsudeva."¹

In the Ṛg Vedic literature Sūrya occupies a more prominent position than Viṣṇu. In the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* Viṣṇu is one of the twelve Ādityas. But afterwards Viṣṇu superseded Sūrya in importance. The large number of Sūrya images discovered in Bengal is indicative of the popularity of the Saura cult but his worship has now-a-days almost fallen into disuse.² Iconographically the representation of a standing four-handed Sūrya on a lotus seat with two wives on two sides and with the charioteer Aruṇa closely resembles that of an ordinary Viṣṇu in the company of Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī with his vāhana Garuḍa. Daṇḍa and Piṅgala may be compared with Jaya and Vijaya. Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena styled themselves *parama-saura* i.e. devout worshippers of the Sun. But their records open with an invocation to Nārāyaṇa. Vijayasena and Vallālasena were Śaivas, Lakṣmaṇasena a Vaiṣṇava, and Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena Sauras. But the seals of their inscriptions invariably bear the figure of Śaḍāśiva. This is perhaps an indication of the fact that sectarianism was not carried too far, and that gods of other sects who did not command special reverence from one particular individual were not disrespected, if not actually worshipped.

1. Intro. the Principles of Tantras, XXI, fn.

2. SPP, 1340 B. S., p. 1.

3. B. Bhattacharyya, Indian Images, p. 18 for further elucidation of this point.

CHAPTER XII

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Very few images of Paharpur finds of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods have been illustrated. The illustrated images show soft, fine and lively modelling and easy flow of lines that are characteristics of Gupta art. It has been said that Paharpur images "combine in them the broad intellectualism of the Gupta epoch with the emotionalism of Bengal", but it must be observed that they appear to be of inferior workmanship in suggestiveness and refined dignity to the famous panels of the Daśāvatāra temple at Deogadh, Jhansi. The standing Buddha image from Biharoil, Rajshahi,¹ in Cunar sandstone has the common characteristics of a Sarnath Buddha with its diaphanous robe, curly hair, and had not the find-spot been known, it could have easily passed for a Sarnath image. The copper image of Viṣṇu from Kumarpur, Rajshahi,² is a crude product and has no artistic pretension. Mahiṣamardini³ from Gangarampur, Malda, has an inscription in the seventh century script and is in gray sandstone. It has the majesty and grandeur of the Śaiva panels of Elephanta. Sūrya⁴ in black stone from Deora, Mañjuśrī⁵ in bronze from Mahasthan, Viṣṇu at Rangpur⁶ and at Lakṣmankathi are assignable to the late Gupta period and exhibit quiet, restrained dignity and calm conviction in which, to use Coomaraswamy's words, "the inner and outer life are indivisible." Viṣṇu⁸ from Deora (the same find-spot as that of the Sūrya image) is perhaps not earlier than the Baghaura Viṣṇu image of the 3rd year

1. ESMS, Pl. XIa.

2. Ibid., Pl. LXVIIIa.

3. VRSR, 1931-32, Pl. I.

4. Ibid, 1236-27, fig. 1.

5. Ibid., fig. 2.

6. VRSR, monograph, No 4; Rangpur Sahitya Parishad Collection.

7. DMC, Pl. XXXII.

8. ESMS, Pl. XLIVb.

of Mahipāla I¹ but is the product of Gupta artistic tradition and legacy. Amongst numerous Viṣṇu images of the Pāla period it stands apart in elegance and meditative calm. The position of Garuḍa suggests that a celestial being has condescended to climb down for a purpose and his stay will not be very long, as the bird is trying to rise up with his Lord.

It is now an admitted fact that a new school of art flourished in Bengal and Bihar simultaneously with the establishment of the Pāla power. Tārānātha records,² "In the time of kings Devapāla and Dharmapāla there lived in Varendra an especially gifted artist, named Dhīmān; his son was Bītapāla; both produced many works in cast metal, as well as sculptures and paintings which resembled the works of the Nāgas. The father and the son gave rise to two distinct schools; as the son lived in Bengal, the cast images of gods produced by their followers were called gods of the Eastern style, whatever might have been the birth-place of their actual designers. In painting the followers of the father were called the Eastern school, those of the son, as they were most numerous in Magadha, were called followers of the Madhyadeśa school of painting." We are not concerned with the Madhyadeśa school of painting, the existence of which yet remains to be established. Numerous stone images, bronzes and a few miniatures from Bihar and Bengal go to show the existence of the eastern school of Tārānātha. As its rise synchronises with that of the Pāla power and its main activity was within the Pāla kingdom, it should be properly designated as the Pāla school.³ In the Sena period too this school continued its activity and does not show any separate and distinctive artistic development. Products of this school have been found in Gorakhpur, Gonda and Basti districts of the United Pro-

1. DMC, Pl. XXXa.

2. IA, IV, p. 102.

3. Coomaraswamy also calls it Pāla school, see *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 118; R. P. Chanda calls it Pāla or Gauḍian school, *Medieval Sculptures in the British Museum*, p. 48; R. D. Banerjee calls it "Eastern school of Medieval Sculptures".

vinces.¹ Art of Konarak and Khiching, Mayurbhanj,² both in Orissa, was influenced by this school, but Assam seems to have stood outside its influence. The art of Nepal and Tibet is regarded as direct continuation of the Pāla school. Its deep influence on some images at Pagan³ and on Java bronzes⁴ has been established beyond doubt. All these go to strengthen the opinion of M. R. Grousset that this school had an influence not inferior to that of the art of Gāndhāra and the Gupta Empire.

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

1. ASIR, 1906-7, pp. 193-207.

2. ASIR, 1923-24, pl. XXXIV; 1924-25, Pl. XXV

3. Ibid., 1922-23, dl. XXXIII; N. Roy, Brahmanical gods in Burma, pp. 80-91,

4. Kempers, the Bronzes of Nālandā and Hindu Javanese Art, pp. 70 ff.

and feather-arabesques. Sometimes the *Vāhanas* and attendant figures are represented as part of decorations (*Haṁsa* in the *Sarasvatī* of the DM, the bull in the IM, Śiva¹ and the plumage of the peacock of the pleasing and graceful image of Kārtikeya² in the IM). In the remarkable image of Ṛṣabhanātha from Surhor the representation of each of the other 23 *tīrthaṅkaras* in a separate temple appears to be a decorative device rather than due to iconographic prescription. The snake in the hands of Naṭarāja Śiva or in one hand of seated Manasā serves both the purposes quite well. The ugly *Kīrtimukha* on the top was perhaps to express more effectively the beauty of the deity beneath it by producing a striking contrast. The æsthetic excellence of Pāla art lies in the combination of its wealth and exuberance of decorative designs with the translation of the inner state of mind of the deity. When worked out by a master hand symmetrically and proportionately, the decorative designs lend an added grandeur and beauty to the whole piece.

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

1. ASIR, 1930-34. pl. CXXXIId.

2. Ibid., pl. XXIVd.

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

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

The large finds of bronzes at Nālandā,¹ Kurkihar,² Bihar and at Jehwari, Chittagong, and the actual remains of bronze-casting discovered at Nālandā³ and Paharpur show the high degree of excellence and wide currency of this art. The Indian name of the metal is *aṣṭadhātu* and from that point of view as well as from the chemical point of view the coining of the term *Octo-alloy* is happy and appro-

1. ASIR, 1930-35, pls. CXXXIV-CXI.

2. Amounting to 218, see Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh Oriental Conference, pp. 791 ff.

3. ASIR, 1930-34, pp. 130 ff.

4. Ibid. p. 122.

priate¹ The bronze Mañjuśrī from Mahasthan and the Sarvāṇī image from Deulbadi were gold-plated, and a silver image of Viṣṇu of very fine workmanship² has been discovered at Curain, Vikrampur, (now in the art-gallery of the IM.). Other important finds are Sūrya from Candimundu,³ Lokanātha⁴ from Sylhet, Piṇḍola from Sonarang,⁵ a Buddhist goddess (Sitapātra Tārā?) from Tippera,⁶ Vajra Tārās (?) from Faridpur and Bhagalpur,⁷ four Viṣṇu images from Rangpur⁸ and four Viṣṇu or Avalokiteśvara images from Sagardighi, Murshidabad,⁹ three miniature images from Comilla¹⁰ and Manasā from Rajshahi in the IM.¹¹ This last one was set with precious stones. The *VRSC.* describes about eleven and so also the *VSPC.* and the *DMC.* supply the whereabouts of about a dozen more. The bronzes show finer workmanship than their stone prototypes and the figures appear more sensitive and sensuous.

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

1. *DMC.* Intro, p. XX.

2. *Ibid.*, pl. XXIX

3. *Ibid.* pl. KIX

4. *Ibid.*, pl. IV

5. *Ibid.*, IA (V) a/1

6. *Ibid.*, IB (IV) a/1.

7. *Ibid.*, pls, XV, XVI, XVII.

8. *ASIR*, 1911-12, pp. 104 ff.

9. *ESMS*, pls, LXVIII, LXXIVa.

10. *Rupam*, 1928, p. 26.

11. *ASIR*, 1934-35, pl. XXIVb.

circumbulatory passage enclosed by a wall and on four sides there was an open terrace adjoining the wall.¹

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

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

1. Ibid., p. 42.

2. ASIR, 1225-26, 1626-27, 1927-28, pp. 107-113, pp. 140-69 and pp. 101-111 respectively. Also ASIR, 1928-29, 1929-30 and 1930-31, pp. 98-99, pp. 98-99, pp. 138-142 and pp. 113-128 respectively.

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

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

Excavations of the mound at Bairagi Bhita, Mahasthan, have revealed the remains of temples of three distinctive periods, Gupta, early and late Pāla. At Govinda Bhita the remains of a huge temple have been unearthed and constructions of late Gupta and early Pāla periods are discernible.⁴ At Medh or Lakhindarer Medh, about a mile to the south of Mahasthan, a group of small brick-built chambers, ranging themselves in parallel rows and rising in tiers or terraces, together with a huge and massive wall, have been unearthed. On the top of the mound a shrine, polygonal in plan, has

1. EI, XX, pp. 55 ff.

2. ASIR, 1927-28, pp. 38-39.

3. Ibid., 1930-34, pp. 122-26

4. Ibid, 1928-29, pp. 90 ff,

been found. The structure has been assigned on grounds of the style of the ornamental bricks to the late Gupta period.¹

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

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

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

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

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

1. Ibid., 1930,34, pp. 40-42.

2. Ibid., 1128-29, pp. 98 ff.

3. Ibid., 1921-22, p. 26.

4. Ibid., 1925-26, p. 113.

5. ESMS, p. 150

6. ASIR, 1922-23 pp. 180.111 ; ESMS, p. 150.

7. IMC, pl. XXXIIb-c.

8. VRS, Monograph, No. 5, figs. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6.

9. ASIR, 1934-35, pl. XIXa.

of some positive data is questionable. Coomarswamy assigned the Bahulara temple to the 10th century,¹ but Mr. K. N. Dikshit² cautiously observes that "it is possible that the earlier (10th century) date is a century or two early, but there can be no doubt that these two examples (Bahulara and Jatar Deul) cannot be far removed in date from their stone prototype so well-known from the Bhuvanesvara style of architecture, the latest example of which is dated in the 12th century A.D." Their *śikhara*s are slightly curvilinear, the *garbhagrha* square in size and the entrance has a triangular corbelled arch over it. They seem to have been surmounted by *āmalakas*.

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

Stone pillars were extensively used in temples, the best examples of which are one from Sonarang⁶ in the DM. and four from Pabna.⁷ The old practice of erecting monumental columns as in the Maurya and Gupta periods was continued. Best examples are one from Rajmahal⁸ (originally at Gauḍa), the Kamboja king's pillar from Bangar,⁹ two inscribed pillars from Paikore,¹⁰ Birbhum, Badal pillar of Gurava Miśra¹¹ and the pillar in the *Dhībar Dighee*¹² in

1. History of Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 108

2. ASIR, 1927-28, p. 41.

3. IMC/pl. LXXXI.

5. ESMS, pl. LXXXVIc.

7. Ibid., pp. 157-58, XCIVd.

9. Ibid., pl. LXXXIXc.

11. ASIR, 1927-28, p. 140.

12. Gaṇḍarajamālā, against p. 49,

4. VRSR, 1232-34, pl. III.

6. DMC, LXXVa.

8. Ibid., pls. LXXXIXa Xcd.

10. Ibid., pls. LXXXIXbc,

Dinajpur associated with the name of the Kaivarta king Divya. The carvings on the first two are of exquisite workmanship and they perhaps belong to the tenth century A.D. The carvings on the two Paikore pillars are not of much artistic excellence. The finial on Vijayasena's pillar is a broken image of Manasā. The Śaiva pillars had bulls, while the Vaiṣṇava ones had Garuḍa. The Kaivarta king's pillar is almost equal in height to the highest Aśokan column and has not been examined with the care that it deserves.

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

1. ASIR, 1921-22, pp. 74-75.

2. SPP, 1842 B. S., pp. 209 ff.

3. ASIR, 1930-34, p. 128.

4. All of them have not been described; a detailed monograph on Paharpur with the full description of the terracottas is a pressing necessity and will add much to our knowledge of the life of ancient Bengal.

and snake, the peacock devouring the snake, and of daily life and work. It has been rightly observed that "the delineation of homely subjects, everyday scenes of rural and out-of-door life must have made the artist in terracotta keen of observation and fully responsive to his environment. As a folk art of the soil to which it belongs the terracotta plaques of Bengal hold a very distinct and important position." Of other important specimens of potters' art found at Paharpur, mention may be made of several thousands of miniature votive *stūpas*, made of clay, and three remarkable pieces of glazed polychrome pottery with chocolate coloured and white floral ornament or white and green foliated leaves on a brown background.¹ At Medh ornamental bricks bearing floral patterns and a motif simulating the window have been found.²

Painting—Eight Mss. of the Pāla period, illustrated with miniatures, are known. They are—(1) Ms. of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*, dated in the 15th year of Gopāla II and copied in the *Vikramaśīla⁴-deva-vihāra*,³ (2) Ms. Add. 1464 of the same book in the Cambridge Library, dated in the 5th year of Mahīpāla I,⁴ (3) Ms. of the same book copied in the 6th year of Mahīpāla in Nālandā,⁵ (4) Ms. of the same book in the Ghose Collection, Calcutta,⁶ probably of the 10th century, (5) Ms. Add. 1688 of the *Pañca-rakṣā* copied in the 14th year of Nayapāla (in the University Library of Cambridge),⁷ (6) Ms. of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* copied in the 39th year of Rāmapāla⁸ in the collection of Vandenburg, (7) Ms. of the same book, copied probably in 1136 A.D.⁹ in the Boston Museum

1. ASIR, 1930-34, p. 126, Pl. LIIIcd.

2. Ibid., pl. XVIII.

3. JRAS, 1910, pp. 150-41.

4. Bendall, CBMC, pp. 106-01.

5. Des. Cal. of Sans. mss. in Asiatic Society of Bengal, pp. 1-2.

6. Rupam, 1929, p. 78.

7. Bendall, Op. Cit., b. 100.

8. Rupam, No. 1, p. 9.

9. Intro. to Indian Art, p. 110; History of Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 141.

and (8) damaged last leaf of a Ms. of the same book copied in the 18th year of Govindapāla.¹ Miniatures in a few Ms. copied in Nepal also show the same style of painting.² The miniatures are "not organically and decoratively associated with the script but they occupy spaces left by the scribe to be filled by the painter." "The technique is calligraphic. The draughtsmanship is unusually strong and having regard to the material—fragile and soft plam leaf—on which the drawing is made, the beauty of line and colour evokes our admiration."³ The miniatures illustrate the divinities of Tantrika Buddhism. Figures are extremely sensuous and even the male figures have feminine grace.⁴

1. H.P. Shastri, *Des. Cat.* p. 6

2. Rupam, 1929, 78ff.

3. *Ibid.*

4. For some good illustration, see DMC, Pls, I, II.

APPENDIX G

COINAGE

The earliest known coins of Bengal are *gaṇḍaka* and *kākaṇika*¹ mentioned in the old Brāhmī inscription of Mahasthan. Many punch-marked coins have been discovered from different localities. The Tamluk High School preserves 350 coins of which the rectangular cast type predominates. The obverse of the rectangular cast coins shows Taurine, tree-in-railing and *caitya* with three windows, and the reverse shows square cross, elephant, svastikā and triangular-headed symbol. The obverse of the round cast ones shows three arches with crescent, and the reverse, elephant.² Six rectangular copper coins have been found at Beracampa, 24-Parganas.³ The DM. cabinet has recently acquired a large number of them from Bhairavbazar, Mymensingh, but they have not yet been classified. One silver punch-marked coin was discovered at Jakra,⁴ 24-Parganas, and another at Tamluk.⁵ Thirty-five silver coins have been found near Manda, Rajshahi and of them five are in the IM. cabinet.⁶

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

1. There are differences of opinion regarding the weight of Kākaṇi. Prof. Bhandarkar is of opinion that half-Kākaṇi was equal to 1. 14 grains at the most (Carmaichael Lectures, 1921, p. 112), while Dr. S.N. Chakravarti holds that it was heavier than that (A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics, p. 112).

2. ASIR, 1921-22, pp. 74-74.

3. Ibid, 1922-23, p. 109

4. JASB, 1879, p. 245.

5. Ibid, 1882, p. 112

6. ASIR, 1930-34, pp. 255-56.

the *Periplus* says that there is a gold coin which is called *Caltis*.¹ About six gold coins of the Kushana kings, Kanishka, Vāsudeva I and Vāsudeva II have been discovered from Midnapore, Murshidabad and Bogra.²

A large number of Gupta gold coins have been found in almost every part of Bengal, and besides important recorded finds and collections, there are many private collections too. In 1783 a large hoard of about 200 gold coins were discovered at Kalighat and they were transmitted to the Directors of the East India Company. Unfortunately many of them were melted down. Only a few coins of Candragupta II, Narasimhagupta, Kumāragupta II (?) and Viṣṇugupta are in the possession of the British Museum, Hunterian and Bodelian Collections.³ In the same year 13 gold coins were found near Hooghly,⁴ and they consisted of 1 Standard type of Samudragupta, 5 Archer type of Candragupta II, 3 Archer, 3 Horseman, 1 Lion-slayer types of Kumāragupta I. The other notable finds are from Muhammadpur, Jessore,⁵ and Mahanad, Hooghly.⁶ At the last mentioned place one unique coin of Kumāragupta I of the Elephant-rider type has been found. R. D. Banerjee notices a number of coins of Candragupta II,⁷ Kumāragupta I⁸ and Skandagupta⁹ from Burdwan, Midnapore, Hooghly and Faridpur. In all probability Gupta gold coins are *dināras*, so often mentioned in the land-sale documents of the period, the word being derived from the Greek Denarius.

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

1. Benfey thought that it was derived from Sanskrit *Kalita*, meaning 'numbered'. Vincent Smith mentions one class of Bengal coins, called *Kallais*. Schoff is inclined to identify it with *Kallais* of southern India. (Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 259). Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua observes that the *Kalita* merchants of Assam used the gold coins called *Kaltis* (*Early History of Kāmarūpa*, p. 189.)

2. *BI*, pp. 88-89; *JASB*, 1933, pp. 127ff.

3. Allan, *Catalogue of Indian Coins, Gupta Dynasties*, Intro, p. cxxvi.

4. *Ibid.*, p. cxxviii.

5. *Ibid.*, p. cxxvii.

6. *BI*, pp. 67; *ASIR*, 1934-85, p. 48.

7. *BI*, pp. 59ff

8. *Ibid.* pp. 65ff,

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 71ff.

Banerjee¹ refers to two copper coins from Katwa, Burdwan, with the legend *samudra*. It is reported that silver coins of Candragupta II, Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta were found at Muhammadpur, Jessore.² *Rūpakas* have been mentioned in the Vaigram plate of 128 G. E., from which it is known that three *kulyavāpas* and two *dronas* of land were purchased by paying 6 *dināras* and eight *rūpakas* at the rate of two *dināras* per one *kulyavāpa*. It is certain from the Paharpur plate that eight *dronas* were equal to one *kulyavāpa*. From this it has been concluded by Dr. R. G. Basak³ that 16 *rūpakas* were equivalent to 1 *dināra*. But it is to be noted that in the Vaigram plate three *kulyavāpas* of *khila* (uncultivated) land were bought by paying 6 *dināras*, and two *dronavāpas* of *vāstu* (homestead) land were bought for 8 *rūpakas*. Prices of *khila* and *vāstu* lands might have varied and in that case the above ratio between *dināra* and *rūpaka* does not seem to be correct.

Gold coins were current in Bengal after the fall of the Imperial Guptas; the coins of Śaśāṅka and Jaya (nāga?) have been found not in inconsiderable number. Two coins of Samācā (radeva?) should also be taken into consideration. The unattributed 'Imitation Gupta' coins⁴ from Muhammadpur, (Jessore), Kotalipara in Faridpur, Sabhar in Dacca and from Rangpur are crude in execution and have no pretension to artistic excellence. The legend on the reverse of four of them reads *Sudhanyāditya*, and the figure is that of a six-handed goddess.

It is strange that while coins of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods have been found in large numbers coins of Pāla and Sena periods are very rare. But it would be a mistake to conclude that there was no metallised currency in that period. The Bodh-Gaya stone inscription or Keśava *prāsaṣṭi* records that Keśava excavated a tank at a cost of 3,000 *drammas*. *Dramma* is derived from the Greek word *Drachma*, and Prof. Bhandarkar⁵ has shown that its weight approxi-

1. The Age of the Imperial Guptas, p. 214.

2. Allan, op. cit., p. cxxvii.

3. EI, XXI, p. 78ff.

4. Allan, Op. Cip., p. 154; JASB, N. S., pp. 58-64.

5. Carmaichael Lectures, 1922, pp. 206-11.

mates to 65 grains of silver. Five copper coins have been found at Paharpur and they have been assigned to the early Pāla period and a silver coin (*dramma*) found there has been attributed to Vighrahapāla I.¹ Three silver coins of the Sassanian type with the legend *Śrī Vi* or *Vigraha* from Bihar have been attributed to Vighrahapāla III by V. A. Smith.² Twenty-five silver coins from eastern Magadha with the same legend and of the same type have been mentioned in the *Supplementary Catalogue*³ of the IM. It is very curious that of all the Pāla kings the coins of the Vighrahapālas have come to light. In the grants of Lakṣmaṇasena,⁴ Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena the income yielded by the donated land has been mentioned in terms of *purāṇas* and *kapardaka-purāṇas*, but we do not know any specimen of them. Prof. Bhaṇḍarkar⁵ suggests that "*kapardaka-purāṇa* is a *purāṇa* which is shaped like *kapardaka* or *kauri*." This is perhaps strengthened by the statement of Minhaj when he values the gifts and charities of Lakṣmaṇasena in terms of *kauris*.

1. ASI.R. 1927-28, pp. 101ff.

2. Catalogue of the Coins in the Collection of the IM. 1, pp. 233, 239.

3. Pp. 56-57.

4. See Ch. on Administration.

5. Op. Cit., pp. 139-40.

APPENDIX H.

THE GAUDAS AND GAUḌA

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

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

2. Ibid.

3. XIV, 3.

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

The *Gauḍa Brāhmaṇas* are scattered over different parts of India. Writing in 1887, Wilson notices 17 classes of them.³ A careful search will reveal still great many other varieties. Among the *Kāyasthas* there is a section called *Gauḍa-Kāyastha* living near modern Delhi. Again, among the Rajputas there is one section called *Gauḍa-Rājaputas*. There is a separate caste called *Gauḍatagās* who claim their origin from *Gauḍa Brāhmaṇas*.⁴ The distribution of *Gauḍa Brāhmaṇas* over almost all parts of India and the existence of *Gauḍa-Rājaputas*, *Gauḍa-Kāyasthas* and *Gauḍa-tagās* cannot be very easily explained.

1. Cunningham, ASIR IX, p. 150; see also VJI, I, in the Chapter on Panca-Gauḍa. Dr Roy Chowdhury is of opinion that Gauḍa in the Matsya, Kurma, Liṅga Mss. may be inserted as a Sanskritised form of Gonda. He cited the example of the Central Provinces where the name Gond is very often Sanskritised into Gauḍa (PHAI, p. 439) But Cunningham concluded just the opposite of it.

2. SII, I, p. 118.

3. Wilson, Indian Castes, Vol. II, p. 64-66.

4. See Viśvakōṣa on *Gauḍa-Rājaputa*, *Gauḍa-Kāyastha* and *Gauḍa-tagās*.

By way of analogy an explanation can be suggested. The issues raised by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in his illuminating paper on the *Nāgara Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas of Bengal*¹ are various and many, but his conclusion that there was a tribe called *Nāgara* in ancient India which in course of time spread over different parts of the country is perhaps to be accepted. The same also seems to be the case with the *Gauḍas*. The *Gauḍa* tribe seems to have migrated to different parts and entered into the Rajput and Kāyastha societies. It may be noted that the *Āgarwalā Vaṇikas* utilise the services of the *Gauḍa* section of the *Brahmanas* and it may be that this mercantile community might have some remote connection with the *Gauḍas*.

It is not known where was the earliest home of the *Gauḍas*. The *Sārasvatas* called themselves *Ādi Gauḍas*, and it may be that their first settlement was in the region watered by the river *Sarasvatī*.² Again, *Gauḍa* in *Uttarakośala* might have been also the original land, because it seems that it has preserved the name of the tribe. There are epigraphic evidences to show that even in the historical period the *Brahmanas* from *Uttara-kośala* migrated to different provinces.³ Therefore the claim of *Gauḍa* in *Uttarakośala* as the original home of the *Gauḍa* tribe cannot be brushed aside.

But of all the settlements of this tribe, *Gauḍa* in the east was undoubtedly the most famous and important. It was certainly an ancient country. Pāṇini associated it with the east.⁴ It rose in great importance under *Dharmapāla* and *Devapāla*, and it is not unlikely that the title *Pañca-Gauḍeśvara* is "reminiscent to the *Gauḍa* empire under them because it cannot be equated with the ancient realm of *Gauḍa* kingdom in the early centuries of Christian era."⁵ With the great importance of the *Gauḍa* kingdom in mediæval India the title of *Gauḍeśvara* had some imperial glamour around it and it was difficult for the kings of Bengal to part with it when they had no authority

1. IA., 1932, pp. 41, 61.

2. For *Ādi Gauḍas* see Wilson, op. cit.

3. Vide Supra. *Brahman Immigrations in Bengal*.

4. VI, II, 99.

5. Dr. Roy Chowdhury, op. cit.

over Gauḍa. Keśavasena and Viśvarupasena, sons of Lakṣmaṇasena, ruled over eastern Bengal after the conquest of north-western Bengal by the Muslims but they retained the title of Gauḍeśvara. Govindapāla is generally taken to be of the Pāla dynasty but it is doubtful whether he had had any authority over northern and western Bengal; yet the title *Gauḍeśvara* was applied to him. This proud title was assumed by the kings of Cuttack in the 16th century.¹ Like the story connected with the reported immigration of five Brahmanas at the instance of Ādiśūra, one tradition is current among the *Gauḍa Brāhmaṇas* and *Gauḍatagās* of Delhi region that the services of their ancestors from Gauḍa in Bengal were in great demand by the epic king Janamejaya at the time of his snake sacrifice and hence their migration there. It is doubtful if Bengal itself was Brahmanised at the time of Janamejaya and therefore much weight cannot be attached to this story.

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

1. IA, XLII, p. 49.

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

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